

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

RESIDENTIAL AND BUSINESS RELOCATION FROM
URBAN RENEWAL AREAS: A CASE STUDY - THE
LORD SELKIRK PARK EXPERIENCE

by

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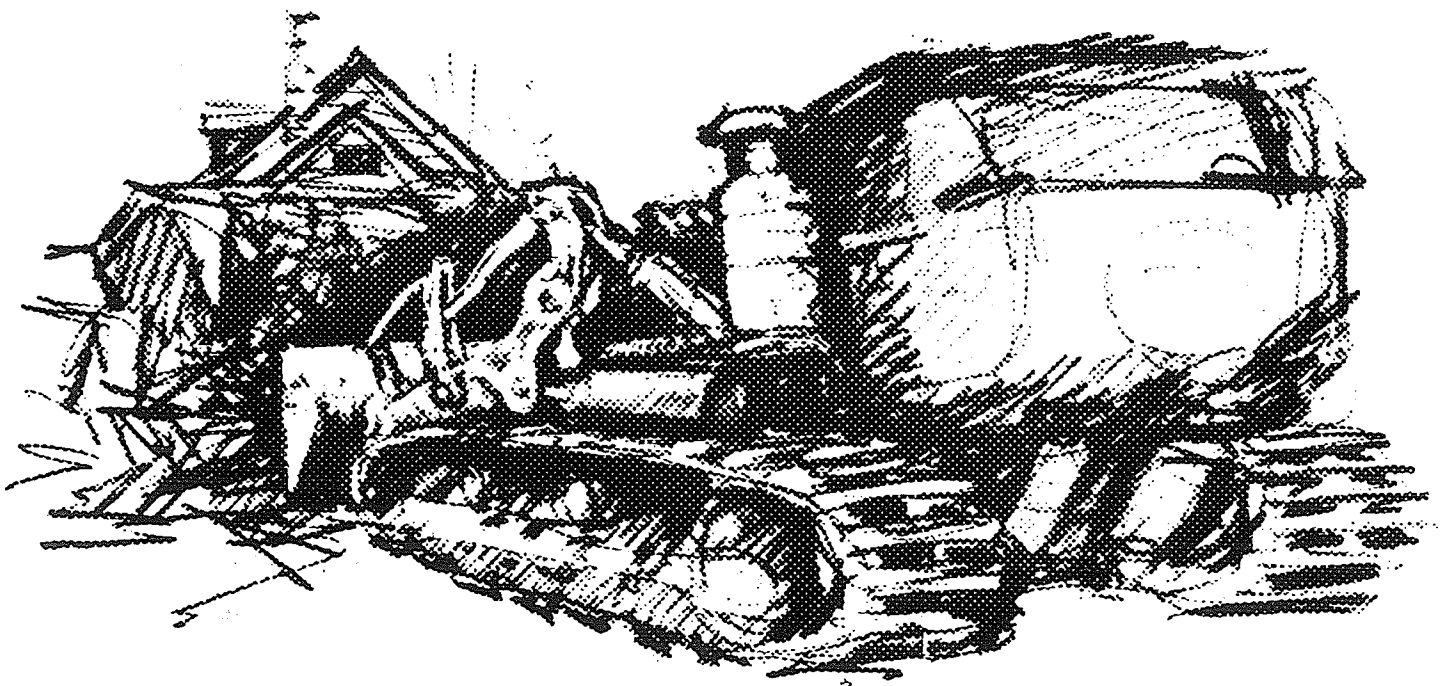
A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

October, 1973





residential and business relocation
from urban renewal areas: case study
the lord selkirk park scheme

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this work to the late Mr. William Courage whose data and remembered comments on the Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Scheme made this Thesis possible. His efforts to impute a social dimension into the renewal process, while acting as Relocation Officer, have been no less than sources of inspiration.

Sincere thanks is also extended to Professor Mario Carvalho for demonstrating the meaning of "constructive criticism". His patience in bearing with the evolution of this rather lengthy document, and in accommodating a sometimes overly-defensive student, is worthy of applause.

Mr. Manley Steiman of the Environment Department, City of Winnipeg, was of immeasurable help in challenging my first draft. His encouragement kept me going from start to finish.

Mr. Stanley Black, with whom I worked in relocating families from Lord Selkirk Park, assembled the sample survey statistics on Business relocation. His contribution is most appreciated.

Special thanks is extended to Mrs. Enid Topping who helped in so many ways. She maintained my enthusiasm through the difficult time during which the Housing and Urban Renewal Department met its demise. In terms of Lord Selkirk Park per se, she helped me to see reality.

To Dr. John Page of the Environmental Studies Department at York University and Professor Joe Ryant of the University of Manitoba School of Social Work, I express a heartfelt thanks for the time taken to wade through my work. Their comments are most appreciated. In the comprehensiveness of planning as is taught by Dr. Page is, in fact, the genesis of this Thesis.

I would point out in conclusion, that although it is not usual practice to make reference to specific persons in thesis publications, the nature of the case study exposition made this departure from convention a necessary one. I thank, then, all those whose names appear during the telling of the Lord Selkirk Park story. Their expressed wishes to be included, made the case study all the more real.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES1. INTRODUCTION

For the past fifteen years or so many cities have looked to urban renewal for a solution to the problems of central city decay. With an increasing availability of federal government funds, schemes were proposed, plans formulated, buildings demolished, and numerous persons and businesses dislocated. The result, in many instances, was a more optimum land-use in the economic sense, a more aesthetically pleasing area, or a combination of both. In any case, urban renewal could be cited as the vehicle through which central city strength and solidarity would once again become realities. The physical transformation of redeveloped areas seemed to bear true witness of the advantages and potential of the renewal scheme. Politicians applauded redevelopment with vehemence and a society firmly established in an overwhelmingly homogeneous middle-class value system, readily accepted urban renewal as a meritorious endeavour to solve the problem of the urban slum.

Urban renewal accomplished many things! It renewed the slum and got rid of slum-dwellers in a host of designated areas. In many cities, especially in the United States, it removed substandard housing to make way for high-rise apartments and thus appeared to facilitate both physical and social renewal. Many areas, once up-graded, became fitting receptacles for a higher social class. Its greatest accomplishment rested on the fact that in the face of an increasing

slum problem, renewal was action. Who could say that society was not concerned with the city, the slum problem, or poverty? Indeed - we had urban renewal!

Initially, urban renewal more properly fell into the context of slum clearance. It demolished and rebuilt, functioning as part of a City Planning movement oriented almost exclusively towards the physical city. In effect, it was a bulldozer operation lacking both an insight and perception of the slum problem itself. As such, the realization of how a planning problem of social origin and nature could be attacked, could not be reached. Urban renewal challenged the slum problem on the basis of urban design and the nature of existing planning practices. It sought newness by destroying the old, and attacked the issue of physical improvement with such vehemence as to overlook fundamental human values. In the architecture which stands as the monument to the renewal planner is the myth of an era; for behind the grand edifices the pervading squalor of a lost society still remains.

Urban renewal was neither designed nor organized to effectively reach planning decisions based on and for the benefit of the residents of deteriorated areas. Renewal, as understood, and as was realized through the implementation of planning schemes, represented an approval for redevelopment action by a predominantly middle-class society; a society whose members demonstrated their allegiance to the central city and its problems by literally fleeing to the suburbs

like lemmings to the sea. As such, urban renewal was in reality born through apathetic consent rather than an empathetic concern for the central city and its population. Given this situation and an unawareness of the human implications of renewal, individuals and families within renewal areas were placed in positions of uncertainty and crisis. Urban renewal did not significantly alleviate the social problems of many who were affected by redevelopment. For a number of slum dwellers the only element of change was that of location, embodied in movement from one substandard dwelling to another.

As of late, concepts of renewal planning have been changing. No longer do governments insist on the retention of programs which attempt to deal with the slum problem in uniquely physical terms. A social awareness has been established whose very creation rests on the voices of discontent from those who have suffered through forced dislocation. It is timely, therefore, to support those voices and reflect on our own renewal efforts. Where change is occurring the opportunity to affect that change must not be overlooked.

Perhaps this dissertation will in some small measure have relevance towards effecting real urban improvement. It represents an attempt to infuse a greater degree of social sensitivity into the renewal process. In order to demonstrate the degree to which urban renewal has been effective, the specific question of relocation has been chosen. We can, in the end analysis, only measure the success of our efforts by

the manner in which we have recognized and met the needs of the urban poor. There can be no other legitimate rationale for a program which so markedly bears on the lives of people.

2. Objectives and Thesis Format

It is important to reach an awareness of the success of urban renewal before continuing with a program which purports to meet the problems of our urban poor. If renewal is merely shifting the slum from one geographical area to another, it must be modified. No longer can urban renewal be considered as a uniquely physical planning exercise which leaves in its wake better streets, improved services, and new buildings. It must be judged through the way in which the needs of low-income families with specific problems have been met. Urban renewal must rebuild for the poor.

By making specific reference to relocation, it is felt that a measure of effectiveness for urban renewal itself can be found. Through the consideration of this factor we may reflect on a singular issue whose significance outweighs all others. To discuss urban renewal only in general terms has relevance, but to do so exclusively minimizes our opportunity to become sensitized to the actual experiences of those affected by it. This dissertation hopes to provide insights into the ways in which people have been dealt with in the process of implementing urban renewal. It is this element that I feel must be established as the main determinant of renewal adequacy.

A number of questions concerning the nature of urban renewal must be raised and analyzed. For example, the fundamental issues of poverty must be discussed and related to the objectives and techniques of renewal. We must also face the basic issue of whom urban renewal really benefits. Within this framework attention will be directed at a number of views concerning both relocation and renewal planning. By way of an overview in which the salient features of renewal are identified, a better understanding of the totality of urban renewal will be realized. Having thus established the general context, we will be in a more favourable position to understand the role and importance of relocation within it.

Following an attempt to reveal the major components of urban renewal a predominantly general discussion will become specific as attention focusses on the slum itself. It is important when considering the issues of renewal and relocation, to understand both the plight and the needs of the socially and economically disadvantaged. Without such attention this dissertation would be amiss in its obligation to establish discussion on relocation in a valid and practical context. If we understand and are aware of poverty conditions, we may be in a position to determine whether or not current renewal practices are comprehensive enough to respond to those people locked in poverty circumstances.

Given the more obvious problems of poverty as manifest by circumstances of slum habitation an attempt will be made to reach a more pragmatic understanding of what urban renewal really is.

In examining renewal policy and practice, attention must turn to actual legislation which has so largely conditioned urban renewal. For this reason the National Housing Act will be discussed and related to the evolution and current disposition of urban renewal. The Expropriation Act^{*} will also be alluded to as the prime determinant of compensation in the right of eminent domain by the state. These two major pieces of legislation will provide expression to the prescribed legal way in which urban renewal may be carried out.

Although urban renewal schemes have been carried out in virtually every major Canadian City, a paucity of evaluative information on them is available. This paper hopes to provide some evaluative information by focussing on a particular renewal program. A case study of the Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal Scheme will be utilized to demonstrate elements of renewal and relocation effectiveness. The case study, developed through contact with persons actually relocated to facilitate the implementation of a renewal scheme, will provide practical insights into areas where change and improvement are required. Those affected by renewal will speak for themselves and may thus become vehicles toward such change. It is hoped that their comments and experiences will be focussed on with great intensity for an objective of this dissertation is to provide an opportunity for their expression.

The dislocation of businesses is a specialized concern, in many ways different from that of the disturbance of the residential community. Methods of establishing compensation viz. a viz

* Both the amended act following 1971 and its predecessor will be examined.

the Expropriation Act, for example, vary markedly between residential and commercial properties. As such, it is necessary to deal with business relocation as a rather segregated and distinct issue.

Information on business relocation is all but non-existent. For the most part it has been assumed that business owners have found economic advantage in expropriation. Such an assumption rests on the premise that businesses are able to elicit the necessary legal resources with which to confront the expropriating authority. What little has been published on the topic of business relocation is far too general and lacks substantiation. Given this condition, discussion of business dislocation within this dissertation will bear heavily on interviews conducted with business owners forced to leave the Lord Selkirk Park Area.

The final portion of this thesis will relate to relocation improvements. Based on a synthesis of the main body of discussion, an attempt will be made to determine how relocation may be improved within the renewal process. In this regard specific recommendations will be provided.

PART A

ON THE NATURE OF URBAN RENEWAL

CHAPTER II - THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN RENEWAL:
DEVELOPING AN EMPATHY TOWARDS THOSE WHOM
THE PROGRAM MUST ASSIST

An understanding of the needs of low income persons must be realized before the urban renewal program can be socially oriented. At present few provisions are made for the upgrading of a residential area in other than physical terms. Planners are all but indifferent to the needs of low-income families. In approaching urban renewal from an anti-poverty point of view, such factors as education, unemployment, limited community facilities and lack of social services must be considered. Marvin Lipman comments on this issue:

"While some improvements in opportunities often do arise from urban renewal, they are mainly due to efforts of private social planning councils or to the availability of funds for demonstration programs. In most cases these tend to be of an ad hoc nature and not part of the planned goals of urban renewal. If the emphasis were on co-ordinated programs which included both physical and social aspects of renewal, then it would be possible to demonstrate the positive social effects which could accrue from residential planning." (1)

All too often in slum clearance and urban renewal, planners and planning agencies have lost sight of the needs of low-income people. The nature of their communities has also gone without understanding. This explains the rationale for the actions of contemporary sociologists who are imploring those charged with the responsibility for urban renewal to become more aware of the ways in which our poverty-stricken live. We must reach an understanding of the nature of the slum in advance of establishing adequate renewal programs.

In the existence of the slum it is evident that we

(1) Lipman, M. - Canadian Welfare Council, "Social Effects of the Housing Environment," 1968, p. 20.

are not all equal and that concentrations of persons with relatively little persists even as civilization advances. The slum represents space unto itself and spatially is separated from affluence and comfort. It houses the unfortunate and those in despair. In many ways it is perpetuated by mere misery and suffering. If urban renewal is to assist in overcoming slum problems of our cities, it must be fully aware of these problems. It must recognize the needs of people in an unequal, unjust and intolerant society.

The sociologist John R. Seeley comments on the importance of understanding the slum and its people. He points to the slum as a concentration of those in society who have the least of what there is to get. The slum is a place where misfortune multiplies and where only success breeds success. Seeley feels that we must "break up or diminish these correlations or palliate their effects."

This kind of sociological perception has rarely been applied to renewal planning. Planners have generally not identified the need to overcome a fundamental myopia in the vision of their roles within renewal activity. Only as of late have some wished to become sensitized to the problems of low-income people. Seeley reveals the depth of perception required as he describes slum life in Indianapolis:

"No society I have lived in before or since, seemed to me to present to so many of its members so many possibilities and actualities of fulfillment of a number at least of basic human demands: for an outlet for aggressiveness, for deep feelings of belonging without undue sacrifice of uniqueness or identity, for sex satisfaction, for strong if not fierce loyalties, for a sense of independence from the pervasive,

omnicompetent, omniscient authority in general which at that time still overwhelmed the middle-class child to a greater degree than it does now." (2)

Alvin Schorr, in Slums and Social Insecurity, also outlines the necessity of gearing our renewal programs to the needs of those in low-income areas. He asserts, as does Seeley, that we must be cognizant of social life within the slum and must provide, through renewal, something of value to its residents. It must be something that is of recognizable improvement in the terms of the slum dweller, and to provide for it an understanding of his needs and life style is essential.

Schorr directs our attention to the overcrowding of slum existence and points out that individuals experiencing this hold certain attitudes towards space itself. He describes, for example, the life of a child who is so much "in" life that he cannot see it.

Both Seeley and Schorr concur in the fact that the slum offers certain advantageous features. Schorr feels that despite the major limitations of poverty and slum living, some low-income residential areas are "neighbourhood centred." As such, these communities provide an important sense of identity for their residents:

"Apart from his special interest in the city's spaciousness the poor person may visualize city space in a distinctive manner. He is so to speak, a block dweller. He does not feel at home outside his neighbourhood: perhaps not anywhere farther than ten or twenty blocks from his home." (3)

Given an understanding of such facts, Schorr feels that they should dramatically affect the way renewal is carried

(2) Seeley, J.R. - "The Slum: Its Nature Use and Users" Journal of the American Institute of Planners, February, 1959, p. 10.

(3) Schorr, A. - Slums and Social Insecurity, p. 40.

out. This spatial or neighbourhood identity must be reflected in the redevelopment programs which are defined. Schorr provides a specific example:

"One does not convert a block dweller by moving him. His orientation is a product of his background: moving him simply sweeps away the security he knows. It is important to re-establish opportunities for local identification."(4)

As is indicated above, it is important to recognize that low-income areas consist of numerous elements. Some people, for example, are attracted to such areas only on a short-term basis with expectations of moving to better neighbourhoods. For them, low-income areas and the slum itself provide economic advantage in cheap rent which releases income for family savings; a factor which affords upward social and economic mobility. These people see an end to slum existence and accept it only as a means to better living.

Certain people seek anonymity in the slum. Criminal elements seek residence in such areas for this reason but the most disadvantaged slum dweller is the person trapped in the endless cycle of poverty. For the slum dweller on welfare there is often no escape. The slum is entrapment in a sea of helplessness and hopelessness. With no resources the opportunity for vertical mobility is all but non-existent. It is this group that renewal policies must be most concerned with, for it has suffered the humiliation and anguish of our paternalistic welfare system which still maintains its recipients at a level of abject poverty relative to North American standards.

Planners must recognize, given the many types of people in slum areas, that in the event of renewal some will be better able to

(4) Ibid., p. 43.

adapt to change. The immigrant family on the verge of upward mobility may recognize renewal as an impetus to betterment. The welfare recipient, on the other hand, may be ill-prepared for the movement out of a familiar environment which was known and understood.

In Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society, S. D. Clark refers to the social characteristics of slums. He finds that the social distance between the slum and the non-slum is reflected in many cities by expressions like "down there." In Winnipeg the North End carries this stigmatic connotation. Attitudes of society at large establish the definition of slum areas in both social and physical terms.

Clark provides a brief but inclusive impression of a slum in Toronto. He concludes that a major characteristic of the slum-dweller is apathy. It is this element which minimizes the recognized importance of educational opportunities. For the teenager, to be big enough to earn money is very important, but young men from slum areas typically change jobs frequently due to their lack of education. In the slum Clark also discerns an apparent hostility towards institutions other than the school such as churches and social agencies. He also points out the wide range of slum inhabitants:

"The slum houses those who drink to excess, criminals, those who live in common-law relationships, deserted wives with children, and a certain proportion of alcoholics, drug addicts, or prostitutes. However, many persons and families who live within slum areas are much like most families in cities, except that they happen to live in inadequate surroundings. Some families, being born in the neighbourhood, take pride in it." (5)

(5) Clark, S.D. - Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society, p. 65

Clarke points out that blighted neighbourhoods, as much as others, perhaps even more, often present a cohesion. It is his contention that many individuals living in slum conditions feel that they would be uprooted and cast adrift in the event renewal action was directed at their neighbourhood.

Bernard Fried also alludes to the sense of security certain individuals may derive from living in deteriorated parts of our cities. He substantiates his argument by pointing to a sense of loss experienced by people who are uprooted from such areas. In commenting on reactions of grief on the part of persons displaced from slum areas in the West End of Boston, Fried concludes that:

"Dislocation and the loss of the residential area represent a fragmentation of some of the essential components of the sense of community in the working class." (6)

Fried feels that planners have not recognized the importance of the local community and that they have thus overlooked the concept of familiarity in the determination of renewal objectives. He also places great emphasis on the importance of a spacial identity as experienced by residents of slum areas and opines that the embodiment of this identity, the neighbourhood, provides an important thread of continuity to certain people. As such, the slum cannot be destroyed with random abandon. It must not be considered, according to Fried, as a valueless sector of the city.

"In the depths of the slum may be security and warmth derived from personal relationships and a well-known environment of constancy." (7)

(6) Fried, B. - "Grieving for a Lost Home," The Urban Condition, p. 168

(7) Ibid., p. 173.

The idea that slums provide security for their inhabitants, however, is not universally accepted. Counter-arguments point out that such an advantage is easily outweighed by the demeaning nature of day to day existence in a poverty situation. Robert Weaver who has been heavily involved with urban renewal in the United States feels that the importance of security is more myth than fact:

"The typical American urban slum is not necessarily a neighbourhood which has great attractions for its occupants. Many of its residents evidence strong attachments to it only when they are faced with the prospect of being displaced without any certainty that they will be rehoused adequately elsewhere. If this were not so, the public housing program would have encountered much of the same neighbourhood opposition that urban renewal has." (8)

In the end analysis it would seem that many attitudes and sentiments must be considered. Some individuals may be prepared for change and consequently may welcome renewal while others, less prepared, may be subjected to feelings of great anxiety. Renewal must provide for both cases in facilitating the former to gain upward mobility and in assuring the latter that renewal, in its social outlook, may assist even those who have nothing.

Herbert Gans considers the slum as a social unit with specific characteristics. It is his opinion that planners should do likewise in order to appreciate some of the problems individuals must face through urban renewal and relocation. Planners, says Gans, tend to look at solutions to the slum problem from a middle-class point of view, not realizing that the value systems of those in low-income situations may be far different from their own. He illustrates this point by referring

(8) Weaver, R. - Dilemmas of Urban America, p. 59.

to the middle-class conception of the family which is nuclear centred and self-sufficient. This is contrasted to the slum where this may not be the case. Here a family may have many ties in the area which are important for its stability and maintenance and in Gans' eyes may rely to a great extent on a familiar neighbourhood.

The resident of a slum area may also perceive of his housing in a different way than that of the planner. For him the social aspect of the house in a particular environment may be more important than its physical condition. These factors must be considered in the renewal process.

Gans highlights the necessity of being cognizant of the impact that relocation will have on families which are already in difficulty. For many, relocation, if unplanned and unaware of the needs of these families, will merely represent a shock which will be difficult to overcome. This shock, as Gans further points out, will be extremely great for those who have lived in one area for a lengthy period of time.

Renewal planning is only beginning to take active steps towards understanding the attitudes and feelings of those in deteriorated communities. Our meagre attempts to establish new directions in the field of urban renewal, provide living testimony of this fact. Bureaucracies are still ever slow to change with the urban poor being forced to lay their ills before their elected representatives through dramatic protestations. It is this preparedness and determination on the part of those lacking in opportunity which intimidates planning officials into turning an attentive ear towards the needs of the

disadvantaged. Such response is not due to any great conviction on the part of renewal planners to relate to lives rather than to accommodate people through planner-determined prescriptions of betterment. Like the apothecary who responds only to specific symptoms and characteristics of illness, the planner may never see and touch the patient; being content to respond in a preconditioned way to all situations of urban decay no matter how unique each may be. If we are to practice effective renewal planning we must, as planners, change attitudinally. The day of the prima donna whose assumption that the expertise of the planner provides a basis for professional domain, is fast succumbing to its twilight hours. We must be humble in our realization of how little we know of those caught in lifetimes of poverty and aggressive in our desire to learn how best to serve such people. As Schorr so succinctly states:

"If we truly rebuild for the poor, we shall have quite a different approach to many areas. The advice of the poor people would be sought, not only as therapy for them but also because they are the clients of the architect and the city planner."⁽⁹⁾

⁽⁹⁾ Schorr, A. - Slums and Social Insecurity, p. 73

CHAPTER III

URBAN RENEWAL AND RELOCATION: AN OVERVIEW1. The Basic Issues

Most of the criticism directed at urban renewal relates to the lack of emphasis on the social aspects of renewal planning. For the most part renewal planners have confined their efforts within an exclusively physical context of drawing up a plan. As such, concentration has primarily been on the economic and design components of a program. This narrow preoccupation is in itself a causal factor to urban renewal shortcomings.

In terms of relocation, for example, an inherently social aspect of renewal, it has been assumed that somehow the renewal area would be vacated at time of program implementation. Relocation itself was visualized as an obstacle to implementing an urban renewal scheme rather than as an integral part of renewal through which low-income families might realize greater social and economic justice. This fact is reflected in the degree to which municipal renewal authorities in Canada have been devoid of those professionals able to define and meet the social needs of renewal area residents. Architects and engineers have been the prime participants of redevelopment planning and have naturally approached the question of renewal from a physically-oriented point of view. Only as of late has a change in emphasis been reflected by the incorporation of social workers and social scientists into the field of urban renewal.

In defence of his position the planner has argued that social agencies and similar community resources have failed to impress upon renewal officials the manner in which a social component of urban renewal could become operable. This argument would only be valid if renewal authorities were in a position to respond to outside expressions of social need. However, for most the utility of reacting to this expression has been rarely considered. Only in the few instances where the renewal authority has had on staff people knowledgeable of and sensitive to the needs of the poor, has the exposition of the social implications of renewal and relocation had an impact on actual planning.

Today the social importance of urban renewal, relative to poverty-stricken urbanites, is being expressed at the political level by the disadvantaged themselves. Through programs of community organization the capacity of the poor to articulate upon their problems and needs while under the threat of urban renewal, has evolved. As never before, renewal authorities are being pressured into developing programs consistent with the humanistic aspects of redevelopment. That they can truly respond, however, to the personal needs of the poor through an urban renewal process, is not yet certain. Much of our current thinking must be changed to overcome the problems faced by those subjected to entrapment in poverty situations.

Alvin Schorr comments on some of the fundamental questions of urban renewal and relocation. He is of the opinion that the plight of the poor is not understood in even

the most basic terms as he relates to a fundamental poverty issue:

"It is precisely because poor people are not effective as consumers that more elaborate devices must be sought to protect them." (1)

Schorr believes that planners have not taken into account even obvious and basic factors that are important in urban renewal. To further substantiate his argument he makes specific reference to the adequacy of the housing supply which bears so directly on relocation:

"The failings of relocation programs are a recurring reminder of the general inadequacies of the housing supply." (2)

It is important to reflect upon this point for urban renewal has actually tended to deplete the supply of housing for the poor. When one considers the extent to which low-income persons compete for a limited supply of inadequate dwelling units, it would seem that a reduction in that housing supply by a program supposedly established to assist the poor, cannot be allowed to continue without drastic modification.

Schorr feels that planners must attempt to reach a greater understanding of the problems of the poor. Only then will effective relocation programs become established components of an urban renewal process. It must be recognized that the poor cannot operate on the same basis as the middle-class:

"In a sense one can distinguish between the poor and the middle-class by describing their competence to manage change." (3)

Given this comment one cannot help wonder to what extent urban renewal, with its absence of social concern, has

(1) Schorr, A. Slums and Social Insecurity, p. 58

(2) Ibid, p. 61

(3) Ibid, p. 55

led to great turmoil and suffering. Such expository remarks relative to the need to define the needs and attitudes of those in redevelopment areas, come after the fact. It is estimated that a hundred thousand people have been uprooted by urban renewal schemes developed in isolation of the neighbourhoods being renewed, and in isolation from even a fundamental empathy for the needs of the poor. *

In critically relating to past urban renewal efforts we must, as planners, look to the stage of development of renewal planning itself. Herein lies the root of the problem. In attempting to relate to planning and planning objectives, nowhere is ambivalence more evident than in the social aspects of this field. Viewed in any kind of social context, urban renewal epitomizes this ambivalence.

Many Planners are still insistent on the preservation of the idea that to plan is to prescribe specific physical changes rather than to accept a more heuristically-oriented approach embodied in the Planner's role as a facilitator of a process of change. In the latter role the Planner becomes a component of change but is no longer the total vehicle through which change is effected. Seen in this light, the Planner is afforded the opportunity to become sensitized to broader issues which are reflected in the need to renew and redevelop. He no longer thinks abstractly about something termed "urban renewal" but focusses on poor housing, low-income, juvenile delinquency, and all the other factors which are merely synthesized by considering urban renewal in the context of remedial action.

* Based on statistics from the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Related to United States' experience. Between 1954-1966

To effect adequate renewal planning one must reflect upon urban renewal in these terms. As Peter Marris, reporting on the situation in the United States, points out:

"Urban renewal because it usually displaces the poorest of the city's population -- the immigrants, the cultural and ethnic minorities -- in a situation where public authorities cannot evade responsibility for their welfare, raises all the issues of the underprivileged in contemporary America." (4)

The need to consider urban renewal in broad terms seems obvious. But what of the planners who establish planning as physical planning? Bernard J. Frieden, Associate Professor of Planning at M.I.T., provides some interesting insights into this question:

"...those who oppose this total approach do so on the grounds that it fails to consider the value of various social groups. Physical planners argue that within any given area the population will change through time, but not the physical plan, emerging from a set of long-lasting standards."(5)

The rationale for clinging to what I would term the static physical approach is still in evidence and is slow to change. It represents, according to Frieden, the desire of the planner to manage urban development rather than to redistribute resources to people disadvantaged by present urban arrangements. As such, insofar as a number of contemporary planners are concerned, planning does not extend beyond the ken of the physical environment.

Frieden expresses some optimism about the possibility of planning becoming more socially sensitive. Such optimism is related to a phenomenon which he describes as " a national

(4) The Urban Condition , Ed. L. J. Duhl, p.113

(5) Frieden, B. J., "The Changing Prospects for Social Change", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXIII, p.311.

awakening to poverty and unequal opportunities in the cities." However, in commenting on the contemporary state of the art, he concludes:

"Despite much talk about "social planning" at recent national conferences, and despite genuine efforts to make such programs as urban renewal and public housing more sensitive to the social problems they confront, no clear field of professional activity has yet been established that might be termed social policy planning." (6)

Frieden further states that although a growing body of social science research on the poor is emerging:

"In comparison with other fields, there is very little research underway to provide an intelligent base for urban policy." (7)

In the final analysis social inputs are only now beginning to have an impact on current planning philosophy. We must await the transformation of that philosophy into practical programs of comprehensive planning. This will only occur when a growing social conviction is established within the planning movement; a conviction which will be reflected in a new and more flexible urban renewal policy. It must be concluded that the planner's expression "from a planning point of view", still relates to an innate physical bias which, in the case of urban renewal, represents the failure of the planning movement to remain relevant in finding solutions to urban problems.

2. Urban Renewal Under Attack

The Urban Renewal programme, especially that carried out in the United States, has suffered biting criticism. Martin Anderson is perhaps the best known critic. In his book

(6) Frieden, B. J., "The Changing Prospects for Social Change", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXIII, p. 313

(7) Ibid, p. 319

The Federal Bulldozer he criticizes an urban renewal programme which in the case of the United States dates back to 1949. Since Anderson's book itself was published in the early 60's, many of his statements do not relate to contemporary urban renewal policy. However, I feel it would be well worthwhile to examine some of his main criticisms for many of these still recur in renewal debate. Through an examination of the comments of specific urban renewal critics, some of the fundamental issues in this thesis will be raised.

Anderson hits at the very basics of urban renewal when he seeks to determine whom urban renewal is really for. He points out, in the first instance, that urban renewal can in no way be looked upon as a social program to overcome the needs of the poor. Anderson feels that this fact is borne out by the nature of those individuals who have supported the urban renewal program. He terms these people the wealthy and intellectual elite; an elite which visualizes urban redevelopment as a programme which rids the urban landscape of blight and allows the inner city to flourish. In no way does Anderson associate the urban renewal programme with improving the lives of the urban poor for he cannot identify the specific provision of assistance to the people of renewal areas.

Martin Anderson believes that the success of urban renewal must relate at least to two major criteria. These relate to housing improvements for former residents of the renewal area and the degree to which the housing supply for low-income persons has been increased. Upon examination of the success of urban renewal in the context of these two

criteria, Anderson concludes that the urban renewal programme has made it even more difficult for people in low-income groups to obtain housing because of the reduction in the supply of low-rent housing due to renewal demolition. Given this basic finding, he further points out that in the end analysis urban renewal has simply shifted slums, and in so doing has actually encouraged the spread of slums and blight.

In relation to the specific needs of low-income people, Anderson feels that the urban renewal programme has offered very little. People have simply been relocated but, in many cases, are no better off for the move and inconvenience. He feels that the failures of urban renewal are overwhelmingly obvious. However, he finds specific rationale for the continuance of so fallacious a program:

"Few individuals know any of the consequences of urban renewal. Widespread ignorance of the programme and apathy for it have been interpreted as widespread acceptance. Believing this, the politicians have been quick to accept arguments for urban renewal presented by a few elite groups." (8)

According to Anderson's critical discourse, people in low-income circumstances simply become pawns of the urban renewal game. Individuals are forced to relocate even though, in many cases, suitable alternative accommodation is not available. Ironically enough, many homes have been destroyed to satisfy the conditions of a fixed plan which, based primarily on speculation, may never be effected. As such, the urban renewal programme has replaced homes and communities with parking lots or vacant land in an era of short housing supply.

(8) Anderson, M., 'The Federal Bulldozer', p. 223

Martin Anderson, in despair over the flaws of an inadequate program run wild, can find no alternative but to suggest that the urban renewal programme be repealed. He feels that the poor have really not been accommodated in a program that is not cognizant of social need. Renewal, he says, has too often been an element of destruction and upheaval. In a final indictment of the urban renewal program Anderson states that the people who move from the urban renewal area are not really helped by the operation of the program:

"Some receive payment for moving expenses, and advice in finding new homes. But after they move, they still have the same incomes, the same social characteristics, and the same skin colour. The only basic change is that they are now living in some other part of the city." (9)

Although Martin Anderson was criticized for not reporting on improvements in urban renewal following the early 1960's, others writing sometime after this period still point to fundamental inadequacies in the renewal program. While one cannot but admit that the 60's saw a greater emphasis being placed on the social implications of urban renewal, an established empathy towards the problems of low-income persons never became an integral part of the criteria for planning decision-making. Having carried out an independent study of relocation, Chester Hartman comments on the fact that:

"Despite recently improved services and greater concern for families displaced by public action, relocation nonetheless remains an ancillary component of the urban renewal process." (10)

(9) Ibid, P. 217

(10) Hartman, C., "Housing & Relocating Families", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, November, 1964, p. 268

Hartman finds much evidence of the lack of social sensitivity in the renewal program. He feels that many of the urban poor in most need of public assistance are in fact deprived of such assistance. In this regard Hartman's criticism is explicit:

"It appears further that those most likely to benefit by relocation are families already having adequate financial and personal resources, that would probably upgrade their housing voluntarily within a short time. Those with least resources for mobility and for coping with change are most adversely affected by relocation." (11)

During the time period at issue here, reports were issued by The Housing and Home Finance Agency in the United States, running contrary to Hartman's criticism and lauding the success of urban renewal. Statistics indicated that many individuals were in fact better housed in the post relocation situation. Hartman, in opening a specific relocation debate, reported on the inaccuracies and lack of objectivity of the government presentations. He further commented on factors not considered by the government agency:

"Not only have the gains been limited, but they have been accomplished by widespread increases in housing costs, often incurred irrespective of an improvement in housing or the ability or desire to absorb these costs." (12)

Although renewal activity in Canada is relatively minimal as compared to the United States, planning of the "Renewal Scheme" has been associated with all of our major urban centres. Albert Rose, a noted Toronto Social Worker *, makes reference to what he feels are the fundamental difficulties of urban renewal thus far.

(11) Ibid, p. 268

(12) Bellush & Hausknecht, Urban Renewal - People, Politics and Planning, p. 330

* Author of Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance

In particular, he directs attention to the problem of a tight housing market. Rose feels that urban renewal has not always recognized the implications of the housing market for those people forced to relocate. In many cases it has assumed that families on their own, find alternative decent housing at fair rentals. He opines that only in contemporary times, in an era when the middle-class is also feeling the housing squeeze, has the housing market been considered as an important element to the success of urban renewal. Rose feels that in depicting the inefficiencies of urban renewal we would be amiss in not relating to the problems of housing supply per se. One is then afforded the opportunity to imagine the hardships families have experienced when faced with relocation in the absence of public housing and in the presence of a tight housing supply. For many families renewal has merely meant dislocation and a search for housing in an inhospitable urban environment.

CHAPTER IV

LEGISLATION AND URBAN RENEWAL POLICY

In Canada, urban renewal is carried out under two major pieces of legislation. The first is the National Housing Act of the Government of Canada, while the second is the Expropriation Act of the various Provincial Governments. It is the former Act which outlines the extent and nature of Federal Government financing of urban renewal programs. The latter establishes the terms under which an expropriating (government) authority may acquire property through "forced taking." Each of these Acts will be briefly discussed in an effort to shed light on the development and current characteristics of Canadian urban renewal.

In view of the tremendous impact of the National Housing Act on renewal activity, its evolution reflects that of urban renewal itself. The National Housing Act came into existence in 1944 as a sequel to the Dominion Housing Act born in the depression a decade earlier. It provided for federal participation in slum clearance projects only under specific and extremely limited conditions. The major elements of the 1944 Act included federal participation with private lenders in a system of joint loans for residential mortgages, guaranteed home-improvement loans, and long term, low-interest loans for limited dividend housing. In 1945 the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation was created to administer the Act which fast became a vehicle to prime the private housing industry. Despite amendments in 1946, 1949, and 1954, the Act has retained this basic and almost exclusive characteristic.

In 1956 Federal Government support for local urban renewal projects acquired a new dimension in that amendments to the National Housing Act allowed the Corporation to financially assist municipalities undertaking renewal studies. Such amendments virtually initiated large scale renewal activity in Canada as a number of municipalities commenced studies whose cost could now, in part, be borne by a senior government. In essence urban renewal was to apply only to residential areas as a "slum clearance" program. Residents, according to the Act, were to be housed in "decent, safe, and sanitary housing"; a phrase drawn from United States legislation. A social responsibility was implicit in the legislation which required rehousing in satisfactory accommodation at "fair and reasonable rentals."

It is noteworthy that although the 1956 Act placed the onus of rehousing on the municipality, and stipulated that renewal must primarily be residential renewal, the construction of new housing units on cleared land was not mandatory. The Act merely stated "that land should be put to its highest and best use." Adequate consideration for families to be dispossessed by property acquisition and clearance was, in actual fact, not given.

The Housing Act of 1956 resembled that of the 1949 Act in the United States. However, much more reliance was made on the private developer in the American situation where the Federal government paid most of the subsidy on land acquired, cleared, and sold to private enterprise. By 1954, United States' legislation required renewal authorities to have a "Workable Program" containing: relocation plans, redevelopment sites,

housing codes, and provision for citizen participation. In 1956 federal funds were made available for relocation, and three years later the Community Renewal Program* came into effect. By the 60's Canadian Urban Renewal Legislation lagged far behind that established south of the border. This is an interesting phenomenon given the parallel between United States and Canadian legislation in other fields such as labour.

The Canadian Government amended the National Housing Act again in 1964. Such amendments provided for the preparation of renewal schemes and contributions and loans for the actual implementation of urban renewal programs. These added features to the Housing Act substantially increased urban renewal activity. With a greater availability of funds and the opportunity to renew even non-residential areas, municipalities in all parts of the country prepared urban renewal schemes. In the over-use of such legislation abuse soon followed. Cultural centres and grand programs of civic design were financed under the banner of urban renewal. Residential renewal as a response to problems of slum housing was no longer the unique component of federal renewal legislation. It was but one element of competition for senior government funds, in a broader renewal context.

This new Housing Act created the era of the urban renewal planning "consultant" hired by municipalities to devise total urban renewal schemes. Winnipeg was no exception, significant amounts of capital were expended to engage the services

*The Community Renewal Program was initiated as a comprehensive approach to a city's housing and renewal needs. It involved all municipal departments in an identification of priorities with special expenditures directed at specific geographical areas.

of eastern planners. During this period some \$250,000 was provided to consultant firms for urban renewal programming in two inner-city areas. To date little action has proceeded due to the prohibitive cost of land acquisition called for in the suggested renewal areas.

In Canada the 1964 legislation redirected urban renewal activity substantially. The elimination of the requirement that areas be predominantly residential, either before or after redevelopment, opened the door for federal funding of civic design projects. Winnipeg took advantage of the new legislation and was successful in launching an urban renewal scheme which culminated in the acquisition and clearance of property for a Concert Hall and Theatre Centre.* Such a program, however, did nothing to alleviate the problems of hundreds of families living in sub-standard housing in the central city and, as such, it must be said that the 1964 legislation led cities to establish inappropriate priorities for renewal action.

Urban renewal legislation was established to facilitate

* These facilities were constructed within the context of the Urban Renewal Area #3. Although these plans, undertaken by a consortium of architectural firms operating under the name Coordinating Architects and Planners, called for the establishment of a large element of civic design in downtown Winnipeg, all planning activity has terminated with the input of three new public structures.

a planning exercise on the part of that unique renewal practitioner, the City Planner. Whether directed at improving residential areas or at beautifying our central business district, all renewal came to be carried out under the banner of the "urban renewal scheme." It is the scheme in its overwhelmingly physical bias which characterizes the very ethos of those involved in redevelopment projects.

An "Urban Renewal Handbook," published by the Federal Government, establishes the necessary information required for decision-making within the framework of the urban renewal scheme. This document provides for no input from the residents to be affected by the plan, but rather requires specifically outlined studies to be undertaken. Although these include social, physical and economic studies to support the renewal proposals, most emphasis is on the physical criteria for scheme development. The rigidity of the Handbook is striking in that it assumes that if specific information is provided, the planner will have won the right to significantly alter the lives of persons in renewal areas.

Given this situation the plan has often been developed first, with data collected at a later date to appear in support of it and to fulfill federal government stipulations governing qualifications for cost-sharing. In examining urban renewal reports which have been prepared for specific Canadian cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, Hamilton and Winnipeg, this seems evident. Much of the data presented in them appears as an appendage of dubious value rather than as a component of objective analysis within a planning decision-making process. The data itself is lacking in social content as the following excerpt from

the Central Hamilton Renewal Study reveals:

"This report as set out in the agreement (with the Federal Government) provides for the collection of data on physical and economic characteristics.

It is followed by the determination of specific factors such as land-use and building conditions and, from this, the establishment of a generalized plan of anticipated development and redevelopment." (1)

In 1968 the flow of federal funds to support urban renewal schemes was stopped. Such action was taken in order to redefine more appropriate policy for urban improvement. Only programs already underway were provided with federal financial support. In announcing the Federal Government's intentions the Honourable Robert Andras pointed to inadequacies in renewal practices which he stated, must be overcome before the program could continue:

"Until a more well-defined and logical long-term Canadian urban renewal policy can be formulated and enunciated, municipalities with urban renewal schemes presently in preparation will have to elect either to suspend further study or, alternatively to complete their work in the knowledge that additional Federal funds for implementation of the schemes may, or may not, be forthcoming.

That this is the only course that can be pursued has become increasingly apparent as a result of my brief but intense examination of the many and complex implications of the urban renewal process and my continuing discussions with provincial and other concerned authorities.

The need for a more definitive policy, a new and refined approach, arises out of many considerations, not the least of which are the rigid financial constraints presently imposed upon the Federal Treasury. It is just not possible for us to meet all the demands made upon us for a great number and variety of financial aids and contributions, including those for urban renewal. Individuals in low-income categories do have a priority in allocating Federal expenditures and urban renewal. As I said in an address I made recently in Vancouver'... I cannot in all conscience blindly commit the scarce resources of the Canadian people, of the taxpayers'." (2)

(1) City of Hamilton, Central Hamilton Renewal Study, p. 14

(2) Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Urban Renewal and Low-income Housing, Vol. 5, No3, p. 20

Having cut off the flow of renewal funds to municipalities, it was expected that resources would be made available to undertake necessary research for the establishment of sound renewal policies. This expectation has not been realized as research monies have not been made available in measures large enough to undertake significant experimental work. However, the Federal Government is an advocate of greater resident involvement in renewal planning, and resources will soon be made available whereby participation might be effected. We have now reached the point where legislative changes to the National Housing Act are required; and these so it seems, are imminent.

Compensation for forced taking of property to make way for urban renewal is dependent on the terms of an Expropriation Act. In Manitoba a new Act was passed in 1970 which provides a greater degree of fairness to those who must bow to the will of government authority. Prior to the passage of the revisions to the Expropriation Act, no one source existed for expropriation proceedings and principles. An individual was forced to consult several references to become familiar with expropriation law. Such a situation placed those in renewal areas at a disadvantage for they could not easily reach an understanding of the law which would establish the basis for evaluating their property. Many property owners, ignorant of the law, accepted without question amounts of compensation as formulated by the expropriating government authority.

Under the terms of the former Act no legal basis was provided for questioning the reasons for expropriation. The existence of a renewal scheme, whether adequate or not, could effect dislocation. With revisions to the Act governments must now prove that expropriation is "fair and reasonable" for a specific purpose.

Prior to Expropriation Act revisions the expropriating authority was required to send notices only to registered property owners. The notification of others having an interest in the land (e.g., lease holders) was not mandatory. Such a lack of consideration for those other than property owners reflects the degree to which urban renewal implementation centred about the game of property acquisition. In the legal intricacies of this game only property owners and long-term lease holders of business premises were participants. All others were excluded and ran the risk of being totally ignored within the context of the renewal program. With a revised Act, anyone having an interest in the land must be notified of impending expropriation. No longer must tenants depend on landlords to discover what the municipality intends to do.

Once expropriation proceedings are begun, the present Act requires the expropriating authority to proceed according to a rigidly established timetable. In this way expropriatees are familiar with what will happen and when it will happen. The former Act imposed no specific timetable and people were forever in the dark as to when the expropriating authority would act. Dates were tentative making it difficult for persons to acquire alternative accommodation.

In accordance with the terms of the former Act, the onus to establish value for property was placed on the owner. It was his responsibility to submit a price to the expropriating authority. If the owner failed to submit a price, as happened in many instances in Lord Selkirk Park, the authority presented an offer based on a report of a government appraiser. Currently, the onus to establish value rests with the government and in the event the owner himself wishes to establish value he may apply to the Land Value Appraisals Commission. Such value, however, once established is not binding on the owner. This method of establishing value is much fairer under the new Act in that the owner receives government help in establishing value.

The new Act highlights the inadequacy of compensation determination in relation to its predecessor. Before revisions, homeowners were entitled only to market value for their property as determined by comparing their homes to others of similar nature. At present, homeowners are entitled to receive "due compensation" which includes market value, disturbances, and injurious affection.*

Both the former and revised Acts fall short of providing fair compensation for forced dislocation of tenants. Neither stipulates a requirement to pay moving costs of tenants, although the new Act makes provision for payment of moving costs for homeowners. Compensation for business and residential tenants is based on the nature of the lease which is held.

Although the new Act merely states that the expropriating authority "may" provide assistance to tenants in a variety of ways, some lawyers that I have spoken to in this regard feel this may be highly important. They feel this is so because under the

* Compensation for damages caused by activity on the part of the expropriating authority which reduces the market value of the property.

former Act, which had no such provision, expropriating authorities often refused to provide assistance to tenants on the grounds that the Expropriation Act did not sanction such assistance. At least this sanction now exists.

Upon examining the Expropriation Act which was utilized in the Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal Scheme, the Provincial government determined that change was necessary. Our laws have not been adequate and yet upon them we have acted with great conviction. The case study will relate such legislation to those personally affected by it. It is hoped that by alluding to the National Housing Act and the Expropriation Act, a greater understanding of urban renewal policy and practice has been reached. Both have appeared to be lacking in terms of meeting the needs of those in renewal areas. Both have created a situation in which some people have been forced to make sacrifices for a greater community good. It is the degree to which such sacrifices have been made that is of fundamental concern to this dissertation.

PART B

RELOCATION - THE CASE STUDY

Chapter V COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS PRIOR TO URBAN RENEWAL

The present Lord Selkirk Park area, complete with large-scale public housing complex, bears little resemblance to the pre-urban renewal community which it replaced. For this reason I wish to acquaint you with the major characteristics of this earlier community in order that a better understanding of the impact of urban renewal be realized. It is also my intention to focus on the diversity of this relatively small inner city area; a diversity all but lost in the pervading institutionalism which characterizes the public housing development.

Location

The Lord Selkirk Park area or Salter-Jarvis community (as it was known prior to renewal) is situated at the southern extremity of the City's North End. The very term "North End" conjures up a host of connotations for Winnipeggers in reflecting upon this geographic and socially distinctive part of the City. Cut off from the remainder of the City by the great barrier, the Canadian Pacific Railway Yards, the North End is Winnipeg's "wrong" side of the tracks. The isolation of this part of the City is easily identified when one notes the few access points (see plate # 1) to it. Entry to the North End must be gained through penetration of railway facilities. Collectively, the railway and associated industries rigidly demarcate this sector of the City. Collectively, the railway and associated industries cast shadows of blackness over all that lies along it. It is in this context that we find, and may now define, Lord Selkirk Park. Contiguous to the C.P.R. with cornerstone being the railway underpass on Main Street, we

PLATE I
RENEWAL LOCATIONS



move westward along the northern shore of the railway yard to Salter, north on Salter to Selkirk Avenue, and south on Main Street to the CP Main line, in order to define our area.

What is - A Product of What Was - A Need for Historical Perceptions

The evolutionary process of growth and decline for the Lord Selkirk Park may be, in miniature, the reflection of a birth-death life cycle of the North End itself. The same symptoms of deteriorating homes, influx of minority groups, and housing takeover by absentee owners, are evident in the larger community. Causal to such emerging physical and social disorganization are many factors. It is hoped that a brief history will elucidate some of these and heighten our familiarity with the Lord Selkirk Park area on the eve of urban renewal.

The genesis of the North End and, indeed Winnipeg itself, is found in the early development of the Point Douglas area. This part of the City lies immediately to the east of the Salter-Jarvis community, separated from it by Main Street. Both areas are bounded on the north by the Canadian Pacific Railway; a facility of great impact in the development of the North End. When in 1886 this railway provided transcontinental service, Winnipeg truly became the "gateway to the west". Industry developed along inner-city trackage and the same transportation service which attracted a diversity of firms, so also carried the immigrant labour to operate them.

Like Point Douglas, the pre-1900 Salter-Jarvis area was predominantly Anglo-Saxon. Many of the early settlers had

either emigrated from Britain or had simply moved westward from Ontario. The Henderson Directory for 1900 exposes this Anglo-Saxon ethnic dominance and further identifies the fact that most bread-winners were employed by the railway or the industries in proximity to it.

In order to establish an historical term of reference I refer to the general characteristics of the City of 1896. With a population of some 35,000, Winnipeg stretched from Point Douglas to the Assiniboine and Armstrong Park with suburban villages at St. John's, St. James, and Fort Rouge. Between Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine a prime residential district evolved, characterized by brick houses on large lots. No mention is made of the Salter-Jarvis community, for prior to 1900 only a ribbon of settlement along the railway had been developed.

Maps depicting the physical characteristics of Winnipeg prior to the turn of the century, allude to a sizeable City of extensive road networks linking a host of subdivisions. But the early maps are more of illusion than reality. And the reason, easily identified, is greed. When in the early 1880's it appeared likely that Winnipeg would be flooded by those seeking their fortunes in the Canadian West, most of the land in the Winnipeg area was purchased and hastily subdivided to accommodate this anticipated population increase. The North End, for example, and the land between the railway and Notre Dame, was sliced up into small properties related to a grid-pattern street system. However, as the property owners awaited population increase, it was slow to develop. The minor land boom which had instigated

subdivision weakened and virtually died. The City on paper waited for people that were not to arrive in appreciable number until the turn of the century. But the tragedy had been perpetrated in the legal creation of a sea of narrow lots.

Between 1900 and 1911 the City's population grew from 42,000 to 140,000. In the context of this growth period the real development of the Salter-Jarvis community took place. Houses were fitted onto twenty-five foot lots and adjacent industry created the impression of a factory town. Smoke and noise wedded people and houses; an unholy alliance from the start. With development and the encroachment of Central European immigrants the Anglo-Saxon content of the population diminished. The first inner-city migration occurred as people moved to the more affluent southern areas of the City. By 1910 the North End had become the haven of the immigrant worker. It soon transformed into a community whose main ethnic features were of Slavic and Jewish origin. The construction of synagogues and the establishment of an Orthodox Church on Jarvis, confirmed the transition.

In physical terms the Salter-Jarvis area filled in with houses on the heels of the provision of sewer and water services. For the most part, the installation of such services, along with the construction of pavements, was completed by 1910. The area now had a specific identity; its place in the City demarcated by a wide Main Street and the Canadian Pacific Railway Subway which facilitated north-south traffic movement in 1904. In reflecting upon the dominance of the Subway, Main Street, and the railway, the residential community of which I speak has

always been, in a sense, dominated by physical factors which have tended to "overwhelm" it.

Following World War I, appreciable industrial development along the railway took place. Hemmed in between houses and tracks an area of small firms, mostly junkyards, emerged. It was not long before industry and housing stock began to intermingle in the absence of industrial nuisance control. In a search for scarce sites required for business expansion, entrepreneurs purchased houses. A process of deterioration began, slowly at first, but nevertheless evident.

During the 1920's the adverse affects of industrial expansion went unnoticed, as the Salter-Jarvis community shared in the frivolity of the "Era of the Flapper". In the winter skating rinks appeared on every vacant lot to complement a host of sporting activities. Considerable interplay was established between this community and North Point Douglas, where the Sutherland Mission*facilitated a wide range of indoor sports. Shopping services also emerged as a factor of neighbourhood solidarity. By this I mean that the scatteration of small stores and the concentration of shopping facilities on Selkirk Avenue, to the West of this community, were of neighbourhood scale and character. Selkirk Avenue, for example, to this day emulates the feeling one derives from being on Main Street, small town, Western Canada. Shops are small, fronting on a relatively narrow street. In the early days, more so than now, Selkirk Avenue was the street on which to meet old friends, to mill about with concentrations of people, to feel a vibrancy of life not far from one's own home. Movie houses, a variety

* A United Church establishment which was, in effect, a Community Centre for the area.

PLATE 2
 PREDOMINANT LAND USES



SMALL RETAIL
 INDUSTRIAL, WHOLESALING
 AND WAREHOUSING
 SINGLE FAMILY HOMES
 APARTMENTS



SALIER

ST.

ST.

ST.

of stores, barber shops, banks, offices; all in scale; all contributory to feelings of security, familiarity, and importance. A community turned towards Selkirk for enjoyment and the necessities of life, could ignore through this perspective, the dirt and noise of the railway.

From prosperity to impoverishment; the Depression came. Winnipeg was one of the hardest hit cities in Canada for the Depression was aggravated by years of drought. In the Depression homes deteriorated as owners lost the capacity to maintain them. But in these years of economic need, the Salter-Jarvis area developed a community spirit, born of the commonality of poverty. Ukrainians, Poles, Germans and Jews faced hard economic times together.

Many Winnipeggers best remember the Salter-Jarvis area for its outdoor market which developed on Main Street, between Flora and Stella in the early 30's. Like the charisma of Selkirk Avenue, the market also held a unique quality. It brought farmer and urban dweller into direct contact, each touching the other's problems in a time of difficulty. The Market was a re-establishment of the European market-place; a familiar link with the past that many needed. In a world of many negatives, it offered relief. The market attracted a wide assortment of stores and shops which chose to locate in empty stables. These inter-related stores selling fish, meat, and fruit strengthened the market. Customers came from virtually every part of the City. To outsiders the Market became the Salter-Jarvis area. The row of stores to the west of the Market obstructed one's view of the residential community. A visit to the community of immigrant aliens became exciting.

In attempting to engender some sensitivity for the development of the Salter-Jarvis area, I discussed the history of this community with Mr. Morry Zelig, an early resident of the area who was associated with the market since its inception. Mr. Zelig recalls the community enthusiasm, the activity, the neighbourliness of the area, with great pleasure. The market was a place of mutually reinforcing friends, a place where business could be conducted with trust and informality. Of the residential community Mr. Zelig comments that "it was a good area to be poor in". He identifies the advent of the Second World War as the turning point towards adversity in the Salter-Jarvis area.

In the industrial activity of a war economy the evils of the proximity of factory and home became evident. Houses grew shabby and with general prosperity following the war, many residents looked for greener fields.

A former City of Winnipeg Health Inspector, Mr. Manley Steiman, recalls the condemnation of a number of houses in the Salter-Jarvis area just following the War. He cites Jarvis Avenue itself as being, undoubtedly, the worst street in the entire City. In speaking of the market, Mr. Steiman alludes to the related businesses behind it, which in the mid 40's appeared in need of major renovation. He speaks of the people as either being locked into poverty conditions or seeking escape from the area. It is at this point that we must bear in mind the fact that portions of the Salter-Jarvis community did not lose their viability. Whereas slum conditions were manifest in the southern portions of the community, close to industry, the northern portions of the area were characterized by a relatively well-maintained housing stock. It is clear, however,

through the vision of Mr. Steiman that slum conditions had infiltrated the area prior to 1950.

During the 1950's Winnipeg, like most other cities, experienced migration to the suburbs. For the Salter-Jarvis area this meant, firstly, an out-migration of Jewish people. Others followed. Those who could afford it, left. This was especially true of those who resided between Jarvis and Dufferin. In the wake of this migration deterioration continued, aggravated by increases in slum landlordism.

In the ten years prior to 1960 approximately three-quarters of the Jewish families had vacated the area. Houses became hovels and landlords fed on the ill-informed Indian and Metis people who found accommodation in the area. Welfare rates soared with almost every family on Jarvis Avenue being in receipt of welfare payments. Slum conditions seemed contained by Dufferin Avenue, but signs of neglect were also appearing in isolated northern parts of the area.

In 1959 the Manitoba Vegetable, Potato Growers' Association decided to seek a change in the location of the market. Following a land trade with the City of Winnipeg it relocated to a suburban location, ending an era in the North End. Mr. Zeilig, and others, opposed the move but to no avail. In 1960 the emptiness which was the market bore testimony to the pangs of community decline. A once proud working class neighbourhood had become, at least in part, a ghetto of squalor and neglect. Remedial action was required to solve a host of social problems and to effect a return to community solidarity.

Community Characteristics on the Eve of Urban Renewal

As a student, in the summer of 1960, I conducted, personally, a survey of the Salter-Jarvis area while employed by the Winnipeg School Division. The impressions of that summer are firmly registered upon my mind. I recall a Jarvis, crowded with filthy children playing in the streets, noses running, faces bruised, following me down the street, talking to the stranger asking many questions.

In physical appearance Jarvis Avenue did not surprise me. It was the slum I had expected; but the apprehension I felt in anticipation of entering all of the homes proved unwarranted. People were friendly and warm. They knew their neighbours, were concerned about their children and displayed a hospitality that one rarely finds in the impersonality of an urban milieu. Jarvis was more than met the eye. It, too, was a community, perhaps maintained by the commonality of poverty. A feeling of collectivism was still evident especially among the remaining Ukrainians. On Jarvis was the residue of a vital neighbourhood. Those seeking anonymity, or cheap rents, or psychologically too demoralized to give a damn, shared a little understood niche in what outsiders labelled a "slum".

Jarvis Avenue had festered into the sore it was in the early 60's, over a rather lengthy period of time. In many ways the vitality of the Main Street Market was a facade, behind which change went unnoticed. To the passerby, in those years prior to urban renewal, the Salter-Jarvis community was a part of the City, only touched, never really felt. To the insider it was diverse, old, stigmatized by the larger community, and changing in a way that nurtured apprehension, unfairly. Jarvis Avenue came to

characterize the area. Its notoriety degraded the larger Salter-Jarvis community, much of which had defied decline.

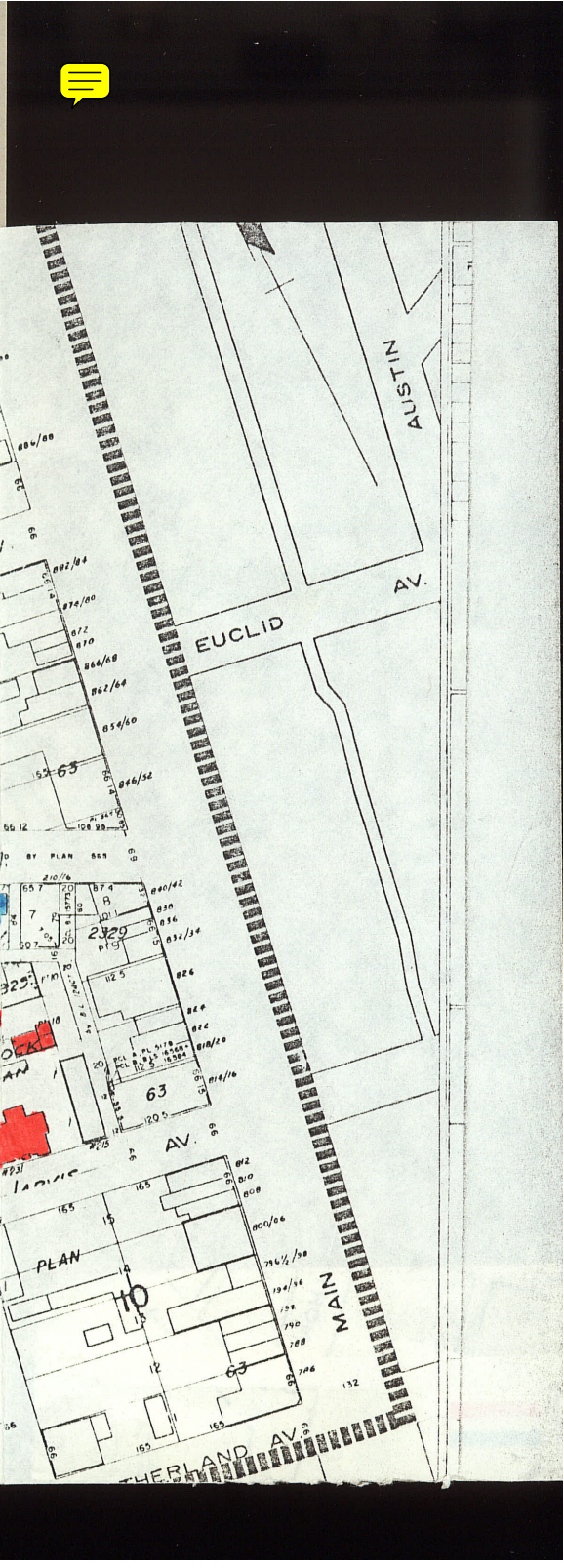
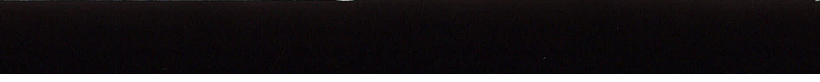
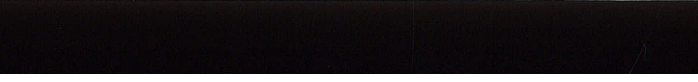
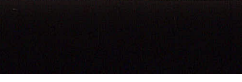
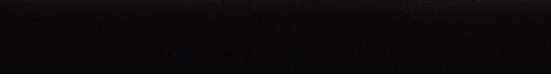
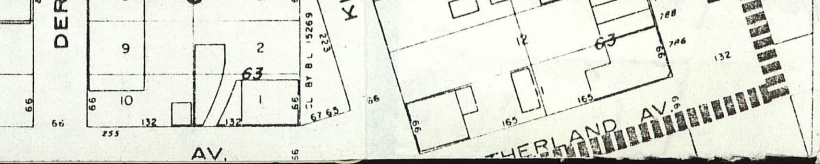
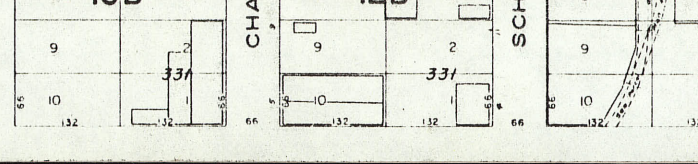
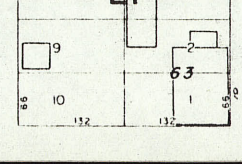
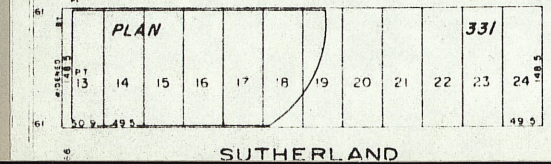
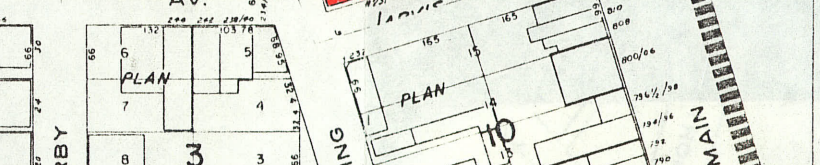
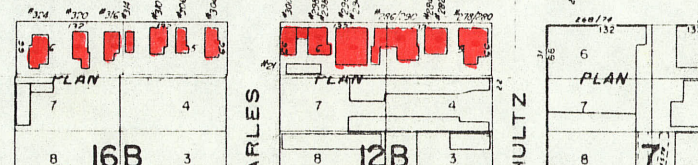
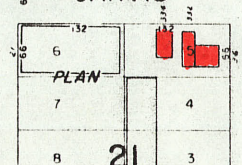
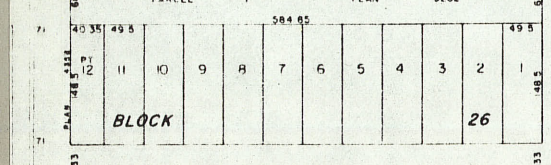
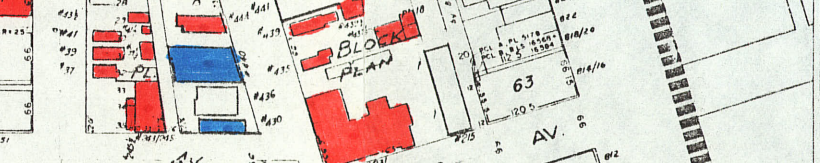
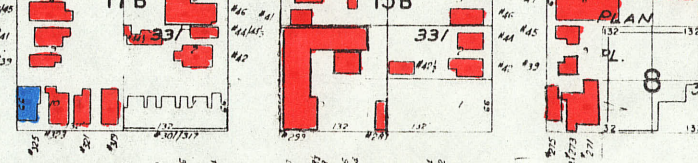
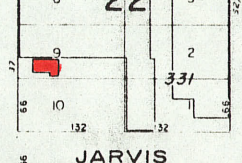
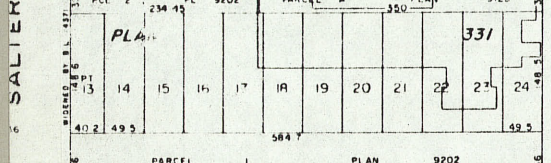
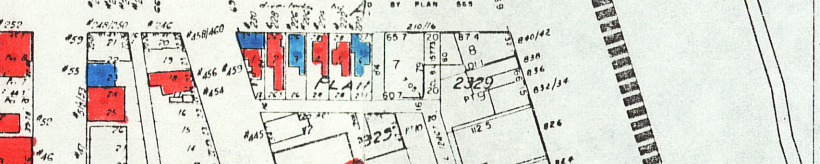
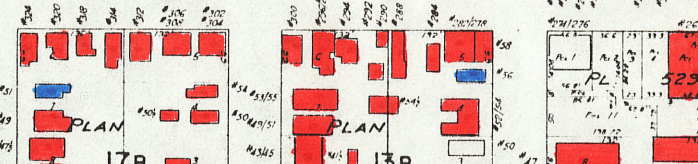
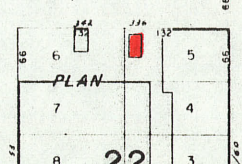
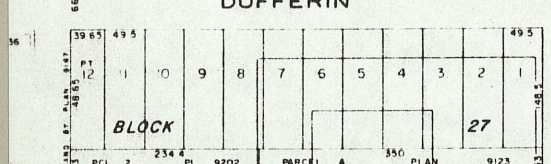
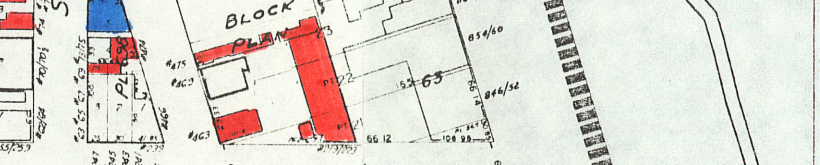
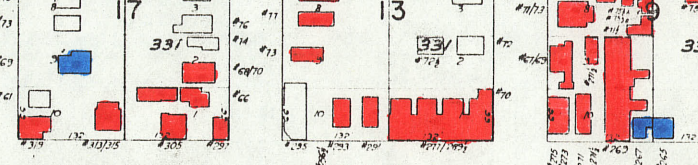
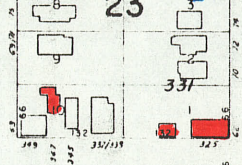
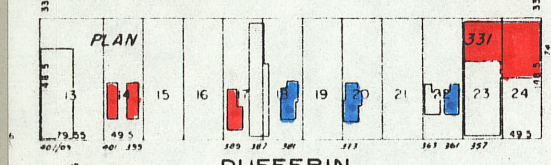
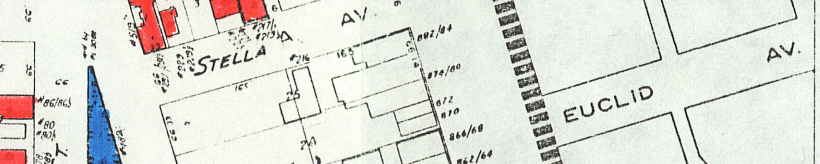
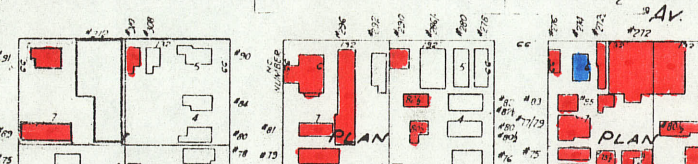
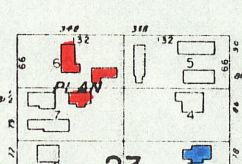
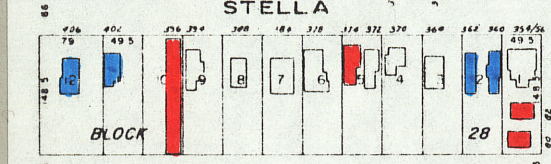
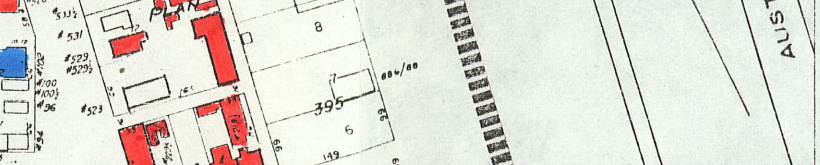
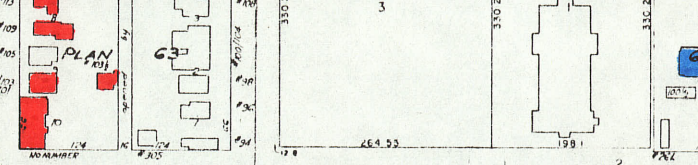
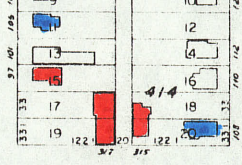
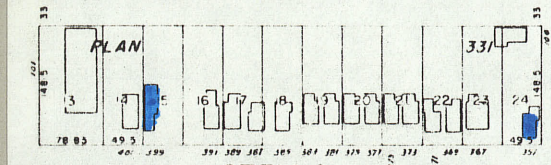
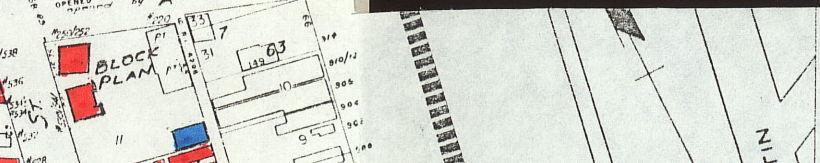
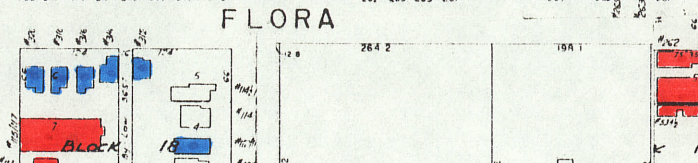
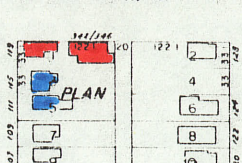
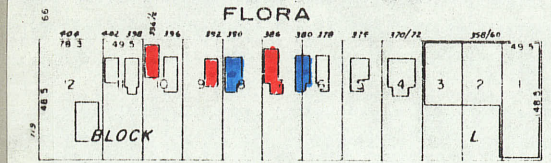
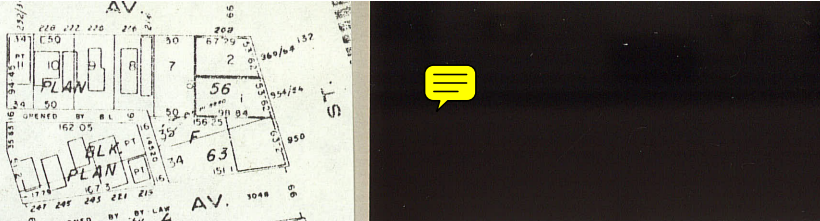
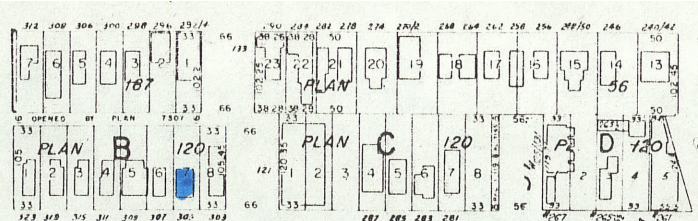
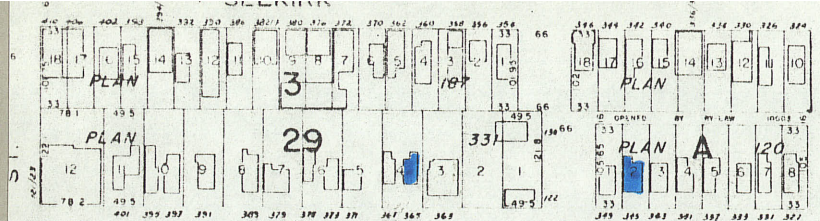
The diversity of activity in this by-gone community is striking. A fifty acre area held a range of industry, commercial establishments, a veritable pot pourri of small shops, outdoor market, schools, churches, synagogues and houses of many sizes, shapes and conditions. Age and decay were evident, but so also was pride in home. In its diversity from industry to dwelling, from slum to well-maintained neighbourhood, the Salter-Jarvis area was a reflection of incongruity and ambivalence. In its range of land uses it was perhaps the most unique sector of the City, devoid of the singularity of suburbia in its association with an earlier City form.

The Salter-Jarvis community was, in reality, composed of a number of related parts. To understand or perceive of the totality of the area, some appreciation of these diverse elements is required. For purposes of area identification reference should be made to Plate # 2 . The parts of the total community of the early 1960's include:

1) Between Dufferin and the Canadian Pacific Railway

This area was the most severely blighted sector of the entire City. Scrap yards and other forms of heavy industry were crowded between Sutherland and the railway. Most industrial premises appeared old and dilapidated. For the most part, industries operated without restrictions.

Adjacent, and at times intermingled with industry, lay a wedge of homes squeezed between Jarvis and Dufferin to the north. This portion of the area may be broken into two segments. That to the west of Schultz had not been significantly encroached upon by industry, although houses on Jarvis Avenue were markedly deteriorated. Here, local stores developed to serve the immediate community. Although, worse for its years, the existence of a residential community was manifest. No such community was evident east of Schultz, except in some of the antiquated apartment blocks. I say this in recollection of the Gunn block, situated on Jarvis



and Derby where residents knew each other and depended on each other for support. In this part of the area apartments, single family homes, warehouses, factories, hotel and abandoned synagogue all wore the mask of neglect.

In physical condition, few structures south of Dufferin displayed immunity from blight. A process of deterioration, too long untreated, had all but run its course.

2) Dufferin Avenue

Dufferin Avenue acted as a local service centre for the Salter-Jarvis community. A variety of shops, from second-hand stores to barber shops, engendered internalized activity. The local appeal of Dufferin contrasted the more regional identification of Selkirk Avenue. Dufferin was vital to the community in that its stores were reflective of low-income demands and limitations. Many store owners on this street, for example, established business and residence at the same address. Operating a small business, in this unique area free of large retail stores, was still possible.

Dufferin Avenue, in its width and relief from industrial activity, became a barrier between the southern slum and the residential community to the north. In many ways it obstructed the process of deterioration from massive entry to much of the area's housing stock.

3) Dufferin to Selkirk

The northern sector of the area was identified as two distinct enclaves. To the east of King Street were found remnants of the firms which had been allies of the market. These operated primarily as wholesalers with retail business almost non-existent since market relocation. All were in need of renovation. Main Street, vacant between Flora and Stella, grinned with the cavity which such relocation had caused. It still maintained some viability, however, through hotels, restaurants, and a host of other business establishments. But the life's blood of business potential was noticeably drained in the debacle that market closure was. Built upon it, interdependences had been developed to foster collective growth.

To the west of King Street, between Dufferin and Selkirk, existed a residential community replete with a number of small stores. A few businesses were also interspersed amongst the homes, with encroachment of non-residential activity visible in increasing proportions as one moved eastward from Robinson Street. The area was small-of-scale but lively.

Houses were in appreciably better condition to the north of Dufferin Avenue. The best housing was found between Flora and Selkirk. Along the totality of the west half of Robinson Street, houses were indeed substantial and well-maintained. They compared favourably to those of Selkirk Avenue, garnished with elements of newness like a small butcher shop and maintenance characterized by a doctor's office. Directly to the north of this soon-to-be-declared urban renewal area stood, as proudly as it stands today, the Holy Ghost Church and School. This School accommodated many children of the Salter-Jarvis community. It taught one that religion and the language of the old world had meaning and relevance.

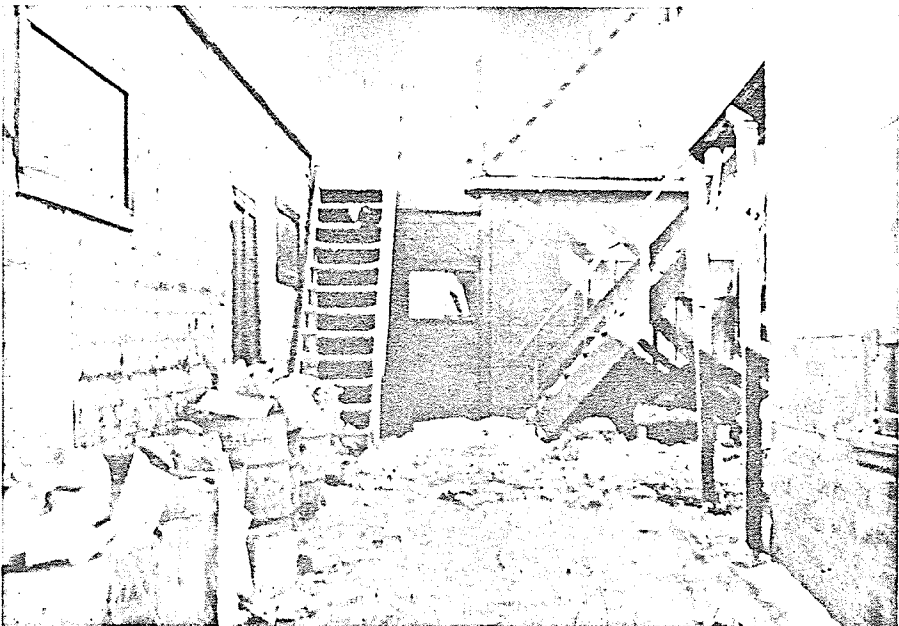
In this northern sector of the area, home ownership was much more prevalent. Even in the early 60's many of the inhabitants of this part of the City were recent arrivals to Canada. To these people the area, with its older homes, provided opportunity for home purchases. In the Salter-Jarvis community adaptation to a Canadian life-style came easier. It was possible to communicate in one's mother tongue with local shopkeepers conversant in a number of languages.

To the north of Dufferin, residents also enjoyed a park, that of Lord Selkirk. It was relief in a sea of buildings. To children, it offered an alternative to playing on the streets. In contrast, no such park existed between Dufferin and the C.P.R. Here, children's play areas consisted of vacant buildings, the C.P.R. yard itself, and the myriads of piled and scattered rusting metal; the crest of the scrap industry. Perhaps children require both types of play area. In the eyes of a child which would be an amenity?

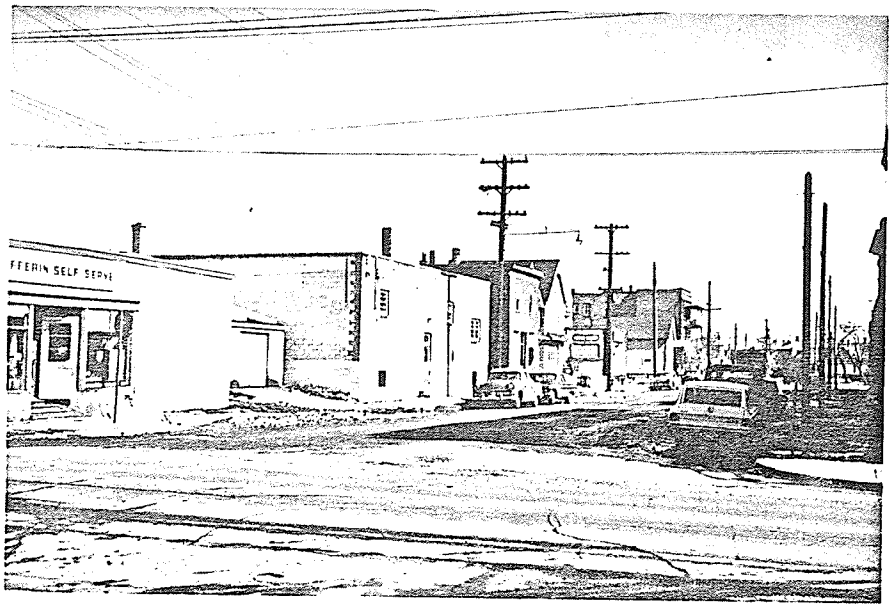
From slum to sound community, from industry to single-family home, the Salter-Jarvis community was diversity personified. Hated by those who felt entrapment by financial limitations which obstructed escape, revered by others finding familiarity in this unique niche of the City, the Planner sought definition to ambivalence.

To the eye, community characterization appeared simple enough. A "condition of Buildings map" gave exposure to deterioration and "blight", as planning rhetoric would have it. An image of decay, of withering on the vine, alluded to no metaphorical balance between the dark illusions of Poe and the crisp perceptions

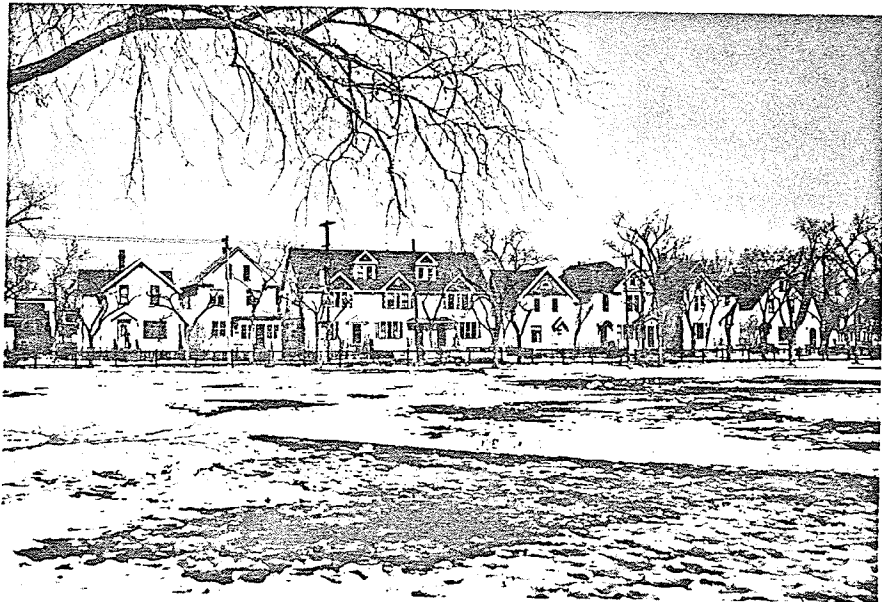
which illuminated even the most collid Wordsworthian Town. The machinations of a harnessed mind, opulent in technical knowledgeabilities, freed itself (apparently) of sensibilities dangerous to objectivity. As insensate as such a portrayal appears, such stoicism is further reinforced by the benign quality of that objectivity. Bastardized to form by the intellectual debauchery inherent in allegiance to a middle-class intent on reaching impotence through conformity, a permeated middleness, a penetrating mediocrity transforms objectivity to conditioned objective. How then does the Planner measure fear of government on the part of people waiting for the Plan? How then do factors of anomie, friendship, familiarity, discrimination, and inability or mere refusal to fit into a world of competition bear on planning decisions? A conditioned objective seeks only a palliative. A true curative demands exposure of the real problem thereby facilitating the application of real solutions. In such ambition is the necessity for change and herein lies the problem. Steeped of an ethos bred in industrial revolution and prone to the acceptance of control in confusion with order, communities are characterized through buildings, our people through overt actions. We are equipped only to forage for superficial images, never to embrace a vision. I am overwhelmed by the plethora of evidence, denoting community instability, but who is to elaborate on Morry Zeilig's personal conclusion, "It was a good area to be poor in?"



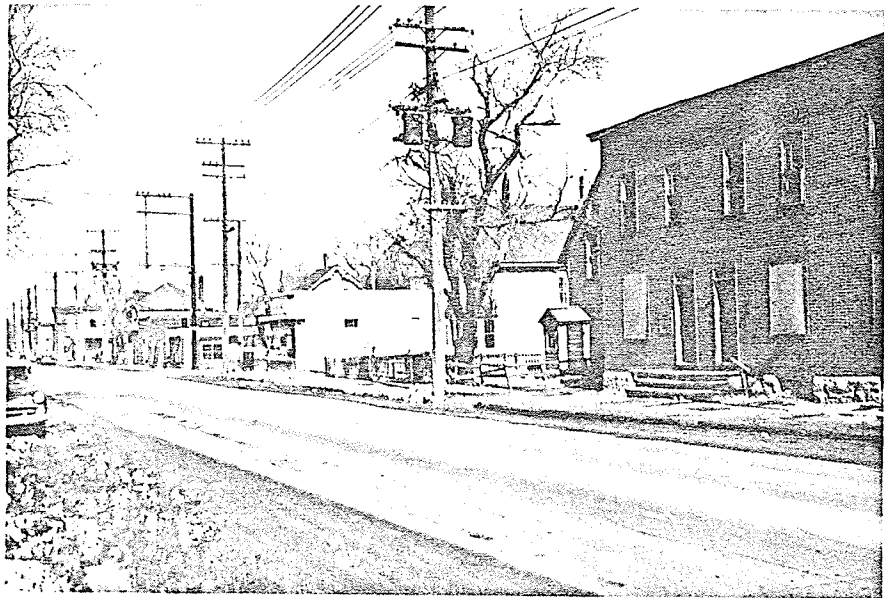




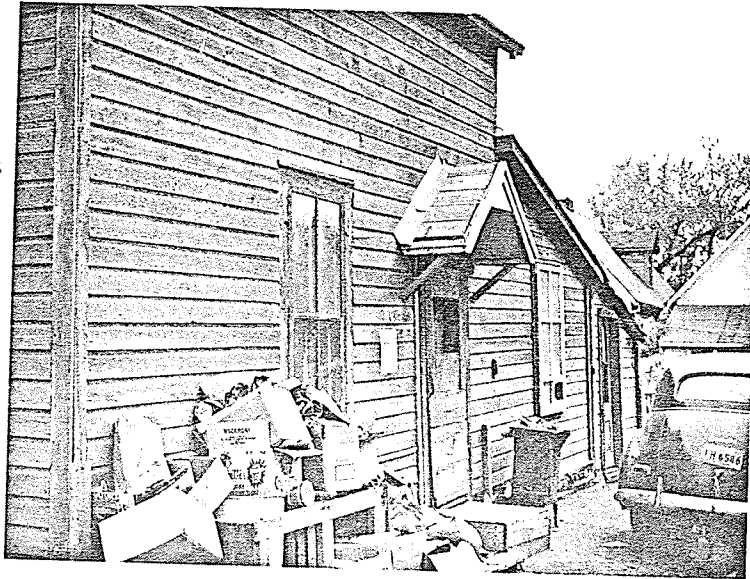
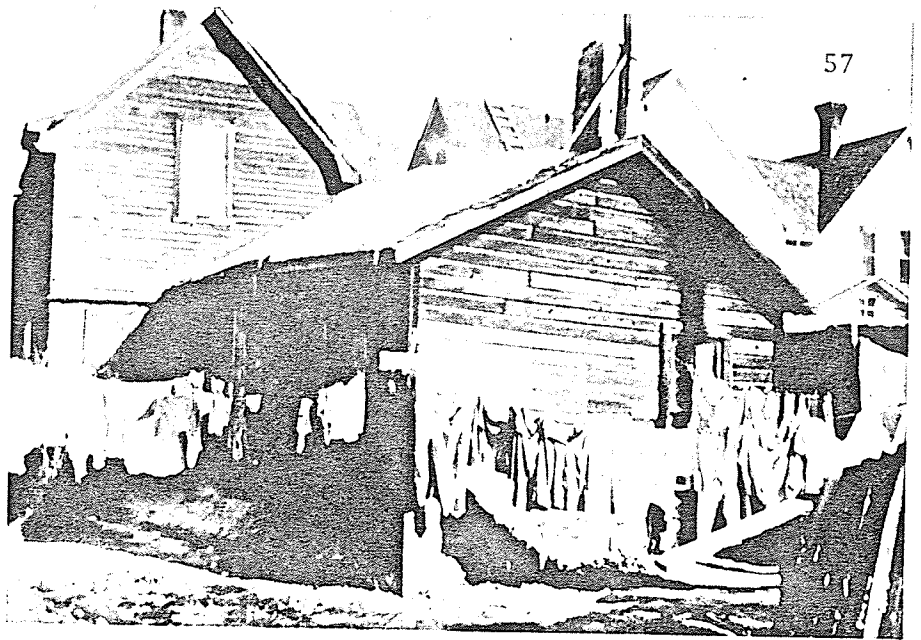
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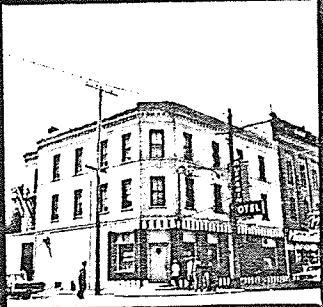


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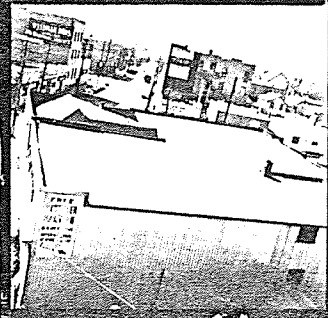


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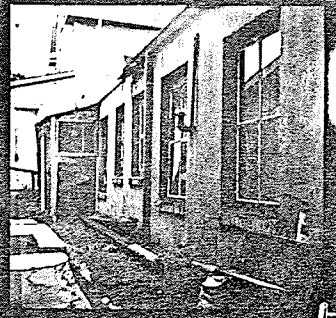
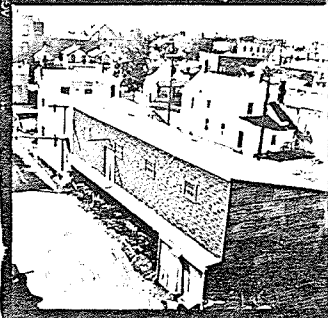
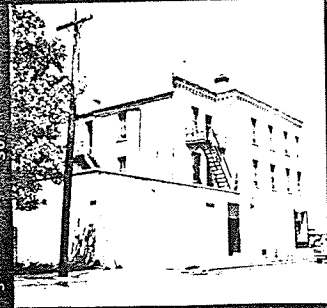
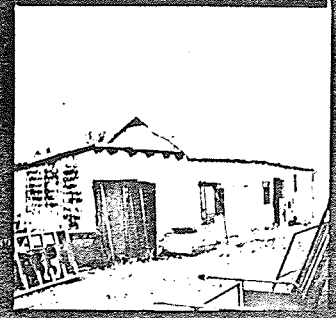




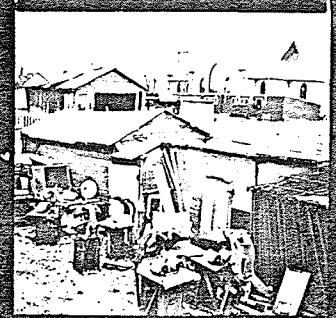
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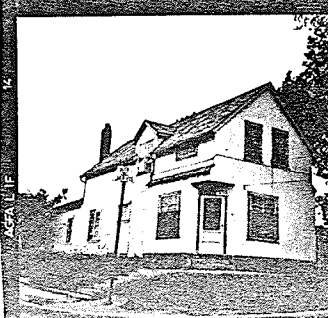
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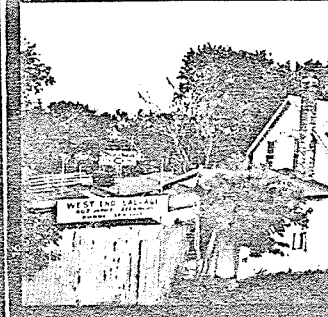
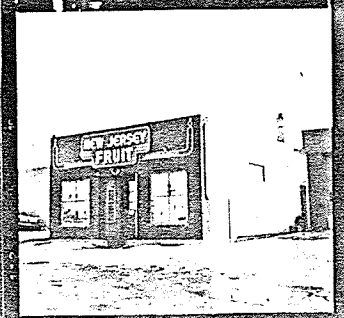


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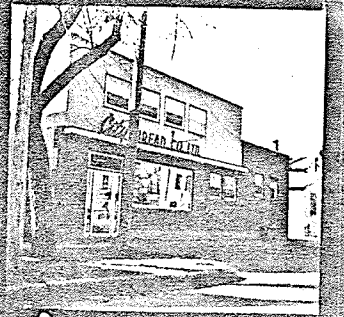


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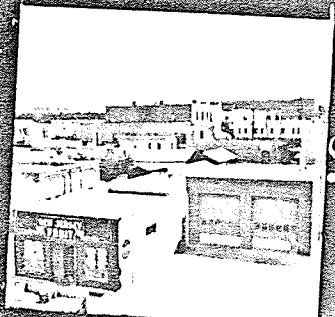
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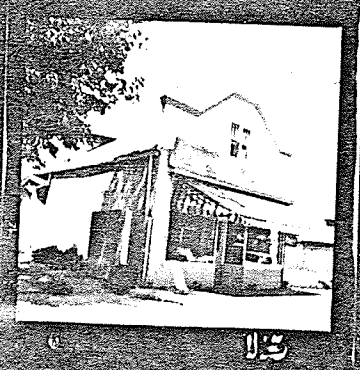
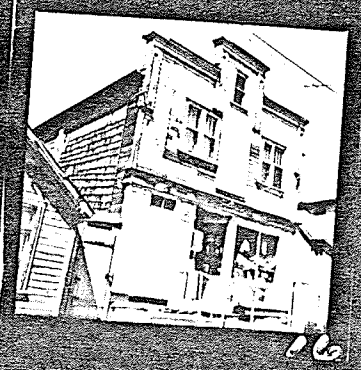
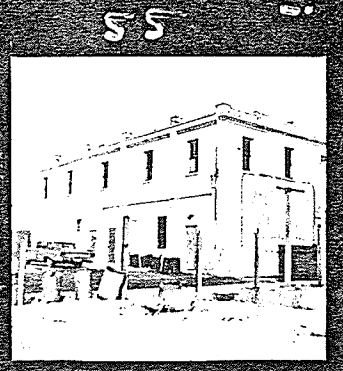
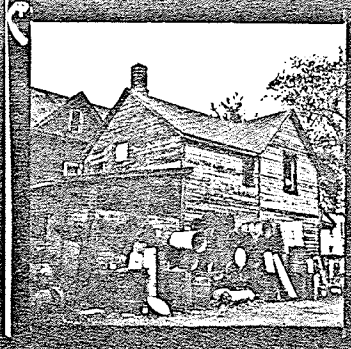
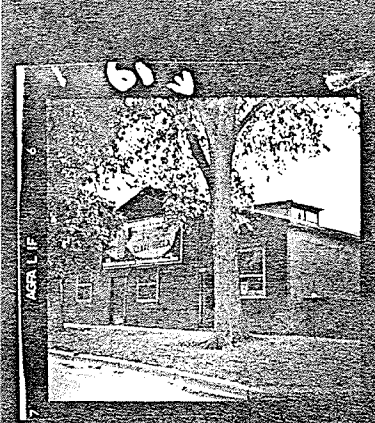
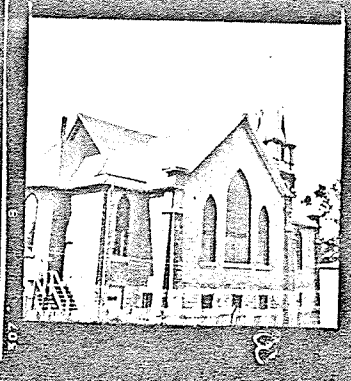
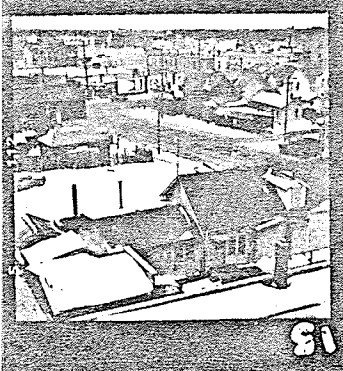
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During the course of the Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal Scheme, social surveys were conducted in order to determine the number of relocatcees to be contended with. Information from these surveys and data obtained from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, provide a composite characterization of the Lord Selkirk Park population.

In total, some 3,000 persons resided in the Salter-Jarvis area. *Of these, approximately 2,000 were adults and 1,000 under the age of twenty-one. Some 350 persons in the area were senior citizens over the age of sixty-five. With approximately 1,000 households, the average household size was 3.0 persons

Nearly half of the population was Central European in origin with the next largeŝ ethnic groups of British and German background. The Indian content of the population was approximately ten percent. By the mid 60's the Jewish element of the population had declined to less than three percent. Most Jewish people resided in the northern sector of the area, above Dufferin Avenue, whereas most of the Indian families sought the cheap rents of the area to the south of Dufferin. In looking at the geographical distribution of Jewish and Indian inhabitants, areas of relative affluence and squalor are exposed respectively. With the infiltration of Indian families came community conflict. Differences in life-styles, reflected in attitudes toward work and constancy, engendered flagrant forms of discrimination towards Indians. Nowhere was conflict more evident than in the meeting of Indian and Ukrainian; a meeting of cultures almost diametrically opposed. As Indian families moved into the area, those of European origin left.

* Based on 1961 Census Data

In the early 60's median incomes in the Salter-Jarvis community stood at just over \$3,000.00; an amount coincidental with the poverty line income for a three person family of this time period. Low income was a characteristic of most families in the community. It was especially prevalent among tenants. For those on welfare, incomes supported a subsistence life-style with complete absence of luxuries. Humiliating voucher systems further added to the disenchantment and feelings of oppression experienced by those trapped in the welfare system.

Approximately seventy-five percent of the households in the Lord Selkirk Park area were tenants. Surveys in the early stages of the project expose the fact that 59% of the households were self-supporting and 41% in receipt of some form of social assistance. Information for later stages of the project, pertaining to households north of Dufferin, reveals that 79% of these were self-supporting. Families most economically depressed, undoubtedly resided south of Dufferin Avenue.

As we proceed to the case study. I wish to promote reflection on the comments of others, alluding to community social characteristics. A recognition of the need to confront social problems was by no means absent.

Prior to the execution of urban renewal, a sample survey of the Lord Selkirk Park community was carried out. Based upon it, impressions of the community, in social terms, were formulated:

" The interviews showed clearly that there is a group of people in the area whose condition cannot be remedied by improvement in housing conditions alone. Many of this group are seasonally employed or are unemployable and they live in filthy surroundings. Until recently, this group had been confined to an area on Jarvis Avenue, but the survey revealed that they are moving into the area north

of Jarvis Avenue and causing concern to the families living there.

There is no doubt that this group of families could not be moved into new housing. Some older adequate accommodation will be required to provide a "half way house" where these families can be under supervision and given the opportunity, instruction and encouragement to improve. Those who do improve, can then be transferred to new housing where they will have opportunity for further improvement.

It must be emphasized that there are many families living in this area through force of circumstances and not from choice. Low income, seasonal employment and the inability of large families to find a rental home were frequent reasons given. It was interesting to note that many of these families exercised strict control over their children and are doing all they can to prevent them from being influenced by the demoralizing effect of their present environment.

There are a small number of old age pensioners living in this area whose needs should not be overlooked when redevelopment is being considered. They prefer this area as it is close to lower-priced stores and to the public library and downtown parks where they find their recreation.

In all, 173 families were interviewed, of these 130 were tenants and 43 owned their homes. 43 families were receiving social assistance of some kind and 27 were receiving Unemployment Insurance."⁽¹⁾

Further, in 1962, the Provincial Government, through experience in conducting an experimental social service program in the Salter-Jarvis area, gave its characterization of social concerns:

"A significant number of people were having numerous social and economic problems, lacking in effective welfare services, as well as being confronted with the uncertain and dislocating aspects of urban renewal. There was a compelling need by those charged and concerned with the welfare of these people, to stimulate a unified community approach to the problems created or compounded by these forces as well as attending to the needs of multi-problem families resident in the area." ⁽²⁾

These people, their living conditions, and the manner in which urban renewal affected them, are also of concern to this dissertation.

(1) Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation Board, Urban Renewal Study #5, 1960, p. 12.

(2) Community Development and Multi-Service Operations, The HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SALTER-JARVIS PROJECT 1965, p.6

With, it is hoped, some feeling for the area and its residents, we are prepared to consider the case study.

CHAPTER V I

THE LORD SELKIRK PARK URBAN RENEWAL SCHEME

The genesis of the Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal Scheme dates back to the period of 1958 - 61. It was during this time that the City's Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation Board delineated a number of areas for purposes of possible renewal action. Lord Selkirk Park was one such area. In the examination of specific segments of the community it was decided that the C.P.R. - Notre Dame area should be established as the starting point for renewal. However, it soon became evident that the key requisite for renewal action, the acquisition of the Midland Railway, would involve a lengthy process of study and negotiations. On the basis of this factor attention focussed on Lord Selkirk Park. It seemed to represent less difficulties and soon became Winnipeg's first urban renewal venture.

Initial redevelopment planning activity in Lord Selkirk Park was characterized by two main elements embodied in 1) the formulation of a slum clearance program, and 2) the development of a public housing project. In 1961 City Council authorized civic administrators to approach the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation for assistance in the construction of a public housing project at Burrows-Keewatin. The project was to be built on vacant land on the periphery of the north-west sector of the City. Plate # 1 depicts the Lord Selkirk Park Renewal area and the site of the housing project, established to rehouse displaced families. Availability of land was the key determinate of site location since other more encumbered land would have delayed a slum clearance program whose initiation depended on plans for alternative accommodation.

Cost-sharing agreements for the "slum clearance" program itself were signed by the three participant governments in 1962 and 1963. The cost-sharing agreements which paved the way for the clearance program were, interestingly enough, signed in the absence of a "redevelopment" plan. Government authorization was based on the understanding that redevelopment proposals would be submitted by the City of Winnipeg within a period of two years.

In May of 1963 expropriation, based on the narrow physical parameters of a slum clearance program, was begun. Following the passage of the expropriation by-law the City began a study of the social and economic conditions for each household to be affected by urban renewal. The results of the survey were to be utilized to expedite the relocation of families displaced from the initial stage of the renewal area. No contact was made with households prior to the passage of the by-law.

Having legally authorized the right of forced taking of property, the Housing and Urban Renewal Department was made responsible for relocation. However, at this time no relocation policy or program had been considered. It was simply recommended that the urban renewal scheme proceed in three or four stages and, in terms of implementation, the following statement was made: "It is important not to expropriate an area of land greater than can be appraised, paid for, and cleared within a reasonable time." Even in terms of timing the program was geared to no social criteria.

Specific consideration for the needs of those dislocated became the function of the "Supervisor of Relocation and Special

Services." This individual identified the need to provide information to residents concerning the way in which they would be affected by the Urban Renewal Scheme. He also attempted to determine the actual rehousing requirements of those involved although the proposed Burrows-Keewatin Housing Project was the only rehousing resource available. It was determined, even at that time, that only 71 households out of a total of 387 were eligible for public housing within the first stage of the project.

Relative to relocation considerations in the early part of the renewal scheme, mention should be made of two social agencies. In 1963 it appeared that an important social resource would emerge in the Lord Selkirk Park area. At that time the Provincial Department of Health and Social Services began planning for a multi-service delivery system in the community. Besides concentrating on the total needs of multi-problem families through the co-operative efforts of public and private social agencies, a community development program was to be initiated.

In terms of providing total services to specific families the multi-service agency realized success. Those families in greatest distress were provided with the necessary supports to overcome dislocation. Some, in fact, were relocated to housing which was expropriated and scheduled for demolition at a later date. This was done in order to place families within proximity of the agency which established itself within the community. It must be noted, however, that this agency responded only to the relocation problems of a relatively few "multi-problem" families * and not to the total relocation needs of the community.

* Families identified by the Provincial Government as requiring diverse forms of social assistance.



City of Winnipeg

NOTICE TO OCCUPANTS OF EXPROPRIATION

TO _____

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

TAKE NOTICE that The City of Winnipeg, by its By-law numbered 18983, enacted March 16, 1964, has expropriated certain lands (including the lands hereinafter described) for the purposes of an urban renewal project under section 23 of the National Housing Act, 1954, (Canada), as part of a sectional town planning scheme;

AND TAKE NOTICE that The City of Winnipeg intends to proceed with the work of acquiring the said lands for said purposes and has authorized its proper officers to do all things necessary to acquire title to the said lands in the name of The City of Winnipeg by expropriation proceedings in accordance with the provisions of The Winnipeg Charter, 1956;

AND TAKE NOTICE that plans showing the said lands to be so acquired, and a certified copy of said By-law numbered 18983, have been filed with the undersigned and may be inspected by you at the offices of the City Clerk, Civic Office Building, King Street at William Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba;

AND TAKE NOTICE that you are hereby required to file at the office of the City Clerk, Civic Office Building, King Street at William Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, within sixty (60) days from the service of this notice upon you, any claim which you may have or be entitled to by reason of lands taken and/or injuriously affected by the said acquisition and expropriation under said By-law numbered 18983, showing the amount of such claim;

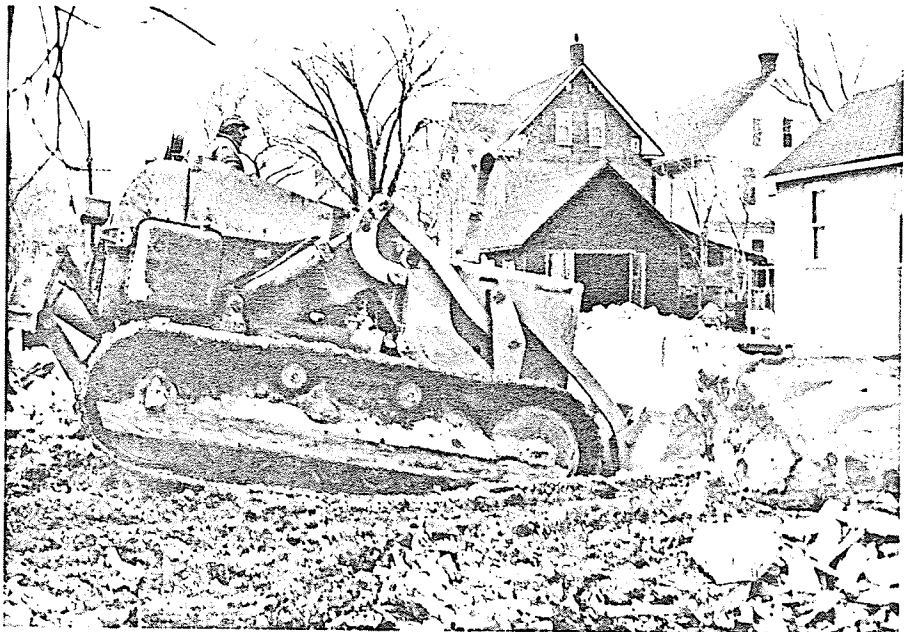
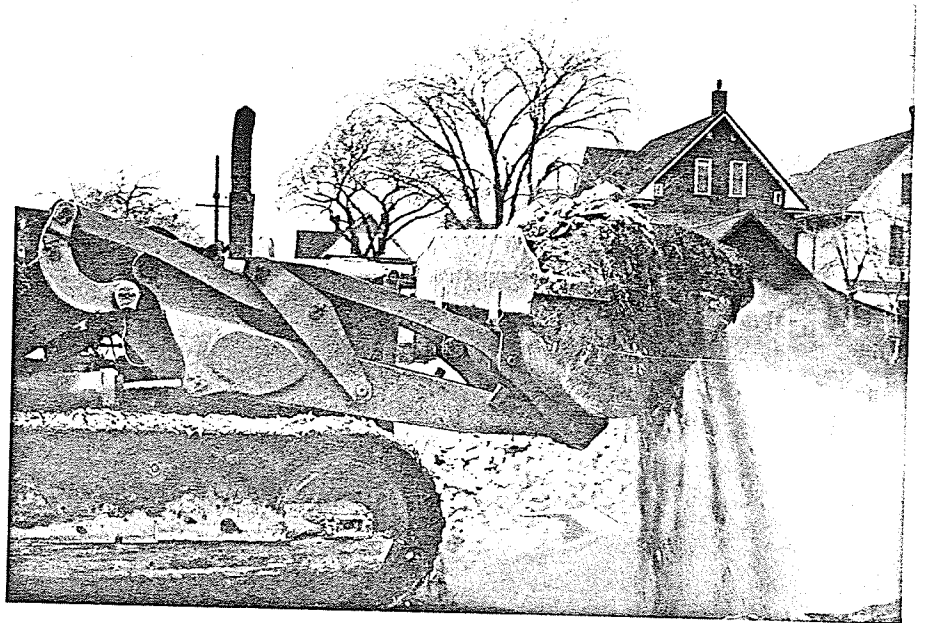
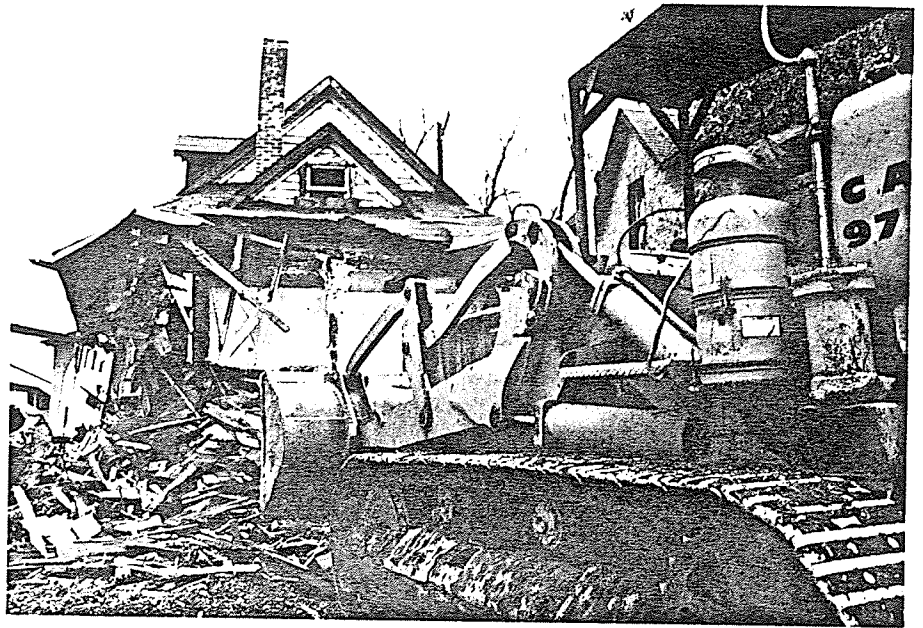
AND FURTHER TAKE NOTICE that in default of your filing a claim for damages within the time limited as aforesaid, any such claim will, subject to the provisions of The Winnipeg Charter, 1956, be forever barred and extinguished.

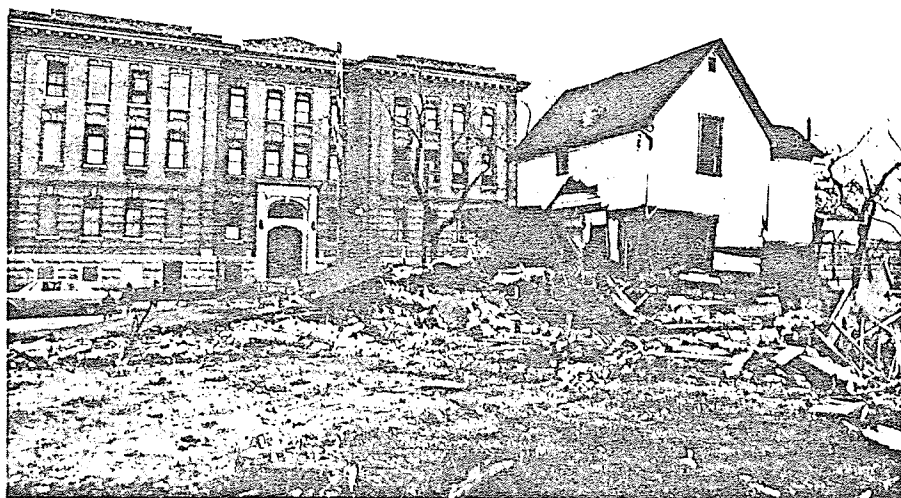
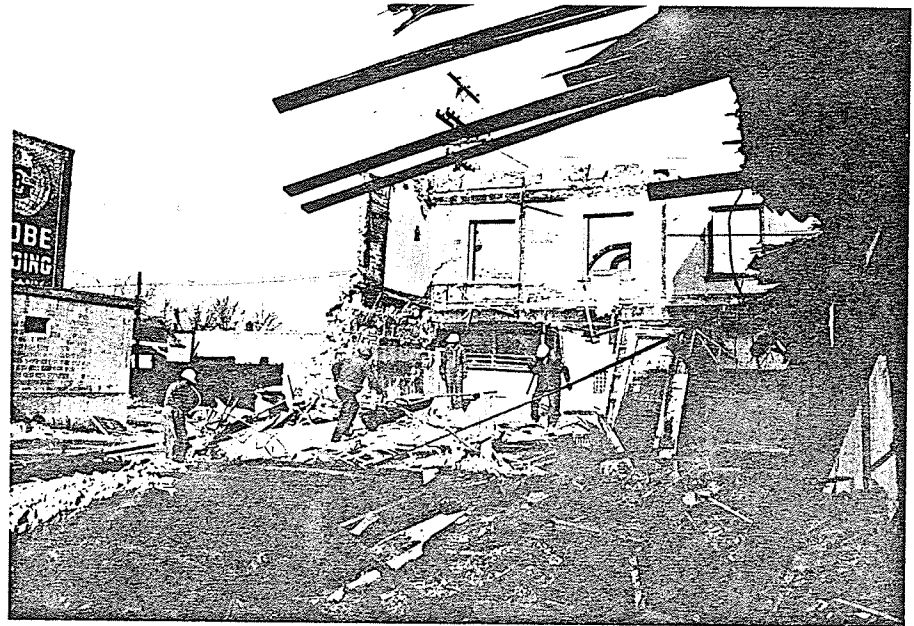
This notice is served upon you pursuant to the provisions of The Winnipeg Charter, 1956, because you are one of the occupants of the premises set forth in the heading of this notice, which premises and the lands used in connection therewith are taken and expropriated in their entirety by By-law numbered 18983.

SIGNED at Winnipeg, Manitoba, this 15th day of June, 1964.

THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

City Clerk.





A private social agency, that of Neighbourhood Service Centres, was also active in the Lord Selkirk Park area in the early phase of the scheme. Its program was two-fold in that it acted as both a neighbourhood house and a community development organization. As such, it provided some support for relocatees by assisting individuals in gaining information on the renewal program and in enabling persons to confront the expropriating authority when specific needs were not being met. It is unfortunate that Neighbourhood Services Centres was unable to organize residents in face of impending relocation. At the time of its leaving, little citizen organization had been established.

Immediately prior to property acquisition in 1963 two recently retained relocation officers contacted those to be displaced. Rehousing needs were determined and applications for occupancy in the Burrows-Keewatin Public Housing Project provided. The greatest rehousing consideration was given to tenants as it was assumed that homeowners would be paid enough to be willing and able to buy homes elsewhere.

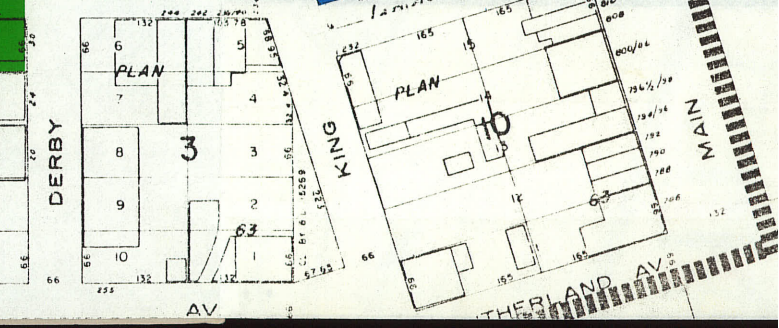
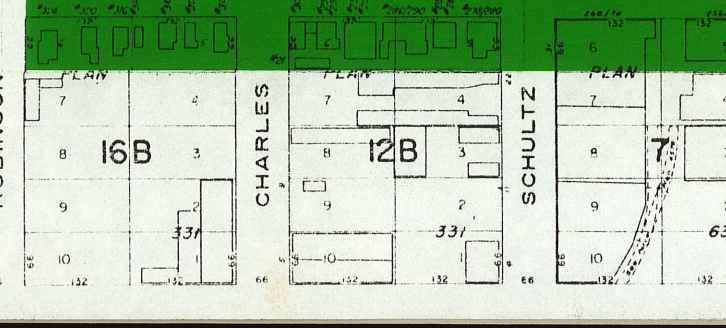
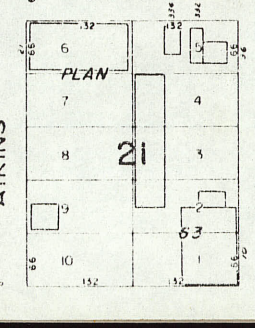
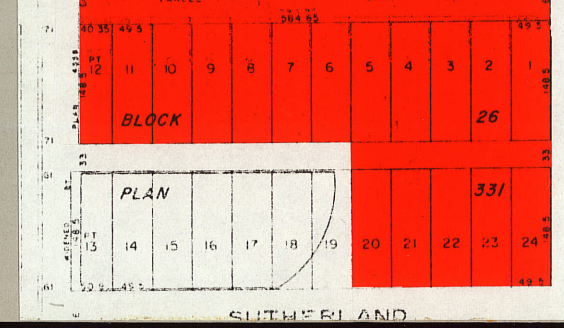
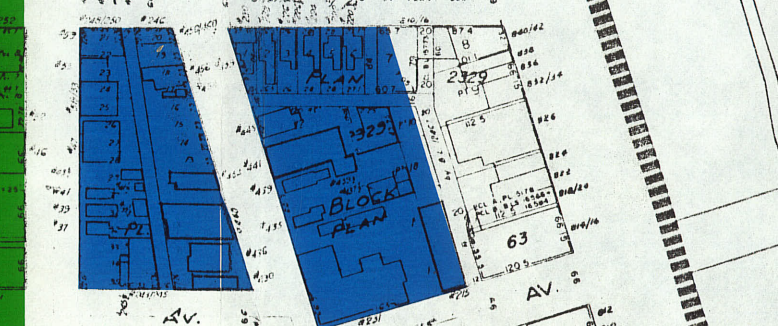
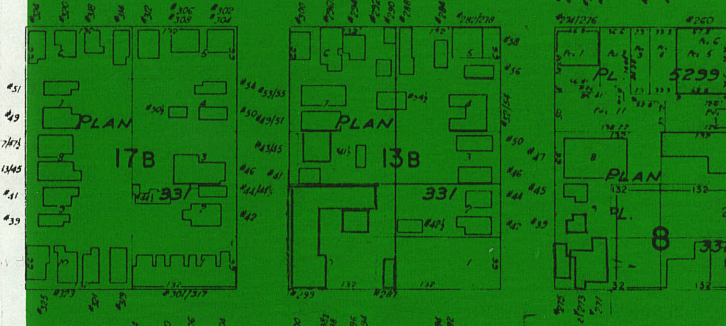
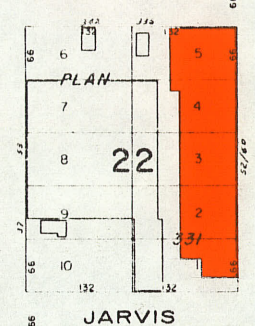
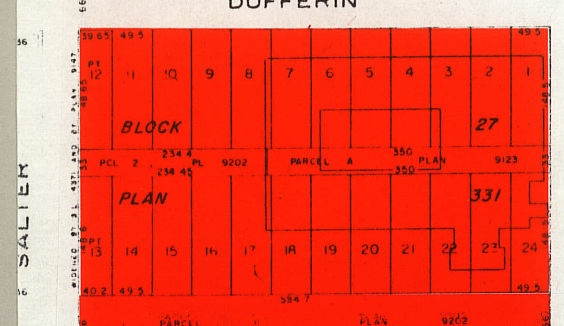
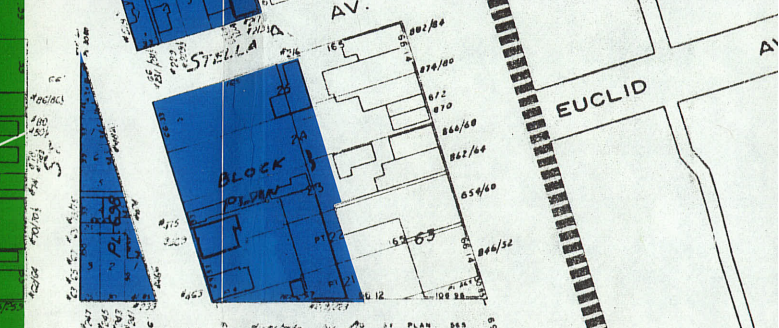
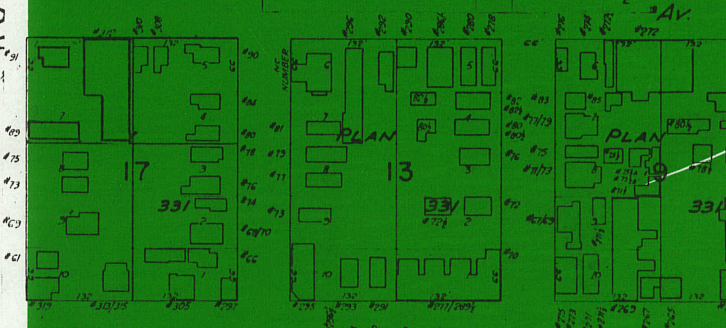
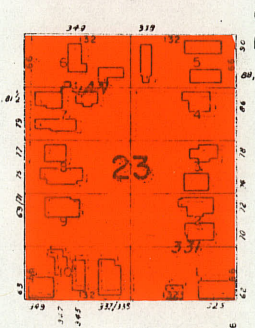
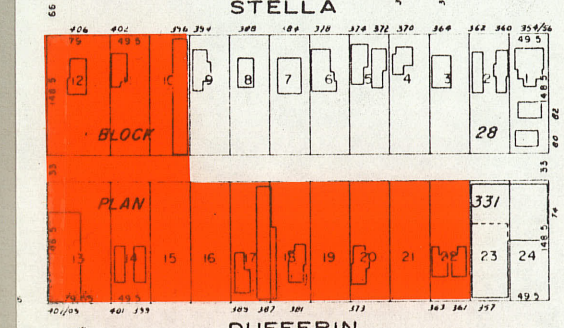
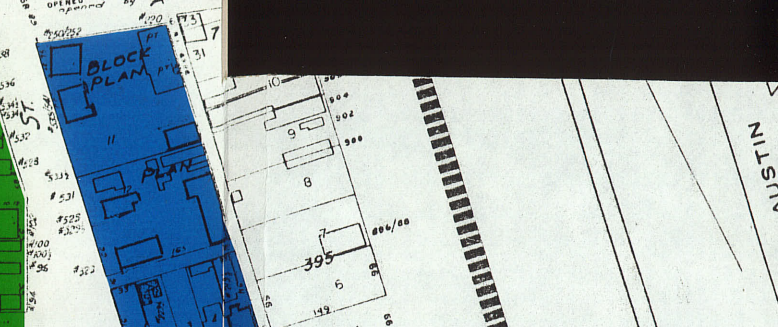
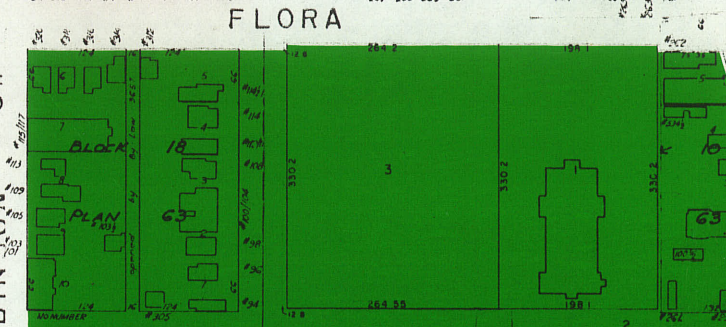
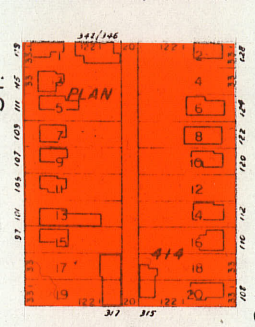
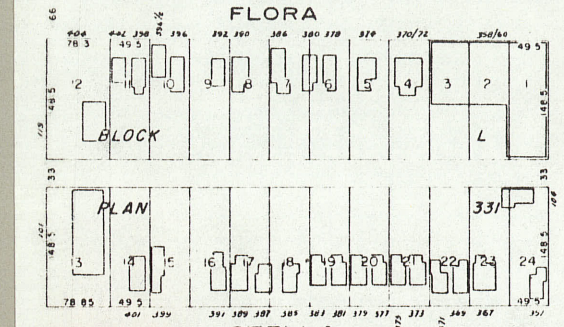
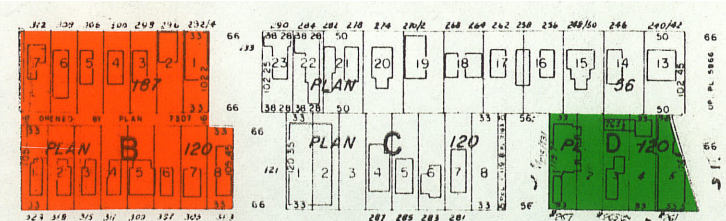
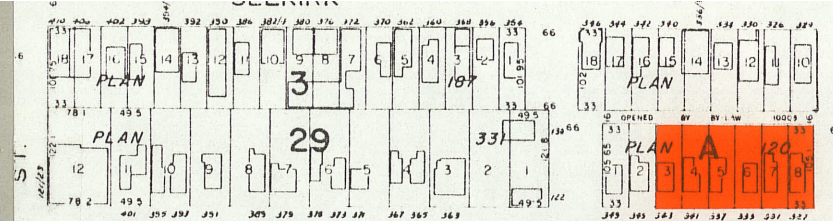
The relocation officers also ascertained the number of individuals eligible to receive relocation grants. These grants, established on the basis of the Disraeli Freeway Project, were to be paid to all tenant households quitting their premises after a specified date. The grant system provided an allotment of \$15.00 for the head of each household and \$15.00 for each additional member with a maximum payment established at \$50.00.

Notices of expropriation were sent to owners. By late October families were taking up residence in the Burrows-Keewatin Development and the rate of acquisition was increasing. For the

most part, homeowners accepted City established property values and were swept out of the area en masse. Few retained their own property appraisers and it seems likely that most were unaware of the costs that the renewal authority was obliged to assume. Little opposition from area residents was evident and many tenants simply moved without assistance. Some of these persons took up residence in adjacent areas which were soon to be defined as future clearance areas.

In 1964 the Renewal Scheme had been established. Its main features are as follows: (see Plate # 4 for boundaries of stages)

<u>Extent of Acquisition and Clearance</u>	<u>Elements of Redevelopment</u>
Stage #1 - all buildings with the exception of one recently constructed - to be acquired and demolished.	- realignment of Dufferin Avenue and construction of a public housing project - development of a light industrial area south of Dufferin on the cleared land.
Stage #2 - all buildings to be acquired and demolished.	- development of a shopping centre between Main and King, Flora and Dufferin.
Stage #3 - all buildings to be acquired and demolished with the exception of two industrial plants.	- tentative plans for a junior vocational school fronting on the south side of Dufferin - plans not finalized for remainder of area.
Stage #4 - spot clearance.	- preservation of the residential character of the area.



SELKIRK AVE
 FLORA AVE
 STELLA AVE
 DUFFERIN AVE
 JARVIS AVE
 SUTHERLAND AVE

CANADIAN
 PACIFIC
 RAILWAY
 YARDS



- PUBLIC HOUSING
- LIGHT INDUSTRY
- INSTITUTIONAL
- COMMERCIAL

PLATE 5
 THE PROPOSED RENEWAL SCHEME

At this juncture brief mention will be made of the provision for the relocation of businesses. It was thought by the Housing and Urban Renewal Department that light industrial activity which had to be dislocated could resettle on cleared land south of Dufferin Avenue. In other words, the City hoped to trade-off land with particular entrepreneurs in order that a buffer of relatively innocuous industrial activity would become established between the Canadian Pacific yards and the proposed public housing project. As is often the case, however, theory and practice were far from synonymous. With but minor exception, the expropriated businesses chose to move from the area entirely. It became difficult to exchange land for land and over a span of a number of years a multiplicity of deals were worked out between the City and business. In the end businesses opted for cash settlements, very often established through extremely lengthy processes of litigation. As a matter of fact, to this date, settlements relative to businesses expropriated some years ago have not been finalized.

Payments to businesses included the market value of the premises (if owned by the business), an amount to cover moving expenses, and a cash settlement for loss of goodwill. The establishment of value for these factors was a lengthy process involving much study and investigation. Whereas residential expropriation proceeded with great rapidity once the City's appraisers were out in the field, business expropriation became slow and cumbersome. As contrast to the case of residential relocation, businessmen utilized the services of lawyers to a

far greater extent. Many went to arbitration* to establish final settlements when such issues as special value of the building and loss of goodwill became difficult to determine.

Businesses located in premises owned by their entrepreneurs appeared to be in advantageous positions relative to those located in rented accommodation, except in instances where business tenants held a lengthy lease. The owners of buildings could argue that their premises had to be considered in terms of the special way in which it was suited to a particular economic enterprise. Once considered in this manner, it was up to the City to replace this special structure with one of similar type.

In cases where a business was located in rental premises held by a long-term lease, the City's relocation policy for businesses necessitated the recognition of the terms of that lease through financial compensation. On the other hand, businesses operating under short-term leases were simply remunerated to the point of six month's rent (including heat and light) to relocate in alternative premises.

Policy on "loss of goodwill" was nebulous and a cash settlement for this factor difficult to determine. It was decided sometime after the urban renewal scheme was in stages of implementation, that loss of goodwill could only be determined after comparing business receipts for a pre and post

* To handle situations where the City and a particular property and/or business owner could not reach agreement, arbitration boards were established; one for each of the four stages of urban renewal. Arbitration boards consist of three members with one being chosen by expropriatees, one by the City, and an impartial third party agreed to by the other two. Decisions of an arbitration board are final.

relocation situation. The period of time utilized to establish compensation following relocation was set at six months. This time period, in its brevity, was to cause great consternation on the part of a number of entrepreneurs.

By 1964 it was obvious that certain changes were required in order to infuse greater equity into relocation payments. As an example, it was decided that relocation grants would be paid to single unattached persons on the same basis as family households. It seems rather amazing that such a policy change was not made far earlier in the course of the renewal program. As the summer of 1964 approached the 165 units of public housing in the Burrows-Keewatin Project were occupied in entirety. This occurred at a time when residential expropriation in the first two stages of the scheme was proceeding rapidly. As a consequence, a great many tenant families were located in interim housing within the Lord Selkirk Park area. It must be noted that these families faced yet another instance of dislocation when interim housing units fell prey to the inevitable onslaught of the bulldozer. Further public housing units, embodied in the Lord Selkirk Park Housing Project, were not to appear until 1967.

Expropriation and its consequent dislocation of families continued unchanged until 1968. The amounts and system of relocation grants remained at the level prescribed in 1963. Virtually no additional social inputs were added to the urban renewal scheme and no one agency was responsible to satisfy the total needs of the community undergoing a process of extinction.

The initial urban renewal scheme was revised somewhat in 1966. Major elements of revision included an actual plan for a junior vocational school (shown on Plate # 5) and the extension of clearance and redevelopment in Stage #4 of the scheme. This latter revision meant that a greater number of families would be dislocated than originally had been anticipated. It also unleashed the bulldozer in an area characterized by a high degree of stable residential structures.

An incident occurred in 1966 which, in part, reflects a fundamental lack of social sensitivity in the renewal scheme. In order to protect a number of multi-problem families resident in interim housing which was to be demolished to make way for the Lord Selkirk Park Housing Project, it was suggested that the Project be staged in such a way as to accommodate these families just prior to the demolition of their homes. It was strongly felt that these homes could be left standing until alternate accommodation in the initial phase of the project could be provided. In response to the concern for these families it was decided that a staging of the Project would result in higher costs. Consequently, the homes in question were demolished prior to the creation of alternative accommodation. Only later, after further anxiety, did some of the families reap the benefits of the public housing which was to reach completion during 1967 and 1968.

On the eve of the City's entry into Stage #4 of the Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Scheme, the Provincial Government announced plans to establish a new social agency within the renewal area. The agency to be known as People's Opportunity Services was to respond to the total needs of all families facing dislocation from

their homes. Many of the personnel of this agency had been active in the multi-problem agency (which ceased to exist in 1967) and consequently had established important contacts within the community.

People's Opportunity Services first located itself in proximity to the north-west corner of Selkirk and Main. It then relocated to the heart of the area on Robinson Street, across from the Public Housing Project. The agency relied on workers hired from within the community itself to act in the capacity of indigenous workers. Such personnel were organized on a team basis with a professional social worker in charge of each. Initially, the function of People's Opportunity Services was to identify specific social problems within the community and to attack these problems as a multi-service agency. Information aides, employment aides and homemakers represent the range of services provided by the indigenous workers.

As was the case in other stages of renewal, a survey was carried out to determine the extent of the relocation problem. However, in Stage 4 the nature of the survey changed. Instead of simply further frightening a public wary of the civil servant, people were themselves provided with information as to the relocation assistance available from P.O.S. As a participant in the survey, I realized the importance of a stand-by agency to assist people in coping with dislocation; an agency specifically established to satisfy the relocation need. Without the existence of P.O.S. social problems which I was confronted with would not have been dealt with and people would have had no assurances of relocation assistance. In the course of the survey some 31

referrals were made to this agency representing that number of acute social problems in need of immediate attention.

Other attempts were made to infuse social content into the renewal scheme on the part of the City of Winnipeg. Public meetings were held in 1968 to inform residents of Stage # 4 of the urban renewal plan. However, these meetings were only called after the plan had been legalized by the passage of the fourth expropriation by-law. Residents could not change this plan and their futile attempts to win modification of it, only alienated much of the Stage #4 population. As a consequence, a resident protest group emerged in the latter phase of this stage but by then it was too late for those families and individuals already uprooted to win change. Some moved from standard accommodation which should never have been subject to the vagaries of the planner's pen.

In the last stage of redevelopment long awaited revisions to relocation grants were finally made. The grant system was established as follows:

- a) an allowance of one month's rental for new accommodation,, plus either,
 - b) \$45.00 per family head combined with an allowance of \$15.00 for each additional member of the household,
- or-
- c) a moving allowance of \$16.00 each room presently occupied, whichever is the greater amount.

The grant levels established were still inadequate but at least provided better assistance for some families. At the time these levels were increased it is interesting to note that Montreal paid a rate of \$200.00 for all tenants forced to move.

In Chicago \$200.00 was also the basic rate with the added provision of Relocation Adjustment payments of upwards to \$500.00.

It is hoped that the above discussion has exposed the more salient features of the Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Scheme. Throughout its rather lengthy history it has been fundamentally devoid of social concern. Urban renewal as characterized by this scheme is chained to the mechanical processes of expropriation whereby a legal game is played in which the people as pawns are one by one swept away to make way for better things to come. Better for whom?

CHAPTER VII THE RELOCATION EXPERIENCE

Having examined a multiplicity of background information on both urban renewal and relocation we enter into the heart of this dissertation through an actual renewal program. Some material on the Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal Scheme has already been provided. It now remains to analyze the way in which individuals, families, and entrepreneurs fared in the renewal process. This, in realistic simplicity, is what this Thesis is all about. We have reached some awareness of the plight of the poor, have looked at the state of the renewal planning art, and have some perception of the way in which prescribed legality tends to condition urban renewal action. Into a context whose basic hypothesis is one of doubt in terms of the efficacy of urban renewal, the case study, as the pragmatic element of this dissertation, is now introduced. Through it I hope to establish a test for the implied hypothesis by attempting to reach an awareness of the experiences of those for whom renewal purports to benefit. The case study will proceed in accordance with two distinct subjects. In the first instance attention will focus on residential relocation as we examine relocation experiences of individuals and families. Both statistical data and information derived from personal contact with relocatees will be utilized. Second in placement, and in importance for that matter, is the consideration of business relocation. I include the question of business relocation only to gain a more complete understanding of relocation proceedings within the Lord Selkirk Park Scheme. For the most part, an evaluation of relocation

effectiveness will emanate from the residential analysis. This is due to two factors which mitigate against the relative importance of its counterpart. Firstly, research data of business relocation is all but non-existent; a factor which thwarts attempts to establish an appropriate research design or context of analysis. Secondly, information itself is limited. This is especially evident in pre-relocation situations and, as such, precludes the undertaking of a valid comparative analysis. I have interviewed as many businessmen affected by urban renewal as is possible in order to provide some substance to an examination of business relocations. However, I recognize the limitations of such information which may be described as rather one-sided. Attention will now turn to the most important indicator of relocation effectiveness; the way in which people are treated by the renewal authority and the characteristics of the new living conditions which urban renewal creates.

1. Residential Relocation

The initial task in the investigation of residential relocation is to so organize and structure the analysis so as to render the available information of optimum use in determining the effectiveness of urban renewal in improving living conditions. In the case of Lord Selkirk Park it is fortunate in that statistics on such factors as living space and condition of dwelling are available for both pre and post-relocation situations. With an availability of what seems to be useful information, the utility of this data must be ensured through the establishment of a sound analytical context. The way in which the data is considered will have direct relevance on our capacity to reach conclusions relative to our objective of determining

relocation adequacy.

In seeking out adequate organizational models for the residential study, certain forms of relocation analysis appear inadequate by virtue of the type of information available to us. One particular study of relocation, however, in terms of categorizing our own data, stands out above all others. Chester Hartman's classic analysis of relocation from the West End of Boston utilizes much of the same statistical inputs as are at our disposal here.* The final decision to incorporate Hartman's work into the context of this Thesis, rests on the fact that the Canadian Social Worker Marvin Lipman substantiates the import of Hartman's categorization of relocation data in his Doctoral Dissertation on relocation from the Alexandria Park area of Toronto.

Chester Hartman alludes to certain data which he describes as basic to any relocation analysis. In the case of Lord Selkirk Park, records have been kept which closely conform to the data to which Hartman refers. They are:

geographic dispersion
changes in living space
housing conditions before and after relocation
changes in living costs

An attempt will be made to utilize information pertaining to the above-mentioned factors in much the same way as does Hartman. We now have our statistical data, a context for their use in a structural sense, and some perception of the relevancy of specific conclusions in determining to what extent relocatees may be better or worse off following a forced move.

While Hartman's criteria provides organization and form to the statistical analysis, thereby facilitating an arrival at objective

* Contained in the publication, The Housing of Relocated Families

conclusions, a uniquely statistical analysis has rather profound limitations. For example, it does not yield an awareness of attitudinal considerations which bear so directly on relocation experiences and effectiveness. In order to reach a more intimate perception of relocation experiences, a number of relocatees were interviewed both before and after their dislocation. The views, expressed feelings, and opinions of these people will be examined in a distinctive manner, apart from the statistical analysis. It should be pointed out that although statistical information is available for all of the four stages of the Urban Renewal Scheme under study, only in the final stage do we have the benefit of information based on personal interview for pre and post relocation situations.

STAGE #1 Statistical Overview

number of persons - 1,475 households - 480 owner households - 59 tenant households - 421

PRE-RELOCATION DATA								
Population composition by household size	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	39.6	12.1	10.8	8.8	7.9	7.3	6.6	6.9
Overcrowding within each household size category	0.0	5.0	5.9	15.2	16.3	21.0	16.3	20.3
Those living in P/P or F/P housing conditions within each household size category	39.0	39.0	49.0	45.0	50.0	74.0	55.0	60.0
Near or below poverty-line incomes for each household size category:								
a. total	63.0	66.0	58.0	64.0	68.0	94.0	94.0	100.0
b. those employed	4.0	29.0	37.0	46.0	88.0	87.0	88.0	100.0
Paying more than 30% of income for rent for each household size category	0.0	13.0	95.0	77.0	91.0	80.0	82.0	73.0
Condition of premises:	Employed households - 48.2			Major employment groups:				
P/P - 23.7	Unemployed " - 51.8			Labourer - 30.0				
P/F - 24.8	Households in receipt of			Service and recreation - 26.3				
F/F - 9.8	welfare as a % of total			Craftsman and Production process - 21.8				
P/G - 27.5	- 27.7							
G/G - 5.2								

POST - RELOCATION DATA								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Overcrowding within each household size category	0.0	15.1	35.2	17.1	56.5	72.0	96.0	100.0
Those living in P/P or F/P housing conditions within each household size category	10.0	11.0	11.0	7.0	24.0	12.0	8.0	3.0
Moved to better housing by household size categories	50.0	39.0	47.0	67.0	52.0	69.0	74.0	74.0
Received the same or less space per category	92.0	64.0	52.0	49.0	44.0	56.0	60.0	37.0
Rent increases within each household size group	42.0	56.0	59.0	63.0	74.0	68.0	61.0	70.0
Distance moved:	North of CPR	South of CPR	Total	Households which received some form of relocation assistance - 20.2 (of total)				
0 - 1/2 mile	37.2	3.2	40.4					
1/2 - 1 "	20.9	8.3	29.2					
1 - 2 "	4.3	6.4	10.7	Percentage of "tenant" households relocated to Burrows-Kewatin - 16.3				
2 - 3 "	14.6	2.9	17.5					
3 - 5 "	0.5	1.7	2.2					
			100.0					

STAGE #1

A. Before Relocation

In a detailed sense the following statistics, drawn primarily from Housing and Urban Renewal Department records, are intended to characterize the living conditions of the Lord Selkirk Park population. Statistical base data upon which conclusions have been made, are shown in Appendix A

Stage #1 information represents a most important component of the relocation analysis. The size of the population itself, for example, was more than double that of the other three stages of redevelopment combined. This initial stage also contained the notorious Jarvis Avenue and was represented by extremely deteriorated homes. There is no doubt that the worst living conditions in the Salter-Jarvis community prevailed in this area. It is a matter of now examining the specific characteristics of the stage #1 population and then to determine what opportunities urban renewal held for the community's residents.

Ethnic Origin Although the ethnic composition of the Salter-Jarvis area has already been discussed on page 60, let us refresh our memory of same within the context of the relocation analysis.

The Slavic dominance of the population requires specific mention as this ethnic element was reflected in the life-styles and physical quality of the area. The longevity of this dominance created feelings of permanence for many residents. Churches, stores, and local institutions catered to those whose first language was either Polish or Ukrainian.

A significant Jewish component, although declining, was also evident. Many Jewish people were able to converse in a Slavic tongue and shared in an Old World feeling of the Salter-Jarvis area.

The encroachment of Indian and Metis families was just beginning in the early 60's. Their migration into the community was met with great anxiety on the part of existing residents, especially those of Ukrainian background. In a short time the Ukrainian and the Indian appeared diametrically opposed, engendering community conflict.

The ethnic composition of the population exposes many people who, through language difficulties or non-familiarity with an urban environment, found it difficult to grasp the meaning and implications of urban renewal. Many found collective comfort within "their" community. The Urban Renewal Scheme makes no mention of factors like ethnic commonality and suggests no program of community intervention to merely allay the fears of such residents.

Age
Composition

Census data comparisons for 1961, as shown in the following chart, highlight differences in this North End population as compared to that of the City at large. The percentage of children, especially those between infancy and age nine, is appreciably higher in the North End population.*

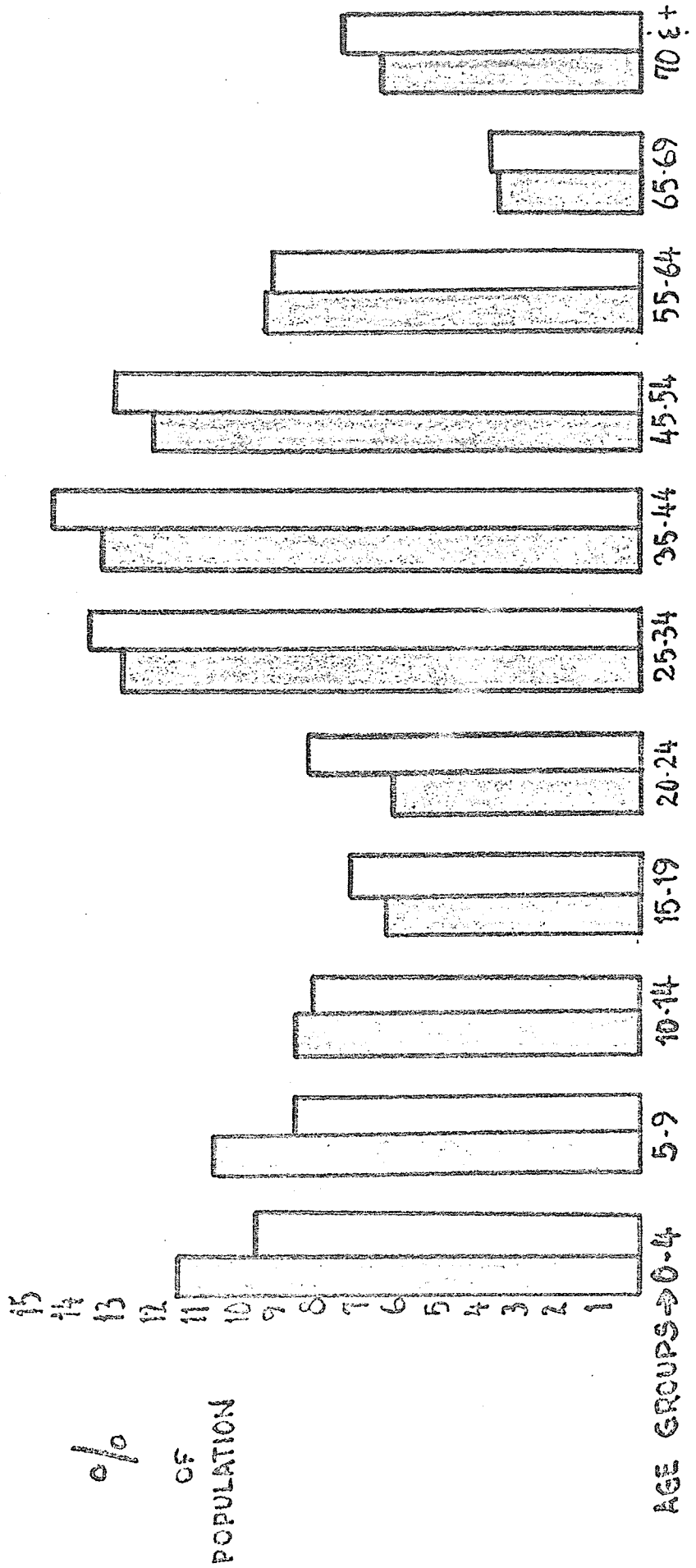
However, young adults and middle-aged persons formed less of the population of our study area in comparison to Winnipeg.

* The census tract area from which statistics were drawn is approximately twice the population size of the Salter-Jarvis community.

AGE CHARACTERISTICS - 1961

SALTER-JARVIS 

WINNIEG 



The number of elderly in the Salter-Jarvis community would appear to conform closely to that of the entire inner city. The absence of young adults and the preponderance of children would indicate that the more mobile elements of the population chose to leave the area. This is further reinforced by the percentage of aged. Like the large family, they very often are forced to seek accommodation in areas of cheap rent.

The 1,475 residents of the stage #1 area comprised Household Size 480 households. The average household size was some 3.1 persons. This compares to a figure of 3.4 for Winnipeg. If we exclude, however, the unusually high number of single-person households (40%) in the Salter-Jarvis area, average household size becomes 4.5.

The latter statistic more realistically depicts the existence of many large families in the community. For large families the prospect of relocation must be seen as a difficult one. Parents are required to meet the challenges of a new community in their intrusion into other neighbourhoods with many children. Offspring, in turn, are forced to sever familiar friendship ties, especially important in an area of familiarity. These factors create family stress felt most strongly by the mother.

The 198 (40%) of single-person households alludes to a large number of aged persons in the population. Many of these people resided in one room in the absence of many conveniences denied to them by the inadequacies of pensions. For the elderly, neighbourhood is most often more important than specific residence. Old acquaintances, known surroundings,

proximity to a club or church assist in overcoming loneliness. A loss in these elements requires a definite social input to fill the vacuum. Total breakdown of household sizes for the 480 stage #1 households is as follows:

1 person households	198 or 39.6%
2 " "	65 or 12.1
3 " "	52 or 10.8
4 " "	42 or 8.8
5 " "	38 or 7.9
6 " "	35 or 7.3
7 " "	27 or 6.6
8 " "	33 or 6.9

An overview of total households clearly relates to the existence of single persons and large families. While households larger than five persons account for only 21% of total households, they represent 45% of the population. It is also evident that owner-occupied households were smaller than for those of the tenant. Only 25% of owner-occupied households were larger than three persons.

Occupancy Status Out of the total 480 stage #1 households, only 60 were owner-occupied. An 87% tenant household rate characterizes the area as one of the most concentrated rental areas in the entire City. Much of the housing stock was, in fact, owned by slum landlords intent on maximizing profit by neglecting property maintenance. The degree of absentee-ownership was furthermore on the increase.

Source of Financial Support

Over half of the heads of households in the community were unemployed. The following statistics identify the sources of support for the 51.8% of the households for which there was no wage earner:

savings	_____	4.8%
pensions	_____	34.3%
unemployment insurance	_____	7.2%
welfare	_____	53.7%

Pension and welfare payments account for almost all financial support for the unemployed. The incidence of the aged poor is again exposed in the high percentage of pensioners. A high welfare rate, on the other hand, indicates the extent to which Salter-Jarvis area families were entrenched in poverty circumstances. Welfare payments, in 1961, as now, meant subsistence living. Perhaps in this community one was more able to tolerate such an existence by being near to others in the same situation. But the extent to which this lessened the burden of poverty is certainly open to question. In considering the total households, 27.7% were supported by welfare payment.

For those employed, most worked in labour intensive industries. Three employment categories; service and recreation, craftsman and production process, and labourer accounted for 78% of total employment. A dearth of skilled workers was evident, underscoring the minimal educational achievements within the population. This fact is further reinforced by the complete absence of professionals in the community. 1961 Census data points out that less than 5% of heads of

households went beyond Grade XII.

Factors of unemployment and labour force characteristics indicate the need for training programs for Stage #1 residents. Betterment for these people would have meant escape from the "dole" and the miseries of scratching out an existence in a sweat shop. Yet this was never really considered in renewal objectives.

In order to display income statistics in as meaningful a way as possible, I have related income to the 1961 poverty line as established by the Economic Council of Canada and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.* Inherent in the following data is the assumption that those living on fixed incomes (welfare and pensions) are at or below the poverty line:

Size of household	% at or below P.L.	% employed at or below P.L.
1 person	63.0	0.4
2 "	66.0	29.0
3 "	58.0	37.0
4 "	64.0	46.0
5 "	68.0	88.0
6 "	94.0	87.0
7 "	94.0	88.0
8 "	100.0	100.0

Each household size category is characterized by a poverty income percentage greater than 50%. As households increase in size so also does the extent to which families must survive on limited financial resources. In the case of employed householders, the difficulties of large families are further substantiated. Note the sharp increase in the

* See Appendix B

percentage of poverty income households beyond those of four persons. In earlier segments of this Thesis I have attempted to provide some exposure to poverty existence. It is now clear that such a dialogue has relevance to many people in the stage #1 community.

Rent-
income
payments

Rent statistics are available only for those employed. For employed tenant householders, 80% paid less than 30% of their incomes on rent payments. In fact, 63% of such households are characterized by payments of less than 15% of income. Low rents attracted many families to the Salter-Jarvis community. While housing was poor, it offered shelter for those who had few alternatives in a low-income housing market of short supply.

An examination of rental data further manifests the plight of large families. For household groups of more than three persons, 80% paid more than 30% of income on rent. I use the 30% figure based on the Central Mortgage and Housing opinion that rent-income ratios beyond this become overly burdensome by depriving families of monies for food and clothing.

Condition
of Premises

Before proceeding to the actual data, some elaboration on the rating system is required:

P/P beyond repair
 P/F borderline - may or may not be rehabilitatable but in any case, deplorable housing
 F/F basically sound with some maintenance and repair required
 F/G adequate housing
 G/G excellent

Conditions of premises for stage #1 households are as follows:

P/P	104	households	or	23.7%
P/F	119	"	or	24.8%
F/F	47	"	or	9.8%
F/G	137	"	or	27.5%
G/G	73	"	or	5.2%

Almost half (48.5%) of all households resided in premises which were severely deteriorated. Most of these were unfit for habitation. Based on further data presented in the appendix, it is obvious that large families lived in comparatively worse conditions than smaller ones. In the case of six person households, for example, 74% inhabited P/P or P/F housing, whereas only 39% of one and two person households resided in such premises.

Statistics on dwelling conditions clearly depict the miserable living circumstances of the stage #1 population. As we proceed, the reinforcing components of poverty begin to emerge. For large families virtual entrapment is evident. One can well imagine the stress of low income, derived from the indignities it poses for those who are without the capacity to compete for a better quality of life.

An overcrowded dwelling is one in which the number of occupants exceeds the number of habitable rooms. The degree of overcrowding of the stage #1 population is as follows:

2	person	households	5.0%
3	"	"	5.9%
4	"	"	15.2%
5	"	"	16.3%
6	"	"	21.0%
7	"	"	16.3%
8	"	"	20.3%

Rates of overcrowding increase dramatically for households larger than three persons. Of the total households in stage #1, 26% appear overcrowded. However, one cannot simply point to percentages of overcrowding by definition itself, to perceive of cramped living conditions. Other factors like size of room, ages of children, and even ethnic characteristics determine the amount of room which particular families may require. Only with such factors can we determine the stress of lack of space. Suffice it to say that many large families required more space. We shall soon observe whether or not they received it.

A Summary of
Stage 1
Population
Characteristics

The above factors highlight the tremendous degree of adversity faced by the stage #1 population. Poor housing, in many instances intolerable, meagre wages, the highest welfare rate in the entire City, the number of aged in the community and the extreme hardships faced by large families, focus attention on an area of gross poverty.

The poverty conditions of the population, in their severity, lead me to believe that the extending of "social" services to stage #1 households was of primacy in any renewal process. Relocating several hundred households demands a focus on individual and peculiar problems. Factors of low-income and poor housing are but outward manifestations of deep-rooted social maladies. The aged, for example, require special consideration. Their social networks are fragile. Friends near-at-hand and familiar haunts establish a context of security.

Many view the prospect of moving with fear. In the stage #1 population we find great evidence of those unable to compete effectively; those most likely to bend to pressures which are placed upon them.

Perhaps moving is most stressful for large families, and in particular, the mothers of large families. These families must compete for a limited supply of reasonably-priced large dwellings. Many are fearful of a move to areas of higher social or economic status where they will be excluded from the social life of the neighbourhood. In facing the problems of a poverty population, consideration must be given to many factors. A move may be just one further headache to contend with amongst alcoholism, delinquency, illegitimacy, family breakdown and other social problems.

The statistics examined tell us about living conditions but they do not tell us how people "felt" about the prospect of moving. Many conclusions can, therefore, be only speculative and open to debate. However, we at least have a basis from which to explore the way in which the physical needs of the population have or have not been met, bearing in mind some of the underlying social concerns. We know that in stage #1, we are relating to a "poverty" population, embracing many needs of which adequate housing is only part of the solution.

B. Following Relocation

Available Statistics

Statistics are not available for all relocated households. These include:

households which moved out of the City	- 36 or	42.9%
households - whereabouts unknown	- 38 or	45.2%
deceased or institutionalized	- 10 or	11.9%

Over half the households - whereabouts unknown, consist of one-person households. Many single persons, left the area when initial urban renewal proposals were advanced. Perhaps some would have moved anyway, perhaps some were apprehensive about government intervention into their community.

Surprisingly few households were unaccounted for in stage #1 relocation. In a number of United States' programs more than 20% of the households could not be located following the move.

Mr. H. Moore and the late Mr. William Courage of the Housing and Urban Renewal Department are to be commended for their excellent data assembly.

A comparison of pre and post-living dwelling conditions exposes obvious improvements:

Condition of Premises	Pre-relocation	Post-relocation
P/P	23.7%	7.1%
P/F	24.8%	2.8%
F/F	9.8%	21.7%
F/G	27.5%	12.4%
G/G	5.2%	56.0%

Most striking is the fact that 56% of all households resided in "G/G" accommodation following relocation, in comparison to only 5.2% of households prior to the move. Despite the many problems of the stage #1 population, most managed to find

adequate accommodation.

Some difficulties appear with respect to large families. For example, 24% of five-person households inhabited either P/P or P/F housing following relocation. This is not the case, however, for all large families. In the case of eight-person households, only 8% could find no better than P/F housing.

The following statistics outline the percentage of households which moved to "better" accommodation, by household size:

1 person households	50%
2 " "	39%
3 " "	47%
4 " "	67%
5 " "	52%
6 " "	69%
7 " "	74%
8 " "	74%

Large families gained the most in terms of housing improvements. This may be due to greater attention being placed on the needs of large families by the relocating authority. It may also be due to the fact that many were placed in better housing by a welfare department which could afford to pay increases in rental payments. Large families very often were forced to seek assistance in relocating, having lost the capacity to, either find, or financially assume the cost of new accommodations.

Households under four persons in size, fared the worst in the percentage move to "better" housing. The smaller families, with the greatest independence moved to similar accommodation; cheap rent being the seemingly major factor in choice of new home. It may be that large families were not given the option of moving into reasonably-priced dwellings at the expense of condition, in view of the inadequacy of housing supply. In other words, large families may have been forced into unwanted

better housing at rents they could ill-afford.

Of the total stage #1 households, 40% received no benefits in terms of home improvements; 13.6% actually moved to worse accommodations.

Most "owners" moved to adequate accommodation. Only 3 such households moved to "worse" accommodation. However, many owners complained bitterly about the inadequacy of compensation for their homes. In most instances, homes which were owned outright yielded but enough return to place a down-payment on a new dwelling. For the elderly owner, this was indeed a hardship.

Changes in Living Space As the following statistics indicate, few households experienced increases in living space:

more space	33.5%
same	46.3%
less	20.2%

Overcrowding actually increased substantially, when compared to the pre-relocation percentage per household size:

	before	following
2 person household	5.0%	15.1%
3 " "	5.9%	35.2%
4 " "	15.2%	17.1%
5 " "	16.3%	56.5%
6 " "	21.0%	72.0%
7 " "	16.3%	96.0%
8 " "	20.3%	100.0%

The above data highlights the short supply of large dwellings for sizeable families. While better conditions were found, space had to be sacrificed. Overcrowding is very often a factor of dwelling deterioration. As is apparent from housing stock deterioration around the Salter-Jarvis community, some households

which occupied better premises soon found themselves in similar living conditions to those they had left. Thus improvements in the condition of dwelling as a relocation positive, may be outweighed by other factors as we extend the analysis.

Changes in Most households experienced increases in rent,
Rental
Payments as the following data indicates:

higher rent payments	55.9%	rental increases	
same	17.9%	1-25%	41.1%
lower	26.2%	26-50%	31.2%
		51-100%	16.2%
		over 100%	11.5%

Not only did over half of the tenant households experience rental increases, but 28% of these paid over 50% more. This fact is significant when one considers the extremely low incomes of the stage #1 residents.

In relating rental increases to household size, one discovers that only 8.3% of single-person households experienced increases. It would appear that the universality of their meagre pensions established a degree of price constancy for one-room rental rates. By comparison, 62.8% of eight-person households felt the financial bite of higher rents. At this point two important factors, reductions in space and increases in rent, contrast with improved premises. The question arises, at what cost improved housing? For large families the renewal objective of decent, safe, and sanitary housing "at affordable rents" is difficult to achieve.

Relocation Assistance Most Salter-Jarvis residents received no assistance from the renewal agency. Comments made by those familiar with the area at the time of relocation, indicate that most residents wished to

be left alone. Bothered by social workers, interviewed by Civic officials and embittered by a process they little understood, many simply wanted to get away from it all. Of the 20.2% of households in receipt of relocation assistance, most were large families, incapable of acting independently.

Some eighty-two households applied for public housing at Burrows-Keewatin. Of these 56 or 68% were accepted. The percentage of total tenant households which relocated to public housing is 16.3%, and of these, 66% were of six or more persons.

Distance Moved In order to identify possible concentrations of relocated households, I have divided households into two groups; those that moved south of the C.P.R. yards, and those who moved to the north:

<u>Distance Moved</u>	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Total</u>
0 - 1/2 mile	37.2%	3.2%	40.4%
1/2 - 1 "	20.9%	8.3%	29.2%
1 - 2 miles	4.3%	6.4%	10.7%
2 - 3 "	14.6%	2.9%	17.5%
3 - 5 "	0.5%	1.7%	2.2%

Almost 60% of all households moved within a 1 mile radius of their former habitat. Many settled in North Point Douglas, to the east of Main Street. Others moved to the central portion of the North End to take up residency between Selkirk and Redwood Avenues. Their move was met with apprehension and coldness on the part of the communities to which they migrated. Established residents were resentful of welfare recipients and were especially discriminatory towards the Indian and Metis

To heighten our appreciation of the consequences of relocation from the Stage #1 Area, other reports and studies will be utilized to synthesize and provide broader interpretation to our findings. I wish, firstly, to compare the findings of Chester Hartman to our own.

RELOCATEES TEND TO CONCENTRATE IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO THE RENEWAL AREA.

This was evident in our own findings. Most households took up residence within one mile to the north of the renewal area. Some actually moved to future stages of the renewal area and were relocated a second time.

FEW FAMILIES REALIZE INCREASES IN DWELLING SIZE.
MANY STUDIES REPORT GREATER OVERCROWDING.

Our statistics substantiate this conclusion. The incidence of overcrowding increased appreciably following relocation.
HOUSING QUALITY IMPROVED IN MOST CASES.

This is validated in the Salter-Jarvis relocation. In comparison to the housing of the pre-location population far fewer persons resided in poor housing after the move.

PEOPLE WHO MOVED TO PUBLIC HOUSING WERE BETTER OFF THAN THOSE WHO DID NOT.

Our statistics do not depict the particularized gains of those who moved to public housing. I would assume that Hartman's findings would be borne out in relocation to Burrows-Keewatin, in view of the favourable rent situation afforded to occupants of subsidized housing. Of concern to public housing residents, however, is the fact that as income increases, so also does rent. This mitigates against improving one's standard of living. To a great extent the automatic income-pushed rent increases have been eliminated, but this is a recent innovation.

RESIDENTS EXPERIENCED GREAT INCREASES IN RENT.

From our findings this is especially evident. Very few tenants have escaped the hardship of rental increases.

FEW PEOPLE RECEIVED RELOCATION ASSISTANCE.

Most households moved without assistance, but of those who received help from the relocating authority the majority were large families. This reflects relocation staff limitations.

MANY PEOPLE WERE LOST IN THE RENEWAL PROCESS.

Very few households went unaccounted for in stage #1 relocation. This contrasts markedly with most other North American urban renewal programs.

RELOCATION INCREASES COMPETITION FOR AN ALREADY INADEQUATE SUPPLY OF HOUSING.

In view of the few families accommodated in new public housing units our findings reflected that out of 480 households, 420 were relocated to existing dwellings, mostly in the North End.

On the basis of his findings, most of which run parallel to those of our analysis, Hartman concludes:

"Renewal results in limited gains, accompanied by widespread increases in housing costs incurred irrespective of the ability or desire to absorb these costs." (1)

In characterizing renewal as being devoid of social concern for the poor, Hartman also concludes that urban renewal may be a rich-get-richer program where only those with a certain financial capacity can gain.

(1) Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, November 1964, p. 266

On the basis of our comparison to Hartman's conclusions, much of the urban renewal criteria cited in earlier segments of this thesis seem justified. The character of the renewal scheme, embodied in the legal intricacies of moving people, also appears to have had an adverse impact on the effects of relocation.

Marvin Lipman, in his study on relocation from Alexandra Park in Toronto, identifies most renewal areas as "havens for marginal income families." He suggests, with this in mind, that increases in rent may be disastrous for relocatees. In our stage #1 analysis, rent increases encompassed a great percentage of households. Lipman points out that in examining the consequence of relocation we must look beyond the dimension of rehousing standards. For example, if no one agency is responsible for providing social assistance to residents we may assume much psychological stress, especially for families. In Lord Selkirk Park no one authority provided services to relocatees. Some people received help from the City, some from Neighbourhood Service Centres, and still others through the Multi-Service project of the Province. But too few people received assistance and no central organization impressed upon people the availability of assistance. Mr. Lipman warns planners not to tamper with neighbourhoods, unless they are understood in social terms. In the case of Lord Selkirk Park a modicum of social data and insight preceded the renewal plan.

Herbert Gans, in reflecting upon relocation effectiveness, directs us to the question of housing supply. He is of the opinion that renewal programs often diminish the supply of

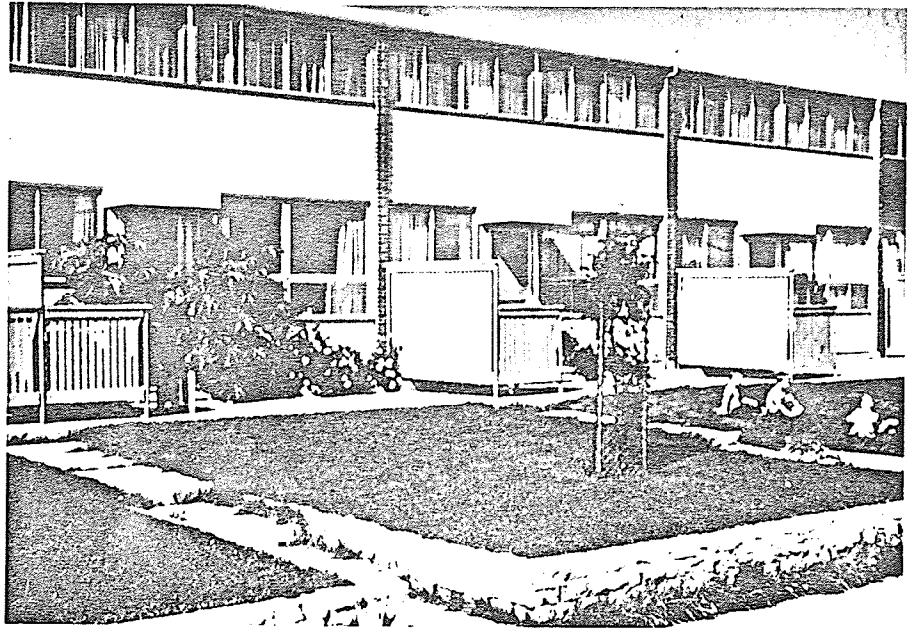
houses for low-income residents. A loss in units points to program ineffectualness. Mr. Gans further points out that nowhere do homeowners receive adequate compensation for their houses.

Our study findings coincide with many renewal and relocation criticisms. Missing is the factor of public housing. It would appear that those who moved to public housing and low-rent situations realized the greater benefits. To test this assumption and to complete the staged analysis an examination of local relocation studies will be made.

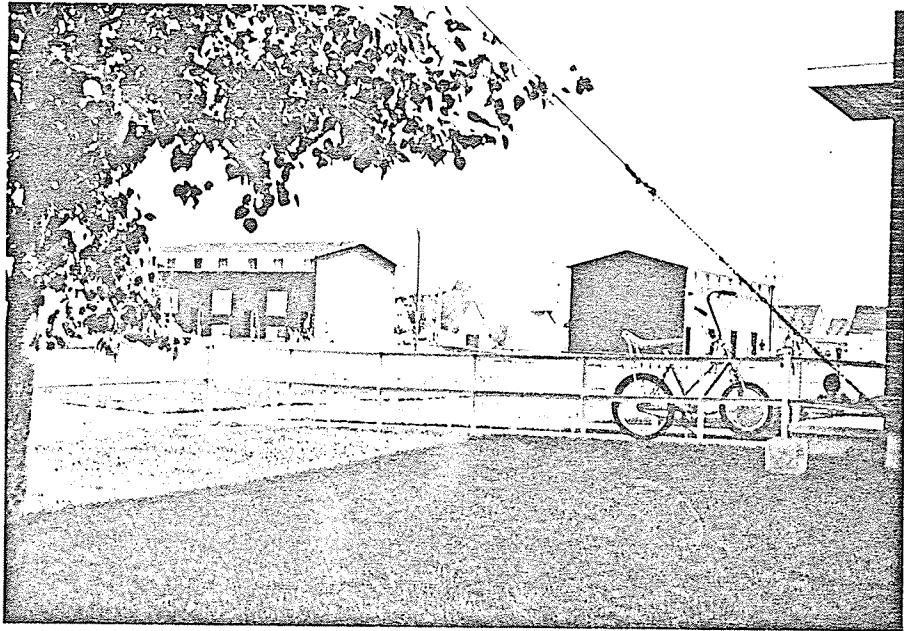
Dr. Morrison, a Sociologist at the University of Winnipeg, conducted a sample survey among relocatees from Lord Selkirk Park in order to determine the consequences of relocation.⁽²⁾ For the most part, so indicate his findings, the majority of people were satisfied with the move. However, many felt that the renewal program had not taken into account the causal factors of social and economic disadvantage. A number, for example, pointed out the need for training programs in order to acquire a job "they might like". Specific residents, especially the indigent, made reference to the assistance they received from Neighbourhood Service Centres and the Multi-Service Projects.

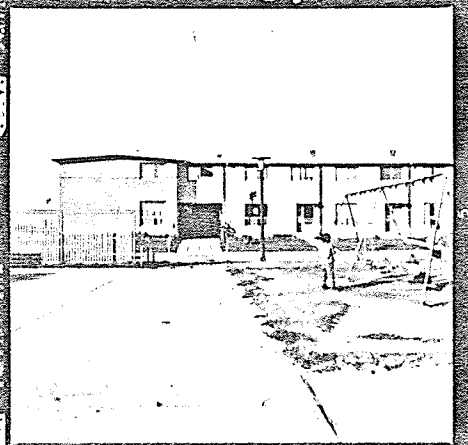
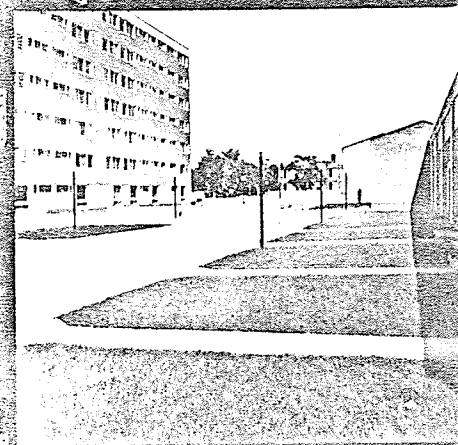
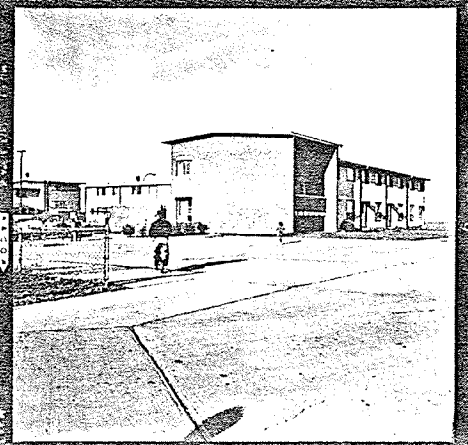
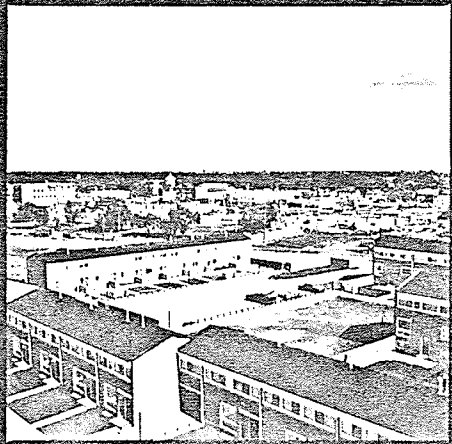
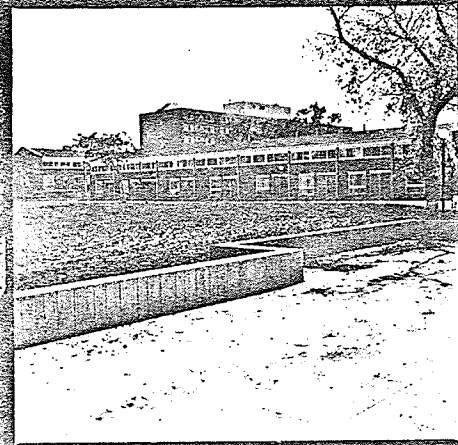
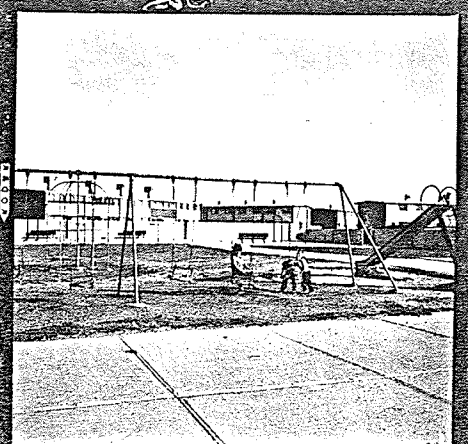
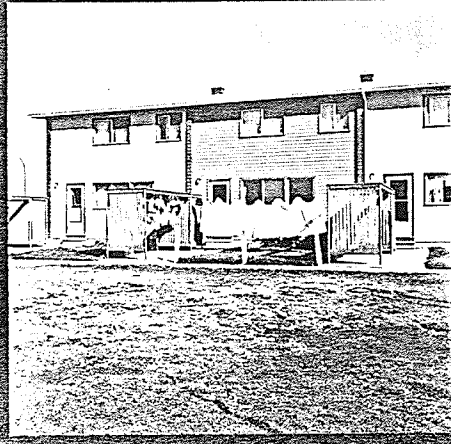
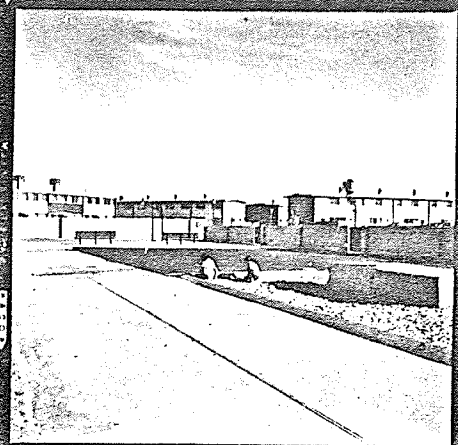
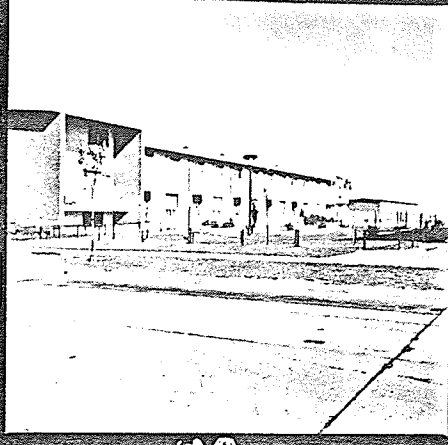
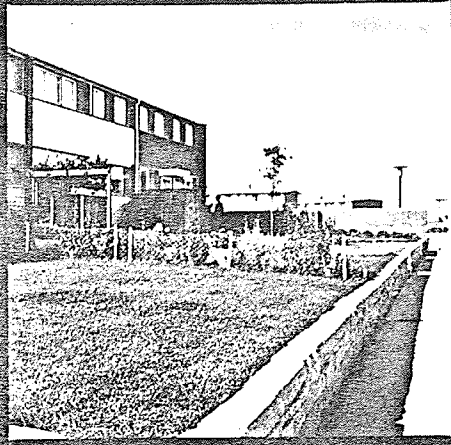
Dr. Morrison's study also reveals increases in rent, but finds that better living conditions justify such increases. This appears rather incongruous when over half his sample reported they didn't have enough money to make ends meet. At

(2) Morrison, A study on the social aspects of Urban Renewal
(Prepared by the Community Welfare Planning Council of Winnipeg)



The Burrows-Keewatin Public Housing Project





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any rate, he finds evidence of definite physical improvement despite a lack of social services.

In depicting the way people felt about public housing at Burrows-Keewatin, Dr. Morrison utilizes specific terms. The social world of the former community is described by the term "Giemeinschaft" (personal) while the housing project area is characterized by "Giesellschaft" (impersonal world of secondary relationships).

In seeking independent data Dr. Morrison's study, completed in 1967, missed much of the early relocation story. By the mid '60's some of the anxieties of those who had moved had diminished.

An examination of Housing and Urban Renewal Department data, exposed statistics assembled by Mr. W. Courage, pertaining to thirty-eight households which relocated to Burrows-Keewatin. Specific questions asked of relocatees are especially interesting. These include:

- Why did you move to the Salter-Jarvis area?

Most respondents replied that they had no alternative but to live where rents are cheapest. Only 13% said they actually chose to live in the Salter-Jarvis community because they liked it. This would suggest that we can be overly nostalgic about the neighbourliness of the Salter-Jarvis community.

- Would you have moved from the area had you not been displaced?

Surprisingly enough more than half (53%) replied in the negative, pointing out they either liked the area and/or paid low rents.

- Why did you move to Burrows-Keewatin?

The greatest percentage (33%) said they had no alternative. Others cited factors like "good area", "reasonable rent", and "close to friends" as their reasons for moving.

- Would you move to public housing in your former neighbourhood, if it were provided?

To this question 45% replied "yes", 42% answered "no" and 13% said they were not sure. Many, however, expressed a desire to return to their "old part of town".

Mr. Courage himself felt that only minimal services had been provided to relocatees. Perhaps his desire to so diligently assemble statistics was predicated on the hope that future relocation would result in greater benefits. It was this same concern which led him to embark on an ad hoc program to provide furniture to those facing relocation under the banner of a successful program termed "Operation 63". This gesture pointed out just how little people had. It also highlighted the absence of effective relocation policy.

STAGE TWO:

The remaining stages of the renewal scheme will be dealt with briefly through comparison with stage #1. Emphasis will be placed on available personal comments, especially those drawn from the final stage relocatoes.

number of persons - 289 households - 103 owner households - 7 tenant households - 107

PRE-RELOCATION DATA

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Population composition by household size	45.0	11.1	12.0	13.0	8.3	3.7	3.7	3.2
Overcrowding within each household size category	0.0	0.0	7.7	35.9	66.6	75.0	75.0	66.6
Those living in P/P or F/P housing conditions within each household category	18.3	8.3	5.4	7.1	11.1	0.0	50.0	66.6
Near or below poverty-line incomes for each household category:								
a. total	49.0	25.0	69.0	69.0	78.0	75.0	100.0	100.0
b. those employed	2.0	16.0	32.0	29.0	56.0	50.0	100.0	66.0
Paying more than 30% of income for rent for each household category	13.0	22.0	13.0	13.0	25.0	34.0	0.0	0.0
Condition of premises:	Employed households - 65.0		Major employment groups:					
P/P - 5.5	Unemployed " - 35.0		services and recreation		- 34.4			
P/F - 11.1	Households in receipt of		craftsman and production					
F/F - 31.5	welfare as a % of total:		process		- 18.6			
F/G - 32.4	- 13.9		own business		- 17.2			
G/G - 19.5								

POST-RELOCATION DATA

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Overcrowding within each household category	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.0	50.0	50.0	66.0	100.0
Those living in P/P or F/P housing conditions by household categories	15.0	8.0	9.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	0.0	33.0
Moved to better housing by category	22.0	50.0	46.0	42.0	33.0	25.0	100.0	66.0
Received the same or less space per category	65.0	67.0	55.0	64.0	50.0	50.0	33.0	33.0
Increases in rent by category	64.0	29.0	75.0	62.0	60.0	25.0	50.0	67.0
Distance moved:	North of CPR		South of CPR	Total	Households which received some form of relocation assistance - 2.5			
0 - 1/2 mile	42.4	1.4	43.8					
1/2 - 1 "	25.6	7.6	33.2					
1 - 2 "	6.4	6.4	12.8					
2 - 3 "	3.7	3.7	7.4					
3 - 5 "	1.4	1.4	2.8					
			100.0					

BEFORE RELOCATION

The stage #2 area (see Plate No. 4) is further removed from the adverse influences of the C.P. Railway. Condition of premises were far better than for those of stage #1. Only 16.6% of the dwellings were in F/F condition. Like stage #1 the largest families were in the worst housing.

This area was also one of high tenancy. 94% of its 108 households were occupied by tenants. In comparison to stage #1, households appear somewhat smaller. However, while most (81%) are of four persons or less, the remaining 10% of the households account for more than 40% of the stage #2 population. A number of very large families are thus exposed.

A great many of the stage #2 households were overcrowded. This was especially true of those consisting of five or more persons where a 70% incidence of overcrowding appears.

Statistics on financial support show 35% of the stage #2 households as unemployed. Fewer unemployed than for stage #1 were on welfare and the welfare rate was also half that of the initial stage. For those employed, only 6% were labourers. More skilled and trained workers were reflected in reported occupations. Incomes, however, were not appreciably better than for stage #1 residents, and many lived at or below the poverty line. Few large families escaped the misery of poverty-income existence.

Although most premises were in relatively good condition, rents for most employed tenants were reasonable. Only 15% of the stage #2 households paid more than 30% of their income on rent.

In stage #2 we find better living conditions, but the population still caught in the grip of extremely low incomes. It would appear that the cheap rents of this area created a haven for many poor persons.

AFTER RELOCATION

Post-relocation statistics reveal a move to better housing by half the stage #2 households. 18% moved to worse accommodations. In general large families fared the best in the acquisition of better housing. The price for relocation, however, is evident in higher rent. 60% of the stage #2 households paid higher rents. Of those that did, over 30% experienced rental increases amounting to more than 50%. In part this increase was offset by the fact that nearly half the households gained space. However, one must recall the favourable rent-income position prior to relocation which may have been a factor of stability to many stage #2 families.

Only 2.5% of the relocatees received assistance in moving. Public housing was not available to stage #2 residents.

The move pattern of households again shows a concentration to the immediate north of the renewal area. 85% moved within one mile northward. A greater dispersal, however, is evident for those who moved to the south of the C.P.R.

The consequences of stage #2 relocation are not appreciably different than those for stage #1. The lower incidence of housing improvement, higher rents, and the short distance moved, expose meagre benefits. It further highlights the fact that stage #2 continued a process of diminution of the housing stock which increased rents for low-income families in general. This is

reflected in North Point Douglas where in 1968 rent for what can only be described as "slum" housing was leased for \$150.00 a month; a legacy of an urban renewal program which, perhaps, should have kept intact the residential community to the north of Dufferin.

COMMENTS BASED ON PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Two to three years following renewal:

- Households were chosen at random to determine how a sample had fared. A significant number of households had moved several times and could not be traced. Of the eleven families interviewed six felt they were better off, having moved from the Salter-Jarvis community.

Those who felt they were better off:

1. A separated woman and her son who had moved to share accommodation with a brother. The family had few friends in the old area and felt somewhat isolated there due to an inability to converse in Ukrainian. This group was supported by welfare payments.
2. A Jewish couple with their son, also supported by welfare, who moved to what they described as a "better" part of the North End. This family experienced great difficulty in finding alternative accommodation and felt the relocation grant was inadequate. In the new location their premises were shared with a friend.
3. A family of seven persons who assumed home-ownership following the move. The father felt relocation had given "the push" they required to locate a better home. This family also complained of the difficulty in finding a new home. However, having located a suitable dwelling, the family made many new friends and found a host of community facilities which were non-existent in their old area. While better-off this family was somewhat disgruntled over the City rushing them out of their former house - only to leave it standing for two years.

4. A tenant family of three who moved to North Point Douglas. This family moved in with a relative after having difficulty in finding reasonable accommodation for themselves. The existence of parks in the new area was very important to them. They received no relocation grant as they had moved prior to a specified date established by the City.
5. An elderly woman who moved to interim housing in the area, and from there to the Lord Selkirk Towers. She appreciated not having to move very far from her old address. This woman felt the City should have paid all moving costs and should have aided her in obtaining suitable furniture.
6. A family of five persons who moved first to North Point Douglas, and then to Fort Garry. They wanted to "get away" from the old area but experienced difficulty in locating a new dwelling. This family spoke of the relative quiet of the new area and the absence of fights. However, they did feel the City was not giving sufficient information about redevelopment to residents.

Those who felt they had gained nothing through relocation:

1. A family of two elderly persons which moved into City-owned housing at Flora Place (2-3 miles north of the Salter-Jarvis area). These people told me that they did not wish to move to Flora Place, but could not find housing on their own. They pointed out that the new dwelling was much farther from their place of work. Strong feelings were evident when discussion turned to friends and neighbours in the old community. These cherished acquaintances were sadly missed, especially in view of the difficult time they were having in making new friends.
2. A two-person middle-aged family which moved just to the north of the Salter-Jarvis area. Their own comments best highlight their frustration; "We moved to this area because we grew weary of looking for a home." We were happy in the old area and don't understand why we had to move." This tenant family received no relocation grant. The couple was unaware that such disbursements had been made to other relocatees.
3. A seven member single-parent (mother) family, in receipt of welfare. The Mother felt that the family had moved to worse housing just to the west of the redevelopment area. The new neighbourhood was described as "rough" and as "no place to raise kids."

The Mother had sought accommodation in the Lord Selkirk Park Housing Development, but was unsuccessful in even obtaining an application. Complaints were also raised in respect to having been "rushed into moving with so large a family." In this case the family had been moved

from a rotting house in an area of familiarity, to a rotting house in an area of hostility.

4. A three-person single-parent (mother) family, on welfare. This family moved to the south of the C.P.R., in proximity to Downtown. The Mother complained about the lack of assistance in moving. She explained that she moved to her current address because, "no other places were available." The new house, she said, posed many problems. Being of two stories, her two crippled daughters found it extremely difficult to contend with the stairs.

Further criticism of being forced to move, centred about a language problem. "In the old area" the Mother explained, "I could talk Ukrainian or Polish but here no one understands me."

5. A family of three which had moved to the C.P.R. - Notre Dame area. The new housing was described as no better than the old. Difficulties of home-finding were expressed. The family felt that no good reason existed for their having had to move. At the time of the interview the family was looking for another house.

BEFORE RELOCATION

Pre-relocation living conditions for the eighty-one Stage Three households do not differ appreciably from those of the preceding redevelopment phases. Tenancy is again high at 85%; a number of large families and elderly single persons further characterizes the population. There are more households (31%) than in either of the former stages which consist of over four persons. For these families, as in the case of initial stages, overcrowding appears to be a serious problem. The percentage differential in overcrowding between four and five persons households is 41.6%. Overcrowding affected more than 65% of family groups categorized by size and consisting of more than four persons.

Dwelling condition statistics highlight the fact that 30% of the Stage Three households lived in substandard accommodation, although a relative number (32%) had been in very good accommodation. The greatest incidence of substandard housing habitation was experienced by large families.

Income and employment information shows an employment picture akin to Stage Two, with 35.5% non-working households. Of the unemployed over half were supported by welfare; a far worse situation than in Stage Two. The welfare rate per hundred households of 18.5% approximates that of Stage One. The majority of wage earners were employed in service and recreation industries, with a surprisingly high percentage (23%) of labourers being found in the Stage Three population.

Poverty-line income comparisons (1965) once again expose the disparate financial positions of large families. In the

case of six, seven and eight person households, for example, all are at or below poverty-line incomes. Most households (90.6%) spent less than 30% of their incomes on rent. Only in the case of families consisting of more than five persons did rents exceed this percentage of income.

In total, conditions in Stage Three were slightly worse than in Stage Two. Incomes were low, the labour force less skilled, and more people were living in poor housing. However, it appeared that rent was at least within the reach of most households.

AFTER RELOCATION

A greater number of households (27%) were "lost" in the Stage Three move. Many were senior citizens who had resided in one room.

Half the population moved to "better" accommodation. Only 10%, less than for preceding stages, moved to "worse" premises. Large and small families fared about the same in terms of acquiring better housing.

The Stage Three move was also plagued by higher rents. Of the households (52%) which were forced to assume higher rental costs, 30% paid 50% more. Unlike the previous stages, however, rent increases were distributed more equally among all households, not merely the largest ones.

The majority of families moved into premises containing more space or with the same space. Losses were infrequent. With the exception of eight person households, over half of all families with more than three persons, attained space increases.

Only 8.5% of the Stage Three households received relocation assistance. Public housing was not available for the relocating population.

Some 80% of Stage Three households moved to within one mile north of the Salter-Jarvis community. Of the remaining 20% which moved to the south of the C.P.R., half settled in close proximity to the railway tracks in extremely deteriorated housing.

Stage Three households for the most part acquired better housing, but rents increased appreciably. Such an increase must be weighed against the capacity of residents to assume it. In the case of those under discussion here, this capacity would appear to be minimal. In reflecting upon a move from an area where 70% of the dwellings were adequate and 18% potentially suitable for rehabilitation, these relocation gains are of dubious value. It is interesting to note, for example, that although almost one-third of the single persons lived in sub-standard housing, only 10% moved to "better" accommodation. Perhaps this is an indication of a growing tight-housing market for everyone. At the close of Stage Three, 850 dwelling units had been eliminated, with only 56 households having been accommodated in public housing units.

As in Stages One and Two, households spilled over into the adjacent northern communities. A further process of deterioration began. Beyond what urban renewal "did not" do for Salter-Jarvis residents, it proved disturbing to the viability of other segments of the North End.

COMMENTS

Families interviewed some two years after relocation.

Those who felt they were better-off:

1. The H. family of five persons moved to within half a mile to the north of the Salter-Jarvis area. They retained their tenant occupancy status in their new home. The H. family was self-supporting.

This family wished to move. Their house was in poor condition and too small. The new home was very satisfying, being larger and in a better condition. Little difference was noticed between the two neighbourhoods and the minimal distance moved facilitated contact with old neighbours.

The H. family received no assistance in finding another house, no help in moving, and no relocation grant. They were unaware that assistance was available.

2. The B family, of Indian ancestry, found accommodation in North Point Douglas. This seven member family was fatherless and was dependent on welfare payments. Mrs. B. wanted to move to a "better" house. In actual fact she considered the new premises only slightly improved, but felt the new neighbourhood was a more suitable district to raise children. The children wanted to remain here as they were close to former friends. However, at the time of the interview the family was looking for another house in better condition.

The B. family received virtually no relocation assistance. Mrs. B. wished to move into public housing, but was told there was none available.

3. The twelve person M. family moved to North Point Douglas. The parents were relieved to leave the miserable terrace accommodation they had formerly occupied. The new area was described as "much better for children". The family also noted the importance of not being too distant from their Salter-Jarvis area neighbours and friends.

Mr. M. felt that the family had been hurried by the City and that the relocation people did not understand the difficulties faced by large families. He also felt he had been unjustly denied a relocation grant. In responding to the question: "How do you feel relocation could be improved?" Mr. M. replied "One should be able to expect more help in finding another house."

4. Mr. V., a self-supporting elderly gentleman, moved approximately one mile to the north of the Salter-Jarvis area. He desired to move to a "better part of town" and was extremely happy with his new place of residence. Mr. V. received no relocation grant. The reason he gave was "I just wanted to be left alone and never went after it."

Those who felt they were no better-off:

1. The P. family of two persons is supported by a D.V.A. widow's allowance. Mrs. P. being an owner in the old area purchased another home in the North End. Although the new residence was purchased outright she was dissatisfied with the settlement received for her former house. Mrs. P. was unaware that the lawyer she retained to negotiate with the City could have been paid by the relocating authority. She had few complaints about the new neighbourhood. She recalled with both pleasure and sadness that she had been a "bootlegger" for some time in the Salter-Jarvis area.
2. The K's, a homeowners family of four, moved to East Kildonan. Mrs. K. is a widow, supporting three children on a meagre income. They did not want to leave the Salter-Jarvis area as it had been their home for twenty-five years.

Mrs. K. described the newly-acquired house as in "worse" condition than the one her family had left, and expressed the difficulty she and her children were having making friends in the new neighbourhood.

With respect to compensation for the old home, Mrs. K. felt the City had underpaid her. She maintained this conclusion even after going to arbitration proceedings for a fair price. Through arbitration the family were given an extra \$1,000.00 for the old house. In summing up her experiences Mrs. K. said "I would rather have just stayed in the old area."

3. A three person tenant family which moved to an adjacent part of the North End was extremely emphatic about their reluctance to move. This family identified the Salter-Jarvis community as a very comfortable place in which to live. The father identified the new neighbourhood as a worse place within which to raise children. He cited the presence of a motorcycle gang hangout and its adverse influence on the children of the area. For this reason the family is again looking for a new home.

No bitterness was shown towards the renewal authority. The mother felt they could be happy anywhere because the family was close. With respect to relocation assistance, it was "understood" that families would fend for themselves.

Those who felt they were far worse-off following the move:

1. Mr. K., a single, middle-aged gentleman, owned his home in the Salter-Jarvis community but moved half a mile northward to take up residence with his sister. Mr. K's major complaint is the inadequate payment which he received for his house. The money he obtained would only cover the cost of a down-payment on another house, and made home-purchasing an impossibility. Following arbitration proceedings Mr. K. received an additional \$800.00, giving him a total of \$5,800.00 for his house. He felt that in the absence of a lawyer at the arbitration hearings the City had overpowered him. No mention was made of the fact that legal fees he assumed would be paid by the City.

2. Mrs. S., with her husband and five children, moved northward in proximity to the old neighbourhood. This family had rented accommodation prior to the move and continued to be tenants following relocation.

The family felt that people were far more friendly in the Salter-Jarvis area; they did not feel "accepted" in the area to which they had moved. No relocation grant was ever received by Mr. S., and the family's request to be considered for public housing was not acknowledged. Moving expenses were paid for by Mr. S's brother.

The S's miss the old area. They feel the City did not help them even though they had asked for assistance. "People" at the City said the family would be contacted, helped in getting furniture, finding a house and moving, but such assistance was not provided.

Having heard complaints about inadequate compensation, and responses of those satisfied with relocation, I will explore the financial basis upon which compensation was determined.

The Issue of Just Compensation

Discussion of relocation would be incomplete in the absence of commentary on issues of compensation to those forced to vacate the renewal area "for the public good". Basically, compensation was provided for under the terms of the Expropriation Act of the Province of Manitoba. In an earlier chapter the major components

of this Act, as a determinant of renewal procedure, was discussed. It was suggested at that time, that this major piece of legislation did not afford adequate compensation to relocatees and further that it perpetuated a legal game of people displacement. The civic role in this game was one of property acquisition at a "reasonable price" to the City. Price haggling was the major activity of buyer and seller. In a more precise way the City should have acted as a reparation authority, a disburser of indemnity payment to a great many persons needing assistance, having been forced to give up their property to the state. Inadequacy related to attitude.

A number of people dislocated from the Salter-Jarvis area appear to have assumed too great a burden for reasons of urban renewal. Under a rather inadequate Expropriation Act, the market value which residents received for their homes was far less than that needed to buy an equivalent home in a viable residential community elsewhere. Certainly no City lawyer or planning official could guarantee that an expropriatee would be able to get an equivalent house for the money he received. As was noted in the case study, few owners were satisfied with the settlement they received.

In terms of time alone, problems arose. The sixty day notice allotted to renewal area residents to fix property value often posed difficulties. Many simply accepted the price the City offered. I have no doubt that a great number of persons understood their opportunity for recourse to the Board of Arbitration in the event they were not satisfied with the City offer. But on the other hand, challenging the City was fraught

with much anxiety. The City had the resources, the appraisers, the planning experts; in total the competitive advantage. Appeal also meant lawyers and expenses which might not be recovered. Too many residents with whom I had personal contact were unaware that the possibility of receiving compensation for the payment of legal fees, existed. At any rate, the people of the Salter-Jarvis area felt unequipped to confront City Hall. A great many feared government per se and were not inclined to complain about expropriation. Defenders of the renewal program have cited the less than 15% incidence of cases which have gone to arbitration, as an indication of satisfaction with the government offer. Such a generalization is certainly unjustified.

While a number of homeowners were absentee landlords, owner-occupiers had little financial resources with which to absorb any incidental expenses of moving. At times, the low-income characteristics of the Salter-Jarvis homeowner seem to have been overlooked. This was especially true in the case of the elderly for whom obtaining mortgages was extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Salter-Jarvis owners wanted a home for a home. They felt no obligation to assume onerous financial obligations for the renewal program. In Stage 4 some of their requests were expressed publicly. They included:

- The provision of interest-free loans to owners forced to move. It was specified that loans should be in the amount of the difference between what one gets for his home, and the purchase price of another.

- Adequate information to residents about expropriation. It was felt that in the preceding stages of redevelopment, communication between the community and the City had been poor.
- The payment of full legal costs of arbitration.
- The payment of replacement value for homes rather than market value.

Entire areas of compensation were excluded from consideration. The issue of devaluation of property remaining in the renewal area, after program implementation had proceeded at length, was never appropriately dealt with. Market value related to a house at a point in time; the time of appraisal. Urban renewal itself was a factor of residential real estate market depression which should have been given monetary definition in order to figure into the appraisal process.

The lack of compensation for tenants is a further point of contention, especially in view of the inadequacy of relocation grants. No civic responsibility was evident with respect to relocating tenants in comparable accommodation at comparable cost. This became a major problem in Stage #4 where many tenants inhabited adequate accommodation at very favourable rents.

The fact that in most instances value was determined by the appraisers working under contract to the City created feelings of bitterness. Homeowners felt the appraisers were prejudiced in favour of the City. It is difficult to debate this point, but I would feel more comfortable about appraiser impartiality were I a resident, if the appraiser were not retained by the expropriating authority.

I do not wish to belabour the question of compensation further. The Expropriation Act has been amended and opens new doors to the establishment of appropriate disbursements for the forced taking of property. But a great number of owners bore the brunt of inadequate law; law described by a particular City Alderman and lawyer, well-versed in expropriation as:

"Unfair and ridiculous....The Act should be fully revised. What the residents are getting now for payment of their properties is not sufficient to purchase homes in another part of the City . People should be paid full replacement value for their property." (3)

(3) J. Zuken, Winnipeg Free Press, January 4, 1967, p. 21

STAGE FOUR:

number of persons - 236 households - 71 owner households - 20 tenant households - 51

PRE-RELOCATION DATA

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Population composition by household size	22.6	16.7	32.6	8.4	12.7	8.4	7.5	0.1
Overcrowding within each household size category	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	33.3	50.0	20.0	0.0
Those living in P/P or P/F housing conditions within each household category	31.0	17.0	12.0	0.0	56.0	0.0	80.0	100.0
Near or below poverty-line incomes for each household category:								
a. total	50.0	33.0	37.0	83.0	78.0	83.0	100.0	100.0
b. those employed	11.0	0.0	17.0	75.0	60.0	75.0	100.0	100.0
Paying more than 30% of income for rent by category	0.0	0.0	14.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Condition of premises:								
P/P - 24.0			Employed households - 62.0					
P/F - 2.8			Unemployed " - 38.0					
r/F - 11.4			Households in receipt of welfare as a % of total					
F/G - 13.6			- 22.6					
G/G - 43.2								
					Major employment groups:			
					service and recreation		- 34.1	
					craftsman and production process		- 29.6	
					labourer		- 18.2	

POST-RELOCATION DATA

Overcrowding within each household size category	0.0	0.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	33.0	50.0	100.0
Those living in P/P or P/F housing conditions within each household size category	0.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Moved to better housing by household size category	43.0	20.0	58.0	25.0	37.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Received the same or less space per category	70.0	50.0	50.0	80.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
Rent increases within each household size group	50.0	33.0	60.0	0.0	80.0	67.0	100.0	N.A.
Distance moved:								
0 - 1/2 mile		North of CPR	South of CPR	Total				Households which received relocation assistance - 22.4% of total
1 - 1 "		32.8	0.0	32.8				% of tenant households relocated to public housing - 21.0
1 - 2 "		20.7	6.9	27.6				
2 - 3 "		22.4	3.4	25.8				
2 - 3 "		8.6	1.8	10.4				
3 - 5 "		0.0	3.4	3.4				

Statistics for the 71 Stage Four households indicate distinct differences in living conditions compared to other renewal scheme population characteristics. These differences are manifest in a higher percentage (24%) of tenants, an absence of large families, and a decline in the number of single person households. Size of household (2.5) excluding single persons is also comparatively much smaller.

It is somewhat surprising that almost one-fourth of the Stage Four households resided in dwellings categorized in P/P condition, while over 43% inhabited G/G premises. Of the few large families almost all lived in substandard accommodation.

Over 60% of the Stage Four family heads were employed. Most of those in the labour force found employment in service and recreation, and craftsman and production process categories. Welfare supported 59.4% of the unemployed households, and the welfare rate of 22.6% was higher than for either Stage Two or Stage Three residents. Stage Four appears to be characterized by the "haves" and the "have nots" with little in between. Incomes were higher for Stage Four households than any other but large families appeared again, for the most part in poverty circumstances.

Stage Four rent conditions were extremely favourable. More than 80% of all households paid less than 25% of their income for rent.

With but few exceptions, Stage Four residents experienced the highest standard of living in the Salter-Jarvis community. It would appear that a greater percentage, as compared to other stages, were better equipped financially to cope with relocation.

Having examined statistical data which provides for comparisons in population characteristics between this and other phases of redevelopment, I wish to expand the Stage Four analysis with the inclusion of actual survey information. Some 47 households were interviewed, both prior to relocation and within six months to a year following the move. In order to heighten the relevancy of pre-location survey data I have divided households into two groups, namely: (i) those favouring a move, and (ii) those opposed to moving.

The families interviewed were evenly divided between those favouring and those opposing a relocation. Of the 47 households, 24 wanted to move while 23 did not. A summary of data establishes the following image:

	THOSE IN FAVOUR OF MOVING	THOSE OPPOSED TO MOVING
Household size	A small percentage of single person households and large families, with most between two and four persons.	A significant percentage of one person households and large families. An extremely high percentage of three person households.
TENANT DOMINATION		
Occupancy Status	Two-thirds of households were renting premises.	Almost half the households were owners.
Condition of Premises	Fifty percent of households resided in premises categorized as G/E. Over 20% occupied poor housing.	87% of households resided in either F/G or G/G premises. Only 4.3% inhabited poor dwellings.
Ethnic Origin	58% Slavic content, followed by Metis (17%) and Jewish (12%).	87% Slavic content.
Length of Residence	31% of the households had lived in the area less than two years. Only 20% had been in the area more than ten years.	Only 17% had lived in the area for less than 2 years. Almost 40% were characterized by a long-term residency of over 10 years.
Employment	60% employed.	Over 80% employed.

The above information points to the fact that the more mobile elements of the population were in favour of moving. Few households, for example, containing more than four persons, wished to move. Single person households also show a reluctance to relocation. Many less-encumbered tenants in their potential mobility favoured a move as well. Owners, on the other hand, did not wish to give up their homes.

As may be expected, many families in the group wishing to move occupied poor housing; but it is interesting to note that 50% of them had very good accommodations. By no means was everyone wanting to move seeking escape from poor housing. Many of Slavic ethnic background were opposed to moving. A great number had lived in the area for many years and the familiarity of the community made it a haven for those desirous of retaining life-style characteristics of the old world. People of Indian and Jewish ancestry also favoured changing locations; the former probably feeling the effects of Slavic emanating discrimination; the latter completing an earlier begun Jewish outmigration from the North End.

With some understanding of the differences between our two groups, we shall now specifically examine the actual "reasons" for either supporting or condemning a move.

Respecting the prospect of relocation some of the comments made by the 47 households interviewed are as follows:

THOSE OPPOSED TO THE MOVE:

- 54% did not wish to leave friends and neighbours;
- 19.3% were afraid of not receiving fair market value for their present homes;

- 16.1% felt that housing costs were cheaper where they were currently living than elsewhere in the City;
- 6.5% believed this area should not be renewed as the houses were in good condition; and
- 3.2% preferred the close proximity to their work.

Of the half of the households for which there are pre-location interviews, many expressed strong neighbourhood feelings. In particular some pointed to the ability to "get along" in the community through using one's mother tongue. Others identified with friends and neighbours by virtue of a common association with the Holy Ghose Church on the north side of Selkirk Avenue. In addition, many of the Slavic children attended Holy Ghost School.

Several homeowners expressed anxiety over what they would receive by way of compensation for their homes. The acquiring of home-ownership for these people had not been easy. Few of them really understood what the City was attempting to convey about expropriation. At a meeting held in an area school, representatives of the City's Legal Department outlined the meaning of expropriation. It was apparent, however, from personal contact with residents, that much confusion as to what would happen was evident. The majority of homeowners, for example, did not know that legal and appraisal fees they assumed in relocation could be paid for by the City. Stories and rumours about homeowners who had not received fair value were everywhere. I would surmise that the fears and anxieties in Stage Four were not appreciably different from the fears and anxieties in other stages of redevelopment.

51% of the families in favour of moving who were interviewed gave the following reasons:

- 59.2% did not like this part of town;
- 22.2% had few friends here;
- 18.5% felt the area was generally run-down;
- 14.8% did not think it was a good area in which to raise children;
- 3.7% believed too many Indians were moving into the district;
- 14.8% said their houses were in poor condition;
- 14.8% felt their houses were overcrowded; and
- 11.2% wanted to move to public housing.

Almost all the households favouring a move were tenants. Most felt they could afford to move to a better part of town, except for those on welfare, and were anxious to take up residency in public housing.

In this last phase a City site office, and the deployment of relocation personnel working in conjunction with People's Opportunity Services, met such fears with information and advice. Residents were at least informed of their rights. In time a resident organization was formed; too late to modify the almost completed renewal scheme, but timely enough for some people to publicize the lack of consideration given by the City to relocatees.

A petition submitted by the residents in challenge of the Stage Four program had little impact on effecting change. It asked for a reconsideration of spot clearance and consideration for those residents remaining in the area following renewal. Replacement cost for homes expropriated was also asked for.

A copy of this brief is found in the appendix.

Assistance in the preparation of a resident statement came from staff resources at People's Opportunity Services. Both the P.O.S. site and social work personnel added a social dimension to the renewal process. In the course of our interviews, some thirty people were referred to P.O.S. for assistance. Some received counselling, others were enrolled in training programs, while many were assisted in adapting to life in a public housing complex. The P.O.S. policy of hiring case aides from "within" the community overcame the adverse impacts which social agency intervention could have had upon area residents. Aides related to problems of all types; home finding, delinquency, truancy, adaption of Indian and Metis families to new housing, assistance to the elderly, the simple provision of information to residents and a host of others.

For our same group, interviewed before relocation, let us look at the results of the renewal program. Between six months and a year following the move these same Stage Four families were re-interviewed. The findings, categorized in terms of the expressed feelings of the residents, establish whether people considered themselves to be better-off, worse-off, or the same, after relocation. We shall relate these findings to our two groups of "those in favour" of moving and "those opposed" to a move.

1. For the twenty-four households in favour of moving:

		T	O	Total
Better	79.2%	14	5	19
Same	8.3%	1	1	2
Worse	12.5%	1	2	3

2. For the twenty-three households opposed to the move:

		T	O	Total
Better	61.0%	8	6	14
Same	13.0%	3	0	3
Worse	26.0%	2	4	6

Many of the residents "who had opposed the move" felt they had benefitted following relocation. However, some 40% of the people in this group could identify no gains. This compares to the minimal 20% of those in favour of moving who had not found improvement. The fears of some residents towards relocation were resolved in the actuality of relocation, while the hopes of others went unfulfilled. It is a fact, however, that a large percentage of those opposing the move found only hardship in relocation. Perhaps greater assistance could have been provided to this group.

When our two groups of relocatees are combined, the following overall results appear:

	T	O	Total	%
Better	22	11	33	70.2
Same	4	1	5	10.6
Worse	3	6	9	19.2
			47	100.0

Almost a third of those who vacated the Stage Four Salter-Jarvis area could cite no actual improvement through their experience. This fact is significant when one considers the relatively good living conditions of Stage Four residents and an assumed capacity of residents to compete for adequate housing.

Of the nine households which felt worse-off for the move almost all had lived in the Salter-Jarvis area for more than

ten years. Two-thirds were owners and all but one of the households in this group was of Slavic ethnic origin. All lived in either G/G or F/F housing and only one resident, a pensioner, was not employed. This had been a particularly stable group in the Salter-Jarvis community. Most could not understand the rationale for a forced move from an adequate, well-maintained home.

In closing discussions on Stage Four relocation, I wish to highlight some of the expressed feelings of the relocated residents. Comments will be ranked in order of frequency mentioned for two groups; those who felt better-off after the move and those who felt worse of, or the same.

1. Comments of those 33 households who were satisfied with relocation:

- The new neighbourhood is better. It is quieter and/or a better place to raise children.

This was the most common statement for those who felt they were better-off. Positive feelings about the new neighbourhood accounted for 42.5% of all comments offered by satisfied relocatees. A number of residents visualized the Salter-Jarvis community as a "rough" place since the construction of public housing.

- The new house is much better.

22.5% of the comments lauded relocation on the basis of the physical conditions of the new-found dwelling.

- We like public housing. It is new, not far from the old house, and rents are cheap.

This comment relates to both dwelling and neighbourhood; the totality of the public housing development. This response accounted for 22.5% of all comments citing better living conditions.

- Urban renewal gave us the push we needed to move:

A few residents stated that without renewal they would have remained in the Salter-Jarvis community. They felt that the forced move was advantageous in that it unlocked them from the protection of their familiar neighbourhood. Of all responses this comment accounted for 7.5%.

- I am better-off financially.

Through such factors as a "good deal" on a new home and "moved in with relatives" a small number of residents felt they had gained financially through moving.

2. Comments of those 14 who felt worse-off, or the same, following relocation:

- Relocation has caused financial problems.

More specifically such problems relate to lost revenue from roomers, rent increases, and the burden of mortgage payments. This comment accounts for 75% of all those feeling economically pinched following relocation.

- Cannot get along in the new community - English is bad.

This response reflects the feeling of one resident attempting to express her isolation in the new area.

- Don't like public housing.

One resident from the Stage Four community was dissatisfied with public housing.

Of the nineteen owners interviewed in Stage Four, only three were satisfied with the amount of compensation they received for their homes. None went to arbitration in an attempt to obtain what was personally considered a "fair value".

Stage Four residents made reference to relocation assistance which they received from People's Opportunity Services. Specifically such assistance included:

home-finding assistance
assistance in acquiring furniture

moving assistance
 placement in a job training course
 help in obtaining clothes
 referral to medical assistance

The presence of P.O.S. was much in evidence during Stage Four relocation. People sought advice to the solution of a great many problems. It should also be pointed out that the Housing and Urban Renewal Department established a site office in the Stage Four area on Robinson Street, next door to the location of P.O.S. From a central point in the community information and services were provided. Residents at least "could" be informed of their rights under expropriation through the City office. It is interesting to reflect upon the fact that this office was recognized as an extension of governmental officialdom, never assuming the same informal identity as the P.O.S. operation. Although the civic employees who staffed the site office spoke Ukrainian and communicated with many residents, the notoriety of prior relocation efforts made them suspect by local people. In actual fact, however, the relocation staff managed to assist many residents despite the handicap of City Government affiliation. Under the direction of Manley Steiman* they helped people in:

- applying for public housing;
- explaining the timing of relocation;
- defining the relocation grant amounts to which specific families were entitled;
- pointing out what the City would pay for in terms of appraisers and lawyers; and
- referring residents with social problems to People's Opportunity Services.

The two relocation site officers were also responsible for maintaining City-owned houses in the area which had been rented

* City's Relocation Officer

to local residents.

For a time I worked with the Relocation Officers in attempting to identify relocation problems. Collectively we referred thirty-three families to P.O.S. for assistance. It was a good feeling to have a resource to turn to when help was asked for.

Social Agency Participation in the Renewal Process

Mention has been made of two social agencies during the case study discussion. I wish, at this point, to elaborate on the nature, function and success of each. Such elaboration will also bring the renewal program into focus as a totality.

Neighbourhood Services Centre of Greater Winnipeg

Neighbourhood Services Centre is a United Way funded social agency. In the early 60's it was based at Norquay House to the east of Main Street in the Point Douglas community. Prior to urban renewal, agency workers identified a number of concerns within the Salter-Jarvis area:

- A meeting place is required in order that residents play a role in determining the future of their community.
- The area is in desperate need of recreational facilities. Children have nothing to do but get into trouble.
- Senior citizens will require special relocation assistance. Many of the elderly feel that their needs will be ignored when families are relocated.
- The strong ethnic and neighbourhood ties within the community should be considered by those drawing up a renewal program.
- Alternative accommodation will have to be provided for single-persons and two-person families; those who will not be accommodated at Burrows-Keewatin.

On the basis of the above concerns, programs were initiated

for senior citizens and teenagers. In attempting to relate to family problems, agency staff concluded that assistance was beyond the scope of N.S.C. From an idea to establish cooperation among a variety of social agencies, the Provincial Department of Welfare established on an experimental basis, the so-called Multi-Service Project. It provided assistance to specific families but was unable to generate viable agency collectivism. While it did not operate as a specific relocation resource, it met the relocation needs of a number of severely troubled families.

From an office on Dufferin and then of Robinson by 1964, N.S.C. became involved in a number of local programs. It had mobilized efforts around "Operations 63" in acquiring furniture for relocatees. It had been instrumental in the formation of a Mother's Club and a recreation association. Residents were also assisted in confronting the City over issues of property value and in obtaining information about renewal plans. However, efforts to organize residents around issues of renewal went unrewarded in the upheaval of dislocation and community change.

Ironically enough, that elusive resident organization appeared in 1967; too late for impact on renewal plans. It was supported by residents and former residents advocating a "fair deal" for remaining neighbours.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which Neighbourhood Services Centre assisted local residents. I am aware, personally, of people who looked to this agency for advice. I am less aware, however, of the influence which N.S.C. brought to

bear on the inclusion of social programming within the urban renewal scheme or the extent to which it attempted to alleviate the intolerable slum housing problems prior to renewal. As an agency, response was to immediate, or crisis problems. I do not suggest that such was not legitimate occupation, but must question impact in the context of so massive a relocation endeavour, devoid of social context.

Following 1966 N.S.C. began a process of withdrawal from the renewal area. Plagued by staff limitations which had obstructed effectiveness for years, in my opinion, it looked to consolidate its resources, south of the C.P.R. One of its final efforts was a survey of families which had moved from Salter-Jarvis. Their tales of loneliness and isolation, of difficulties in adjusting to new communities, and of alienated children is a sad commentary on the consequences of renewal and relocation.

People's Opportunity Services

P.O.S. is a component part of the Manitoba Department of Welfare.* It was established to serve inner-city renewal area populations and may be described as a relocation and community development organization. This agency instituted a team approach in meeting the needs of low-income communities. Teams became the backbone of agency operations. Composed of supervisory social workers and people hired as aides from the community (indigenous workers) they related to local need in a real sense. Aides operated in specific functional roles, social workers as generalists in an area of particularized needs. The balance was conducive

* Information is drawn from a personal working association with P.O.S. and from an interview with its former Executive Director, Mr. Leon Glassco.

to the provision of immediate assistance while at the same time permitting focus on broader community development issues and strategies. Agency acceptance in the neighbourhood was based on service. Aides were called upon to act as baby-sitters, as homemakers, employment and home finders, arrangers of funerals, and as advisors with respect to many problems. Aides made social work real, made agency intervention workable.

P.O.S. did not become operable until Stage Four of the renewal scheme. It followed on the heels of the Multi-Service Project. Indeed, the Executive Director of the Project took the reigns of P.O.S. Operating out of 112 Robinson Street, in the heart of the redevelopment area, it provided counselling services, activities for young people and acted as a resource for resident organization.

The Executive Director of P.O.S., Lee Glassco, saw renewal areas as "sheltered community workshops where services could be easily available to local residents". He visualized renewal planning as a consequence to social need.

I recall personally the activity within the P.O.S. office, the maturation and growing self-confidence of aides, many of whom had been welfare recipients, and the response to the many referrals which we made. The P.O.S. program provided relevant experience with which to build effective neighbourhood resource centres through which comprehensive relocation services could be delivered. It proved that government could be rational and sensitive, depending upon the extent to which intimacy of contact and neighbourhood awareness is realized.

An inherent strength of the P.O.S. program was its relationship to the Relocation Officer, Mr. Manley Steiman, of the Housing and Urban Renewal Department. He understood the objectives of the program and the utility of the deployment of indigenous workers. Mr. Steiman instructed his two site workers, housed in quarters adjacent to those of P.O.S. to cooperate with this social resource. It was on his advice that our referrals were made to P.O.S. Social Workers. In the identity of common problems between social agency and urban renewal authority on the part of Lee Glassco and Manley Steiman, relocation began to assume a position of centrality within the renewal process. This association represents the most significant social input in the whole of the renewal program.

The success of P.O.S. is evident in its discontinuance. It deviated too far from paternalism, refused to restrict organizing resources to a context of tokenism, and established allegiance and clientele in the community. Above all, its demise rests on the fact that as a resource of resident expression, it worked!

Residential Relocation Summary

Many of Hartman's conclusions about relocation results, as appeared in the Stage #1 analysis, maintain their validity throughout the entirety of the case study discussion. It would seem that the consequences of poverty as exposed earlier in this dissertation were not understood or considered to the point of incorporation as social programming criteria for the renewal process. The lack of social services, the comments of relocatees, and the actual post-relocation results on living improvements substantiate this assumption. We still search for the answer to that important question - for whom was the urban renewal scheme designed? If its motivation relates to quality of life improvements for renewal area residents, for example, we must understand the pragmatics of what happened to people and of what the renewal program was. In a synthesis of the major relocation results, it is my intention to arrive at overview perceptions through which we may facilitate this understanding.

Although the Salter-Jarvis population may be characterized by components of poverty which necessarily presuppose the existence of unstable families and general social maladjustment, the extent of social service delivery within the renewal program was minimal. This represents the absence of relocation planning. Apart from a concentrated social service effort on the part of P.O.S.* in Stage #4, little help was given to relocatees. While Neighbourhood Service Centres attempted to effect community organization, in face of urban renewal, the momentum of people

* Peoples Opportunity Services

moving was too disruptive to afford C.D. workers the opportunity for success. Most often assistance came through the relocation staff of the City of Winnipeg or the Civic Welfare Department; capable of meeting only emergency situations. This is evident in the attitude of former renewal area residents who did "not expect assistance", and in the fact that most families in receipt of assistance were unstable, sizeable, and on social assistance. "Operations 63" may be cited as the major relocation assistance mechanism, prior to the intervention of P.O.S. It defined its function, that of providing furniture to people, and was able to "deliver". The City and Neighbourhood Service Centres should be credited for its success. It is unfortunate that Bill Courage did not receive the resources to become more responsive to other forms of relocation need, and unfortunate that his role within the City was seen as an appendage to a process of "plan" fulfillment.

In total, specific relocation assistance was minimal. As already highlighted, large families received most help. Of the families relocated to public housing, over 60% were of six or more persons. More families in Stage #4 (22.4%) received assistance than in any other; characterizing the activities of People's Opportunities Services. By contrast, only 2.5% of Stage #2 households received assistance.

The dirth of assistance is also reflected in the inadequate relocation allowances provided to tenants^{*} and in the virtual parsimonius quality of the former Expropriation Act with respect to compensation for the forced taking of property.

* See page 79

Relocation services were emergency measures, offered as last resorts to desperate people. The ad hoc response made by the proponents of "Operations 63" is demonstrative of the lack of relocation planning. Only a realization that bug-infested furniture should not be relocated to sound dwellings, invoked real action. Conclusions appear below.

Most relocatees scrambled for the minimal supply of low-income houses available in the adjacent North-End

This effected population changes in the communities to which they moved, represented by an out-migration of more stable families and an increase in absentee ownership. These factors, coupled with that of overcrowding, pose an ominous threat to once healthy North End areas. Urban renewal, as in the case of Lord Selkirk Park, may simply be a transposition of problem families and individuals from one geographical area to another. Mothers who were ignorant of the techniques of maintaining a home on Stella or Jarvis Avenue, for example, became factors of deterioration in other neighbourhoods. Educational and service programs to overcome such ignorance or incapacity to assume home-maintenance, were not provided. It is interesting that the families who moved into either Lord Selkirk Park or Burrows-Keewatin public housing units were "screened" by a housing authority. The housing authority recognized no responsibility for equipping people to maintain new housing; only a responsibility to refuse entry to those who were not already equipped. This not only raises some fundamental questions about the purpose of public housing - it goes so far as to point out that government will safeguard its investment at the expense of the privately-owned residential community.



SOCIAL AID 5 OR MORE PERSONS
2 OR LESS OVER 65

SELF SUPPORTING 3 OR MORE PERSONS
2 OR LESS OWNER



MAP OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

EXCLUSIVE OF ASSINBOINE PARK AND KILDONAN PARK

SURVEY DEPARTMENT - CITY OF WINNIPEG

J. HENNING, M.E.S., CITY SURVEYOR

WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN



MOVED OUT OF TOWN



DECEASED



40000 TRANSFORM

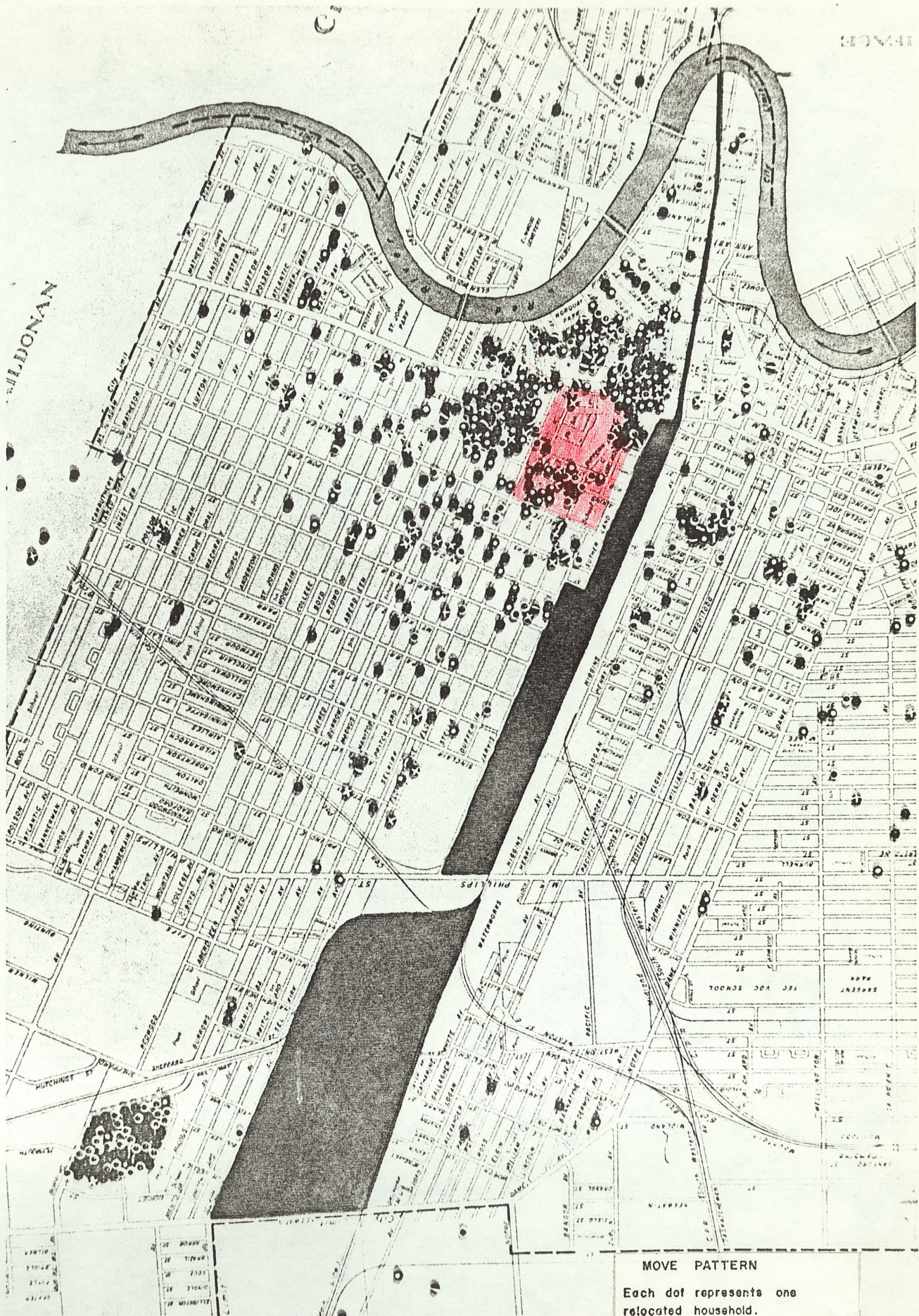
MOVE PATTERN

Each dot represents one relocated household.

The Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Area.



SCALE OF FEET



MOVE PATTERN

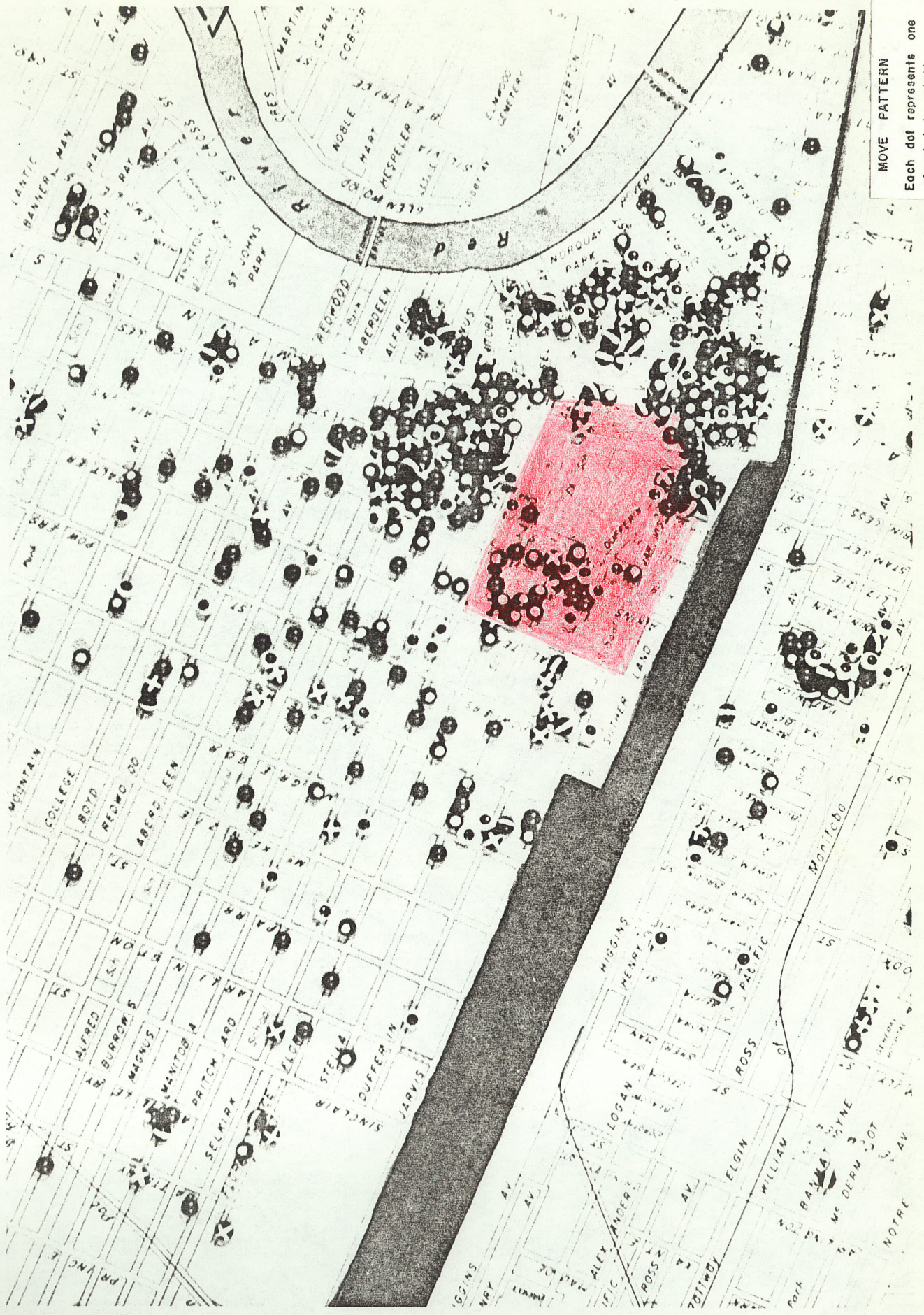
Each dot represents one relocated household.

The Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Area.



MOVE PATTERN
Each dot represents one
relocated household.

The Lord Selkirk Park
Renewal Area.



Urban renewal reduced the supply of available housing to low-income families

Some 740 households were dislocated from the Salter-Jarvis community while only 70 were accommodated in public housing units. If we include approximately 30 interim housing units (those purchased by the City but not immediately demolished), it may be said that 100 new units were created in deference to the loss of 740. The net loss then becomes 640 units of housing.

In general, housing improvements do accrue to the relocating families, but factors of extreme rental increases and reductions in space, tend to mitigate against this factor as a criterion of improvement

Both tenants and homeowners were confronted with substantial increases in housing costs. This bore testimony to the inadequacies of housing supply for specific low-income groups. The National Housing Act guarantee of decent, safe, and sanitary houses, at rents people could afford, could not be realized. In actual fact, this was not an objective of the renewal scheme.

For specific people and families, urban renewal provided the necessary "thrust" to achieve upward social mobility. Although lacking in relocation services, the forced move aspect of renewal was of benefit to those financially capable of acquiring adequate accommodation, but lacking the psychological impetus to leave an area of familiarity. Urban renewal pressed the issue of moving, taking the issue out of the hands of the resident. The problem of relocation, however, relates to those unprepared or unable to assume the burdens of social, psychological and financial demands which a new neighbourhood may impose.

Had support been provided to families, initial relocation may have been more dispersed. Fort Rouge and the West End, for example, could have been relocation locales. Concentrations of poor persons could have been minimized with an adequate relocation agency designed to assist in the adaptation process to new neighbourhoods. Salter-Jarvis residents looked primarily to areas of familiarity, never knowing of the availability of homes in other parts of town.

In effect, urban renewal did facilitate gains for those people not trapped by poverty-income existence. Some families, although a small percentage of the total, moved to attractive residential areas outside of the inner-city. It is interesting to note that homeowners moved the greatest distance from the renewal area, having the financial advantage to compete for housing in many communities. For tenants, the housing market was much more restrictive, few became homeowners in their move and could not utilize the "push" from the City as a factor of improvement.

The concern on the part of Neighbourhood Services Centre, that single persons, especially the elderly, would be overlooked in the relocation process, was substantiated in large measure.

Not until the latter stage of scheme implementation was elderly person's housing constructed in the area. Many single persons took their hot plates and bits of shabby clothing to comparatively dismal homes not far away. Those fortunate enough to find accommodation in the Lord Selkirk Towers (a component of the Lord Selkirk Park public housing development) identified a real gain in relocation.

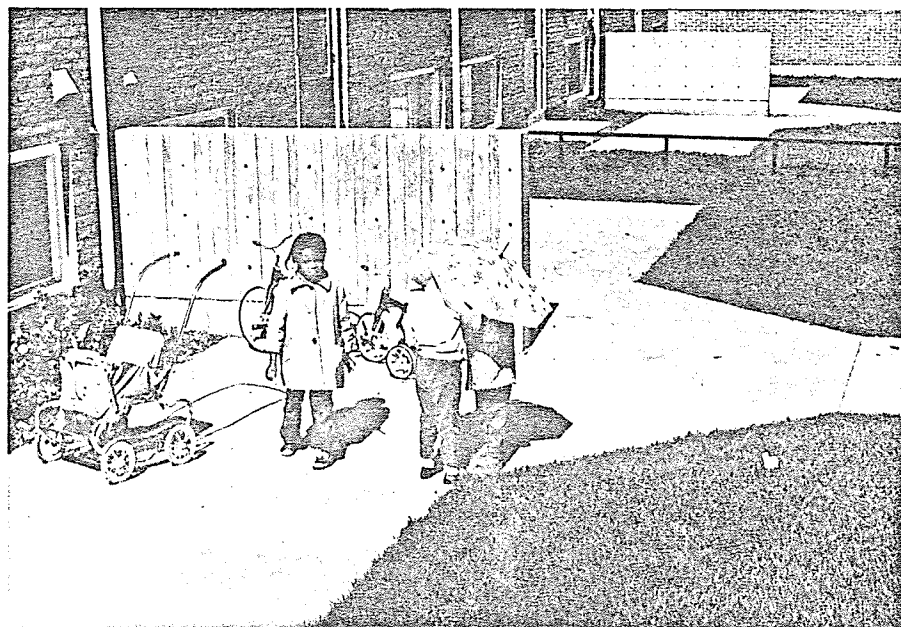
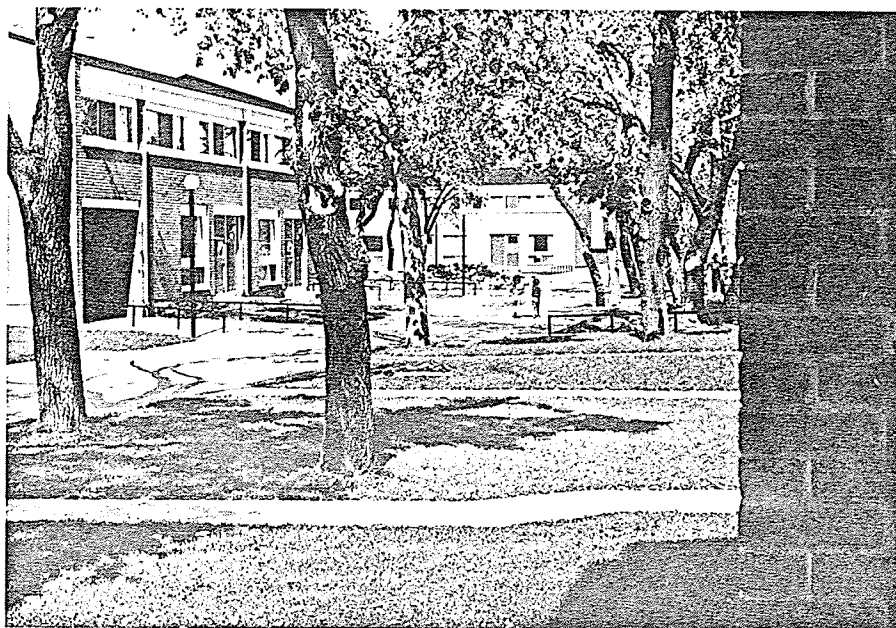
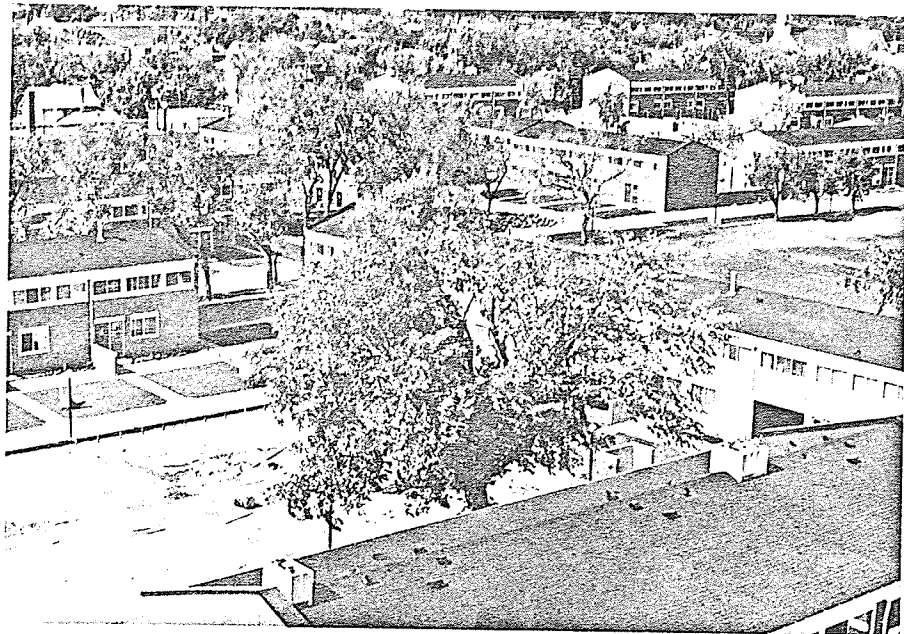
In earlier segments of this dissertation, doubts were raised as to the capacity of planners and planning agencies to meet the fundamental issues of urban renewal. Questions of poverty and poverty existence were exposed, with respect to establishing the perceptions necessary to the design of a socially valuable improvement program. We attempted to reach an awareness of the client of the renewal program, but in the absence of social dimension I, in particular, fell short of definition. Was society, for example, providing resources for poor people on acceptable terms, when the indignities of the welfare system are ever so overt. In focussing on the "practioners" of the urban renewal scheme, planners, concentration on the development of the profession identified no major social orientation either. The legal tools of urban renewal, in themselves, tended not to mitigate against our doubts, however-much based on conjecture and subjectivity. Finally, through the eyes of urban renewal critics, through the rationale and characteristics of the renewal scheme itself, and the decision of the Federal Government to discontinue urban renewal altogether, I approached the case study with considerable insight. We were prepared for the worst.

It is evident that for a great many families, and single persons, Lord Selkirk Park Urban Renewal meant only a change in address. I say this in reflection upon the elderly single persons who traded one dingy room for another, the tenant families who moved to better, or worse, accommodations at rents they could ill afford, those denied access to public housing by virtue of welfare status or poor housekeeping, those who moved down Jarvis Avenue to an adjacent slum and those alienated

from the new communities to which they moved. All are represented in the relocation data and comments.

Defenders of the program point to the construction of public housing in the area, replacing older dwellings. To be sure it is better housing in the physical sense of improvement, but it also carries an unmistakable stigma. In the context of the North End it is a virtual ghetto. Many public housing occupants are trapped in such housing due to the lack of resources to establish powers of self-sufficiency, necessary to competing in the broader community. The notion of public housing as a half-way house to upward social mobility, has been lost. Inherent in the public housing complex is also the lack of recognition towards the ethnic enclave that was the Salter-Jarvis community. The entire character of the area has been changed, beyond the point of recognition. Residents of the area to the north of Dufferin have questioned the extent to which the renewal program progressed. They point to areas characterized by a general adequacy of the housing stock and to the intimacy of their old but vital community. However, it is not my intention to dwell on the inadequacies of the renewal scheme. Society in general must certainly identify its own onus, characterized by the dominant social attitude towards poor people as "lower social class". It is this precise attitude upon which is based the paternalism of the "we know best for them" concept. In turn, the Planner becomes, in effect, the tool by which concept is acted upon. Unfortunately, the concept

Lord
Selkirk
Park
Public
Housing



is socially sterile at a time when problem-solving demands social potency. In the case of Lord Selkirk Park the Planner operated with the legal sanction of both Federal and Provincial Governments. He followed the rules of the game, even as prescribed by the Urban Renewal Handbook. And who is responsible for law?

The most positive aspects of Lord Selkirk Park Renewal appear in Stage 4 with the activity of People's Opportunity Services. This agency facilitated the delivery of community services and made possible the too late, but realized, resident organization which challenged the latter components of redevelopment. Through the co-ordinating efforts of Mr. Manley Steiman, the City's relocation supervisor in Stage 4, a vital liaison was effected between P.O.S. and the expropriating authority.

I would hope that the legal sanction to develop a plan in isolation of residents who will be affected by it, is forever gone. The demonstration of City strength which I personally witnessed when civic staff revealed to the community the detail of a legally endorsed plan for Stage 4, is as clear in my mind as it is objectionable. Residents were angry, many searched for words they could not find. Those who voiced objections were challenged by lawyers and planners who spoke "from a planning point of view!" This was the bulldozer force of renewal which legally beat residents into subservience to the dictates of the plan.

In concluding the residential relocation analysis I wish to present a synopsis of the number of families which made gains through the renewal process. The data shown here is a

summary of that shown in Appendix . I have examined each household (591) for which pre and post-relocation statistics are available. An attempt was made firstly to characterize the family in relation to income, size, rent, occupancy status, rooms occupied, and condition of premises and then to reflect upon new living conditions as a comparative. I make no claim to having established pure objectivity; my bias towards the lack of services to the poor precluding neutrality. However, I would contend that a realistic appraisal has been made, in recognition of the problems of low-income existence, and the inability of many relocatees to compete for goods and services in the middle-class marketplace.

In Stage 4 many conclusions are based on direct contact with residents.

Relocation results for each stage of redevelopment

<u>Result</u>	<u>Stage 1</u>		<u>Stage 2</u>		<u>Stage 3</u>		<u>Stage 4</u>	
Better	182	46.0%	31	39.6%	30	50.9%	40	69.0%
Same	150	37.9%	34	43.6%	22	37.4%	11	19.0%
Worse	64	16.1%	13	16.8%	7	11.7%	7	12.0%

A greater percentage of Stage 4 families were better-off following the move than those in other stages of redevelopment. Incomes and living conditions were generally better for Stage 4 residents and the degree of relocation assistance was much greater. It would seem that relocation was unable to really assist impoverished relocatees in attaining a better living standard. In the case of families from Stages 1 and 2, more than 50% realized no improvement. What then did the renewal scheme accomplish in social terms? I have assumed that

all families relocated to public housing were better-off following the move, but this accounts for but a small percentage of the tenant population. Others, in finding for themselves on the private market, appear to have had difficulty in finding a better house with appropriate space and affordable rents

Relocation results by household size:

Size of Hsld.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Better	40.8	42.6	40.9	60.4	44.9	63.6	64.0	63.4
Same	41.2	42.6	45.1	27.0	34.7	25.0	27.8	24.4
Worse	18.0	14.8	14.0	12.6	20.4	11.4	8.2	12.2

Only in the case of 7 person households was the move to "worse" conditions less than 10%. Note the great percentage of five person households (20.4%) which moved to "Worse" living situations.

It would appear that five person families attempted to act more independently in relocation (and former statistics bear this out) but found themselves ineffective in realizing improvement.

One person households show the least gains in living standards.

Almost 60% of single persons, by virtue of rental increases or movement to lesser quality accommodations, attained no obvious benefit from renewal. In many instances we can detect little or no gain. To be sure, a number of persons realized benefit, but the number who did not highlights the many who, in effect, were forgotten in the relocation process.

It is some consolation that the greatest successes relate to large families. In many of the United States' programs all families did equally poorly. In future, perhaps the relocation assistance provided to large families could be provided to all as a right of relocatees. This is especially important for the elderly.

Relocation results: The total experience

The following is a summary of the four stages of relocation. I have pointed out at length, and in detail, my conclusions pertaining to relocation effectiveness. Let the last conclusion be your own. As you reflect upon the totality of the experience, ask in your own mind: For whom was the program designed?

Better	1,060 persons	<u>54.2 %</u>	283 households	47.8%
Same	625 "	<u>32.0 %</u>	217 "	36.8%
Worse	270 "	<u>13.8 %</u>	91 "	15.4%
Total	<u>1,955 persons</u>	100%	<u>591 Households</u>	100%

BUSINESS RELOCATION FROM THE LORD SELKIRK PARK AREA

Our case study of the consequences of relocation will relate to four specific data or informational inputs. These inputs and their intended uses include: -

- 1) A list of 1963 business establishments categorized according to commercial activity. This information has been obtained from the Henderson Directory. The building inventory, one with data on condition of premises, will be utilized as key components of the characterization of the pre-redevelopment business community. A comparison will also be made with the remaining business community.
- 2) An examination of those businesses intended to be expropriated, high-lighting the number of firms which re-established, following governmental acquisition of commercial property.
- 3) Information assembled from the proceedings of a conference held on business relocation at the University of Connecticut in the mid 1960's. Conference findings represent a valuable synthesis of major business relocation issues important to a better understanding of the consequences of the Lord Selkirk Park relocation.
- 4) Findings drawn from a survey of twenty-eight entrepreneurs following expropriation and dislocation from the Salter-

Jarvis area. Survey information is intended to provide first-hand reaction to business relocation through personal expression of those affected by the renewal scheme.

1) CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LORD SELKIRK PARK
BUSINESS COMMUNITY PRIOR TO RELOCATION

The following chart represents the 1963 business community. Firms are categorized on the basis of the nature of business activity. It should be pointed out that the following includes all businesses between Selkirk Avenue and the C.P.R., Main to Salter, with the exception of those on Main Street. Not all these firms were included in the clearance program. Renewal scheme boundaries were not precisely those mentioned above. Our focus here is on the general business community of 1963, and its existing remnants.

	The 1963 Business Community*						Totals
	Retail small	Retail large	Industrial light	Industrial heavy	Ware- houses	Wholesaling & food process	
Firms no longer in the area	28 (82.4%)	20 (71.4%)	13 (76.3%)	19 (59.4%)	1 (50.0%)	30 (85.4%)	111 (75.0%)
Firms remaining	6 (17.6%)	8 (28.6%)	4 (23.7%)	13 (40.6%)	1 (50.0%)	5 (14.6%)	37 (25.0%)
Totals	34 (100.0%)	28 "	17 "	32 "	2 "	35 "	148 (100.0%)

*Source of data:
Henderson Directory for 1963

The Salter-Jarvis community housed a great number of diverse commercial operations. From second-hand stores and groceries to metal industries and scrap yards the 148 firms represented a wide array of activities. Although some description

of the business community has already been advanced by way of introduction to the study area, it becomes inadequate in attempting to understand the consequences of business relocation. This comprehension is dependent upon a full awareness of that early business community.

In 1963 a number of commercial precincts were evident in the Salter-Jarvis area. Some firms were scattered and obviously individualistic, to be sure, but a great many existed as cadres of interdependent operations. These were manifest in the fruit and vegetable distributors, located close to the old market. Having lost the market itself as a focal point of customer attraction, these particular businesses relied on each other to draw a steady clientele to a still active commercial area. Another trade enclave appeared on Dufferin Avenue where a great variety of old shops housing small family businesses catered to the service and shopping needs of both neighbourhood and the larger North End. Industrial activity was located, for the most part, to the south of Dufferin Avenue in proximity to the C.P.R. This was the area of the scrap yard and smaller metal industries, perhaps noted most for MacDonald Brothers Sheet Metal on Robinson and Dufferin where airplane parts were manufactured during World War II. Although premises were old and obviously in need of refurbishing and renewal, the Lord Selkirk Park business community was far from moribund.

Many firms found that location in the Salter-Jarvis community was strategic to business success. The old market area firms, the

service and food store area, the small industrial shops, all beckoned an established clientele. It was argued by entrepreneurs that people came to frequent the many stores found in one area and that small firm agglomeration, in itself, maintained business vitality. It was also argued that many firms, the smaller ones especially, would cease to exist in the absence of agglomeration supports. This contention was not to be taken lightly, at a time when consumer demands towards the goods and services offered by smaller establishments began to decline. The move of the market itself to Nairn Avenue was a reflection of business attitude towards the importance of establishing regional trade centres in areas of high automobile usership. With the building of Winnipeg's first shopping centre and the appearance of the United States' discount stores, to be small meant to lack competitive advantage. The mid 60's saw the closure, for example, of many local or neighbourhood-oriented stores throughout the North End. The strategic placement of large Loblaws and Safeway Stores meant either total disaster or significant earning losses for the neighbourhood grocer. In the Salter-Jarvis community, however, local custom and attitudes were supportive of smaller businesses. A Safeway store had been established on Selkirk, to the West of Salter, as early as the 40's. It lasted but a short time. The area was a supermarket, not of shelves, but of stores.

I can still vividly recall my own sojourns to the fruit and vegetable stores, to the meat markets: led by a mother who was her own consumer protection agency. We shopped where dollars could

be stretched, where prices could be debated, where food was fresh if lacking in that ornamentation we call packaging. For those of us existing on low incomes, the shops of the area were an alternative to the pressures of the large chain store.

As we develop some feelings towards the local business community, a quality of uniqueness begins to emerge. In the rapid growth of our economy in the 60's, economic scale through national productivity, became established in an ethos of bigness. The scale of most Salter-Jarvis businesses, characterized the commercial community as an urban anomaly; an odd assortment of small firms and shops. But odd and out of place to whom? For many North Enders the business community was of appropriate scale to the simplistic needs of working-class people.

The business community derived further strength from the rural Hutterite Colonies which identified with Lord Selkirk Park as a trade area. The basic language of price debating, in this case, was German. From the point of view of the Hutterite, the Salter-Jarvis area afforded a range of shopping opportunities within a confined and familiar part of the City. Over a period of years a trust had developed with the businessmen. The attraction to the area on the part of this distinctive rural group was based on a variety of factors; most of which lend substance to the defining of our study area as a unique business community. Even the goods supplied were anomalous to most firms. Damaged articles that urban dwellers did not want, for example, found a ready market among

Hutterite consumers and those of low-income in the neighbourhood. Farmers supply stores, usually indigenous to rural areas, were also part of the business community. The Hutterites, perhaps more acutely than anyone else, recognized the importance of the Salter-Jarvis area as a vital supplier of Colony consumer goods.

This uniqueness assumes greater significance when we seek more precisely and fundamentally, from whence it is derived. We have looked at those on the demand side of the market; the supporters of business. Equally important, is the view from the supply side; exposure of the characteristics of those who provided the goods and services. A great many Salter-Jarvis firms were individual proprietorships or partnerships, with an almost total absence of corporate involvement in the business community. Most businesses may be characterized as "family firms"; many of these having been established by first generation Jewish immigrants and, as of the advent of Urban Renewal, some operated by sons of the original entrepreneur. In firms not large enough to provide employment to family members, like small grocery and repair shops, operators were elderly and dependent on their business as the sole agent of income. Many had spent much of their lives building and maintaining a small shop. In the Winnipeg of covert anti-semitism the establishment of autonomous commercial enterprises offered Jewish people escape from the persecution and humiliation of the general labour market. Whereas the residential community of the 60's was predominantly Slavic, the business counterpart was distinct-

ively Jewish. Almost 80% of all Salter-Jarvis businessmen, in fact, were Jewish. The commonality between these ethnic groups rested on language; with most Jewish businessmen speaking Ukranian and Polish. The Salter-Jarvis business community, truly was unique. It was to a greater extent, an area of familiarity and permanence, than even the residential community. Many businessmen knew each other, struggled to become established in an analogous time period, and now waited for an imposed change. Seventy-five per-cent of 1963 businesses are no longer operating in the Salter-Jarvis area.

Many business premises were in conditions of disrepair. A 1963 building survey yielded these findings:

		Condition of Premises -1963-							
		small	large	light	heavy	Ware- houses	Wholesaling & Food Process	Totals	
P/P	11	7	10	8	1	11	48	50	
	(45.8%)	(46.5%)	(71.5%)	(47.0%)	(50.0%)	(44.0%)			
P/F	2	2	1	4	1	8	18	18	
F/F	9	5	0	5	0	1	20	20	
F/G	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
G/G	1	1	3	0	0	5	10	10	
Tot.	34	15	14	17	2	25	97	100	

Much of the business community had deteriorated beyond the point where rehabilitation of premises would have been possible. In total, I would estimate that some forty firms could have been restored. In the case of smaller industrial operations, however, almost no rehabilitation opportunities are evident. Retention of an active and mutually reinforcing business component, would have necessitated appreciable new construction. Some of the best businesses, in terms of condition, were found behind the site of the Main Street Market. Some of the worst, were found between Dufferin and Sutherland, where small manufacturing establishments, had gone without maintenance for many years. Ironically enough, poor building conditions, reflected in cheap rents, became advantageous to small repair and manufacturing firms, whose only needs were warmth, power and floor space for a few machines. It would seem that justification for renewal appeared in the extreme deterioration of business premises; many beyond repair. But successful relocation would depend on meeting the needs of local business. One basic need was establishment in a unique residential and business area, not unlike that of the Salter-Jarvis community. This would appear to be an impossibility, putting the issue of successful business relocation on the horns of a dilemma. The extent to which this statement is true, is the subject for the remainder of discussion on business relocation.

2) FIRMS SCHEDULED FOR EXPROPRIATION

The following chart represents those firms scheduled for removal under the terms of the renewal scheme. In a few instances, expropriation was not carried out. "Businesses not relocated" refers to those which were expropriated but did not re-establish.

Businesses Scheduled for Expropriation
Under the Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Scheme

Business Type	Retail		Industrial		Warehouse	Wholesaling & Food Process.	Totals									
	small	large	light	heavy			T	O	T	O						
1) no longer in the area	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O								
a. relocated	5	1	3	7	4	3	1	6	0	0	3	12	16	29	45	59.2%
b. not relocated	6	5	3	6	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	10	16	26	34.2%
	17		19		8		8		1		18		26	45	71	93.4%
2) remaining in the area *	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	6.6%
Totals	11	8	6	14	4	5	1	8	0	1	4	14	26	50	76	100.0%
	19		20		9		9		1		18					

* Note:

Firms remaining in the area, refers to those businesses where expropriation proceedings have yet to be pursued, or to those for which expropriation has been withdrawn.

Some 76 business operations were scheduled for expropriation. Of these, 71 or 93.4% have been acquired by the Urban Renewal authority. Over half of all firms, or 59.2% relocated to other parts of the city. However, 34% of Lord Selkirk Park businesses did not re-establish. Expropriation, for these firms, meant business closure.

Many of the businesses which did not re-establish were marginal

firms, revenue bearing for small families and elderly couples. This is especially true with respect to retail establishments, where the highest percentages of business closures are evident. In the case of "small retail" firms, 65% went out of business when expropriated. More than half of these were tenants who received little in the way of compensation, other than financial consideration for long-term leases, of which there were few. Half of the small retailers which did not relocate were over sixty years of age.

Large retail firms are also characterized by a high closure rate; almost 50%. However, in this case two-thirds of the closures occurred among those who owned their business quarters and sold firms to retire on the proceeds.

For other categories of businesses, closures are few. For the most part they relate to elderly entrepreneurs.

Distribution or movement patterns among relocated firms varies for specific business types. Small retail establishments sought communities similar to that of the Salter-Jarvis area. They relocated to the wider North End and to the C.P.R. - Notre Dame Community. Large retail establishments went slightly farther afield, locating not within residential communities, but on major thoroughfares. Half of these firms moved to Main Street; others to heavily trafficked inner-city arteries.

Unlike retail establishments, whose relocations were to the

central city, other forms of businesses scattered throughout the Metropolitan area. Only in the case of heavy industry, was relocation not highly dispersed. Movement of heavy industrial operations was limited to the availability of appropriately zoned sites.

Having a perception of the distinctive business community which firms left, the business groups prone to closures, and the movement patterns of relocatees, some of the major issues of business dislocation will be raised. It is hoped that parallels to our own case study will appear as contributors to the analysis of the business survey.

3) MAJOR ISSUES OF BUSINESS DISLOCATION

In seeking information on Business Relocation, it became obvious that research on this question is minimal. Fragmentary comments from business, social, economic and planning journals appeared, but most fail to synthesize information in the context of consequences to entrepreneur. However, a conference held at the University of Connecticut in 1964 dealt with questions of business relocation in a most comprehensive manner. Many of the issues and concerns raised at the Connecticut gathering, remain topical issues in current business renewal argument.

Contributors to the Connecticut conference represented many divergent viewpoints on both consequences of and need for business relocation assistance. Robert Richards, for example, the then Executive Director of the Norwich Redevelopment Agency commented:

" I do not think the Redevelopment Agency is responsible for many business failures Payment should only be made to those (businesses) which are difficult to relocate. No general payment should be made for loss of goodwill. " (1)

Mr. Richards alluded to a general capacity on the part of most businesses to establish roots in new areas. The fundamental requirement or obligation of the renewal authority, as he saw it, was to provide appropriate "market value" compensation to business owners. He further argued that most businesses would then be in a position to fend for themselves on the open market in terms of re-establishing in new quarters. Faith in a generally buoyant economic market premised his optimism about the ease of achieving successful business relocations. Richards did concede, however, that "certain" business would need special attention; a recognition that the almost laissez-faire invisible hand, did not hold fruit and nourishment for everyone. Those excluded from the protection of supply and demand forces are identified as elderly businessmen, tenants, and those firms which depend on a local area for their livelihood. While these appear as exceptions, it is not inconceivable that the entirety of businesses in an urban renewal area would be made up of these kinds of operations.

I choose the comments of Robert Richards to introduce the research findings on business relocation as I believe they reflect a commonly-held attitude towards relocating businesses; that they are money-making operations capable, for the most part, of sustaining themselves. This may be true for the corporate industry operating

(1) Richards, R.W. "Problems of Business Relocation", Conference on Research Problems in Urban Renewal, P. 28

in a wider and generally constant market, but may not be true for the smaller and perhaps marginal operation, where even slight changes in demand may be disastrous. For small businesses, locked into the market context of a local area, effective demand for goods or services is the key determinant to economic well-being. Influence over demand, or over consumer desire-line preferences as economic rhetoric would have it, is minimal insofar as the small entrepreneur is concerned. His profits relate, primarily, to the difference between gross receipts and "fixed" costs which in their constancy afford a degree of predictability to earnings.* The small businessman is faced with further problems. He may be an effective competitor only in certain market areas. The demise of the corner grocery, in face of the supermarket capable of absorbing sustained price cuts, is a case in point. The effective demand for consumer foodstuffs is a complex one, varying with a multiplicity of products. The extent to which the small entrepreneur "knows" his market is strategic to his success. He knows which products are characterized by elastic demand lines (those for which even slight price increases will reduce effective demand) and those characterized by inelastic demand lines (where price increases have less of an effect on effective demand). Most often, for example, luxury food items are characterized by elastic demand whereas basic foodstuffs and commodities are not.

It is my feeling that some understanding of demand and supply characteristics for specific business types is important in under-

* Fixed costs are costs which do not change or vary with firm output. Rent, for example, is a fixed cost.

standing the problems of relocating firms.

In contrast to the comments of Robert Richards, which incited me to the above retort, others have taken a more critical stance with respect to the consequences of business relocation. William Kenner of the University of Connecticut provides a number of impressions about business relocation. It is his contention that most relocation programs have disastrous consequences for certain types of firms. In examining business relocation within the context of United States' Renewal schemes, he concludes that at least one-quarter of relocated firms are placed in extremely adverse economic positions. Those who do badly, according to Kinnard, are the small firms, the marginal ones, the new ones and those with small capitalization. He further cites difficulties for elderly businessmen and of tenants who, in contrast to owners, have little chance of receiving "just compensation" for moving. In general he finds that those firms with sound profitability positions continue to do well after the move. The highest business failures occur among those marginal firms which have sought the renewal area because of its cheap rent. Given this latter finding we might again ask - for whom is the urban renewal program intended, if not for the well-being of the inhabitants, either business or residents? Kinnard identifies a "rich get richer, poor get poorer" process in business relocation experience.

Following the presentation of a variety of papers, summary findings of the Conference were assembled by the University of Connecticut's Institute of Urban Research. These findings, in conjunction with the conclusions from a number of case studies, were submitted to the Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition, Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives. Two key statements set the theme of the summary presentation:

1. " The valuation of and compensation for enforceable rights in reality, represent only a beginning of the process of making affected parties whole. " (2)
2. " The burden of relocation is falling unevenly on the affected parties, rather than on society at large. " (3)

The above remarks relate to relocation inadequacy in a generic sense. They synthesize a number of areas or spheres of inadequacy in a context of the lack of understanding towards businesses on the part of expropriating authorities. This is especially valid with respect to the problems which firms face, when renewal programs are announced. The following points elucidate this problem:

1. Following the government's announcement of a renewal scheme, the business community in question experiences what is termed as the "wet blanket effect." Tenants move out of the area and the community begins to lose its business attractiveness. During this time period long-term leases are not renewed and tenants lose their legal right to compensation.

(2) Kinnard W., Issues in Business Relocation and Property Acquisition Relating to Just Compensation, P. 7

(3) Ibid., P. 3

2. Firms which move out of the area early in the process of program implementation, are fortunate in not having to experience the agonizing death of their local market. This is especially important if we consider the significance of effective demand mentioned earlier. Those which move early also have better locational choices than others in later stages of the renewal area.
3. Income is lost during the actual period of moving.
4. The period of adjustment in the new area displays specific characteristics. It may be two years in duration; is almost never less than six months.

"There is almost inevitably a reduction of gross receipts and hence of net income during this period of adjustment." (4)

The above findings, and others, culminate in the conclusion that relocation is definitely a "casual factor" of discontinuance for many small businesses. New locations are generally less desirable and less profitable. Rents and prices of commercial space are higher in new locations. Results of specific case studies indicate that only ten percent of businessmen are satisfied with the compensation they receive. In general, it is found that few entrepreneurs were knowledgeable about the renewal process or the specific implications for their firms. Results of study carried out at Brown University, point out that some sixty percent of relocating businesses experience a decline in profits over a five year period following the move.

It is evident that problems of business relocation are

(4) Ibid., P. 17

primarily problems of the small firms, and in particular, those small firms with elderly owners. In an article published in the Journal of the National Association of Housing and Renewal Officials, the special problems of elderly businessmen were discussed. Such discussion is pertinent here, given the fact that many of Salter-Jarvis businessmen were elderly and went out of business following expropriation.

Elderly businessmen are less willing to consider a new location under any circumstances. They appreciate the problems of re-establishing a business which deals in what may be described as a ubiquitous good. Storekeepers and operators of small repair shops exemplify this fact. Most studies refer to elderly businessmen as those over the age of 50. While we do not consider the 50 year-old person as aged, in a physical sense, in an economic sense he may be so. This rests on the fact that after the age of fifty, economic mobility is greatly affected. Competitive position on the labour market declines, and access to loan funds with which to develop businesses diminishes. In a psychological sense businessmen are reluctant to seek funds which will not be amortized within a period terminating at a reasonable retirement age, unless a willing successor to the business is at hand. Responding to problems of relocating the elderly businessman requires sensitivity in coping with the personal problems of specific entrepreneurs. Advice and assistance would necessarily have to relate to programs of loans and

incentive grants.

In facing the most difficult relocation problem, a total context for relocation assistance, varying with the extent of assistance required, could be established.

Specific criticism related to problems of arriving at "just compensation". Case study results led to the feeling that because large owners were generally satisfied with relocation, compensation for real estate had, in fact, included some payment for relocation expenses, whether payments were legally permissive or not. However, it was felt that businessmen should be legally guaranteed compensation for loss of goodwill or loss of business caused by the move. Such guarantee was not an established part of the Expropriation Act under which relocation took place in Lord Selkirk Park. Many owners received moving costs and some allowances for business disturbance but a number received such payments only after proceeding to arbitration following initial price conflict.

The University of Connecticut research team gave elaboration on the central problem of compensation:

" Compensation solely in terms of the prices and rentals paid in the old location is inadequate. There should be acknowledgement of the fact that these businessmen are facing a new and more expensive market for rental space or real estate." (5)

Particular comments beyond this general statement suggest greater attention to the needs of tenant businesses:

" They (tenants) are in no way helped by real estate

(5) Ibid., P. 20

payments of compensation rights in reality. The tenant typically has no leasehold interest, either because his tenancy was not based upon a written long-term lease in the first place, or because of the "wet blanket" effect of the a-nouncement of the renewal program " (6)

Criticisms with respect to just compensation relate to the dual inadequacies of ineffective expropriation legislation which does not include loss of goodwill and tenant rights beyond those of leasehold interest in property, and the failure to determine a supra-legalistic meaning to just compensation.

It is hoped that Conference findings will provide insights with which to approach our own survey data, and will assist us to establish perceptions about the adequacy of Lord Selkirk Park business relocation.

4) CASE STUDY - BUSINESS RELOCATION

SURVEY OF BUSINESS RELOCATEES: LORD SELKIRK PARK

1) NATURE OF THE SURVEY

For purposes of gaining first-hand impressions of business relocation from the Salter-Jarvis area, interviews were conducted with twenty-eight businessmen. Some had moved recently. Others had been gone from the study area for as long as four years. Length of time since moving varies markedly among the sample, affording a glimpse at a wide array of relocation circumstances. Our survey represents approximately 55% of all businesses which re-established, and 40% of all those which were expropriated.

(6) Ibid., P. 22

The chart appearing on the preceding page highlights salient business survey data. It will be supplemented by further information drawn from personal interview. Except in the case of "large retail" establishments, which is under-represented in the survey, each business type represents approximately one-half of the total relocatees for that type. Survey data does reflect, for the most part, the actual composition of the Lord Selkirk Park Community under expropriation.

Selection of firms for interview was simply based on those which could be found, in many cases, long after expropriation. Some businesses which relocated either moved again or ceased to exist. Many more owners could be located in contrast to tenants. For this reason the businessmen who owned their premises in the renewal area, are over-represented in comparison to tenant counterparts.

2) CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Tenant-Owner
Composition

The following chart depicts the tenant and owner composition of the interviewed business community:

	Retail		Industrial		Wholesaling & Food Process	Totals
	small	large	light	heavy		
Tenants	6	0	1	0	2	9 (32.2%)
Owners	2	3	3	4	7	19 (67.8%)
Totals	8	3	4	4	9	28 (100.0%)

In actuality, the Lord Selkirk Park Business Community was comprised of a greater percentage of tenants. A reasonable

Business Survey Data

	Retail		Industrial		Wholesaling & Food Process		Totals		
	small	large	light	heavy					
Businesses Interviewed	8	3	4	4	9		28		
Length of time in the Walter-Jarvis Area									
3-5 years	4	0	0	0	1		5		
6-10 years	0	0	0	1	1		2		
11-15 years	0	0	0	0	2		2		
16-20 years	1	1	2	1	1		6		
over 20 years	3	2	2	2	4		13		
Wanted to move from the Walter-Jarvis Area									
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
	0	8	0	3	1	3	2	2	
							3	7	
							5	23	
Changes in business activity following relocation									
same	6		3		3		4		
retired	3		0		0		0		
							9		
							25		
							0		
Change in profit position following relocation									
better	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W
same	0	1	5	2	0	1	2	0	2
worse							3	1	0
							4	2	2
							11	4	10
Difficult to find new quarters									
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
	4	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	
							4	4	
							14	11	
Locational factors in choice of new location									
close to old area	2		3		0		1		
larger premises	0		0		1		1		
only available	2		0		3		0		
close to home	1		0		1		0		
price	1		0		0		0		
trackage	0		0		1		0		
							1		
							2		
Comparison of new accommodation to old									
	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W
	2	2	2	2	0	1	2	0	2
							3	1	0
							5	2	1
							14	5	6
Intend to stay at new location									
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
	4	2	3	0	3	1	4	0	
							7	1	
							21	4	
Summary of relocation consequences - comparative position for each firm									
	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W
	0	2	6	2	1	0	2	0	2
							3	1	0
							2	5	2
							9	9	10

representation appears in the case of "small retail" where most owners, being elderly, did not relocate. Tenants, on the other hand, attempted a new start, requiring only the rental of a small storefront.

Length of time in area. Most businessmen had operated in the study area for many years, as the preceding survey data shows. While only 23% had been in the area for less than five years, almost 70% had been in the area for more than fifteen. Short-duration residencies were tenant businesses. Most were operators of small concerns.

Willingness to move. In responding to the question, did you want to move from the Salter-Jarvis area? - 82% replied in the negative. Of those wanting to move, much of the rationale was based on the need to acquire additional space for business expansion. Most businessmen identified positively with their community. Few had intentions of leaving; no retail operators would have left voluntarily. It would appear that small business owners recognized the importance of their local market, and the difficulties of re-establishing.

3) THE CONSEQUENCES OF EXPROPRIATION

Changes in Business Activity. All of the businessmen in the sample survey pursued the same type of business activity following expropriation, with the

exception of three retiring retail operators.

Difficulty in finding new quarters.

More than half of the entrepreneurs expressed difficulty in finding new premises. This is especially so, in the case of retailers where two-thirds alluded to difficulties.

Locational factors in choosing new area.

Of all factors pointed out by businessmen with respect to locational choice, two outweigh all others. "Only available" appeared the most often. It was especially significant for wholesalers and food processors, forced to re-establish quickly so as not to interrupt their supply of goods to long standing customers.

Second in importance was "close to old area". This factor was mentioned by 56% of the retailers. It included those wishing to maintain an established clientele among residents still in the area, and those who moved in proximity to it. Price of new premises comprised but 7% of all reasons given.

Satisfaction with new location.

- a. Area - only eight businessmen felt their new location was conducive to good business. By contrast, twenty-one identified the old area as a good business location.

b. Premises - Some fourteen businessmen reported that they had moved to better accommodations.

Eleven felt their new quarters were either the same or worse than the old. Wholesalers and food processors represented the highest percentage of movement to "better" accommodation, followed by heavy industrial firms. Small retailers fared the worst with respect to acquisition of "better" quarters.

Change in profit position following relocation.

Businesses are evenly divided between those experiencing declines in profits and those experiencing increases. Eighty-four percent of

small retail firms met diminishing net earnings after the move. In general, the largest firms were successful in increasing profits, following relocation. Three out of the four heavy industrial firms in the sample increased earnings in their new location.

As discussion proceeds, our findings parallel many of those exposed in the studies of the University of Connecticut. A basic premise, that relocation is uppermost a problem of the small firm, is clearly evident here.

Attitude towards Settlement.

Was the amount you received sufficient to continue in business without hardship? Answers to this question are recorded in the following chart.

They exclude the three businesses where settlement had not yet been established, and the three retirements.

	Retail		Industrial		Wholesaling & Food Process	Totals
	small	large	light	heavy		
Yes	0	1	2	3	2	8 (36.4%)
No	7	0	2	0	5	14 (63.6%)

Only in the case of heavy industrial firms were all entrepreneurs satisfied with settlement. Most discontent appears with respect to small retail establishments and wholesaling and food processing firms.

Summary of
Relocation
Consequences

All of the survey data was examined in attempting to conclude the number and types of businesses which had gained through relocation. Respondents' comments played the major role in arriving at judgments.

	Retail		Industrial		Wholesaling & Food Process		Totals		Totals				
	small	large	light	heavy	T	O	T	O					
Better	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	3	1	8	9 (32.2%)		
Same	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	4	2	7	9 (32.2%)	
Worse	5	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	6	4	10 (35.6%)
									9	19	28 (100.0%)		

Only one tenant, the operator of a light industrial firm, experienced an improvement in business. Two-thirds of all tenants found business opportunities worse in the new location. Almost half of the businessmen who owned their

property found improvements through relocation. Those who realized betterment, doubled those who experienced adverse relocation consequences.

In terms of business types, the best results are characterized in heavy industrial relocation; the worst in the resettlement of small retail establishments. The former case represents a 75% improvement, the latter a 75% worsening. This is clear substantiation of the benefits which accrue to the large owner firm and the lack of betterment associated with small tenant ones. It further reinforces the similarity between the consequences of Lord Selkirk Park Relocation and those of United States' renewal programs. Such comparability has important implications with respect to the recommending improvements to business relocation practice. It means that many problems encountered locally and indeed, those of fundamental consequence, have been considered by others, knowledgeable of relocation inadequacy.

Those interviewed were asked to point out areas where relocation could be improved. Their comments are as follows:

	Retail		Industrial		Wholesaling & Food Process	Total
	small	large	light	heavy		
Increased compensation for business losses	5	1	2	1	7	16
Assistance in finding new quarters	3	0	2	0	2	7
Process is too long	1	0	0	2	2	5
No improvements necessary	0	2	0	3	0	5
Increased moving payments	1	1	1	0	1	4
More time to move	0	0	1	0	0	1

Only those with larger firms were satisfied to the extent of finding improvements unnecessary. Many others cited a host of shortcomings, the most common of which is the need to increase total compensation. Only one complaint was made over lack of time to relocate. This is a departure from University of Connecticut research findings which identify lack of time as a major problem of relocation.

The case study highlights the difficulties faced by tenants and small businesses. It identifies improvement for the entrepreneur large enough to capitalize on relocation. In size is economic capacity to retain expert legal advice, is debating prowess about value of stock and loss of business occasioned by a move. In size is capacity to play the legal game and win. It is hoped that the above discussion will enable the formulation of recommendations to reduce the casualties of business relocation. Effective compensation should be a product of right, rather than a product of competitive advantage which not all can acquire.

JUST COMPENSATION: A BUSINESS VIEWPOINT

Many Lord Selkirk Park businessmen felt that compensation was inadequate. I wish to focus on the issue of compensation, to understand more precisely the issues of establishing just compensation. For specific business types a greater knowledgeability about this topic will lend more foundation to suggestions for relocation improvements.

Compensation under the Expropriation Act, and either written or unwritten renewal policy included a number of elements:

- payment of market value for land and buildings, valued at date of expropriation
- moving expenses, including the costs of fitting a new building to accommodate the in-coming use
- business disturbance costs established on the basis of profitability over a five-year period
- payment for new equipment in the event equipment could not be relocated
- lease compensation for tenants with legal tenure
- loss of goodwill for businesses who could prove they could not relocate to other areas
- Depending upon the nature of the business, three approaches

were used in arriving at "appraised value" or the extent to which the City would compensate the business owner:

1. Market Approach

This involves determining the price that the property would sell for in the open market, if the property were offered to a willing buyer by a willing vendor. This approach was used almost entirely in the case of determining market value of residential premises. Appraisers examine actual property transactions involving similar premises, in order to establish value. In business expropriation this approach is utilized most often when compensation is based more on value of land and buildings as opposed to value of business.

2. Replacement Approach

When buildings are used for a special purpose, and similar premises cannot be found for purposes of comparison, the replacement approach is used. In essence this involves the determination of the actual cost of constructing a new building, less depreciation of the old building. In Lord Selkirk Park, no structures in use, were depreciated beyond 50%.

3. Economic Approach

Many structures like apartment blocks derive their value from

an inherent economic capacity of rentals. Through the economic approach the rentals a structure can command are determined and utilized to establish value. Often this approach is used as a check or in conjunction with the market approach.

In specific circumstances involving unique structures and businesses, all three approaches were employed to arrive at appraised value. Most cases in Lord Selkirk Park, however, involved a combination of market and economic approaches.

A noteworthy feature of urban renewal expropriations was the establishment of an arbitration board to deal with price disputes between the City and relocatees. A number of Winnipeg lawyeres felt that the Arbitration Board was particularly fair in relating to business operations and that it was aware of many of the specific business problems in the Lord Selkirk Park community. Only one business owner appealed a decision of the Arbitration Board and took his case to the courts.

Information at my disposal reveals thirteen Arbitration Board decisions relating to business properties.

(Chart follows on next page)

Business Type	Appraised Value	Final Settlement	Gain
Small retail	\$ 9,500	\$ 10,965	\$ 1,465
"	17,000	24,125	7,125
Large retail	30,000	34,000	4,000
"	13,500	22,150	8,650
"	16,500	18,950	2,450
"	60,000	67,000	7,000
Heavy Industry	28,000	39,000	11,000
Wholesaling & Food			
Process	25,000	35,000	10,000
"	65,000	71,000	6,000
"	32,000	38,000	6,000
Apartment	55,000	57,000	2,000
"	27,500	30,400	2,900
"	65,000	75,000	10,000

The gains through arbitration were appreciable in many instances. It must be noted, however, that for those whose gains were minimal, lawyers fees in terms of preparing for appeal would have diminished much of the return.

Arbitration proceedings demonstrate an attempt to deal with many of the business relocation problems discussed earlier. In many instances it appears that a "supra legalistic" interpretation of just compensation was made.

Decisions of the Board displayed a cognizance of local business difficulties. Retail establishments were compensated on the basis of a loss of market. Virtually all retail operations that proceeded to arbitration were family enterprises characterized by long-term residency in the area. The retail establishment which had been in the area the longest, 44 years, was awarded the highest additional compensation. A specific problem faced by retail outlets, especially the small ones, was the minimal profit they

were able to command. It is on the basis of profit that loss of goodwill is determined and in this respect the small entrepreneur suffered. Disturbance awards are based on the average net profits of a five year period prior to expropriation. This profit amount is then diminished by the subtraction of management fees (the amount the owner could earn elsewhere) and income taxes. This final value is then used to compute final disturbance compensation on the basis of 50% of this value for business loss in the first year after relocation, 30% for the second and 10% for the third year. It is anticipated that in three years time the business will revert to its pre-relocation profit position.

Additional compensation to heavy industry was based primarily on extra moving expenses to accommodate heavy equipment. In the case of wholesaling and food processing firms, additional amounts covered equipment which could not be moved and the unique qualities of some of the premises which held special value to the owner.

In expropriation cases, exclusive of those which went to arbitration, the City recognized the need to extend compensation beyond those specifically sanctioned by the Act. Store owners, on the average received sums of two to three thousand dollars above appraised value. One received three thousand dollars for loss of goodwill.

Specific policy was established to compensate tenants who had no rights of legal tenure in operating under a month-to-month

lease. Each received a six month rental payment along with an amount to cover the cost of heat and light for the same time period. Moving costs were also paid by the expropriating authority.

Despite much criticism on the part of the business community the Lord Selkirk Park experience appears far more sensitive towards business need than do those United States' programs alluded to earlier. Small firms fare the worst in the relocation process, but even here compensation has transcended that of the U.S. Some feelings were expressed over the fact that larger businesses were able to hire the best lawyers by which to prepare a solid case for the Arbitration Board. Perhaps this established unfair access to competitive advantage for specific firms.

I would more question the total disruption of the Lord Selkirk Park business community rather than quarrel with the establishment of fair value for property. I believe the Arbitration Board, the City's Solicitors and Appraisers provided as full a range of compensation as was possible under the Act. Many of the key relocation problems, like those of the small business, were out of the scope of the legal participants. We require entirely new areas and avenues of assistance which remove compensation from the bounds of legally established monetary definition.

PART C

TOWARDS RELOCATION POLICY

CHAPTER IX CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Consequences of Relocation

Relocation has been an element of secondary importance within the framework of most urban renewal schemes. Lord Selkirk Park represents no exception to this general pattern. The great majority of those dislocated from the renewal area resettled on their own. With little relocation assistance provided and a virtual absence of social service components programmed into the scheme, objectives beyond those of land use changes and the establishment of a better tax base, were not seriously considered. Those charged with problems of displacement, the successive Relocation Officers and their assistants, operated extraneous of the main stream of redevelopment decision-making. They responded to the consequences (in many cases unplanned) of planning decisions. This procedure obstructed identifying and pursuing all but the most fundamental social needs in the renewal area. In essence, relocation support was a response to emergencies of the relocating population. It was a reaction to the problems of "people removal", rather than to people. Causal factors to social oversight are varied. They are found in the very National legislation through which the renewal scheme was conceived and implemented.

Living improvements are not devoid in the Winnipeg scheme. Many families and individuals identified betterment through factors of housing quality, new neighbourhood, and increases in space. Some expressed feelings of relief in moving from the

deteriorating renewal area. For the most part, improvements are indigenous to specific population groups and, in particular, to those with the capacity and inclination to seek upward social mobility. Many homeowners, for example, realized a degree of economic power to compete for housing. Tenants, on the other hand, realized little or no competitive advantage with which to command better housing. Large businessmen were able to contend with dislocation; smaller operations atrophied or ceased to exist. In any case those with the means to look after themselves gained the most, or lost the least, through their dislocation experience.

Dichotomous to the most stable and self-sufficient households, many reflecting the most abject forms of social pathologies, also found housing improvements. A number were relocated to public housing or to interim housing within the redevelopment area. Some received assistance from Bill Courage and later Manley Steiman and their staffs. Beyond rehousing, help came in the form of advice or referral to a social agency. Until the arrival of People's Opportunity Services in the final phase of scheme implementation, lack of identifiable responsibility to extend social services to renewal area residents minimized social service inputs.

Attempts on the part of external organizations like Neighbourhood Services Centre to direct focus toward specific social concerns, exemplified in the problems of the elderly, had little impact on the redevelopment program. Most single persons moved simply and quietly. To them and to many other renewal area residents, the scheme meant only "compulsion to

move." Reactions to this compulsion varied, but response in general was to a decision made elsewhere by an unknown official. The identification of the poor as losers in societal competition, the recognition of their ineffectualness as consumers, and their suspicion of authority, were factors of insignificance in redevelopment planning. The limited impact of physical change on associated problems of illiteracy, subsistence incomes, and feelings of inferiority was never appreciated in a way conducive to extending the scope of the program.

As a potential program of human betterment, failure to tie social values and issues to the decision-making matrix impeded the attainment of the perception to define non-physical objectives. In the absence of this perception, for example, the involvement of local residents in planning around their own priorities of need, was not considered. A dual program deficiency embodied in the lack of incorporating knowledgeability about local social ills (provided for the most part by Bill Courage) and lack of recognition of the importance of non-planner involvement, stultified the development of a relevant planning process.

Even physical program objectives were not reached. The "decent, safe and sanitary home at affordable rents", which supposedly premised life-style disruption, was often reduced to illusion in the reality of short housing supply. Public housing and interim housing became the totality of relocation choice, exclusive of that available through the private market. I will not debate the issue of public housing adequacy. For some it is opportunity for betterment; for others it is entrapment in a perpetuating syndrome of social malady. The Lord Selkirk Park

complex is a marked contrast to the former community. Its institutional character tends to isolate it from the rest of the North End; its newness appears as a rejection of the scale and intimacy of the old community. This contrast is a reflection of the nature of urban renewal itself, its indiscriminatory destructiveness, its failure to look beyond the facade of neighbourhood decline. In its demise are important lessons for change.

The following articles, in concluding the discussion on relocation consequences, expose some of the "live" issues of renewal and relocation within the Lord Selkirk Park Scheme.

SLUM CLEARANCE

Citizens Assail Program

P. 3
F. J. P. 276

The City of Winnipeg, in attempting to destroy one slum area, has only shifted the problem to another part of the city, according to a group of irate citizens.

The citizens, about 30 in number, appeared before city council Monday night. A spokesman charged that there has been an influx of rowdy families into the Magnus Avenue - McGregor Street area. The group was protesting to the city because, they said, the "undesirable" families had come from the city's Lord Selkirk urban renewal project.

The group's spokesman, Steve Drebit, of 655 Magnus Avenue, said property values on the street had been

lowered because of the influx of "undesirables." The deterioration of the area is "frightening," Mr. Drebit said. Vandalism is "uncontrollable."

"The moral standards of the new residents shouldn't be tolerated anywhere," he said.

Mr. Drebit blamed council for the influx. Council had just shifted the slum from the Lord Selkirk development to the Magnus Avenue - McGregor Street area, he said.

The complaints were referred to the city's health and welfare committee and to the Winnipeg police commission. (1)

10 THE TRIBUNE, Friday, October 14, 1966.

City has most of land needed

Eighty per cent of the property required for the Lord Selkirk Park renewal project has been acquired, housing director Earle Simpson told city urban renewal committee.

Already 239 buildings have been demolished or are under contract for demolition, said Mr. Simpson.

By Aug. 31 of this year, a total of \$3,516,233 had been spent in land clearance and construction,

of which Winnipeg will pay \$879,699.

In the past two years, 630 families, totalling 1,950 persons have been moved out of the area, the director said.

Twenty-four households, made up of 79 persons, still remain to be moved.

Tenders for construction of the housing project have been called and will close Nov. 3. Construction is expected to begin about Nov. 15.

Two properties still remain

where negotiations for expropriation are underway, Mr. Simpson said. They are Exchange Auto Parts, 313 Dufferin Ave., and the Dufferin Hotel, 252 Dufferin Ave.

These properties will be acquired as soon as possible, said Mr. Simpson. In addition, an apartment building at 220 Flora Ave., outside the Lord Selkirk Park area, will be demolished.

Total cost of acquisition and clearance is expected to be \$7,379,000.

(2)

(1) Winnipeg Free Press, September 27, 1966, p. 3.

(2) Winnipeg Tribune, October 14, 1966, p. 10.

(3) Sp. cit., October 14, 1966, p. 10.

Renewal Begins In November

Construction of the Lord Selkirk Park housing development will begin in November. E. G. Simpson, director of Winnipeg's housing and urban renewal department, said Thursday.

Mr. Simpson said in a report to the city's urban renewal and redevelopment committee that the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has called for tenders for the housing project. Deadline is Nov. 3.

Estimated cost of the public housing project, which will have 324 units in a high-rise apartment and several row houses, is \$4,282,000. The federal government will pay 75 per cent of the costs. The province and city shares the balance.

Mr. Simpson said only two buildings are left to be acquired on the site, west of King Street and north of Dufferin Avenue. Since the relocation program started two years ago, 630 houses and 1,350 people have been moved. Twenty-four families still have to be moved.

Mr. Simpson said \$3,516,233 had been spent by August on land and clearance. The city is paying \$879,699 toward the costs.

(3)

City's poor terrorized, says Queen-Hughes

Winnipeg's poor are being "terrorized and intimidated" by secret tactics of the city's finance committee over land expropriations in the Lord Selkirk Park area, mayorally candidate Gloria Queen-Hughes said Sunday.

Mrs. Queen-Hughes accused a finance committee of "secret attacks" on the competence and integrity of homeowners whose property the city is trying to purchase. She was speaking at Logan Neighborhood House.

Because property owners' claims are dealt with behind closed doors, the owners do not know the reasons behind

city decisions, said Mrs. Queen-Hughes.

"They cannot protect themselves from whatever street gossip may be dredged up to defame them."

Mayor Juba denied the existence of secret meetings of committees but in an advertisement in Saturday's Tribune has turned around and defended secrecy, stated Mrs. Queen-Hughes.

"Is the mayor so deficient in an understanding of his duty to uphold the rights of citizens that he condones secret attacks on the integrity of people who are not present to

defend themselves?" she asked.

"The mayor bought newspaper space to glory in the fact that under his administration a Star Chamber is in operation at city hall. It has been my contention that secrecy is dangerous, that it corrupts and stimulates fear. I did not expect the mayor to admit these truths."

In Winnipeg's history, "there has never been such a flagrant example of the use of terror and intimidation."

Residents in Lord Selkirk Park were told not to discuss their property values with

Juba defends present expropriation methods

Mayor Stephen Juba issued his first election statement today, bitterly attacking critics of the city's expropriation procedures.

The mayor said such criticism, while perhaps well-intended, "is the result of lack of knowledge or understanding of the city's practices and expropriation law."

He said the attacks have been aimed at expropriation procedures of land for various projects, and more recently, the Lord Selkirk Park Development.

Mayor Juba said the criticism has taken two forms, first that the city negotiates secretly and thereby opens the door to fraud and corruption and secondly that the

city fails to pay property owners high enough prices.

The mayor is being challenged in this election by Gloria Queen-Hughes, who has attacked both these practices throughout her election campaign.

"It is easy for a critic of anything to generalize. It needs no particular skill, knowledge or ability," said the mayor. "It tells us nothing and helps nothing."

"Constructive criticism is another matter. To date I haven't seen any such criticism of the city's procedures except that which has come from members of council or our own administrators."

Mayor Juba said city council's present procedure,

neighbors, Mrs. Queen-Hughes charged.

"When they banded together into a community organization they were told their association had no legal entity — leaving the clear threat that standing together wouldn't protect them."

"If the people of Winnipeg knew how the poor were being terrorized by these seemingly bland and innocuous tactics, they would rise up in wrath at the inhumanity of it."

The people whose land is being bought by the city earn less than \$3,000 a year, said Mrs. Queen-Hughes.

"The tragedy is that these Star Chamber methods are being keenly felt in a deeply personal way by the people who came to Canada after both wars to avoid tyrannical governments in Poland, Hungary, Russia and the Ukraine."

"Their past experience in eastern Europe still affects them, especially when the government moves in on their property and when they are not sure about their rights as Canadian citizens."

"They feel pushed around. They have a language problem. They feel unfairly dealt with."

Many of these people fear

anyone disagrees, the case is arbitrated.

The city solicitor then files a full report on each expropriation to the "in-camera" meeting of the finance committee.

Mayor Juba said these meetings must be closed because the solicitor must evaluate claims and the city's own evidence, "often with express or implied comment on the competency of individuals involved."

"This frank expression of opinion is not possible in a public meeting, but is necessary when the committee is considering the case," he said.

The mayor said the committee then authorizes a final of-

reprisals from city hall if they complain about what they receive for their property, said Mrs. Queen-Hughes.

An interpreter should be provided for some of these people and all land expropriations should be dealt with in open session. The city's entire urban renewal and property acquisition procedure needs to be overhauled.

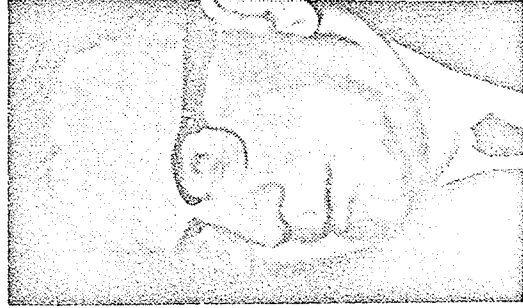
"What is to prevent anyone from anonymously attacking the integrity of any citizen when the city solicitor is required to assess the competence of individuals before a secret meeting of finance committee?" she asked.

fer and if it is accepted by the owner then the claim is settled. If it is refused, the case is submitted to a panel of arbitrators in public session.

The city may now publicly question the competency, impartiality and credibility of anyone giving evidence, said Mayor Juba, "and let the chips fall where they may."

The city can go so far as to appeal a decision to superior courts for a ruling, he said.

On the completion of a project, all files and records are open to members of council for seven years. No one with a proper interest has ever been refused access to these records, he said. (5)



MAYOR JUBA

Lord Selkirk Residents To Protest Plan

Winnipeg's urban renewal committee can expect a six-man delegation from the Lord Selkirk Park redevelopment area at its Jan. 19 meeting.

The delegation will present a petition with specific requests and demands of the residents regarding the city's plans to tear down the area between Main and Saker Streets and Jarvis and Selkirk Avenues.

Some 15 concerned property owners drew up the petition at a meeting of the Selkirk Park Citizen Group in the Neighborhood Service Centre at 73 Robinson Street Thursday night. The meeting was partially conducted in Ukrainian. Signatures will be collected throughout the

neighborhood in the next two weeks.

The aldermen on the city's urban renewal and redevelopment area will be asked:

- To set up an interest-free loan fund for residents who are forced to move and pay more for new accommodations elsewhere. (Someone who owns a \$9,000 home in the area will likely have to pay at least \$12,000 for comparable living quarters elsewhere. The city will be asked to provide the \$3,000 difference as an interest-free loan.)

- To send a letter to every property owner in the district informing him what the city is going to do with

this particular property and when it is going to do it.

- To set out the regulations regarding notice of expropriation and the possibilities of extensions.

- To expropriate full streets rather than spot clearance. (The residents say they fear the whole area will depreciate if just one or two houses on a street are taken.)

- To pay the legal costs, in whole or in part, of those homeowners who want to contest their property's assessment for expropriation by way of court arbitration.

- To pay replacement value rather than market value for all homes.

- To explain the mechanics of the expropriation procedure and who is responsible for the assessments.

The six-man delegation which will query the urban renewal committee on the petition is made up of Gregory Liusz of 79 Aikins Street, who had so far acted as spokesman for the Selkirk Park Citizen Group; Harry Botan of 74 Robinson Street; Stanley Rubik of 383 Stella Avenue, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Nawrot of 385 Stella Avenue and Lucky Parker of 392 Flora Avenue. Mr. and Mrs. Nawrot and Mr. Parker were not present Thursday night.

In an opening statement to the meeting, Mr. Liusz said the

time had come for the citizens in the redevelopment area to act as a group. "If a group of people go to the urban renewal committee and ask questions, they will realize that the people want the answers."

Mr. Liusz also said he was unhappy over the attitude the city had so far displayed towards his neighborhood.

"This is the oldest district in the city," Mr. Liusz said. "From this area the city started growing. I haven't been in this country too long, but if I'm correct Jarvis Avenue was the first big street. They should put a monument in here for our ancestors, but instead, they branded it and they're calling it a slum."

(6)

The trouble behind Lord Selkirk scheme?

A failure in communication has been branded as the prime cause of friction between the city and residents of the Lord Selkirk redevelopment area.

Another cause is senior government demand for replanning — which has delayed decisions on which properties are to be expropriated.

This was agreed when the city's finance committee and a delegation representing residents met for a marathon three-hour session. City clerk W. A. Quayle said later it was one of the longest, if not the longest hearings allowed a delegation by a committee in the history of the city.

The delegation presented a brief listing 10 points it wished clarified. However, after almost two hours, the discussion still centred on item three.

The three principal points stressed by the delegation were:

- Householders should receive replacement value for their homes rather than market value in cases of expropriation.

- It should be made clear immediately whose property is to be expropriated and when.

- The system of appraisal should be fully explained. (Delegation members made it clear they were suspicious that appraisers were prejudiced in favor of the city).

PLANS CHANGED

They also protested that the area had been labelled a slum.

Redevelopment of the Selkirk area was started under the urban renewal program in 1963, with the federal government bearing 50 per cent of the cost and the province and city 25 per cent each. The general area is between Main St. and Salter St., Selkirk Ave., and the CPR tracks. The development came in four stages, and progress has

been made on the first three stages.

Stage No. 4, the subject of Thursday's meeting, is bound by Flora Ave., Dufferin Ave., Robinson St. and Salter St. It includes about 110 homes and some non-residential property. No progress has been made on it.

Delegates complained that they were left sitting, "as if with a packed suitcase" for years, not knowing if their property was going to be expropriated.

R. A. L. Nugent, deputy city solicitor, and Jack Thomas assistant director of housing and urban renewal, said the delay was caused by the federal government insistence on changing the original plans. The city couldn't say which property would be expropriated because it didn't know.

Alderman Joseph Zuken, not a member of the committee, asked when a decision might be expected. Mr. Thomas replied his best guess would be about March.

Delegates protested that a person paid \$12,000 for his house might not be able to find another one for less than \$15,000 and would be paying 12 per cent mortgage on the \$3,000 difference.

They suggested the city pay or advance the difference free of interest.

J. C. Hadden, assistant branch manager, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, said the corporation is now financing real estate at 7¼ per cent and Selkirk residents, seeking replacement homes would qualify.

He also said that as a partner in the project the federal agency felt bound to correct what it considered a mistake and proceed with redesigning of plans. (7)

Debate Area Plan With City

Winnipeg's civic urban renewal and redevelopment committee debated the city's expropriation policies for three hours with a five-man delegation representing residents of the Lord Selkirk Park redevelopment area in north Winnipeg.

The residents' spokesmen presented a 10-point brief containing suggestions and questions that they said were causing concern and uncertainty among the homeowners in the area designated as Stage Four or the final stage of the city's urban renewal program. The area lies between Main and Salter Streets, north of the Canadian Pacific Railway's mainline to Selkirk Avenue.

It was the longest hearing ever given a delegation by a civic committee in recent years, according to civic officials.

The delegation appeared to be satisfied when it left the meeting although many of its questions were unanswered. The committee assured the homeowners that it would study each of the items in the brief at its Feb. 2 meeting.

About 110 homes are situated in the area represented by the delegation. Only 30 homeowners have been notified that their properties are being expropriated although preliminary plans for the area were first released in 1963.

Turned Down

Jack Thomas, the city's assistant urban renewal director,

explained that a delay had occurred in proceeding with acquisition of land in the area because the senior governments last May turned down the proposed redevelopment scheme for the area.

A new scheme will be completed in early spring, he said. Not all property will be acquired. Structures in better condition will be allowed to remain standing.

The owners want to know if and when their property is going to be taken over by the city. Their representatives said some owners want to proceed with repair work but are afraid they won't be repaid for the work.

Suggestions presented to the committee included:

- That the city establish a fund to make available interest-free loans to expropriated owners who have to pay more for a new house than they received for their old house.

- That there must be compensation for those remaining in the area for devaluation and damage to their property caused by the redevelopment

project. Landscaping, natural beauty and facilities must be maintained.

- That the city take a full street when clearing houses, instead of spot clearance. When spot clearance occurs, other homes depreciate in value, the delegation said.

- That the homeowners should receive replacement value for their homes instead of market value.

The delegation set March 31 as the deadline for a reply to its questions.

Alderman Lloyd Stinson said the delegation was forced to appear before the committee because there was a lack of communication between the city and the homeowners.

The alderman said Lord Selkirk Park was the city's first urban renewal project and labelled it an "experiment."

Said Ald. Stinson, "I think proper procedure is being followed by the city."

Prices Slump

Gregory Luisz, of 79 Aikins Street, chairman of the delegation, said prices of homes in the area have been devaluated because the area has been branded a slum. But he said there were good homes in the area.

John Parker, of 392 Flora Avenue, said, "All we want is a home just as good as the ones we are living in now."

Ross Nugent, deputy city solicitor, explained that impartial appraisers estimate the value of property earmarked for expropriation. The value is established on the basis of the cost of a similar house in a similar area in other parts of the city, he said.

Mr. Nugent said the property owners, if not satisfied with the value estimated by the city-appointed appraisers, could hire their own appraiser and the city would pay the costs. The city also pays the homeowners' lawyer fees, if the homeowners decide to contest the evaluation on reasonable grounds.

Not 'Frozen'

Ald. Lillian Hallonquist, urban renewal committee chairman, in answer to one of the delegation's questions said the property in "stage four" isn't "frozen." As long as the city hasn't acquired a property, it can be sold privately.

"The property could also be repaired and you could expect to get paid for the repairs," said Ald. Hallonquist.

"Not so," said Mr. Luisz. "We've been told by a city law department official to try to maintain our properties as they are and don't make any big major repairs because we won't get paid back."

But Mr. Nugent said the condition of a property is taken into consideration when an appraisal is made.

Although the meeting was generally quiet, Ald. Hallonquist had to ask for order on several occasions.

(8) *Supra.*, January 20, p. 14.

150 angry residents balk at expropriation

Winnipeg officials met a barrage of criticism Wednesday from 160 families who will be forced out of their homes next summer.

The homes, all located in the north end are soon to be expropriated and demolished to make way for the next stage of the Lord Selkirk Park low-rental housing project. What no-

body knows yet is what the city is prepared to offer these people for their homes.

A spokesman at city hall said this morning the area involved in the January expropriations is "generally a rundown district."

"Of course, in matters such as this, you always run into a few homes which are above standard and of good quality. But

they have to be taken over with the rest.

"If they weren't, a project such as this could never be developed on one area of land. We can't have an urban development spread over different land sections," he said.

Wednesday night, about 150 persons met city officials in Aberdeen School to discuss the problem.

Continued From Page One

Residents complain

ban renewal chairman Alderman Lillian Hallonquist said the city is having them translated into Ukrainian, Polish and German.

Property to be expropriated by the end of January, includes the whole block bounded by Selkirk and Flora Avenues, Aikins and Charles streets and two blocks just south and one long block that runs west to Salter St.

Stella Ave. will disappear from within the 108 acres of Lord Selkirk Park as planners want to make it into a walkway for pedestrians between Salter and Main Streets.

Parts of Aikins and Robinson streets running into the Lord Selkirk Park low-rental housing project are also slated to become walkways.

Commercial development is set between Flora and Dufferin Avenues fronting Main and King Streets. A health unit and senior citizens' housing is the plan for the Selkirk Ave. land.

And there are plans to revive the north end's own open-air fruit and vegetable market that used to be at Stella Ave. and Flora Ave. A block of land has been marked for the summer market between King and Main Streets, and Dufferin and Jarvis Avenues.

The first 45 of 328 low-rental housing units last week opened on the 11 acres reserved for public housing at Lord Selkirk Park and the rest are due for occupation by the end of 1968.

Wednesday's meeting was the first of four. The next, on Jan. 31, will be held just after most residents have received expropriation notices.

The overall Lord Selkirk Park development is bounded by Main and Salter Streets, Selkirk and Sutherland Avenues.

body owner has asked for his property and also what the appraisers have judged as a fair price.

"Then an offer is made. If the home owner is unsatisfied, he may appeal the decision and go to arbitration.

"If an arbitration board decision does not suit the home owner, the claim can then be taken to the Court of Queen's Bench. There are several safeguards for the rights of home owners involved," he said.

He said the city has already moved 200 homes and 2,000 people in the project and all claims were settled.

"A person can hand over possession of his home to the city before a final cash settlement is made. There is little chance of a home owner being shafted through arbitration," he said.

Most were older residents. Some were landlords who lived elsewhere.

Many of the residents said they contemplate a bleak future — to be thrust in old age from a community they have supported nearly all their lives, into a new world of high home costs and multiple apartment blocks.

Nearly all residents at the meeting were angry.

"Where am I going to get a mortgage at 71 years of age?" one man asked.

"If I have to fight for my home, I'll fight — and I'm not kidding," Mrs. Charles Ross told city planners.

Mrs. Ross has lived at 30 Selkirk Ave. for 40 years. The Ross home is to be expropriated by the end of January and Mr. and Mrs. Ross will have to move in the summer.

So will all the other families. Mr. Ross, in his 60s, remodelled his home this summer and built a \$1,200 garage. Why, he asked, had he been given a permit to build the garage when a few months later he faces losing it and his home by expropriation.

"I pay about \$275 taxes and who wants to buy a new home and pay twice the taxes?"

"I brought up four children at that house," said Mrs. Ross. "For \$12,000 what sort of a home can you get — an old dump."

NARROW VIEW

Alderman Joseph Zuker said it was time the Manitoba Expropriations Act gave people full replacement value for their homes and compensated them for being moved from their community.

"The technicians (planners) have too narrow a view of urban renewal, they think only in terms of physical replacement. They should think also in terms of social renewal."

Brochures issued at the meeting were in English only but on

See HOMEOWNERS, Page 2

(9)
Supra., December 2
1967, p. 1.

About 200 residents of Lord Selkirk urban redevelopment area attended a protest meeting Wednesday night against the city's expropriation tactics.

All six aldermen from Ward 3 were invited to attend at R. B. Russell School but only Ald. Joseph Zuken showed up.

Ald. Zuken urged the crowd not to let the 60-day deadline pass for return of expropriation notices and to get advice on value of their homes before putting down a figure.

He told residents to attend information meetings staged by the city's urban renewal committee and "not to be scared to ask questions of the city's technical staff."

Ald. Zuken said he always urged the principle of "a home for a home" in expropriation. Rather than pay the residents market value, the city should pay the replacement value.

If residents favored this principle, they should write to their MLAs urging them to have the principle adopted in expropriation legislation.

The meeting was chaired by Mickey Bass, who has lived in the district for 40 years. He said he had serious misgivings over city expropriation tactics.

"They promise you everything under the sun until you start dealing with them as an individual. They try to bribe you with free coffee at public meetings.

"They say the city will pay the costs of arbitration but they don't say anything about going to court. If you're not satisfied with arbitration you have to hire your own lawyer. The people here don't have the money for lawyers.

"One guy hired a lawyer and he got \$4,000 more from the court but the lawyer charged him \$3,000.

"The city called us a slum area and then they tried to put the blame on the newspapers for that word. But it was them that did it."

Mr. Bass said he was also against the spot clearance pro-

posed by the city between Aikins and Salter Streets and Flora and Stella Avenues. The city should take whole blocks or leave them alone, he said.

One woman resident of the area said she questioned the

wisdom of the whole urban renewal scheme. She said the homes that went up look like "barracks" and will be a slum in about two years.

"It's already getting worse. There's already been a robbery

there," she said. "When you walk by there in two years' time, you'll get empty beer bottles thrown at you and women will be calling you in through the window -- just like it used to be on Jarvis Avenue."

(10)

P. 5

CITY OF WINNIPEG Feb 3/68

**NOTICE OF PUBLIC MEETING
TO ALL RESIDENTS AND OWNERS
OF PROPERTY IN THE
LORD SELKIRK PARK RENEWAL AREA**

Lord Selkirk Park is generally described as the area bounded on the north by Selkirk Avenue, on the south by the Canadian Pacific Railway, on the east by Main Street and on the west by Salter Street.

THE CITY OF WINNIPEG WILL HOLD THE SECOND PUBLIC MEETING IN THE AUDITORIUM OF THE R. B. RUSSELL JUNIOR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, DUFFERIN AVENUE EAST OF SALTER STREET, ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 7th, AT 8.00 P.M. TO FURTHER DESCRIBE AND EXPLAIN THE REVISED RENEWAL SCHEME FOR LORD SELKIRK PARK. RESIDENTS AND PROPERTY OWNERS IN THE AREA WILL AGAIN HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE SCHEME AND THE METHODS AND PROCEDURES TO BE USED IN CARRYING OUT THE REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME. THERE WILL BE TIME FOR QUESTIONS AND GENERAL DISCUSSION DURING THE COFFEE PERIOD AT THE END OF THE MEETING.

This notice is issued by authority of the Committee on Urban Renewal and Redevelopment of the Council of the City of Winnipeg.

W. H. G. T. M.

(11)

(10) Winnipeg Free Press, March 15, 1968, p. 40.

(11) Winnipeg Tribune, February 3, 1968, p. 5.

You're losing your home — in 3 languages

By MICHAEL McGARRY
Tribune City Hall Reporter

The program was in three languages — English, Polish and Ukrainian.

Interpreters were there. And there were complaints.

About 300 residents of Lord Selkirk Park packed the R. B. Russell Vocational School Wednesday night to hear City of Winnipeg views about urban renewal expropriations.

Six administrators sat on the auditorium stage as a panel while emcee Finance Commissioner Robert McLean fired questions at them.

Six aldermen, members of city urban renewal committee, sat silently throughout the three-hour meeting.

The complaints ranged from protests about values placed on the houses to be expropriated by the city . . . to charges that the row housing to which many of the persons will be moved would be "slum barracks with in two years."

Lord Selkirk Park is a 106-acre district close to downtown, between Main and Salter streets. Selkirk and Sutherland avenues.

The latest phase of urban renewal, an \$8.7 million project, will clear houses from the northwest corner of the public housing project in the centre of the district and rebuild them.

The administrators outlined the plans that will force 160 families to move from the old district.

Deputy City Solicitor Ross Nugent said:

"FOR YOUR HOUSE . . ."

"We expect what we give you for your house will allow you to buy another, similar house. We will pay for improvements too."

Questions were allowed:

"You're building a bunch of barracks here," shouted Mrs. Jessie Hacay, 378 Flora Ave., referring to row houses and an apartment block under construction in a public housing project.

"You're tearing down better homes here than there are right now on Henry and Logan," she said. "These barracks will be slums in two years."

Her neighbors applauded.

"Do you think I'm going to Burrows - Keewatin?" she demanded, referring to the city's

first public housing project in northwest Winnipeg.

"We've got no freedom here," shouted another woman.

"Where do you get full value for your home, where are we going to get homes around here?" asked Mrs. Hacay.

She glared at Mr. McLean: "Would you live in a tenement building?"

"I might," said Mr. McLean, who lives in River Heights.

"Ooh," said Mrs. Hacay's neighbors, almost all 300 of them.

Mr. Nugent said residential properties expropriated by the city to be sold for commercial use would be compensated for at residential — not commercial — rates.

"You mean the city is in the real estate business?" one man asked.

"Yes," replied Mr. Nugent. "Every city in Canada and across North America is in the real estate business."

"Nobody can sell their home here now, only the city," said another man. "But do we still have to pay taxes, because, since Jan. 29 (when the city passed its expropriation bylaw) the city owns the property?"

The city does not own the

property until the final payment for compensation is made, Mr. Nugent said.

"Neither the owner of residential property nor the owner of commercial property should suffer any loss through expropriation," said Acting Housing Director Jack Thomas.

Demolition of the homes will take about one year, Mr. Nugent said. But appraisers first have to set values on the expropriated buildings.

NEXT WEEK

Expropriation notices will be delivered next week and claims for compensation must be in the city clerk's office within 60 days for owners living in Manitoba. Owners living outside the province have 90 days to file claims.

The city, the Winnipeg Housing Authority and the provincial People's Opportunity Services Branch (department of welfare) will open a relocation and information office at 436 King St. 24 hours per day, seven days per week.

"We are not wonder workers," said POSB director Lee Glasco.

"But we are keenly concerned."

Mr. Thomas said the city was

responsible for finding somewhere for displaced families to live. Some could go into Lord Selkirk Park's public housing, he said, while others could go into 70 units to be added to Burrows-Keewatin.

"Our primary concern is with the tenant families," Mr. Thomas said. "For those who do not wish to accept an offer of low rental (public) housing, the city has a responsibility to find other rental housing in the city."

The three governments who are partners in the urban renewal scheme — city, provincial, federal — also will pay moving expenses as grants above the previous maximums of \$50 per person.

Winnipeg Housing Authority manager James Siegers told residents they could be "waiting in line" for public housing with others, but "certain priorities" would be given to people whose homes were expropriated.

Rents, he said, are based on gross income — a man earning \$50 per week pays \$40 per month while a man earning \$100 per week pays \$14.

Wednesday night's meeting was the second of three. The next is scheduled March 27.

(12)

2. In Pursuit of Change

The objective of the rather exhaustive examination of residential and business relocation from the Lord Selkirk Park area has been to steep the reader in the pragmatics of urban renewal and relocation. In utilizing the data provided by Bill Courage, my own information, and comments of residents, I have sought relevancy in realism.

Neither the reality, nor relevant issues of our current pursuit, would be maintained if the inherent difficulties of realizing change were ignored. Successful relocation demands a social input, a redefinition of goals to afford resident participation in local programs which affect the lives of the program area population. In approaching the question of change it is timely to reflect upon planning itself in the context of bureaucracy and attunement to sub-cultural social issues.

The objective of this section is to develop perception of the need and possibility of extending the scope of planning to accommodate diverse social demands. I cannot recommend actions in absence of failing to understand the probability of their execution; this appreciation being a factor of social strategy, or goal attainment. The establishment of social dimension, necessary to approaching neighbourhood problems in a holistic way, would seem to require focus on at least four fundamental issues:

- i. current deficiencies and gaps in renewal programs and objectives
- ii. planning: as profession, agent to government, and instrument of understanding and meeting urban societal needs,

- iii. citizen participation: can it be accommodated within a governmental planning context?
- iv. establishing a rational framework for comprehensive planning.
- i. Current deficiencies and gaps in renewal programs and objectives

Improvements to urban living conditions do not begin and end with land-use planning and urban design. Though both are strategic to betterment, they are responses to social and economic need. Physical planning factors outweighed all others in the Lord Selkirk Scheme, obstructing vision or capacity to identify social issues beyond the most basic. The characteristics of relocation procedure and the lack of community service facilities provided for in the scheme, substantiate this conclusion. In "Grieving for a Lost Home", Frieden alludes to the fundamental oversight of failing to appreciate, in non-physical terms, the quality of the local area:

"Physical factors may be of great importance when related to the subjective significance of different spacial and physical arrangements, or to their capacity for gratifying different socio-cultural groups. For the present we can only stress the importance of local areas as spatial and social arrangements which are central to the lives of working-class people. And, in view of the enormous importance of such local areas, we are led to consider the convergence of familiar people and familiar places as a focal consideration in formulating planning decisions." (13)

The central focus of urban renewal has been on the identification of negative community influences to be removed and replaced. Medical terms have been utilized in identifying portions of the city as diseased, as requiring major surgery. Today we

(13) Frieden, "Grieving for a Lost Home", The Urban Condition, p. 169

question both the surgery and the diagnosis which gave rise to it. It would appear that the cure may have been worse than the affliction. We are in a position, through past experience, to expand the factors of diagnosis and to transcend the limited remedial actions of new housing and land use arrangements. We are in a position to expand our scope through specifically thinking in social terms about conventional planning issues:

"In the field of industrial development planners have seldom examined the types of jobs the community needed; it has been assumed that one job was about as useful as another. But this may not be the case where a significant sector of the population finds it difficult to get employment. 'Who gets what, when, where and how' are the basic political questions which need to be raised about every allocation of public resources. The question cannot be answered adequately if land-use criteria are the sole, or major standards of judgment." (14)

When seen in a new light, traditional and primarily physical forms of improvement may seem less significant. In commenting upon the "social" adequacy of relocation from a Harlem program, Gans remarks:

"Not only did it (urban renewal) reduce the supply of cheap housing to low-income people, but poor relocation methods and the virtual absence of relocation housing, forced them to move into other slums or to pay much more rent than before, thus multiplying their problems." (15)

This finding would seem to coincide with the Lord Selkirk Park experience. It is taken a step further to reveal the implication of housing improvement in a wider "social" context:

"The correlation between an index of social pathologies and dilapidation was quite low, but the correlation with holding low-status jobs was very high. The

(14) Gans, H. Taming Megalopolis, Vol. 11, p. 692

(15) " " Taming Megalopolis, Vol. 11, P. 914

"correlations suggest that the physical environment is a considerably less important source of stress than being lower class." (16)

Paul Davidoff's "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" lends succinct expression to my concern with the narrowness of scope which has characterized redevelopment programs. It is self-suggesting of the need to redefine social objectives in light of new perceptions which add depth to our understanding of real human needs:

"Planners seldom go deeper than acknowledging the goodness of green space and the soundness of proximity of linked activities. We cope with the problems of the alienated man with a recommendation for reducing the time of the journey to work." (17)

In Davidoff's concept of "pluralistic" planning (expanding scope through facing a multiplicity of issues) the fundamental missing element of comprehensiveness is exposed. Through pluralism we develop the capacity, both in theory and practice, to arrive at social policy. The objective, "social policy", is itself the missing element. Housing programs, relocation assistance, urban design, have been operable as singular inputs; the piecemeal components of a project. If they are related to social policy objectives, and extend beyond themselves as collective inputs bound by common goal orientations, planning and societal need approach a more harmonious balance. We arrive at comprehensive planning. It is collective or plural by nature of input response to the complexity of social policy. It is collective or plural by nature of the dynamics of formulating objectives within a social policy context. The dynamics of our enterprise, requires elaboration. Focus on

(16) Ibid, p. 909

(17) Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 335.

social policy to link planning with societal issues can only be effected if we are acutely aware of the dialectic between planning and society, and recognize this dialectic within a social science context. This context recognizes dialectical overtones and employs tools of hypothesis and predictive reasoning to operate amongst them. Through this door our thinking bends towards value considerations of information, professional biases, and the ebb and flow of social change. We plan for unplanned consequences of our actions; we meet society on common ground, emulating its nature in the perception-established means by which we pursue social policy objectives. That the contemporary planning profession can become operationally ambulatory in this type of context is open to debate.

- ii. Planning: as profession, agent of government, instrument of meeting and understanding social need

The last section closed on the question of the planning movements capacity to operate within a social policy milieu. In reflection upon my own feelings about the "state of the art" I wish to discuss this question; firstly in a rather impressionistic way. In my own mind's eye I visualize the evolution of North American planning along a single-planed continuum. Upon the thread of that continuum the planner reflects social norms of the dominant society and mirrors them in program form to decision-makers. Seen in this light the planner is and has been, a prescription-maker for the power structure. His inventory of curatives is derived from successive association with establishment groups. Goal values are determined on the basis of maintaining a status quo, whichever assumes the

rightfulness of "winners" in our competitive society to decide in an unequivocal sense for others. The legislative mandates for planning, the sphere of alignments, its permanency of association with elitist client, have served a select societal group. Exclusive concern with public housing projects, land clearance, green belts, massive transportation systems, cultural and civic centres are caught up in notions about the city beautiful, allegiance to public power groups and a still assumed post World War II constancy of urban issues. Certainly planning departments reflect this pervading ethos. It is tremendously distant from the concept of social policy and collective planning. On his continuum the civil servant planner has not differentiated between political power group (successive establishments) and those collectively, who pay his salary. This is no minor oversight. It raises questions of appropriate client and the ethics of those who would choose to be termed "professional"planners.

Conformity to continuum, at present, begins to feel the pressures of social change. Past conformity becomes not association with the common good, but with incipient urban problems. In the camp of the corporate giant, the bureaucracy of governmental control, the developers and all those identified with the rape of the city for power and profit, the planner is a central figure; the handmaiden to all.

Planning is at a crossroad and planners are being pressed to decide whether to remain on the continuum or seek alternative avenues. A new client embodied in community groups, poverty organizations, and social reform coalitions, demands that planners leave the board rooms and the council chambers to identify with

a range of societal competitors.

Change, reflected in disassociation with the continuum, must overcome existing obstructions. An appreciation of the need and inherent difficulty of realizing change is provided by the Swedish planner, Philip Arctander, in his article "Dubious Dogmas of Urban Planning." If we are to effect change, Arctander feels we must first destroy the prevailing myths of achieving planning effectiveness. The first asserts that "research will help planning" and in respect to it, he comments:

"Public research is paid to serve the public, but this seems to be interpreted to mean not so much to serve the 'people's good' but rather to serve 'the existing public system'." (18)

The above suggests the need to approach research on the basis of questions of for whom, and under whose auspices. More important than funding, however, is the issue of responsibility. Even with governmental financing, research can be carried out under independent auspices to which the researchers are directly responsible. The role of government as facilitator of independent research is not new, it is simply rarely acknowledged within planning.

The second myth exposed by Arctander is simply, "that planning will help people." He feels that the distance between planner and people subverts helping:

"In the official system the planner is placed at the greatest possible distance from the people. He is trained to feel superior and he is employed by superior powers, not by the people he should serve. There is a

(18) Arctander, P., "Dubious Dogmas of Urban Planning", City, Winter, 1972, p. 12

"class difference between planner and planned, and they both suffer from it. The result is that the planner, like his employers the planning authorities, is led to work not for the people but for a simplified, manageable paper model of a few of the most superficial human needs." (19)

Relationship with planners, and some five years experience with municipal government would lead me to concur with Mr. Arctander. Change is very much a question of attitude. While many planners wait for the wheel of social change to slow down and to stop at a point coterminous with the continuum, the distance between planner and people enlarges. The wheel has slipped off its axle and rolls, not spins. The question is: can we develop the capacity to break our bonds to keep abreast of its movement?

Given the distance from the people, Arctander can identify but one alternative:

"The solution lies in breaking out of the system to identify with the people." (20)

While in agreement with the importance of Arctander's conclusion, I cannot visualize it as the alternative. Effective change will only emanate from the dualism of intra and extra system efforts. There is no alternative but to work with bureaucracy. It is here to stay. Society in its complexity is prone to organizational subservience. Perhaps it offsets the psychic cost of the transience inherent in Toffler's Future Shock. The "manageable paper model" which Arctander ascribes to bureaucratic irrelevance, is an instrument of the ordering process. It is a statement of the bureaucracy which I believe we can build upon, if we are able to interpret it. It tells us where

(19) Ibid, p.12

(20) Ibid, p.54

the system is flexible, where it is expansionary, exposes its communications networks, and identifies control. The rules of the game are responsibility through order. They are understandable.

I am not naive enough to suggest that the bureaucracy will not firstly satiate itself and structure new or social dimensional inputs into the program in other than a safely-controlled way. But the ordering process has the capacity to try programs and policies on for size in a protectionist milieu of control. As they are "tried on" we should understand bureaucracy well enough to be able to "see how they fit." In the system is potential for change, if even for the wrong reasons.

The solution lies in several spheres of mutually reinforcing activity. Between system or bureaucracy and people are a number of change resources. Universities in their independent research potential, social agencies in their familiarity with human problems, professional associations concerned with improvements in quality of life are but a few examples. In Winnipeg, stimulation of these resources towards social policy objectives could come from the newly-named Social Planning Council.** Perhaps a planner, in association with community resource consortiums and systems, could assist in identifying the common ground for collective planning activity.

Where priorities in terms of immediate social input are required, recognition should be made of the established cumbersome pace of bureaucracy. If our goal is immediate change, Arctander's alternative is singularly valid.

** Formerly termed Community Welfare Planning Council

The final myth is the assumption that as planners "we know what is good for people", Arctander disputes this assumption in our failure to mobilize resident participation. Analogous to McLughan's perceptual insights into the qualitative impact of media upon the psychological interpretation of it as message, Arctander finds in appreciating participation that, "the process is the purpose." In social policy terms, participation as an end, is viewed as an objective to reach an objective. The question encouraging participation raises fundamental issues of our capacity to establish a social policy orientation on the basis of "live" social issues.

- iii. Citizen participation: an indicator of the implications and capacity to change

With the burgeoning of local and national citizen organizations, the "leave it to the politician attitude" is being confronted. People want greater influence in the formulation of public policy. Although seemingly easy to accommodate, participation crosses the grain of planning participation. Recognition of its utility assumes that "planners do not know best"; residents are visualized as central contributors in seeing communities as ways of life and repositories of social experiences.

Effecting participation implies the provision of the tools with which to participate; information, knowledgeability about planning techniques and access to focal points of decision-making. It implies a perception of the importance of process and the need to assist in ways exclusive of imposing one's own

ideas in a directive manner. Contemporary planners and their rhetoric promote participation with verbiage, but planning support for would-be participants relegates words to umbrage. If we subscribe to participation, in effect we move towards the proletarianization of planning where its sphere embraces diverse decision-making contributors. In the context of professional planning, is this anathema or idealism?

Understanding the problems of securing participation, is a first step to overcoming them. Being able to differentiate between decision-making input and tokenistic involvement demands perception. Roy Darke, a British planner commenting on Sheffield experience, points out that his colleagues most often see participation within the narrowness of plan-making. He suggests a socially visible way of looking at it:

"Participation might be seen as a way of raising self-esteem, of helping people to appreciate the needs of others and to develop powers of thought and feeling." (21)

He also sees it as a government tool:

"Participation may be a way for local people to express their concerns and interest in local issues but it can also be a manipulative device to allay discontent." (22)

In the achievements of local groups which I am personally aware of, the support of governments is often more apparent than real. A seemingly popular governmental technique in dealing with the action group, for example, is to provide no more than minimal increments towards what is requested. This provides both short-term pacification and long-term subversion of goals through group frustrations. At feeling the disappointment of

(21) Darke, Roy - "Action Groups and Planning: a personal view", Ekistics, 201 August, 1972, p. 79.

(22) Ibid, p.80

participatory effort, a Winnipeg resident succinctly stated, "participation is residents talking themselves to death; with governments unable or unwilling to listen to us."

Participation demands support of those who would wish to participate but support should be looked upon as potential manipulation. At present, resident organizations are establishing policies whereby resources are invited to contribute in an advisory capacity to the realization of neighbourhood objectives. Residents assume control of decision-making and structure resource-resident committees with resident dominance. The lessons of governmental cooptation of those who confronted the system and the manipulation of groups through funding "with strings attached" are components of developing participation strategy. Used with the confrontist tactics advocated and practiced by community organizers like the late Saul Alinsky, the impact of resident expression will be felt. The identification of social objectives translated into social purpose is occurring within neighbourhood groups to lend further strength to resident expression. This identification rests on a real base of operations from which these groups operate. The base is people!

The planner's role with respect to local groups has yet to be determined. He assumes no automatic right to share in local goal determination, but must win the right of involvement through responsibility to the group itself. That government will sanction such responsibility is currently doubtful.

In Winnipeg participation is supposedly an inherent part of the municipal government system. Through the incorporation

of a rather unique structure established in 1972, the City is broken up into fifty wards of approximately 10,000 persons. An elected Councillor represents each ward. Groups of wards (on the average four) collectively form what is termed a Community Committee Area. Of these, there are thirteen. Within each Community Committee Area residents are given the right to elect a group of advisors. The number of advisors to be elected and method of election are established by the residents at a yearly public meeting or Community Conference. The legislatively-named Resident Advisory Group is to comprise the voice of the people, to effect participation. The question is, does it? To answer this question one must consider the supports provided to the Advisory Groups and the attitude of the Councillors towards them. When support in terms of community organizers, or information, or mere knowledgeable ability about the workings of government have been all but non-existent, and Councillors in the main identify their advisors as useless appendages to their de jure right of political decision-making, we may want to addend the myth of participation in Winnipeg to Arctander's list.

It is interesting to note that Darke envisions neighbourhood councils representing 10,000 people as potentially valid bases for participation in Britain. But he recognizes an inherent difficulty and one which the Resident Advisory Group must contend with:

"However, to tie the neighbourhood council too closely into the local system may run the risk of undue influence upon local neighbourhood decision." (23)

(23) Ibid, p.81

The establishment of non-directive involvement with local groups is an important planning issue. Its achievement rests on responsibility to public in deference to power structure. The rationale for securing participation is as simplistic as it is important. To Arctander, it requires recognition of a fundamental notion:

"Happiness is making up your own mind." (24)

- iv. Context: establishing a rational and comprehensive framework for planning

The preceding sections have dealt with the need to expand the scope of planning and to develop insights into the difficulties of operationalizing an extended planning process. I now wish to discuss social planning as that activity which can accommodate social policy objectives and suggest the utilization of a model to render a comprehensive planning program operable.

A. Social Planning

In personally striving for elucidation on the meaning of social planning, the following soliloquy emerges:

"At the outset of any discussion on social planning, attention is invariably directed at reaching a reasonably definite description of the term. This can be a frustrating exercise for, by nature, the subject defies simple definition. It is difficult to define that which in reality is a perception, a way of looking; a mirror which conditions the way we see. Social planning, in a specific manner, focuses on people in the way they live, act and react to each other and to each others' issues. It implies a preoccupation with human problems, with wants and needs in a context of social interaction. It looks to tell us what we are by examining, what we do in families, in institutions, in situations of work and play. It is betterment oriented.

It is interesting to note that in this context the term social planning could be substituted by that of sociology.

(24) Arctander, P., "Dubious Dogmas of Urban Planning," City, Winter, 1972, p. 12.

The perspective of which I speak is a sociological one related to planning. It is in essence, an amalgam of sociology and planning; the former providing the field of vision, the latter conditioning how we operate within it. Field of vision could mean topical issues of investigation or methodology of study, while planning relates these elements to process. Through planning, the study becomes study 'ing' to reach a goal. Planning implies continuity in a context where gathering of information, exposing problems and suggesting action are means to a planning end; be it for specific change, for process, or to maintain what we have.

Social planning, in the first instance, requires that we get to know the urban dweller in his communities and through his institutions. But this is no simple task. Resources are required in order to communicate with each other and each other's organizations. Our own profession or job, our house on our special street, define and demarcate. We are insular and isolated, speaking from one box to another; rarely moving from one into the other to communicate. This isolation is a social problem. Its solution must be defined in social planning terms. The objective is escape." (25)

Developing social perceptions is a requisite to determining the utility of physical and economic programs. Social planning operates as a nodal point for collective contribution for the development and operationalizing of social policy. Because planning itself is ever more becoming a derivative of many professional spheres, its relevance lies in capacity to communicate collectively, and to assist participant consortiums in arriving at "common ground." Seen in this activity role, made operable by the above types of perceptions, planning could be an heuristic synthesizer.

The search for social planning definition leads to other insights. John Dyckman in "Societal Goals and Planned Societies" identifies the rationale for social planning in past deficiencies.

(25) Excerpts from a paper which I presented to the "Independent Resource Group for Improved Planning" in 1972. The Group is comprised of volunteers concerned with establishing a Social Planning organization for Winnipeg.

"Social planning recognizes that there may be unplanned consequences of planned actions, and that these may deserve attention equal to that given the programs themselves. Much of the concern with social planning among city planners in the United States stems from the unplanned social dislocation and stresses that follow upon public programs such as redevelopment." (26)

Dyckman also places social planning in the role of establishing a perceptual viewpoint from which to approach urban problems; a role of extending the scope:

"The poverty program, for example, recognizes that the problem of poverty is not merely a problem of economics, but is also a problem of the culture of poverty which can be addressed only by direct social action...The presence of social pathology alongside planning then becomes an argument against an excessively 'materialistic view of society'." (27)

The failure to see beyond the materialistic leads inevitably to programs of economic development. With respect to this singular pursuit, Dyckman finds causal factors to the neglect of social planning development:

"Programs of economic development have almost inevitably favored certain classes whose cooperation was vital to the program, to the relative disadvantage of others." ...These examples dramatize the need for a true social planning framework in which to evaluate the social consequences of individual programs." (28)

In "New Directions in Social Planning", Harvey Perloff identifies with the same problems as Dyckman and points to the need to reach a spectrum of society's classes and groups:

"Upper middle-class folkways, so often motivate City plans but do not fit most of our citizens and cannot be rationally sanctified; the slum dwellers must themselves participate in their own salvation in their own fashion." (29)

Effecting social planning requires the capacity to reach

(26) Dyckman J., "Societal Goals and Planned Societies", Taming Megalopolis, Vol I, p. 251

(27) Ibid, p. 249

(28) Ibid, p. 250

(29) Perloff H., "New Directions in Social Planning", Taming Megalopolis, Vol. II, p. 881.

non-middle-class groups on their own terms. This requires getting to know a new client. Dyckman suggests how this, as a social planning requisite, may be realized. He speaks in terms of "diagnosing" the real needs of the client:

"Client analysis has drawn upon and has developed, substantial insights into the aspirations and motives of the target populations. Presumably, client analysis will also help uncover and recognize the interest of groups who are disenfranchised of power, and whose real aspirations would rarely be reflected in public programs." (30)

The client of social planning is not the power structure but the public in its diversity. Prime focus is on the needs of those excluded from the main stream of societal competition in view of the incapacity of the system to serve everyone:

"Client analysis, moreover, begins from the presupposition that many of the bureaucratic standards will be ill-suited to serve the real client population." (31)

Having some understanding of the nature of social planning, including identification of its client, we are in an appropriate position to consider a range of pragmatic social planning concerns. I look firstly to Perloff to establish focus:

"Drawing on major recent community studies and programs, it would seem that the logical core of a social planning effort in a metropolitan region today might be expected to extend to factors that influence:

1. jobs and incomes of families
Social planning should be in a position to provide guidelines to the manpower equation.
2. financial support to those who cannot become economically self-supporting
3. emotional support for individuals and families who need it, with emphasis on preventive mental health programs
4. a high level of social services, particularly education and health

(30) Op cit, p. 255

(31) Ibid, p. 255

5. decent housing and a satisfying physical environment for all families." (32)

Another inclusive view of the component functions of social planning, and one that I am particularly enamored of, comes from Herbert Gans. It deals with the issue of maintaining mental health in contemporary society; by nature a comprehensive subject:

"to achieve at least a minimum state of health requires planning to reduce poverty, unemployment and discrimination, and all of the feelings of deprivation, social uselessness and self-destruction that accompany them. Such planning means income grants - not charity or doles - to those now living beneath the poverty lines; the creation of new jobs and job training methods for people now without marketable skills, and the provision of the right kinds of educational facilities that will encourage the children of unskilled, lower-class adults not only to go to school, but to learn the kinds of occupational and social skills that will, in turn, enable them to find the jobs available in our automated society." (33)

Programs which embrace participation and a social planning dimension will be complex. They will demand methodology and form; components which lead inevitably to the next topic of discussion.

B. A Model for comprehensive planning

Comprehensiverational planning requires a framework, but at the same time it requires flexibility to accommodate changing conditions. We need form and flexibility. D. G. Stuart, in "Rational Urban Planning: Problems and Perspectives," suggests a model or approach which will accommodate both needs. He terms his approach the Program Policy Trade-off Model. It is, in

(32) Perloff, H., "New Directions in Social Planning," Taming Megalopolis, Vol. II, p. 883

(33) Gans, H., "Planning and Mental Health," Taming Megalopolis, Vol. II, p. 907.

essence, a compromise between the rigidity of the rational planning approach and the flexibility of the Lindblom Method.

Stuart outlines the nature of the rational approach as follows:

"The rational planning approach suggests that once we are able to construct an acceptable programs-objectives matrix (and develop needed analytic methods and information resources), we may then proceed to mechanically adjust programs and policies as necessary." (34)

The Lindblom Method, by contrast, suggests no one constant matrix. It attempts to relate to the reality of change, the one factor we can be assured of:

"The Lindblom Method, however, calls for a never-ending chain of successive policy choices and analyses. The method is repeated again and again, dealing with new problems and opportunities as they arise, continually adjusting past and present programs and policies, but never expecting or attempting to define a comprehensive, once and for all set of policies. The method assumes that objectives will continuously be revised in the face of changing conditions, and that public policy making will constitute an endless process of successive partial approximations to changing objectives." (35)

The Program-Policy Trade-off Model represents elements of both of the above approaches:

"The identification and weighing of community objectives, key phases of the rational process, are left out, and the Lindblom method of simultaneously choosing objectives and policies adopted in their place. On the other hand, the design of new programs and policies (essentially absent from both methods) is emphasized, and the central importance of being able to meaningfully predict relative effectiveness levels is maintained. The identification of marginal trade-offs among alternative programs and policies represents the final step in the method. The notion of continuing successive applications to changing urban problems is emphasized." (36)

(34) Stuart, D.G., "Rational Urban Planning: Problems and Perspectives," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 5:2, p. 168

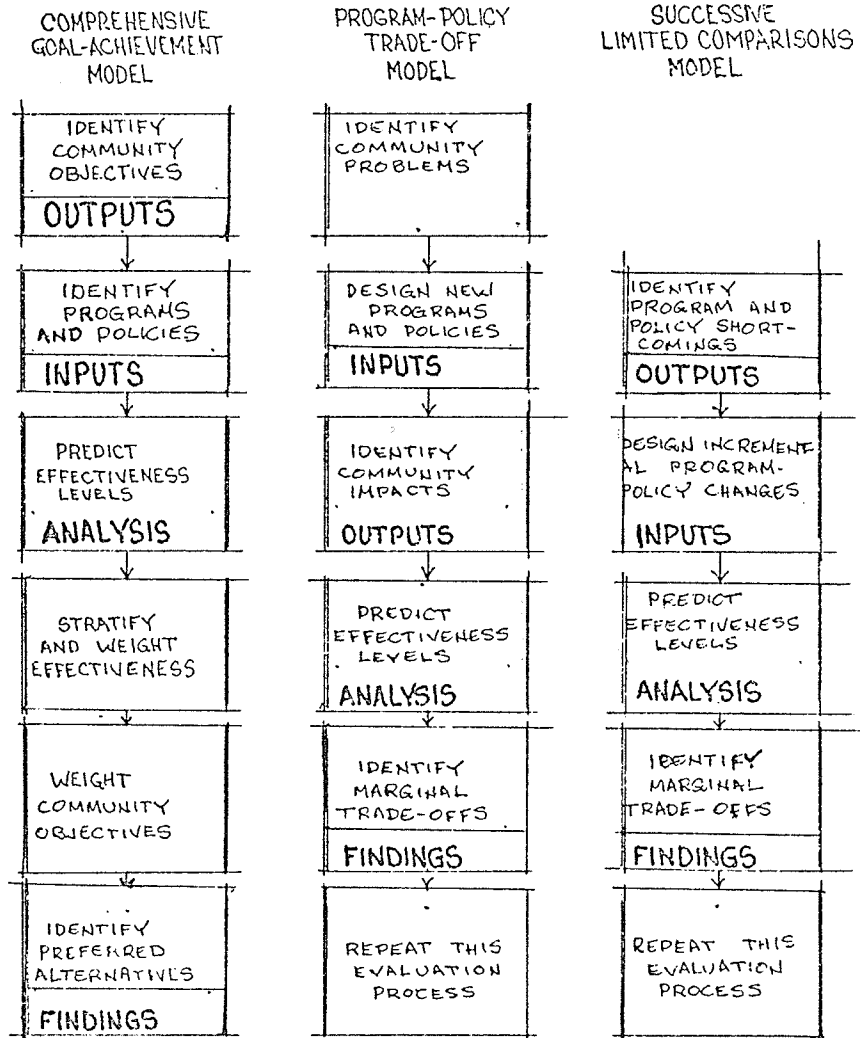
(35) Ibid., p. 168

(36) Ibid., p. 168

The following chart compares the three approaches. Stuart illustrates the utility of the middle approach by applying it to the Model Cities Program. He is convinced that this approach has the capacity to identify problems, suggest action, and analyze the results. It would appear that the Program-Policy Trade-off Model would have the capability to deal with elements of comprehensive planning discussed earlier.

This model is, in essence, a process whose ultimate objective is to predict relative effectiveness levels among specific programs. Stuart defines it as a "systematic process of continuing analysis." Unlike the rational or goal-achievement model, it is not an end in itself but rather a facilitator of program development. The tools of predicting effectiveness are input and output, the former being programs and policies and the latter being community goals and objectives. We determine the effectiveness of inputs to reach outputs, or objectives, by measuring the impact or consequence of applied inputs.

The process begins with identifying community problems and goals. The entire orientation of the process is towards problem-solving. Given a range of problems and goals; proposals, programs and policies are established in response. Programs may be new or existing, but emphasis is on establishing innovative and imaginative courses of action. The expected consequences of input actions are weighed against outputs in terms of measured impacts. Outputs may be formal objectives arrived at in identifying community problems or new outputs identified after applying inputs. The steps in the process as outlined to this point are carried out together to permit maximum opportunity for identification of outputs. Effectiveness levels are then analyzed



on the basis of impact or predicting expected consequences. This then affords the capacity to identify the marginal differences or trade-offs among a variety of programs, proposals and policies. This process may be repeated several times in order to identify as many impacts as possible to predict effectiveness levels. When trade-offs have been made, information is passed on to decision-makers.

Extensive research and informational resources would be required to mobilize the process described. The funding of such research would appear warranted in terms of the need to develop comprehensive planning forms. Stuart visualizes this approach as a feasible way of coping with the concerns and issues, inherent in the Model Cities legislation:

"Such components include the physical improvement of neighbourhood environments, housing for low and moderate income families, transportation and access to employment, educational facilities and services, manpower training and economic development, recreational facilities, crime prevention, health facilities and services, and public assistance." (37)

Stuart also finds, within this process, the means whereby agencies and governmental departments in assuming the role of community problem-solving inputs, may decentralize component parts to collective action. This approach could equip the planner with the techniques to identify common ground for planning participants. Could not planning, after all, be the heuristic synthesizer?

(37) Ibid., p. 172

Recommendations

Beyond the basic goal of adequate reparation, relocation can be a means to improvements in the quality of life for relocatees. This latter achievement requires a social perception, as alluded to in the last chapter. It places the provision of relocation services in a broader context which identifies the needs of low and moderate income residents in a generic sense. It demands focus on people; not merely on the fact of their moving. If, through change in existing systems of planning, education and social welfare, we can understand and face the problems of poverty and low-income communities, to use Schorr's phrase we will be able to "rebuild for the poor" This will require changes in attitude, where welfare moves beyond the dole, where the term community schools is more than a misnomer, where retraining and educational upgrading relate to a realistic job-market. For planners, it will necessitate deviance from the continuum and association with resources capable of identifying with a new client in the poor. Support to this client, in turn, is assistance for the development of "better competitiveness" with which the poor themselves may seek assistance in the form of programs which can meet their own "live" social issues. The establishment of competitive advantage for those not normally included in the decision-making process of governmental fund allocation, must be seen as a first step in the establishment of these programs. The fact of this happening to any appreciable extent (beyond tokenism) is bound up in preoccupation with client identification, social inequality

recognition of upper and middle-class gluttony for goods, services and control; in social planning which perceives of housing and a multiplicity of social programs in terms of a universal human right, that of "dignity". To be sure this is idealistic, but naive only if the products of such idealism exemplified in Arctander's statements of "happiness is making up your own mind" and "the process is the purpose" are divorced from the reality of being poor or living in a low-income neighbourhood. For me, such reality, and the necessity of facing it appears in the statement: "effort dissipates when lost hopes mitigate against a trying".

Basic Context and Objectives Programs of urban improvement for low-income communities should be looked upon as responses to the social and psychological needs of the improvement area population. The plural dimensions of the United States Model Cities legislation, reflect the perceptual focus which is required. It establishes the scope for a great variety of housing, educational, recreational, health and social service programs related to neighbourhood needs. Around this scope, methodologies for securing participation of local residents, setting goals, priorities and programs and capacity for evaluation may be developed. Given this framework, relocation as a social issue could be comprehended and effectively dealt with. Forthcoming amendments to the National Housing Act will move us closer to a social definition of neighbourhood improvement in Canada. These changes should be looked upon, not as ends in themselves, however, but as means to progressively more comprehensive planning.

Social sensitivity
and
Program Scale

A central problem of many urban renewal schemes has been the size of the renewal area population. The magnitude of many projects was, in itself, an obstacle to meeting the needs of residents, a majority of whom appreciated this fact in their decision to "fend for themselves." Future programs should be geared to meeting the individual needs of area residents with existing resources. This requires on the one hand the delineation of a population area which can be related to in a "personal" way. The extent of either real or anticipated social pathologies, the degree of difficulty in establishing communication with residents as a first step in community organization, and the number of persons and families to be displaced, are key determinants to scale of program. No programs should be sanctioned without relocation policy which reflects:

1. the housing needs of the relocating population
2. the social needs of residents. This should include a description of the social service resources to be directed to the program and an outline of the manner in which need is to be determined with specific reference to resident involvement. This latter element is suggestive of a community development input; i.e., a specific resource for the development of local participation in decision-making.

Relocation as
the last resort

Given the difficulty of providing adequate rehousing choices and the difficulty of achieving social betterment through existing systems, the dislocation of people should be looked upon as a drastic measure. The main thrust of urban improvement programming should be towards stabilizing older neighbourhoods as social networks. This requires a social "perception."

Perception through
the eye of the
"heuristic synthe-
sizer"

Developing the capacity to "see" neigh-
bourhoods as more than physical entities
is easily achieved through involvement

with residents on their own terms. Planning as a method of ordering future action through current decision-making, can be utilized as a neutral tool for communication; as a means to getting to know the client. In knowing the neighbourhood through people will be exposure of incipient strengths, criteria for building as opposed to destroying. In the pursuit of knowing will be the basis upon which to identify commonality for collective participation in itself, but as a resource in identifying potential common ground for collective participants. The role of the planner would then be a changing one; that of heuristic synthesizer for example, to be followed by participation as a resource-package component.

The specifics of
relocation policy

The following recommendations exemplify
possible forms of assistance to relocatees.

They are directed to a hypothetical pro-
gram area where a number of businesses and low and moderate income
families are to be dislocated.

a. Residential Relocation Recommendations

- Rehousing plans should be developed in advance of property acquisition. The assistance of the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation should be sought for purposes of meeting the relocation need for housing. An assurance of receiving "decent", safe and sanitary housing at affordable rents" cannot be lost sight of as a prime purpose of improvement program relocation. Through the Housing and Renewal Corporation a number of housing options could be considered including:

- subsidized senior citizen and family housing with

emphasis on deviation from the elderly person's tower and the family town house project.

- purchase of homes on the open-market for purposes of relocation. Dwellings should be chosen which require rehabilitation and whose conversion to suitable relocation accommodation creates improvement in another area. The relocating family would be seen by future neighbours as a *raison d'etre* for home improvement in their area. Rehabilitated homes could either be rented or sold.
- the construction of infill dwellings on small lots in the inner city, which could either be leased or sold to relocatees. The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation need not specifically operationalize a program for relocatees, but could provide relocatees with special access to housing being developed through a comprehensive on-going inner city program.
- utilization of the Expropriation Act as a factor of maximum compensation through a biased attitude in its use which "favours the relocatee". This would indicate to lawyers that expropriation is more than a game of "price haggling"; we are beyond the private market.
- an examination, in detail, of the gap between legal compensation through the Act and the actual procurement of adequate housing at a cost which will not cause undue hardship. The purpose of such a study is to determine the number of following recommendations required to fill this gap in terms of relocation policy.
- location of a relocation site office in the program area to provide information and a home-finding service. The site office should be available for use by the community as a meeting place and a forum for sharing with relocation officials, expressed relocation concerns. Association should be made between this centre and a social service unit or, ideally, space should be shared. Residents must be reached in deference to relocation staff waiting to be asked to help. This is especially true with respect to the elderly.
- payment of full moving costs
- guaranteed "replacement" costs for homes where price of newly-acquired dwellings (approximately the old in living convenience and comfortability) is the major criterion of compensation. Relocation experience indicates a common void between market value payment and price of a relatively equal home.
- compensation for increases in mortgage interest rates

- a bonus payment to families finding their own homes
- the establishment of a system of low-interest loans and grants to homeowners and tenants wishing to purchase homes. The extent of interest-rate subsidy, or amount of grant, would be dependent on income and size of family. I visualize the provision of grants as a method of overcoming the obstacle of down-payment to low-income families. Extending home-purchase opportunities to low-income relocatees is important from a number of points of view. For the feeling of greater independence. For the community chosen by the relocatee, it means rescue of a home from the hands of an absentee owner; often a factor of community instability. A grant system of upwards to \$2,000 for down payments has been operable in the United States' Model Cities Relocation Programs since 1969.
- assurance of placement in subsidized (public) housing units for those who wish such accommodation. Special consideration should be paid towards the needs of the elderly.
- assurance that all relocatees have the right to "standard" housing as defined by a housing standards by-law. I urge the City of Winnipeg to develop such a by-law.
- the provision of "rent supplements" for those unable to secure standard housing at affordable rents, and unwilling to relocate to public housing. In rent supplementation is a means to expand relocation housing choices in the private market.
- the payment of a relocation adjustment payment for tenants, covering the differential in rental rates. A recently completed study on relocation from Hamilton's North End, suggests a disturbance payment of \$750.00 for owners and \$30.00 per month for tenants over a ten year period amounting to some \$4,300.00. In the United States such payments are a fact.
- assistance in purchasing necessary furnishings for relocatees as a first step in broadening the term "home improvement" through relocation. In our middle-class paranoia of the possibility of someone "getting something for nothing" we often miss the mark of meaningful assistance be a few dollars.
- the establishment of a social service unit. Locally, instigators and possible participants could be the Provincial Department of Health and Social Development, the Social Planning Council, Neighbourhood Services Centre, the Family Bureau of Greater Winnipeg and the Winnipeg School Division. This, in effect, would be the embryo of the decentralized resource package. Focus would be on a designated inner-city area, not on relocation

- per se. Relocation assistance is seen as part of a comprehensive social service extended to designated community. Since but two inner-city areas, that of the North End and C.P.R. - Notre Dame are likely to require extensive property clearance, I would recommend that a social service unit be established in the North End in each area. However, the participation of neighbourhood service centres should be substituted by that of P.A.C.T. * The units would be expected to provide follow-up assistance to relocatees, a missing ingredient of former programs. Assistance should not terminate with moving but with problem solution.
- the establishment of an experimental resettlement development to the Northwest of Winnipeg in either Stony Mountain, or Stonewall, Manitoba. New housing, either detached or semi-detached, would be constructed by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation in view of the reticence of the City of Winnipeg to promote a furtherance of public housing development within its boundaries. Initially populated by relocatees willing to leave the City with the prospect of partaking of training programs sponsored by the Department of Education, this could be an initial phase in moving toward a satellite city within easy access of Winnipeg. The relatively low cost of land, adequacy of transportation and trend towards labour-intensive manufacturing establishments to seek the labour pool of non-urban settlements, could make this proposal workable. Simultaneous with training programs, the Manitoba Government could encourage firms through incentive grants, or Development Corporation Loans, to settle in the satellite community. This may even provide potential sites and market areas for relocating businesses.

* People Acting on Concerns Together is an organization which provides community development services for North End residents.

b. non-residential relocation recommendations

- the recognition of the inverse relationship between the relative burdens that individual businessmen have to bear and their ability to bear them should premise business relocation program formulation.
- that the expropriating authority be "obligated" to assist businessmen who wish to relocate and to continue. This would necessitate the involvement of resources capable of characterizing the business community through dialogue with entrepreneurs.
- provision for businessmen to make their own decisions, based on personal experience of a particular operation. Knowledgeability on the part of the businessman should be recognized as the key input to successful relocation.
- the establishment of a business information service. Locally, responsibility for this should be assumed by the Provincial Department of Industry and Commerce. Staff should be comprised of economic specialists and market analysts, seconded from the Province as a protectionist device to safeguard the interests of relocatees. This input could characterize the business community and identify business relocation problems. It could also assist in identifying potential relocation sites, and in categorizing these in terms of locational advantage by commercial types. As planners, we should not interfere in what we do not understand but should look for others to clarify business issues for inclusion in planning and relocation program decision-making. Staff resources could provide follow-up advice and assistance in the crucial period immediately following relocation.
- the payment of compensation funds with a minimum of red tape so as not to interfere with business continuity.
- loans to business operators with preferred rates of interest and waivers on normal collateral requirements. This is especially significant for the elderly businessman with limited borrowing potential. I would recommend assistance through the Manitoba Development Corporation to meet the capital requirements of relocatees.
- payments to cover disturbances and loss of business at the beginning of the relocation process rather than after moving when they may be too late for business resumption.
- the encouragement of collective planning amongst businessmen to pool resources and to establish common sites or buildings for purposes of relocation. This could occur through the Industry and Commerce staff input, seen as an organizational vehicle within the business community. Sponsorship of cooperative commercial

developments may also appear as a relocation option within this general context.

The essence of adequate residential and business relocation is the capacity to accommodate diversity. For some the Expropriation Act will, in itself, represent the totality of required relocation compensation. For others a range of programs and supports may be inadequate to achieve successful resettlement. Our chances of success will increase with the adoption of relocation policy which guarantees the inclusion relocation planning and programming within the context of urban improvement efforts. Such policy will accommodate diversity through identifying individual need as the directive for action.

At the moment, we are some distance from incorporating recommendations into relocation policy. Change and acceptance of the utility of a social dimension to urban improvement programs will occur in increments, by evolution. The continuum of power structure ingratiation approaches social planning with care and caution. In social planning is ambivalence, intangibility, abstraction. Unlike transportation engineering or traditional master planning, our inputs are not easily measured nor weighed for computerization. Expressions like, "we can't get a handle on social planning" and "we can at least plan a better physical environment" are, to use the vernacular, "cop outs" to facing real, existing and live social issues. The inherent difficulties of improving the quality of life for the poor in terms of access to opportunity, do not render the need for improvement any less important. We can build on the recognition of the difficulty by supporting resident contests whose prize is self-

determinism over community change, by eliciting collective support around issues which expose inequalities, by sensitizing systems like that of education and municipal government through decentralization and mutual focus on low-income communities; in short, by identifying with current community activity which responds to need. Such identification, however, will be firstly manifest in tertiary association with community programs of non-governmental origin for we are recognized as neither overly palatable nor easily digestible as nourishment in strengthening competitive advantage for low-income groups. Where the world of social unrest in its agglomerations of people and rats and half-born babies is but a momentary reminder of how lucky we are, what place have we? Who can remember if we locked these people out or they locked themselves in? We must focus on a search for a key.

I wish to close this dissertation by focussing on recommendations for specific and essential catalytic change agents. These are visualized as developmental to socially mature urban improvement programs and facilitators in operationalizing the relocation recommendations. They include:

1. The legislation
 - a. Amendments to the Manitoba Expropriation Act
 - b. A recognition of National Housing Act Amendments as impetus for change
2. Federal Government direction as compensation for municipal planning ineffectualness to meet social need.
3. Mobilizing social inputs, with emphasis on a local social planning capability.
4. The Municipal Planning Department as an urban improvement component.

The Legislation;
 a. Expropriation Act

The present Expropriation Act in
 Manitoba represents an important
 step towards the provision of "just"

compensation. Payment to homeowners, for example, covers costs of moving, legal fees and value of special improvements not included in market value. I find major improvements over the past Act, but would suggest the following amendments:

- The establishment of compensation to homeowners on the basis of "replacement" value rather than on market value. This would overcome undue financial hardship in securing alternate housing and would reflect increases in debt financing. Present compensation, with a five percent of market value payment for disturbance, approximates replacement value anyway.
- The "right" of all tenants to be compensated for disturbance should be stated in terms of offsetting the burden of rental increases, payment of moving expenses, and finders' fee for locating new premises. At the moment the Act simply states that those without a leasehold interest in the property "may" be compensated by the expropriating authority.
- Where a significant number of properties (say more than twenty) are to be taken, an arbitration board should be established. The feature of the Arbitration Board, absent in the amended Act, appears to have been a good one, though underused by Lord Selkirk Park homeowners. The Arbitration Board should also assume the role of a grievance committee for tenants claiming additional compensation. In general, arbitration boards offer potential for ease of access to a "fair" appeal hearing. At present, appeals are made to the courts.
- In seeking the right of eminent domain, expropriating authorities should be required, under the Act to submit a re-housing plan which meets the shelter needs of relocatees. The incomes, occupancy status, place of work, size of household, and other pertinent population characteristics of relocatees should be provided through a relocation need survey. Potential expropriating authorities currently assume the right of eminent domain through demonstrating the "public good" of the program for which expropriating is to be utilized. The assuming of this right should also depend on rehousing capability embodied in expedient cash payments, home-finding services, and subsidized housing for those unable to command

decent, safe and sanitary housing at affordable rents. I do not suggest that all expropriating authorities develop the capacity to construct replacement housing or to subsidize rentals. A relocation plan may include using the services of a wide array of existing resources which can be directed to a relocation program.

The Legislation	The Federal Government should refuse
b. The National Housing Act and Role of the Federal Government	funding to those urban improvement efforts involving dislocation, where adequate relocation programs are not evident.

This demands Federal interpretation of "adequate" relocation plans, and the inclusion of this interpretation as requisite to Federal contribution, within the National Housing Act. Recent amendments, if given legislative sanction, would deny Federal urban improvement funds to municipalities not having a minimum standards by-law. Rationale for this rests on the desire of the Government of Canada to secure some guarantee on its investments in old neighbourhoods. This Senior Government should be no less intent on guarantying the rights of relocatees.

I would recommend that the Federal Government, through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, identify eligibility relocation criteria for the funding of Urban Improvement programs. Such criteria are expected to be broader in scope than the rehousing plan required under the Provincial Expropriation Act. They would reflect the social dimension of living betterment within the context of comprehensive neighbourhood improvement, including, for example, information about:

- The social resources to be applied to the program itself.

- Determinants of relocation need and role of relocatees in such determination.
- Structure of the department undertaking relocation with emphasis on staff deployment to the program and relationship with external community resources.
- Follow-up services to relocatees proceeding dislocation.
- Rehousing plan.

I further recommend a participatory and evaluative role for the Federal Government in Neighbourhood Improvement programming. The activation of this role could be manifest in the establishment of a Neighbourhood Improvement Task Force to assist municipalities and neighbourhood organizations to expedite betterment action. The task force would also evaluate comparative programs and reach conclusions as to the workability of the proposed legislation. On the basis of first-hand impressions, suggestions for legislative or mere procedural changes, could be made. In effect, an ongoing change mechanism would be developed.

An initial function of the Neighbourhood Improvement Task Force is the identification of techniques to operationalize social planning in a municipal milieu. These techniques or models would then be related to the planning, educational, and social service systems of specific cities; the objective being to focus multi-system attention on social planning. A short-term product could be the decentralized resource package. Free of vested local interests and organizational constraints, initial common ground for collective participation might be federally introduced by way of neighbourhood improvement. This may prove requisite to municipal beauracritic

sanction for continuum deviancy on the part of planners and the establishment of socially-conscious municipal planning efforts.

The establishment of the role of the Federal Government to direct local planning focus towards social issues, rests on a number of factors. On the basis of a survey which I undertook in the fall of 1972 to determine the preparedness of major Canadian cities to respond to National Housing Act changes, a gap between Municipal Planning resources and the capacity to undertake neighbourhood improvement appeared. Few Planning Departments have developed beyond the point of capability to implement "old style" physical Urban Renewal schemes. Only cities in Ontario and Quebec have established minimum standards by-laws; a requisite to funding under proposed Housing Act reform. A number of cities complained about lack of appropriate Federal legislation; few had approached senior governments with proposals to undertake anything. Components of resident participation are evident only in five cities. Planning departments also appear as isolated entities, unable to identify, let alone relate to social issues.*

*

Of fifteen planning departments contacted only those in Montreal, Toronto, London, Edmonton and Vancouver were associated with resident organizations. Vancouver and Toronto departments are in my opinion, most able to respond to N.H.A. changes. Vancouver has a Social Planning Department and is implementing a rehabilitation program in the Strathcona Area. Citizen decision-making is evident in this program. Toronto's Trefann Court Scheme also has strong citizen input from a coalition group of three resident organizations, but, unlike Vancouver, lack of relationships with social and educational inputs has resulted in over-emphasis on urban design. Winnipeg has produced a Neighbourhood Improvement Program which emanated from local resident involvement. At the moment, its recommendations are not being considered.

In other words, most planning departments will be unable to usefully employ new forms of urban improvement programs which, in a neighbourhood improvement context, advocate citizen participation and home rehabilitation as opposed to urban renewal.

At this time, organizations exclusive of planning departments, may be better able to conduct neighbourhood improvement programming. This includes resident organizations which have harnessed a diversity of technical resources and community support agencies. The Federal Government should have the authority where its' funding is concerned, to prevent intervention into low-income neighbourhoods on the part of socially unequipped planning authorities. A case in point, the comment of a renewal department director whom I choose, not to identify, reflects an attitude which causes me considerable anxiety:

"We had an excellent Urban Renewal Program in Canada before the freeze The findings of the Hellyer Task Force constituted a national disaster. The program (Urban Renewal) ought to be restored and expanded."

Municipal attitude towards property acquisition here in Winnipeg, is food for further consternation. The "game" of property purchase continues. Although a better Expropriation Act has been passed, recent acquisitions for the Sherbrooke-McGregor bridge were made by open-market transactions. Through tactics of virtual "block busting", residents have sold their homes for \$2 - \$3,000 less than what expropriation would have guaranteed.* Remaining residents merely wish to "get out" of a neighbourhood

* See Appendix D

which has been destroyed. Such tactics hardly reflect a social awareness and the elements of which successful relocation is made. Appropriate legislation is only part of the answer to effecting socially and physically adequate neighbourhood betterment. "Attitude", itself, is an important factor in meeting the needs of those not often considered by most professionals and their agencies. Through the Federal Government, a change in attitude appears evident in a strategic sphere of urban improvement policy determinism. It is hoped this change will have significant implications for change within other planning areas.

Social Planning
and the Inclusion
of social resources
in urban improvement
programs.

The program - policy - trade - off model referred to in the last chapter, highlights the dynamic nature of the planning process.

It suggests a way of coping or managing in a context of changes in goals, objectives, programs and policies. Within this process are interactions of people, organizations and ideas. The complexity of urban improvement demands an ongoing process of decision-making and evaluation where different approaches may be examined in light of anticipated and comparative impacts. Information through knowledgeable resources are required to realize such a process. Of prime importance is the identification of participants to characterize communities and to reach expressed value judgements through which goals can be arrived at. With respect to programs of urban improvement, as they relate to low-income communities, a number of diverse resources is required. One in particular, that of community development, is of fundamental importance in fostering the

placement of resident participation within the planning process.

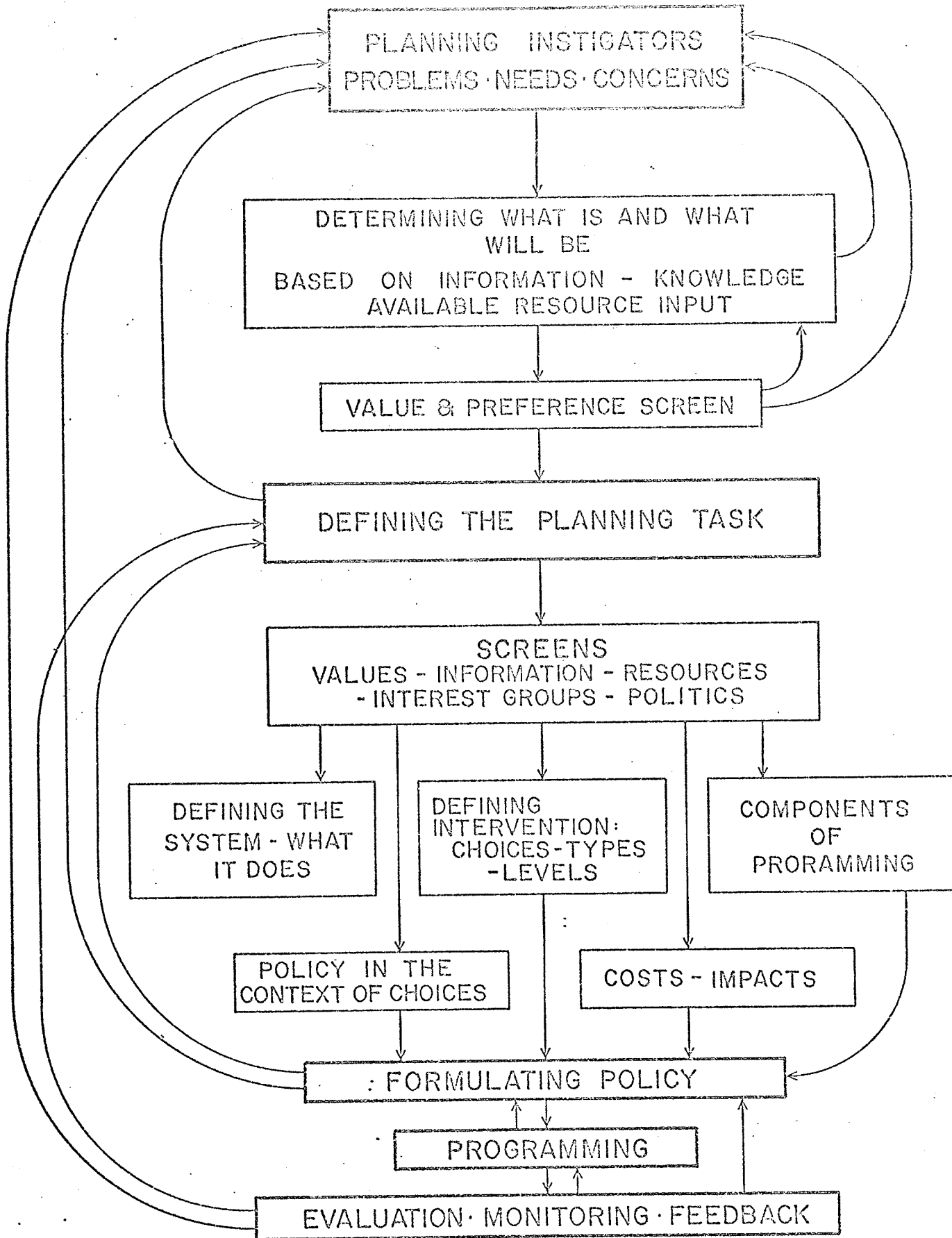
In Winnipeg, as in most other urban settlements, potential process resources are fragmented and individually institutionalized. Municipal Planning departments, social agencies and resident groups pursue absurdly unrelated and narrow ends. Little utility is seen in collectivizing resource input towards an expected objective or output. Where we failed, as planners, to identify commonality in urban renewal, the nature of Neighbourhood Improvement may overcome this shortcoming. It is my feeling that concentration on comprehensive planning, as a process approach to improving urban living conditions, will effect collectivization and facilitate linkages between physical and social planning.

In drawing from the work of Alfred J. Kahn, I identify our functional field as one of problem-oriented planning. It involves the restructuring or modification of systems to accommodate intervention of collective resources for purposes of urban improvement. In developing a system of multi-resource participation, the planner as heuristic synthesizer, again appears. He conceptualizes urban improvement as focus on a range of neighbourhood issues and problems whose significance in terms of program directive, is a question of interpretation through process. This is the essence of the common-ground of the synthesizer, looking for interpretation and definition in exploring avenues of defining. It is in this context that resources identify with the common-ground, be it specific problem, geographical area or modus operandi. Initially a non-operational statement of concern areas, like those of Model Cities, could be

used for preliminary stages of resource contact. The scope of collective resources could embrace changes in beauracratc structure, harnessing of untapped funding sources and the development of a plurally-sanctioned decentralized resource package. Emphasis would be placed on innovative resource cadres; a mix-up in traditional associations where social agencies relate to each other, and planners to developers and architectural and engineering consultants. Resources would be need-task oriented in a common process context.

Elements of process are depicted on the chart on the following page where definition of the planning task could initially be identification of the need to understand process and common ground. This model provides opportunity for a succession of collective "planning task" definitions which can be translated to parent agents lending decentralized support. It could mobilize resource consortiums.

(See Chart following page)



The model under discussion here may be employed to take the concept of program-policy-trade-off into the world of pragmatic organizations, where administrative and political system influences appear. Outputs and inputs merge in this current model at the definition of the planning task which Doxiadis refers to as "the idea sword in planning for the processing key through which the planner orders his learning and action".(38)

I visualize this model as a method for relating collective resources to needs; as a way to collectivize planning. Fundamental to such collectivism is the capacity to understand the value judgement biases of participants as they relate to identifying and meeting social need. Recognizing in specific terms, the nature of "value" differentials among participants, would itself be an input in the planning process. It would appear at the value screen. This model creates opportunity for planning resources to "see" each other.

At issue to the utilization of such a model is the dependency upon visualizing it firstly as a tool to "make conscious and deliberate the entire process". This is the central determinant of collective planning. It is my feeling that social planning will develop in the social service community and will have great impact on traditional planning.

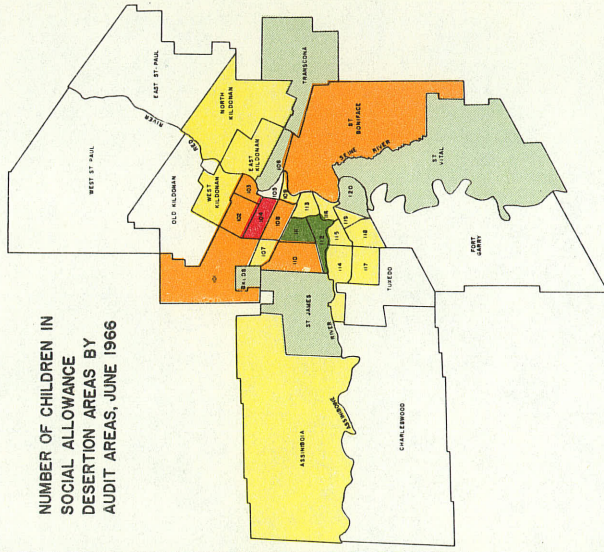
With some insights into establishing a planning process and relating collective participants to it, we are left with a central question. How do we attain change?

(38) Kahn, A. J. Theory and Practice of Social Planning, P. 63

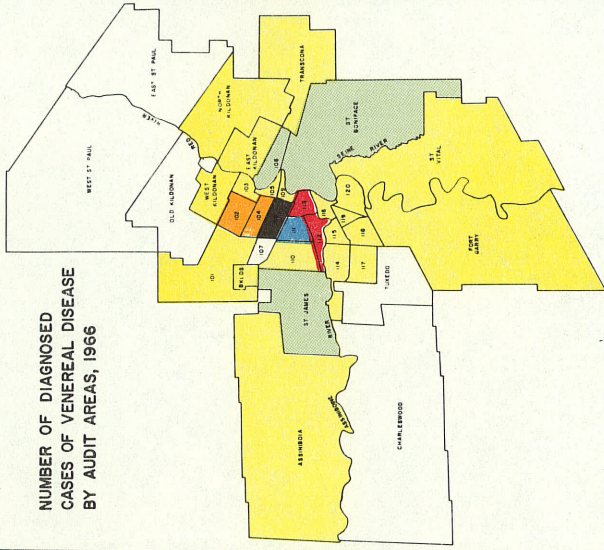
The development of a social planning resource, and its linkage to physical planning for purposes of establishing a comprehensive process, requires agency collectivism. This is no simple task. Local experience with attempting to engender change and greater cooperation among social service agencies, is embodied in the Social Service Audit. Completed in 1968 through the Community Welfare Planning Council, the Audit was to enlist agency participation in a self-reflective process of identifying gaps in service and agency relations. It examined areas of social need in Winnipeg through census and agency-collected data. Areas of the City were characterized in terms of "rates of social disorganization"; an amalgam of data on illegitimacy, delinquency, alcoholism and other social inputs (shown on next page). Recommendation for change, the ultimate Audit product, were met with fierce reaction on the part of the social service community. To date the Audit has had little affect on promoting greater agency cooperation or integrated forms of service delivery.

Despite its ineffectualness as a change agent, consideration of Audit recommendations, raises important questions with respect to developing a social planning-directed agency system. Basically, the Audit focussed on existing social agency institutions. It proposed the abolition of some and the merging of others, in an attempt to overcome service duplications. Recommendations were to be realized through the major agency funders; the Provincial Government, the United Way, and the Winnipeg Foundation. Through Provincial

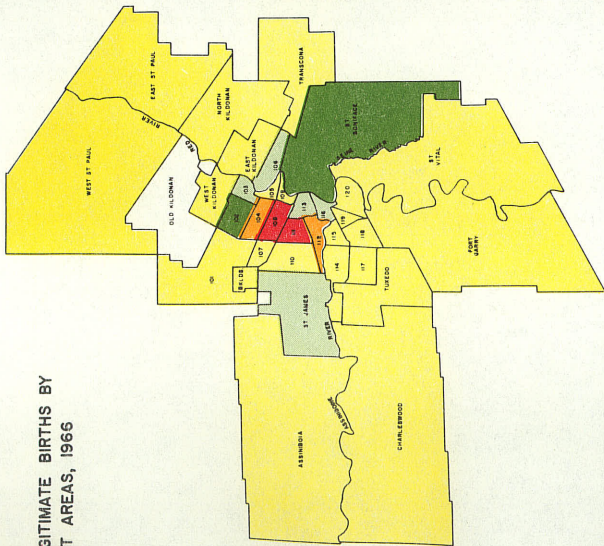
NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN SOCIAL ALLOWANCE BY DESERTION AREAS BY AUDIT AREAS, JUNE 1966



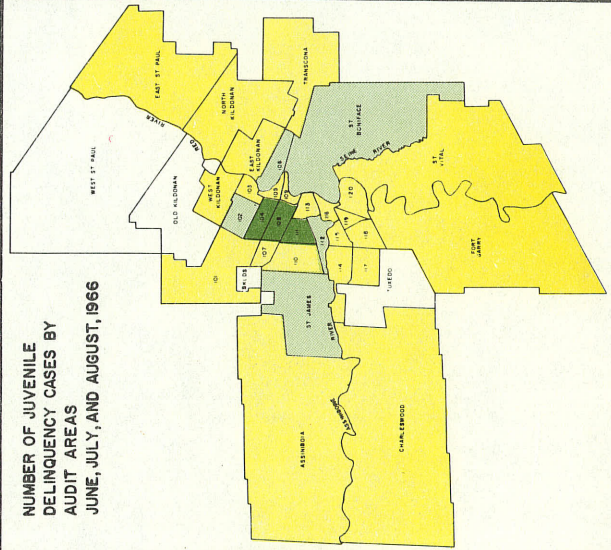
NUMBER OF DIAGNOSED CASES OF VENEREAL DISEASE BY AUDIT AREAS, 1966



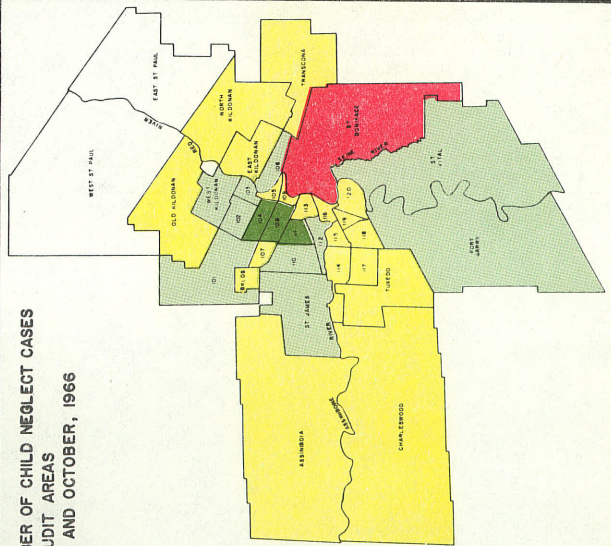
ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS BY AUDIT AREAS, 1966



NUMBER OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CASES BY AUDIT AREAS JUNE, JULY, AND AUGUST, 1966



NUMBER OF CHILD NEGLECT CASES BY AUDIT AREAS JUNE AND OCTOBER, 1966



SOCIAL SERVICE AUDIT AREAS IN METRO WINNIPEG

LEGEND

- 0
- 1 TO 25
- 26 TO 50
- 51 TO 75
- 76 TO 100
- 101 TO 150
- 151 TO 200
- ABOVE 200

NEIGHBORHOOD AREAS OF THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

- 101 BURROWS-KEEWATIN
- 102 NORTH WINNIPEG
- 103 NORTH EAST WINNIPEG
- 104 NORTH CENTRAL WINNIPEG
- 105 NORTH POINT DOUGLAS
- 106 ELMWOOD
- 107 WESTON
- 108 C.P.R. NOTRE DAME
- 109 SOUTH POINT DOUGLAS
- 110 WEST WINNIPEG
- 111 WEST CENTRAL WINNIPEG
- 112 SOUTH CENTRAL WINNIPEG
- 113 DOWNTOWN WINNIPEG
- 114 NORTH RIVER HEIGHTS
- 115 CRESCENT WOOD
- 116 OSBORNE
- 117 SOUTH WEST RIVER HEIGHTS
- 118 SOUTH EAST RIVER HEIGHTS
- 119 WEST FORT ROUGE
- 120 EAST FORT ROUGE



instigation, these were to be integrated into a Joint Fund Allocation Committee. The Audit also saw the formation of a "Social Planning Council" to provide a forum for community and social welfare concerns and to promote citizen participation. The Council was further to encourage social planning within municipal government and act as a pressure group in focussing on social concerns. Within the social service community, a Citizen's Advisory Board was to be formed. The province was to develop a data bank and research centre.

The Audit recommendations have been criticized on many grounds. Agencies have condemned the Audit for not having appropriately included them in the recommending process, or for the threat it imposed to agency autonomy. The most objective criticism, and that utilized as input for modifying the recommendations is contained in the Ryant-Spearman Report of 1970. The authors, Professors of Social Work at the University of Manitoba, find Audit change expectations grossly naive. It is their contention that change will not occur from entirely within the system, from the social service agencies and their funding bodies. Rather than a natural movement towards cooperation, through the vehicle of traditional funders, Ryant and Spearman see cooperation on an issue-to-issue contractual basis. The Audit recommendations, so they state, are remiss in failing to acknowledge either the control advantage of funding bodies, especially that of government, or the need to identify methods of countering such control.

In its reliance on change within a traditional system, and one tremendously prone towards governmental influence, the Audit reached

an unworkable formula for reform. It assumed cooperation where none was likely to materialize. It assumed resident participation in the absence of providing private resources to effect it.

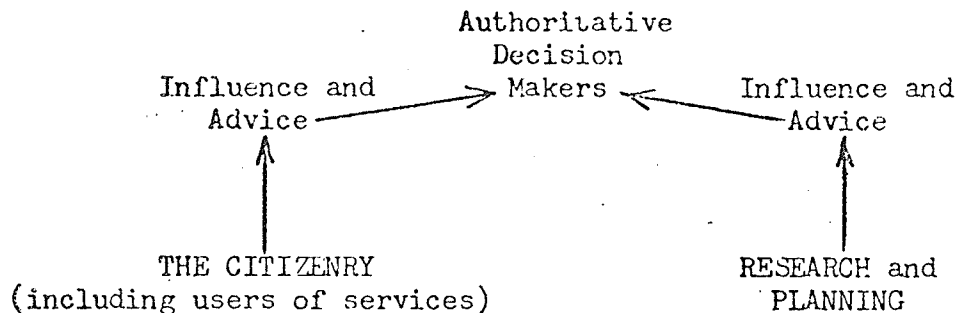
However, its data assembly and exposure of agency services, provided much substance for action. Failure to relate collectively to core city areas as special need communities, in itself reflects petrification in the social service community. In attempting to compensate for Audit shortcomings, Ryant and Spearman suggest non-governmental funding for community development workers and a separation between Social Planning Council and funding bodies. Their proposals suggest the need for public and private funding; some with relatively few strings attached in order to "realistically" pursue new avenues. Through such funding, change may occur; without it change is impossible. Unlike the Audit recommendations, those of Ryant and Spearman reflect a community of differences where arrival at consensus as an objective, is folly. They speak of accommodating dissensus as a societal characteristic. In such accommodation is an opportunity to arrive at pluralistic planning:

" The principle of allowing for dissensus lends support to the argument for citizen and user inputs into social planning. To make these effective may require community development services. It should be recognized that all of the foregoing has been to attempt to establish a framework which allows for planning to proceed with dissensus occurring. Our opinion is that to do otherwise, mismatches planning with the real world. " (39)

Based on the Winnipeg situation, Ryant and Spearman suggest a social planning model. The following diagrams, drawn from their

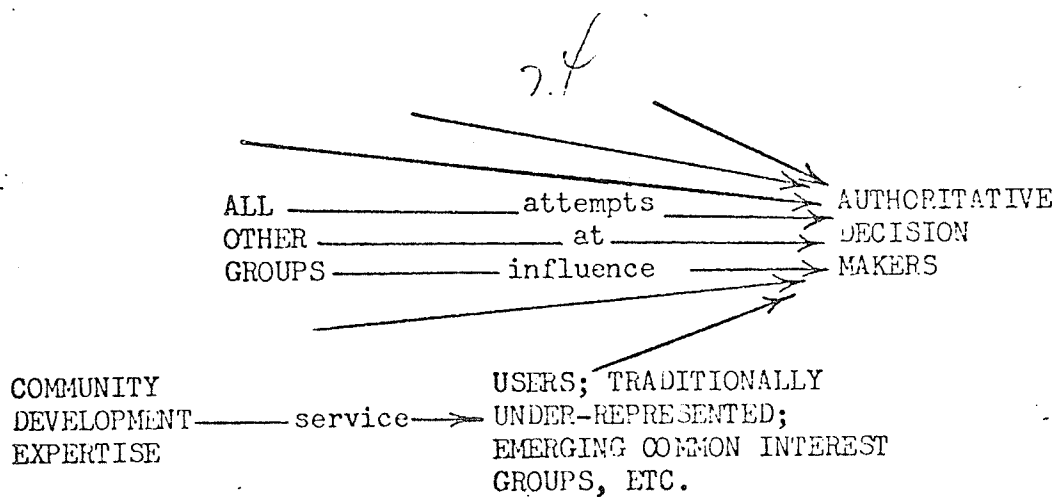
(39) J. Ryant & L. Spearman, Social Planning in Metropolitan Winnipeg: A Model for Implementation, p. 49

report, illustrate the planning process they visualized:

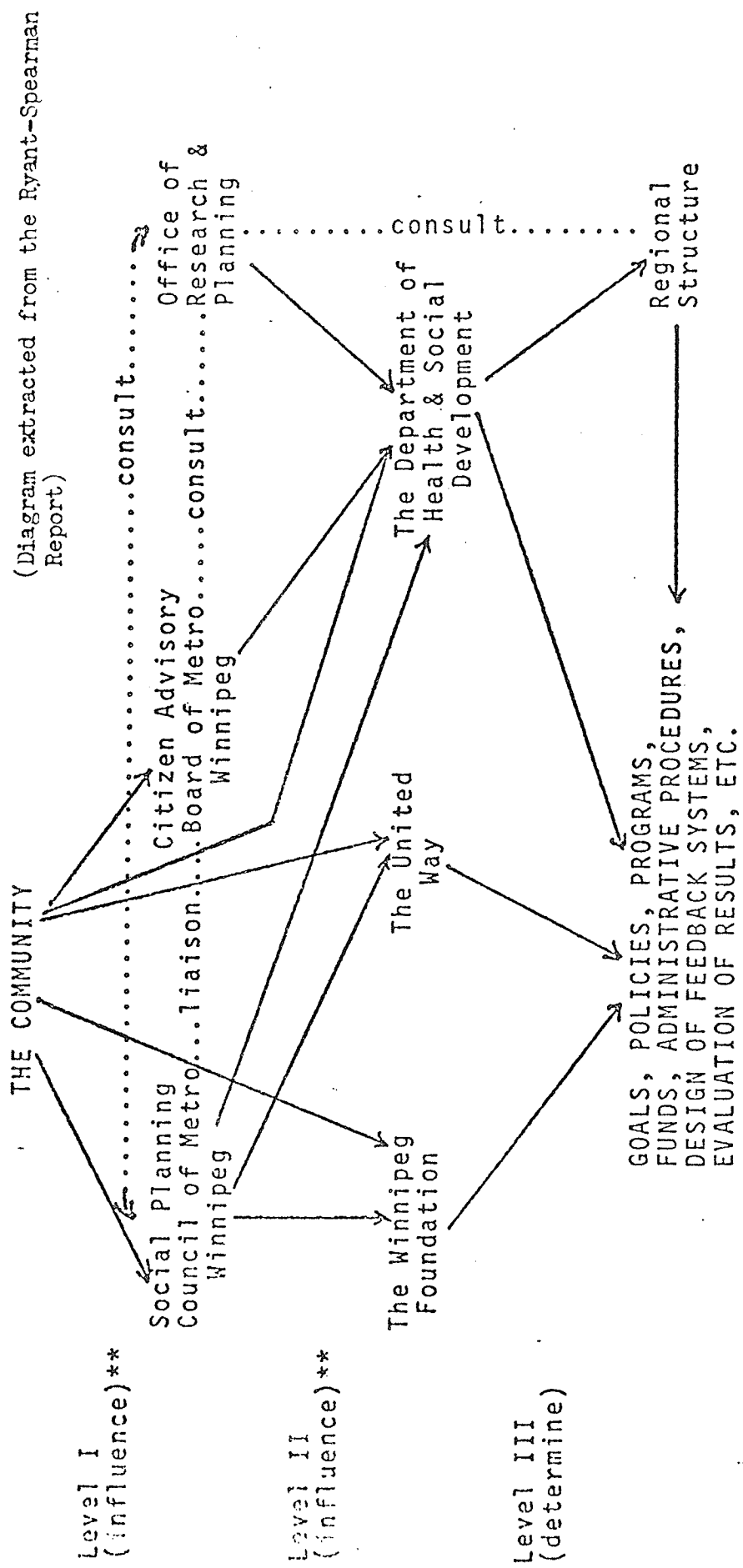


the above diagram depicts both public and private sectors. It separates "technical" planning from other forms of influence.

The next diagram is addressed to the problem of establishing competitive advantage for non-traditional influence groups:



A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF COMMUNITY AND AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS



* To facilitate clarity, we have omitted the Joint Fund Allocation Committee from this sketch.

** We define influence generically to cover the full range of activities from contestation to participation.

An entire system of agency participants is shown on the final illustration. Here, the community relates to several access points of influence, with direct relationship to the Social Planning Council.

Ryant and Spearman identified specific characteristics and roles for participants in the social planning model. These are as follows:

Joint Fund Allocation Committee

Would consist of representation from the United Way, the Winnipeg Foundation and the Department of Health and Social Development. Its' role would be one of setting priorities as to which programs should be funded, and how to evaluate program effectiveness. It would not usurp the role of present funding bodies but would seek to redirect expenditures on the part of public and private agencies.

The United Way

As the major private funding resource, this agency is seen in the role of developing reforms in the delivery of social welfare services, through fund allocation. It would itself decide on goals and priorities, fund agencies to effect the achievement of goals, and evaluate agency operations. The suggestion of extending representation on the board to community groups, is also made. To instigate greater community development efforts Ryant and Spearman recommend the provision of increased funding to community development resources like Neighbourhood Services Centre and resident groups themselves.

The Social Planning Council

The Council is seen in a relatively autonomous position; such autonomy to be derived from multiple funding sources. Its' role would be highly research-oriented in identifying social problems and recommending changes in policies and programs. It is also seen as a "watchdog" of programs within social welfare departments and agencies. In reaching an awareness of social problems and in knowing how they are being met or not being met, the Council is seen as an agent of "liason" and "integration" among agencies. It would further "mobilize" support around specific local concerns and provide public education on social issues.

The Social Planning Council is central to the realization of social planning in Winnipeg. Ryant and Spearman attend to its'

functional roles with great depth of perception in giving it the capacity to "see" and to relate to the private-public agency community and to regional and local community issues.

A Board of Directors with greater representation from under-represented groups is recommended. The Board would establish communication with other social planning resources, but firstly, and of cardinal importance, the Council itself would become a "real" social planning organization. Ryant and Spearman visualize this transformation through Social Planning Council staff inputs relating to two spheres of skills:

1. Generalist Skills

- community organization
- political influence
- public relations

2. Specialist Skills

- social welfare policy
- sociology
- economics
- political science
- law
- physical planning

An adequately staffed Social Planning Council could utilize the process and organizational models discussed earlier to embrace rational planning. No other resource agency is in this position. provincial and Municipal Governments are turning towards the rigid compromise model of the planned program budgeting system. While its' use in the United States Military and space programs, demonstrated capacity to utilize empirical data inputs, its' use as a social planning device is minimal. However, its' use would seem appropriate to physical planning enterprises; a factor which may further crystalize traditional planning focus.

The Winnipeg Foundation

As a private philanthropic organization, it is recommended that the Foundation support "innovative and experimental programs in social welfare". Ryant and Spearman identify a close association between the Foundation and the Social Planning Council in identifying priority programs.

The Ryant and Spearman recommendations should be acted upon without delay. Their implementation could effect not only a better local social welfare system but could have social change repercussions on others including education and planning. It is unfortunate that

so few of these recommendations have been put into practice. Although suggestions as to "what to do" have been made, the "how to do" has not yet been arrived at.

Through my rather myopic vision of Winnipeg's social welfare system I can identify recent forms of innovation. A Bureau of Statistics has been operationalized by the Provincial Government which could be used by a Social Planning Agency. The current availability of Decennial Census information could herald the beginning of wider social interpretation of such data in Winnipeg. It could provide, also, for commonality between Planning Council and the Bureau.

The Community Welfare Planning Council has changed its name to "Social" Planning Council. While such a change is but semantic for the present, it indicates a hitherto absent emphasis. I understand that the Council intends to enlarge its staff with the inclusion of social planning personnel.

The United Way appears to be cognizant of the need for change and is far more questioning of traditional agency funding. I feel, given the complaints from social agency administrators and board members, that the United Way wishes to foster innovation through fund allocation. Without a social planning resource, however, such innovation may be more apparent than real and agency services disrupted for ill-considered reasons. The United Way should firstly direct funding towards the creation of a social planning function whereby appropriate changes could be identified.

A host of short-term, make-work programs sponsored by the Province and the Federal Government has not been without impact. Under a variety of titles including Local Initiatives Program, Opportunities for Youth and Provincial Employment Program, to name but a few, demonstrations of resident competence to manage home improvement and community development programs have been made possible. The Main Street Project which through relationship with the Children's Aid Society has placed children in a unique foster home situation, the Home Improvement Program in Urban Renewal Area #2 which through a relationship with Neighbourhood Services Centre has repaired many homes for low-income families and a wide array of others relating to the elderly, day nurseries and community recreation have pointed to the need for new directions in social programming. While I do not support such make-work programs as valid means of reducing unemployment, seeing them more as extensions to welfare funding, they do provide important demonstrations to those concerned with innovation in social programming.

Where change is occurring with respect to engendering citizen expression, agency redirection to local programs, and general social welfare reform such change should be supported. We should relate to "live" issues in pursuing the development of a Social Planning capacity. Towards this end I propose the following recommendations:

- Immediate funding for a Social Planning staff for the Planning Council. Initially, funds should come from a "non local resource" like the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. This would assure autonomy. Funding for two specific tasks should be requested:
 - (1) the formation of a "decentralized resource package" for Neighbourhood Improvement Areas. This would

require collaboration among social agencies, the Municipal Planning department and the Winnipeg School Division. The latter-mentioned organization is considering the establishment of "community schools" to provide a range of activities and services to the non-student community. This is seen as a first step towards the second task.

(2) Development of a social planning process

On the basis of local area need, policies and programs would be developed. They would be expected to relate to:

- (a) collaboration among potential resources.
- (b) support for social input to other systems like "community schools" and increased funding for community development.
- (c) requests for funding from local funders to maintain motion towards greater effectiveness in social planning. It is unlikely that local funding resources will initiate the establishment of the kind of Social Planning Council which is necessary. They may, however, support a developing and partially proven one.
- (d) exposure of local social issues in the context of a community educational program.

Through the above activity a Social Planning resource could evolve. Of importance is the relationship of the Social Planning Council to the Bureau of Statistics, other private and public agencies, resident groups, and Municipal Planning department.

- Assistance towards developing an operational Social Planning Council by the Independent Resource Group for Social Planning. This group of volunteers comprised of academics and agency workers, should relate to Social Planning staff of the Council. It should seek to expand its ranks and act as an advocate of greater community development funding. It could emulate the Planning Council staff composition as identified by Ryant and Spearman, to demonstrate its utility. The role of a truly "independent" group could initially be one of access and communication promotion among systems. I would identify

- neighbourhood improvement in an expanded sense (like that of model cities) as a factor of commonality.
- The re-establishment of the now-defunct activity of People's Opportunity Services. This would require the hiring of case-aides capable of responding to immediate neighbourhood need. The Provincial Government should be encouraged to move forward rather than the reverse. A recent Provincial decision, for example, has reduced the number of community development workers in an Inner-city of 250,000 persons to "one".
- Funds should immediately be sought by Neighbourhood Service Centres for full-time workers in designated Neighbourhood Improvement areas. Area designations of even tentative nature could be made by local groups, the Social Planning Council and the Municipal Planning department. Such funds should be requested from the United Way, Provincial Department of Health and Social Development, City of Winnipeg and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- The establishment of an interdisciplinary "field office" in the area West of Salter, between the C.P.R. and Redwood Avenue. It would be a demonstration Neighbourhood Improvement base for University outreach and teaching services. Supervisory staff and students would represent a number of departments; planning, social-work, law, economics, sociology and architecture. This University resource cadre could offer direct services to the neighbourhood, provide an information and referral service and relate experiences to the Social Planning Council. In this way it could outline areas of Neighbourhood Improvement need and become a contributor to the identity of social planning resources. A strong community organization component would be attached to this group, hopefully through P.A.C.T. Residents would be encouraged to form a Neighbourhood Improvement group.
- The hiring of at least one community planner with a social orientation by the Winnipeg School Division. The Winnipeg School Division, in its focus on "Community Schools" is a major change agent. The success of community-oriented schools will largely depend upon "knowing" local needs. This requires social input embodied in the Planning Council and community development efforts to promote resident involvement in school planning. The School Division may synthesize response to community needs in a tremendously practicable manner; a school with a new image. It should therefore, through appropriate staff,

become closely involved with social resources which can assist in the development of such schools.

Other recommendations could be made, but the above point to key areas where, from several directions, a Social Planning process could develop. It is only through such developments that programs of urban improvement can respond to social issues. It is therefore only through such developments that the need for relocation policy, a social component, will be realized and expressed in program form. The Municipal planner must be in tune to local desires and social resource inputs if he is to move beyond the narrowness of urban renewal. This can happen through support for and association with the Social Planning Council. It can happen through liason with resident groups and community development workers and through joint programs of neighbourhood improvement with other systems, especially that of education. If, however, the planner cannot identify with community client in association with a network of resources, he becomes an irrelevant fifth wheel in a forthcoming exciting era of improvement planning.

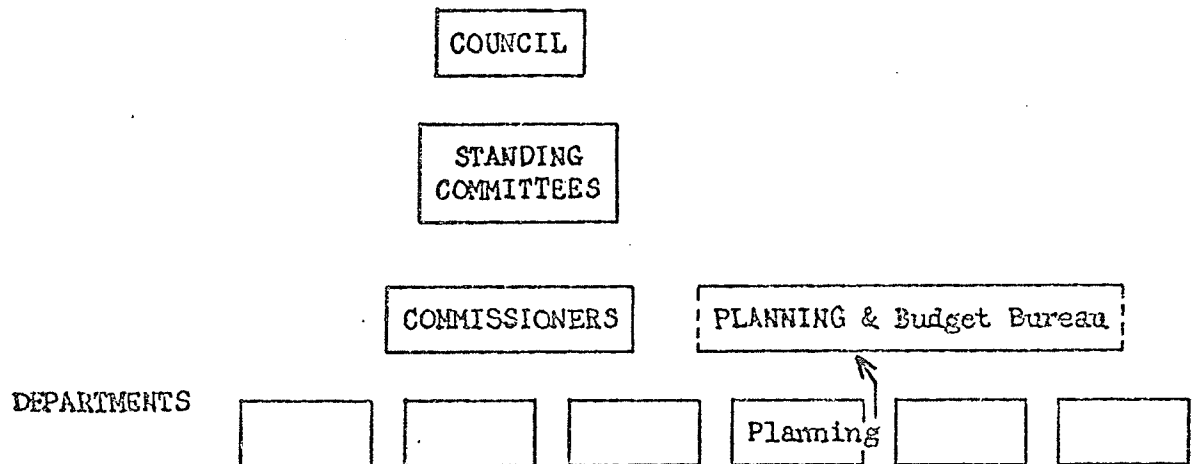
The Municipal Planning
Department as a
component of Neighbourhood
Improvement

I find it difficult to identify
municipal planning with improve-
ments to low and moderate income
people, where identification with

resident groups is tantamount to treason. For the most part, municipal planning departments act as zoning administrators, having little capacity to program for action through staff and knowledgeability limitations. The existence of urban designers,

draftsmen, engineers and supposed social planning inputs usually placed in innocuous research positions, hardly suffices for Neighbourhood Improvement enterprises. Rarely are social factors considered as decision-making criteria for either programs or beauracratc organization.

The proof of my statements is found in the position, the placement of the planning function in Municipal organizations. In Winnipeg, as in most North American cities, planning departments appear alongside Municipal Service Departments.



Given the above position, planning is overly individualistic. In being out of scope with the totality of city operations it isolates planning functions to zoning, development control and perhaps long-range master planning. It is out-of-touch with both the civic buracracy and the pulse of the City, especially that of the Inner city for which development control has little meaning.

I would suggest that the position of the Municipal Planning Department be changed, as indicated by the arrow on the diagram.

In this new system, planning is on top of Municipal functions - and is in a position to effectively recommend policy. Budgeting should also be a function of planning in that planning could deal with the totality of Municipal service. From the planning level an information and research function should be established. Priorities, in terms of planning tasks and budget latitudes, could then be identified. Change within departments could also be suggested, with Departments being less-entities unto themselves.

The success of the above organization to develop a comprehensive planning bureau - will greatly depend on the responsibility given the planning organization. Through the new bureau, both planning and departmental function may be more attuned to broader social need - in that planners would look at the City in entirety - measuring firstly - who has what - who needs what. Permanent communications channels should be open to senior governmental departments and the social service community through the planning bureau.

With specific reference to Winnipeg - Resident Advisory Group chairmen should meet regularly with the planning bureau - and a "task committee" on call as advisors, should be established; representatives being drawn from the school divisions, social planning council, Provincial Planning and Priorities Committee of Cabinet, Chamber of Commerce, Trades and Labour Council and Council of Self-Help Groups.

A close liason should be established between the Municipal Planning Department and the Social Planning Council in the pursuit of social objectives for Neighbourhood Improvement. With Municipal

Planners having had experience in working with residents and in formulating a demonstration Neighbourhood Improvement Program, a fundamental commonality between these organizations is evident. Out of this association, relationships with other systems could develop in a comprehensive planning framework. I see, for example, the promotion of community schools as a catalyst in realizing neighbourhood improvement; as the first sign of real betterment to area residents. Our effectiveness will depend on programs which can be implemented, not on the esoteric concerns of traditional planning. For this to happen the planner will represent the City as resource consortium, prepared to meet locally-defined issues along with other assistance agencies. At this juncture relocation policy will be realized through collective means to face the real issues of those for whom such policy is intended to assist.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A
RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION STATISTICS

PHE - RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 1 PERSONS AFFECTED - 1,475

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8								TOTALS										
	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	TOT.								
	185	13	42	23	43	9	35	7	23	5	34	1	26	1	32	1	420	60	480
NUMBER OF ROOMS	1	155	3	5	1	3	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	164	4	168
	2	15	2	13	--	4	--	3	1	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	37	3	40
	3	10	4	14	6	23	1	14	--	12	2	10	--	1	--	2	86	13	99
	4	2	2	6	5	8	5	7	2	6	--	7	--	6	1	7	49	16	65
	5	1	1	3	5	3	1	6	--	3	--	8	--	4	--	8	36	7	43
	6 & over	2	1	1	6	2	2	4	4	2	3	8	1	14	--	15	48	17	65
		185	13	42	23	43	9	35	7	33	5	34	1	26	1	32	420	60	480
CONDITION OF PREMISES	P/P	29	3	10	1	11	--	9	--	6	1	15	--	5	--	14	99	5	104
	F/F	42	2	7	5	13	1	6	4	11	1	10	1	10	--	6	105	14	119
	F/F	20	1	4	3	2	1	5	--	--	--	3	--	4	--	4	42	5	47
	F/G	67	5	9	10	8	5	9	1	5	1	5	--	6	1	4	113	24	137
	G/G	27	2	12	4	9	2	6	2	1	2	1	--	1	--	4	61	12	73
SOURCE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT	Own Bus.	4	5	1	5	2	2	2	1	--	1	--	1	1	--	--	10	15	25
A. Salaried Income	Prof. & Technical	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Service & Recreation	27	--	3	2	4	1	5	2	3	1	3	--	3	1	5	53	8	61
	Clerical & Sales	3	--	1	1	3	1	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	1	11	2	13
	Craftsman & Prod. Process	14	1	2	7	6	2	7	1	2	2	4	--	4	--	1	40	13	53
	Labourer	19	--	7	2	11	2	4	2	7	1	5	--	4	--	3	60	7	67
	Unknown	3	1	--	--	--	1	4	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	1	11	2	13
	number employed																185	47	232
B. Other	Savings	8	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	2	12
	Pension	64	6	7	4	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	75	10	85
	U.I.B.	13	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	18	--	18
	Welfare	30	--	16	--	15	--	12	1	10	--	19	--	9	--	21	132	1	133
	number not employed																235	13	248
INCOME	Under 1000	1	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	3
	1000-1999	16	1	1	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	20	3	23
	2000-2999	34	--	2	5	8	3	4	1	1	1	4	--	3	1	5	61	11	72
	3000-3999	15	1	5	4	13	4	13	4	9	4	8	--	11	--	6	80	13	93
	4000-4999	--	--	1	1	3	0	1	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	8	1	9
	5000-5999	1	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	4
	Over 7000	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
	Not Known	3	5	1	4	--	2	3	1	1	--	--	1	1	--	--	9	13	22
% of Income Spent on Rent	1-15%	54	NA	7	NA	11	NA	5	NA	--	NA	5	NA	6	NA	2	NA	90	NA
	16-30%	11	NA	4	NA	14	NA	12	NA	11	NA	6	NA	7	NA	6	NA	71	NA
	31-50%	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	3	NA	2	NA	3	NA	11	NA
	Over 50%	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA
	Not Known	5	NA	1	NA	--	NA	4	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	12	NA

POST-RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 1 PERSONS AFFECTED 1,475

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		TOTALS	TOT.			
	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O			
Better	72	1	16	10	19	6	22	6	12	3	24	--	19	2	24	1	207	29	236		
Same	43	1	8	10	9	4	9	2	3	2	6	1	3	--	5	--	86	20	106		
Worse	27	--	8	1	6	--	1	1	4	1	1	--	2	--	2	--	51	3	54		
																	344	52	396		
CHANGE IN RENT	Higher 1-25%	28	NA	8	NA	5	NA	10	NA	4	NA	6	NA	7	NA	8	NA	76	NA	76	
	26-50%	10	NA	5	NA	9	NA	6	NA	7	NA	9	NA	5	NA	7	NA	58	NA	58	
	51-100%	11	NA	3	NA	2	NA	1	NA	2	NA	5	NA	--	NA	6	NA	30	NA	30	
	Over 100%	7	NA	2	NA	4	NA	2	NA	1	NA	1	NA	2	NA	--	NA	21	NA	21	
																	185	NA	185		
	Same	38	NA	3	NA	5	NA	5	NA	1	NA	4	NA	1	NA	3	NA	60	NA	60	
	Lower	38	NA	11	NA	9	NA	6	NA	4	NA	6	NA	8	NA	7	NA	89	NA	89	
	Not Known	10	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	10	NA	--	
																	344	52	396		
CHANGES IN LIVING SPACE	More	12	--	9	12	15	6	17	14	12	2	14	--	9	1	19	1	107	26	133	
	Same	114	1	15	4	11	2	5	3	3	2	10	1	7	--	6	--	171	13	184	
	Less	16	1	8	5	8	2	10	2	4	2	7	--	7	1	6	--	66	13	79	
																	344	52	396		
RELOCATED BY	Self	133	2	26	1	28	10	22	9	12	6	15	1	9	2	14	1	264	52	316	
	City	4	--	6	--	6	--	10	--	7	--	16	--	14	--	17	--	80	--	80	
																	344	52	396		
APPLIED FOR PUB. HSG.		--	--	2	--	9	1	10	--	10	1	18	--	14	--	17	--	80	2	82	
MOVED TO PUB. HSG.		--	--	2	--	4	--	7	--	6	--	12	--	13	--	12	--	56	--	56	
NORTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	75	--	11	8	13	3	9	2	7	1	8	--	2	1	7	--	132	15	147	
	1/2-1	26	--	9	7	7	4	7	5	2	4	10	--	1	--	--	--	65	21	86	
	1-2	4	--	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	12	5	17	
	2-3	2	--	2	--	4	--	7	--	6	--	11	--	13	--	12	--	57	--	57	
	3-5	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	2	
																	268	41	309		
SOUTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	5	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	1	1	1	--	11	1	12	
	1/2-1	14	--	3	--	5	--	2	--	3	--	1	--	3	--	2	--	33	--	33	
	1-2	13	2	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	21	3	24	
	2-3	1	--	2	1	2	--	2	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	9	2	11
	3-5	1	--	--	2	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	2	5	7	
																	76	11	87		
																	344	52	396		
OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE		10	--	1	1	2	--	--	--	2	--	1	1	--	1	2	--	18	3	21	
OUTSIDE OF		11	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	15	--	15	
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN		23	--	5	--	5	1	1	--	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	36	2	38	
DECEASED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED		8	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	2	10	
																	77	7	84		
																	421	59	480		

PRE - RELOCATION DATA - SPACE # 2 PERSONS AFFECTED - 249

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		TOTALS			
	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	TOT.	
	48	1	10	2	12	1	12	2	8	1	4	--	4	--	3	--	101	7	108	
NUMBER OF ROOMS	1	31	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	31	--	31	
	2	6	1	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	1	10	
	3	7	--	6	1	3	--	5	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	23	1	24	
	4	1	--	1	--	6	--	5	2	5	--	1	--	1	--	--	22	2	24	
	5	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	6	--	6
	6 & over	--	--	1	1	--	1	1	--	1	1	1	--	2	--	1	--	7	3	10
CONDITION OF PREMISES	P/P	2	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	6	--	6
	P/F	7	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	12	--	12	
	F/F	18	1	4	--	1	--	1	1	3	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	32	2	34
	F/G	15	--	3	1	8	--	5	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	33	2	35	
	G/G	6	--	2	1	1	1	5	--	3	1	1	--	--	--	--	18	3	21	
SOURCE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT	A. Own Bus.	4	--	2	--	--	--	1	?	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	10	2	12	
	Prof. & Technical	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1
	Service & Recreation	4	--	2	1	5	1	4	--	3	--	2	--	2	--	--	22	2	24	
	Clerical & Sales	3	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	5	
	Craftsman & Prod. Process	3	--	3	1	3	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	1	13	
	Labourer	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	4	--	4
	Unknown	7	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	11	--	11	
	number employed																	65	5	70
	B. Other	Savings	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
	Pension	14	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	15	1	16	
	U.I.B.	4	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	1	6	
	Welfare	5	--	1	--	3	--	4	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	15	--	15
	number not employed																	36	2	38
INCOME	Under 1000	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
	1000-1999	1	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	1	5	
	2000-2999	12	--	3	--	3	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	1	25	--	25	
	3000-3999	7	--	2	--	2	--	3	--	3	--	1	--	3	--	1	22	--	22	
	4000-4999	1	--	--	1	--	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	1	5	
	5000-5999	--	--	2	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	1	4	
	Over 7000	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
	Not Known	3	--	2	--	--	--	2	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	7	2	9	
totals																	65	5	70	
% of Income Spent on Rent	1-15%	18	NA	3	NA	1	NA	3	NA	1	NA	1	NA	2	NA	1	NA	30	NA	30
	16-30%	3	NA	4	NA	6	NA	4	NA	4	NA	1	NA	2	NA	1	NA	25	NA	25
	31-50%	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	3	NA	3
	Over 50%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--
	Not Known	3	NA	2	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	7	NA	7
totals																	65	NA	65	

POST-RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 2 PERSONS AFFECTED 289

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8								TOTALS	TCT.										
	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O												
CHANGE IN CONDITION OF PREMISES	Better	10	1	4	2	6	--	3	3	1	2	1	--	29	9	39				
	Same	10	--	3	1	2	1	4	--	2	--	2	--	--	1	--	24	2	26	
	Worse	5	--	2	--	2	--	1	--	2	1	1	--	--	--	--	13	1	14	
																	66	12	78	
CHANGE IN RENT	Higher % 1-25%	9	NA	1	NA	4	NA	2	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	17	NA	17	
	26-50%	1	NA	1	NA	3	NA	2	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	10	NA	10
	51-100%	2	NA	--	NA	2	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	6	NA	6	
	Over 100%	4	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	6	NA	6	
																	39	NA	39	
	Same	1	NA	2	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	7	NA	7	
	Lower	5	NA	3	NA	1	NA	2	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	14	NA	14
	Not Known	3	NA	--	NA	2	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	6	NA	6	
																			66	
CHANGES IN LIVING SPACE	More	8	1	2	2	5	--	2	2	2	2	2	--	1	1	2	--	24	8	32
	Same	13	--	2	--	2	--	4	1	--	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	23	2	25
	Less	4	--	5	1	3	1	2	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	19	2	21
																		66	12	78
RELOCATED BY	Self	25	1	8	3	10	1	8	3	4	3	4	--	2	1	3	--	64	12	76
	City	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	2
																		66	12	78
NORTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	16	--	3	1	2	--	3	1	2	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	31	2	33
	1/2-1	4	1	4	1	6	--	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	17	3	20
	1-2	1	--	--	--	--	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	2	5
	2-3	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3
	3-5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	1
																		52	10	62
SOUTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	1
	1/2-1	2	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	6
	1-2	1	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	5
	2-3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	2	3
	3-5	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
																		14	2	16
																		66	12	78
OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE OUTSIDE OF		4	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	6	--	6
		6	--	--	--	2	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	10
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN		10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	11	--	11
DECEASED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED		3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	3
																		30	--	30
																		96	12	108

Note:

no public housing units available for relocatees from this stage of redevelopment

PRE - RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 3 PERSONS AFFECTED - 259

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTALS		
	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	TOT.
NUMBER OF ROOMS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	27	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	28	1
2	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
3	--	3	4	--	3	1	1	--	2	--	1
4	--	1	1	--	1	1	3	1	4	--	1
5	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	2
6 & over	1	1	--	--	--	2	--	1	1	--	3
CONDITION OF PREMISES	P/P	3	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--
P/F	3	1	--	--	1	1	2	--	2	--	4
F/F	5	2	1	--	2	--	--	1	--	1	--
F/G	7	1	2	--	1	--	2	1	1	--	2
G/G	10	3	3	1	1	1	1	--	3	1	--
SOURCE OF INCOME	FINANCIAL SUPPORT										
A. Salaried Income	Own Bus.	1	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Prof. & Technical	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Service & Recreation	2	3	--	1	1	1	--	4	--	--	2
Clerical & Sales	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
Craftsman & Prod. Process	2	1	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	3
Labourer	3	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	2
Unknown	3	--	--	--	1	1	2	--	--	--	1
	number employed									43	9
B. Other	Savings	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Pension	6	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6
U.I.B.	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	4
Welfare	2	--	2	--	1	--	1	--	3	--	5
	number not employed									26	3
INCOME	Under 1000	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1000-1999	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	2
2000-2999	6	2	2	--	1	--	2	--	2	--	3
3000-3999	6	1	1	--	2	1	3	1	2	--	1
4000-4999	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	1
5000-5999	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Over 7000	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1
Not Known	1	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	1
	totals									43	9
% of Income Spent on Rent	1-15%	15	NA	2	NA	4	NA	3	NA	2	NA
16-30%	1	NA	2	NA	--	NA	2	NA	2	NA	2
31-50%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1
Over 50%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--
Not Known	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1
	totals									43	NA

PORT -RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 3 PERSONS AFFECTED - 259

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	PERSONS AFFECTED								TOTALS	TOT.										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8												
	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O											
	28	7	6	1	5	2	5	2	8	1	2	--	8	--	6	--	68	13	81	
CHANGE IN CONDITION OF PREMISES	Better	7	4	1	--	4	1	2	2	2	--	1	--	3	--	3	--	23	7	30
	Same	8	2	2	1	--	--	1	--	2	1	1	--	3	--	2	--	19	4	23
	Worse	1	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	6
																	48	11	59	
CHANGE IN RENT	Higher %	3	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	2	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	8	NA	8
	1-25%	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	3	NA	--	NA	2	NA	1	NA	8	NA	8
	26-50%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	2	NA	2
	51-100%	2	NA	1	NA	3	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	7	NA	7
	Over 100%																	25	NA	25
	4	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	7	NA	7	
	4	NA	2	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	4	NA	1	NA	13	NA	13	
Not Known	2	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	3	NA	3	
																	48	NA	48	
CHANGES IN LIVING SPACE	More	--	6	2	--	2	--	1	2	6	--	1	--	3	--	1	--	16	8	24
	Same	14	--	2	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	3	--	22	2	24
	Less	2	--	--	--	--	1	3	--	1	--	--	--	3	--	1	--	10	1	11
																	48	11	59	
RELOCATED BY	Self	15	6	4	1	4	1	3	2	7	1	2	--	3	--	5	--	43	11	54
	City	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	5	--	5
																	48	11	59	
NORTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	5	1	2	--	1	1	2	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	3	--	15	2	17
	1/2-1	6	2	--	--	2	--	1	1	5	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	17	3	20
	1-2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	3	--	3
	2-3	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	3	1	4
	3-5	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	3
																	40	7	47	
SOUTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	1
	1/2-1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	5	--	5
	1-2	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3
	2-3	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3
	3-5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
																	48	11	59	
OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE OUTSIDE OF		3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	2	--	1	--	7	--	7
		2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	3
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	6	1	1	--	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	2	11	
DECEASED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	
																	20	2	22	
																	68	13	81	

PRE - RELOCATION DATA - STAGE # 4 PERSONS AFFECTED 236

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1								2		3		4		5		6		7		8		TOTALS	
	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	T O	TOT.
NUMBER OF ROOMS	1	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	9
	2	1	--	3	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	6	--	6
	3	1	1	--	--	3	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	1	7
	4	2	--	3	1	7	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	15	1	16
	5	1	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	1	1	2	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	3	11
	6 & over	1	--	2	2	--	4	--	3	3	1	1	2	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	10	12	22
CONDITION OF PREMISES	P/P	4	--	2	--	2	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	4	--	--	4	--	1	--	--	17	--	17
	P/F	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	2
	F/F	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	3	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	--	8
	F/G	2	--	1	1	4	2	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	5	13
	G/G	7	1	5	2	6	2	1	2	--	2	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	19	12	31
SOURCE OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT	A. Salaried Income	Own Bus.	1	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	3
		Prof. & Technical	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
		Service & Recreation	2	--	1	2	1	3	--	1	1	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	7	3	15
		Clerical & Sales	1	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	3
		Craftsman & Prod. Process	--	1	4	--	3	--	1	--	2	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	11	2	13
		Labourer	4	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	4	8
		Unknown	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
		number employed																				28	16	44
B. Other	Savings	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	Pension	4	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	6
	U.I.B.	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	4	1	5
	Welfare	3	--	3	--	--	--	1	--	4	--	2	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	16	--	16
	number not employed																				26	1	27	
INCOME	Under 1000	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1000-1999	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2
	2000-2999	1	--	2	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	6	--	6
	3000-3999	4	1	1	--	6	2	--	1	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	13	4	17
	4000-4999	--	--	1	1	--	1	--	1	--	1	--	2	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	3	6	9
	5000-5999	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3
	Over 7000	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2
	Not Known	2	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	2	5
																					28	16	44	
% of Income Spent on Rent	1-15%	3	NA	2	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	8	NA	8
	16-30%	3	NA	3	NA	6	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	15	NA	15
	31-50%	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	2
	Over 50%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--
	Not Known	2	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	3	NA	--
																					28	NA	28	

POST-RELOCATION DATA-STAGE # 4 - PERSONS AFFECTED - 236

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD AND OCCUPANCY STATUS	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		TOTALS	TOT.		
	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O	T	O		
CHANGE IN CONDITION OF PREMISES	14	2	8	4	12	4	3	3	6	3	3	3	5	--	--	1	51	20	71	
Better	6	--	2	--	5	2	1	--	2	1	--	--	2	--	--	1	18	4	22	
Same	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	2	2	3	3	--	--	--	--	13	15	28	
Worse	3	--	2	1	1	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7	1	8	
																	38	20	58	
CHANGE IN RENT	Higher 1-25%	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	4	NA	4
26-50%	--	NA	--	NA	3	NA	--	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	6	NA	6	
51-100%	3	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	3	NA	3	
Over 100%	3	NA	2	NA	2	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	8	NA	8	
																	21	NA	21	
Same	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	2	NA	2	
Lower	4	NA	2	NA	2	NA	1	NA	--	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	10	NA	10	
Not Known	2	NA	1	NA	1	NA	1	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	--	NA	5	NA	5	
																	35	NA	35	
CHANGES IN LIVING SPACE	More	2	2	2	3	6	--	--	1	3	1	2	1	1	--	--	16	8	24	
Same	1	6	--	1	1	--	--	1	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	9	3	12	
Less	4	--	3	--	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	--	--	1	13	9	22	
																	38	20	58	
RELOCATED BY	Self	1	9	2	2	4	5	4	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	--	1	25	20	45
City	3	--	4	--	3	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	13	--	13	
																	38	20	58	
APPLIED FOR PUB. HSG.	3	--	3	--	4	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	13	--	13	
MOVED TO F/D PUB. HSG.	3	--	3	--	3	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	12	--	12	
NORTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	8	--	4	--	3	--	1	--	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	19	--	19	
1/2-1	2	1	--	1	1	3	--	--	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	7	5	12	
1-2	--	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	--	2	--	1	--	--	--	1	4	9	13	
2-3	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	--	--	--	1	4	5	
3-5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
																	31	18	49	
SOUTH OF C.P.R.	0-1/2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
1/2-1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	4	
1-2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	2	
2-3	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	
3-5	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	2	
																	7	2	9	
																	38	20	58	
OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE OUTSIDE OF	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	
WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	2	--	1	--	3	--	1	--	1	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	11	--	--	
DECEASED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
																	13	--	13	
																	51	20	71	

Appendix B

POVERTY LINE INCOMES

POVERTY-LINE INCOMES

Family Size	1961	1965	1967	1969
1	\$1100	\$1400	\$1600	\$1900
2	1800	2300	2700	3200
3	2200	2800	3300	3900
4	2600	3300	3800	4500
5	2900	3700	4400	5200
6	3300	4200	4900	5800
.
.
10	4800	6000	7100	8400

April 25, 1968

Alderman L. Hallonquist,
Chairman,
Urban Renewal and Redevelopment Committee,
City of Winnipeg,
Civic Centre,
510 Main Street,
Winnipeg 2, Manitoba.

Dear Alderman Hallonquist:

We the undersigned strongly object to the plans which the Lord Selkirk Park urban renewal scheme is forcing on our community. We wish to make our views known to you on the following points.

1. We do not want spot clearance.
2. We want replacement value instead of assessed value for our property
3. We do not want the lane which is being planned for Flora Street between Salter and Aikins.
4. We do not want the lane closed at Salter between Flora and Stella.
5. We do not want Charles St. closed at Selkirk.
6. We do not want Robinson Street extended to Selkirk Ave.
7. We feel that a new clinic on Selkirk is a waste of taxpayers money because Mont Carmel can serve this area very well.
8. We feel Selkirk Avenue is a poor location for the Senior Citizens home.
9. We want Playgrounds and Park space for recreation and we need space for sports such as baseball and winter skating. We need a Community Club the same as all other areas in the city.
10. We do not want a Motor Hotel on Dufferin and Salter.

We ask you to change your present scheme and to provide us with the things we are asking for.

Please reply to:

Mr. Bass,
391 Flora Ave.,
Winnipeg 4, Manitoba

c.c. Members of Urban Renewal & Redevelopment Committee.
Alderman (Ward 3)

BENEFITS UNDER EXPROPRIATION TO A
HOMEOWNER

1. Market value (this price should meet with your agreement first before you move down this list to your other benefits under expropriation).
2. Value of special improvements not adequately reflected in market value (you should keep all your bills for the improvements and repairs you have made on your home).
3. 5% of market value (for inconvenience).
4. Your moving expenses will be paid
5. All incidental expenses of disturbance - changing of phone, rugs, and carpets that may not fit your new home and need alterations, etc.
6. Cost of solicitors fees, survey cost for buying new property.
7. Cost of reasonable legal and appraisal expenses in making your claim.
8. Loss of net income from boarders, tenants, etc. - you may expect to get compensation for three months and possibly up to six months depending on the situation (number of boarders, size of house, etc.)

A homeowner should remember that in expropriation the city makes a first offer on your home that is lower than you should expect to get finally. They do this because they expect you are going to negotiate with them on this market value, and because they probably do not have the full facts of your property and personal situation.

This is the approximate kind of formula Mr. Nugent suggested a homeowner can use to figure out the probable range of values that the property is worth.

Appendix D
PAMPHLET ON EXPROPRIATION RIGHTS
PREPARED BY NEIGHBOURHOOD SERVICES
CENTRE OF WINNIPEG - APRIL, 1973

Land Assessment 100%	Property Assessment 100% plus 50% of this property figure
-------------------------	--

(land and property) x (between 2 and 2½) = probable range of market value.

Here is an example of a price paid by the city recently to a homeowner.

Land Assessment	Building Assessment	Price Paid
\$1,990.00	\$2,850.00	\$12,000

Try this rule of thumb to see if the price paid is reasonable.

Land assessment	\$1990
Building assessment	2850
Add % building assessment	1425
Total	\$6265

2 x \$6265 = \$12,530 or
2½ x \$6265 = \$15,662.50

Probable range of market value is between \$12,530 and \$15,662.50. To this amount you should add the value of benefits listed under points 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 under expropriation.

The difference in what the city is paying now for homes under the present system (\$12,000) of buying property and what you might get under a policy of expropriation (\$15,662.50) is a lot.

Some City Councillors have said you would be crazy to sell to the city the way they buy homes now.