“‘Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets’: Disability Activism in the City of Thunder Bay, and Northwestern Ontario, 1972–1990s”

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Abstract

The dissertation "'Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets': Disability Activism in the City of Thunder Bay, and Northwestern Ontario, 1972 – 1990s," argues that the city of Thunder Bay and northwestern Ontario (NWO) through the contributions of the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI) and its allies became a dynamic disability rights centre, which not only liberated many of the region's physically disabled from a hegemonically ableist built and social environment, but was well-integrated into the provincial, national, and international disability rights scenes. Brought together, fairly early, in the post-1970s disability rights movement, HAGI, built upon the efforts of pre-1970 disability activists to fight for access in several keys areas: housing, transportation, sport/recreation, and the built environment. To tackle the above, HAGI broke free of its early reliance on local able-bodied social leaders to build a grassroots disability rights and consumer organization, which maintained strong relationships with multiple stakeholders. Aided by the growing Independent Living Movement and public focus on disability issues, HAGI was successful in establishing several accessibility initiatives in Thunder Bay for disabled people, including One Fifty Castlegreen, HAGI-Transit, a lively sports and recreation culture, and changes to building design. Outside of the city, HAGI helped to set up disability consumer organizations in several NWO towns and cities and guided them on their own paths to accessibility. As well, this study examines the impact of race, gender, and power relationships within the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and the region and how these areas positively or negatively challenged HAGI.

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As I write these last few words in the Lakehead University Library, I reflect on the huge undertaking this dissertation has been. I left Thunder Bay for the University of Manitoba in 2012 as a fresh faced 20 something year old, naïvely believing that a Ph.D. would not be that hard. In the end, out of all the works I consulted, I most related to Clifton Carbin's *Deaf Heritage*. Carbin wrote that his efforts, producing his 1996 book, were a monumental, frustrating, yet rewarding task. I am left to echo the same sentiments, especially since there were several occasions during this dissertation when I thought: "Am I ever going to get this done." It is now done, and I want to extend my thanks to a small group of people. Firstly, I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Tim and Patricia. They have been there since day one, supporting me in more ways than they know. They are my role models. My father has always demonstrated hard work and perseverance, and taught me a never say die attitude, which was surely needed in this endeavor. My mother has been a strong rock and I appreciate all the meals when I came home late after a night of writing. I thank God, Yahweh, for giving me the strength beyond what was normal to write this dissertation. I really needed divine help and he pulled through; I thank him. Also, I thank, my sisters Vanessa and Katrina, my grandparents, Albert, Bianca-Maria, John, and Aune, and my niece, Emily. In fact, I started my Ph.D. right when Emily was born and have watched this project grow as she has (in her case, she is a very bright young girl).

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List of Abbreviations

ADA – Americans with Disabilities Act

ADAPT - Americans Disabled for Access to Public Transit

AO – Archives of Ontario

AODA – Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act

ARCH - Advocacy Resource Centre for the Handicapped

BFDC – Barrier-Free Design Committee

BISNO – Brain Injury Services of Northern Ontario

BNA – British North America Act

BOD – Board of Directors

CACL – Canadian Association for Community Living

CCD – Council of Canadians with Disabilities

CIA – Community Interaction Association [Sault Ste. Marie]

CIWA – Canadian Injured Workers Alliance

CMHC – Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation

CNIB – Canadian National Institute for the Blind

COPOH – Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped

CPA – Canadian Paraplegic Association

CRCD - Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled

CROP - Community Resources Organizational Program [CMHC Funds]

CTB – City of Thunder Bay

CTC - Canadian Transportation Commission

CYC - Company of Young Canadians [grant]

DAWN – DisAbled Women's Network

DDAG – Dryden Disability Action Group

DPI – Disabled Peoples' International

DPU – Disabled Persons Unit

DRR – Disability Research Report

DS – Disability Studies

DSAC - Disabled Student Action Committee

DTBSSAB - District of Thunder Bay Social Services Administration Board

EEA – Employment Equity Act

FWCI – Fort William Collegiate Institute (Thunder Bay high school)

GAINS- D – Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement (Disabled)

HAG – Handicapped Action Group

HAGI – Handicapped Action Group Incorporated

HUDA - Housing and Urban Development Association

IL – Independent Living

ILC – Independent Living Centre

ILM – Independent Living Movement

ILRC – Independent Living Resource Centre

IYDP – International Year of Disabled Persons

LAC – Library and Archives Canada

LEAP - Local Employment Assistance Program

LHIN – Local Health Integration Network

LIP – Local Initiatives Program [grant]

LPH – Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital

LRCA - Lakehead Regional Conservation Authority

LSPC – Lakehead Social Planning Council/Planning Council

LU – Lakehead University

MCSS – Ministry of Community and Social Services

MGS - Ministry of Government Services

MLPH - Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped

MNR - Ministry of Natural Resources

MP – Member of Federal Parliament

MPP – Member of Provincial Parliament

MSS - Multiple Sclerosis Society

MTC - Ministry of Transportation and Communications

NAAW – National Access Awareness Week

NHA – National Housing Act

NILS – Northwestern Independent Living Services

NSOD - Northwestern Ontario Sports Organization for the Disabled

NWO – Northwestern Ontario

NWOCCC - Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre

NWOWSA - Northwestern Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association

OACDP - Ontario Advisory Council for Disabled Persons

OACPH - Ontario Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped

ODA – Ontarians with Disabilities Act

ODSP – Ontario Disability Support Program

OFPH – Ontario Federation for the Physically Handicapped

OFY - Opportunities for Youth [grant]

OHC – Ontario Housing Corporation

OHRC – Ontario Human Rights Code

OMDI – Organization of the Multi-Disabled Incorporated (Multi-Disabled)

OMOD – Ontario March of Dimes

ONIWG - Ontario Network of Injured Workers Groups

OPP – Ontario Provincial Police

OSCC - Ontario Society for Crippled Children

OT – Occupational Therapists

OWSA - Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association

PHAG - Physically Handicapped Action Group [Kenora]

PUSH Ontario – People United for Self-Help Ontario

PUSH North West – Persons United for Self-Help North West

PWD – People with Disabilities

RAP – Recreational Activities Program

RGI – Rent geared to income

SCA - Shebandowan Campers' Association

SCI – Spinal Cord Injury Ontario

SSLU – Support Services Living Units

TBCHA – Thunder Bay Cooperative Housing Association

TBCPI – Thunder Bay Community Projects Incorporated

TBDIWSG - Thunder Bay and District Injured Workers' Support Group

UHF – United Handicapped Foundation

UHGO – United Handicapped Groups of Ontario

UN – United Nations

VRDP – Vocational Rehabilitation for Disabled Persons [Act]

VRS – Vocational Rehabilitation Services

WILD – Women Independently Living with a Disability

Introduction: The Twenty-Year Road to an Evolving Accessible Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario (NWO), 1972-1990s

In the 21st century, the city of Thunder Bay (prior to the 1972 amalgamation it was two separate cities called Fort William and Port Arthur or simply the 'Lakehead' or the 'twin cities') is a leader in the Canadian disability rights movement.[1] Numerous articles and accomplishments from the 1970s to the present outline how the city is "one of the accessibility leaders in Ontario," "[b]ecoming Canada's most inclusive city," "Thunder Bay takes lead in assisting disabled," "a model of accessibility," "becoming a five-star community," and "one of the most enlightened cities in Canada where [disabled] persons are concerned."[2] Thunder Bay has won prestigious accessibility awards, such as the 1991 National Access Awareness Week Five Star Award, and the 2006 Ontario Mainstreet Accessibility Award for being at the forefront of the disability rights movement in Canada and in leading "the charge for Ontario's first Disability Act" (the *Ontarians with Disabilities Act*, 2001).[3] Additionally, the city's disabled activists have won some of the

[1] Doug Diaczuk, "A more inclusive city: Accessibility advisory committee seeks input," *Chronicle Journal*, September 20, 2011, A5; "Thunder Bay earns accessibility award," *Chronicle Journal*, March 13, 2007, A3; Ken Boshcoff, "Becoming Canada's most inclusive city," *Chronicle Journal*, March 7, 2000, A6; Stephanie MacLellan, "Boshcoff chairs parliamentary sub-committee," *Chronicle Journal*, December 8, 2004, A2; Jodi Lundmark, "City acts as leader in area of accessible spaces," *Chronicle Journal*, June 12, 2015, A1, A3; Jodi Lundmark, "Making Thunder Bay accessible," *Chronicle Journal*, September 23, 2015, A1; Rita Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation For Aiding Handicapped In Overcoming Barriers," *Chronicle Journal*, February 1, 1974, 13; Betty Cotton, "Thunder Bay takes lead in assisting disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, January 17, 1981, 20; "Access Awareness Week begins Sunday," *Chronicle Journal*, June 3, 1989, 19; For local histories on the City of Thunder Bay see: Joseph Mauro, *Thunder Bay: A History* (Thunder Bay: Lehto Printers, 1981); Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp, eds., *Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society, 1995).

[2] The first National Access Awareness Week (NAAW) was started in 1988 partly in response to the awareness raised by Rick Hansen's Man in Motion tour (1985-87). NAAW was meant to promote municipal accessibility and to help accomplish this the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and the Federal Secretary of State jointly sponsored the Five-Star Community Awards to honour cities that made efforts to promote accessibility. The City of Thunder Bay was a regular recipient of this award (see chapter three); Diaczuk, "A more inclusive," A5; Boshcoff," Becoming Canada's most," A6; Lundmark, "City acts as," A1; Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation," 13, "Cotton, "Thunder Bay takes," 20.

[3] "Thunder Bay earns," A3; Boshcoff, "Becoming Canada's most," A6, "Access Awareness Week," 19. The *Ontarians with Disabilities Act* was shelved in favour of the *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (AODA) in 2005 due to the fact that the former was difficult to enforce. The AODA has greater checks and balances with an end goal of a fully accessible Ontario by 2025.

highest honours in the country for their activism in promoting accessibility locally and abroad. These individuals, such as David Shannon (1963-present), Thadeus Weiss (1958-present), Terry Bellavance (1948-1999), Ron Ross (1947-2011), David Koivisto (1950-present), Susan Ward (1952-present; née Nisbet), Joe Ward (1941-2006), Gaston Bolduc (1941-2018), and Allan Buchan (1952-present) have advised municipal, provincial, national, and international leaders on accessibility.[4] In fact, as Shannon notes: "[c]ommunities from southern Ontario often want to learn from the city…because Thunder Bay has created the best practices in accessibility."[5] Accessibility is always an ongoing project, but in 2019, the city is highly accessible to people with physical disabilities in the transportation, housing, sports/recreation, architectural and employment realms; it also boasts an active Accessibility Advisory Committee with broad City-wide representation.[6] This acclaim and attention to disability may seem out of place given the city's smallish size of 124,200 (2016 census); however, as will be outlined below, and to the advantage of the local disabled population, several favourable circumstances allowed the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated, affectionately known locally as HAGI, to both develop

[4] Howard Partnoy, "Dave Shannon receives King Clancy Award," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 15, 1998, A2; Howard Partnoy, "Dave Shannon gives back to city," *Chronicle-Journal*, March 28, 1998, A2; Howard Partnoy, "Prestigious award for Dave Shannon," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 8, 1998, A2; "Shannon achievements honoured: lawyer, adventurer, advocate inducted into Canadian Disability Hall of Fame," *Chronicle-Journal*, November 18, 2010, A1; "Thunder Bay lawyer named to Order of Ontario," *Chronicle-Journal*, January 26, 2011, A5; "Local lawyer to receive Order of Ontario," *Thunder Bay Source*, January 28, 2011, 5; "Shannon placed in Order of Ontario," *Chronicle-Journal*, January 29, 2011, A4; Karen Mckinley, "Order to shine with Lakehead residents: lawyer, doctor to receive recognition for distinguished service," *Chronicle-Journal*, July 3, 2011, A1, A3; Bryan Meadows, "Award wonderful surprise: Shannon," *Chronicle-Journal*, November 3, 2011, A5; Jonathan Wilson, "Lawyer to create human rights treaty," *Chronicle-Journal*, July 30, 2005, A4; Sarah Elizabeth Brown, "Lawyer takes know-how to UN: Shannon addressing independent living for people with disabilities," *Chronicle-Journal*, August 17, 2006, A1; Jeff Labine, "Shannon received big call out of the blue," *Chronicle-Journal*, August 9, 2015, A1; Dave Lammers, "Thank you Terry B: HAGI Transit Co-founder honoured posthumously," *Chronicle Journal*, November 21, 1999, A2; "Ross receives Vanier Award," *Chronicle Journal*, March 6, 1981, 1; "Special awards presented," *Chronicle Journal* October, 16, 1980, 23; "Joseph Ward," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary accessed 16 Sept 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=joseph-ward&pid=174061179; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Elaine Ziemba to Allan Buchan, 19 July 1991, 1-2.

[5] Lundmark, "City acts as leader," A1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1990, 4.

[6] Diaczuk, "A more inclusive city," A5.

and thrive, especially during its first 20 years where it maintained almost exclusive leadership over disability issues.[7]

As will be discussed below, Disability Studies (DS) scholar Tom Shakespeare states that it is difficult to create a total "barrier-free utopia" as the hierarchy of bodies will always leave some "disadvantaged," but others like sociologist Peter Freund show that it is possible to establish "socially 'just' spaces by reconfiguring the "social-temporal arrangements" of a city to accommodate a "wide range of mind-bodies [disabled people.]"[8] In its first twenty years, HAGI made accessibility its core tenet and accomplished socially 'just' spaces in the housing, transportation, sports/recreation, and built environment realms not only in the city of Thunder Bay, but in the NWO region as well. Building upon the work of pre-1970s disability activists who lacked the favourable circumstances of the new era, HAGI's efforts resulted in the physically disabled in the city and region moving away from what Canadian law and policy scholars Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin call "dis-citizenship," and Michael J. Prince identifies as "absent citizens" to having greater substantive citizenship in an ever-progressive accessible environment.[9] HAGI, as a local disability consumer organization (see below for terminology), developed fairly early in the post-1970s disability rights movement, putting it on par with the development of local disability rights organizations in much larger Canadian cities. This can be explained due to several inter-related factors that were absent for pre-1970s

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[7] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Indigenous Employment and Skills Strategies in Canada* (Paris, OECD, 2018), 94.
[8] Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 45-46; Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 704.
[9] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1; Michael J. Prince, *Absent Citizens: Disability Politics and Policy in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 3.

disability activists: a strong focus on disability issues by local social leaders, the creation of a disability consumer group (run by and for disabled people) with clear goals and effective tactics, dynamic leadership by disabled young people, collaborative working relationships with all three levels of government, growing mainstream reception for disability issues, and the city's ability to attract disabled people from the region. These factors allowed HAGI to develop fairly early in the new rights based era and helped the organization to integrate itself into the post-1970s regional, provincial, national, and international disability consumer, accessibility, and independent living discourses and developments. In the process, HAGI attacked the foundational aspects of ableist society in Thunder Bay and NWO and made significant gains integrating the disabled population into the community. However, like the examples in other Canadian cities, the road to accessibility or 'enabling spaces' was a hard fought struggle achieved through much persistence and perseverance by local grassroots disability rights activists.[10] It also revealed that while HAGI made strides in many issues, its early leadership group benefited from several privileges (see below). The organization was also challenged by the needs of disabled women and indigenous people who for much of the period remained on the margins of an emerging accessible community.

Led by HAGI, the majority of work towards making Thunder Bay and the region accessible occurred during a twenty year period from 1972 to the early 1990s. HAGI is both a disability rights advocacy group and service provider, founded by and for people with disabilities (PWD).[11] The organization was created in 1972 by young physically disabled people in response to the lack of opportunities and plethora of barriers. Even now (2019), but particularly during its

[10] Enabling spaces is a concept used by sociologist Peter Freund to refer to public spaces accessible the "widest range of mind-bodies." See: Freund, "Bodies, Disability and," 703.
[11] Before they were incorporated in March of 1975, the organization was called the Handicapped Action Group or HAG.

first 20 years, HAGI is/was used as a synonym for the local disability rights movement and will be used as such throughout the pages below. Prior to the creation of HAGI and due to the inaccessibility of the local environment, PWD in Thunder Bay and the northwestern Ontario (NWO) region were primarily kept at home, or in institutions for the aged or hospitals. One of the few social outlets were the social and recreational activities and events put on by the 'Happy Handicapped Club,' known locally as the Happy Handicaps.[12] As the name infers, the club, founded in 1949, was in reality a paternalistic organization created by well-meaning able-bodied social leaders in the Lakehead to provide outings and entertainment for disabled people; it also had close ties to the local Anglican and United churches and service clubs. Some rudimentary activism occurred in the Happy Handicaps, but it was primarily apolitical.

Beginning in the 1960s, new disability organizations entered the fray. Firstly, the Canadian Foundation for Poliomyelitics (founded in 1951 as the precursor to the Ontario March of Dimes) established a branch in the Lakehead in the early 1960s, which primarily dealt with vocational rehabilitation as opposed to advocacy. The OMOD's most prominent contribution in the 1960s and '70s was the formation of a sheltered workshop in Port Arthur in 1961; the workshop provided job training for disabled people.[13] Indeed, it was not until the early 1970s that a new wave of young educated PWD were brought together by able-bodied leaders of the Lakehead Social Planning Council (the Planning Council).[14] These disabled young people then branched off on their own to fight for greater accessibility in five core areas: housing, transportation, sports/recreation, employment, and physical access. By 1994, their work resulted in a functional accessible community within Thunder Bay with equivalent developments in the

[12] "Handicap Club hits 45," *Chronicle Journal*, December 16, 1994, A7.
[13] Jane Bow, "Scope of Work for Handicapped Widening Here," *Chronicle Journal*, April 5, 1973, 17; Ontario Henderson, *Twin Cities Fort William and Port Arthur Directory* (Winnipeg, MB: R.L. Polk & CO. Ltd, 1961), 660.
[14] Marcel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb 1976, 10-13.

regional towns and cities. Along with HAGI, several other disability rights organizations sprung up in Thunder Bay during the mid to late1980s and early 1990s, including a regional branch of Persons United for Self-Help (PUSH North West), a local branch of the Canadian Paraplegic Association (CPA; now Spinal Cord Injury Ontario), the Organization for the Multi-Disabled Inc. (OMDI; now Brain Injury Services of Northern Ontario or BISNO), and the Northwestern Independent Living Services (NILS). Many of the people associated with HAGI were also involved with these groups. In fact, PUSH North West and NILS were originally a part of HAGI until a combination of internal and external events in the late 1980s and early '90s caused their separation (see chapter five). HAGI and NILS remained the primary service providers for disabled people from the Manitoba border to Marathon, Ontario until they reintegrated in 2018, while PUSH North West took the lead in disability advocacy until it folded in 2012. Furthermore, during the mid to late 1980s, the OMOD redefined its mission to promote a supported work environment as opposed to sheltered workshops.

This dissertation is the first historical, full-length, study on disability rights activism in Thunder Bay and NWO, and how these efforts contributed to an evolving accessible community. Thunder Bay is a good site for this research, as it is a smaller city that spawned a dynamic group of disability rights activists in the 1970s who built strong connections with the different levels of government and other stakeholders to tackle the problem of inaccessibility inside and outside the city. For the purpose of this examination, NWO is defined geographically as reaching from Marathon, ON, in the east to the Manitoba border in the west, and from the United States (U.S.) border in the south to Red Lake, ON, in the north. Drawing borders is an arbitrary endeavor, but this designation fits well with how the local populace sees the region as well as how HAGI (which as of 2019 is now two corporations known as Community Services for Independence

North West, and HAGI) has defined its geographic service mandate.[15] This study looks at accessibility developments in the city of Thunder Bay and several towns/cities in NWO including Kenora, Dryden, Fort Frances, Atikokan, Red Lake, Terrace Bay, Marathon, Manitouwadge, Nipigon, Sioux Lookout, and Schreiber. Some analysis will touch on indigenous communities in the Robinson-Superior Treaty, Treaty Three, and Treaty Nine lands, but the main focus is on cities and towns (as will be shown indigenous communities remained on the margins of an accessible region). Thunder Bay is given the most coverage as the regional disability rights movement began there with the HAGI. Once HAGI's internal structure was solidified by the mid to late 1970s, it took steps to expand services outwards into the surrounding NWO towns and cities either helping to start local disability groups or directly operating regional services themselves. In turn, other towns in the region are given differing amounts of coverage depending on the depth and breadth of their corresponding disability rights groups. This study will also show how local disability rights activists contributed to provincial, national, and international debates regarding the furthering of accessibility in the 1970s, '80s, and early '90s.

Terms to describe people who have disabilities have gone through an array of changes over the years. For the remainder of this dissertation, the words people with disabilities (PWD), and disabled persons/people will be used interchangeably. Language, such as 'handicapped' or 'cripple' will be employed only when referring to historical quotes or names; in most cases, these terms will be accentuated with single quotation marks. Using PWD and disabled people follows the approach taken by other academics who use the two phrases as interchangeable.[16] Sociologist Tanya Titchkosky has tackled this language debate in Canada, explaining how 'people-first

[15] Community Services for Independence North West, Support Services Program, 2018-2019, 1-6; See HAGI's website, accessed 4 Nov 2018, http://www.hagi.ca.
[16] Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed, "Introduction," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada*, 2nd ed., eds., Marry Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 2.

language' began replacing other language referring to disabled people, especially in government publications. While people-first language has been used since the 1970s, it gained widespread use after the 1981 United Nations (UN) International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP).[17] Use of terms like PWD by 'authority' figures in Canada intends to "neither demean…nor [to be] hurtful" to disabled people; this language permeated down into the rest of society and is now the "dominant linguistic formulation" in the country.[18] Titchkosky herself argues that the use of people-first language has its inherent flaws, treating disability as a "troublesome condition arbitrarily attached to some people."[19] The language debate cannot be resolved here, but what should be noted is that people with disabilities in this study will primarily mean persons with a physical disability. Indeed, to include the whole host of intellectual, developmental, auditory, sensory, and invisible disabilities in NWO is potentially counterproductive, not only for cohesion and length, but also due to the fact that there are clear distinctions between organizations that represent these disabilities. However, other types of disabilities will be given coverage when their interests interacted with HAGI's; for example, people outside of physical disabilities accessed HAGI's services at various times. Furthermore, in the DS debate between social construction of disability and essentialism of body impairment, the latter shows that people with physical disabilities share similar problems maneuvering within an inaccessible environment due to their impairments.[20] Another DS scholar, Michael Oliver, has discussed the concept of 'walkism' or the "cultural hegemony of walkers" compared to non-walkers; indeed, it is the structure of space that makes an environment unwelcome for the non-walker and even the walker

[17] Tanya Titchkosky, "Disability - A Rose by Any Other Name? People-First Language in Canadian Society," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 38, no. 2 (2001): 125.
[18] Ibid., 126.
[19] Ibid.
[20] See: Freund, "Bodies, Disability and," 693, 704.

is hindered in an automobile-driven environment.[21] Therefore, for this study, physical disabilities will include but not be limited to disabilities that limit mobility, such as spinal cord injury (SCI; e.g. paraplegia or quadriplegia), amputations, cerebral palsy, Friedreich's ataxia, and multiple sclerosis.

Although touching on disabled children and youth, the bulk of the study focuses on disabled adults, eighteenth years and older, many of whom moved to the Lakehead from regional cities and towns after sustaining or developing physical disabilities. While there are clear similarities with disabled adults, disabled children have their own unique place in Canadian history, and were often even more vulnerable to paternalism and discrimination than were adults. Denyse Baillargeon's *Babies for the Nation* shows the political, social, and medical emphasis in Quebec upon motherhood and the production of healthy babies.[22] The 2011 edited collection *Lost Kids* further confirms that although children were expected "to benefit from adult reforms" in the 20th century, some children were "left behind" including disabled children.[23] In her contribution to this collection, Veronica Strong-Boag notes that disabled children were "hard put to attain the dominant definition of normality;" in fact, "their families' struggle[d] against greater odds, and private and public initiatives of every sort regularly embod[ied] prejudice."[24] Mona Gleason has looked at these childhood experiences of prejudice through the "memories of young

[21] Ibid., 695. Michael Oliver, *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 96-98, 108.
[22] Denyse Baillargeon, *Babies for the Nation: The Medicalization of Motherhood in Quebec, 1910-1970*, trans., W. Donald Wilson (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 79. Well-baby clinics were one way that good health was promoted.
[23] Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction," in *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*, eds., Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong Boag (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 1.
[24] Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Forgotten People of all the Forgotten': Children with Disabilities in English Canada from the Nineteenth Century to the New Millennium," in *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*, eds., Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong Boag (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 34.

people" showing the high degree of emphasis placed on "health and the body."[25] Gleason's period of study (1900-1940) provides numerous examples of how welfare reforms, institutions and medical professionals came to dominate the lives of disabled children. It was believed that these children needed "protection" and common discourses and intervention techniques revolved around the health of these children.[26] In relation to advocates for disabled children in Canada, Melanie Panitch's 2008 study on activist mothers remains the primary account of how "allies" of disabled children, such as their mothers, were vital in the creation of disability organizations such as the OMOD, Easter Seals Society, Muscular Dystrophy Association and the Association for Community Living.[27] Developments regarding disabled children in the Lakehead generally followed the above patterns.

Disabled children in the Lakehead who deviated from 'normal' healthy children were also subject to paternalism in the attempt to help them integrate into society. Prior to the 1960s, there were some parent chapters related to specific disabilities, but it was not uncommon for disabled young people to spend time outside of the Lakehead to receive treatment and services, especially as local services were lacking. Advocacy for 'crippled children' in Fort William and Port Arthur took off in 1948 after the Kiwanis Club and the Cerebral Palsy Parent's Council of Fort William joined forces to create the JB Larway Cerebral Palsy School in Fort William. Several years later in 1961, the Kiwanis Club successfully incorporated the new Crippled Children's Centre located in the same building as the school. The Centre soon expanded to serve disabled children in the greater NWO region, and its name was changed in 1969 to the

[25] Mona Gleason, *Small Matters: Canadian Children in Sickness and Health, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 5.
[26] Ibid., 6-9.
[27] Melanie Panitch, *Disability, Mothers, and Organizations: Accidental Activists* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2-3.

Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre (NWOCCC).[28] Some of these early experiences will be examined.

In 1945, Canadian physically disabled veterans from WWII formed the Canadian Paraplegic Association (CPA) and took the lead advocating for creating services for PWD in large Canadian cities. However, this was not the case in the twin cities as the disabled veteran presence in the disability advocacy and service realm was minimal. Around 25 years after WWII, PWD who developed or sustained disabilities in the civilian realm became the driving force behind the disability rights movement in the Lakehead. Two reasons explain this turn of events. Firstly, there were no dynamic disabled veterans in the leadership of the early CPA from NWO.[29] Secondly, the CPA focused attention on setting up branches and services in large Canadian cities, such as Toronto (1945; also their headquarters), Winnipeg (1946; also the Central Western Division), Montreal/St. Anne de Bellevue (1946; also the Eastern Division), and Vancouver (1947; also the Western Division). To complement CPA branches, all four of these cities had state of the art rehabilitation hospitals, which served the surrounding region. Lyndhurst Lodge in Toronto was the most influential. The CPA's Central Western Division, located at Deer Lodge Hospital in Winnipeg was tasked with serving Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and northwestern Ontario all the way to Lake Superior.[30] This included the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur; and, while Winnipeg became a hotbed for disability activism through the efforts of disabled

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[28] "Tramin Backs New Children's Centre," *Atikokan Progress*, January 26, 2009, accessed 15 Oct 2018, http://atikokanprogress.ca/2009/01/26/tramin-backs-new-childrens-centre/; See: Mary Sereda's autobiography: Mary Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet* (Thunder Bay: Guide Publishing and Printing, 1975). This account outlines the difficulties growing up as a disabled child in the Lakehead in the 1930s, and '40s.

[29] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2011.

[30] Marian Patterson Holleman, *From Darkness into Light: The Founding of the Canadian Paraplegic Association* (Toronto: Canada Paraplegic Association, 1991), 33-35, 65-66; Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries, 1945-1998* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

veterans like Tony Mann (the head of the CPA Central Western Division and a WWII disabled veteran), this did not extend to the Lakehead, partly because of the great distance between the two locations and partly because no dynamic disabled veteran(s) took the lead in the twin cities.[31] This is not to say that there were not important links between Winnipeg and the twin cities. For instance in the early 1970s, HAGI looked to Winnipeg and its Ten Ten Sinclair accessible housing development as a model for the Castlegreen Cooperative endeavor (see chapter two), but in the years before HAGI's creation, these links were less apparent.[32] It was not until the mid-1980s when the then-CPA (as of 2012 it is Spinal Cord Injury Ontario) decentralized services in the province of Ontario towards a community rehabilitation service model that Thunder Bay received a local CPA branch.

Only in the mid-1980s did a CPA decentralization plan lead to local branches being established in Barrie, London, Sudbury and Thunder Bay.[33] The local Thunder Bay CPA contributed a plethora of services, such as support services for disabled people, professional counselling, peer counselling, advocacy work, referral services, and public education while also teaming up with the HAGI on projects to further disability rights.[34] With no rehabilitation hospital in the twin cities prior to 1959, PWD in the area had to travel to Lyndhurst (Toronto) or Deer Lodge (Winnipeg) for services. However, the creation of the St. Joseph's Rehabilitation Centre (known as Lakehead Rehab) in the late 1950s resulted in many disabled people from the region moving to the Lakehead to make use of the rehabilitation services; some of these individuals stayed and became the nucleus of HAGI. With the establishment of Lakehead Rehab in Port Arthur, the Lakehead started to develop greater autonomy in rehabilitation of disabled

[31] Holleman, *From Darkness into*, 70-72.
[32] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[33] "Paraplegic Association," *Thunder Bay Post*, February 23, 1993, 12.
[34] Ibid.

persons; and, as a result attracted them from across the NWO region.[35] To illustrate, prior to 1972, three of the six young people (Bellavance, from Geraldton; Ross, from Murillo; and Bolduc, from Longlac) who started the HAGI moved to Fort William or Port Arthur from the surrounding area to utilize services in the twin cities. They joined local residents, Nesbit (née Ward), Ward, and Koivisto, strengthening the disability presence in the area and creating a stir in the community about greater accessibility for disabled people.[36] Another influential HAGI member, Allan Buchan, moved to Thunder Bay in the late 1970s from Sault Ste. Marie. These individuals all developed disabilities in the civilian world and were looking to have a life beyond that which was offered by groups such as the Happy Handicaps. Through the help of the Planning Council, these young people mobilized to fight for an accessible community.[37]

Like in other parts of North America, many of the early leaders of the disability rights movement in Fort William and Port Arthur were young, educated, white men who were wheelchair users. While their history needs to be told as it provides the foundation on which the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and NWO was built, it is also important to elaborate on the experience of women and indigenous people with disabilities. The disabled men who took the lead in Thunder Bay and NWO in the early 1970s were primarily civilians having developed or sustained disabilities outside of war; they built on the groundwork started by disabled veterans and lived in an era where distinctions between veterans and civilians with disabilities had subsided. Most of the leaders of the early CPA were also white males, such as Lieutenant John Counsell who had influential links in government and medical circles.[38] The CPA worked with

[35] "Centre Helps Handicapped Help Themselves," *Chronicle Journal*, December 15, 1972, 19.
[36] "Alice Bellavance;" "Dave Koivisto;" "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017.
[37] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 12.
[38] David Gerber, "The State, and the Experience of Disability in Western Societies, 1914-1950," *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 909.

these groups to accomplish what Mary Tremblay calls: "the Canadian revolution in the management of spinal cord injury."[39] This revolution consisted of improving the life expectancy rates of veterans who sustained spinal cord injuries and helping them integrate back into Canadian society through rehabilitation programs, hand controls for automobiles, and Everest and Jennings wheelchairs.[40] Although the CPA included civilians with spinal cord injuries in its post-WWII mandate, it is important to note that many of "the services and programmes [veterans] received were not available to civilians."[41] This being said, some civilians who experienced disabilities in the workplace received reimbursement and financial support for equipment through Workmens' Compensation Boards set up by the provinces in the first half of the 20th century.[42] Others who were not entitled to veterans' benefits or Workmens' Compensation either had to pay for equipment themselves or rely on acts of charity from service groups, the CPA, their families or other benefactors in the community.[43] However, there was still a double standard in how civilians and veterans with disabilities were received by the community, especially in the first decade after the war. For instance, Tremblay reveals that:

> veterans received positive responses from the community as men who had been disabled in the honourable service of their country. When they returned to university or the workplace they were seen as veterans whose special needs could be readily met by able-bodied volunteers, usually veterans themselves.[44]

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[39] Mary Tremblay, "The Canadian Revolution in the Management of Spinal Cord Injury," *CBMH* 12, no. 1 (1995): 125-155.
[40] Ibid; Mary Tremblay, "Going Back to Civvy Street: a historical count of the impact of the Everest and Jennings wheelchair for Canadian World War II veterans with spinal cord injury," *Disability and Society* 11, no. 2 (1996): 149-169.
[41] Tremblay, "Going back to Civvy," 166.
[42] Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey L. Hudson, "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society – The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970," *Disability and Society* 20, no. 2 (March 2005): 105-106.
[43] Ibid., 107.
[44] Tremblay, "Going back to," 165.

This distinction gradually subsided as both groups tackled the problem of barriers in society, which prevented PWD from fully participating in an accessible community. It was "not until 1959 [that the] *Caliper* [the CPA national magazine] [first] address[ed] the issue of architectural barriers," which became a rallying call for the whole collective of disabled peoples.[45] In the Lakehead's case, this focus on breaking down barriers began to take shape approximately 10 years later through the efforts of several young white male wheelchair users.

These men had the multiple privileges of being male, white, intellectually able, and possessing access to resources/education.[46] In North America there is a long history of racial difference in the treatment that non-white PWD have faced compared to white people with the same disabilities; this situation has been especially prevalent in the context of veteran's benefits and immigration.[47] Understanding this history helps to show why racialized PWD may have tended to shy away from leadership roles in the disability rights movement. For example, while no research shows the presence of physically disabled people of an Asian or African Canadian background in Thunder Bay or the region from the 1970s to the early 1990s, there were dozens

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[45] Ibid., 163.

[46] Corbett Joan O'Toole, "The Sexist Inheritance of the Disability Movement," in *Gendering Disability*, eds., Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 294-300; Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 205; Colin Barnes, "The Social Model of Disability," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Continuum, 1998), 70; Gary Albrecht, *The Disability Business: Rehabilitation in America* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1993), 95; James Charlton, *Nothing about Us without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 10.

[47] Douglas C. Baynton "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds., Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 33-57; Jen Rinaldi and Jay Dolmage, "Of Dark Type and Poor Physique": Law, Immigration Restriction, and Disability in Canada, 1900-30," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability, History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 98-116; Beth Linker, *War's Waste: Rehabilitation in World War I America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Larry Logue and Peter Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Robert Menzies and Ted Palys, "Turbulent Spirits: Aboriginal Patients in the British Columbia Psychiatric System, 1878-1950," in *Mental Health and Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives*, eds., James E. Moran and David Wright (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 149-175. This is a small subsection of literature on race and disability.

of people of an indigenous background with disabilities. While indigenous people inhabited HAGI's accessible housing developments, these individuals did not generally ascend to leadership roles in disability rights organizations in Thunder Bay or the region, although many moved from First Nations reserves or other communities in NWO to Thunder Bay to access housing. In the NWO region, colonialism has resulted in indigenous communities lagging behind in health provisions and accessibility as compared to municipalities. Chapter five of this study will provide a glimpse into this area, but further research is needed. The bulk of this analysis will focus on the educational efforts of HAGI and PUSH North West in the late 1980s and early 1990s reaching out to indigenous reserves and communities, and bringing indigenous leaders in NWO together to discuss accessibility. In some cases, local disability activists demonstrated a lack of awareness of the issues affecting these communities, which contributed to indigenous peoples being marginalized on the periphery of an accessible region. The study will also examine the activist role taken by two young Métis women with disabilities in the 1980s and early 1990s as they advocated for greater accessibility in Thunder Bay for PWD – Tracy Hurlbert (1968-present) and Sandy Salaman (1962-2013).[48] In order to have their voices heard in an era dominated by men, these women used every available opportunity to push accessibility.

Women with physical disabilities, able-bodied community leaders, and wives of physically disabled husbands were influential in helping to make the city of Thunder Bay and NWO accessible for PWD. Disabled women (prior to the creation of HAGI) provided some of the early impetus behind disability advocacy. It was a disabled woman who sparked the creation of the Happy Handicaps. In 1942 at the age of 30, Edna Nightingale (1912-1996) became a

[48] "Dave Koivisto;" "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March 2017; "Alice Bellavance."

paraplegic as a result of a boating accident just outside the twin cities.[49] After several years, Edna's husband William (1893-1964), seeing that disability often resulted in an isolating experience, organized a group in the Lakehead so PWD could associate together. In 1949 this group became a handful of disabled people called the Happy Handicaps.[50] Edna was an active member of the club; however, another early member named Mary Sereda (1927-1982) provided some of the first informal disability advocacy in the twin cities. Having been diagnosed with spina bifida at an early age, Sereda wrote letters, lobbied politicians, and attended/organized disability conferences in the 1960s in order to try to rectify the inaccessible environment she and other members of the club faced on an everyday basis. Sereda was a powerful force at the time, she won several battles and found a receptive audience in local politicians; but, the huge structural problems of living in an able-bodied world were beyond what one person could change. Sereda also had to contend with the political neutrality of the Happy Handicaps; however, she continued her advocacy efforts through association with the HAGI. The limitations that Sereda experienced would change after the creation of the HAGI in 1972, and a multitude of able-bodied female support.[51]

In the 1970s, able-bodied women involved in both the social service and rehabilitation fields played a prominent role mentoring and organizing disabled people together and in easing their integration into society; they were also joined by the able-bodied wives of disabled husbands, which strengthened the disability rights movement in the Lakehead allowing it to focus on improving accessibility. In the early 1970s, Dr. Byong-Koo Kim (1934-present) became the medical and rehabilitation Director of St. Joseph's Rehabilitation Centre and under his

[49] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 105.
[50] "Handicap Club hits," A7.
[51] Sereda, *Wheels are My*, 95-96.

direction Colleen Hughes (Director of Social Services), and Helen Bogett (occupational therapist) were the driving force behind integrating PWD back into the community after a stay at the hospital.[52] Other female rehabilitation professionals including Annamay Hadfield (Director of Harmony House; a local craft workshop for disabled people started in the early 1970s), Joana Paulionis and Ruth Wilson (nurses for the Easter Seals Society) contributed in various ways along with service groups, such as Kiwanis, Rotary, and Metro Lyons to ensure that the needs of PWD were taken care of. This support reached a new level in the early 1970s when a number of able-bodied women most prominently - Margaret Phillips (1931-2015), the Executive Director of the Planning Council; Gwyneth Workman (1926-2007), a member of the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee and also the Supervisor of Vocational Rehabilitation for Northwestern Ontario in the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS); and Rosemary Collins (a Planning Council member and Rehabilitation counsellor with the MCSS) took the lead in gathering the increased numbers of young people with disabilities into the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee, including Koivisto, Bellavance, and Nesbit. Complementing the efforts of the above women were the able-bodied wives of some of the disabled men who founded HAGI. For example, Paula Koivisto, Alice Bellavance, Judy Ross, and Heather Bolduc contributed an often unseen element to the growing disability rights movement acting as "the muscle for the guys that were in the chairs or the women."[53] Nancy Forestell's work has expanded on this gender reversal in her analysis of the unpaid work contributed by able-bodied wives on behalf of disabled miners in Timmins, ON, in the first half of the 20th century.[54] This support was vital in not only helping disabled men, but also disabled women in the twin cities.

[52] "Centre Helps Handicapped Help Themselves," *Chronicle Journal*, December 15, 1972, 19.
[53] "Alice Bellavance."
[54] Nancy M. Forestell, "'And I Feel Like I'm Dying from Mining for Gold'": Disability, Gender, and the Mining Community, 1920-1950," *Labour: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 3, no. 3 (2006): 77-93;

In the Lakehead, able bodied wives and female community leaders were committed to social justice issues and provided the stimulus in mobilizing PWD, including disabled women, for political action. Workman and Phillips served as mentors to disabled women, such as Susan Ward. Unlike Mary Sereda and the other members of the Happy Handicaps, Ward had the privilege of completing post-secondary education and became a social worker for the NWOCCC. Mentorship also gave her the confidence to engage in advocacy work, such as serving as the HAGI President of the Board of Directors (BOD) in the late 1970s. Additionally, Ward was active in disabled sports in the 1970s and later became a mentor to a second generation of disabled women in the 1980s, including Salaman, Hurlbert, and Linda Cairns. Finally, in the mid to late 1980s, Ward was involved with the annual OMOD 'Women and Disabilities' conferences and the driving force behind the creation of Women Independently Living with a Disability (WILD), a disability organization that focused solely on the needs of disabled women in Thunder Bay and NWO.[55] Locally, WILD was a welcomed development as the needs of disabled women are specific and sometimes not adequately represented in disability rights organizations, which have historically been run by men. In fact, this was the reason for the creation of a national feminist network of disabled women in the mid-1980s called the DisAbled Women's Network Canada (DAWN).[56] With the historic neglect of disabled women in both the disability rights and able-bodied feminist movements, "real progress" on the national scene was finally made for

Geoffrey Reaume, "Gender and the Value of Work in Canadian Disability History," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 42-56.

[55] "Susan Ward."

[56] For a history of DAWN see: Joan Meister, "An Early DAWNing (1985-1994), in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 221- 242.

disabled women after DAWN's creation.[57] With the creation of DAWN Ontario in the early 1990s, greater links between DAWN and the Lakehead took place, and led WILD to tackle such issues as disabled women's sexuality and violence against disabled women. Looking at disability from a gendered and racialized approach reveals that the early white male experience of disability in the 1970s was a privileged one.

Due to its development in multiple academic fields, disability history has a long inter-disciplinary trajectory. With disabled people's new found power coming out of 1970s disability advocacy, Frank Bowe, an American deaf advocate, wrote *Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People* (1978) in order to show how "America handicaps disabled people."[58] Bowe reveals that disabled people "seek very basic rights," but are denied them.[59] He then systemically explores architectural, educational, transportation, housing, and employment barriers in the U.S. and shows the progression of some of the few pieces of progressive legislation, such as the 1973 *Rehabilitation Act* (the precursor to the 1990 *Americans with Disabilities Act*; ADA).[60] Several years later in 1993, American journalist Joseph Shapiro wrote *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement*, which documents the progression of the American Disability Rights Movement up until the passage of the ADA. Shapiro highlights "the new thinking by disabled people that there is no pity or tragedy in disability," and that it is in fact "society's myths, fears, and stereotypes that most make being disabled difficult."[61] Through

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[57] Irene Feika, "Women with Disabilities: Protected or Controlled?" in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 152-153.
[58] Frank, Bowe, *Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), vii; Rob Imrie, "Disabling Environments and the Geography of Access Policies and Practices," *Disability and Society* 15, no. 1 (2000): 15-24.
[59] Ibid., x-xi.
[60] Ibid., 12.
[61] Joseph P. Shapiro, *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Times Books, 1993), 5.

interviews, with "several hundred people," Shaprio examines "the formation of this movement [disability rights] and the issues and identities that define it."[62] Bowe's book is written from a typical advocate's view, while Shaprio's work is a "chronicle" of events, but both are important for channeling the frustration of disabled people for change and presenting early accounts of the American disability rights movement.[63] This frustration was soon harnessed in the academic world where it manifested itself into a new field called DS in the mid-1980s.[64] DS uses the social model of disability to show how "disability [has been] a major and negative area of human social experience," especially in how it is negatively constructed and upheld through dominant able-bodied institutions.[65]

By the 1990s, the work of DS scholars such as Tom Shakespeare, Collin Barnes, Gary Albrecht, Jerome Bickenbach, Lennard Davis, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder and others "took off," leading to a plethora of books and articles on a diversity of topics.[66] While DS had its birth in social theory and policy making, these scholars introduced DS to other areas including "politics, culture, leisure and the media."[67] Theoretical concepts such as the 'norm' (see below) were used to show how disability is a construct and susceptible to change

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[62] Ibid., 10-11.
[63] Ibid., 11.
[64] Sarah Rose, "'Crippled' Hands: Disability in Labour and Working-Class History," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 2, no. 1 (2005): 29.
[65] Bowe, *Handicapping America*, 12
[66] Tom Shakespeare, "Introduction," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Continuum, 1998), 1. See: Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1997); Albrecht, *The Disability Business*; Jerome Bickenbach, *Physical Disability and Social Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Gary Albrecht, Katherine Seelman, and Michael Bury, eds., *Handbook of Disability Studies* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2001); Colin Barnes, Geoff Mercer and Tom Shakespeare, *Exploring Disability: A Sociological Approach* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999); David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder, eds., *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Lennard J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (London: Verso, 1995).
[67] Anne Borsay, "History, Power and Identity," in *Disability Studies Today*, eds., Colin Barnes, Mike Oliver, and Len Barton (Cambridge: Polity, 2002), 98.

over time.[68] In 1998, Simi Linton wrote *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity*, which was the first work to examine "Disability Studies as a field of inquiry, its historical roots, present configuration and explanatory value."[69] As the field solidified, some outstanding issues remained revolving around DS and its ties to history. For instance, scholars such as Anne Borsay suggested that "[h]istory [was] the missing piece of the jigsaw in disability studies."[70] In a 2002 article in *Disability Studies Today*, Borsay analyzes how history can be used to enhance DS particularly by increasing the "historical perspectives across the entire range of disabled people's experiences."[71] About the same time that Borsay was calling for the introduction of history to DS, American disability historians initiated something called 'the new disability history' in the early 2000s.

What we know today as disability history coalesced into a field beginning in the early 21st century through the efforts of American historians. This is not to say that historical works on disability were not written previously; for example, French historian Henri-Jacques Stiker originally published *A History of Disability* in 1982, which was eventually translated into English in 1999. This was one of the first historical works to theorize trans-historic cultural assumptions underpinning disability. Stiker's book probes constructions of disability from early biblical times to the present. It concludes that "there is no disabled outside precise social and cultural constructions" and that "disability has not always been seen in the same way."[72] This debate over social construction and discourse brought on by the linguistic turn was something

[68] See both: Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy*; Lennard J. Davis, *Bending Over Backwards: Disability, Dismodernism and Other Difficult Positions* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).
[69] Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 2.
[70] Borsay, "History, Power and ," 98.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Henri-Jacques Stiker, *A History of Disability*, trans., William Savers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 13-14.

that historians dealt with in other categories related to the body, such as gender and disease.[73] While the analysis of constructions of disability provide new avenues of study, one must not lose sight about the experience of bodily impairment. Other historical studies on disability in Canada and the U.S. gained traction despite being essentially isolated publications, such as the multiple works of Mary Tremblay in the 1990s and 2000s (see above), Driedger's 1989 *The Last Civil Rights Movement*, Clifton Carbin's 1996 *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, David Gerber's 2000 edited collection *Disabled Veterans in History*, and Geoffrey Reaume's 2000 *Remembrance of Patients Past*.[74] In addition to these historical accounts, a hodgepodge of multi-disciplinary works were produced by historians and/or other academics, such as sociologists and health/policy analysts which include Anne Crichton and Lyn Jongbloed's 1998 *Disability and Social Policy in Canada*, and William Boyce et al's 2001 *A Seat at the Table*. The latter two while touching on history in relation to legislative achievements for PWD, such as the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom* and the *Ontario Advocacy Act* provide more of a disability policy overview in

[73] See: Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075; Beth Linker, "On the Borderland of Medical and Disability History: A Survey of the Fields," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 87, no. 4 (2013):499-535.

[74] See: Clifton Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive Diverse and Enduring Culture* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996); David Gerber, ed., *Disabled Veterans In History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Geoffrey Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients Past: Patient Life at the Toronto Hospital for the Insane, 1870-1940* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2000); Diane Driedger, *The Last Civil Rights Movement: Disabled Peoples' International* (London and New York: Hurst and St. Martin's Press, 1989); Mary Tremblay, "Going Back to Main Street: The Development and Impact of Casualty Rehabilitation for Veterans with Disabilities, 1945-1948," in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*, eds., Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 160-178; Mary Tremblay, "Lieutenant John Counsell and the Development of Medical Rehabilitation and Disability Policy in Canada," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, ed., David Gerber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 322-346; Mary Tremblay, "Lieutenant John Counsell and the Development of Medical Rehabilitation and Disability Policy in Canada," in Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada, eds., Deborah Stienstra, and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003); Tremblay, "*The Canadian Revolution*," 125-155; Tremblay, "*Going Back to Civvy*, 149-169;" Mary Tremblay, "Living with disability: The early pioneers. A life history account of the experience of disabled veterans and civilians with spinal cord injury before 1967 who lived in the community in Ontario," (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1993).

Canada.[75] In spite of these publications, there was still little synthesis; more was needed to tie works that dealt with disability history together.

Early calls to integrate disability history came from American disability historian Paul Longmore (1946-2010) who was one of the first proponents of the 'new disability history.' Disabled himself, Longmore used different moments in his career to encourage and call on historians to consider disability critically. For example in 1985, Longmore entitled his review of historian Bruce Clayton's 1984 book *Forgotten Prophet: The Life of Randolph Bourne* as "The Life of Randolph Bourne and the Need for a History of Disabled People."[76] Clayton's work is a biography of the early 20th century American progressive writer and intellectual who also had a physical disability.[77] However according to Longmore, "the problem with it [the book], as with all Bourne biographies, is its fundamental misunderstanding of his experience and identity as a disabled man in a society that intensively stigmatized him."[78] Longmore appreciated the biographical information on Bourne, but notes that there is an "unawareness of the larger history of disabled people and prevailing cultural assumptions about disability," which cause histories of disabled people to be explained through "a personal tragedy to be overcome by emotional coping."[79] In 1997, disability historian Douglas Baynton published a similar plea for disability to be treated as a "useful category of historical analysis."[80] In spite of these cries for change and a

[75] Anne Crichton and Lyn Jongbloed, *Disability and Social Policy in Canada* (Toronto: Captus Press, 1998); William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
[76] Paul K. Longmore, "The Life of Randolph Bourne and the Need for a History of Disabled People," *Reviews in American History* 13, no. 4 (December 1985): 583-86.
[77] Bruce Clayton, *Forgotten prophet: the life of Randolph Bourne paperback edition* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1998), ix.
[78] Longmore, "The Life of Randolph," 581.
[79] Ibid., 584-585.
[80] Douglas Baynton, "Disability: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1997): 82-96.

few scattered articles on disability history using this new approach, an 'official' disability field in history eluded the academy.[81]

This is interesting that disability lacked an early home in history as one might think it would be a natural domain for historians in the history of medicine field. In a 2013 probing article, Beth Linker shows how disability has often existed "on the margins of medical history."[82] A combination of context and circumstance in the 20th century resulted in medical historians focusing on disease history. This is gradually starting to change due to the "family resemblances" between medical and disability history; greater collaboration will be a much needed improvement that will aid both fields.[83] The initial consequence of disability remaining on the margins of medical history is that it coalesced into its own separate field in history. Indeed in 2001, Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky collaborated with other scholars, including Baynton, to produce the edited collection *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*; this was followed up with Catherine Kudlick's 2003 historiographical article "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other.'"[84] The new disability history is Longmore and Umansky's term to both delineate a unified field of disability history and to provide an academic toolkit for how to research and write disability history critically. Longmore and Umansky direct historians "to the places we have failed to look" in writing disability into history and this is followed by a series of articles, many by disability historians, that employ this toolkit.[85] For these historians,

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[81] See: Paul Longmore and David Goldberger, "The League of the Physically Handicapped and the Great Depression: A Case Study in the New Disability History," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 3 (December 2000): 888-921. This article preceded the 'New Disability History' and was initially used as a case study of how disability history could be written before the 2001 edited collection was published.
[82] Linker, "On the Borderland," 502.
[83] Ibid., 503-513, 535.
[84] See: Catherine Kudlick, "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other,'" *American Historical Review* 108, no. 3 (June 2003): 762-93; Longmore and Umansky, *The New Disability.*
[85] Longmore and Umansky, "Introduction," 8.

PWD "are not passive" so instead of writing disability history from the perspectives of "professionals, philanthropists, and policymakers," they urge new histories that employ PWD as "real historical actors."[86]

The New Disability History was the watershed moment that forged the link between disability and history. Kudlick, an American disability historian, is important for the Canadian scene because her 2003 article mirrors Joan Wallach Scott's germinal essay, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis."[87] Social historians will be familiar with Scott as the key advocate and forerunner for gender history in the 1980s. Kudlick notes that disability provides historians with an opportunity to "rethink what we do."[88] Kudlick's piece is not only a call to action, but also the first real disability historiography. Kudlick painstakingly identifies the progression of the American field, and demonstrates how various types of historians - labour, political, and cultural - can use disability in their analyses. Indeed, she posits that "just as gender and race have had an impact well beyond women and people of colour, disability is so vast…that it can force historians to reconsider virtually every concept, every event, every 'given' we have taken for granted."[89] If Longmore and Umansky opened up disability history, Kudlick, also a contributor in *The New Disability History*, provides the historiography and probing questions about where disability can lead historians.

The new disability history naturally led to an abundance of new critical disability histories in both the U.S. and Canada. To illustrate, following the 2001 edited collection, Longmore and Umansky became the editors of a disability history series located out of New

[86] Ibid.
[87] Scott, "Gender: A Useful," 1053-1075.
[88] Kudlick, "Disability History," 763.
[89] Ibid., 767.

York University Press. The series deals with "the full range of topics in disability history: politics and laws, political movements and organizations, medical treatment and views, education, institutions and agencies, philanthropy, eugenics, cultural representations, disability cultures, and more."[90] It includes authors such as R.A.R Edwards, Susan Schweik, Kim Nielsen, Steven Noll, James Trent, and Therese-Adele Husson, with topics including blind women in post-Revolutionary France, developmental disabilities in America, a revised reading of Helen Keller, deaf education, and American 'ugly laws.'[91] In Canada, edited works such as *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada* (2003), and *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad* (2003) became pioneering accounts of Canada's contribution to the disability advocacy scene both in the domestic and international context.[92] The increase of new works on disability history in the 2000s led Baynton to write a 2004 article entitled "Disability History: No Longer Hidden" to acknowledge the new role disability was gaining in historical circles.[93]

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[90] New York University Press, "The History of Disability – NYU Press – Series," accessed 20 Nov 2017, http://nyupress.org/series.aspx?seriesID=49.

[91] R.A.R. Edwards, *Words Made Flesh: Nineteenth-Century Deaf Education and the Growth of Deaf Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Susan M. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Kim E. Nielsen, *The Radical Lives of Helen Keller* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Helen Keller, *Helen Keller, Selected Writings*, eds., Kim E. Nielsen (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Steven Noll, and James Trent, eds., *Mental Retardation in America: A Historical Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Therese-Adele Husson, *Reflections: The Life and Writings of a Young Blind Woman in Post-Revolutionary France*, trans., Catherine Kudlick, and Zina Weygand (New York: New York University Press, 2002). The 'ugly laws' were unsightly beggar ordinances that barred mostly disabled people from the streets of many American cities. The last ordinance was not struck down until the 1970s.

[92] See: Deborah Stienstra, and Aileen Wight-Felske, eds., *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada* (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003); Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt, eds., *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad* (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003); For Canada's role internationally see: Yutta Fricke, Aldred H. Neufeldt, and Julie Egers, "Contributions to Disability and Development by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Alfred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003).

[93] Douglas Baynton, "Disability History: No Longer Hidden," *Review in American History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 282-93.

However, there were still important questions to address which were raised in a 2006 article by Susan Burch and Ian Sutherland called "Who's Not Yet Here? American Disability History."[94] In the article, which can also be applied to Canadian disability history, Burch and Sutherland explain the development of the growing field of American disability history, its impact on history in general, and some of outstanding issues that remain. For example, Burch and Sutherland reveal how disability can be used to analyze "the meaning of such fundamental concepts as identity, community, citizenship, and normalcy from a cultural perspective."[95] Furthermore, Burch and Sutherland examine the dichotomy of disability as a social construction and disability as a lived experience and reveal that, like gender, "the two are not mutually exclusive."[96] In fact, valuing disability as social construction "imposes its own set of meanings on [d]isability that affect the lived experience;" thus it is "our job as historians to understand how those meanings have evolved."[97] It is early, but the growing scholarship provided in the history of emotions may be able to help bridge issues between disability as construction and disability as lived experience; for instance, definitions and conceptions of how people experience pain is one way at providing new histories.[98] These efforts led to disability history branching off into different directions near the end of the first decade of the 21st century.

In the remainder of the 21st century, disability history in both the U.S. and Canada broadened to cover a variety of subfields and new interpretations, including race. In the American context, Larry Logue, Peter Blanck, Dea Boster, and Paul Lawrie produced works that

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[94] Susan Burch and Ian Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here? American Disability History," *Radical History Review* 94 (Winter 2006): 127-47.
[95] Ibid., 128.
[96] Ibid., 129.
[97] Ibid.
[98] See: Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

analyze various interconnections between disability and race.[99] Each of these authors show how African Americans with disabilities held stigmatized positions in different eras of U.S. history. For instance, Logue and Blanck analyze the veteran benefit system following the U.S. Civil War and how race was used to call into question a "veteran's worthiness."[100] Similarly, Boster looks at "constructions of disability in antebellum slave society" and how they were "mutually constituted in 19th century discourses."[101] Finally Lawrie, examines how "notions of the fit and unfit body colored the [American] progressive era labor economy."[102] Indeed, African American workers were constructed as "diseased, dirty, unskilled, and hypersexual" essentially equating "blackness itself as a disability."[103] In Canada, Doreen Demas' 2018 "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities" explores the multiple levels of discrimination that indigenous women in Canada experience, and productive ways to address them.[104] Robert Menzies and Ted Palys analyze race and disability through the institutionalization of indigenous mental health patients in the British Columbia psychiatric system from 1879-1950 and their multi-leveled experiences. Patients endured racist attitudes and culturally alienating practices by medical officials as they were essentially warehoused in the public mental health system. In spite of this treatment, patients devised different strategies to exercise agency, such as feigning assimilation to initiate

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[99] See: Dea Boster, *African American Slavery and Disability: Bodies, Property, and Power in the Antebellum South, 1800-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Logue and Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and*; Paul Lawrie, "'To Make the Negro Anew:' The African American Worker in the Progressive Imagination, 1896-1928," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011); Paul Lawrie, "'Salvaging the Negro': Race, Rehabilitation, and the Body Politic in World War I America, 1917-1924," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 321-344; Paul Lawrie, *Forging a Laboring Race: The African American Worker in the Progressive Imagination* (New York: New York University Press, 2016); Dea H. Boster, "'Unfit for Ordinary Purposes': Disability, Slaves, and Decision Making in the Antebellum American South," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 201-217.
[100] Logue and Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and*, xvii.
[101] Boster, *African American Slavery*, 2-3.
[102] Lawrie, "'To Make the Negro Anew,'" iii.
[103] Ibid., 15.
[104] Doreen Demas, "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 339-344.

release.[105] In addition to the above studies, racial exclusion due to discriminatory immigration laws in the late 19th and first half of the 20th century was a constant feature effecting non-Anglo-Saxon peoples, often associating them with disability and exclusion.[106]

One of the most developed areas of disability history, especially in Canada is disability and its relation to work. In Reaume's 2000 book *Remembrance of Patients Past*, a chapter is devoted to patient labour at the Toronto Hospital for the Insane during the years 1870-1940. Reaume describes how "inmate labour played an essential role in the lives of patients and in the internal economy" of the hospital.[107] This labour served a variety of functions including providing patients therapy and self-worth while also offsetting costs of the institution; tasks were also diverse and highly gendered.[108] Reaume takes up these themes and also expands on new conceptions of disabled work in two subsequent chapters published in 2004 and 2006 "No Profits, Just a Pittance: Work, Compensation, and People Defined as Mentally Disabled In Ontario, 1964-1990," and "'Patient's at Work': Insane Asylum Inmates' Labour in Ontario, 1841-1900." In the former, Reaume covers many of the work-as-therapy themes in his 2000 book, but expands to document the fight for a fair wage for mentally disabled workers who were also patients in Ontario from the mid-1960s to 1990.[109] These patients included workers at the

[105] Menzies and Palys, "'Turbulent Spirits," 149-175.
[106] See: Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990); Carolyn Strange and Jennifer Stephen, "Eugenics in Canada: A Checkered History, 1850s-1990s," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds., Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 523-38; Rinaldi and Dolmage, "'Of Dark Type;" Baynton "Disability and the;" Douglas Baynton, "Defect: A Selective Reinterpretation of American Immigration History," in *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging*, eds., Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 44-64.
[107] Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients*, 179.
[108] Ibid., 150-151, 166-171.
[109] Geoffrey Reaume, "No Profits, Just a Pittance: Work, Compensation, and People Defined as Mentally Disabled In Ontario, 1964-1990," in *Mental Retardation in America: A Historical Reader, The Disabled*, eds., S. Noll and J.W. Trent (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 467.

Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital (LPH) in Port Arthur, ON (now Thunder Bay).[110] Many of these individuals were "certified as unemployable" and although these facilities attempted to highlight the therapeutic benefits of patient labour, they were "not able to mask the exploitative nature of cheap labo[u]r."[111] By the 1980s some of these workers began fighting for pay equity in Ontario courts showing that they were "not as incapable" as they were made out to be.[112] In the latter chapter, Reaume provides an earlier examination of insane asylum labour in Ontario, specifically examining the dramatic increase that brought patient labour rates in these institutions from around a third in the late 1870s to about three quarters by 1900. The reasons behind this increase rested on a two-pronged strategy of providing therapy to these patients while also using them to perform maintenance work at the institutions. Patients performed a variety of tasks, including repairs to buildings, cutting firewood, and cleaning. With some labourers better able to exercise freedom than others.[113] While Reaume focuses on the labour by patients deemed insane and the intellectually disabled, Canadian disability historian Dustin Galer analyzes the role played by disabled workers in a variety of settings including sheltered workshops for physically disabled people in Canada during the mid to late 20th century.

Galer approaches disabled identity creation through the field of paid and unpaid employment; in fact, his work shows the central importance that work played in the lives of physically and sensory disabled Canadians as they strove for greater rights and employment equity legislation in the post-WWII period. In a 2012 article entitled "Disabled Capitalists:

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[110] For a history of the Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital see: Peter Raffo, *From Institution to Community: A Transformation of Psychiatric Hospital Services* (Thunder Bay: St. Joseph's Care Group, 2005).
[111] Reaume, "No Profits," 467.
[112] Ibid., 485.
[113] Geoffrey Reaume, "Patients at Work: Insane Asylum Inmates' Labour in Ontario, 1841-1990," in *Mental Health and Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives*, eds., James E. Moran and David Wright (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 69, 88.

Exploring the Intersections of Disability and Identity Formation in the World of Work," Galer interviewed some 29 PWD in Toronto and southern Ontario and found that "paid employment was at the centre of personal identity formation."[114] Although unpaid work could provide a "sense of purpose," Galer found that disabled workers want "self-fulfillment" through paid employment that gives them "autonomy" and "self-sufficiency."[115] Galer followed up on this research in his 2018 book *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada*. Stemming from his 2014 Ph.D. dissertation, "Hire the Handicapped!", *Working Towards Equity* shows how a lack of meaningful work often marginalized disabled people and was a later rallying call for new employment equity initiatives in the mid to latter half of the 20th century, which helped to integrate PWD into the Canadian mainstream.[116] Galer's work on sheltered workshops analyzes how sheltered workshops in Canada were set up as a way to rehabilitate disabled workers and then to integrate them into the workforce.[117] However, these physically disabled workers often laboured in a "liminal token economy" where they performed repetitive tasks and received low wages.[118] On many occasions, these workers were deemed unfit to enter or re-enter the regular labour market; and, as a result, many languished in a state of dependency in workshops. By the early 1980s, critics of sheltered workshops won battles to abolish or transform existing workshops to better meet the needs of

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[114] Dustin Galer, "Disabled Capitalists: Exploring the Intersections of Disability and Identity Formation in the World of Work," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2012). Accessed 17 November 2018. http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/3277/3122.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 3; Dustin Galer, "'Hire the Handicapped!' Disability Rights, Economic Integration and Working Lives in Toronto, Ontario, 1962-2005," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014).
[117] Dustin Galer, "'I Make 40 Cents an Hour. What Do You Make?' Labour Militancy at CNIB Sheltered Workshops, 1966-1984," *Left History* 19, no. 2 (Winter 2015/16): 61-78; Dustin Galer, "'A Place to Work Like Any Other?': Sheltered Workshops in Canada, 1970-1985," *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 3, no. 3 (June 2014): 1-30; Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 104-127.
[118] Ibid., 105.

physically disabled workers.[119] Indeed, sheltered workshops moved away from being associated with the physically disabled becoming the primary domain of developmentally disabled workers.

The OMOD sheltered workshop in Port Arthur for the physically disabled followed such a trend, changing its mandate in the 1980s to a supported work environment.[120] The history of OMOD's sheltered workshop and disabled employment is not a focus of this dissertation and remains a topic for future study. Neither is injured workers' activism covered in this study. Indeed, examinations of various types of compensation for Ontario injured workers before and after the early 20th century workmen's compensation legislation in Ontario is a growing area covered by several disability historians and labour studies scholars, including Galer and Robert Storey.[121] In Thunder Bay and NWO, Steve Mantis, a local injured worker, was successful in establishing the Thunder Bay and District Injured Workers Support Group (TBDIWSG) in 1984 in response to the Progressive Conservative provincial government's attempts at clawing back injured worker's rights through Bill 101. TBDIWSG became a powerful force unifying injured workers locally and regionally. Mantis co-founded the provincial and national injured workers groups: the Ontario Network of Injured Workers Groups (ONIWG) and the Canadian Injured Workers Alliance (CIWA) in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By the early 1990s, Mantis set up a regional injured workers' resource centre that acted as a peer support hub for newly injured

[119] Galer, "'A Place to Work," 31.
[120] "Help Wanted for the Disabled: Gainful employment a possible objective," *North Magazine*, May 26, 1991, 3.
[121] See: Dustin Galer, "A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?: Disabled Bodies and Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail* 66 (Fall 2010): 9-10, 36; Robert Storey, "'Don't work too hard': Health safety and Workers' Compensation in Canada," in *Health Illness and Health Care in Canada*, eds., B. Singh Bolaria and Harley D. Dickinson (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2009); Robert Storey, "'Their Only Power Was Moral': The Injured Workers' Movement in Toronto, 1970-1985," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (2008): 99-131; Robert Storey, "Social Assistance or a Worker's Right: Workmen's Compensation and the Struggle of Injured Workers in Ontario, 1970-1985," *Studies in Political Economy* 78 (2006): 67-91; Robert Storey, "'They Have All Been Faithful Workers': Injured Workers, Truth, and Workers' Compensation in Ontario, 1970-2008," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 1 (2009): 154-185.

workers.[122] Mantis was not involved with HAGI, although HAGI and TBDIWSG were engaging in advocacy during the same time, their goals and objectives took different directions.

In 2012, Reaume produced the first historiography on Canadian disability history and an assessment of future directions for the field. By this time, new book length studies and a proliferation of articles warranted an analysis of the state of the field and no better historian was in a position to write about these developments than Reaume who was one of the first proponents of the new disability history in Canada. Reaume divides Canadian works on disability into six sub-areas of disability to "maintain some cohesiveness," namely: sensory disabilities; physical disabilities; intellectual disabilities and eugenics; immigration, race and disability; mad people's history; and activist histories.[123] According to Reaume, works on physical disability "comprise a significant and growing body of work" in Canada and also possesses the "most examples of the new critical disability history scholarship."[124] Reaume outlines the contribution of many of the studies that have been included throughout this present account, such as the publications of Tremblay on the post-WWII rehabilitation of disabled veterans. This list also includes his own book on the Lyndhurst rehabilitation hospital in Toronto, which served as the backbone of the Canadian rehabilitation and reintegration program, and the studies of Galer and Forsetell on disabled workers and compensation.[125] Reaume concludes that the field has grown, but that greater efforts are needed in "preserving, uncovering, recording and making available our disabled past."[126] Reaume argued that the field needed new edited collections and books on

[122] "Steve," Injured Workers Online, Accessed March 22, 2019, https://injuredworkersonline.org/stories/steve/; Archives of Ontario, RG 74-31, B300373, Correspondence from Remo Mancini to Lyn McLeod, TBDIWSG, 2 Aug 1988, attachment; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Steve Mantis to Allan Buchan, 1990, 1-5.
[123] Geoffrey Reaume, "Disability History in Canada: Present Work in the Field and Future Prospects," *The Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 36.
[124] Ibid., 44, 46.
[125] Ibid., 44-45.
[126] Ibid., 58-59.

disability history, which would cover such topics as "the social history of labour, women, indigenous peoples, racialized communities, sexual minorities and the development of public policies."[127]

Four American and international edited collections on disability history preceded Canadian ones showing the depth of coverage and multiplicity of topics such history can yield by moving away from traditional western and mainstream disability advocacy approaches. The 2014 collection edited by Susan Burch and Michael Rembis entitled *Disability Histories* seeks to "remember the past, to repopulate it and recover sources about and by individuals and groups who in many cases have been overlooked or actively ignored or silenced."[128] Some 21 different scholars on disability, the majority of them historians, collaborated to produce 18 chapters organized into four general areas: family, community, and daily life; cultural histories; bodies medicine, and contested knowledge; and citizenship and belonging. The collection takes an intercontinental approach and covers four different centuries to show "a wider spectrum of historical subjects, contexts, and understandings of the past."[129] It was followed up a year later by Nancy Hirschmann and Beth Linker's *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging*, which premises that "disability is central to understanding citizenship."[130] The 12 chapters trace different areas in which disabled people have been excluded as citizens in the U.S. and corresponding fights for inclusion.[131] *The Routledge History of Disability* (2018), and the *Oxford Handbook of Disability History* (2018) are the third and fourth edited collections and

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[127] Ibid., 61.
[128] Susan Burch and Michael Rembis, "Re-Membering the Past: Reflections on Disability Histories," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 5.
[129] Ibid., 6-10.
[130] Nancy J. Hirscmann and Beth Linker, "Disability, Citizenship, and Belonging: A Critical Introduction," in *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging*, eds., Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1-2.
[131] Ibid.

share some similarities with *Disability Histories*. While *Disability Histories* was successful in starting the "process of decentering the U.S. and Western Europe as the primary locations of study in disability history," there were still outstanding areas that the collection could not cover.[132] The Routledge reader took up some of these areas claiming that "no history of disability represents such an expansive international exploration of disability histories."[133] Roy Hanes, one of the editors, notes that "disability history is paid little or no attention worldwide;" thus it advocates an even wider time and geographic framework, covering ancient Antiquity to the present, through a diverse snapshot of nations, societies and cultures.[134] Several of the chapters analyze events in Canada, such as Roy Hanes' study on the origins of the Societies for Crippled Children, and Karen Yoshida et al's account of accessible summer camping experiences for disabled Ontario children.[135] Similarly, the *Oxford Handbook* acknowledges that the field of disability history has been opened up over recent years, but that the 27 new chapters are designed to "open more possibilities" for both historians and those scholars outside history.[136] One of the chapters is by Bess Williamson, entitled "Designing Objects and Spaces: A Modern Disability History." It shows how disabled people "live and respond to the products of design" and outlines the progression towards universal design in both the gadget and built environment realms that has contributed to "a shift in status" for PWD in western society.[137] Williamson's chapter has been influential in this dissertation's analysis.

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[132] Burch and Rembis, "Re-Membering the Past," 10.
[133] Roy Hanes, "Introduction," in *The Routledge History of Disability*, eds., Roy Hanes, Ivan Brown, and Nancy E. Hansen (London: Routledge, 2018), 3.
[134] Ibid., 1.
[135] Ibid., 1-5.
[136] Michael A. Rembis, Catherine Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen, "Introduction," in *the Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds., Michael A. Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-5, 11.
[137] Bess Williamson, "Designing objects and spaces: A Modern Disability History," in *the Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds., Michael A. Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 144, 151.

Two recent Canadian edited collections, *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law* (2017), and *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader* (2018) expand the coverage and scope of disability history in Canada, providing a starting point for "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets."[138] Both works are interdisciplinary in nature, with the former tracing "the thematic and theoretical contours of the worlds of disability studies, law and the history of social movements," and the latter attempting "to put disabled people back into the history of Canada."[139] Chapters in *Disabling Barriers* from Reaume and Galer related to work have already been touched upon. Reaume addresses the lack of studies on disabled women and work and Galer examines the motivations and effectiveness of the1970s and '80s hiring campaigns for disabled workers.[140] In *Untold Stories*, Laurence Parent's "Je me souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro" documents the struggle to make the Montreal metro accessible to PWD from 1960 to 1977. Parent notes that her account "lift[s] the veil on Quebec's walking ableist society by exploring the history of the hegemony of stairs" in the metro during an 18 year period.[141] Indeed, Parent goes on to show how segregation in the transit system led to greater questions on how ableism excluded disabled people from municipal citizenship.[142] Parent's work also includes an analysis of the growing disability rights movement

[138] The title of this dissertation comes from a quote attributed to Terry Bellavance found in: Marcel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb 1976, 12. The context surrounding this quote centers on Bellavance's eagerness to move away from what he referred to as an older concept of "hiding" PWD within their families.

[139] Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt, "Introduction: Bringing History and Law to Disability Studies," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 4; Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger, "Introduction," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 1.

[140] See: Reaume, "Gender and the," 42-56; Dustin Galer, "Employers, Disabled Workers and the War on Attitudes in Late Twentieth-Century Canada," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 27-41.

[141] Laurence Parent, "Je me souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 207.

[142] Ibid., 216.

in the province.[143] "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" examines not only the transit system in Thunder Bay, which excluded PWD, but the housing, sports/recreation, and physical environment areas, which prevented them from having truly substantive citizenship (see below). It is a 'history from below' of how disability advocacy at the local level and the struggle against ableism resulted in a working accessible city by the early 1990s, which had links to the regional, provincial, national, and international disability movement.

"Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" draws upon two other articles on accessibility. Firstly, it builds on Laurie Ringaert's 2003 "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective." Beginning from the 1960s, Ringaert analyses the developments made in Canada towards accessibility in a variety of areas, such as housing, transportation, recreation, sports and building design. She states that while accessibility was initially pushed by "young mobility impaired males" who sustained disabilities through war, accidents or polio, other groups of disabled Canadians followed suit and were aided by government and other stakeholders.[144] While mostly touching on the progress made nationally, she does look at municipal events, particularly in the city of Winnipeg. Ringaert acknowledges that other people have "contributed their voices and activities" to the project of making the country accessible and notes that an "entire book could be written on the subject."[145] These other voices include the HAGI and the work they did to make the city of Thunder Bay and the NWO region accessible. While "Get the Disabled out of Their Closets" will examine Building Supplement No. 7 to the *National Building Code*, 1965 and how it was adopted in the city of Thunder Bay, it will only touch on the lengthy

[143] Reaume, "Disability History in," 47.
[144] Laurie Ringaert, "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 280.
[145] Ibid., 280-85, 297.

provincial developments that led to changes to the 1976 *Ontario Building Code*. At this time, Koivisto, as a member of the Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped (OACPH), sat on the OACPH's Ad Hoc Building Committee and worked to upgrade the Code's accessibility provisions. It was not until the mid-1980s that the Code was adequately strengthened to account for accessibility. In 1980, several disability organizations, including HAGI, set up a Barrier Free Design Committee (BFDC) in the city of Thunder Bay, which provided advisory support on the development of new buildings. In 1987, The BFDC morphed into the City of Thunder Bay's Advisory Committee on the Disabled. Throughout the 1980s, disability activists in Thunder Bay and the region, assisted by the provincial Access Fund, worked to make buildings and facilities within the community accessible.[146] Some of these accessibility campaigns will be addressed, but primary coverage will be given to changes in housing, transportation, and sports/recreation.

The 2017 edited collection *Disabling Domesticity* contains chapters by Andrew Marcum and Beth Tauke and Koryden Smith, which analyze the "multiple domestic sites of disability oppression and resistance."[147] These chapters are important to the housing chapters in this

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[146] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Barrier Free Design Committee, *Draft Memorandum: Accessibility and Barrier Free Design*, March, 9, 1987, 2; Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 74-31, B216014, Anne Hurst, "SW Symposium on the Building Code," *Our Future*, March 1978, S1; "Building code changes would assist handicapped," *Globe and Mail*, January 8, 1975, 9; AO, RG 74-32, B220422, OACPH, Meeting Minutes, OACPH, "Working Pages for the Ad Hoc Committee on Building Standards," June 23, 1977, 1-13; Mary Ann Brett, "We've Come a Long Way on Accessibility," *Toronto Star*, December 1, 1986, B4; OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1987, 17. The ruling provincial Liberals, under the Minister Responsible for Disabled Persons, established a three year special Access Fund program in June 1987. The Access Fund of the Ontario ministry provided matching financial support of up to $50,000 to non-profit organizations in the province; it had a pool of $15 million to draw from. See: AO, RG 74-49, B299290, Office For Disabled Persons, New Release, "$1.53 million in grants awarded to improve access for disabled persons and seniors," September 13, 1988, 1.

[147] Michael Rembis, "Introduction," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2; Andrew Marcum, "Rethinking the American Dream Home: The Disability Rights Movement and the Cultural Politics of Accessible Housing in the United States," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 103-135; Beth Tauke and Korydon Smith, "Crossing the Threshold: Disability and Modernist Housing," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 49-72.

account (chapter two and three) as they demonstrate the politics behind inaccessible housing discrimination for groups like disabled people, and how change occurs through new design trends in the built environment.[148] Through its examination of disability rights advocacy in the greater NWO area, "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" also addresses Reaume's complaint about the lack of studies "outside of the main population centres" and in "Northern Canada."[149] While historians have touched upon the HAGI in several accounts, no academic work has documented the multi-leveled advocacy of the organization, which was the lynchpin of greater accessibility in the city and region. In fact, going beyond HAGI, to this scholar's knowledge, there is no detailed and historic monograph study on the developments that led to an entire Canadian city working towards accessibility in regards to accessible housing, transportation, sports/recreation, and building design to the extent of "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets."

Indeed, this dissertation addresses an important research gap by providing a critical historical examination of the emerging disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and the region and how the advocacy of organizations like the HAGI resulted in an evolving accessible city. In Boyce et al's chapter "From Asylum to Independent Living: Disability Policy Making, Past to Present," the HAGI is briefly mentioned along with the Toronto Mayor's Committee (a similar type of organization in Toronto) and the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped (MLPH) as disability rights organizations that arose during the third wave of disability rights advocacy in Canada (see below) to focus on "societal access issues" along with "broader issues such as barriers to employment, transportation, and housing."[150] However, no additional reference to the HAGI is made. Activism by PWD in Manitoba has received more sustained

[148] See above.
[149] Reaume, "Disability History in," 62-63.
[150] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 19.

attention.[151] In a 2018 chapter in *Untold Stories*, Diane Driedger has analyzed the developments and history of the MLPH showing how that organization contributed to accessibility improvements in the city of Winnipeg and the rural areas of Manitoba.[152] The HAGI is also cited in Galer's Ph.D. dissertation "Hire the Handicapped!", but simply in the timeline of key developments within the disability rights movement in Canada. The timeline reference notes that the HAGI was formed in Thunder Bay in 1975 as "disability rights group for northwestern Ontario."[153] While the HAGI was incorporated in 1975, it is important to remember that it was actually created in August of 1972 with even earlier origins in the Lakehead Social Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee of 1971.

The closest historical academic account of the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and the NWO region is Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey Hudson's 2005 "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society. The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970." This article is a complement to Tremblay's earlier articles and chapters on the post-WWII physically disabled veteran experience living in an inaccessible society. "When elevators were for pianos" extends beyond the disabled veteran experience to the civilian one and is a valuable interlude to "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" as four out of the 14 disabled interviewees are from Thunder Bay (namely, Gaston Bolduc, Ron Ross, David (Dave) Koivisto, and Edna Nightingale). Their experiences show how inaccessible the pre-1970s environment in Thunder Bay (then Port Arthur

[151] See: Manitoba League of Persons with Disabilities et al., *The Voice of People With Disabilities: Making A Difference In Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba League of Persons with Disabilities, 2012). This collection of essays analyzes several different areas in the history of the Manitoba disability rights movement.
[152] Diane Driedger, "Organizing for Change: The Origins and History of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped, 1967-1982," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 221-242.
[153] Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," xii.

and Fort William) was. The article reveals the great difficulties disabled civilians had in attempting "to follow the veterans' example to live and work in their communities using wheelchairs and automobiles with hand controls" and is an interesting contrast to the post-1970s environment.[154] PWD were also interviewed for "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" and their experiences help to shed light on the individual experience of living with a disability and the corresponding advocacy work that led to Thunder Bay becoming integrated into the municipal, regional, provincial, and national accessibility and disability scene. This advocacy work was built on reversing the historic discrimination that cast disabled people as 'other.'

Historically, those who are disabled and who deviate "from the established norm in more than one way…are rendered multiple other" especially in regards to the able-bodied.[155] Knowledge about how disabled people as a whole were constructed as 'other' is important to understanding their exclusion in the 19th and 20th centuries in western countries. It should be noted that disability is "a concept which has been constructed differently in different periods and cultures."[156] For example, disability was seen as so different (sometimes even valued) in antiquity that distinctions between disability and impairment are regularly made in books, with some scholars even calling for the term infirmity to be used.[157] As disability historian Christian Laes posits: "disability is a recent term," which describes "attitudes and approaches of modern western civilization;" in particular, "the body's physical and cognitive limitations that render it unable or unfit for work."[158] Thus, in societies that value a healthy labouring body, disability is

[154] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 104.
[155] Ayesha Vernon, "Multiple Oppression and the Disabled People's Movement," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Continuum, 1998), 201.
[156] Christian Laes, "Introduction: Disabilities in the ancient world – past, present and future," in *Disability in Antiquity: Rewriting Antiquity*, ed., Christian Laes (London: Routledge, 2017), 4.
[157] Ibid; Laes discusses how distinctions between terms are regularly made in books. For example, disability is seen as "a social and cultural construct," while impairment refers to physiological and biological traits.
[158] Ibid.

"considered undesirable."[159] David Turner confirms this point noting that the eighteenth century ushered in an era in western thought "when attitudes towards disability underwent significant changes."[160] Indeed, this was the period when thousands of infirmaries were built through voluntary subscriptions to support the impotent, aged, sick, and poor leading to mass institutionalization or what Michel Foucault calls "the Great Confinement."[161] Furthermore, as knowledge of the body increased there was a "shift from prodigy to pathology or wonder to error."[162] In turn, "scientific inquiry into medical aspects of impairment, complex diagnostic and etiological class systems" triumphed over superstitious or religious causes of disability.[163] This system gave itself over to the creation of what DS scholar Lennard Davis' calls the 'norm.'

The norm, and its binary opposite, oppresses disabled people through a hegemonic system called ableism. Beginning from its inception in European literature around 1840, the norm has appeared in concepts of the ideal body, statistics, eugenics, fingerprinting, the bell curve, the subconscious, and fiction. Davis argues that any idea of a norm "implies that the majority of the population must or should somehow be part of [it.]"[164] On the other hand, having a norm implies an opposite or a binary called the abnormal.[165] The abnormal is associated with disability and creates the problem of the disabled person in society.[166] Thus, when the norm is unpacked, many taken-for-granted assumptions are shown to be socially constructed to appear normal to a "dominant able-bodied culture."[167] Ableism is the hegemonic vehicle used to oppress

[159] Ibid.
[160] David Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth-century England: Imagining Physical Impairment* (London: Routledge, 2012), 5.
[161] Ibid., 6-7.
[162] Ibid., 5.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy*, 29.
[165] Ibid., 49.
[166] Ibid., 24.
[167] Ibid., 5.

PWD in a variety of spheres, which are disguised to appear normal, such as having stairs with no ramp. DS scholar Jennifer Scuro defines ableism as

> an under-determined bias that is everywhere. It is a harmful bias, often trivialized, yet, in fact, is deadly...it is a bias that widens the gap of meaning between who counts as 'ablebodies' and valuable as opposed to who does not. Ableism is analogous (in a limited way) to other forms of systematic ideological bias and oppression: sexism, racism, classism, heteronormativity, and, arguably, speciesism.[168]

Therefore, like shifting narratives of other social identities, the study of disability offers a legitimate way to understand the past through deconstructing ableist narratives. However, prior to the development of the social model of disability or looking at how society produces disability, disabled people were kept in check through the medical model of disability. In their attempt to 'treat' or 'fix' disabled people, professionals, especially those in the medical field, resorted to scientific or medical ways to bring normalcy and order to the disabled body; in the process, disabled people were rendered as passive recipients of services or charities and pushed to the margins of society. As institutionalization grew in Europe and North America in the 19th century, more profound social relationships of domination and subordination developed between professionals and disabled people. Foucault, although not writing directly about disability, explains how power became entrenched in common societal practices that resulted in 'docile bodies' with institutions being the most egregious means where these bodies succumbed to implicit and explicit power relations.[169]

Canadian DS authors note that many late 19th century institutions such as asylums stemmed from "public concern about disability;" they call this the 'institutional period' in

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[168] Jennifer Scuro, *Addressing Ableism: Philosophical Questions via Disability Studies* (New York: Lexington Books, 2017), xix.
[169] Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 38-39. Garland uses Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979), 193, 135.

Canada where PWD, particularly people with mental illness or intellectual impairments, were seen as "deviants who might be a threat to law and order."[170] PWD who were not labelled as deviant otherwise "fit into their local communities, [being] assisted when necessary, by family and neighbours."[171] American disability historian Sarah Rose argues that in this period, disabled people contributed to the domestic and wage labour of the country, "reflecting the fact that America long viewed productivity as a spectrum that varied by age, gender, and ability."[172] It was not until several factors in the 19th and early 20th centuries coalesced to render PWD "unproductive citizens."[173] These factors were: the transition to industrial capitalism; the mechanization of labour; and well-meaning public programs including Workmens' Compensation laws, which tended to exclude disabled people from the "wage labour market and economic citizenship."[174] Discriminatory legislation, such as the 'ugly laws' (unsightly beggar ordinances) prevented people who were disabled from appearing on city streets in American cities during the 19th and early 20th centuries.[175] These developments pushed 'unproductive' disabled, especially those acquiring a disability outside of war, to the margins of society in North America where they, for the most part, languished in a domestic or institutional settings.[176] Nevertheless, the slow progression of three distinct disability advocacy waves beginning in mid-nineteenth century North America eventually provided the groundwork for a turning point

[170] Crichton and Jongbloed, *Disability and Social*, 3; Adele Furrie, "Profiling Canadians with Disabilities," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada 2nd* ., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 73-74. Furrie refers to: Boyce et al., *A Seat at*.
[171] Crichton and Jongbloed, *Disability and Social*, 9.
[172] Sarah Rose, *No Right to Be Idle: The Invention of Disability, 1840s-1930s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), back cover.
[173] Ibid., 2.
[174] Ibid.
[175] The 'Ugly Laws' prevented unsightly beggars from occupying the streets of American cities. They first appeared in San Francisco in 1867 and moved on to other cities in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Unsightly beggars encompassed people who were diseased, maimed, deformed or mutilated; or in other words, disabled people. Interestingly, the last 'ugly law' was not repealed until the early 1970s. See: Schweik, *The Ugly Laws.*
[176] Rose, *No Right to*, 2.

towards replacing the medical model of disability with the social model (a model that attributes barriers in society to creating disability) in the 1970s.

Disability academics identify three distinct waves of disability advocacy in Canada where efforts were made to provide services and support for disabled people. Gradually, PWD wrestled control from professionals through the disability consumer and independent living movements (ILM) of the third wave. These waves are as follows: Firstly, "professional advocacy" with some examples of "self-advocacy" from the mid-1850s to the 1920s with the goal of establishing disability as a public issue; secondly, "organized advocacy" mixed with the delivery of services from the 1920s to the 1960s that saw large scale community services try to integrate disabled people; and, thirdly, the rights era from the 1970s onwards that sought their inclusion as equals in society.[177] The study of the HAGI and its fight to promote an accessible Thunder Bay fits into the third wave of disability advocacy in Canada, but as Aldred Neufeldt states "[i]t would be false to suggest that advocacy on behalf of disabled people had its origins in the 1970s."[178] He thus identifies some early efforts by indigenous peoples to address disability prior to European contact, and the first early services that Europeans set up.[179] By the mid to late 1800s, the first wave or what Neufeldt broadly refers to as "professional advocacy" became distinguishable lasting to about the 1920s.[180] In this wave, government support was fairly limited with community agencies and/or volunteers giving "moral and financial support" to disadvantaged

[177] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution of Disability Advocacy in Canada," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 16-22.
[178] Ibid., 16.
[179] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Approach," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 16, 25.
[180] Ibid.

groups including the disabled.[181] This support by "citizen volunteers," especially by the late 19th century, funded important but sometimes paternalistic endeavors, such as institutions for particular types of disabilities.[182] This wave also saw local volunteer advocacy groups form in several cities in the late 1890s and early 1910s for the blind and deaf; these were followed by similar groups that dealt with mental illness, tuberculosis, and other illnesses. The creation of national organizations was the next logical step and by 1918 three influential organizations entered the Canadian disability scene: the Canadian Tuberculosis Association (1900; now the Heart and Lung Association), the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (1918; CNIB) and the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (1918; the predecessor to the Canadian Mental Health Association).

Furthermore, the early 20th century witnessed the growth of new service groups (including, but not limited to the Shriners, Rotary, and Lions clubs). These groups devoted considerable resources to assisting children with disabilities or 'crippled children' (the then used term). The work involving these children resulted in the establishment in 1922 of the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, which was the province's first disability advocacy group.[183] Formal services for disabled children in Fort William and Port Arthur started in 1948, well into the second wave of disability advocacy.[184] The role played by government was very limited until the end of the wave. The federal government contributed little support for PWD until the

[181] Ibid.
[182] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 31; Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution," 17.
[183] Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution," 17.
[184] Disability advocacy for 'crippled children' in Fort William and Port Arthur occurred after the Kiwanis club and the Cerebral Palsy Parent's Council of Fort William joined forces to create the JB Larway Cerebral Palsy School in Fort William. About twenty years later in 1961, the Kiwanis Club was successful in incorporating the new Thunder Bay Crippled Children's Centre located in the same building as the school. The Centre soon expanded to serve disabled children in the greater NWO region and to reflect this fact changed its name in 1969 to the Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre. See: "Tramin Backs New Children's Centre," *Atikokan Progress*, January 26, 2009, accessed 15 Oct 2018, http://atikokanprogress.ca/2009/01/26/tramin-backs-new-childrens-centre/.

cessation of World War I (WWI) when a series of hospitals for injured veterans were created along with vocational training provisions to help these veterans integrate back into society.[185] On the other hand, beginning with the province of Quebec in 1909, a succession of Workmens' Compensation Laws were passed; Ontario introduced its version in 1914.[186] These were important developments and were built upon in the second wave of disability advocacy in Canada.

From the 1920s until the end of WWII, disability advocacy experienced somewhat slower growth in Canada. Neufeldt notes that the second wave saw "the slow beginning of public consciousness about disability and of service networks across Canada."[187] However, the approach to serving disabled people by professionals such as physicians rested on the 'medical' or 'charity model.' Therefore, these professionals were thought to be in the best position to know what disabled people needed. In turn, the voices of disabled people were generally muted as they were viewed as people to be pitied. As a result, both public and private efforts to assist PWD were "more a charitable response than a fulfilment of a right of the disabled person."[188] In fact, "[v]olunteerism, at its best, represented the democratic action of local people for noble purposes, but it was laced with a heavy dose of paternalistic charity."[189] As was seen in the first wave, government involvement was limited to specific groups – disabled veterans and injured workers. Indeed, the bulk of advocacy rested with "the citizenry who had a concern with disability."[190] Neufeldt argues that this wave saw:

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[185] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 33; Also see: Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
[186] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 33.
[187] Ibid., 33, 35.
[188] Ibid., 35.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.

> a foundation of services for disabled people…There were a growing number of professionals with knowledge of various aspects of disability, a small but significant allocation of public resources to various institutional programs, the beginnings of an orientation to help disabled people become part of (or re-enter) the community, and a large and committed volunteer base. The main problems were the uneven distribution of services and their orientation.[191]

Like WWI, WWII ushered in another period of growth in relation to disability advocacy, which favoured disabled veterans. Focus rested on the rehabilitation needs of veterans and here developments in "[n]ew prostheses, wheelchairs, life-saving drugs and other innovations were life-savers, in some instances literally;" they also increased the quality of life for people with impairments.[192] The Canadian federal government took steps to make sure that the demobilization of soldiers including disabled veterans went considerably smoother than in WWI. Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary document this federal program in the 1998 edited collection, *The Veterans Charter and Post World War II Canada*. The Veterans Charter was a "whole program of benefits worked out after 1939 and embodied in many statues and regulations."[193] Two federal departments, National Health and Welfare, and Veterans Affairs were created to administer different components of the Charter with the overarching goal being that every military member discharged "shall be in a position to earn a living."[194] Thus, the means to integrate veterans back into society varied to include such things as education, grants, and rehabilitation programs etc.[195]

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[191] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 35.
[192] Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution," 18.
[193] Peter Neary, "Introduction," in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*, eds., Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary (Montreal/Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 1998), 9.
[194] Ibid.
[195] See: Don Ives, "The Veterans Charter: The Compensation Principle and the Principle of Recognition for Service," in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*, eds., Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary (Montreal/Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 1998), 85-94; Peter Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*, eds., Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary (Montreal/Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 1998), 110-148; Tremblay, "Going Back to Main," 160-178.

Neary's 2011 book, *On to Civvy Street* serves as a follow-up to the rehabilitation and integration program for veterans of the Second World War described in *The Veterans Charter*. He provides a longer trajectory by showing the changes in government policy in regards to PWD from WWI to WWII, and how the Charter "achieved its overarching objectives" of preventing the demobilization upheaval that befell the country after WWI.[196] Subsequent works by Tremblay outline the rehabilitation of disabled veterans, their philosophy of rehabilitation, the individual case work method, and the various strategies used by disabled veterans to find employment and enter community life as productive members.[197] According to Tremblay, "veteran members of [the] CPA were pioneers in independent living. They introduced new examples of independence into Canadian society using the wheelchair as a means of mobility."[198] Indeed, "[m]embers argued for full participation in all aspects of civilian life: education, employment, recreation, and family life. They rejected a philosophy of special services for disabled people and instead sought to return to the mainstream of civilian life."[199] Besides the Veterans Charter, several other policy programs were instituted, and along with a growing sense of individual rights set the tone for new disability organizations such as the HAGI to emerge as autonomous actors in the third wave.

In 1948, shortly after the war, the UN adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; twelve years later in 1960, the Canadian government under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker passed the *Canadian Bill of Rights*.[200] Although the *Canadian Bill of Rights* lacked

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[196] Peter Neary, *On To Civvy Street: Canada's Rehabilitation Program for Veterans of the Second World War* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 2011), 281.
[197] See: Tremblay, "Going Back to," 160-178.
[198] Tremblay, "Lieutenant John Counsell," 334.
[199] Ibid.
[200] The province of Saskatchewan passed the first provincial Bill of Rights. See: Carmela Patrias, "Socialists, Jews, and the 1947 Saskatchewan Bill of Rights," *Canadian Historical Review* 87, 2 (June 2006): 265-293.

teeth it would set the stage for later developments, such as the *Ontario Human Rights Act* (1962), the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (1977), and the *Canadian Constitution* and *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982).[201] Initially, protections for disabled persons were excluded from all these pieces of legislation; however, the rights discourse of the 1960s, or what Canadian scholar Michael Ignatieff calls the "rights revolution," came to give groups such as the disabled a platform to have their specific rights addressed.[202] In complement of the increased human rights laws, the federal and provincial governments introduced new health and rehabilitation programs. While responsibility for the rehabilitation of veterans was the realm of the federal government that branch of government joined forces with the provincial governments in 1952 to share "costs of disability related programs."[203] The impetus for this was a multi-leveled protest from the Easter Seal Societies, disabled veterans, and the Canadian public following the spread of polio. These interest groups wanted the federal government to collaborate with the provinces so that they would "become involved in rehabilitation."[204] The two levels of government did this through a 1952 federal Order-in-Council, which eventually led to specific legislation in 1961 called the *Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons Act* (VRDP). The VRDP was influential in providing rehabilitation organizations the funds and training necessary to help disabled persons re-enter the employment market.[205] Along with the VRPD, the *Hospital*

[201] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 14, 48, 58-60.
[202] See: Michael Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution 2nd ed.* (Scarborough, ON: Anansi, 2007), 1, 26. According to Ignatieff, the Rights Revolution is: "A [recent] fundamental change" that "took off in the 1960s in all industrialized countries, and it's still running its course." "Since the 1960s, the rights revolution has brought to the table whole new groups that were never heard before."
[203] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 47.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.

Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act (1957), and *the Federal Medical Care Act* (1966) provided greater health related coverage for Canadians including PWD.[206]

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, two important movements - the disability consumer and the Independent Living Movement (ILM) - came to dominant the third wave. Although there are exceptions, a lot of the physical disability organizations that existed prior to the third wave of disability advocacy were social/recreational or rehabilitation oriented; however, with the development of disability consumerism and the ILM, new organizations in Canada were created, including HAGI. One prominent Ontario group of the pre-1970s era was the United Handicapped Groups of Ontario (UHGO). The UHGO was founded in 1953 in St. Catharines, as a loose knit provincial group that integrated smaller disability social groups into a large organized framework to address the social and recreational needs of disabled people in Ontario communities.[207] The Happy Handicaps of the twin cities was a member of this organization and occasionally collaborated on provincial conferences to address the social and recreation concerns of PWD. According to William Boyce et al., the UGHO "were primarily social and recreational networks and were wholly unused to political activity of any sort."[208]

Along with the disability movement, the 1960s and '70s saw women, indigenous peoples, immigrants, and consumers organize and mobilize for greater rights and status in Canadian society. Second wave feminism, built upon earlier 20th century political and voting gains, witnessed growing feminist activity in universities, such as the introduction of the *Birth Control Handbook*.[209] These efforts were built upon the 1970 recommendations of the Royal

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[206] Ibid., 48-49.
[207] Galer, "'Hire the Handicapped,'" ix.
[208] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 55.
[209] In 1986, Canadian historians produced the first of many editions of *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. These edited collections show the shifting nature of Canadian women's place in society. Recent editions

Commission on the Status of Women.[210] The Commission, established in 1967, elicited the views of ordinary women, and made a series of recommendations. It was concerted action by Canadian feminists on "what was best for them."[211] Indeed, some of the issues percolating at the time involved, reproductive rights, the gender pay gap, and the need for day care centres.[212] Secondly, indigenous peoples, manifested through "Red Power," demanded change to colonialist laws such as the Indian Act, low standards of living, and poor economic opportunities. In fact, Scott Rutherford demonstrates that Kenora became an important centre for indigenous activism during the 1960s and '70s.[213] Related to race, Malgorzata Kierylo shows how "institutional racism" in Ontario, specifically Toronto, from the late 1960s to the early 1980s excluded and marginalized immigrants from third world countries resulting in their becoming "second class citizens."[214] The push for Canadian authorities to recognize this "structural inequality" started a conversation to integrate immigrants into the community.[215] Finally, the consumer movement led by U.S. activist Ralph Nader spurred consumers to become aware of their rights.[216] All of these

show the histories of second wave feminism, such as on university campuses. See Christabelle Sethna, "The Evolution of the Birth Control Handbook: From Student Peer-Education Manual to Feminist Self-Empowerment, 1968-1975," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History 6th ed*., eds., Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, and Adele Perry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 390-408; Scott Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red Scare: Rights, Decolonization, and Indigenous Political Protest in the Global Sixties," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2011), ii.

[210] See: Monique Bégin, "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada: Twenty Years Later," in Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States, eds., Constance Backhouse, and David H. Flaherty (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 21-38.

[211] Ibid., 29.

[212] Ibid., 29-34; Joan Sangster, *Through feminist eyes: essays on Canadian women's history* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2011), 359, 368.

[213] Scott Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red Scare: The Anicinabe Park Occupation and Indigenous Decolonization," in *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism*, ed., Dan Berger (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 77-78.

[214] Malgorzata Kierylo, "'Equality Now!': Race, Racism and Resistance in 1970s Toronto," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2012), i.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Louis Hyman and Joseph Tahill, "Shopping for Change," in *Shopping for Change: Consumer Activism and the Possibilities of Purchasing Power*, eds., Louis Hyman and Joseph Tohill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 11-16; Lawrence Black, "Esther Peterson and the Politics of Shopping," in *Shopping for Change: Consumer Activism and the Possibilities of Purchasing Power*, eds., Louis Hyman and Joseph Tohill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 151-160.

broad social movements had ties to the disability rights movement, showing the need for Canadian society to integrate them. However as noted earlier, disabled people lagged slightly behind, as health professionals held onto key positions in disability organizations.

Nationally, the Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled (CRCD) was tasked with representing PWD at the federal level. It was created in 1962 by a coalition of groups including the OMOD, the CPA, and the Easter Seal societies, in order to provide rehabilitation support to those effected with polio complications. This organization consisted of rehabilitation professionals in various fields and although disability organizations were vital in its formation, medical professionals took a medical model view of disability that was at odds with the growing autonomy of the nascent disability rights movement.[217] As will be seen in the chapters that follow, some of these organizations dissolved, reformulated their philosophies, or were replaced by disability rights advocacy organizations committed to furthering the principles of disability consumerism and the ILM of the 1970s. Some of these organizations included: the Ontario Federation for the Physically Handicapped (OFPH), the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH; it became the Council of Canadians with Disabilities or CCD in 1994), Disabled Peoples' International (DPI), and People United for Self-Help Ontario (PUSH Ontario).[218] The HAGI would join these organizations in promoting accessibility along with disability consumerism and the ILM.

Disability consumerism and the ILM are two of the most important trends that were solidified in the third wave of disability advocacy. Disability consumerism sees disabled people as active consumers entitled to services that allow them to live an independent life. Juliet

[217] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 40-41.
[218] See: Enns and Neufeldt, *In Pursuit of*; Stienstra and Wight-Felske, *Making Equality*; Boyce et al., *A Seat at*; Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); Driedger, *The Last Civil*.

Rothman defines disability consumerism as "focused on the rights of consumers to choices about goods and services, and emphasizes the responsibilities that providers of such services assumed towards consumers directly."[219] It is tied to the independent living concept, which sees PWD as being able to live and work independently in the community.[220] The early seeds of the ILM began in the 1960s at the University of California at Berkley through the efforts of a group of disabled students. By 1972, these students developed the first Independent Living Centre (ILC) in North America located at Berkley, which offered services so that PWD could live independently. The Berkley students found that their support services could not be renewed once they graduated from university; thus, they took it upon themselves to rent an apartment and hire attendant care workers. Later, other services for PWD were added, such as advocacy, peer support, and legal advice. From this humble beginning, ILCs started developing across the U.S. in the 1970s and in Canada beginning in the early 1980s.[221]

These were some of the developments in disability advocacy prior to the HAGI's creation in 1972. The third wave of disability advocacy in Canada saw some significant achievements regarding accessibility and the breaking down of barriers. These developments, such as the inclusion of disability in various human rights codes and laws, the Obstacles Report (1981), the creation of DPI (1981), and the UN IYDP (1981) will be outlined in the following chapters. Locally in Thunder Bay and NWO, HAGI was at the forefront of this dynamic change. Pothier

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[219] Juliet Rothman, *Social Work Practice Across Disability 2nd ed.* (London: Routledge, 2018), 48.
[220] Aldred H. Neufeldt and Julie Egers, "Disability and Institutions of Higher Learning in Canada and Internationally," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 309.
[221] Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement*, 72, 20; Peggy Hutchison, Alison Pedlar, John Lord, Peter Dunn, Mary McGeown, Andrew Taylor, and C. Vanditelli, "The Impact of Independent Living Resource Centres in Canada on People with Disabilities," *Canadian Journal of Rehabilitation* 10, no. 2 (1997): 99-112; John Lord, *Impact: Changing the way we view disability – The history, perspective and vision of the independent living movement in Canada* (Ottawa: Independent Living Canada, 2010).

and Devlin's concept of "dis-citizenship," and Freund's theory of "socio-material space" as it applies to uniting the social and medical models of disability help us to understand the theory behind HAGI and its allies' efforts to build an accessible city and region, but before these concepts/theories can be elaborated on, it is necessary to touch on sociology's 'citizen participation' and social movement theory to understand the circumstances that resulted in HAGI's formation and growth.

In order to explain the rise of the modern (post-World War II) disability rights movement in Canada, some disability scholars use sociological analyses regarding 'citizen participation' and the various theories of social change that give rise to this phenomenon, such as community organization, social movement, interest group, and political economy theory.[222] Although these are established theories, they provide general principles that underlie how organizations develop, thrive, and evolve. Citizen participation emphasizes the empowerment of disadvantaged groups and social movement theory, with its life cycle approach, best shows how the HAGI formed and evolved within a growing rights based society in Canada to challenge a hegemonic able-bodied and inaccessible system/structure in the areas of housing, transportation, sport/recreation, and built environment. In *A Seat at the Table*, Boyce et al. use the term 'citizen participation' to classify "a vast field of study" that has been applied to many sectors to examine concepts, such as "efficiency, equity, and social cohesiveness."[223] Citizen participation plays a large role in disability policy making and organization formation and the authors apply it to four case studies, such as disability advocacy regarding disability rights in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Broadly speaking citizen participation can be understood both "as a means and as an

[222] For a discussion on sociological theory as it relates to the development of the disability rights movement in Canada see: Boyce et al., *A Seat at*; Driedger, *The Last Civil*.
[223] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 23.

end in itself."[224] When referring to the former, the term "instrumental participation" is used to show "the process of involvement with the intent to achieve a predetermined common social goal or objective."[225] This type of citizen participation is usually "short-term" and includes such things as "presenting briefs, serving on advisory committees, and lobbying government."[226] On the other hand, as an "end in itself," the term "transformational participation" is used to indicate "a long-term process intended to develop and strengthen people's capabilities to involve themselves in social development."[227] Thus, larger "ideological and normative goals such as social justice, equity, and democracy" are pursued by groups, which then "build organizational reputations and develop capacities to become permanent partners in the policy making process."[228] New social movement theories explaining policy making regularly use transformational participation to show the larger forces at work behind challenging unequal power relationships.

The purpose of citizen participation is equally important and has been interpreted in three ways: contribution, organization, and empowerment; in regards to HAGI, empowerment is the most relevant. Citizen participation as contribution, is the "voluntary donation of people's resources to a common good or goal," while citizen participation as organization is "the process of organization or arranging people in common activities."[229] Success is measured in the first way through the activities of people in meeting goals, and in the second by organization building that develops social ties, unified objectives, and group dynamics. The third interpretation of citizen participation is empowerment where people build leadership and decision-making skills

[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid., 24.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.

to achieve agency in their lives. The source of where power lies and how to use it is vital in this understanding. In regards to PWD, Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, applied to disability movements, suggests that a social, economic, and political system built on taken-for-granted notions of "able-bodied dominance has been pervasive" and was mostly unchallenged prior to the late 1960s.[230] Thus, disability policy-making, like policy making for other disadvantaged groups, often involves advocacy that deals with empowerment in order to address broad societal issues. Boyce et al. notes that when empowerment is determined to be the "legitimate purpose of citizen participation in disability policy making" and citizen participation is associated with the transformational method to make decisions, several important assumptions are visible.[231] These assumptions are as follows:

> that citizens have a basic right to participate and that the objective of their participation is to introduce changes in social conditions; that active participation improves relationships between community members and community organizations, and thus reduces alienation; that through participation, disadvantaged groups can gain access to resources and positions of control; and finally, that participation results in attitudinal changes in community members, organizations, and society at large.[232]

Outlining these assumptions naturally leads into a definition for citizen participation.

Citizen participation along with the related term grassroots activism routinely appear in this text. Boyce et al. argue that a "suitable" definition for citizen participation includes "human agency as well as structure."[233] Additionally, the definition should touch upon the means/ends debate, the organizational-empowerment understanding, and locations of power.[234] With this being said, the authors develop a definition of citizen participation as:

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[230] Ibid., 24-25.
[231] Ibid., 25.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid., 27.
[234] Ibid.

> the organization of activities by groups of persons with disabilities who are at a structural disadvantage, in conjunction with able-bodied persons who are not, to increase control over the means to influence the policy environment and, in doing so, to improve their quality of life.[235]

Another concept similar to citizen participation is grassroots activism, which is sometimes called community organizing. It represents "a form of political action that assumes ordinary citizens can confront maldistributions of power by organizing as communities of geographic or ascriptive identity (race, class, and gender) and thus use their indigenous creativity, leadership and resources."[236] The HAGI's tactics and strategies in working towards an accessible city were a prototypical example of citizen participation and grassroots activism that confronted the medical model of disability straight on. This involvement is best described through social movement theory.

Social movement theory is a way to analyze how HAGI formed and evolved as an organization. As noted earlier, the push for human rights (post-WWII) demonstrated that "liberalism in most nations result[ed] in great differences between individuals in terms of political and economic power."[237] In turn, social movement theory involves the "development, maintenance, and impact of collective organizations of social change."[238] In the case of the disability rights movement and the fight for accessibility in Thunder Bay and NWO, this theory explains the development of a "social problem" - in this case lack of access in a variety of fields - and how the grievances of PWD were channeled into action by a cadre of leaders and members.[239] In *The Last Civil Rights Movement: Disabled Peoples' International*, Driedger

[235] Ibid., 28.
[236] Todd Shaw et al, *Uneven Roads: An Introduction to U.S. Racial and Ethnic Politics 2nd ed.* (Thousand Oaks, California: CQ Press, 2018), 279.
[237] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 29.
[238] Ibid., 32.
[239] Ibid.

applies the social movement theory of sociologists' Armand L. Mauss, Lewis Killian, Ralph Turner, Louis Zurcher and David Snow to show DPI grew out of frustration with the CRCD in late 1970s and early 1980s to become the predominant international organization for disabled people.[240] At the time, Driedger concludes that Mauss' "stages of movement development serve as the best indicator about the fate of DPI's future as a social movement organization."[241] As Neufeldt notes, "[a]ll waves rise and fall" and this is what was observed in the third wave of the disability advocacy in Canada.[242]

With many, but not all, gains made, government attention in the 1990s began shifting to other areas, as third wave disability advocacy "seemed to have been largely spent."[243] Evidence through oral interviews in Thunder Bay and NWO seems to confirm this analysis. The breaking down of the most egregious barriers for disabled people by the 1990s and the lack of new leaders in the HAGI created a situation in which disabled people ended up resting on their laurels fought for in the 1970s, 1980s, and early '90s even though work remained. This is not to say that the disability rights movement in the area has not made important gains since the early 1990s, but that the dynamism from the first 20 years has faded. Social movement theory will be particularly helpful in understanding what McColl and Jongbloed call the 'Golden Age' of disability advocacy of the 1980s, which is clearly visible in the City and region.[244]

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[240] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 119; See: Louis A. Zurcher and David A. Snow, "Collective Behaviour: Social Movements," in *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, eds., Morris Rosenberg and Ralph H. Turner (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior 2nd ed.* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975).
[241] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 119.
[242] Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution," 26.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed, "Conclusion," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada, 2nd ed.*, eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 404.

The HAGI emerged in the early 1970s in a period of able-bodied dominance and then developed an organizational network with vibrant leaders and members, successful tactics and strategies, and connections with various stakeholders to initiate accessibility changes in Thunder Bay and NWO. For sociologist Ralph Turner, the gauge of a successful social movement is the point at which "there is a revision in the manner in which a substantial group of people, looking at some misfortune, sees it no longer as a misfortune warranting charitable consideration but as an injustice which is intolerable to society."[245] This is what happened in Thunder Bay and NWO when young PWD rejected the social and recreational approach held up by the medical model of disability and instead adopted a social model approach "for relief of their conditions" and the "amelioration of conditions as a right."[246] This 'right' was an accessible city where disabled people could live, work, and play as independently as possible. In order to begin tackling this problem, brought on by years of hegemonic ableism, the HAGI organized itself through a passionate core of leaders who had clear goals in the areas of accessible housing, transportation, sport/recreation, and the physical environment.

Turner and Killian's four-step life cycle shows the stages of growth in a social movement; it is applicable to HAGI's case. For instance, in the first stage there is early unorganized rumblings of unrest in a movement.[247] Some of the seeds of this unrest were visible through the early advocacy work of Sereda in the Happy Handicaps during the 1960s and the immediate environment that brought young disabled people together under the umbrella of the Planning Council in the early 1970s. In the second stage, unrest is directed toward action in correcting the problem; thus, the early members of the Planning Council identified the above

[245] Ralph H. Turner, "The Theme of Contemporary Social Movements," *British Journal of Sociology* 20 (Dec 1969): 391.
[246] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 119.
[247] Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 253.

core areas and developed methods to tackle each one. By the third stage, an organizational framework is firmly established for the movement, with clear objectives, evident in the HAGI's creation in 1972. Finally, the institutional stage sees the movement evolve to become an accepted part of the community. To illustrate, by the early 1980s, the HAGI had built relationships and connections with community and political leaders, becoming the main local and regional organization for disability advocacy.[248]

Mauss' interpretation of social movement theory contributes additional insight into how social movements interact with the general public, increase membership, mobilize resources, and exercise leadership. Mauss' approach is useful in explaining how the DPI arose to challenge the professionals of the CRCD; this also applies to how the HAGI confronted local, provincial, and national authorities.[249] Mauss' work assesses "how society defines reality and social problems," and notes that "most people in society" have a "consensual reality or set of beliefs."[250] Indeed, there is a clash when "beliefs fall short of fulfilling the expectations of different interest groups;" the end result is the development of "social problems," which can be resolved once people understand what needs to be accomplished.[251] The social movement then develops to "redefine [the] situation as a social problem" and "influence…the public's view of reality."[252] Two types of reality exist, informal and formal. Formal reality "is defined by organizations, institutions or people who are considered as authorities."[253] Authorities such as health professionals and politicians generate government reports, laws, and medical concepts, which the public upholds as

[248] Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 253.
[249] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 120; Mauss, *Social Problems*, 8.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.

"truth."[254] In HAGI's case, this reality created a hegemonic able-bodied society, which had to be challenged through education and reforming reality.

Mauss also discusses how social movements are created and gain membership and develop different types of leadership styles. Creation is partly explained through a concept known as "relative deprivation."[255] Relative deprivation results from people who belong to subordinate groups realizing they do not have the same "money, status, power or possessions" as others.[256] These individuals have "rising expectations" and look to change their circumstances through participation in social movements.[257] The young disabled people who formed the HAGI experienced 'relative deprivation' through their isolation and lack of power in Thunder Bay; they wanted an accessible society and thus joined forces with one another. Indeed, once these young people created HAGI and successfully engaged in what Mauss calls "resource management," they were on their way to influencing change in their city.[258] For Mauss, resource management involves having a strong leadership and membership, which can be mobilized to pursue a common goal - in this case an accessible city - through tactics and strategies aimed at reversing a particular situation. These efforts can involve lobbying politicians, raising money, getting media attention, and engaging in demonstrations/protests, which the HAGI did in the 1970s, 1980s and early '90s.[259] Much of this activity was led by a dedicated cadre of disabled leaders, such as Koivisto, Bellavance, Ross, Buchan and Ward.

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[254] Ibid.
[255] Mauss, *Social Problems*, 17.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 122; Mauss, *Social Problems*, 56.
[259] Ibid.

Mauss argues that leaders of social movements typically come from the middle class and from people in positions where they have greater ability to express their opinions in society.[260] In HAGI's case, the leaders all possessed some form of post-secondary education, which gave them the social mobility and skills to engage in the disability rights movement. They also demonstrated the three different kinds of leadership styles including: charismatic, rational-legal and traditional. The first style of leadership seeks to "inspire and theorize for a movement," especially in the initial stages; the second style is usually demonstrated by the bureaucratic and salaried employees of an organization.[261] Finally, the last type of leadership style is the succession process where new leaders take over.[262]

"Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" explores how disabled people in Thunder Bay and NWO sought to become citizens in an emancipatory environment. Pothier and Devlin observe that North American societies are boastful about being "bastions of liberty, equality and inclusion."[263] They note that, while many people in North America "enjoy a high standard of living and quality of life," there are problems with people "shar[ing] equally in the good life or feel[ing] adequately included."[264] PWD in Canada are one such group who have experienced "coercion, marginalization, and social exclusion."[265] Various methods ostensibly designed to address the inequality, such as "charity" and "welfarism," are likely to have contributed to the problem.[266]

[260] Mauss, *Social Problems*, 52-55.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Pothier and Devlin, "Introduction," 1.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.

As a result of a "system of deep structural, economic, social, political, legal and cultural inequality," Pothier and Devlin argue that disabled people experience "unequal citizenship" or a "regime of dis-citizenship."[267] In regards to citizenship, the authors outline both "formal" citizenship, such as possessing voting rights and a passport, and "substantive" citizenship, which is considerably broader.[268] In substantive citizenship, one must be able to "participate fully in all institutions of society" and not only those that relate to the political realm; it must include the "social" and "cultural."[269] Furthermore, citizenship is something that extends beyond "individual status," it is a "practice that locates an individual in the larger community."[270] This leads to questions about "accessibility" and "participation," "exclusion and inclusion," "rights and obligations."[271] Pothier and Devlin raise the example of T. Hammer's concept of the "denizens," which refers to guest workers in such countries as Germany who possess certain rights, but denied others.[272] The example is contrasted against the experience of disabled people who are shown to have been "denied formal and/or substantive citizenship" and have fallen to the position of "dis-citizens," which is "a form of citizenship minus, a disabling citizenship."[273] The authors argue that new ways to analyze disability are needed and propose a critical disability theory that promotes "inclusiveness" and more power to PWD.[274] Indeed, part of the "powerlessness" that PWD have experienced stems from the difficulty liberalism has had in "dealing with disability."[275] Some of these efforts have resulted in viewing disability as a

[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid., 1-2.
[271] Ibid., 2.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid.

"misfortune," and holding up "normalcy over the abnormal."[276] Thus, Critical Disability Theory is designed to attack the "assumptions and presumptions" in order for PWD to have "full… participation" in our society.[277] One of these assumptions is the hegemonic physical and social environment that prevents disabled people from accessing various parts of their community.

Several disability and sociology scholars have discussed the concept of a barrier-free society and how such a system can further contribute to integrating disabled people into an accessible community. In Tom Shakespeare's 2006 critique of the social model of disability and its neglect of the bodily experience of impairment, he outlines how the notion that "universal design can liberate all" may be an overly idealistic dream in that it "may be impossible to create one environment which is accessible for all potential users."[278] Shakespeare expounds on the fact that 'universal design' could "create conflict when aggregated; and, to illustrate, he discusses how wheelchair users need "level access," but that some people with mobility impairments may find "steps…safer and easier…than ramps."[279] Peter Freund also notes that "limitations of the body" (impairments) provide restrictions even in barrier-free spaces, but that the goal is to produce such spaces that can be "comfortably used by the widest range of bodies possible."[280] In an "ideal barrier-free world," Shakespeare states disabled people would be able to not only have access to their own personal homes, but those of their friends.[281] A "barrier-free environment" with mobility devices reduces the difficulty some disabled people would have navigating an environment, but some would still be "confined" to the domestic realm.[282] Shakespeare even

[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and*, 46
[279] Ibid.
[280] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 704.
[281] Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and*, 48.
[282] Ibid.

argues that specific types of impairment may best be suited to a segregated environment, and gives the example of people with autism working in environments with less interaction.[283] Shakespeare reveals that "the implications of creating a fully accessible society are very far reaching" and involve multiple areas.[284] While not speaking ill of "barrier removal in practice," he believes that at the "theoretical level, the barrier-removal solution to disability does not fully succeed."[285] In 2019, Ontario is still working towards the goal in the *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (AODA; 2005) for a a fully accessible province by 2025. However, it is likely that the multiple challenges presented by meeting the accessibility requirements of so many types and variations of disability will still leave some people disadvantaged. Thus, Freund's postulation of meeting the access needs of the greatest number of disabled people seems reasonable until a time when society is able to create a fully barrier-free society.

Freund and Imrie outline the requirements and possibilities for a barrier-free community. Freund believes that one way to reconcile the social model of disability with the body is through recognizing the "spatial and temporal macro- and micro-geographical contexts in which movement is organized and mind-bodies function."[286] This is important since divorcing impairment (body experience of disability) from disability (social construction) results in the inability to fully understand disabled peoples' lives. Indeed, people of varying impairments have something in common as they "will most likely find themselves segregated and sequestered in either institutional or domestic spaces."[287] This is a result of what Imrie calls "design apartheid"

[283] Ibid., 49.
[284] Ibid., 48.
[285] Ibid., 49.
[286] Freund, "Bodies, Disability and," 689.
[287] Ibid., 690.

or "building form and design…inscribed with the values of an able-bodied society."[288] This model has been a common feature of western civilization and has been disabling PWD as it was "never designed…for a wide range of bodily difference."[289] Thus, the built environment contains "able-bodied values" that "legitimize oppressive and discriminatory practices against disabled persons purely on the basis that they have physical and/or mental impairments."[290] Having been perpetuated for centuries, this design will take years to rectify. Complicit in this 'design apartheid' are the architects and design professionals who produce the above environments.

In turn, Imrie argues for an "emancipatory architecture" through such approaches as universal design and acknowledges that western governments have taken measures, especially since the 1980s, in changing the built environment and public policies to produce "enabling" environments.[291] This is important because Freund states that the "lack of accessibility and mobility are, at least to some extent, a function of the design of space…"[292] As a result, scholars need to examine the "material organization of everyday life (workplaces) and spaces in which life actions are carried out (public spaces)."[293] Doing so can bridge the divide between the social model of disability and the experience of impairment through asking such questions as: "what bodies can function in a particular context" and "what types of structures can accommodate the widest range of bodies?"[294] Also, bodies can be grouped together in that "many bodies, not just a few bodies, share some problems with disabling design and spatial organization etc."[295] These

[288] Rob Imrie, "Oppression, Disability and Access in the Built Environment," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 129.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid., 130, 140, 144.
[292] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 690.
[293] Ibid., 691.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid., 692.

individuals have a completely different experience maneuvering when "socio-spatial modifications" are in place.[296] Freund describes 'socio material' space as the "medium in which people act, intersect, move, and locate themselves;" it is not neutral and he calls for a "movement based space" to liberate disabled people.[297] They need to be liberated as the city is full of "physical barriers to movement," which constantly reminds them that they do not belong.[298] Hence, in Pothier and Devlin's words, they become "dis-citizens."[299] However, "hospitable spaces" often lead to "focal points of resistance."[300] To this end, spatial organization needs to lead to non-disabling spaces or a "fully accessible society where the main feature would be the universal recognition that all structures have to be built and all activities have to be organized for the widest ranges of human abilities."[301] The above was/is a major core tenet of HAGI's activism, and allows for greater integration of disabled people into society.

"Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" integrates a wide range of sources including archival and oral history to provide different perspectives on how disability activism started and how PWD built an accessible city and region in Thunder Bay and NWO. The importance of oral history in this study is critical and although the source has been criticized for being "subjective" and for its currency, memory, tending to be fragile, the advantages of using it outweigh the negatives.[302] The author used oral history to help fill in the blanks where typical archival sources were lacking, and to also empower the local disability community to share authority. Oral history provides for a collaborative relationship, and the author sought to ensure that interviewees played

[296] Ibid., 693.
[297] Ibid., 694.
[298] Ibid., 700.
[299] Pothier and Devlin, "Introduction," 1-2.
[300] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 701.
[301] Ibid., 705.
[302] Donald A. Ritchie, "Introduction: The Evolution of Oral History," in the *Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed., Donald Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

an "active" part through all phases of the project.[303] With this said, there are always power relations present; hence, the author guided his use of oral history by following the core principles of "respect" and a refusal "not to exploit" interviewees.[304]

Eleven people, of which nine are/were physically disabled, were interviewed for this project between March 2017 and November of 2017 through a semi-structured approach where the interviewees shared in the power dynamics by having access to what was included and excluded in the dissertation. In both the *Oxford Handbook of Oral History* and the *Canadian Oral History Reader*, proper methodology for setting up and conducting oral histories is laid out. Oral history is a multi-layered process; in fact, as oral historian Mary Kay Quinlan states "every aspect of an oral history…affects the intense relationship that develops between those engaged in the interview."[305] While trying to meet as much of the set out criteria as possible, this author candidly reveals that improvements are always possible. Prior to conducting the interviews, a concerted effort was made to learn as much about the topic and context as possible. This helped to keep the interviews moving and showed interviewees that the author was serious about the project.[306] A comfortable interview setting was chosen in consultation with each interviewee to ensure people were "put at ease" as much as possible.[307] Interviewees were asked a series of 40 pre-selected questions based on the theme of each chapter (pre-1970s inaccessible environment, housing, transportation, NWO region, and sports/recreation). Often the questions served as a

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[303] Ibid., 13.
[304] See: Stacey Zembrzycki, "Sharing Authority with Baba," in *the Canadian Oral History Reader*, eds., Kristina R. Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Nolan Reilly (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 54-55; Nancy Janovicek, "Oral History and Ethical Practice after TCPS2," in *the Canadian Oral History Reader*, eds., Kristina R. Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Nolan Reilly (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 77; Mary Kay Quinlan, "The Dynamics of Interviews," in the *Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed., Donald Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27.
[305] Quinlan, "The Dynamics of Interviews," 26.
[306] Ibid., 29-30.
[307] Ibid., 28, 31.

guide allowing for follow-up questions to be asked that organically shifted the interview in new directions. Interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewees and written transcripts were made of each interview.

In his 1998 article "What makes oral history different," Alessandro Portelli speaks of how oral history is "useful," especially for historians studying "nonhegemonic classes."[308] But, as Portelli notes, its use is "firmly in the hands of the historian."[309] Indeed, oral history is "not a value-free process;" thus, to help give greater power to interviewees, the way their words were used in the dissertation were shared with them and changes were made where applicable.[310] Karen Hirsch, a contributor to the 1998 *Oral History Reader*, calls on disability activists to "advocate for oral history projects" so that the disability community may have histories that attest to their experiences.[311] In turn, "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" gets the actual words of many of the disabled people and their allies who played a part in this history so that the reader can more fully appreciate their efforts. Hirsch's article was written in 1998 when disability history was just emerging; thus, her call for disability oral history dovetailed with a need to include disability history in the academy. In subsequent years, several scholars in the U.S. and Canada have employed oral history: Fred Pelka's 2012 *What We Have Done: An Oral History of the Disability Rights Movement*, Dustin Galer's 2012 "Disabled Capitalists," and Ravi Malhotra and Morgan Rowe's 2013 *Exploring Disability Identity and Disability Rights through Narratives: Finding A Voice of their Own*.[312]

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[308] Alessandro Portelli, "What makes oral history different," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds., Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998), 64, 72.
[309] Ibid., 72.
[310] Quinlan, "The Dynamics of Interviews," 35.
[311] Karen Hirsch, "Culture and disability: The Role of Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds., Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998), 220-221.
[312] Fred Pelka, *What We Have Done: An Oral History of the Disability Rights Movement* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); Ravi Malhotra & Morgan Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity and*

Malhotra and Rowe's work is particularly applicable to this study because similar themes were elicited from the 12 PWDs interviewed for that study, such as their life experiences dealing with barriers in education, transportation, and gendered expectations. These experiences were documented to determine "whether an advocacy identity helps or hinders dealing with systemic barriers for disabled people in education employment and transportation."[313] "Get the Disabled Out of Their Closets" seeks to follow a similar narrative approach to oral history. The 11 interviewees were located through word of mouth and selected according to their involvement with the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and the region. It is acknowledged that the most prominent people from the movement still living were sought out, and only three of the people interviewed are womn. However, one person of indigenous background, a wife of a HAGI leader and, and a medical provider were interviewed to allow for a nuanced account. The focus on HAGI leaders is necessary to provide a foundational study. Also where possible, "Get the Disabled Out Of Their Closets" attempts to critically analyze the relationship between PWD in leadership positions in the local disability rights movement with those in less powerful positions, such as HAGI tenants in One Fifty Castlegreen, and indigenous PWD in the region.

Complementing the oral history sources are an abundance of archival sources. A variety of Thunder Bay and regional newspapers were used including: the *Chronicle Journal* (1972-2018), The *Fort William Times-Journal* (1970-1972), the *Port Arthur News-Chronicle* (1970-1972), The *Times-News* (1975-1996), the *Lakehead Living*/*Thunder Bay Post*/*Thunder Bay Source* (1973-2018), the *Stirring Giant* (1970-1974), the *Times Star*, the *Kenora Daily Miner*, the *Fort Frances Times*, the *Atikokan Progress*, and the Lakehead University newspaper the

Disability Rights Through Narratives: Finding a Voice of Their Own (New York: Routledge, 2014); Galer, "Disabled Capitalists."

[313] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, inside cover.

Argus. Besides these newspapers select articles from the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* are also included to provide a provincial perspective on developments in the disability rights movement. Collections in national, provincial, and municipal archives were utilized. The list is available in the bibliography, but in relation to the municipal realm, records from the City of Thunder Bay, Lakehead University, the Planning Council, HAGI (their organizational records are located at 1201 Jasper Dr.), OMOD, CPA, the OMDI, and NILS were used. The autobiographies of PWD proved to be valuable sources, such as Mary Sereda's (1974) *Wheels Are My Feet*, George Maycock's (1980) *The Happy Handicap*, Thadeus Weiss' (2014) *A Prison Within: An Account of Personal Tragedy and Recovery* and David Shannon's (2006) *The Six Degrees of Dignity*. Finally, various municipal, national, and provincial magazines/newsletters are integrated throughout the study, such as the CPA's/Spinal Cord Injuries' *Caliper* (1970-1992; national), *Outspoken!* (1975-1992; Ontario), *CPA Connection* (1980s; Thunder Bay), and the OMOD *Advocate* (1970-1992; Ontario). These various sources allow for a diversity of views to be contrasted and compared: organizational, governmental, regional, and individual.

The dissertation has six chapters, which focus on the pre-1970s inaccessible environment, accessible housing (two chapters), accessible transportation, the NWO region and division in the disability rights movement, and accessible sports/recreation. Chapter One looks at how the early 1970s was a pivotal time period for the disability rights movement (physical disability) in Thunder Bay and northwestern Ontario (NWO) as it marked the shift away from charity, institutionalization, and disability social clubs to organized grassroots disability activism at the municipal, provincial, and national levels led by HAGI. Chapters two and three examine the HAGI's grassroots efforts in acquiring financial support and agreements from all three levels of government and a host of other local organizations to develop one of HAGI's first major

achievements, providing large scale accessible housing, rehabilitation, and support services for the city and region's disabled through the Castlegreen projects in the mid to late 1970s. The HAGI spent the next two decades increasing housing options and developing attendant care and other resources so that disabled people could live independently in the city.

Chapter four discusses the development of HAGI's parallel accessible transportation system, called HAGI-Transit, in 1975. Accessible transportation had a liberating effect on the city's disabled. However, maintaining the system was not without its problems as the HAGI overcame a series of financial, employee, and legal challenges that nearly quashed the initiative several times in the late 1970s. Through the work of HAGI leaders along with individual members, HAGI-Transit survived and professionalized itself in the late 1970s, expanding into the greater NWO region in the 1980s and '90s. Chapter five looks at the various attempts by the HAGI to push into the NWO region and make the towns/cities accessible. By the early 1980s, the creation of PUSH North West led to regional conferences, which spurred the establishment of regional disability consumer organizations. With dozens of organizations created, the HAGI helped them to develop accessibility access plans and even directly ran some services, such as Manitouwadge's Handi-Transit. However, as HAGI shifted into a service provider, it saw PUSH North West split from it and turn into a powerful disability advocacy organization for the region. Chapter five also analyzes disabled women's activism in the region, which emerged in in this period. Lastly, chapter six examines how throughout the 1970s and '80s, the HAGI created a sporting and recreation culture in both Thunder Bay and the NWO region. This culture enriched the lives of PWD and integrated them into the community; the culture was most epitomized by the annual disabled sporting events and the fully accessible Wilderness Discovery Camp.

CH. 1: "'Not Interested in Being Happy Handicaps': People with Physical Disabilities Living in an Inaccessible Fort William and Port Arthur and the Origins of the HAGI, 1927-1972"[314]

The early 1970s was a pivotal time period for the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and northwestern Ontario (NWO) as it marked the shift away from charity, institutionalization, and disability social clubs, such as the Happy Handicapped Club (known locally as the Happy Handicaps) to organized grassroots disability activism at the municipal, provincial, and national levels. This advocacy was aimed at breaking down barriers to community accessibility in Port Arthur and Fort William (locally called the twin cities). It was led first by the Lakehead Social Planning Council (the Planning Council), from 1970 to 1972, and then the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI), from August 1972 onwards.[315] Prior to the HAGI, PWD (persons with disabilities) in the twin cities struggled to navigate the physically inaccessible environment. Although members of the Happy Handicaps engaged in informal and piecemeal activism before the 1970s, these efforts failed to make sustained progress in breaking down barriers in the ableist environment. These earlier efforts were hindered due to structural disadvantages; however, to some disabled activists of the post-1970s era, there was a tendency to undervalue the pre-1970s activities and to downplay their own privileges and the favourable circumstances that allowed them to charter new ground. Indeed, the activism of the early 1970s resulted in the establishment of the HAGI, which became the lynchpin in developing

[314] Quote taken from the article: Marcel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb 1976, 12. The authors refer to disabled young people, such as Koivisto, Nisbet, and Bellavance not wanting to simply rely on the older Happy Handicapped Club (a social and recreation organization created in 1949), but to actively fight for disabled rights.

[315] The HAGI originally started as the Handicapped Action Group (HAG) in August of 1972. They became incorporated in 1975 and changed their name to the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI).

a transit system (HAGI-Transit), accessible housing (the Castlegreen projects), and other services that provided the early framework for an accessible city.

It must be noted that many disability activists of the 1970s who spear-headed the growth in disability rights and accessibility in the Lakehead were educated disabled young people in their late teens and 20s. These young people included David (Dave) Koivisto, Terry Bellevance, Ron Ross, Gaston Bolduc, Joe Ward, and Susan Ward (née Nisbet) and refused to be 'Happy Handicaps,' instead wanting to be independent disabled consumers. To break down barriers for disabled people, they built relationships locally, provincially, and nationally. They also had help from a long-time disabled city councillor, Dr. Edward Anten, who acted as a bridge between Thunder Bay City Council and the HAGI in the early 1970s. Although the disability rights movement achieved successes in regards to setting up their organization, they needed sustained funds for accessible housing and transit (outlined in subsequent chapters). Prior to these services, there were some initial problems that plagued the group including lack of funding, bureaucratic gridlock, and public ignorance on disability. However, these young people did the best they could through government grants, service group donations, fundraising, volunteer help, and simple perseverance to narrow the gap.

Disability Prior to the HAGI: Inaccessibility, Paternalism, Institutionalism, and the Happy Handicap Club, 1927-1972

The twin cities of the Lakehead, like other Canadian cities, were steeped in an ableist mindset prior to the 1970s. During this time, disability rights were characterized by the medical model, which emphasized a charity, institutional, and paternalistic approach to dealing with those who had a physical disability. PWD were often cared for by their parents (with very little government assistance) or sent to institutions, such as hospitals or homes for the aged, as society

was ill-prepared to meet their needs. The experiences of George Maycock and Mary Sereda, PWD born in the late 1920s and living in the area in subsequent decades helps deconstruct the difficulties that ableism and an inaccessible community placed on these individuals prior to the existence of a disability rights advocacy organization in the area. Maycock (cerebral palsy) and Sereda (spina bifida) developed their conditions through birth. Rehabilitation services were limited in this era. In the post-World War II (WWII) period, physically disabled people had the option of attending rehabilitation hospitals, such as Lyndhurst (Toronto) and Deer Lodge (Winnipeg). It was not until 1959 that Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre (Lakehead Rehab) opened in Port Arthur. For Maycock and Sereda, little in the way of supports and resources existed and they along with others often relied on family or institutional support or else simply left to their own devices. The major emphasis from professionals, churches, social agencies, and service groups in this time period was on paternalistic recreation. This mindset was most clearly seen through the creation of the Happy Handicaps in 1949. For its first 20 years, the organization, run by the able-bodied auxiliary, provided the main source of social and recreational activities for disabled people in the city. Although some informal activism was witnessed through individual members of the Happy Handicaps, large scale attempts at systemic change did not occur until the early 1970s when the Planning Council and the HAGI began addressing society's perception of disability and how to break down aspects of an inaccessible city.

While some Canadian disability organizations and laws were created after World War I (WWI), the post-WWII period saw a significant increase in support organizations in relation to physical disabilities. In spite of this growth, the medical model (perspective) of disability overshadowed a rights based approach to disability. Aldred Neufeldt notes that the period between the 1930s and 1945 saw the establishment of the "foundation of services for disabled

persons."[316] A growing cadre of medical professionals, some limited public funding for institutions, and a dedicated volunteer base created the early impetus for disabled people to re-integrate into Canadian society. However, there was an "uneven distribution of services," which prevented many PWD from fully realizing re-integration.[317] Mary Tremblay reveals that after WWII, Canadian disabled veterans, medical professionals, and government officials fashioned a "revolution in the management of spinal cord injury," which gave veterans a higher chance at successfully re-entering society after their injuries.[318] The Canadian Paraplegic Association (CPA), established by spinal cord injured veterans in 1945, took charge of early advocacy to help veterans acquire wheelchairs, hand controls for automobiles, and in pushing for generous veterans' laws.[319] Veterans from both WWI and WWII, such as John Counsell (1912-1976; co-founder of the CPA), Edward Dunlop (1919-1981; Canadian National Institute for the Blind official and Ontario MPP from 1963-1971), and Edward Baker (1893-1968; long-time managing director of the CNIB) collaborated with various levels of government, medical professionals, and non-profit organizations to lay the initial groundwork for rehabilitation programs and laws for disabled people.[320] Indeed, the first 20 years after WWII saw many provincial and federal disability laws and programs including the *Veterans Charter* (a hodgepodge of disabled veterans acts and programs), the *Medical Rehabilitation Grant* (1953), the *Disabled Persons Allowance*

[316] Aldred Neufeld, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Perspective," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 35.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Mary Tremblay, "The Canadian Revolution in the Management of Spinal Cord Injury," *CBMH* 12, no. 1 (1995): 125-155; Mary Tremblay, "Going Back to Civvy Street: a historical count of the impact of the Everest and Jennings wheelchair for Canadian World War II veterans with spinal cord injury," *Disability and Society* 11, no. 2 (1996): 149-169.
[319] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 31-32; Tremblay, "Going Back to Civvy," 149-169.
[320] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 18.

Act (1954), the *Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons* program (VRPD; 1961), and the *Coordination of Rehabilitation Services Act* (1961) etc.[321]

After WWII, disabled veterans in the Lakehead were keen to distinguish themselves from disabled civilians and to distance themselves from disability advocacy organizations. Being the predominant post-WWII physical disability organization in Canada, the CPA, with help from the federal Veterans Affairs Department, set up operations and rehabilitation hospitals in a handful of Canadian cities during the 1940s and '50s – Toronto, Winnipeg, Ste. Anne de Bellevue (near Montreal) and Vancouver. The Lakehead was excluded and instead tied to the CPA Western Branch headquartered in Winnipeg.[322] It was not until late 1984 that a local CPA branch was opened in Thunder Bay. Prior to this, disabled veterans in the twin cities did not push for a local CPA branch nor did they take the initiative to set up an independent disability advocacy organization as they did not want to advertise their disabilities and thus compromise their masculinity.[323] This followed the pattern of the founders and early leading figures of the CPA, such as Counsel, Ken Langford, and T.A. Mann; in fact, it was not until 1959 that the CPA's official newsletter the *Caliper* began calling for changes in order to remove barriers in Canadian society as opposed to 'overcoming' them.[324] As maintaining one's masculinity in society was something veterans held dear, any behaviour on their part that drew attention to a disability was something to be avoided at all costs.[325]

[321] Ibid.
[322] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 39-40; See: Marian Patterson Holleman, *From Darkness into Light: The Founding of the Canadian Paraplegic Association* (Toronto: Canada Paraplegic Association, 1991), 33-35, 65-66.
[323] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 10-13.
[324] Tremblay, "Going Back to," 163.
[325] Ibid., 149-169.

Thus, in Thunder Bay, veterans sought to integrate quickly into the community. Some had a longer stay in a rehabilitation facility, such as the CPA's Lyndhurst Lodge (Toronto) or Deer Lodge (Winnipeg). Once in the community, they shied away from advocacy.[326] According to Gwyneth Workman, one of the first supervisors of the local Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) Vocational Rehabilitation program in the 1970s and one of the able-bodied women who first organized disabled young people in Thunder Bay into the Planning Council, local rehabilitated disabled veterans saw "no advantage in joining [disability] groups" as they believed they had "overcome their disabilities despite tremendous odds and without the help of an organization."[327] Additionally, Workman found that local disabled veterans did not "feel that belonging to a group [would] be an advantage to them."[328] A further point which confirms this state of affairs comes from an informal meeting between Workman and the then-president of an Ottawa disability rights advocacy group who shared his experience of having invited a disabled veteran to his group in the early 1970s. The veteran responded to the official that he did not "want to associate with all those cripples."[329] By using a world like "cripple," a binary was created which fostered distinctions among disabled people, and fractured attempts to unify a common disability rights movement. This distinction between civilians and veterans with disabilities has been clearly documented in Tremblay's work on the integration of both disabled veterans and civilians back into Canadian society. Disabled veterans often considered themselves superior to their disabled civilian peers.[330] This sense of superiority was re-enforced through

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[326] Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries*, 1945-1998 (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 3-8; 57.
[327] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 12.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey L. Hudson, "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society – The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970," *Disability and Society* 20, no. 2 (March 2005): 103-116; Mary Tremblay, "Going Back to Main Street: The Development and Impact of Casualty Rehabilitation for Veterans with Disabilities, 1945-1948," in *The Veterans*

federal policies, such as the *Veterans' Charter*, which granted veterans multiple post-war privileges and services as compared to disabled civilians.[331] Nonetheless, "a new breed of handicapped persons," the majority being educated and between the ages of 18-30, laid the ground work for disability rights advocacy and accessible communities in Canadian cities, including Thunder Bay during the 1970s.[332]

The twin cities experienced some growth in disability organizations and services in the post-WWII years, but much of the emphasis focused on the rehabilitation of PWD. Firstly, there was work done in attending to the needs of children with disabilities, especially those with cerebral palsy. A Parent's Council and then a local Easter Seals Society were created in the first half of the 20th century. The Cerebral Palsy Parents Council then joined forces with the Kiwanis Club to create the JB Larway Cerebral Palsy School in Fort William in 1948. Later in 1961, a Crippled Children's Centre was incorporated and this morphed into the Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre (NWOCCC) in 1969. Individuals such as Susan Nisbet, who grew up with cerebral palsy in the 1950s, spent time in the Crippled Children's Centre and Easter Seals Society in their youth.[333] This pattern of parental involvement, especially mothers of children with disabilities, confirms the work of Veronica Strong-Boag and Melanie Panitch, who

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Charter and Post-World War II Canada, eds., Jack Granatstein and Peter Neary (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 160-178; Mary Tremblay, "Lieutenant John Counsell and the Development of Medical Rehabilitation and Disability Policy in Canada," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, ed., David Gerber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 322-346; Tremblay, "The Canadian Revolution in," 125-155; Tremblay, "Going Back to Civvy," 149-169; Mary Tremblay, "Living with disability: The early pioneers. A life history account of the experience of disabled veterans and civilians with spinal cord injury before 1967 who lived in the community in Ontario," (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1993).

[331] Peter Neary, *On To Civvy Street: Canada's Rehabilitation Program for Veterans of the Second World War* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill and Queen's University Press, 2011); Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein, eds., *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

[332] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 12.

[333] "Tramin Backs New Children's Centre," *Atikokan Progress*, January 26, 2009, accessed 15 Oct 2018, http://atikokanprogress.ca/2009/01/26/tramin-backs-new-childrens-centre/; "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.

highlight the influential support these "allies" contributed to disabled people. Panitch's study refers to them as 'accidental activists' for disability rights.[334] Dustin Galer reveals that much of this family advocacy was done by families of a European, middle class, and urban background, especially the "leadership of many parents' groups."[335]

The Ontario March of Dimes (OMOD), formed in Toronto in 1951, primarily focused on finding a cure for the poliomyelitis virus and providing rehabilitative support to those dealing with post-polio complications.[336] While marching mothers raised money in NWO during the 1950s, the OMOD did not establish a major presence in the area until 1961 with the establishment of the Rehabilitation Industries (Lakehead) Incorporated Sheltered Workshop in Port Arthur.[337] According to Alice Bellavance, several disabled men who had post-polio complications or spinal cord injuries through accidents stood out in the early years. Bellavance "[does not] recall ever meeting a [disabled] vet," but outlined how disabled men, such as Stuart Kirkup and Gary Lysak, who "developed polio as an adolescent or a young adult," were "some of the mentors for people like my husband [Terry] and Ron [Ross] and Dave [Koivisto] because there were a few, there weren't a lot, but there were a few."[338] These men had "strong supportive families" and were "still able to get their education;" for instance, Kirkup became a draftsman and Lysak a life insurance salesman.[339] These individuals worked at "self-employment or some

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[334] Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Forgotten People of all the Forgotten': Children with Disabilities in English Canada from the Nineteenth Century to the New Millennium," in *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*, eds., Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong Boag (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 36; Melanie Panitch, *Disability, Mothers, and Organizations: Accidental Activists* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2.
[335] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 35, 39, 43.
[336] "March of Dimes running needs assessment survey," *Thunder Bay Post*, July 27, 1993, 5. The OMOD was originally called the Canadian Foundation for Poliomyelitics.
[337] Kris Ketonen, "The March Continues: MOD Marks 50th Anniversary," *Chronicle Journal*, June 22, 2001, A4.
[338] "Alice Bellavance."
[339] Ibid.

other form of employment so that they could design and build a barrier free house, they had cars with hand controls [too.]"[340] In a sense, they mirrored the philosophy of disabled veterans in other cities through a sort of 'perseverance of the will' attitude. The OMOD's presence in the area grew larger after 1961 when it started a sheltered workshop that relied on government VRPD funding. Its mission was to train and employ physically disabled people who were not as accomplished as Kirkup and Lysak in a variety of skills, but at substantially under market wages. Rehabilitation services in the twin cities received a boost in 1959 when the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre at St. Joseph's Hospital opened in Port Arthur. It was the region's first rehabilitation hospital and the "only one of its kind between Winnipeg and Sault Ste. Marie."[341] The Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre was not directly tied to the CPA or OMOD although referrals were given. Many local PWD, such as people with spinal cord injuries, continued their rehabilitation at Lyndhurst since it was the country's most advanced centre. By the 1970s, Geoffrey Reaume notes that Lyndhurst staff "followed [ex-patients] out into Toronto, Thunder Bay, Ottawa" etc. in order to set them up with the services they needed to re-integrate into the community.[342]

Being physically disabled in the Lakehead and NWO in the first half of the 20th century could be very isolating until the Happy Handicaps was created in the city in 1949. As the name suggests, this group was not so much interested in disability activism as it was in creating a social environment for PWD. This is not surprising, as Lisa Vanhala argues that prevailing

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[340] Ibid.
[341] "Centre Helps Handicapped Help Themselves," *Chronicle Journal*, December 15, 1972, 19; David Kendall, "Pain may mean hope for injured teen rugby play: Athlete fighting to beat paralysis," *Toronto Sun*, September 28, 1981; Susan Craig, "Rugby mishap paralyzed him man tells trial," *Toronto Star*, April 17, 1985; Ian Hutchinson, "A Christmas Story: His son comes homes," *Mississauga News*, December 22, 1981; "A Fluke Accident," *Toronto Star*, October 30, 1981; "Girl's love saved him paralyzed man says," *Chronicle Journal*, November 26, 1981.
[342] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 146.

attitudes towards PWD held them as "helpless, defined by their impairments, and objects of pity or charity."[343] They were also excluded from leadership roles in the above groups. Social and recreational needs for PWD developed in part through the work of William Nightingale, an able-bodied man, who wanted a social group for his physically disabled wife Edna. Nightingale moved to Canada from England in 1912 and settled in Toronto. He enlisted overseas for WWI and eventually moved to Fort William in 1939 where he worked at the Canada Car Plant (until 1945), and the Great Lakes Paper Company until his retirement in 1958. Nightingale married Edna on December 5th, 1940, and the two became involved in local service clubs and Wesley United Church.[344] Edna experienced paraplegia as a result of a boating accident in 1942 and after witnessing the difficulties his wife and other disabled people in the area had with being shut-in, Nightingale acted.[345] He organized a picnic at the home of Jack and Cora Manery of North McIntyre Township just outside the twin cities, which became the charter meeting of the Happy Handicaps. Manery was a former tailor operating a successful shop for a number of years in Port Arthur; once retired, he bought the piece of property in North McIntyre and became a farmer and the group's first patron.[346] The meeting was small with only eight people in attendance; however, after word got out, it grew to include both able-bodied (in an auxiliary) and disabled including Fred Farwell (St. John's Ambulance), Gerry Siddall, Phyllis Forneri, Rev. Russ Peden, Rose Maycock, George Maycock, Ethel Cook, Frances Bruton, Evelyn Halliday, Dorothy Davis, Edna

[343] Lisa Vanhala, "Meaning Frames, Opportunity Structures, and Rights in the Canadian Disability Rights Movement," in *Group Politics and Social Movements in Canada 2nd ed*., ed., Miriam Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 306.
[344] "William Nightingale obituary," *Daily Times-Journal*, December 21, 1964, 3, 28; "William Nightingale obituary," *News-Chronicle*, December 21, 1964, 2; "Edna Nightingale obituary," *Chronicle Journal*, June 7, 1996, B15.
[345] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 105.
[346] "Jack Manery," *News Chronicle*, February 7, 1958, 3; "McIntyre Farmer Dies," *Daily Times-Journal*, February 7, 1958, 3; "Deaths – Manery," *News-Chronicle*, March 28, 1964, 22.

Nightingale, and Gwen Evans.[347] Needing more space, the group moved to a new location, a local church, and received start up help from area service groups and local businessmen.

Churches, service groups, and local business leaders were some of the first external supporters of the Happy Handicaps. Initially, it was Trinity United Church and St. Paul's Anglican Church that offered their facilities for a permanent meeting spot. The Happy Handicaps chose the former offer from Reverend Russell Peden as the building was fairly accessible; they moved to Trinity United in downtown Port Arthur in late October 1949. With permanent meeting facilities in place, the group appealed to the public for medical and transit assistance to and from meetings. St. John's Ambulance provided medical care and the Lion's Club set up a voluntary transportation service.[348] Historian Roy Hanes' work on service groups in late 19th and early 20th centuries and their relation to disability attests to the critical help they provided. Indeed, many of these groups, such as the Rotary Club, saw helping those less fortunate as a "Christian duty."[349] Hanes also notes how reluctance from the province of Ontario to support disabled people, other than through institutionalization, fostered a niche for service groups during this time.[350] As well, the involvement of service groups and churches fits into Neufeldt's periodization as the start of what he calls the first "organized [disability] advocacy" (see introduction).[351] Along with service groups and churches, prominent people in the community became involved with the control of

[347] "Happy Handicap Club marks its 40th year," *Chronicle-Journal*, October 16, 1989, 17; George Maycock, *The Happy Handicap* (Thunder Bay, 1981), 33.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Roy Hanes, "Service Clubs and the Emergence of Societies for Crippled Children in Canada: The Rise of the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, 1920-1940," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 155.
[350] Roy Hanes, "The Genesis of Societies For Crippled Children in Canada And Their American Roots," in *The Routledge History of Disability*, eds., Roy Hanes, Ivan Brown, and Nancy E. Hansen (London: Routledge, 2018), 435-436.
[351] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Growth and Evolution of Disability Advocacy in Canada," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 17-18.

the group including Hugh Cook Sr. a long-time manager with London Life Insurance Company. Cook's wife Ethel was one of the first members of the Happy Handicaps. Outside of this information, few details are known about her life, which is typical of many obituaries written at this time. On the other hand, Cook established an able-bodied auxiliary where he served as the financial director until his death in 1975. Trained as a teacher, Cook was well-respected in the twin cities and served in a variety of high profile positions including Chairman of the Lakehead Board of Education, President of the Thunder Bay Branch of the Boys Clubs of Canada, Chairman of the local St. John Ambulance Association, and a member of the Lakehead University Board of Governors. Although the auxiliary supported the group through setting up meetings and fundraising, there was a paternalistic element visible as the auxiliary essentially directed the Happy Handicaps with minimal control delegated to actual disabled members.[352] Nonetheless in the 1940s, '50s and '60s, the Happy Handicaps fulfilled an important recreational need for PWD, especially since the many barriers in society prevented them from accessing other public areas of city life.

Tracy Hurlbert, diagnosed with multiple sclerosis in her early adulthood (the mid-1980s), provides important insight into the operations of the Happy Handicaps and why it thrived. Hurlbert became Co-President of the Happy Handicaps in the late-1990s and attempted to inject the group with new life, being one of the youngest members (in her early 30s). At the time, the group was struggling to stay alive and the reasons were numerous: the death of many older members, the dearth of new ones, and a funding crunch. The outcome of these factors left the group reeling and it folded in the early 2000s.[353] Hurlbert described the Happy Handicaps as:

[352] "Happy Handicap Club," 17; "Board Chairman Hugh Cook Dies," *Chronicle Journal*, May 29, 1975, 1.
[353] "Social club for disabled needs help," *Chronicle Journal*, October 16, 1999, A2.

> more of an entertainment type group. Something to make people with disabilities feel good and enjoy their lives as they are. In the ’40s your life pretty much sucked, in the ’40s and ’50s, there wasn’t a lot to do if you had a disability, and you couldn’t really go out because you’d have to have someone with you because back then there were so many barriers. So, Happy Handicaps was started to remove those barriers, for at least…for one night a month. And, we got to have entertainment. Various churches and organizations took on the role of the entertainer of the evening. Once a year they did it. So, every October it was always the Shriners and they had the Halloween party and there was nothing funnier than seeing people in their 90s dress up in Halloween costumes and going to this party. But, it was a big deal. I mean for some of these people, who grew up institutionalized and then going to a nursing home, to be able to go out that one evening be dressed up and have silly times and get trick or treats, it was a big deal and so it was nice to be a part of that and they enjoyed it so much. Our generation, my generation really wasn’t so into it.[354]

Hurlbert identifies the many barriers that prevented PWD in the 1940s and ’50s from accessing the community. The experiences of two early members of the club, namely George Maycock and Mary Sereda confirm this.

Both were born with physical disabilities in the late 1920s in the city of Fort William with Maycock spending the bulk of his life living in Port Arthur. Cerebral palsy (Maycock) is a permanent movement disorder, while spina bifida (Sereda) results in brittle bones. As a result, both of their childhoods were difficult in the sense that they could not walk and had to use wheelchairs and carts. Much of the burden of care rested on their immediate families as there was little government or organizational support. Sereda grew up with six siblings, the child of working class Ukrainian immigrants Kost and Magdeline. The Sereda’s were a hard working immigrant family with Kost employed as a section man with Canadian National Railway. Sereda’s parents had no formal education and also discouraged their children from pursuing it, preferring to teach them at home.[355] On the other hand, Maycock grew up with three siblings in

[354] “Tracy Hurlbert,” interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 March 2017.
[355] Mary Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet* (Thunder Bay: Guide Publishing and Printing, 1975), 1; “Mary Sereda dead at age 55,” *Chronicle Journal*, January 16, 1982, 3; “Sereda,” *Chronicle Journal*, January 16, 1982, 26.

the city of Port Arthur. Maycock's father Alfred worked at Saskatchewan Wheat Pool grain elevator and encouraged George to start his education early.[356] Sereda's and Maycock's diagnoses came as a shock to both families. In fact, in Sereda's case, it was life threatening as she possessed very little strength and was highly susceptible to broken bones.[357] Growing up in the 1930s, each was subjected to disparaging talk about their disabilities, which ranged from Sereda hearing conversations about how "in other countries they killed crippled children" because they were "no use" to anyone and that "children who couldn't walk should not be seen;" Maycock also admitted to "being teased by other kids."[358] This is not surprising as eugenic thought and selective immigration policies in Canada and the United States (U.S.) at the time promoted negative views of disabled people.[359] Furthermore, the publicity of the Nazi's racial and anti-disability policies in Germany in the 1930s, the prevalence of unsightly beggar ordinances in many U.S. cities, and the high profile disability newborn deaths in Chicago under Dr. Harry Haiselden in the 1910s and 1920s also stoked the discrimination and hostility experienced by some disabled children.[360] While Maycock and Sereda's experiences were distressing, both coped in their own way.

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[356] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 1, 8.
[357] Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet*, 1.
[358] Ibid., 6, 8; Bruce Langer, "Handicap's book hits the stands thanks to generosity of public," *Chronicle-Journal*, March 5, 1981, 21.
[359] See: Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990); Carolyn Strange and Jennifer Stephen, "Eugenics in Canada: A Checkered History, 1850s-1990s," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds., Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 523-38; Jen Rinaldi and Jay Dolmage, "'Of Dark Type and Poor Physique': Law, Immigration Restriction, and Disability in Canada, 1900-30," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Denyse Baillargeon, *Babies for the Nation: The Medicalization of Motherhood in Quebec, 1910-1970*, trans., W. Donald Wilson (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009); Douglas C. Baynton "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds., Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Douglas Baynton, "Defect: A Selective Reinterpretation of American Immigration History," in *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging*, eds., Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 44-64.
[360] Henry Friendlander, "The Exclusion and Murder of the Disabled," in *Social Outsiders in Nazi Germany*, eds., Robert Gellately and Nathan Stoltzfus (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 145-164; Susan Schweik, *The*

While Sereda did not receive a formal education as she was instructed at home, Maycock went to Oliver Road School in Port Arthur and experienced a plethora of barriers because of his disability. Maycock did not have a lot of options at the time as policy for disabled students was rudimentary. After Egerton Ryerson's 1867 report on Ontario's education system, it was decided that separate residential schools for the blind and deaf would be set up and funded publicly in the early 1870s. In the 1920s, prevailing eugenic opinion railed against classrooms including both disabled and able-bodied students; this resulted in special classes for the former.[361] In the mid-1930s, Maycock's mother discussed his situation with the Port Arthur School Board and the local Board of Health, and it was decided that his younger brother Gordon, although not old enough for school, would accompany him and assist him in the classroom. In order to arrive at school, Maycock relied on his mother Rose who also took him back home at the end of the day. Once at school, he entered through a back entrance with a one-step increase as opposed to the front entrance that had a five step climb. Although the school was not capable of making major changes, it tried to be as accommodating as possible. Maycock's father Alfred, at the request of the school, created a special chair for George that fit into a standard row of desks. This chair was used by Maycock until he was 10 when his father purchased a specialty chair from Toronto called a 'junior wheelchair.'[362] After Maycock finished his studies at Oliver Road, he attended Cornwall School and again dealt with architectural barriers. This time he encountered an additional five steps to enter the school, which was followed by a double flight of stairs to his

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Ugly Laws: Disability in Public (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of 'Defective' Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Toon Van Houdt, "The Imperfect Body in Nazi Germany: Ancient Concepts, Modern Technologies," in *Disability in Antiquity: Rewriting Antiquity*, ed., Christian Laes (London: Routledge, 2017), 468-480.

[361] Ravi Malhotra & Morgan Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity and Disability Rights Through Narratives: Finding a Voice of Their Own* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 11-12.

[362] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 10.

classroom. This meant that Maycock routinely missed recess and opportunities to mingle with the other students as he stayed inside due to the barriers.[363] Brad Byrom's 2006 chapter, "The Progressive Movement and the Child with Physical Disabilities" shows that the American experience of attending school at the turn of the 20th century had many similar features, such as the "near absence of accessibility features," the numerous physical barriers, the lack of adaptable equipment, and the taunts by classmates; these resulted in a "traumatizing experience" for the disabled child.[364] Architectural barriers and exclusions were something PWD regularly experienced before Canadian building standards and education laws took accessibility into account, such as the 1980 updates to the *Ontario Education Act* and the 1976 *Ontario Building Code*.[365]

Although not attending formal schools, Sereda also experienced hardships growing up in an inaccessible environment. Sereda's parents believed in practical skills; thus, she and her sister Lena, who was also disabled, were educated in homemaking skills by their mother. Since Sereda and her sister could not walk and had brittle bones, they experienced several close calls at home. For example, on one occasion while Sereda was sitting up alone, "[her] head fell backwards and [her] breathing was cut off."[366] Sereda's mother was able to rectify the situation, but "often thought that it was her fault that [the girls were disabled] and often asked God why he punished [them] and not her."[367] According to many disability scholars, including Byrom and Simi Linton,

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[363] Ibid., 8-10, 17-18.
[364] Brad Byrom, "The Progressive Movement and the Child with Physical Disabilities," in *Children with Disabilities in America: A Historical Handbook and Guide*, eds., Philip Safford, and Elizabeth Safford (London: Greenwood Press, 2006), 49, 51.
[365] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 67-68. The Education Act was modeled on the 1975 U.S. Education for Handicapped Children's Act (in 1990 it became the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act or IDEA); Barbara Yaffe, "Changes proposed in building code to meet needs of the disabled," *Globe and Mail*, November 1, 1977, 3. The *Ontario Building Code* needed another decade to strengthen its accessibility provisions.
[366] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 2.
[367] Ibid., 5.

this belief in disability as a form of God's punishment, divine affliction, or supernatural agency was a common occurrence prior to the development of modern medicine and science, which successfully challenged the older view.[368] After a while, the burden of caring for two adult disabled women was too much for Sereda's parents. By the age of 20, Sereda had spent some time in the Port Arthur General Hospital, but since she did not need acute medical attention and as she was too old for the province's 'Crippled' Children's Hospitals, the two Sereda sisters were sent to St. Patrick's Hospital in Hamilton in July of 1941. In this point in her life, the inaccessibility of Fort William and the lack of supports for disabled people left Sereda feeling like "a girl without a home."[369] This was in contrast to Maycock who, once he finished school, stayed in Port Arthur with his parents and involved himself with the Kiwanis Clinic for Cerebral Palsy. Maycock eventually settled in Dawson Court (a senior citizen's care home) in 1967 at the age of 40.[370] Unbeknownst to the Sereda sisters until after they arrived was that St. Patrick's was a psychiatric hospital. Before the girls left, their father was quite upset and according to Sereda this was because he believed he "wasn't man enough" to have his daughters at home.[371] Sereda's father believed himself to be a protective role model as the male breadwinner in the family and took the incident hard. As in Fort William, Sereda and her sisters coped with similar barriers in Hamilton complicated all the more due to the fact that the hospital was not geared towards young disabled people.

As with Maycock's experience at Oliver Road and Cornwall Schools, Sereda also experienced physical barriers and the omniscient presence of medical professionals during her

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[368] Bryom, "The Progressive Movement," 55; Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 48.
[369] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 25.
[370] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 5, 29, 42.
[371] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 23.

stay in Hamilton. Since there was no elevator, Sereda was carried up the stairs at St. Patrick's and although she received a new wheelchair, the lack of young people to interact with was disheartening. In order to cope, Sereda and her sister tried to create a lively community with staff and residents.[372] In fact, when word leaked out to a local newspaper that "two Fort William girls" were spending their first Christmas at St, Patrick's the community sent them several cards and presents.[373] This was a touching gesture, but it also reinforced how charity-type approaches were used to try to 'help' PWD before an activist disability movement developed. The community Sereda established proved effective through its friendship building. However, Mrs. Sandy, one of the nurses, quashed it by strictly limiting her movement to her room.[374] This negative experience along with the regular visits by doctors played a large part in Sereda's memories, echoing Mona Gleason's findings in her 2013 monograph *Small Matters*. Gleason shows that medical professionals held "entrenched views of children needing protection, discipline, surveillance and guidance."[375] This was even more so for children and young adults who were disabled.

Before organized disability activism in the twin cities, people like Mary Sereda and George Maycock rationalized ableism through different internalized world views, while also (in Sereda's case) engaging in informal advocacy. Sereda and Maycock had contrasting world views on ableism with Sereda taking a more pessimistic approach and Maycock an optimistic one.[376] These views did not develop in a vacuum, for Sereda tried to influence public policy through some early independent piecemeal attempts at reaching out to politicians, and then through her involvement with the Happy Handicaps once she moved back to the Lakehead in the early 1960s.

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[372] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 28-29, 31-33.
[373] Ibid., 34.
[374]Ibid., 31, 39-40.
[375] Mona Gleason, *Small Matters: Canadian Children in Sickness and Health, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 5, 8, 12.
[376] Langer, "Handicap's book hits," 21.

Hoping the results of ableism could be corrected by bringing her concerns up to influential people, Sereda often experienced disappointments. Even though she received positive responses, direct action was often lacking. To illustrate, during her stay in St. Patrick's, Sereda devoted considerable time to writing local politicians about the need for an accessible home for disabled people.[377] It was a challenging task to say the least, especially since Sereda started from scratch in finding out whom to contact and write to. In an era where little attention was devoted to disabled people, it was not surprising that Sereda felt like "no one even cared."[378] She was even more determined to fight for disability rights after visiting the children's hospital in Toronto and learning that disabled children had nowhere to go after they turned 18. This prompted her to write to the then-Prime Minister of Canada Lester B. Pearson in 1966. His response, although complementary, was very general in nature. Nonetheless, Sereda became involved in local 'handicap' clubs and Shut-In Days in Hamilton, the latter being a special day to recognize and visit PWD by community members.[379]

Maycock took a different approach than Sereda, immersing himself in the local Happy Handicaps and participating in social events instead of activist ones. In essence, he tried to make the best of his situation. In a 1981 newspaper article for Maycock's autobiography *The Happy Handicap*, he revealed the reason for writing his book, which was to "tell the other side of the handicap story."[380] This was in response to his reading of Sereda's 1975 autobiography *Wheels Are My Feet*, which he noted was "a very depressing book" in part because Sereda outlined several examples of political inaction towards disability rights.[381] Maycock's contrasting view is

[377] Sereda, *Wheels are My*, 63, 78-81.
[378] Ibid., 63.
[379] Ibid., 67-68, 70-71.
[380] Langer, "Handicap's book hits," 21.
[381] Ibid.

interesting to analyze because it seemed his purpose was to sanitize the experience of being disabled in the twin cities during the pre-1970 years. This was done by taking an overly optimistic approach in writing by looking at the positives in life and downplaying the negatives. For example, instead of focusing on disability activism or changes that needed to be undertaken for PWD, he essentially expressed appreciation for the services available and felt little need to complain. Maycock continued with the Happy Handicaps until they folded in 2000; he died in 2009 at aged 82 never really reaching out to the activist realm.[382] Sereda took on a more critical outlook while institutionalized. According to disability academic Karen Hirsch, the experience of institutionalization often leads to desires by PWD (or the "colonized people") to "free themselves from their colonizers" whom she calls the "Helping Professionals."[383] Hirsch reveals how institutions breed an "internalized state of oppression," which created "few opportunities to view their lives as rich and full of the same options that are available to others."[384] The structural disadvantages experienced by the two limited the depth and scope of disability activism in the mid-20th century as disability became entrenched in sheltered recreation activities.

As mentioned earlier, the Happy Handicaps originated just outside the twin cities in 1949 as a social get-together group for PWD; as it grew, some of its members, such as Sereda, contributed to early disability activism. Maycock was an original member of the group while Sereda joined in early 1962, after she moved back to Fort William when her family made a successful application for her residence in a city hospital (Eastern). As the group grew from its humble beginnings, it served an important social function bringing people with like-minded

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[382] "George Maycock," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary," accessed 22 Dec 2018, https://www.legacy.com/ obituaries /chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=george-r-maycock&pid=174132038&fhid=31365.
[383] Karen Hirsch, "From Colonization to Civil Rights: People with Disabilities and Gainful Employment," in *Employment, Disability, and the Americans with Disabilities Act: Issues in Law, Public Policy and Research*, ed., Peter Blanck (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 419.
[384] Ibid.

concerns together. As there was no way to know how many disabled people were in the twin cities, a publicity drive was conducted through local newspapers, which boosted membership to 25 resulting in the relocation to Trinity Unity Church.[385] Membership peaked at about 100 members in the preceding decades, with two executives; one for disabled members and the other for the able-bodied auxiliary.[386] With help from the auxiliary, the Happy Handicaps set up their *raison d'etre* – to provide disabled people in the twin cities with a social and recreation environment. This consisted of a meeting every third Wednesday at the church and separate socials, holiday events, and other outings. Along with transportation help from the Lion's Club, the Eaton's furniture truck was also used to transport people to meetings. Maycock's favourite part of the club was the monthly meetings, which consisted of peer support among members, a hardy meal, and musical entertainment provided by the church or various service clubs, such as the Lakehead Shriners, the Shriners Ladies Clubs, and the Elks Klown group. A sense of belonging was another important aspect of the Happy Handicaps. Members' birthdays were celebrated with a special table display, a theme song, called "It is no secret what God can do," was adopted and sung to open meetings, and craft sessions were also organized to foster bonds between members. Special occasions were also celebrated, such as Halloween and Christmas; Sereda dressed up as Raggedy Ann on an occasion.[387] As stated earlier by Hurlbert, these events were "a big deal" for people who "grew up institutionalized and then [went] to a nursing home."[388] The group's season concluded in June with a picnic at the Corbett Creek at the Old Kinsmen Camp a few miles outside Port Arthur in the township of Murillo. For Maycock, the

[385] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 33; Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 79, 81.
[386] "Happy Handicap Club," 17; Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 33.
[387] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 33; "Handicap Club hits 45," *Chronicle Journal*, December 16, 1994, A7; Sereda, *Wheels are My*, 84, 87; "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017.
[388] "Tracy Hurlbert."

winter months, when the group shut down, proved to be the most difficult as he "pass[ed]…most of [his] time…indoors."[389] During this time, he listened to the radio, watched hockey games, read books or reviewed his father's stamp collection.[390] According to Bellavance, Maycock's experience with the Happy Handicaps followed a similar medical view of disability, as the group was for:

> people like Mary Sereda she lived at Grandview Lodge and so there were other people like some of the high level quads like I'm thinking of Wally Presinger and you know John Kreban and Mike Prsa and some of those guys that lived at Westmount Hospital. I mean yeah they didn't have much going on for them because they were in a hospital.[391]

After she returned to the Lakehead in late 1961, Sereda quickly took a leading role in expanding outside the social role of the Happy Handicaps and into a more activist one. According to Turner and Killian's life cycle of a social movement, it can be argued that Sereda's early activist endeavours were the first phase or the initial unrest of the local disabled population.[392] Sereda's activism was, for the most part, done independently of the group. Although not formally educated, Sereda rose up the ranks to become Vice-President and then President of the Happy Handicaps all the while immersing herself to a large degree in advocating for greater changes in the life of PWD. Unfortunately, this was at a time before the heyday of the Independent Living Movement (ILM) in the 1970s and '80s. Thus, she performed this advocacy, again, from an institutional setting; first, in Eastern Hospital and then in Grandview Lodge Home for the Aged. Sereda's earlier advocacy attempts in Hamilton made her more confident to take on this role in the twin cities. Thus, along with attending all the social meetings of the group, and partaking in the annual "Shut-Ins" Days for disabled people unable to leave their homes, Sereda

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[389] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 33.
[390] Ibid; "Handicap Club hits," A7.
[391] "Alice Bellavance."
[392] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior 2nd ed*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 253.

accepted positions on the group's executive, which gave her greater duties, such as organizing regular swimming lessons at the YMCA for club members.[393] Sereda then attempted to influence disability policy. For example, in 1966 Sereda and the Happy Handicaps attended an event at the Fort William Gardens where the then-Governor General of Canada George Vanier gave a speech. Because of her position as President of the Happy Handicaps, Sereda discussed her disability concerns with Vanier and received some positive press coverage in the local newspaper. Although the Governor General was compassionate about her concerns, as Prime Minister Pearson was a few years earlier, no action was taken.[394] As Boyce et al. reveal in their analysis of the theoretical concepts for citizen participation by disabled people, the lack of the right organizational framework in place to influence policy results in limited action. Indeed, citizen participation "values the process of organizational development to achieve social integration of individuals, group cohesiveness, and common objectives;" the added element of empowerment allows minority groups to "address…inequitable power relations."[395] In Sereda's case, she attempted to re-focus the Happy Handicaps in the 1960s to empower the group, but push back from other members quashed these efforts.

Sereda's advocacy caused some discord in the Happy Handicaps, as the greater membership wanted to remain a social and recreation group as opposed to an advocacy group for disability rights. Particularly, there was a disagreement in the group over Sereda's efforts to lobby politicians to grant her a disability pension from the *Disabled Persons Allowance Act*,

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[393] Sereda, *Wheels are My*, 81, 84, 86, 94-96; Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 20, 72; Peggy Hutchison, Alison Pedlar, John Lord, Peter Dunn, Mary McGeown, Andrew Taylor, and C. Vanditelli, "The Impact of Independent Living Resource Centres in Canada on People with Disabilities," *Canadian Journal of Rehabilitation* 10, no. 2 (1997): 99-112; John Lord, *Impact: Changing the way we view disability – The history, perspective and vision of the independent living movement in Canada* (Ottawa: Independent Living Canada, 2010).
[394] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 95-96; Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 18.
[395] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 24-25.

which was a 50-50 cost sharing arrangement between the provincial and federal government that provided a small financial sum for people with permanent disabilities aged 18 to 69.[396] The group did not want to back her as they believed activist efforts were a diversion from the Happy Handicaps emphasis on social events; thus, she did not receive any support from the group in any potential correspondences with government officials.[397] Sereda wrote the letter independently for a pension, but to her dismay "received no reply."[398] This lack of backing is possibly explained by the fact that the other disabled members, such as Maycock were looked after and cared for by their families; thus, they may not have been able to relate to Sereda's situation or perhaps the other members felt Sereda was going too far in advocating for disabled rights.[399] This latter suggestion might be the case in that Maycock later revealed that his "personal philosophy" was "being happy and making others around him happy."[400] As a result, Maycock along with most of the other Happy Handicaps members were not active to any great extent in local disability rights advocacy. Thus, it could be induced that part of the outlook of the Happy Handicaps was to portray themselves as "sociable handicap[s]" not overly burdening society with political concerns.[401] Indeed, Sereda was a sort of outlier as her forays on television and the newspaper garnered publicity for PWD, but did little in the way of policy, especially since the Happy Handicaps were not set up as an activist groups and, thus, did not have an organized structure to influence public policy. The Happy Handicaps were affiliated with the United Handicapped Groups of Ontario (UHGO), but again this was a similar, albeit larger, provincial social and

[396] Michael J. Prince, "Designing Disability Policy in Canada: The Nature and Impact of Federalism on Policy Development," in *Federalism, Democracy and Disability Policy in Canada*, ed., Alan Puttee (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 38.
[397] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 95-96.
[398] Ibid., 96.
[399] Langer, "Handicap's book," 21.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.

recreational organization.[402] Nevertheless, Sereda's efforts attending and organizing disabled conferences, some with the UHGO, provided an avenue through which the Lakehead could become a part of the provincial and national conversations on disability rights in the late 1960s.

Mary Sereda was active in the late 1960s building relationships with local politicians and attending and organizing conferences for the UHGO and the Ontario Cerebral Palsy Organization. Through these events, she started a dialogue with local politicians about disability rights. Early in 1967, Sereda invited the then-Mayor of Fort William, Ernie Reid, to a meeting of the Happy Handicaps; Reid became the first local politician to attend. The other members were ecstatic to have a politician join them and it made the "[group] feel better" to know that they were thought of by local leaders.[403] Clearly, Sereda was breaking the mold of the group as many in the community simply saw members of the Happy Handicaps as "people of whom very little is expected and who stay at home with little to do."[404] Engaging local politicians in addressing the many barriers in the twin cities was vital. Sereda had earlier experienced a lack of inaction when she reached out to national political figures. Local knowledge on disability was also important to combat ignorance. For example, shortly after the meeting with Reid, Sereda's friends organized a telethon to provide her with a motorized wheelchair. Disability historian Paul Longmore has long criticized telethons showing how on the surface they elicit a "compassionate regard" for disabled people, but underneath promote a "social stigma."[405] While this is entirely true, the telethon supporting Sereda resulted in the new wheelchair. However, disinformation surrounding her

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[402] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 100.
[403] Ibid., 96.
[404] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 12
[405] Paul K. Longmore, "Conspicuous Contribution and American Cultural Dilemmas: Telethon Rituals of Cleansing and Renewal," in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability*, eds., David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), 134; Paul K. Longmore, *Telethons: Spectacle, Disability, and the Business of Chairty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

situation almost ruined the event. After Sereda received the new chair, she received a letter from a local federal MP noting that he had received a complaint from someone in the community who was concerned about the telethon because they thought Sereda was receiving a disability pension and should not be entitled to any additional funds. While Sereda was receiving a pension, it was very meagre and used to support her most basic needs.[406]

To further widen her network, Sereda expanded beyond the local scene and into the provincial one through her work with the UHGO. The UHGO was founded in 1953 in St. Catharines, ON, as a loose-knit provincial group that integrated smaller disability social groups into a large organized framework to address the social and recreational needs of PWD in Ontario communities.[407] Boyce et al. note that the UGHO "were primarily social and recreational networks and were wholly unused to political activity of any sort."[408] Prominent Winnipeg disability activist Jim Derksen went further in noting that the UGHO:

> had a much older model of wanting to serve the membership with recreational and social opportunities, largely in a... social universe where [PWD] were segregated in one way or another from others, or isolated from one another, and their concept of change was more in the sense of role models, or public education, or general encouragement of society from a very low key, low energy way of going ahead.[409]

Thus, although political activism held a lower priority in the UGHO, Sereda's participation in the organization allowed her to associate with other disability groups, which was a major step forward. Sereda lacked the resources to start her own activist organization in the twin cities. Therefore, the UGHO forum provided Sereda the opportunity to mingle with disability representatives from across the province and to outline local concerns and possible solutions for

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[406] Sereda, *Wheels are*, 98.
[407] Dustin Galer, "'Hire the Handicapped!' Disability Rights, Economic Integration and Working Lives in Toronto, Ontario, 1962-2005," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014), ix.
[408] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 55.
[409] Ibid., 55-56.

PWD in the Lakehead. Sereda attended conferences in the late 1960s in Hamilton, Ottawa, and Thunder Bay and with these events came the opportunity to integrate the soon-to-be city of Thunder Bay (Fort William and Port Arthur amalgamated in 1970) into the provincial discussion on disability rights. The first conference Sereda attended was in Hamilton and is not well-documented; however, there was a tour of the inaccessible features of the city in order to raise public awareness. It is clear that the next conference in Ottawa in 1967 highlighted the possibilities of collaboration with other disability groups. In her words, "planning the trip to Ottawa and reviewing the convention just attended [in Hamilton]…[instilled in her the belief that she] had a lot of responsibilities."[410] In fact, "the only thing [she] needed was a chance and more knowledge and [she] would be able to help [the disability cause] a good deal more."[411] In her autobiography, Sereda emphasized the extra curricula activities in Ottawa, such as visiting the museums and Parliament buildings and participating in the banquet. The only mention of policy and procedures was that several "meetings" were attended.[412] Thus, it is difficult to determine to what extent disability rights in the Lakehead were discussed. However, at this conference, Sereda took the initiative to invite everyone to the twin cities for the 1968 conference.[413]

The 1968 conference of the UGHO (16th annual) was the first major disability conference held in Fort William and Port Arthur and it was successful in starting an important dialogue in addressing disability concerns in the region. After the Ottawa conference, Sereda persuaded the other executives on the Happy Handicaps to organize for the local event. Initially, Sereda had a difficult time at this task, especially since she caught pneumonia and did not have a telephone in her room to make arrangements. This required her to lobby the hospital for a telephone, which

[410] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 97-98.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid.

she eventually received on a trial basis.[414] Again, this undue hardship is indicative of the limitations a disabled person had in fighting for disability rights in an institution; they were essentially dependent on staff for resources. However, by Thanksgiving of 1967 and in spite of the set-backs, Sereda expressed gratefulness and confidence at "the chance to coordinate the upcoming convention."[415] This persistence served Sereda well for most of her life and helped to include the Lakehead into the provincial disability rights fold.

The 16th annual conference of the UHGO occurred June 6th-9th, 1968, in Fort William, Ontario. It was the first extended occasion that local disability rights were discussed in a provincial-wide context. The event garnered extensive local media attention with newspapers documenting and providing pictures of how disabled delegates arrived by air, train, and car for the discussion on "the promotion of mutual understanding of problems of the physically handicapped and their social rehabilitation."[416] The 150 delegates came from all 30 UHGO chapters, and were joined by several different disability groups from Manitoba. Interestingly, it was revealed that the airplanes used to transport PWD could only carry four at a time due to the then-air regulations in place. This was highlighted by the media and subtly drew attention to potential changes that needed to take place.[417] As can be deciphered by the above, although problems experienced by disabled people were discussed, there was little dialogue on how to engage in advocacy or lobbying of governmental officials. Nonetheless, the conference created an important dialogue and was a stepping stone in the development of a disability consciousness particular to the Lakehead. Tony Mann, Executive Director of the CPA Central-Western

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[414] Ibid., 99.
[415] Ibid.
[416] "Handicapped Conference," *Daily Times-Journal*, June 7, 1968, 3; "150 Delegates Due: Handicapped Group Holding Convention," *Daily Times-Journal*, June 6, 1968, 1.
[417] "150 Delegates," 1.

Division (Winnipeg) and a WWII veteran, was the keynote speaker and spoke on one of his favourite themes – how to navigate the many barriers common to disabled people in Canadian society.[418] At the time, Mann had a host of experience laying a lot of the early work in breaking down access barriers in Winnipeg and even nationally. In fact, Winnipeg had just hosted the 1967 Pan American Wheelchair Games, which led to a series accessibility upgrades to the built environment.[419] Mann shared his knowledge with delegates, and this was important because the traditional approach had been for disabled people to 'over-come' barriers. Mann gave the delegates strategies, but also shared how activism could lead to change.[420]

Sereda also participated in the Thunder Bay Cerebral Palsy convention in October where she informally advocated for more rights for PWD to local politicians. At the conference, she was seated next to local physician Dr. Arnott and Robert Andras (1921-1982), the then-M.P. for Port Arthur and newly appointed Minister without Portfolio in the 1968 Pierre Trudeau cabinet. It was here that she questioned Andras as to why there was an income difference between disabled people and seniors in chronic care facilities receiving the *Disabled Persons Allowance*; the latter received $75/month as opposed to the former who received $11/month. Andras was unaware of the discrepancy and promised to look into it. Shortly after the conference, Social and Family Services increased Sereda's pension to $15. In the 1970s, Andras would play a role in helping the HAGI achieve its goal of creating an accessible community within Thunder Bay through his various high-profile positions in the Trudeau government as Minister of State for Urban Affairs (1971-72), Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs (1972), Minister of

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[418] "Handicapped Conference," 3; Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 100-101.
[419] Laurie Ringaert, "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 280-284.
[420] "Handicapped Conference," 3.

Manpower and Immigration (1972-76), President of the Treasury Board (1976-78), and Minister of State for Economic Development (1978-79). Sereda maintained a positive working relationship with both Andras and fellow Liberal Fort William M.P. Paul McRae (1924-1992; he served as M.P. for Fort William from 1972-1984) into the early 1970s and mid-1970s even travelling with the two to Ottawa in 1972 to meet Prime Minister Trudeau. Sereda also received recognition from Queen Elizabeth II and then-Premier Bill Davis in 1972; the latter accompanied by Fort William Progressive Conservative MPP Jim Jessiman (1912-1989; he served as MPP from 1967-1975) and who presented her with a Province of Ontario Medal for Good Citizenship for her "personal sacrifice in the common good in all areas of our society."[421] Sereda continued her involvement in raising awareness on local accessibility issues for disabled people, while also playing a part in the 1971 UHGO conference held in Thunder Bay.

The UHGO conference in August 1971, occurred around the time that the Planning Council was organizing the young disabled people in the city. Many of the issues raised at the conference were addressed in the Planning Council's 1972 *Disability Research Report* (DRR). By this time the Happy Handicaps were the Lakehead branch of the UHGO and hosted the conference, which was headlined by both Wilfred Race, President of the UHGO, and a high ranking member of the OMOD.[422] What was different with this UHGO meeting, as compared to the 1968 one, was the growing sense of disability consciousness among citizen's action groups, such as the Planning Council, which had just submitted a brief to the City of Thunder Bay on the need to provide public ramping of buildings. The main thrust behind the conference was that "[p]eople [needed to] be educated at the local level to the needs of the handicapped person, but

[421] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 26, 81, 105-106, 108.
[422] "Handicapped," *News-Chronicle*, August 3, 1971, 3.

the handicapped person must make the first step in beginning this education."[423] This was an interesting stance because PWD had been trying to educate the community in Thunder Bay about their needs for the last few years, but little concrete action had been taken. For example, in June of 1970, discussion of a second elevator being installed in City Hall occurred during a council meeting. City officials nixed the idea. The $15,000 price tag was apparently too large. Council showed their lack of understanding of the needs of the physically disabled, suggesting that "signs be put up in the lobby, showing people where the stairs [were] located."[424] The UHGO open discussion succinctly revealed that disabled people faced a series of inaccessible structures in the city, including public transportation, buildings/public facilities, medical services, and housing.[425] These areas needed to be reformulated before PWD could have an equal playing field in Thunder Bay; essentially, it was a "walking ableist society."[426] Delegates called for a series of changes to Thunder Bay's transportation system, building standards, and housing system. The problems were apparent as city buses and taxis were inaccessible with the latter being too expensive, few curb cuts and ramps existed, and a lack of accessible and affordable homes with height appropriate amenities (sinks and appliances etc.) were available. Along with these recommendations, it was also noted that although ramps were placed at the entrances of some city locations, a step was often located either before or after the ramp making it extremely problematic for disabled persons to enter such buildings.[427] This indictment of Thunder Bay spurred the Planning Council to take direct action to confront these issues (see next section).

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[423] "Problems of Handicapped Discussed," *News-Chronicle*, August 14, 1971, 3.
[424] "No Elevator," *News-Chronicle*, June 4, 1970, 3.
[425] "Problems of Handicapped," 3.
[426] Laurence Parent, "Je me souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 209
[427] "Problems of Handicapped," 3.

Sereda spent the remainder of the1970s advocating for disabled rights in Thunder Bay and cultivating working relationships with City Council and other disability advocates; she also joined the nascent HAGI. Once the HAGI started up in 1972, Sereda became a cross over member from the Happy Handicaps (she remained President of the Happy Handicaps) and this was evident by her continued involvement in paternalistic events, such as the yearly 'Shut In' day and wheelchair parade for disabled people. Although these were paternalistic events, they did draw local media and politicians out, such as Andras, which increased the publicity of the needs of the city's disabled.[428] Sereda could better attend these events as a retro-fitted school bus was donated by Sam Logozzo, the owner of Iron Range Bus Lines, in August of 1970 for use by all of the City's homes for the aged, which included Sereda's residence Grandview Lodge. The bus was used solely to transport seniors and disabled people in the five City-run facilities; it was not used for public transit. Before the creation of HAGI-Transit in 1975, the bus filled an important void as many in these homes had physical mobility issues, were too frail to use hand controls, and did not have the finances for taxis, which were also inaccessible.[429] This bus seated forty passengers and was a breath of fresh air for residents such as Mary Sereda who commented that it "cheered [her] up a lot" after her earlier disappointments.[430] A second bus was purchased in 1971 with one transporting people in wheelchairs and the other transporting ambulatory persons.[431] Publicity around disability issues was slowly being raised, but Sereda recalled negative comments from a passerby on the street just prior to the 1972 wheelchair parade. The man lambasted PWD claiming "[they] were too lazy to try to get funding from the Government,

[428] Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet*, 105; "Shut-In Day June 4," *News-Chronicle*, June 1, 1972, 3.
[429] "Bus For Aged Donated," *News-Chronicle*, August 20, 1970, 1.
[430] Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet*, 103.
[431] "Buses For Aged," *News-Chronicle*, November 10, 1970, 3.

because he knew that there was plenty of money budgeted for the handicapped."[432] Sereda "gave [the man] a piece of her mind."[433] Sereda teamed up with Victor Sandalls (1918-2004), then-Chairman of the local Lakehead Multiple Sclerosis Society, to host the Christmas 'Handicap Shopping Nights' for PWD at Simpsons-Sears. Sandalls worked in health management and was a lay minister of the Order of St. Luke. He became involved in local disability issues after his wife Barbara developed multiple sclerosis. Sandalls saw the difficulties disabled shoppers experienced, which were magnified during holiday seasons, such as Christmas. In turn, he approached local department stores and received a commitment from only one – Simpsons-Sears. Beginning in 1971 and continuing for decades, yearly shopping nights were held at the store several weeks before Christmas for disabled people and their families.[434]

Sereda wrote supporting briefs and letters on behalf of the HAGI in her capacity as President of the Happy Handicaps to City Council, mayors of Thunder Bay and the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) on the need for accessible housing and transportation in the city.[435] Indeed, her presence in HAGI was important because she had good relationships with all three levels of government in the city, which she continually used to promote disability rights. For example in July of 1973, less than a year after the HAGI formed, Sereda took then-city councillor and future Thunder Bay-Fort William Progressive Conservative

[432] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 105.
[433] Ibid.
[434] Jo-Ann Mihalich, "Grocery stores lauded for helping handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, October 17, 1981, 19; "Shopping Nights Set for Old, Handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, November 8, 1972, 3; "Alice Bellavance;" "Shopping Night Set For City's Handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, October 15, 1974, 3; "Special Shopping Night For Handicaps Nov. 20," *Chronicle Journal*, October 18, 1972, 17.
[435] Thunder Bay (TB) City Council, Policy Committee No. 2, Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 12 June 1972, 16; Lakehead University Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002. 9, Box 1 1975-1981, Castlegreen Phase 5, Correspondence from Bruce Fenlon to Mary Sereda, 16 May 1977, 1-2; City of Thunder Bay (CTB) Archives, Series 117, 4696-49, 2046.00 2, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI, Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Mary Sereda to Walter Assef, 9 March 1976, 1-2; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4696-49, 2046.00 2, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI, Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Walter Assef to Mary Sereda, 16 March, 1976, 1.

MPP Mickey Hennessey (1915-1991; he served as MPP from 1977-1987) and City-Engineer Tom Fell on a tour of several blocks around her new residence of Grandview Lodge Home for the Aged to point out architectural barriers or as the local newspaper put it: "a handicapped person's view of getting around the city."[436] This was important because a couple years earlier Sereda flew out of her wheelchair after the ramp she was ascending and the sidewalk were not level. The fall resulted in Sereda "smash[ing] one knee completely and fractur[ing] the other," which required surgery.[437] Sereda's health began failing her in the latter 1970s, but she maintained her presence in the local disability scene until her death at age 55 in 1982. The article publicizing her death in the *Chronicle Journal* recognized that she was "well-known in the city for her work with the handicapped."[438] Sometimes her methods were unorthodox, but she used her personal connections with local leaders to attack the ableist system any way she could. The massive structural disadvantages in society prevented her from achieving greater change, but new circumstances in the post-1970s provided a springboard for a rights-based approach regarding disability issues and accessibility. In fact, in the mid to late 1970s, Sereda saw two of her major priorities come to realization – accessible housing and transportation.[439] The groundwork established by Sereda was followed up by a new generation of disabled young people who became the HAGI in August of 1972.

Origins and First Years of the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre, and the HAGI, 1959-1972

In the early 1970s, a cohort of young PWD in the city of Thunder Bay rebuked a paternalist mindset towards PWD by creating the city's first disability rights organization, called

[436] "Paved Path Preferred," *Chronicle-Journal*, July 13, 1973, 13; Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 103.
[437] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 104.
[438] "Mary Sereda dead," 3.
[439] Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 26, 81, 105-106; "Mary Sereda dead," 3.

the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI). These disabled young people were aided by two important elements. Firstly, although the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre at St. Joseph's Hospital was created in 1959, its rehabilitation wing experienced a large renovation in 1967, which better met the needs of the local disabled through specialized equipment and highly trained personnel. Secondly, the Planning Council began tackling the disability issue in the city starting in the early 1970s, which directly led to the congregation of young disabled people together. Concerned that PWD had limited opportunities for advancement, Gwyneth Workman of the local MCSS and Margaret Phillips of the Planning Council organized them together into the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee in order to effect social change. These young people were better educated than their predecessors in the Happy Handicaps and were not content to sit back in an inaccessible community. In late 1971, the Rehabilitation Committee obtained a federal Local Initiative Program (LIP) grant, which employed these young people including David (Dave) Koivisto, Terry Bellavance, and Susan Nisbet etc. (co-founders of the HAGI) to produce two 1972 reports: *Thunder Bay: A Guide for the Disabled*, and the DRR.[440] The reports highlighted the many barriers disabled people experienced in the areas of housing, transportation, employment, recreation, and physical environment and collaborative strategies to overcome them. In fact, the latter report made 39 recommendations to all three levels of government and was used as the *raison d'etre* for HAGI's creation in August of 1972.[441] The DRR was presented to Thunder Bay City Council in the summer of 1972, which led to a long standing partnership between the HAGI and Council. The relationship also benefited due to the

[440] LIP grants were a part of Pierre Trudeau's strategy to combat unemployment rates in Canada. They funded community projects, which helped move the country toward his vision of a "just society." See Nick Mount, *Arrival: The Story of CanLit* (Toronto: Housing on Anansi Press Inc, 2017).
[441] Lakehead Social Planning Council (LSCP), *Disability Research Report*, July 1972, i-vii; LSPC, *Thunder Bay: A Guide for the Disabled*, June 1972, 1-10.

fact that one of the councillors (Dr. Edward Anten) was, himself, disabled; he acted as an early bridge between the two organizations. With an organization of young disabled activists in place, the HAGI spent the next 20 years engaging in citizen participation and grassroots efforts for instituting change to establish an accessible community for PWD in Thunder Bay.

Beginning in 1959, disabled people in the twin cities and NWO had access to a rehabilitation centre for those with physical disabilities. While starting out slowly, the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre at St. Joseph's Hospital drastically increased services in 1967 after a large renovation. As stated earlier, the Lakehead was excluded from the CPA's and Department of Veterans' Affairs collaboration for early treatment centres involving spinal cord injured veterans at Lyndhurst Lodge (Toronto), Ste. Anne de Bellevue (near Montreal), Deer Lodge (Winnipeg), and Shaughnessy (Vancouver). The Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre built upon the contributions of the above hospitals including Lyndhurst Lodge where Dr. Albin T. Jousse (1910-1994) served as the first Medical Director. Jousse, born near Ottawa, was personally familiar with paralysis, acquiring it as a young man; it required him to use a brace. Prior to his appointment as medical director, Jousse taught surgical neurology at the Toronto General Hospital and had experience in psychology and psychiatry; he was the perfect fit for the new rehabilitation program.[442] As Holleman, Tremblay, and Reaume have noted, Canada was a world leader in spinal cord injury rehabilitation and reintegration stemming from the work of Dr. Harry Botterell (1906-1997) during WWII and extending to Dr. Jouse's collaborative and interdisciplinary approach at Lyndhurst.[443] The Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre designed its program on this model.

[442] Holleman, *From Darkness into*, 1991, 6, 39, 65.
[443] Ibid; Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 2007, 11; Tremblay, "The Canadian Revolution," 125-55.

The Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre (commonly called Lakehead Rehab) at St. Joseph's Hospital was opened in 1959 as the region's first rehabilitation centre and only such centre between Winnipeg and Sault Ste. Marie. It was run out of St. Joseph's Hospital, which was established in 1884 as a Catholic facility run by several Sisters. Historian Peter Raffo's 2009 history of the hospital, *Responding to Unmet Needs: 125 Years of Care in the Community, 1884-2009*, follows George Campbell's 1984 book, *The Spirit, the Lamp, and the Key*.[444] The accounts are "celebratory," but provide insight into the historical developments of the hospital, which sought to provide for the "un-met needs" of the community.[445] Raffo reveals that the lack of a hospital in the Lakehead resulted in a small group of Sisters setting one up; by the late 1930s, it had a focus on rehabilitation. Indeed, by that time, a physiotherapy, and massage department were in operation, in addition to a "full-fledged" physiotherapy ward.[446] For its first few decades, the Sisters ran the hospital, but provincial advisory boards followed to keep the hospital accountable. By the late 1950s, St. Joseph's witnessed an "explosion of new buildings" as the older buildings were torn down.[447] This new growth was driven by 1957 Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act and the Ontario Hospital Services Commission, which provided increased government funding. Although there was "some resentment" by hospital administration over the greater provincial control, Raffo argues that the "abundance of funding" allowed for new programs and building development.[448] It is here when Lakehead Rehab was created, which housed hydrotherapy, occupational therapy, and physical therapy units. Raffo argues that when the Queen and Prince Phillip visited St. Joseph's in May of 1950 that the

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[444] Peter Raffo, *Responding to Unmet Needs: 125 Years of Care in the Community, 1884-2009* (St. Joseph's Care Group: Thunder Bay, 2009); George Campbell, *The Spirit, the Lamp, and the Key* (St. Joseph's Care Group: Thunder Bay, 1984).
[445] Raffo, *Responding to Unmet*, 15.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid., 17.
[448] Ibid, 14, 17.

hospital was "already ahead of the field in this [rehabilitation] department."[449] In fact, the "rehabilitation of patients, in addition to the more traditional areas of acute care on the surgical ward, started to define the mission of [St. Joseph's Hospital,] and to differentiate it from the other two general hospitals [McKellar and Port Arthur] in the twin cities."[450]

The goal of Lakehead Rehab was to assist patients with physical disabilities through a multi-disciplinary and medical team-orientated approach to foster their reintegration into society.[451] Dr. David Arnott served as the centre's first Medical Director from 1967 to 1970. He was recruited from London, England, and presided over a massive renovation of Lakehead Rehab, which saw it emerge as a local alternative to Lyndhurst Lodge and Deer Lodge. Prior to Lakehead Rehab, Dr. Byong-Koo Kim (1934-present), the second Medical Director, recalls how:

> Thunder Bay, especially St. Joseph's Hospital [was] involved in community care of their patients in all kinds of medical situations and did you know the hospital cared for railroad workers and injuries and accidents and polio epidemics and some of the veterans came in from the Second World War then the other traffic injuries, industrial accidents, many seriously injured people were [treated] there.[452]

In fact, some of the early founders of the HAGI including Gaston Bolduc (1941-2018) and Ron Ross (1947-2011) spent time at St. Joseph's before the addition of Lakehead Rehab. Bolduc, born in St. Théophile, Quebec, was injured in a hunting accident at age 12 in 1953, which resulted in paraplegia. Ross, born and educated in Port Arthur, moved with his family to a large farm in the township of Murillo just outside the Lakehead. During his youth, he, too, was injured in a hunting accident in 1960 at the age of 13 resulting in paraplegia. Both Bolduc and Ross went to St. Joseph's for their initial treatment and were then referred to Lyndhurst for a year of

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[449] Ibid., 17.
[450] Ibid.
[451] "Centre Helps Handicapped Help Themselves," *Chronicle Journal*, December 15, 1972, 19.
[452] "Dr. B.K. Kim," interview with Ulysses Patola, 27 Nov 2017; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Dr. B.K. Kim to HAGI, 9 Sept 1985, 1.

specialized rehabilitation before deciding to permanently move to the Lakehead.[453] As no physical disability advocacy organization existed at the time, recently disabled individuals relied on an informal system of help from those who had gone through the rehabilitation process earlier. Thus, the two would take newly injured people under their wing, such as Dave Koivisto and Terry Bellavance (both developed paraplegia in 1968) and show them "how to survive, what you needed to do to survive life in a wheelchair in [the Lakehead.]"[454] Dr. Kim integrated this 'buddy' approach into his program in the 1970s. At the time of Bolduc and Ross' treatment, St. Joseph's had only basic rehabilitative services. Indeed, Dr. Kim stated that local people trying to rehabilitate from a physical disability faced many difficulties. Specifically, "in the past, we had no medical service, the absence of a medical director, they managed from the other neurosurgical problems and they directed to ship [patients] to the centre where those programs were, so [they were] sent to Winnipeg or sent to Toronto."[455] St. Joseph's Hospital evolved to become the designated place for treating physical disability in the region. Hospital administration decided that it would fully develop a Rehabilitation Centre to provide people with an alternative to Deer Lodge and Lyndhurst Lodge, hence, Lakehead Rehab's creation in 1959.

A group of orthopedic surgeons along with others with variety of medical specialties in the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William laid the ground work and physical organization for Lakehead Rehab. The centre ran without a medical director for its first few years, relying on physiotherapists, orthopedic surgeons, and other related disciplines, but Dr. Kim noted that it was not the best system:

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[453] "Gaston Bolduc," *Chronicle-Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 26 Dec 2018, https://www.legacy.com /obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=gaston-joseph-roger-bolduc-gus&pid=189246223&fhid=31365; "Gaston Bolduc;" Jim Kelly, "Activist snubs service award," *Chronicle Journal*, May 19, 1999, A3.
[454] "Dave Koivisto."
[455] "Dr. B.K. Kim."

> [without a] medical director it cannot run the rehab program because nobody is there controlling and medical staff of the [Port Arthur] General anybody could bring the patient in and run their own [system], but it [was] not a teamwork [approach], so it [was] difficult to have an organized service without a director.[456]

This was rectified in 1967 when Dr. Arnott was approved as the first director and served for three years.

Dr. Kim came to the Lakehead in 1970 with a weighty rehabilitative background. He went to medical school in Korea during the Korean War and served the Korean military four and a half years before continuing his medical training in the U.S. Dr. Kim trained first in Baltimore, Maryland, and then received rehabilitation training at the Medical College of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia. Dr. Kim became friends with Dr. John Redford, the medical chairman of the college, and followed him to the University Alberta's Physical Medicine and Rehab Department to finish his training after Dr. Redford accepted a position at the school.[457] With his training completed, Dr. Kim, now a specialist in physical medicine and rehabilitation, was approved to fill Dr. Arnott's position.

Dr. Kim set up a dynamic local and regional rehabilitation program at Lakehead Rehab revolving around a patient-centred approach seeking to fully integrate people with a physical disability back into the community. Lakehead Rehab consisted of a diverse staff organized into three departments spread throughout the hospital. The religious nature of the hospital was one of the first things that stood out to Dr. Kim:

> Being a Catholic hospital, their philosophy is quite different and also at that time in the rehab discipline, the head nurse in rehab is a sister and speech therapy is a sister, occupational therapy is a sister and social worker is a sister. Under the hospital

[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.

> administration…a sister administrator in that kind of environment made it a very dedicated environment serving patients first.[458]

Dr. Kim built his rehabilitation program around this 'patient first' philosophy. To help in this process, Dr. Kim had a staff of 30 medical professionals including six physiotherapists, three occupational therapists (Helen Bogget - supervisor), three speech therapists, one social worker (Colleen Hughes - supervisor) one psychologist, one prosthetist (Walter Mahnke - supervisor), one orthoptist, and numerous other assistants.[459] To make sure all these health care providers worked together, Dr. Kim designed a rehabilitation model based on a "multi-disciplinary" and "team-centred" approach.[460] Reaume argues in *Lyndhurst* that this team approach was first developed by Dr. Botterell at the Christie Street Hospital in 1945. Dr. Botterell's system involved neurosurgeons, plastic surgeons, orthopaedic surgeons, nurses, physiotherapists, and orderlies working together to assist spinal cord injured patients.[461] Dr. Kim's program involved more than spinal cord injured patients as it served people who experienced amputations, strokes, brain injuries, cerebral palsy, spina bifida, post-operative surgeries, congenital diseases, post-polio complications, and other paralyzing conditions.

Each member in Dr. Kim's team had special skills and worked as part of an interconnected team to help rehabilitate the some 20 inpatients and even larger number of outpatients the hospital was designed to accommodate. After the 1967 renovations, a significant portion of the hospital was devoted to the rehabilitation program. The entire first floor of the north wing housed physical rehabilitation for inpatient and outpatient services. The third floor contained the inpatient unit, consisting of 20 beds, where individuals actively participated in a

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[458] Ibid.
[459] "Centre Helps Handicapped," 19.
[460] "Dr. B.K. Kim."
[461] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 45-46.

variety of rehabilitative activities; the floor also included a lounge, where patients ate their meals while also socializing with each other. Prosthetics and the brace shop were located in the basement. The Centre also included such amenities as a swimming pool, whirlpool baths, state of the art exercise equipment and gym, speech therapy, workshop and craft-occupational therapy rooms, and a completely equipped one-room reintegration apartment where independent living skills were taught.[462] The inpatient program centered on bringing patients into the hospital for a screening process and in determining a course of action. At this stage, their capabilities were assessed and then an individualized program was developed according to the circumstance of the patient. This included anything from re-teaching basic skills of walking and talking, performing regular functions, receiving immediate therapy, strengthening existing skills, and testing out new hospital-made limbs for everyday use. For Dr. Kim, Lakehead Rehab was "a dynamic environment for [the] patient who exhibits progress or prospects of progress" and quite the opposite from custodial care.[463] Once the course of action was determined, a case conference was held once a week to assess patients and determine how to maximize progress or re-adjust the program to better meet their needs. The number of young people who became paraplegics or quadriplegics was of particular concern to Dr. Kim. He treated paraplegics at Lakehead Rehab under a six month course and for the most part referred quadriplegics to Lyndhurst or Deer Lodge for a one year course. When quadriplegics were referred back to Thunder Bay, Dr. Kim directed their further treatment and integration into the community.[464] Furthermore, after observing the informal buddy system that Bolduc and Ross created, Dr. Kim integrated that arrangement into his program and partnered recently injured patients with someone in the

[462] "Centre Helps Handicapped," 19; "Dr. B.K. Kim."
[463] "Centre Helps Handicapped," 19.
[464] "Dr. B.K. Kim."

community who had years of experience living with a disability. Some patients could not return to work after their stay at the centre. As a result, Dr. Kim presided over a continuing program at the hospital called the Recreational Activities Program (RAP) first instituted in the summer of 1971.

The RAP helped transition PWD and other chronic care patients back into society after their time at the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre. Its focus was on providing meaningful work in a sheltered environment. Participants of the RAP were not active patients at Lakehead Rehab, but were those who could not transition into paid employment.[465] Monies from an Opportunities for Youth (OFY) summer grant were successfully used to start-up a social and work program for 25 disabled participants headed by Chief Therapist Annamay Hadfield.[466] Participants made and sold crafts and an assortment of items to the public and other stakeholders; indeed, one of the implements that they made was a special sling for local hospitals. The RAP fulfilled an important need by making disabled people feel useful, improving their self-esteem, assisting them in going beyond the level of independence they had achieved in their rehabilitation, and helping them to develop goals.[467] The program was located in the hospital and co-supervised by Bogget and Hughes. Individuals of all different ages were admitted as long as they met a list of criteria that included: being homebound, not being able to qualify for government employment benefits, and no longer needing active treatment care.[468] In August of 1971, the RAP nearly closed as the short term grants it was running on were not able to sustain it for the long term. The lack of funding

[465] "Hospital Project For Handicapped Formally Closed," *News-Chronicle*, August 23, 1971, 3.
[466] OFY grants were the second new program (the first were LIPs) that Pierre Trudeau charted in 1971 as part of his job creation strategy. OFY grants funded summer jobs for highschool and university students. See: Mount, *Arrival*.
[467] Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department, *The Recreational Needs and Problems of: the aged, the physically handicapped, the mentally retarded*, June 1972, 18; "Hospital Project," 3. OFY grants was a federal employment program aimed at providing work for young people. It was enacted by Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Liberal government in March 1971.
[468] Thunder Bay Parks, "The Recreational Needs," 18.

prompted the organizers of the RAP to come to an agreement with the City of Thunder Bay for larger accommodations and additional funds to keep the program open. The Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee also intervened and helped the RAP acquire additional grants from the provincial government that supported the wages for the program coordinator and driver.[469] In addition, negotiations with the City resulted in a move out of St. Joseph's and into the former CMHC building on Victoria Avenue. This was a welcomed move as the new building provided greater space which allowed the RAP to increase the number of disabled persons from 30 to 40. The extra space and money allowed the RAP to offer more activities and services, such as physical exercise, trips to a local swimming pool, occupational and physiotherapy services, and excursions to summer day camps.[470] In 1973, the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department fully took over the RAP under the new name "Harmony Place." Three years later in 1976 a south side program was added called "On the Move."[471] In a sense, one could interpret the RAP as a paternalistic sheltered recreational environment, but, the lack of supports in the city for disabled people did not leave many options, aside from being housebound. While Lakehead Rehab was located in Thunder Bay, Dr. Kim designed his rehabilitation program to extend into the NWO region.

The Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre aided smaller hospitals in NWO by hosting rehabilitation services at regional hospitals, funded by the provincial Department of Health and OMOD grants. Dr. Kim noted that besides the Lakehead, the Rehabilitation Centre covered a geographic distance of about 300 miles; thus, "accessibility [was] a problem."[472] Prior to Dr.

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[469] "Hospital Project," 3; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 3, 11.
[470] "Social Planning Council May Get New Quarters," *News-Chronicle*, September 21, 1971, 1; Thunder Bay Parks, "The Recreational Needs," 19.
[471] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Community Services, Meeting Minutes, 14 April 1972, 9.
[472] "Dr. B.K. Kim."

Kim's arrival, Dr. Arnott and members from the Northwestern Ontario Medical Society teamed up with the OMOD to host biennial Orthopedic Clinics for regional hospitals for such NWO towns as Fort Frances, Kenora, Sault Ste. Marie, and Kirkland Lake. Roy Hanes shows how the origins for such traveling orthopaedic clinics in Ontario were modelled on the ones for 'crippled' children. The NWO model was built upon the 1920's Ohio Plan in the U.S. that strove to "bring services" to the child as opposed to bring them to a hospital.[473] Along with Lakehead Rehab staff, orthopedic specialists from Toronto were brought in to assist regional patients. These Orthopedic Clinics expanded to Amputee Clinics in 1970, which were located at St. Joseph's Hospital and open to people in the region.[474] When Dr. Kim took over in 1970, he successfully applied for a provincial grant that started a regional pilot project to provide regular rehabilitative services to towns in Dryden, Nipigon, Marathon, Manitouwadge, Atikokan, Fort Frances, Sioux Lookout and Kenora. These communities suffered from a series of disadvantages, such as lack of services, difficulty attracting rehab personnel and the lengthy distance between towns. As there was a need to share services on a continuous basis, Dr. Kim used the grant from the Department of Health to collaborate with a team from McMaster University Medical School to provide rehab services in NWO. Dr. Kim recruited a full time physiotherapist and a rehab nurse who made regular visits by car "to fill the need[s] of the small communities of [the] outlying region."[475] The program continued for half a decade, but a motor vehicle accident involving one of Dr. Kim's staff members quashed the project. Nevertheless, Dr. Kim stated that at the end of the program,

[473] Hanes, "The Genesis of Societies," 445. The Ohio Plan developed through the work of Edgar Allen who lost his son in a serious trolley car accident in Elyria, Ohio, in 1907 which caused the death of 84 young people. Because of the lack of proper hospital services, some of these deaths could have been prevented. Allen led the charge for a modern hospital in 1908 and developed ties with the Rotary Club to create the Ohio Plan. By 1919, the state had been split into a series of districts focusing on helping disabled children through medical care and vocational training.

[474] "Clinic in Fort Frances For Disabled Adults," *News-Chronicle*, September 30, 1971, 3; "Amputee Clinic," *News-Chronicle*, January 28, 1970, 3.

[475] "Dr. B.K. Kim."

the "staff situation did improve [with a]…trickling into [the] smaller communit[ies] for physiotherapists…," which lessened the burden on his team.[476] That Dr. Kim's pilot was a success is attested to by the fact that the Chairman of the McMaster Rehab Department applied that same model to the region surrounding Ottawa after he took a position in that city.[477] Boyce et al. note that as rehab centres grew, strong ties between local health and disability organizations developed, resulting in the collaboration that tackled "broader issues, such as employment, transportation, and housing."[478] Dr. Kim's continued involvement with rehabilitation led him to develop a strong working relationship with the HAGI after it developed in 1972. Dr. Kim became the organization's medical advisor until he took a position at the Oshawa General Hospital in late 1985. He was replaced by Dr. John Hargadon who took over as HAGI's medical advisor. According to Dr. Kim, the 15 years spent in Thunder Bay was his "most satisfying experience professionally to work in that community and some of the projects involved in the disabled community. I was lucky enough to see…it was a very energetic hardworking young [disabled] people trying to start their own programs."[479]

Occupational therapists (OT) also increased awareness on barriers preventing PWD from re-integrating into the community. Not only did they work with Dr. Kim at Lakehead Rehab, but were employed in several other capacities in the community including the NWOCCC. In her history of the foundation of OTs as a profession in Canada, Judith Friedland observes that OT developed out of the work of hospital ward aids whose "primary role was to 'rehabilitate the spirit,' to bring hope to men who had lived through the horrors of war."[480] The profession

[476] Ibid.
[477] Ibid.
[478] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 19.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Judith Friedland, *Restoring the Spirit: The Beginnings of Occupational Therapy in Canada, 1890-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), xx.

coalesced between 1890 and 1930 and included many middle class women devoted to improving the public good. OTs worked closely with those needing assistance, such as disabled people, by using "occupations to raise morale and self-esteem" and teaching independent living skills.[481] In March of 1970, a provincial meeting of OTs from throughout Ontario, led by Penny Gladstone of the NWOCCC, was held in Thunder Bay to discuss accessibility in the city. As OTs worked on the front line with disabled people, including at Lakehead Rehab, they were familiar with access issues and sought remedies.[482] Peter Freund refers to the above issues stemming from "the disabling city," which is full of "physical barriers to movement."[483] As mentioned earlier, PWD often felt it was their obligation to 'overcome' these barriers. With little in the way of binding legislation, physical barriers were still an issue in 1970.[484] In fact as Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson note, strategies in rehabilitation facilities and hospitals, such as Lyndhurst focused "on the development of wheelchair manoeuvring skills to jump curbs and to do stairs. No record has been found of discussions about the removal of curbs or the installation of elevators in the community; rather, the focus was on the individual adapting to the environment."[485] This was the strategy taught to Bolduc when he spent a year at Lyndhurst under Dr. Jousse in the mid-1950s. By the end of the training, Bolduc could "jump an eight inch curb" and "come down the stairs backwards," which proved useful when he returned to live in the Lakehead.[486] However, according to the OTs, this needed to change.

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[481] Ibid., ix, xv, xx.
[482] "Ramping Of Buildings Urged For Handicapped," *News-Chronicle*, March 10, 1970, 3.
[483] Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 696.
[484] "Ramping Of Buildings," 3.
[485] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 106.
[486] Ibid.

At the meeting, the OTs discussed the need to ramp all public buildings and thoroughfares because of all the "architectural barriers for persons in wheelchairs."[487] They also noted several examples of inaccessibility, including all three libraries, City Hall, most elementary and secondary schools, Lakehead University, stores, hotels, most churches and some hospitals and medical clinics. Additional barriers existed which prevented PWD from using public telephones (height) and washrooms and, to add insult to injury, street curbing was too high causing disabled people to have mobility difficulties manoeuvring on and off sidewalks. Furthermore, it was also revealed that disabled people had serious problems voting in elections, paying their taxes/bills, shopping, and visiting the post office. The OTs did note that some facilities, such as local theatres and the Liquor Control Board and Brewers Retail, had accommodations for the physically disabled. The City's reaction to the concerns was mixed. Nevertheless, the discussion led to one of the first efforts by the Planning Council to look into disability issues and to produce a local brief on the need to ramp public buildings. Leaders brought about one dozen disabled people together to study the matter further.[488] Taking action was vital, as there was a growing number of PWD in Thunder Bay who wanted to live and work independently in an accessible community.

Contrary to members of the Happy Handicaps, these individuals were for the most part younger disabled people who were educated and wanted more services and less barriers as opposed to relying on charity and adapting to the inaccessible environment. There were a few older disabled persons, such as Dr. Edward Anten (1914-1977) and Floyd James (1928-1995) who made due as best they could in the inaccessible environment. James, born in Port Arthur,

[487] "Ramping Of Buildings," 3.
[488] Ibid; "No Elevator," *News-Chronicle*, June 4, 1970, 3.

served in the Canadian navy and then moved to Fort William where he married his wife Vivian. He was a taxi dispatcher and school bus driver who developed very bad rheumatoid arthritis in adulthood. This condition distorted his hands; James also walked with a crutch. Due to his extensive work with taxis, James became HAGI-Transit's first manager in early 1975. James was also involved with disabled sport, especially riflery, air pistol, and snooker. To those who knew him, James was a gregarious and very funny individual who, although older than many of the HAGI members, was still embraced because of his go-getter and jokester attitude.[489] Dr. Anten, a local doctor with a mobility impairment, was also an important figure as he was both a professional and long-time city councillor in Port Arthur. Dr. Anten was first elected to Port Arthur City Hall in 1944 at the age of 30, and spent about 20 years serving the City in these two capacities until he developed a paralyzing condition on one side of his body in the late 1960s. According to Koivisto, the change was "very tough on him" as he was so active up to developing paralysis.[490] The condition forced him to permanently move to Dawson Court Home for the Aged where he continued his medical practice with the help of an assistant while also taking an informal role helping disabled residents at Dawson Court.[491] Anten re-entered politics in 1973 winning a seat as a councillor on Thunder Bay City Council and using this position to help the nascent HAGI make in-roads with that body.[492] Developing a disability later in life and having already attained the position of a practicing physician provided Anten social mobility not available to most other disabled individuals in Thunder Bay. To illustrate, although Anten lived in Dawson Court, he was able to afford a $2000 motorized wheelchair to get around and travel to

[489] "Dave Koivisto;" "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017; "James [Obituary,]" *Chronicle Journal*, July 25th, 1995, B8.
[490] "Dave Koivisto."
[491] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 49; "Dr. Anten dies at 63," *Chronicle Journal*, August 30, 1977, 1.
[492] Rita Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation For Aiding Handicapped In Overcoming Barriers," *Chronicle Journal*, February 1, 1974, 13.

his downtown practice.[493] Anten helped several other disabled individuals in Dawson, including Maycock, to acquire these chairs through fundraising drives.[494] This social mobility was also evident in Nightingale's case. For when she was injured in 1942, Nightingale and her husband had the financial resources to employ "elderly ladies that would come in and help" transfer Nightingale in and out of her wheelchair.[495] Nightingale noted that "there was no welfare for disabled people" in her time so in addition to their own resources, the couple received help from the Kiwanis Club who loaned her an old wooden wheelchair.[496] The fact that Anten helped disabled people at Dawson Court better cope with their situation shows what power an education and social standing had, as Maycock and Sereda did not have access to such privileges. Combined with the limitations of their disabilities in an ableist society, the latter two were forced to rely on charity to ease their life situations. This is not to imply that that no change was attempted or took place, for Sereda's early attempts at lobbying politicians were extraordinary, but on the whole the context and circumstances of the pre-1970s environment prevented large scale organizational efforts based on the disability consumer model. This organization could only take place when a core group of young disabled people, aided by their middle-class status, patriarchy, and a changing social context around disability joined forces in the early 1970s.

This core group of disabled people formed in Thunder Bay by the early 1970s and were brought together due to the efforts of the Planning Council. The core group included Joe Ward, Susan Nisbet, Gaston Bolduc, Ron Ross, Terry Bellavance and Dave Koivisto; these young people all attended post-secondary education and were white. Some moved to the Lakehead from

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[493] Maycock, *The Happy Handicap*, 49.
[494] Ibid., 49-50; "He's Mobile Now!" *News-Chronicle*, February 5th, 1972, 1; "Donations Sought for Wheelchair," *News-Chronicle*, May 11th, 1972, 17; Sereda, *Wheels are my*, 95.
[495] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 105.
[496] Ibid.

the greater NWO region to access additional services. This was a continuation of the leadership background Galer identified in parents' groups representing disabled people, who were predominantly "white, middle class and urban dwell[ers.]"[497] While there were indigenous people in Thunder Bay, activism was still in its early forms and focused on rights as opposed to disability issues. Scott Rutherford shows how parts of the region, especially the city of Kenora became a centre for indigenous activism headlined by the 1974 Anicinabe Park protests.[498] However, disabled indigenous people were for the most part sheltered in their own communities (see chapter five). Hence, the privileges of education and whiteness of the above core group helped them to take the lead in the local disability rights movement. At times, these privileges blinded some of the post-1970s disability leaders to their enlarged status in society, and led a few to criticize pre-1970s disability activism. David (Dave) Shannon, who became a leader in the next wave of disability rights activists in the city during the 1980s, best sums up the divide between adherents between the newer wave of disability rights activities represented by the above young people, and the older Happy Handicaps:

> I think there's a big divide within the disability community of those who wanted to achieve a standard mainstream Canadian life. You know, one of full independence with a decent job, family that loves them and higher education and others who were still trapped very much in a paternalistic and it wasn't just paternalistic work, it was from the outside looking in. They wanted to live oppressed, that was their preference.[499]

As Shannon states, this new group of 1970 leaders surely did not want to be oppressed even though some of them grew up experiencing aspects of paternalism. Nisbet, born with cerebral palsy in Fort William, spent her early years in the 'crippled children' system in the city.[500] Born

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[497] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 43.
[498] Scott Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red Scare: The Anicinabe Park Occupation and Indigenous Decolonization," in *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism*, ed., Dan Berger (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 77-94.
[499] "Dave Shannon," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 July 2017.
[500] "Alice Bellavance."

later than Sereda, she had access to greater services including the Crippled Children's Centre located at the J.B. Larway School, which allowed her to stay in the city. Hanes' work on the Ontario Society for Crippled Children demonstrates that after adopting much of the 1920s Ohio Plan (see footnote 473), the province of Ontario was divided into six districts in 1935, including the Northern one. Services were provided at the local level and it was only when such needs could not be met in the Lakehead that children were sent to larger facilities, such as the Toronto Hospital for Sick Kids.[501] Nisbet's experience at the Centre resulted in her completing the Social Service Worker program at Confederation College and becoming a social worker working in the same centre she grew up in.[502] According to her friends, Nisbet embodied a pleasant, bubbly, and outgoing attitude. It served her well collaborating with others, and pressing for disabled women's issues to be addressed locally in the 1980s (see chapter five).[503] Nisbet had the financial resources to purchase hand controls for her car in the early 1970s and knew of only six other people who had the device. The hand controls mitigated some barriers, but Nisbet still experienced a plethora of architectural barriers around the city. In 1975, Nisbet married Joe Ward who was also disabled.[504] Ward, born in 1941, developed spinal cancer in 1956, requiring him to permanently use a wheelchair. He too grew up in Fort William and worked at his family's store on West Arthur Street. Like his wife, he attended Confederation College graduating with a Business Management diploma. Ward then became the Office Manager at United Repair Service (an industrial supplier) while also involving himself with amateur sports and local disability

[501] Hanes, "The Genesis of," 442, 445-46.
[502] "Susan Ward."
[503] "Alice Bellavance;" "Dave Shannon."
[504] "Susan Ward."

issues.[505] According to Shannon, Ward brought "a really strong mainstream perspective" to the disability rights movement through that combination.[506]

As mentioned earlier, Ross and Bolduc were injured in their youth and became strong advocates for disabled people. After rehabilitating at Lyndhurst both settled in the Lakehead in the 1960s and pursued diplomas at Confederation College. Bolduc completed a Social Service Worker diploma and took a job at St. Joseph's Hospital in the Social Work wing while Ross finished a Business Administration diploma and worked for Northern and Central Gas Company as a dispatcher; this is also where Ross met his wife Judy Bechta. Bolduc later upgraded his diploma into a Social Work degree at Lakehead University and married Heather DeJardine. Bolduc served as the first secretary of the HAGI.[507] Bolduc knew all of the early CPA leaders and used his connections with Andrew Clark of CPA Toronto to borrow a new Everest and Jennings wheelchair for $10.00 a month for his new job at St. Joseph's.[508] Koivisto recalled that Bolduc was "really, really old school. He went through the system [reintegration] before there was nothing. One of the few people that came out to talk to me…him and Ron Ross when I first got hurt."[509] Susan Ward stated that Ross "always drove a hot car and threw his wheelchair in the back. He could transfer in and out of his car like a monkey."[510] To Ward, Ross had a "presence about him;" he had "good business ability and good strategy," later opening up a consulting business and wheelchair repair shop. Ross was extremely knowledgeable on disability policy and was "very quick and good at getting his point across to people."[511] Bolduc, a "very close friend"

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[505] "Joseph Ward," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 23 March 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=joseph-ward&pid=174061179; Bud Tolman, "Busy minor convenor Joe Ward finds wheelchair no big handicap," *Chronicle Journal: A Salute to Minor Hockey*, January 17 to 25, 1980, 2.
[506] "Dave Shannon."
[507] "Gaston Bolduc [Obituary];" "Gaston Bolduc."
[508] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were," 107.
[509] "Dave Koivisto."
[510] "Susan Ward."
[511] Ibid.

of Ross, praised his "leadership" in the community, which "came naturally."[512] Ross was able to "bring people to him and to his pursuits and get them involved, and get things done…he was very tenacious."[513] He was also a marksman and expert archer, helping to make Lakehead Archery Inc. a popular hotspot while also participating in provincial and national competitions.[514] Ross came from a large farm in Murillo Township, which served as a get-together location for the members of the HAGI.

Koivisto and Bellavance rounded out the remainder of the core group that made up the original HAGI. Both became paraplegics in 1968. Bellavance's diagnosis came from a motor vehicle accident in his hometown of Geraldton, while Koivisto's resulted from an undetermined spinal cord complication in his senior year of high school. The two rehabilitated at Lakehead Rehab and then Lyndhurst before returning to Thunder Bay where they attended Lakehead University in the Business Administration program, and that is where they met. Koivisto did not have a place to live so he stayed on couches in the university; however, after meeting Bellavance, Koivisto accepted an invitation to move in with him. Koivisto and Bellavance's sister Paula developed a close friendship and later married; Bellavance married Alice Makkinga who served as his nurse at St. Joseph's.[515] Both wives along with Bechta and DeJardine became fully involved with the disability rights movement. In fact, the wives of early HAGI members played a vital role, Alice Bellavance states that:

> those women [the wives] along with myself and my sister in law and Judy and all of these other people, we were the muscle for the guys that were in the chairs or the women. There weren't many women with disabilities at that time, there were a few. But it was

[512] "Gaston Bolduc."
[513] Ibid.
[514] "Ron Ross," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 5 April 2017, https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal /obituary.aspx?n=ronald-stuart-ross&pid=174136468.
[515] "Dave Koivisto;" "Susan Ward;" Dave Lammers, "Thank you Terry B: HAGI Transit Co-founder honoured posthumously," *Chronicle Journal*, November 21, 1999, A2.

> mostly men and so we were the support for those guys and we were the ones that did the physical slogging or hauling them up and down stairs and all that kind of stuff.[516]

With the help of their wives, Koivisto and Bellavance were known as dynamic figures; in fact, Ward called them "the dynamic duo. They were crazy guys, straight off of Saturday Night Live, but they were both very smart and Ron Ross, as well."[517] According to Ward:

> Dave, he was always laughing and yes it is still an interesting laugh and he's very tall so he used to hook his arm around the back handle of his chair, so he always sat kind of crooked and you know nothing was ever a problem, 'yeah, yeah, we'll get on that' and so they were type A's, but they didn't come across as type A personalities. They came across as you know Cheech and Chong, you know just laid back…and 'we'll figure it out,' you know. So we got a lot done, but it was in a very easy manner, working together kinda like you might work on a kibbutz, everybody did what they were best at.[518]

Susan Ward further revealed that:

> Terry was kind of like a Svengali type and Dave was like you know an Irish Setter puppy like they're just wriggling and ready to go and sometimes they can be a bit of a nuisance because they just don't leave you alone, but they get things. Like you just can't help, but be drawn to them. Terry was very interesting, he was very charming and very laid-back like he presented himself…just kind of an easy-going person, but he had a very sharp brain and he drew people in with his charm and very good at getting funding as was Dave Koivisto. Dave, he's just…his charm was different than Terry's but, he had a way of getting what he wanted too, eh. Terry was very good at speaking and getting fundraising and before you knew what hit you, Terry had you convinced to do something, especially the government people and we were very fortunate with the government representatives in the area, maybe it was timing, maybe it was how we approached it, but it was a very good time for getting things done and getting things moving.[519]

By 1971, this core group of disabled people in Thunder Bay led by Koivisto and Bellavance were tired of experiencing the plethora of barriers preventing them from living an independent life. Koivisto best sums up the experience with the following quote:

> There was no housing. There was no transportation. The schools weren't accessible, and I always considered if in a regular person's life, an able-bodied person's life, if you took away one or two of those elements in his life, where would he be? So consider for the

[516] "Alice Bellavance."
[517] "Susan Ward."
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.

> disabled, there were so many gaps in the overall services. That's why so many couldn't succeed, it just wasn't there.[520]

Having the above outlined privileges, not available to local disabled activists in the past, the new wave of disabled young people were also assisted by the support of the city's Planning Council and the availability of government funding. In turn, they were able to mobilize and fight for their rights in a way not possible in the pre-1970s. The Planning Council began in the mid-1960s as a local citizen's activist group and by 1971 it took up the mantle of advancing disability rights in the city of Thunder Bay by organizing local disabled persons together in its Rehabilitation Committee.[521] The informal advocacy of the Happy Handicaps aside, this was the first known efforts at what Boyce et al. call organized disabled citizen participation or a "way of using existing physical, economic, and social resources to attain a valued outcome or benefit."[522] According to proponents of new social movement theory, the development of nascent movements, such as the disability rights movement of the 1970s is due to the emergence of "historical and cultural events that are anti-institutional and self-identifying in nature."[523] Disabled people like other social movements, including feminist, indigenous, and different racial minorities used this period to also mobilize and fight for a place in Canadian society.[524] Galer documents the early work in the 1970s by the Toronto Task Force on the Disabled and Elderly, which tackled some of the same access issues as the HAGI including housing, transportation, education, employment, recreation, and architectural barriers. The Task Force was created in

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[520] "Dave Koivisto."
[521] "Social Planning Council Solves Many Problems," *News-Chronicle*, September 23, 1970, 3.
[522] Boyce et al., *A Seat at*, 23.
[523] Ibid., 32.
[524] Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red," 77-94; Scott Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red Scare: Rights, Decolonization, and Indigenous Political Protest in the Global Sixties," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2011); Christabelle Sethna, "The Evolution of the Birth Control Handbook: From Student Peer-Education Manual to Feminist Self-Empowerment, 1968-1975," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History 6th ed*., eds., Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, and Adele Perry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 390-408; Malgorzata Kierylo, "'Equality Now!': Race, Racism and Resistance in 1970s Toronto," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2012).

1973 and developed out of the 1972 mayoral election that saw a social reformer mayor named David Crombie build up a strong coalition, which included PWD.[525] For disabled people, these early efforts were the lynchpin in getting society to reevaluate their needs according to a newer rights-based model. Koivisto's previous quote thus confirms Sociologist Armand Mauss' insight that social movements arise in society to reinterpret the hegemonic redistribution of resources for an oppressed group, as a social problem needing addressment. The oppressed group, in this case PWD, experienced subordination and developed "rising expectations" when they observed the resources and ableist construction of society enjoyed by the able-bodied.[526] The disconnect that disabled people felt produced "relative deprivation," especially since the previous attempts by Sereda were performed in an unfavourable context, which did not lead to wholesale changes in housing, transportation, and the physical environment.[527] According to Pothier and Devlin, PWD were denied full substantive citizenship and were instead "dis-citizens."[528] The Planning Council's actions in grouping disabled people together allowed them to develop their "resource management," which included establishing leaders and members and an internal structure to effect change. Koivisto, Bellavance, Ross, Nisbet, and Ward provided the "dynamic" leadership to set the ball rolling, energize, and theorize for nascent local movement; indeed, this was possible through the efforts of the Planning Council.[529]

In the 1970s, the Planning Council brought "social agencies together to solve common problems and eliminate duplication of services – to bring citizens together to start needed

[525] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 159.
[526] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 17.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 2.
[529] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 56.

services – to bring attention to community problems and recommend ways to solve them."[530] The three major activities of the Planning Council were research, liaison, and action. Firstly, research was carried out through various grants that gave leaders the ability to identify areas of community concern. For instance, some of these problems stemmed from a lack of liaison between different community groups. Therefore, the Planning Council as a "neutral" organization encouraged different groups to work together and/or streamline communications to improve efficiency.[531] On other occasions, research and liaison showed that action or a new service was needed and in many cases the Planning Council created such a service. According to a January 1972 article in a Thunder Bay community newspaper, "it [the Planning Council] may start a new service, and run it until it [could] operate independently. It may encourage an existing agency to assume expanded functions. It may make representation to the appropriate government body to make changes in legislation."[532] The Planning Council along with the OMOD Ability Fund, which was the March of Dimes fundraising arm, were part of the community's United Appeal fundraiser and received funds through this body. The Planning Council claimed to be totally neutral and was known as a community activator aiming to "make Thunder Bay a better place to live for all its citizens."[533] The Planning Council stated that it wanted all groups in the city to "experience well-being."[534] To do this, the non-profit organization identified problems and created solutions.[535] After its creation in the mid-1960s, the Planning Council developed several services including: the Volunteer Bureau, Meals on Wheels, the Family Counselling Agency, the Big Brother Association, the Community Residences of Thunder Bay girls'

[530] "Social Planning Council," 3.
[531] Marg Phillips, "Social Planning Council Works In Many Fields," *Stirring Giant*, January 1972, 10.
[532] Ibid.
[533] "Social Planning Council Solves," 3.
[534] Phillips, "Social Planning,"10.
[535] Ibid.

residences, and a branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association. The Planning Council also encouraged the city to create municipal day care centres for children, strengthened ties between social agencies in order to make the Red Cross Homemakers' Service flow more smoothly, and developed a booklet with the contact information of every social service agency in the city.[536]

To fully understand how the Planning Council became involved in disability issues, it is important to understand its community-membership makeup. The Planning Council was a voluntary organization consisting of both male and female members. The organization consisted of a 16-person Board of Directors that included four executive members: president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer and 12 community members elected by members. These directors came from all different backgrounds in the city, such as business people, professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers etc.), and the leaders of social agencies. These directors were responsible for developing policy that was made in relation to both community and membership needs. In addition, the Planning Council had two permanent staff members – an executive director and a part-time secretary; a further five person representative team was made up of both city and community personnel. Finally, the Planning Council was affiliated with both its provincial and national counterparts – the Ontario Welfare Council and the Canadian Council on Social Development. This broad spectrum of citizens and organizations ensured that social reformer views held sway and were articulated by the several committees that made up the internal structure of the Council and which dealt with public policy. In 1971, these committees included: housing, help information, rehabilitation, legislation, troubled child, early detection,

[536] "Social Planning," 3; Philips, "Social Planning," 10.

children's service group, and the neighbourhood team pilot project.[537] It was the Rehabilitation Committee that dealt with disability issues in the early 1970s.

Two members of the Planning Council played a direct role in organizing the young disabled people of the city, Margaret Philips and Gwyneth Workman. Phillips was appointed the new Executive Director of the Planning Council on June 4th, 1971, and was attuned to disability issues.[538] The forty year-old Phillips brought a wealth of social justice experience and a youthful vigour to the citizen's group. Prior to taking the position, Philips was active in social justice movements in Kenora and participated in the 1965 Anti-Racism March in that city.[539] Her most recent position before taking on the executive directorship of the Planning Council was as a consultant for the Youth and Recreation Branch of the Ontario Department of Education. In this role, she consulted with the municipal recreation departments, school authorities, and community organizations in Ontario to develop appropriate programs and services.[540] This experience endeared her to the Planning Council especially her "commitment to the idea of participatory democracy and her confidence in people to effect desirable social change."[541] Workman, a few years older, was originally trained as a librarian before changing careers in 1957, becoming a social worker. Workman first served as a welfare field worker in the Ontario Department of Public Welfare traveling the NWO region helping disadvantaged people apply for government funding.[542] Susan Ward revealed that Workman's clients "were not just clients, they were real people to her."[543] The MCSS promoted her to the position as one of the first Vocational

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[537] Ibid.
[538] "Social Planning Council Announces Appointment," *News-Chronicle*, June 4, 1971, 3.
[539] "Margaret Alberta Phillips," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 7 Nov 2016, www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?pid=176495650.
[540] "Social Planning Council," 3.
[541] Ibid.
[542] "Gwyneth Workman [obituary,]" *Chronicle-Journal*, January 21, 2007, B9.
[543] "Susan Ward."

Rehabilitation Counsellors in the region.[544] Workman was the rehabilitation counsellor for many of the young disabled people of the city and drew on her experience seeing people successfully acquire grants and applying this to disability. For Koivisto and the others who formed the HAGI, Phillips and Workman were a potent combination. Koivisto notes that Workman was "the silent force in this community" and that "she knew exactly what was happening and who to contact."[545] Phillips was "the voice and the strength behind it and then gave you the means to do it and how to do it too…Yeah, [Philips] was the smarts behind it [the Planning Council], but [Workman] was…the one on the top that…made things happen."[546] The two advised the group on "the language for briefs and what would be most effective."[547] Workman and Philips also had the assistance of other Planning Council members, such as Rosemary Collins, Joana Paulionis, and Ruth Wilson who all worked in the health field as nurses or rehabilitation workers.[548] In the end, Ward concluded that "we really had some wonderful teachers," but in 1971 the work was just beginning.[549]

On December 22nd, 1971, Phillips and the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee obtained a LIP grant of $42,471 from the Canadian federal government; this grant was used to fund the RAP at St. Joseph's Hospital and two disability reports – an accessibility guide for the city, and a DRR on barriers experienced by PWD and recommendations.[550] These reports led to the creation of the first organized disability rights' organization, the Handicapped Action Group

[544] "Workman," B9.
[545] "Dave Koivisto."
[546] Ibid.
[547] "Susan Ward."
[548] "Alice Bellavance."
[549] "Susan Ward."
[550] "Physically Handicapped Will Benefit From Grant," *News-Chronicle*, December 22, 1971, 13. The grant was announced by the Hon. Robert Andras, who at the time was the Member of Parliament for Port Arthur, on behalf of the Hon. Otto Lang, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration.

Incorporated in August of 1972. For those disabled who lived in the pre-1970s, this attention to disability issues was a major step forward. To illustrate, Bolduc states that:

> First of all, I should tell you that things for disabled people regarding accessibility and transportation began to change when half a dozen or so more disabled people got involved and decided they were going to affect some changes, because no other agency was doing it. They thought there were being helpful, but they were not, and I'm talking about the Ministry of Community and Social Service, March of Dimes and so on, so when a few people got involved, and things began to change, it was slow and it was over many years. It was a lot of work.[551]

Local Initiative Programs or LIPs were one of the means this group used to address their concerns. LIPs were first introduced in 1971 by the federal Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau as part of their Special Employment Plan; the grants were administered by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Under the program, non-profit organizations, groups of individual citizens, and municipal or territorial governments could seek a grant of up to $500,000 to provide employment opportunities for members of a community. In the Planning Council's case, the grant provided the funds to hire 17 young people, most of whom were disabled, in the Thunder Bay area from January 1st to May 31st, 1972, as part of the above projects.[552] The first project used $9,828 to fund the RAP. The RAP had just moved to the CMHC building at 1200 Victoria Avenue in the fall of 1971 and needed to expand its services; thus, the monies were a big boost. The $9,828 grant along with a separate grant from the City of Thunder Bay kept the RAP going until the City permanently took it over in 1973.[553]

In addition to the RAP, the 1971 LIP grant funded two disability reports - the DRR and a Thunder Bay accessibility guide. The DRR analyzed the scope of disability in the city by

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[551] "Gaston Bolduc."
[552] "Physically Handicapped Will," 13. LIPs continued until 1976 when they were replaced by grants from Canada Works.
[553] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 12-13.

categorizing statistical evidence, such as the number of disabled persons in the city, their needs, and the amount of architectural, employment, transportation, housing, and sports/recreation barriers in the city. The scientific data that came out of this work formed the basis for the first unified disability policy initiated by the City of Thunder Bay. This LIP grant was extremely important for disabled people, as the brief prepared by the Planning Council in early 1971 demonstrated that "Thunder Bay serious[ly] lack[ed] in services for physically disabled and psycho-socially handicapped people."[554] The Planning Council had gathered dozens of young, educated disabled persons in their organization, and Phillips and Workman saw that they were languishing because of a lack of opportunities. This "new breed" of disabled young people were between the ages of 18 and 30 and did not want to "accept stereotypes" of PWD as passive beneficiaries of services.[555] Thus, after a stay in a rehabilitation facility these young people wanted to go on with their lives through re-introduction into the job market, continuation of their education, and participation in recreational activities. In fact, it is here where we see a stratification of disability activism. Although some disabled activists in the pre-1970s had a willing spirit, they did not have access to the new circumstances and resources, which led some post-1970s activists to believe that they appeared to be content with the Happy Handicaps and the reliance on others to provide for their needs.[556] It was not until Phillips and Workman brought this newer wave of young disabled persons together that they were able to maximize their new position in society and charter a new path that differed from the Happy Handicaps.

With the LIP in hand, the 17 workers joined up with community volunteers to acquire the statistical evidence required to demonstrate the need for action in Thunder Bay. Ten of these

[554] Phillips, "Social Planning Council," 10.
[555] Dion and Paquette, "Action Group," 2.
[556] Ibid.

workers were assigned to the Rehabilitation Committee's research section where, the non-disabled university student, Chad Hannah coordinated the team of researchers in conducting and collecting information on the needs and services for PWD in the city. These areas included: housing, transportation, employment, recreational programs, and accessibility to buildings; indeed, a major part of the accessibility section was surveying local buildings to see how accessible they were to PWD. The results were published in a special access guide that assisted PWD and out-of-town visitors to Thunder Bay to manage the inaccessible architectural landscape. Architectural barrier surveys were a common tactic by disabled proponents in the 1960s and '70s. A full survey of Winnipeg occurred in 1964 by members of the CPA and its Ladies Auxiliary Association in 1964 with CPA head Tony Mann believing that such surveys were "an effective way of promoting the implementation of…[accessibility] [s]tandards."[557] The Thunder Bay group also assessed all current municipal, provincial, and national legislation that pertained to disability and created a catalogue of local services in order to discover what additional services were needed, gaps in existing services, and duplications.

Along with this data, a series of interviews were conducted with PWD and service providers to establish the needs of the former as regards to housing, transportation, recreation, and employment.[558] Early results showed that there was a "multiplicity of services," which embodied a "welfare supermarket."[559] In this environment, PWD had to "shop around, going from agency to agency" to receive help and this was even more problematic when many of them had mobility disabilities.[560] These interviews provided evidence on the need for dialogue for new

[557] Ringaret, "History of Accessibility," 282.
[558] Margaret Phillips, "Tenant Problems Major Concerns," *Stirring Giant*, March 1972, 23.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid.

legislation and services.[561] Furthermore, an April 1972 ad in the *News-Chronicle* outlined the Planning Council's need to reach more interviewees. The ad revealed that "over 400 letters [had] been mailed to the disabled in the city" with the hope of attaining about 200-250 respondents.[562] The Planning Council also encouraged other disabled persons in the city to contact them for an interview and here the media was essential in getting the word out.

In order to collect interviews and survey buildings for accessibility, a slew of volunteers and interviewees were needed. To get the word out, the Planning Council placed a series of ads in both the *Stirring Giant* and the Port Arthur *News-Chronicle*.[563] In March, the Planning Council had a plethora of both secondary and post-secondary students involved in this volunteer work, especially in performing the accessibility surveys of local buildings. These students came from a variety of disciplines, such as recreation, and building technology. The Planning Council noted that although these students "would not ordinarily find their interests in the same work, [they] were bringing their specialized knowledge to the project."[564] The volunteer drive was so successful that besides students, college instructors, secretaries, and employees in data processing and communications positions offered their services to the project.[565] By April of 1972, the students surveyed over 100 buildings for the access guide. The surveys also served as the basis for a series of proposals to building owners for access upgrades. The Planning Council publicly noted that most renovations simply required the installation of a ramp at the entrance and the widening of interior and exterior doorways. Bess Williamson shows how prior to the mainstreaming of universal design, this argument was used throughout North American cities to

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[561] Margaret Phillips, "Annual Meeting Held," *Stirring Giant*, February 1972, 15.
[562] "Lakehead Social Planning Council Disability Research Project [ad,]" *News-Chronicle*, April 27, 1972, 18; Margaret Phillips, "Membership and Public Relations," *Stirring Giant*, April 1972, 9.
[563] Ibid., 15.
[564] Phillips, "Tenant Problems," 23.
[565] Ibid.

demonstrate that accessibility would not "not impinge on the experience of non-disabled persons nor require significant compromise in terms of space and cost."[566]

The final DRR was presented to City Council in order to get Supplement No. 7 of the *National Building Code*: Building Standards for the Handicapped, 1970 passed by the municipality of Thunder Bay. The supplement was a revised version of the 1965 Supplement and was one of the first attempts by the federal government to make new buildings accessible to PWD, but in order for it to gain force in a city, it needed to be passed by that city's council. This was a vital step at change, but the legislation only dealt with new buildings; in fact, it neglected buildings already constructed.[567] The efforts at completing the DRR showed that this was truly a community project with young and old, able-bodied and disabled lending their talents to the Planning Council in an attempt to integrate a neglected group, disabled people, into the city. In fact, their combined organizing led to the Planning Council taking advantage of a provincial meeting in the city to present a well-articulated brief on the needs of disabled people.

While working on the two disability projects, the Planning Council presented some of their concerns to the Ontario Progressive Conservative government's Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities when it met in Thunder Bay on a cross-province tour in February 1972. This special committee was formed by Ontario Premier William Davis to examine the use of educational facilities by community groups in various Ontario municipalities. Thus, even though the committee was not specifically tasked with analyzing disability issues, the Planning Council took the opportunity to present a brief to the committee articulating their views

[566] Bess Williamson, "Designing Objects and Spaces: A Modern Disability History," in the *Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds., Michael A. Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 150.
[567] Phillips, "Membership and Public," 9.

on the lack of accessibility for PWD in city educational facilities. The event gave the Planning Council a platform to move beyond their local project, and into direct lobbying of the provincial government.[568] The Select Committee arrived in Thunder Bay in mid-February and met at a local high school, Fort William Collegiate Institute (FWCI), which was built in 1907 and was completely inaccessible. Since the building was architecturally inaccessible to disabled people, the Planning Council thought it would be a powerful symbol of how disabled people were prevented from fully participating in society, and they decided to prepare a brief. According to Alice Bellavance, it was believed that since "there were a bunch of big political muck a mucks and senior civil servants who came to Thunder Bay for this meeting" that the Planning Council had to really drive home their point.[569] Thus, the members:

> purposely [held the meeting]…at FWCI, which was very…you know, not barrier free at all. And, we purposely had even though some of us were able to get around in motor vehicles that had hand controls. We purposely had even the folks with disabilities all get on a school bus so that meant they all had to be lifted on and off the bus in their wheelchairs and drive up to the school and then everybody had to be unloaded and then we had to haul everybody up and down the stairs into the auditorium. So it was…it was done for drama and effect and it certainly had that effect.[570]

This inaccessibility was indeed glaring as the Planning Council presenters including Bellavance, Koivisto, and Nisbet had to be carried up the stairs; this added a much-needed reminder to those on the committee of the daily barriers that disabled persons faced.[571] At the meeting, disabled members of the Planning Council noted that "one in seven Canadians" were disabled and that they were "often deprived of the use of many public facilities including schools because of architectural barriers."[572] While student volunteers video recorded the presentation,

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[568] "Needs of Handicapped Emphasized at Hearing," *News-Chronicle*, February 16, 1972, 15.
[569] "Alice Bellavance."
[570] Ibid.
[571] Margaret Phillips, "Tenant Problems Major Concerns," *Stirring Giant*, March 1972, 23
[572] "Needs of Handicapped," 5.

the presenters pleaded with the Select Committee to report back to Queen's Park on the need to introduce new legislation making it mandatory in municipal and provincial building codes to make all public buildings accessible. In 1963, the federal government had appointed an 18-person Committee on Building Standards in Ottawa to improve accessibility. This Committee was tasked with developing accessibility standards and in 1965 released a supplement to the *National Building Code of Canada*. Thus, new federal buildings were to be built accessible and the same was possible if individual municipalities adopted the standards as a bylaw, but existing buildings such as the schools in Thunder Bay were not covered by the legislation.[573] Thus, the Planning Council brief also mentioned that government needed to take action in this area by making existing buildings accessible through modifications. To make their point even more emphatic, the presenters outlined personal experiences of barriers to access

Disabled people revealed they were regularly asked to leave their wheelchairs in a designated spot and had to be carried to a seat when they went to school theatres and auditoriums. Not only was this humiliating, but it proved to be a safety hazard because in the case of a fire it would be impossible for someone disabled to leave in a hurry.[574] Presenters outlined negative experiences from a range of educational facilities including Lakehead University, Confederation College, and Selkirk and FWCI high schools. It was revealed that the cafeteria at Lakehead and the library at Confederation College were not accessible for wheelchairs. Having access to these locations was an essential part of the postsecondary experience and disabled students wanted action taken so the schools would be more inclusive.[575] Sadly, students at Lakehead were essentially confined to the library since there were "a multitude

[573] "Good Chance For Help To City's Handicapped," *News-Chronicle*, January 28, 1972, 4; Phillips, "Tenant Problems," 23; Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 281-282.
[574] "Needs of Handicapped," 5.
[575] Ibid.

of staircases to other parts of the University," which "bar[red] them" from the rest of campus.[576] The situation at the secondary schools was not much different as the auditoriums and other parts of the buildings were not accessible without the help of able-bodied people to carry those disabled up the stairs.

The Planning Council members concluded their brief by urging the Select Committee to report these matters to the government.[577] John Smith, the Chairman of the Committee, was initially skeptical about the brief, wondering whether "it had a place before the committee."[578] However after hearing and seeing the situation, he "realized the urgency and relevance of [it.]"[579] Smith's change of position was what the Planning Council hoped to achieve on a larger scale at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels. Indeed, Bellavance, Koivisto, and Nisbet were ecstatic about how their new-found confidence in activism led to a change of thinking, but they knew that their work was just beginning.[580] Since the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee had reorganized itself in 1971, this was the first city-wide disability action with considerable organizational backing. Sereda had painstakingly laboured to make earlier piecemeal changes in the pre-1970s, but she primarily worked alone and in an environment less favourable to disability issues. It should be noted that the Planning Council built on some of Sereda's tactics, such as taking advantage of an opportune time to outline their appeal and seeking media attention, but on the whole, the activism of the Planning Council was a different sort. In Turner and Killian's life cycle of a social movement, stage two involves social movements developing a longterm plan of action and directing attention to remedying

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[576] Margaret Phillips, "Report," *Stirring Giant*, May 1972, 15; Dan Keeton, "University not designed to accommodate handicapped," the *Argus*, October 16, 1974, 1.
[577] "Needs of Handicapped," 5.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Ibid; Phillips, "Report," 15.

inequalities. Indeed, the Planning Council's new course was an extension on Sereda's earlier activism; she also assisted this new group where possible.[581] The members of the Planning Council were a dynamic group of organized and educated disabled young people eager to seek change and social relief from government on the new independent living model. Their efforts even attracted positive editorials.

One of the city's main newspapers entered the disability debate with a January 28th, 1972, editorial entitled "Good Chance For Help To City's Handicapped." It highlighted progress on accessibility in other cities and steps Thunder Bay needed to take to keep up. The article noted that there were about 42,000 wheelchair users in Canada and that one in 14 Canadians lived with a "permanent physical disability [that] interfere[ed] with work and normal daily living."[582] Furthermore, three million Canadians out of a total of 21 million were "affected by the processes of aging or disease," which essentially put them in ranks of those disabled.[583] Indeed, with these growing numbers, the article showed how cities in Canada were starting to take action; for example, Halifax, Calgary, and Ottawa were beginning to display disability stickers on their buildings to indicate whether they were accessible. Other cities were also following suit trying to meet the "minimum standards of accessibility" by providing ramps, elevators, spacious hallways, and accessible washrooms.[584] The editor encouraged city leaders in Thunder Bay to follow suit especially since $10 million dollars had been allocated to Thunder Bay for new buildings in 1972 as part of an urban renewal project. It was argued that disabled Canadians should be able to "shop with ease; visit a post office, public library, theatre, hotel or attend school, church and

[581] Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 253.
[582] "Good Chance for," 4.
[583] Ibid.
[584] Ibid.

place of employment on a regular basis."[585] In order to accomplish the above, Canada's transportation system, in all its facets, needed to be barrier-free. In 1972, this was a bold statement, as the various federal, provincial, and municipal governments and their private partners had a long way to go, but it at least got the ball rolling. While there was some acknowledgment of a problem - for example the International Air Transport Association had recognized the difficulties of the disabled traveler - the efforts at rectifying these problem were only in the preliminarily stages. Winnipeg and Toronto had published transportation handbooks for disabled people on how to avoid problems before booking a flight, but their policies regarding local transportation, such as municipal bussing were limited. These examples as well as the fact that there was a growing number of the elderly in the city led the editor to appeal to Thunder Bay City Council not only on an economic level, but a humanitarian one in order to "put [this] principle [of removing barriers] into practice."[586]

By the summer of 1972, the Planning Council had finalized its two disability projects and were quite encouraged by the fact that the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Division was also engaging in a separate study on the recreational needs of disabled people. These studies began a conversation with City Council on the implementation of concrete disability policy. As Ringaert shows, "Parks and Recreation were very inclusionary before it was fashionable;" in fact, "[s]ome of the first access to community areas came out of the sports side and moved to the community like parks, libraries, fitness centres."[587] Thunder Bay's six month Parks and Recreation study was undertaken in January of 1972 by four city program research workers to determine the recreational needs and problems of the aged, physically disabled, and the

[585] Ibid.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 293.

intellectually disabled.[588] At the time, the municipal recreational department believed they were not adequately meeting the recreational needs of disabled people.[589] The study was mostly qualitative in scope with researchers evaluating and assessing existing City programs provided for the above groups, with the ultimate intention of addressing gaps. Additionally, the workers sought to: build contacts with social agencies, integrate disabled people into discussions, educate the public on the needs of PWD, and find other means of financial support to fund future projects.[590] It is most likely that the City became involved in this project through their 1971 dealings with the Planning Council around the potential closure of the RAP. Through the RAP, the City saw firsthand how some of the recreational needs of PWD could be met through swimming events, day camps, and bowling. As well, the Planning Council's work on the DRR was public knowledge and showed that the City needed to jump into the fray as the needle was moving on the disability issue. Indeed, as recreation was one of the areas covered in the DRR, it is not surprising that the City produced their own report thereby avoiding the embarrassment of being out of the loop when it came to accessible policy for disabled people.

The City's recreational report while not an all-encompassing analysis of disability, like the Planning Council's two reports, was nonetheless a good start. In the physical disability section of the report, each local disability organization in Thunder Bay was analyzed. The report then outlined basic problems experienced by disabled people and how the City could fill existing gaps. The City analyzed the Happy Handicaps, the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre, the OMOD sheltered workshop, Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital, the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, the CNIB, the RAP, Westfort Community Centre, the Victorian Order of Nurses, and the

[588] Thunder Bay Parks, "The Recreational Needs," 1.
[589] Ibid.
[590] Ibid., 3.

Crippled Children's Centre.[591] Existing problems included: a lack of volunteers, the need for accessible homes and special residences, the high degree of programs that focused on arts and crafts, the alienation from the public, lack of transportation, inaccessible buildings, and no registry with a complete listing of who was disabled in the city.[592] The researchers argued that physical recreation was a must to increase disabled peoples' motor capabilities and livelihood.

They believed that in order to develop a relevant City program, PWD needed to be at the forefront of the decision-making process in order to enhance their independence. Part of this independence involved actively educating and engaging the greater community in new City recreational programs designed to meet the social, physical, and mental needs of disabled people. To accomplish these goals, several recommendations were listed with the overarching one being that the City needed to "run a physically active programme" for PWD.[593] It was postulated that such a program could focus on a number of different activities like gymnastics, wheelchair badminton, creative dance, and even a camping program. However, in order to accomplish this bold program, the City needed to "take buildings into consideration," especially since Thunder Bay lacked proper ramping, and elevators, hindering accessibility.[594] Furthermore, many disabled individuals revealed that "they [were] afraid to go to any social functions because they [were] afraid of how the public would receive them."[595] Thus, the study concluded that any program had to "make the handicapped feel comfortable" to avoid any stigma they may feel from engaging in activities in the public sphere.[596]

[591] Ibid., 17.
[592] Ibid., 22.
[593] Ibid., 23.
[594] Ibid.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Ibid.

At the conclusion of their report, the Parks and Recreation department acknowledged that the needs of disabled people were being ignored, but that improvements were being made by the Planning Council. It was revealed that the City needed to implement a recreation program with the assistance of disabled people. The City workers drew on the fact that the Planning Council was doing a lot of work "organizing [PWD] into a strong demanding force in the community."[597] The City stated in their report that PWD "[were] demanding their rights and privileges like every other minority group" and it is likely that officials were aware of the need to start addressing the issue.[598] This may have been some of the reasoning behind the City's annexation of the RAP in 1973. City transportation to the program was the biggest problem, but they soon took over ownership of the accessible van that was purchased by the Cerebral Palsy Parents' Council and the Metro Kiwanis Club. Before this van, disabled people were "herded" into other cars that were not properly outfitted; additional vans were purchased to accommodate the growing number of participants.[599] Besides transportation, the report outlined the importance of suitable community facilities; facilities that had wide enough doors, adequate washrooms, and a lack of stairs. In the future, the report stated that the City needed to guarantee that City planners took construction of new buildings into account to ensure they were accessible.[600] In fact shortly after the report, City leaders had the benefit of two new sources of information for reference, *Thunder Bay: A Guide For the Disabled*, and the DRR published in the summer of 1972.

The Planning Council did not blindside Thunder Bay City Council with the accessibility guidebook and the DRR; there was, in fact, quite a bit of interaction through the first half of 1972 by the researchers of the Rehabilitation Committee and City Council on the need to break down

[597] Ibid., 44.
[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ibid.

barriers for disabled people. Firstly, on April 4th, 1972, during the research stage, City Council received a report from the Engineering department dealing with ways in which the City needed to ramp curbs. They also provided a drawing on how to properly ramp curbs on a temporary basis; this was implemented after the complete DRR was presented to City Council on August 14th.[601] By the time the final report was presented, the Planning Council met with City Council three times between June and July. On June 5th, City Council received report no. 227/72, which was a request by disabled members of the Planning Council for the City to ramp curbs and remove barriers in City buildings. The City engineer, Tom Fell, proposed that Council create a special committee to look into the matter, but the discussion was postponed until the final report was presented.[602] During the next meeting, June 12th, a whole host of disabled activists including Sereda, who had just finished leading Thunder Bay's Sixth Annual 'Shut-In Day,' attended a City Council meeting. Phillips, Bellavance, and Nisbet also joined Sereda in submitting a brief portion of the DRR revealing that the completed project would be shared within a month. In this meeting, Bellavance brought up the problem of the inaccessibility of City Hall and asked Council to better equip/modify the building along with other civic buildings to improve access.[603] Since City Hall was basically the political centre of Thunder Bay, it needed to be the first building to become accessible to show that the City was serious in furthering disability rights. City Council received a further reminder of the changes they needed to make when the

[601] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1, Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Meeting Minutes, 4 April 1972, 17.
[602] Ibid; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1, Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Meeting Minutes, 5 June 1972, 37.
[603] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2, Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 12 June 1972, 16; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1, Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Meeting Minutes, 4 April 1972, 17; "Shut-In Day June 4," *News-Chronicle*, June 1, 1971, 3.

completed DRR was finally submitted in mid-August; this was the major catalyst in exposing the accessibility problem and creating a dialogue on initiating sustained change in Thunder Bay.

Four prominent members of the Planning Council namely Phillips, Hannah, Bellavance, and Koivisto visited City Council on August 14th and presented two "exhaustive reports" - *Thunder Bay: A Guide For the Disabled*, and the DRR.[604] The DRR was very substantive in ascertaining data from disabled residents and agency providers. One hundred ten representatives of both governments and private agencies were interviewed along with 164 disabled residents, and in turn this data laid the groundwork for future disability policy in Thunder Bay.[605] Initially, the Planning Council wanted to interview 300 to 400 PWD, but it was difficult to receive feedback from social agency referrals; most of the respondents were those recommended informally.[606] Also, many PWD were shut-ins and there was no way of knowing the exact number of disabled individuals in the city. Nevertheless, using estimates from the 1950-1951 Canada Sickness Survey plus statistics from the National Research Council in Supplement No. 7 to the *National Building Code*, 1965, the group came to a rough figure of 15,927 disabled in Thunder Bay (pop. 111,492).[607] Within these reports was a list of 39 recommendations in five areas: architectural barriers, employment, housing, transportation, and recreation. The overarching concern of the DRR was for the City to "adopt a bylaw based on 'Supplement No. 7 to the *National Building Code*.'"[608] This legislation required municipalities to make it mandatory for "ramped entranceways" and other building modifications in all new City facilities with the exception of private dwellings.[609] At the time, other cities in Canada enacted the legislation with

[604] "Registry System Proposed For Handicapped In City," *Chronicle-Journal*, August 15, 1972, 13.
[605] Ibid., 2, 21.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid., 2, 4.
[608] "Registry System Proposed," 3.
[609] Ibid.

positive results. Other recommendations to Council involved: tax incentives to make it palatable for building owners to make their buildings accessible, placing of the international disability sticker on accessible buildings, providing adequate parking spaces close to public buildings and stores, extending the trial program for ramping sidewalks to the north ward, granting those in sheltered workshops fair payment and equal rights, encouraging Confederation College to study the needs of disabled people and set up a course, encouraging all businesses to set up sheltered workshops, persuading employers to take disability into account when hiring and giving preference to PWD for "bench jobs," giving employers a tax incentive to hire disabled employees, increasing government funding to disability workshops, expanding the Ontario Human Rights Committee's jurisdiction to include PWD, setting up accessible housing in Thunder Bay, designating that 5 per cent of all units in the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC) apartment units be designed for wheelchair users, allowing disabled tenants to be given a rent supplement, lowering City transit fees for disabled riders, altering transit vehicles to make them accessible, promoting a City-led accessible van program, delegating responsibility for accessible programs to Parks and Recreation, integrating disabled people into community events to make them more accommodating, and giving responsibility of the RAP to the City.[610]

After hearing the Planning Council's presentation, City Council agreed to work with the group in implementing suggestions in the report. Mayor Saul Laskin urged Council to "try to determine those barriers which most urgently need replacing and act upon them first."[611] One of these first concerns was improving the accessibility at City Hall. The building was ramped on both the May St. and Brodie St. entrances, but they were inaccessible during the winter. To

[610] LSPC, *Disability Research Report*, i-vi.
[611] "Registry System Proposed," 13.

further add insult to injury, Dr. Anten, a disabled City Councillor, had tremendous difficulty getting in. Koivisto, one of the DRR collaborators, commented that "[t]he ramps [were] fine in summer but there's no way you can use them in snow."[612] In fact, "[u]nless a handrail [was] placed there [in the winter] the wheels [would] slip and bog down."[613] Additionally, a step in front of City Hall made it difficult to enter requiring a person operating a wheelchair to pop a wheelie; thus, the Planning Council wanted it removed immediately. Fell, having received the report in advance, revealed it would cost $800 to remove it and insert a ramp. After this discussion, City Council agreed that the DRR needed to be submitted to correct municipal administration for further study and implementation with a full report to be completed in the future.[614] Two days after the presentation, disabled members of the Planning Council broke away from that body and created their own disability advocacy organization.

On August 16th, 1972, an important meeting was held in the cafeteria of Confederation College to create Thunder Bay's first disability rights' advocacy group the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated or HAGI; this group took the reins from the Planning Council in working to implement changes in the five areas of the DRR. As Neufeldt notes, the democratization of social groups in the second half of the 20th century created an environment where "many issues previously left to the elites" were addressed by ordinary people.[615] As one of those social groups, PWD rallied around the slogan "nothing about us without us" as they took their place as "equal partners in the decision-making" process.[616] With Koivisto and Bellavance taking a leadership role in the new group, the HAGI had a large turnout of about two dozen people for their

[612] Ibid.
[613] Ibid.
[614] Ibid.
[615] Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada," 81.
[616] Ibid.

founding meeting. In advance of the meeting, the two publicized the event in the new Thunder Bay newspaper, the *Chronicle-Journal*, stating their intention to hold "[a] meeting to form an 'action group' geared towards bringing about constructive changes that [would] benefit handicapped citizens of Thunder Bay."[617] Part of the motivation in establishing this group was the need to produce "follow-up work" to continue the momentum from the DRR and make sure that the various levels of government followed through with the recommendations.[618] This was not to suggest that the Planning Council was going to discontinue its advocacy work on disability issues, but that it was felt that the community was best served letting the HAGI assume "many of the functions of the [Rehabilitation] Committee," especially since the group was solely dedicated to furthering disability rights.[619] This was a big change as both the Happy Handicaps and the Planning Council were essentially run by the able-bodied; the HAGI, on the other hand, was entirely run by PWD. For Bolduc, this was "the key that changed the lifestyle of disabled people in Thunder Bay was the involvement of disabled people themselves. They took a hold of certain things and made it happen over time with a lot of work."[620] With the HAGI directing the course of action disability rights in the city took, the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee provided support and resources where applicable. Koivisto successfully used the remaining monies of the LIP grant to set up the HAGI's early infrastructure. Firstly, he created a list of disabled residents in the Thunder Bay area who might be interested in joining the new organization. Koivisto then made arrangements with the College to hold bi-monthly meetings.[621] Over the next five months, the HAGI solidified an internal infrastructure and policy agenda.

[617] "Action Group," *Chronicle-Journal*, August 15, 1972, 3.
[618] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 14.
[619] Ibid., 12.
[620] "Gaston Bolduc."
[621] Ibid., 14; Dion and Pacquette, "Action Group," 10.

Once the HAGI successfully formed in mid-August 1972, it spent the next few months organizing and developing a plan of action to tackle disability rights in the city. The group soon outgrew the College cafeteria and moved meetings to Sherwood Hall in Fort William. These meetings attracted approximately 30 to 35 people per outing with 90 paid members and 180 people on the mailing list by the end of 1972.[622] At the meetings, the HAGI "worked on all these different things within that report [the DRR]…all the recommendations because with HAGI, those recommendations would have just sat on peoples' desks and never did nothing…that was the idea why we formed."[623] The meetings were "very collegial" with members having a "fun time."[624] Alice Bellavance praised the "ladies that worked at Sherwood Hall," especially Maxine Satterthwaite who cooked the food.[625] For Susan Ward, the meetings "energized" and gave her a "feeling of hope for the future;" she even met her husband Joe at one.[626] Ward continued that the meetings were a "way for [PWD] to meet together, hang out, and we did our work" on furthering disability rights.[627] Afterwards, members, especially the young ones aged 17 to 22 went for drinks; indeed, it was a priceless bonding experience.[628] During municipal, provincial, and federal elections, the group held special meetings and during these events, candidates attended and shared in discussions with disabled people on pressing issues. Education was key, and Dave Koivisto and Terry Bellavance used the platform of the HAGI to educate new members on the progress being made with the 39 DRR recommendations. During a typical meeting in 1972, the group spent the first 15 minutes on general information. Following this general discussion, five subcommittees broke off to discuss information related to the five areas listed in the DRR. Each

[622] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 15.
[623] "Dave Koivisto."
[624] "Alice Bellavance."
[625] Ibid.
[626] "Susan Ward."
[627] Ibid.
[628] Ibid.

subcommittee then met and took turns sharing their findings with the larger group.[629] Two months after the HAGI was founded an executive team was elected entirely composed of disabled individuals or close allies with Koivisto serving as president, T. Bellavance as vice-president, Bolduc as secretary and A. Bellavance as treasurer. The HAGI also created a special committee consisting of Nisbet, E. Halliday, Ross, Anten, and S. Decan to deal with ad hoc issues.[630] For the rest of 1972, the HAGI made significant progress in building and strengthening connections within the community and setting the ground work for future disability policy.

The HAGI had a number of successes in developing relationships with both public and private organizations during the rest of 1972. Firstly, the HAGI built contacts with all three levels of government in whom the 39 recommendations were made. For instance, on September 11th, members of the HAGI and the Planning Council met with City Council to discuss housing.[631] Accessible housing was one of the recommendations of the DRR and the two organizations wanted the City to start building new accessible residences as soon as possible. Although the brief conceded that public housing was under the realm of the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC), there was a large need for new housing for disadvantaged groups in Thunder Bay (low income, seniors, single parent families, and disabled people) especially since Thunder Bay's vacancy rates were at a mere six per cent. Not only was there a 489 person waiting list for senior citizens at the end of July, but it was increasing at a rate of about 30 persons a month. As stated earlier, PWD were mostly confined to senior citizen homes or forced to rely on their families for living spaces.[632] In fact, the CMHC rated Thunder Bay as "the

[629]Ibid., 14.
[630] "Handicrafts Are Displayed," *Chronicle-Journal*, October 2, 1972, 3.
[631] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2, Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 11 Sept 1972, 24; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1, Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Meeting Minutes, 4 April 1972, 17.
[632] "City Urged To Build Homes For Elderly, Handicapped," *Chronicle-Journal*, September 12, 1972, 17.

hardest place in Canada in which to find an apartment."[633] Secondly, the HAGI started up an information program to educate the public on disability issues. This was done through playing the film 'Sound of Trumpets' to community groups and local businesses.[634] The film dealt with daily architectural barriers faced by disabled people and how to eliminate them. It described how barrier-free design could be implemented and how ramps needed to be installed in all building entryways. The HAGI approached many local organizations asking permission to show the film requesting staff participation in a question and answer section afterwards with one of the first organizations partaking being the Housing and Urban Development Association (HUDA) of Thunder Bay.[635] To the HAGI, education was essential in changing able-bodied conceptions of disability and these collaborative meetings were vital in getting the disability voice out into the public. Thirdly, the HAGI spent a considerable amount of time contacting disability rights' activist groups throughout Ontario and Manitoba to share information and ideas. While a local group was important, greater provincial and national coordination and collaboration was essential for sustained change. The HAGI did not stop with these initiatives; in fact, they strove to break down barriers in Thunder Bay for each of the five areas of the DRR along with helping to update human rights legislation to benefit PWD in the subsequent decades. However, the HAGI's first major priority was developing large scale accessible housing in Thunder Bay.

[633] "Problems To Be Aired By Housing Committee," *Chronicle-Journal*, October 23, 1972, 21.
[634] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 14.
[635] "Problems Facing Handicapped Aired," *Chronicle-Journal*, September 30, 1972, 13.

CH. 2: "Home[s] for the Handicapped": The First Accessible Housing Cooperatives and Apartment Complexes in the City of Thunder Bay, 1972-1994[636]

The Handicapped Action Group Incorporated's (HAGI) leadership resulted in several improved housing options for PWD in Thunder Bay, ON, during the 1970s to early 1990s.[637] Disabled people in the city had few accessible housing alternatives prior to 1972; in fact some were homeless. One of the first major advocacy areas the HAGI worked on after presenting the *Disability Research Report* (DRR) to Thunder Bay City Council in 1972 was establishing accessible housing in Thunder Bay.[638] Accessible housing based on the 'normalization principle' of integrated housing, originated in Scandinavia in the 1960s and early 1970s, provided PWD the ability to live independently with the able-bodied. It was a major advancement in breaking down institutionalized ableism and creating an accessible community. Accessible housing in the city also drew on the cooperative living movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Cooperatives such as Willow Park in Winnipeg, Manitoba, provided a third option at community housing that helped avoid the inflationary pressure seen in the housing market and low vacancy rates in 1970s Thunder Bay. HAGI's first two accessible housing projects in the 1970s were the joint Castlegreen Cooperative and their own One Fifty Castlegreen transitional living centre. These two projects filled an important need because they promoted a barrier-free community in Thunder Bay's housing scene that helped disabled people participate in other community activities.

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[636] In describing the HAGI's group residence project or what later became known as One Fifty Castlegreen (an accessible transitional house for up to 24 disabled residents), the then-vice-president of the HAGI, Terry Bellavance, referred to the facility as a "home for the handicapped." See: Jim Kelly, "Survey Shows Handicapped Housing Need," *Chronicle Journal*, November 1, 1975, 17.

[637] The Handicapped Action Group (HAG) became incorporated in 1975 taking on the name the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI). The HAGI will be used throughout this chapter.

[638] See chapter three and five for the personal experience living in accessible housing and the housing strategy for the region.

In order to develop an accessible housing system, the HAGI set up a housing section of the organization coordinated by the first four housing administrators Terry Bellavance (1973-1978), Dave Koivisto (1978), Ron Ross (1978-1983), and Allan Buchan (1983-1988). With infrastructure in place, the HAGI then developed a two-pronged approach in partnering with Castlegreen Cooperative (1976) to ensure a third of the 215 units were accessible and in creating their own 24 unit accessible transitional building, known initially as the HAGI Group Residence and later as One Fifty Castlegreen. Government and HAGI documents use the term 'Group Residence,' but as chapter three will show it served as a transitional living centre. The Group Residence was designed as a short-term stay facility for those who needed to continue their rehabilitation or learn independent living skills. When disabled tenants graduated from the residence, they moved into one of the many accessible housing options developed by the HAGI. Then, with the help of HAGI-Transit, they could access many parts of the city they could not before. The HAGI also consulted on several other accessible housing projects, including the 1976 221 unit Habour View Terrace twin apartment buildings initiated by Thunder Bay Community Projects Incorporated (TBCPI; later Thunder Bay Housing) for 10 accessible units, the 1980 expansion of Castlegreen Cooperative into the separate Superior View Cooperative for 10 accessible units, the 1982 Glenwood Court apartments for 10 accessible units, the 1987 Cumberland Court apartments for 13 accessible units, and the 1994 Jasper Drive project for 22 accessible units. The HAGI Group Residence and Jasper Drive were owned by the HAGI while the other complexes granted the organization varying numbers of accessible units or Support Services Living Units (SSLU). The HAGI also acquired funding from the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) for attendant care support that allowed PWD to live independently as disabled consumers. Bellavance set the early groundwork for the establishment

of the physical buildings of Castlegreen Cooperative and One Fifty Castlegreen. Koivisto oversaw the final land and lease agreement, and the support service component for One Fifty. Ross supervised the grand opening of One Fifty and acquired units as Glenwood Court. And, Buchan obtained Thunder Bay's first Independent Living Centre (ILC), units at Cumberland Court, and later, as Executive Director, HAGI's second Jasper apartment building.

Developing about the same time as the HAGI, Castlegreen Cooperative was a project fostered by the Lakehead Social Planning Council (the Planning Council) in 1973 to solve the city's housing crisis. The HAGI struck a deal with the new cooperative to ensure accessibility was a guiding pillar for all buildings in the new, diverse community of senior citizens, young families, and people of different socio-economic status. Additionally, many HAGI members including Terry Bellavance, Koivisto, Alice Bellavance, and Gaston Bolduc joined the cooperative and became founding members of the Board of Directors (BOD), while some such as Bellavance rose to such positions as Vice-President and Treasurer of the cooperative. Deciding on the integrated housing approach, Castlegreen leaders including Bellavance and Castlegreen's first manager, Allen Nelson (1931-2017), used Winnipeg's Ten Ten Sinclair apartment complex spurred on by the CPA (completed in June 1974) as their model. PWD had input into all five phases of both cooperatives (phase five was the establishment of Superior View) and assisted in securing a Canadian and Mortgage Housing Corporation (CMHC) mortgage, rent-geared to income and accessible suites. The HAGI also secured agreements with all three levels of government and Castlegreen Cooperative for the HAGI Group Residence. The HAGI Group Residence was one of the few transitional accessible housing complexes in the province. It employed trained HAGI staff to help disabled consumers build the independent living skills they needed to integrate or re-integrate into the community. However, it nearly

failed a handful of times as the CMHC could not see eye to eye with the HAGI on the funding arrangement. Saving the project became a community endeavor and the HAGI utilized a grassroots effort of letter writing, media publicity and lobbying to ensure the Group Residence succeeded in attaining a CMHC mortgage/other funding, attendant care service support through the 'Care Package,' and land on the Castlegreen site so it could open in the summer of 1979. The individual experience of living in the HAGI Group Residence, moving into the community, and the regional housing experience will be elaborated on in chapters three and five, while this chapter will outline the creation of HAGI's accessible housing system in Thunder Bay.

The Cooperative System: Castlegreen Cooperative, Harbour View Terrace, and Superior View Cooperative, 1972-1983

After its creation in August of 1972, the HAGI actively worked to address the accessible housing concerns brought up in the DRR. This was a large project, which the organization left to their new President Koivisto and Vice President Bellavance. In 1973, another Local Initiatives Program (LIP) grant was acquired to develop several of the concerns in the DRR, including housing. The actual proposal for the grant stated the following:

> To investigate areas of concern related to the disabled of the community in order to advance and expand the work carried out by the Handicapped Action Group; to check out new building construction; to investigate the availability of capital grants; to work closely with Manpower and Immigration; to check into the feasibility of a Sheltered Workshop within existing businesses; to work with the Thunder Bay Parking Authority and appropriate Provincial Departments for special parking in downtown areas; to do research into the feasibility for a Handicapped Residence with all ramifications, and to operate a Clearing House.[639]

All of the above were core concerns, but accessible housing was at the top of HAGI's list, especially since *Thunder Bay – A Guide for the Disabled* showed that so-called "completely

[639] Lakehead Social Planning Council (LSPC), *Annual Report*, 1973, 21.

accessible to wheelchair" apartments in Thunder Bay were "sadly wanting."[640] Armand Mauss argues that when a social movement's expectations are unfulfilled by society they develop "relative deprivation."[641] Hence, providing accessible housing was vital as Alice Bellavance noted that "unless you had resources to make your own modifications or build a home that, you know, was barrier free there was very little available."[642] As noted in chapter one, some PWD, Gary Lysak and Stuart Kirkup, had the resources to design their own barrier free homes, but for the vast majority this was unrealistic. Disability scholars, such as Duane Stroman and Rob Imrie, refer to this architectural neglect as "design apartheid," which historically segregated PWD as opposed to integrating them within regular housing with the able-bodied.[643] Bess Williamson argues that the history of design shows how "disability has appeared and disappeared as a topic of interest and engagement."[644] She also argues that disabled people have "responded" to these changes in order to navigate society.[645] This proved challenging with "modern design" from the late 19th and early 20th century, as it "embrace[d] the mechanical, rational, and predictable – values that made inconsistency and vulnerability a problem."[646] Modern design was part of an "emerging new civilization" that responded to "uncivilized," "poor," unhealthy, and "crowded" conditions.[647] Williamson further argues that it was based on "eugenics as a model" that was thought to "liberate humans from drudgery, inconvenience, danger, and even death."[648] Imrie

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[640] Ibid., 22.
[641] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 17.
[642] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[643] Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 101; Rob Imrie, "Oppression, Disability and Access in the Built Environment," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 129.
[644] Bess Williamson, "Designing objects and spaces: A Modern Disability History," in *the Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds., Michael A. Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 144.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.
[647] Ibid.
[648] Ibid., 145.

ascribes a lot of fault for this design to the architects and planners who produced works that upheld the "values of an able-bodied society."[649] For example, Andrew Marcum demonstrates how the "American dream home," in the suburbs, is "designed and built to meet the needs of young, white, nondisabled, middle-class families with children."[650] It is not built "for the aging, dwindling, middle-class, single-parent, and ethnically diverse population of today."[651] In turn, Imrie appropriately calls for "emancipatory architecture" that takes PWD into account through new "enabling" and barrier-free environments."[652] This is important because Peter Freund argues that "lack of access and mobility are at least to some extent a function of the design of space."[653]

Stroman's work takes a sociological approach to look at the different "social forces [that] came together to depopulate institutions for the disabled and increase empowerment and opportunity."[654] One of the areas Stroman analyzes is the lack of accessible housing in the United States (U.S.) and how the situation changed with the start of the Independent Living Movement (ILM) and the 1988 Fair Housing Amendment Act. These were key in attempting to limit housing discrimination for PWD.[655] Even earlier accounts by disabled activists themselves, such as Frank Bowe's 1978 *Handicapping America*, provided a call to action for greater rights by examining how "America handicaps disabled people" in a variety of fields including housing.[656] To illustrate, Bowe describes how housing is probably "the most intensely personal

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[649] Imrie, "Oppression, Disability, and Access," 129.
[650] Andrew Marcum, "Rethinking the American Dream Home: The Disability Rights Movement and the Cultural Politics of Accessible Housing in the United States," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 104.
[651] Ibid.
[652] Imrie, "Oppression, Disability, and Access," 130, 140, 144.
[653] Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 690.
[654] Stroman, *The Disability Rights*, vi.
[655] Ibid., 79, 99-101.
[656] Frank, Bowe, *Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), vii.

issue" in the battle to break down access barriers.[657] Bowe confirms Alice Bellavance's statement that few PWD have the funds to build an accessible home and lambasts the resistance of "private housing builders" in the U.S. to making housing accessible, which promotes "social isolation."[658] He also criticizes the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) interpretation of law at the time to mean segregation as opposed to integration.[659]

Several related works focus on accessibility in private residences. The 2003 edited collection *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada* includes Laurie Ringaert's "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective." The article is a foundational account of the post-World War II (WWII) progress made by disabled advocates in advancing accessibility in the built environment. Accessibility was first pushed by three groups of people: Canadian war veterans, the work place injured, and polio survivors. Ringaert looks at early building codes, such as Building Standards for the Handicapped (1965) Supplement No. 7 to the *National Building Code* that dealt with the design of public buildings, and the CPA Manitoba Division's unsuccessful push for residential standards. In turn, the integrated housing concepts coming out of Scandinavia became the model for cities such as Winnipeg to integrate disabled people into accessible housing projects.[660] Following up on this account, Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey Hudson's "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society. The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970" examines the civilian experience of integrating into a primarily inaccessible Canada. The lamentable state of housing is

[657] Ibid., 90.
[658] Ibid., 91-93.
[659] Ibid., 92.
[660] Laurie Ringaert, "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 279-300.

addressed with the authors noting that "the majority of civilians depended on the resources of their families and their individual resilience" to survive.[661] Geoffrey Reaume's *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries, 1945-1998* analyzes the establishment of Lyndhurst and corresponding developments in spinal cord management that allowed patients to rehabilitate and integrate into the community. Reaume notes that some quadriplegics were forced to live at Lyndhurst until special accessible housing projects were created in the early 1980s and '90s.[662]

Nancy Hirschmann and Beth Linker's edited collection *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging,* while not directly focusing on housing, does reveal how "disability is central to understanding citizenship."[663] Many of the chapters deconstruct discriminatory aspects in different parts of the world that prevented PWD from attaining citizenship.[664] This citizenship approach in theorizing about disability is used by Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin who use the term "substantive citizenship" to show how the concept extends far past, such things as voting rights, but to how it also "locates [disabled people] in the larger community."[665] In this regard, "access and participation" in society are key; as a result, inaccessibility in the housing realm denies disabled people such citizenship. Essentially, they possess "dis-citizenship."[666] Michael Rembis' introductory chapter in *Disabling Domesticity* reveals that there are "multiple

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[661] Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey L. Hudson, "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society – The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970," *Disability and Society* 20, no. 2 (March 2005): 108.
[662] Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries* 1945-1998 (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 3-4, 183-84.
[663] Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker, "Disability, Citizenship, and Belonging: A Critical Introduction," in *Civil Disabilities: Citizenship, Membership, and Belonging,* eds., Nancy J. Hirschmann and Beth Linker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 1.
[664] Ibid.
[665] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law,* eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1.
[666] Ibid., 2.

domestic sites of disability oppression and resistance in the U.S. and Canada."[667] In turn, several chapters deconstruct the ableism in the housing realm. Beth Tauke and Korydon Smith's chapter, "Crossing the Threshold: Disability and Modernist Housing," examines "one of the most significant functional and psychosocial elements of the house."[668] This is the house's 'threshold' or "transitional spaces;" it can be applied to "mobility, dexterity, perception, and cognition."[669] These thresholds produce "a variety of dualities – public/private, open/closed," and Tauke and Smith show how they are "in-between or liminal spaces" that "promote a feeling of being 'here-and-there' or a sense of being 'neither-here-nor-there.'"[670] In traditional architecture, these can be walls or other spatial boundaries. The authors examine three houses from the early 20th century as a way of demonstrating how each "charts new ground in the creation of domestic spaces and marks a significant step toward built environments that meet the needs of more people."[671] On the other hand, Marcum's "Rethinking the American Dream Home: The Disability Rights Movement and the Cultural Politics of Accessible Housing in the United States" examines "underlying ideological constructs of housing, home and disability in the contemporary USA" while also elaborating on the "dialectical relationship" between disability rights and the built environment through examples of "accessible, community-based housing" for PWD.[672] This account will demonstrate how pioneering the HAGI was in introducing accessible housing into the city of Thunder Bay, and the important role the organization played in the post-1970s accessibility discourse and debate.

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[667] Michael Rembis, "Introduction," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2.
[668] Beth Tauke and Korydon Smith, "Crossing the Threshold: Disability and Modernist Housing," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 49.
[669] Ibid., 50.
[670] Ibid., 49-50.
[671] Ibid., 50-51.
[672] Marcum, "Rethinking the American," 103-104.

Individuals such as HAGI's first secretary Bolduc went through a variety of poor housing options in the pre-1970s. Bolduc was "homeless for a while, even though [he] was working. [He] lived in a number of motels" and also in boating houses "that were totally inappropriate with extremely poor service."[673] Koivisto was also homeless, for a time in the early 1970s, before moving into the Hudson Heights apartment building where other early HAGI members, such as Gary Lysak, Tim Kozak, Guy Pacquette, and Jerry Pringle lived.[674] The ingenuity and resourcefulness employed by Koivisto helped both himself and other disabled tenants to cope prior to large scale accessible housing in the city. According to Koivisto, Hudson Heights "was the only place" that was accessible for wheelchairs from the outside so it attracted about half a dozen other disabled people, but repairs were still needed.[675] Specifically, the washrooms were not accessible. Therefore, in Koivisto's capacity as the 1972 workshop manager of the Ontario March of Dimes' (OMOD) sheltered workshop and with permission from the private owner, he brought several of his staff to the apartment to "take out the door-frames" to several units to make the width wide enough for wheelchairs.[676] The media attention from the Hudson Heights renovations saw the new 1974 Garden Apartments in the Academy Heights area built to have "some suites specifically designed for paraplegics – a first for Thunder Bay."[677] However, to further rectify the poor accessible housing situation, the HAGI wanted both integrated housing on a large scale and a special group residence. Indeed, Mauss argues that social movements arise and reexamine taken for granted situations in society as a foothold for activism; in HAGI's case this was the lack of accessible housing.[678] An accessible group residence would act as a

[673] "Gaston Bolduc," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 April 2017.
[674] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23, April, 2017.
[675] Ibid.
[676] Marcel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb 1976, 13.
[677] "Academy Heights LTD" [ad,] *Chronicle-Journal*, February 2, 1974, 19.
[678] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 17.

consumer-led extension of Lakehead Rehab. In this area, Terry Bellavance was put in charge, becoming the organization's first Housing Coordinator in 1973. While Bellavance worked on the HAGI Group Residence, an opportunity came up to join forces, that same year, with the new Castlegreen Cooperative in Thunder Bay to develop integrated accessible housing. The cooperative was started by Thunder Bay Cooperative Housing Association (TBCHA) to provide affordable, collective housing for residents in Thunder Bay. The HAGI and new Castlegreen organization collaborated to develop a 215 unit cooperative with the agreement that a third of the units be built fully accessible.[679] A side agreement was also made to set apart land adjacent to the cooperative for HAGI's Group Residence, which opened in 1979. The collaboration with Castlegreen was perfect timing as it formed at the same time as the HAGI.

Like HAGI, Castlegreen had its origins in the Planning Council, and particularly that body's Housing Committee, as a way to solve the housing crisis in Thunder Bay. By the early 1970s, the situation was very bad. To illustrate, in 1973, the average price for a detached house was $33,000 and vacancy rates for apartments were at 0.9 per cent. The situation worsened two years later, as the price increased to $44,000, and vacancy rates fell even lower to 0.5 per cent.[680] One reason for these alarming levels was that northern Ontario became more urbanized. With a greater number of people moving to the city, the price of serviced lots increased, which fueled a land speculation boom.[681] In response, the Planning Council set up a Steering Committee to evaluate the feasibility for a cooperative and the positive results laid the groundwork for the establishment of Castlegreen. By September of 1973, Castlegreen held its founding meeting, which included HAGI founders Terry and Alice Bellavance, Dave Koivisto, and Gaston Bolduc.

[679] Initially 262 units were proposed.
[680] "Castlegreen Co-Operative," *Chronicle-Journal*, March 24, 1975, 4; Ian Gibb, "Castlegreen A Community Without a Single Building," *Chronicle-Journal*, March 14, 1975, 15.
[681] "Castlegreen Co-Operative," 4.

The meeting elected a BOD with Terry Bellavance, Koivisto, and Bolduc all serving. Allen Nelson (1931-2017) was appointed as general manager and became the cooperative's first paid employee.[682] The Winnipeg born Nelson spent his youth in NWO before returning to his hometown where he took up employment with the Burroughs Corporation. Burroughs, a manufacturer of business equipment, transferred him to Port Arthur in the 1960s. After working a few more years for the company, Nelson switched jobs and took the position as District Manager for CIAG Insurance. Nelson also immersed himself in the volunteer culture in Thunder Bay. He became a member of the Planning Council and the Coordinator of its Housing Committee. He took a leading role in the creation of Castlegreen Cooperative, becoming the first President, while also serving as President of the Canadian Cooperative Housing Federation.[683] Nelson, Bellavance, Koivisto, Bolduc and other BOD members including Tom Harris, a local professor, Kay Escott, the senior citizen representative (also a HAGI member), and Don Smith, a city councillor, held regular meetings in local basements to make decisions on the project, including the stipulation that "a certain percentage of [the] units [were] fully accessible…wheelchair accessible."[684]

Cooperatives were not something new to Canada or Thunder Bay in the early 1970s, as there were others operating in the country, such as Willow Park (1966) in the north of Winnipeg. Willow Park was closely connected to Thunder Bay and was known as Castlegreen's sister cooperative.[685] Also, for many years, Finnish forestry labourers came into the city and roomed at the Finlandia Club in the Finnish district of Port Arthur. They created a lively cooperative culture

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[682] Jim Kelly, "Handicapped Housing Becoming Reality," *Chronicle-Journal*, October 28, 1975, 13; Castlegreen, *Castlegreen: A Co-operative Housing Community*, 1975, 3.
[683] "Allen Nelson [obituary,]" *Chronicle-Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 5 Jan 2019, https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=allen-howard-nelson&pid=187676761.
[684] "Gaston Bolduc;" "Dave Koivisto."
[685] Chris Owens, "Castlegreen stresses 'co-operative' living," *Chronicle Journal*, November 10, 1977, 18.

and sought similar accommodates once they retired.[686] In addition to Willow Park, Winnipeg completed its Ten Ten Sinclair project in 1975, which although not a cooperative was a state of the art integrated accessible apartment complex "for experiential learning [in] independent living."[687] These new accessible designs came out of work done in Scandinavian countries. Ringaert notes that at the time, "the design [of 1010 Sinclair] was radical," as it was "integrated housing" built for both the disabled and able-bodied.[688] Tony Mann, of the Winnipeg CPA, was one of the influential people behind the project. In turn, Alice and Terry Bellavance made it a priority to "hook up with him [Mann] when we started Castlegreen Housing Cooperative. The Canadian Cooperative Housing Foundation had a big conference in Winnipeg so Terry and I and Al Nelson, who was the first manager of Castlegreen, we went to Winnipeg."[689] The three toured Willow Park and Ten Ten Sinclair and were impressed with the barrier-free nature, especially of the latter. They also wanted to implement the rent-geared-to-income (RGI) and attendant staff system.[690] Arriving back in Thunder Bay, it was decided to follow the integrated living model of Ten Ten Sinclair.

The model which integrated accessible housing for PWD generally followed in North America, in the latter half of the 20th century, came out of 1960s developments in Scandinavia. However, it was not until the 1970s that it was applied to Canadian municipalities. In 1960s Sweden, Bengt Nirje (1924-2006) spear-headed the 'normalization principle' for disabled people, which involved making their "patterns of life and conditions of everyday living…as

[686] "Alice Bellavance."
[687] Ken Cassin, "Ten Ten Sinclair Housing," in *The Voice of People with Disabilities: Making a Difference in Manitoba*, ed., the Manitoba League of the Physically Disabled (Winnipeg: MLPH, 2012), 182.
[688] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 287.
[689] "Alice Bellavance."
[690] Ibid.

close as possible to the regular circumstance and ways of life in society."[691] Nirje, a polymath in a variety of subjects and who received graduate degrees at Yale and Sorbonne in comparative literature, eventually became the Ombudsman of the Parent's Association for Intellectually Disabled People. It is here where he applied his talents to refining the normalization principle.[692] One of the aspects of the principle was a system of "integrated accommodation" where disabled people escaped institutional living for life that approximated 'normal' living in specially designed accessible housing complexes.[693] In Canada, Supplement No. 7, 1965 to *the National Building Code* (based on British and American standards) was passed; however, it was not a mandatory piece of legislation. The supplement was just an add-on to the *National Building Code* that individual municipalities could chose to adopt. The supplement was updated every few years into the 1970s (an *Ontario Building Code* was adopted in 1976, but needed about 10 years of revisions to strengthen its accessibility requirements), but was focused on public buildings as opposed to private residences. After the supplement, the Federal Committee on Building Standards worked on residential accessibility. The goal involved collaboration with the country's national housing agency, the CMHC, to provide a residential version of Supplement No. 7. In turn, a Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Environment was created in 1968, which was an outlet for the CPA and other organizations to present housing briefs. A brief by Mann touched on the need for a variety of types of accessible housing, the integration of such housing in new subdivisions, incentives to encourage barrier free design, and revised architectural programs that

[691] Marten Soder, "Bengt Nirje In Memoriam," *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 193.
[692] Ibid., 193-195; Trevor R. Parmenter, "Intellectual Disabilities – Quo Vadis?" in *Handbook of Disability Studies*, eds., Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine Seelman, and Michael Bury (Thousand Oaks: CA, Sage Publications Inc., 2001), 267-296.
[693] Normand Boucher, Patrick Fougeyrollas and Pierre Majeau, "French-speaking Contributions to the Disability Rights Movement in Canada and Internationally: From a Québec Perspective," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns, and Aldred Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 176

focused on accessibility. In spite of the growing publicity, Mann and others became dismayed by the lack of progress. In fact, he noted that the passage of residential standards would be "slow and sporadic until the people in the community feel that it is important to do so and until they let it be known to the municipal council."[694] Although progress was slow, developments in the early 1970s saw several accessible housing projects based on the Swedish model develop in Canada including in Castlegreen Cooperative in Thunder Bay.

Community architectural barrier surveys were conducted in various cities to provide quantitative evidence of inaccessibility to buildings, including apartments. Another avenue to address inaccessibility was through provincial, national, and international conferences. To illustrate, Ringaert discusses the work by CPA Central Western Division head Mann, which took place in the 1960s and '70s. Mann attended many accessibility and barrier-free design conferences put on by organizations, such as the Paralyzed Veterans of America and the United Nations.[695] In Thunder Bay, in the early 1970s, Dr. Edward Anten also attended several conferences on behalf of the HAGI, including the 1973 National Conference of the Physically Disabled in Toronto held November 3rd-7th, hosted by the Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled (CRCD). Anten, funded by Thunder Bay City Council, reported back on the accessibility developments and resolutions that took place. In particular, one resolution dealt with the need for all schools of architecture in the country to be briefed on "the problems caused by thoughtless design."[696] According to Karen Yoshida et al., another conference in 1973 organized by the Ontario Federation for the Physically Handicapped (OFPH) was a major factor behind the advancement of SSLUs. SSLUs are an elaborate term for integrated apartment units

[694] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 281-284; Williamson, "Designing Objects and," 150.
[695] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 287-288; LSPC, *Thunder Bay: A Guide For The Disabled, June 1972*, 1-94.
[696] Rita Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation For Aiding Handicapped In Overcoming Barriers," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 1, 1974, 13.

that include the support care component. Out of this specific conference, four demonstration SSLU pilot projects where charted in separate cities (Toronto, Ottawa, Windsor, and Thunder Bay). The HAGI Group Residence was the demonstration project for Thunder Bay.[697] A lot of the knowledge at these conferences centered on Swedish integrated and accessible housing developments with both disability organizations and the CMHC taking notice. This type of housing arrangement trickled down to CMHC architects and researchers, and according to Ringaert, they were very "innovative" with working with local municipalities on such concepts.[698] Indeed, Ten Ten Sinclair, which opened in 1975, was one of the first projects in the country to have integrated housing for both the disabled and able-bodied. That same year, another project began construction on a similar design in downtown Winnipeg; it was referred to as Fokus Housing One and opened in 1977.[699] Integrated housing was also seen in the U.S. with the opening of a 90 unit accessible housing complex in south Minneapolis in 1975. Initiated by a coalition of 19 disability state organizations, called the United Handicapped Foundation (UHF), the project, according to one of the founders, was "probably one of the most progressive housing projects for the handicapped in the country at the time."[700]

Apart from integrated housing, a second type of accessible housing in Canada was the Cheshire housing system developed in the United Kingdom (UK) after the Second World War. While the Swedish integrated housing system followed the normalization principle, Cheshire Homes, originally established by Royal Air Force fighter pilot and philanthropist Leonard

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[697] Karen Yoshida, Vic Willi, Ian Parker, and David Locker, "The Emergence of Self-Managed Attendant Services in Ontario: An Independent Living Model for Canadians Requiring Attendant Services," in *Disability and Society Policy in Canada 2nd ed*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 321.
[698] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 287.
[699] Ibid., 287, 293.
[700] Kim Nielsen, *A Disability History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 172, 173, 174.

Cheshire, fostered aspects of dependency. Administered through the Cheshire Foundation Homes for the Sick charity (in 1976 it became the Leonard Cheshire Foundation; in Toronto it was known as the Cheshire Foundation), Cheshire Homes were accessible housing complexes solely for PWD who required additional assistance with daily living. By 1955, six such homes were set up in the UK, which led to overseas expansion into different countries, including Canada. Nevertheless, staff maintained the medical model approach, which limited opportunities for disabled tenants. In the 1960s, PWD living in the Le Court Cheshire Home, in the UK, began resisting the lack of opportunities, and sowed the early seeds of the modern disability rights movement in that country.[701] In Canada, Cheshire Homes were first introduced in 1970 through the efforts of Margaret McLeod. McLeod was an educator with the Ontario Crippled Children's Centre in Toronto, and a co-founder of the OFPH.[702] McLeod visited the UK and toured the first Cheshire Home, located near the village of Lis, in the Hampshire district. McLeod liked what she saw, and started the first North American branch in 1970. Two years later McLeod House opened in Toronto. Although McLeod House was not necessarily a Cheshire Home, as it did not have the attendant care component, the 1974 Clarendon project on 21A Vaughn Road was in essence the first Cheshire Home in Canada. Clarendon received full financial support from the MCSS, and employed dozens of attendant care workers who acted as the "arms and legs" for disabled tenants.[703] Like the situation at Le Court, one of the first tenants at Clarendon Sandra Carpenter, who became the head of Toronto's ILC in 1984, found that: "things [she] was trying

[701] Peter Beresford and Fran Branfield, "Leonard Cheshire," in *Encyclopedia of Disability Vol III*, ed., Gary L. Albrecht (Thousand Oaks: CA, Sage Publications Inc., 2006), 1034-1035.
[702] Sandra Carpenter, "Disability Social Equality: The Centrality of Independent Living," *Disability and Social Equality* 29 (2018): 232; Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 42. The Ontario Federation for the Physically Handicapped was created in Toronto in 1971 to replace institutional and segregated care for the disabled to more community focused alternatives
[703] Carpenter, "Disability Social Equality," 232-233; Yoshida, et al., "The Emergence of," 321.

to escape from [in] the institution had merely followed [her to Clarendon] namely inflexibility, depersonalization, isolation/segregation and lack of choice and control."[704] Carpenter moved out soon after, and involved herself in the nascent ILM in Toronto. Eventually, Cheshire Homes reformed; in fact, in 1980, they invited three HAGI delegates to attend a seminar they were hosting entitled: "Management: A Tool for Improve Support Service Care."[705] A Cheshire Home was not developed in Thunder Bay, instead, the integrated accessible housing system modelled by Ten Ten Sinclair was employed for Castlegreen Cooperative.

Needing support for the fledgling cooperative, Castlegreen struck up relationships with several different groups in the city, and also attained external funding from the government. Locally, a diverse group, made up of business, church, labour, professional and government leaders, provided backing for the project. In November of 1973, the Roman Catholic Church lent $2,000, and the federal government's Company of Young Canadians (CYC) provided an even larger grant that employed two volunteers. A month later, Castlegreen received additional financial support, including a $9,600 start-up grant, from the provincial government, a $10,000 federal LIP grant, to hire eight researchers and a community organizer, and an undetermined grant from the Secretary of State for Canada.[706] Once basic funding was secured, Castlegreen recruited members from a diverse background, including PWD. Not wanting members to be passive, Castlegreen empowered them to have "total involvement" in the "organization, planning, and design" of the cooperative through a series of committees.[707] Bolduc "served on the Selection Committee, up there for a couple of years, where we took applications from people

[704] Carpenter, "Disability Social Equality," 233.
[705] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1980, 2.
[706] Kelly, "Handicapped Housing," 13; Castlegreen, Castlegreen: A Co-operative, 3; Thunder Bay (TB) City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Community Services, Meeting Minutes, 21 Jan 1974, 1; Chris Owens, "Castlegreen stresses 'co-operative' living," *Chronicle Journal*, November 10, 1977, 18.
[707] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17.

who wanted to live there and, so, that was a number that we had to keep an eye on, the number of full paid versus subsidized rent."[708] The Selection Committee brought in 79 families, and organized several of that group into the 10-member BOD, and a series of different committees. These members agreed to a series of principles: collective ownership, services at reasonable prices, democratic decision-making, community involvement, green sustainability and diversity.[709] For Nelson, "members had a great deal to say regarding the design and [the future] buildings" because each member was a "joint owner."[710] These 'owners' paid a $2.00 yearly fee. Once they started moving into their units in 1976, they paid $500 to the cooperative, which was refunded without interest if they moved out.[711]

Although anyone could join, families or persons in financial need were given priority. Indeed, 42 of the first 120 units were designated to be rent subsidized by the Ontario government through the Community Sponsored Housing Program. The remaining units had lower monthly costs than other comparable ones.[712] According to Alice Bellavance, the funding and rent system worked as follows:

> 35 per cent of the units had to be barrier free or 25 were barrier free, 35 per cent had to be rent-geared-to-income. Pretty much all of the units that were barrier free were RGI because, pretty much, everybody that was disabled was on a fixed income. I mean my husband was working, so we were able pay market rent. My brother - in-law [Koivisto] lived in one of the units as well, so he paid market rent, and there was Gus [Bolduc] and…There might have been maybe a half dozen people in a housing cooperative of 265 units [earlier amount]. I would say half a dozen people with disabilities who now had barrier free housing, but paid like market rent or the market cost. The rest would have all paid RGI, and then, we had a high number of seniors as well who would have paid on RGI. Back then, a lot of people that were seniors just got the straight old aged pension and the GAINS-D [forerunner to Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP)] because

[708] "Gaston Bolduc."
[709] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 21; Owens, "Castlegreen stresses," 18, Castlegreen, *Castlegreen, A Cooperative*, 2.
[710] Owens, "Castlegreen stresses," 18.
[711] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17; Owens, "Castlegreen stresses," 18.
[712] Ibid.

> they may have been either self-employed or worked in sectors where they didn't contribute to CPP or to private pensions, I mean. So they wouldn't have had like a pension from the Railway or education, so they just had a straight Canada Pension. So, that usually wasn't enough to live on either, so they needed RGI. [713]

Thus, PWD benefited from this arrangement, but to also promote equality, Bolduc stated that "Castlegreen had x number of full pay units. In other words, you paid competitive rates or rent, and then, there were a number of units who were geared to income, and people didn't necessarily know who was who."[714] Indeed, to distance themselves from the private housing market, rent was referred to as "housing charges, and the co-op, as a group of people, were paying off a mortgage, and so, the philosophy of the co-op was that it was non-profit, so the housing charges were based on expenses and so on."[715] The cooperative's focus was to provide housing at a reduced cost and to ensure members were provided with all the services found in a well-run community. To do this Castlegreen needed strong relationships with government.[716]

Castlegreen Cooperative was the first large scale attempt at answering Thunder Bay's housing crisis of the 1970s; however, it strove to do more than that as it created a diverse community. After obtaining a $40,000 loan from the United Church of Canada, Castlegreen was incorporated on January 15th, 1974. The incorporation process resulted in direct contact with Thunder Bay City Council where Nelson and Ms. Fiorito (representative of the Secretary of State for Urban Affairs) met with City Council a week later to discuss municipal agreements. The pair highlighted the diverse community Castlegreen was creating, while also outlining the need for a land agreement with the City. Nelson and Fiorito stated that 262 units were to be constructed on a minimum of 15 acres of land with all the ancillary features for modern living. As well, the pair

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[713] "Alice Bellavance."
[714] "Gaston Bolduc."
[715] Ibid.
[716] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17; Owens, "Castlegreen stresses," 18; Castlegreen, *Castlegreen: A Co-operative*, 3; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Community Services, Meeting Minutes, 21 Jan 1974, 1.

revealed that one third of the units were designed to be fully accessible, which impressed City officials. Council was amenable to the plan, and wanted a follow-up meeting to discuss a specific piece of property.[717] With positive news in hand, the cooperative hired a consulting firm from Manitoba to assist in the site selection and early engineering efforts.[718] With this assistance, a target date of June 30th was set for site selection and preliminary building plans.[719] Fort William Liberal M.P. Paul McRae was also enthusiastic about the cooperative, especially since he was keen to solve the local housing crisis. McRae frequently spoke at Castlegreen group membership meetings to keep them up-to-date on federal funding developments.[720] McRae's superior in Ottawa, Minister of State for Urban Affairs Ron Bashford, was equally pleased about the project stating that: "cooperative housing is one of the more helpful and innovative methods of providing high quality housing at a reasonable cost for those who could not otherwise finance a home of their own."[721] Site selection for Castlegreen continued and a suitable piece of property was chosen in late February 1974.

In late February 1974, Castlegreen chose a piece of property on the north side of the city, near McVicar's Creek, and also made an agreement to lease the land from the City of Thunder Bay. The property was located between the Lakehead Expressway and Wardrope Avenue, and extended from Balsam Street, on the east, to Onion Lake Road, on the west. The land was 100 acres in size, and had 25 acres considered very suitable for housing construction.[722] The development was located right behind a new city subdivision, County Boulevard, and the two

[717] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Community Services, Meeting Minutes, 21 Jan 1974, 1.
[718] "Housing," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 6, 1974, 3.
[719] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Community Services, Meeting Minutes, 21 Jan 1974, 1.
[720] "Housing," 3.
[721] Ibid.
[722] "Castlegreen Co-operative," 4.

combined properties ensured that a school would be built nearby to accommodate the children of all the new families.[723] The project had some early setbacks with greater than anticipated expenses for soil samples and the removal of rocks, but by April the local architect firm of Graham, Bacon, and Welter and an out-of-town consultant, Raymond Moriyama, were fully engrossed in the project.[724] Moriyama was a famed building developer and proponent of barrier-free design. He hailed from southern Ontario, and designed the City of Toronto's Ontario Science Centre and the Scarborough Civic Centre. Moriyama was interested in working on Castlegreen, as he believed that: "[e]ach person need[ed] security, [and] belongingness," regardless of their position in life.[725] People like Moriyama are the designers Rob Imrie calls on to lead the charge for an "emancipatory architecture."[726] With direction from the architectural firm and Moriyama, Castlegreen was designed as clusters of townhouses, interwoven with green spaces. According to Alice Bellavance, designs were as follows:

> We had a…you know, as the membership of the co-op, we all got together and we sort of said: 'this is how many units we want to build,' and 'we'll have this many bachelor units,' 'we'll have this many one bedroom,' 'this many two bedroom.' There was one three bedroom unit that was barrier free. We had a number of four bedroom units that were for families, and so, you know, some of them were like town houses, two story walk ups. The bi-levels were like… as a bi-level, halfway down is the stairs, halfway up is the upstairs.[727]

Townhouses themselves were covered in a vertical cedar exterior to blend in with the green environment.[728] These features fit in nicely with the Castlegreen name. The first half referred to

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[723] "Castlegreen's Servicing May Be A Problem," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 26, 1974, 13.
[724] "Castlegreen Co-operative," 4.
[725] "Castlegreen concept excites consultant," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 6, 1974, 12.
[726] Rob Imrie, "Oppression, Disability and Access in the Built Environment," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 130, 134, 140. When the province of Ontario initiatied new building awards in 1985 for architects who designed with accessibility in mind, Moriyama was a recipient.
[727] "Alice Bellavance."
[728] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17.

the acronym 'Caring and Sharing to Live Economically,' and the latter half gestured towards the 'green' sustainability of the cooperative.[729] The organization made "a special presentation" at a March 1974 HAGI meeting discussing the barrier-free design, and how HAGI members could further involve themselves.[730] The presentation also updated the current status of the project, revealing that phase one of Castlegreen was to be outfitted with 31 accessible units, for disabled people and seniors, with an equivalent amount for phase two.[731] From May to August of 1974, Castlegreen leadership and members participated in meetings, committees, seminars and site planning to finalize the plans for the 1975 build. By the end of September, five new BOD were elected for a three year term with HAGI's Bellavance and Koivisto renewing their roles; the former also took on the position of Castlegreen's Vice-President.[732] For those who knew him, Bellavance was the right person to ensure accessibility and the rights of PWD were taken into account in the project. Allan Buchan, HAGI's second HAGI-Transit Manager, stated that Bellavance was "key behind getting that place [Castlegreen] built and making sure that there were accessible units."[733] Susan Ward revealed that Bellavance's speaking and fundraising ability was second to none and "before you knew what hit you, Terry had you convinced to do something."[734] Bellavance's leadership style mimics what Mauss identifies as "charismatic leadership," which motivates and theorizes in the early stages of a social movement.[735] With Bellavance taking on this prominent role, accessibility was a key component of the project.

[729] Castlegreen Co-operative, "History," assessed 22 July 2017, http://www.castlegreen.on.ca/history/.
[730] "Action Group," *Chronicle-Journal*, March 22, 1974, 3.
[731] Ibid; LSPC, 1975 *Annual Report*, 17.
[732] "Castlegreen Directors Elected," *Chronicle-Journal*, September 26, 1974, 23.
[733] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March, 2017.
[734] "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017.
[735] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-55.

In early 1975, the cooperative cluster system, and a multi-million dollar mortgage from CMHC were finalized, which gave way to summer construction. Even prior to construction, Castlegreen was looked upon as a Canadian model for community living, and a location for others in northern Ontario to move to. In the regular Castlegreen member meetings, a four phase design of 16 unit clusters, connected by green space and a looping road, was settled on.[736] The final design resulted in CMHC committing a $6.75 million mortgage to Castlegreen in February of 1975. [737] The mortgage paved the way for summer construction, and the cooperative approached the build through a financially-conscious attitude.[738] For its first two years, the CMHC viewed Castlegreen as a success, even though this time had only dealt with planning.

Shortly before construction, the CMHC commissioned a film detailing how the cooperative was a model for other municipalities to follow. What impressed the CMHC was Castlegreen's well-thought out, barrier-free, and sustainable design, along with the diverse community it collected.[739] As Ringaert shows, the CMHC was at the center of "many innovative ideas," which "pushed the envelope" for accessible design during this period.[740] Thus, it meant something for the CMHC to hold Castlegreen in such high esteem.[741] Castlegreen's status as a leader in integrated accessible housing led to Koivisto being invited to other cities in Ontario to talk about the Thunder Bay cooperative, and barrier free housing. In the late 1970s, Koivisto was invited to Sault Ste. Marie by Buchan who was starting a local accessible cooperative in that city. Buchan already knew members of the HAGI, such as Ross due to his involvement with disabled

[736] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1974, 24; "House Design Weekend Planned By Castlegreen," *Chronicle-Journal,* April 18, 1974, 3; "Castlegreen," *Chronicle-Journal*, August 19, 1974, 3; "Castlegreen," *Chronicle-Journal*, November 5, 1974, 3.
[737] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1974, 24.
[738] Gibb, "Castlegreen A Community," 15.
[739] Ibid.
[740] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 287.
[741] Ibid.

sports and was quite impressed with Castlegreen. These connections eventually led to Buchan moving to Thunder Bay in 1979 to take on the position of the vacant HAGI-Transit Manager.[742] Alice Bellavance stated that Buchan's move was prompted due to the fact that:

> HAGI was the only building in all of Northern Ontario that was barrier-free, RGI that had attendant care staff…so he [Buchan] moved here from Sault Ste. Marie…and a lot of the guys with spinal cord injuries like from Timmins, Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, they moved here to access that housing.[743]

Since it was socially, rather than economically, motivated and because of its position in-between public and private housing, Nelson noted that co-operative housing was a "third answer" to Thunder Bay's housing crisis.[744] Furthermore, contrary to private housing, Nelson revealed that as a cooperative, Castlegreen was "not [going to] aggravate the inflationary forces of the housing market," since all the units were not individually owned, but rented from the corporation.[745] As Castlegreen board member Lance Bicknell put it, "everyone who is a member of Castlegreen does not necessarily live there. We pay a monthly mortgage as we do not actually own the particular home we are living in. We do not pay rent, we pay housing charges because in reality we are running our homes from cost."[746] Nelson also stressed that Castlegreen was "not public housing," but "privately owned," and that the $6.7 million mortgage was going to be paid back.[747] The positive publicity garnered by Castlegreen continued into the construction.

Nelson and Castlegreen organized a summer construction date to begin phase one of the cooperative; it completed the first 122 units. On April 21st, 1975, Castlegreen's last hurdle was cleared when it received final unanimous approval from the City of Thunder Bay's Planning

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[742] "Allan Buchan."
[743] "Alice Bellavance."
[744] Gibb, "Castlegreen A Community," 15.
[745] Ibid.
[746] Owens, "Castlegreen stresses," 18.
[747] Gibb," Castlegreen A Community," 15.

Committee to proceed with construction.[748] The first of August was set as the tentative start date for construction, but the date was pushed back. The Lakehead Regional Conservation Authority was concerned about the cooperative being too close to the flood plain near the creek; a special culvert was built to divert water away and prevent flooding. With these obstacles out of the way, the first 122 units, costing $4.25 million, were built in a series of seven different designs, ranging from one to four bedrooms.[749] Castlegreen acted as its own general contractor which was a first in the Thunder Bay area. New cooperative President Don Smith noted that Uni-Ram, a local corporation specializing in construction management, would act as a consultant for the group. Uni-Ram rated tenders from different subcontractors, and provided Castlegreen with recommendations of the best combination of quality and price for different services.[750] As Castlegreen moved closer to construction, along the circular section on Castlegreen Drive, the news was much lauded in the community, especially since reports out of Thunder Bay showed that city apartments were still in short supply, and the housing situation was as dismal as ever. To illustrate, in April of 1975, CMHC statistics showed that the city lacked any available bachelor or three-bedroom apartments with less than 20 one-bedroom and eight two-bedroom units available.[751] Furthermore, government statistics showed that home ownership in Thunder Bay was the highest in Canada at 73 per cent. This was quite different from other cities, for example, Montreal had a home ownership rate of 35 per cent in 1975.[752] As the situation was not improving, the City of Thunder Bay approved a housing study in 1975 to help come up with additional solutions.[753] Castlegreen was the first major response to the housing crisis, and

[748] Ibid; "Castlegreen Approved In Principal," *Chronicle Journal*, April 22, 1975, 13.
[749] Ibid; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 17.
[750] "Castlegreen Co-Op To Be Own General Contractor," *Chronicle Journal*, May 2, 1975, 3.
[751] "City apartments In Short Supply," *Chronicle Journal*, June 18, 1975, 21.
[752] Rita Urbriaco, "City Housing Crisis Still In Spotlight," *Chronicle Journal*, November 2, 1975, 15.
[753] "Approve Housing Study," *Chronicle Journal*, February 26, 1975, 23; Don Smith, "Council Controversy Snarls City Housing Study," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 2, 1975, 1; "Wheels Start Rolling For City Housing Study,"

although bureaucratic issues forced it to miss the tentative August 1st construction date, the cooperative broke sod in October of 1975.

Castlegreen started construction, in October of 1975, with a much publicized media event that brought together a variety of stakeholders, including Castlegreen members. On October 4th, Castlegreen turned its first sod with both cooperative members, politicians, and some of the diverse membership present. On behalf of Castlegreen were President Don Smith, and Manager Allen Nelson. Fort William MPP Iain Angus, and Thunder Bay Mayor Walter Assef also attended. The *Chronicle Journal* picture two days later captured a diverse group of senior citizens, youths, and disabled people sharing the stage with Castlegreen staff and local politicians. In his opening speech, Smith noted that the "sod-turning was symbolic" because Castlegreen's "long-time objective of housing was being realized."[754] Nevertheless, he urged the membership to take up "the challenge" of creating a "community" to fill the cooperative.[755] For Bolduc, creating this community was a must, especially for disabled people as:

> Many of the people who became involved, in the early days of the disability movement, became very involved when Castlegreen Co Op was being born, and I was one of them. So, the two projects [HAGI Group Residence and the Cooperative] were going on about the same time, and I remember going to meetings almost every day when you combined the two organizations. As a matter of fact, my wife and I, in the early days, lived at Castlegreen. We eventually bought our own house, but it was a good place.[756]

Alice Bellavance also confirmed Smith's point stating that "it was really cool, we lived in the housing co-op for about a year and it was a real strong sense of community."[757] These comments confirm Freund's theory that the "disabling city" provides "various symbolic reminders that [it]

Chronicle Journal, June 18, 1975, 21; "City Housing Study To Cost $100,000," *Chronicle Journal*, June 28, 1975, 1; Don Smith, "Phase 1 Approved Of Housing Study," *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1975, 17.

[754] "Housing Project Sod Turned," *Chronicle Journal*, October 6, 1975, 3.

[755] Ibid.

[756] "Gaston Bolduc."

[757] "Alice Bellavance."

is a place where one [PWD] doesn't belong."[758] The disabling city is also a space where a disabled person "feel[s] out of place and alienated…[even] fearful."[759] On the contrary, Castlegreen was an inclusive or "enabling space."[760] The anticipated move in date, for the first residents, was pegged at March 15th, 1976. Final completion of phase one was designated for August 1976, and phase two construction continued, down Castlegreen Drive, the next summer. The development of accessible units in Castlegreen directly led to the creation of other larger accessible housing projects in the city, including Harbour View Terrace.

The development of accessible units in Castlegreen Cooperative encouraged the construction of new accessible barrier-free buildings in Thunder Bay during the mid-1970s that were also based on the cooperative model. In November of 1975, TBCPI, a non-profit organization dedicated to creating new housing in the city, initiated a project called Harbour View Terrace (later known as Andras Court). By the end of 1975, the City of Thunder Bay leased land to the TBCPI for a 221 unit seven story double apartment building located across from the Port Arthur harbour with an expected completion date of December 1976.[761] Harbour View Terrace was modelled on cooperative living and influenced by the Finnish bush camps.[762] Alice Bellavance explains that:

> While [Terry] was doing [Castlegreen,] he was also on the board of an organization referred to as Lodgepole Northwest, and that was the organization that eventually built the building that's now at 122 and 120 Cumberland Street [S.] known as Andras Court. It was named for Bob Andras [long-time Liberal M.P. for Port Arthur], and that's where the

[758] Freund, "Bodies, Disability and," 690.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid., 703.
[761] Don Smith, "Shelter, Service, Progress For City Handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, November 11, 1975, 3.
[762] Thunder Bay history is filled with works on the Finnish bush worker experience: See: Michel Beaulieu, ed., Essays in Northwestern Ontario Working Class History: Thunder Bay And Its Environs (Thunder Bay: Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies, 2008); Michel S. Beaulieu, *Labour at the Lakehead: Ethnicity, Socialism, and Politics, 1900-1935* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011); Michel S., Beaulieu, David K. Ratz, and Ronald N. Harpelle, eds., *Hard Work Conquers All: Building the Finnish Community in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018).

> cluster units are…So, in that particular apartment building because there was no more funding for cooperative housing, but certainly Ontario Housing and Thunder Bay Housing were prepared to get into other housing developments, other types of social housing. And, one of the groups of people that there seemed to be a burgeoning number of were retired, and I shouldn't compartmentalize them all by an ethnicity, but they were predominantly Finnish men who had worked for decades out in the bush as bush workers, and back in the day, I mean they would come to town and that's why the Finlandia Club was built, right. They would stay there, they would eat there, and then they'd go back out to the bush, but they were no longer able to do that at the Finlandia. There were some rooming houses that were built…by private land owners like Meredith House and different places like that where you know these Finnish…but a lot of them, they got used to this congregate living out in the bush camp right because they…the way the bush camps were set up…You had the main building that had the cooking facilities and the big dining hall mess, and you know place for playing cards and games and whatever. And, then there were bunk houses where… but everybody like there would be 8 or 10 guys in one bunk house right. So they were used to congregate living and so the whole notion was that these cluster units. So you think about the Andras Court building, there's two separate buildings and at the end of each building there's stacked cluster units. So there's five units in a cluster so there's five bed sitting rooms, each of those bed sitting rooms has a two piece bath and then in the centre of the cluster is a communal kitchen, dining room, living room and a centre room that has a bathtub/shower. And so in the north tower, there were four of those units, and in the south tower there were six of those units, and so… Now organizations are using those clusters. In fact, my organization [BISNO], we basically have all of the units in the north tower and organizations like HAGI have two floors in the south tower, Avenue Two has some space in there for their office space and then WesWay did have a unit in there, but I don't know who's using it now for a respite home and there was another organization in there, but I don't know who's in there now.[763]

Habour View Terrace was designed for multi-use. In addition to groups, such as retired Finnish labourers, the building also met the accessibility requirements of disabled consumers.

The project was discussed at the Second Annual Lakehead Social Planning Council Rehabilitation Conference (1975) by TPCPI President Gerry Grisdale. He believed Habour View Terrace would have a positive effect for PWD. At the session, Grisdale, and representatives from both Castlegreen Cooperative and the HAGI Group Residence, conducted mini-presentations on

[763] "Alice Bellavance."

the current state of affairs for their barrier-free buildings. Besides noting that some of the units in Harbour View Terrace would be accessible, Grisdale elaborated on the rental policy for the buildings. This was important because historically a large segment of the disability population had been economically disadvantaged. Grisdale confirmed that half of the units would be subsidized at differing rates by the three levels of government. According to the TBCPI President, monthly rents would range from about $100 for a hostel unit to a sum of around $245 for a two bedroom apartment. In comparison, Nelson, representing Castlegreen, estimated that monthly rents for the cooperative would be anywhere from $169 a month for a bachelor to $289 for a four bedroom apartment.[764] The HAGI was not directly involved in the Harbour View Terrace, but acted as a consultant in the sense that they made sure the units were accessible, and had a rent subsidy and support care component in place. HAGI acquired 10 units or two clusters in the buildings.[765]

With these different accessible housing options, the living situation was improving. However, the Planning Council also wanted the City of Thunder Bay to take a greater lead in developing a municipal non-profit housing corporation. The Planning Council wanted affordable housing with a "maximum of 25 percent of family income."[766] Hence, they published a paper, in the spring of 1976, outlining the need for a City non-profit housing corporation that would "carry out the role of facilitators and co-ordinator of all housing activities within its boundaries."[767] Other recommendations included: 10 per cent of units designated RGI, additional housing for "special groups" (senior citizens, indigenous, and physically disabled people), the removal of architectural barriers in public buildings, and 10 per cent of units in new buildings being

[764] Smith, "Shelter, Service, Progress," 3.
[765] "Dave Koivisto;" "Allan Buchan."
[766] Don Smith, "LSPC Paper Asks City To Guide, Build Housing," *Chronicle Journal*, April 22, 1976, 19.
[767] Ibid.

accessible for PWD.[768] The City listened to this advice and established the Thunder Bay Non-Profit Housing Corporation in 1977 to deal with the above matters, which was another win for disabled people.[769] TBCPI became Thunder Bay Housing, which is now amalgamated under the District of Thunder Bay Social Services Administration Board (DTBSSAB). Pressure also came from the *Ontario Building Code* updates of the late 1970s and early '80s requiring public buildings, including apartments, to have barrier free and RGI units. In turn, social service organizations, such as the HAGI, acquired a set number of units in buildings and received provincial funds for the support care component.[770]

By September of 1976, the first 40 families moved into Castlegreen including several disabled people.[771] Two weeks before the official opening, Castlegreen was visited by the Federal Urban Affairs Minister, Barney Danson, and regional politicians, including John Reid, the M.P. for Kenora-Rainy River. The visit was both a photo-op and a firsthand view of the new cooperative. Danson, accompanied by Nelson, Bellavance, and representatives from Uni-Ram and CMHC, was clearly impressed with the project. The minister commented that Castlegreen was "communal living in the best sense," and that although there was no single answer to solve the country's housing crisis, cooperative housing was his top choice.[772] Additionally, the merging of different social groups, such as disabled people, elderly, and low income workers inspired Danson, as "what we're trying to achieve in the rest of Canada."[773] Danson believed this was the model other cities needed to follow as it "brings people together in a shared

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[768] Ibid.
[769] City of Thunder Bay (CTB) Archives, Series 325, 8395-06, Tripartite Agreement Andras Ct., 1977-1982, Andras Court agreement, 1.
[770] "Alice Bellavance."
[771] "June Moving Day For Castlegreen," *Chronicle Journal*, April 1, 1976, 21. On March 31st, 1976, Terry Bellavance, of the HAGI, was re-elected as vice-president. Bill Izzard was elected Castlegreen Co-President.
[772] "Federal Urban Affairs Minister Praises Castlegreen," *Times-News*, September 21, 1976, 3.
[773] Ibid.

responsibility."[774] For Bolduc, who was one of the first residents to move in, Castlegreen "did solve the housing problem for many people" including PWD and people on low income.[775] Terry and Alice Bellavance along with the Koivistos were some of the first people to move into the cooperative. Alice Bellavance stated that about "half a dozen people with disabilities…now had barrier free housing, but paid like market rent or the market cost [those working.] The rest would have all paid RGI, and then we had a high number of seniors as well who would have paid on RGI."[776] Bolduc, having spent his early years living in motels, saw the move-in as liberating; his unit was "accessible in the sense that all that was required to get in was a very appropriate. The ramp met code, and the washroom was very accessible once you got inside, and the whole thing had a wide open concept to it, so it was very appropriate."[777] The spaces Bolduc describes are the "threshold" or "transitional spaces" that Tauke and Smith argue provide either positive or negative feelings of belonging.[778] Additionally, Dr. Kim of Lakehead Rehab was impressed as in the past:

> Before that was built [Castlegreen Cooperative]…patients finished the rehab program and I [could not] send [them] anywhere else…but to a nursing home, then that kind of route [accessible housing] became available. First it was housing, and also skilled supportive staff to fill the need…to provide the 24 hour care. That is a very important part integrating into the community and that's the first step. That was a major advance of this community group to be successful making it available.[779]

Castlegreen Cooperative celebrated its grand opening a month later.

Castlegreen officially opened on October 2nd, 1976, to much fanfare and media attention. For Bolduc, the opening was "one of the events that [he] remember[ed] very well," as he

[774] Ibid.
[775] "Gaston Bolduc."
[776] "Alice Bellavance."
[777] "Gaston Bolduc."
[778] Tauke and Smith, "Crossing the Threshold," 49-50.
[779] "Dr. B.K. Kim," interview with Ulysses Patola, 27 Nov 2017.

Koivisto, and Bellavance were so "involved" in the project.[780] Indeed, some 600 people attended the event in which the first phase of Castlegreen was showcased to the public. Representation from all three levels of government attended, including Robert Andras, M.P. for Port Arthur, Jim Foulds, MPP for Port Arthur, and Mayor Walter Assef. Politicians and Castlegreen leaders gave speeches, planted four trees to commemorate the event (three for the different levels of government and one for Castlegreen members), and shared a meal.[781] The grand opening was highlighted by a wheelchair basketball game between the Bay City Rollers and the Castlegreen Wheelers. As will be discussed in the sports and recreation chapter, wheelchair basketball played an important role in establishing a traveling Thunder Bay disability culture around NWO and other parts of Ontario, while also helping these communities to develop services, such as accessible housing.[782] Pictures of the basketball game also made the morning newspaper, and set the tone that the cooperative was truly a diverse community with disabled people having a large part in its social fabric.[783]

By early 1977, approximately 80 units of Castlegreen Cooperative were occupied, and work continued to bring the rest of the project online, while increasing membership. After the grand opening, leadership devoted much attention to advertising in order to increase occupancy rates. To illustrate, about a month after the festivities, Castlegreen placed an ad in the *Chronicle Journal* indicating that a series of different types of units/suites were ready for occupancy beginning in January 1st and March 1st, 1977, respectively; some of these units included bachelor, one bedroom, two bedroom, and cluster units. What was important to PWD in Thunder

[780] Ibid.
[781] "Castlegreen Housing Complex Officially Opened," *Times-News*, October 4, 1976, 3; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 21.
[782] "Basketball On Wheels Marks Castlegreen Opening," *Times-News*, October 4, 1976, 1.
[783] "Castlegreen Opened," *Chronicle Journal*, October 4, 1976, 3.

Bay was the fact that the ad specified in bold type that "Handicapped Units [were] Available In Each Category."[784] Indeed, PWD were finally taken into account for community housing in Thunder Bay. Castlegreen placed this ad in an attempt to fill the remaining 37 units of phase one; they expected full occupancy by April. Phase two's 44 units were completed in the summer of June 1977. Castlegreen secured another loan from CMHC for an additional 100 units and a community centre on Coady Drive.[785] The HAGI's involvement was still as evident as ever by this time, as Terry Bellavance moved from Vice-President of Castlegreen to the position of treasurer.[786]

By 1979, Castlegreen's phase three was completed and this was followed by the opening of the Castlegreen Community Centre (known as phase four) on March 15th, 1980. Phase three was a welcome addition to Castlegreen, and added another 54 units to the cooperative. It was also well within its $2.25 million price tag. Before its completion, Castlegreen housed some 470 people in a total of 161 units with a rental turnover at about 25 percent annually; this was below the 65 per cent turnover in Thunder Bay.[787] Sixty of these units were accessible to PWD. After the construction and occupancy of the HAGI Group Residence in June of 1979 (see next section), disabled tenants who 'graduated' from the residence moved into the cooperative or another accessible building. In fact, the official opening of the HAGI Group Residence coincided with the opening of phase three of Castlegreen, showing that disabled people were a large part of the cooperative. The event was commemorated on September 15th, 1979, with a luncheon for dignitaries and board members and a ribbon cutting for both projects. There was also a public

[784] "Apartments For Rent," *Chronicle Journal*, November 8, 1976, 25.
[785] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1977, 21; "New exec," *Chronicle Journal*, May 26, 1977, 17.
[786] "New exec," 17. Besides Bellavance, other new executives elected in 1977 were: Leslie Hanbury (president), Heide Uhlig (vice-president), and John Halet (secretary).
[787] "Castlegreen co-op members get break on housing charges," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 25, 1979. 13.

tour of the two sites with HAGI support staff showing off the new accessible units of the group residence with the permission of tenants.[788] The next spring, the Castlegreen Community Centre, or phase four, was opened. The centre had a capacity of 240 people and included a board room and kitchen. Nelson noted that the centre was "expected to hold general meetings, social functions and…recreational facilities" for members, amongst other things.[789] The community centre was fully accessible and was ideal for the HAGI. It was another "enabling space" providing access to the "widest range of mind-bodies."[790] The community centre hosted special events, and their annual meetings at the location.[791]

Four phases of the cooperative were completed by 1980, but there was still enough land on the site for a fifth phase. In turn, Castlegreen leaders released a survey to gauge public opinion and demand for an expansion to accommodate more young families, seniors and disabled people. Conducted in the first half of 1981, the survey was included in various editions of the *Chronicle Journal*.[792] It encouraged people to specify "any special requirements," such as "wheel chair access" or "can't climb stairs;" this was a direct appeal to attract PWD.[793] By June, Castlegreen received about 100 applications from people interested in becoming members of the new phase. It was also believed that this number would increase once construction began. These figures were good enough for Nelson and other Castlegreen leaders, and they proceeded with the project. It was to be adjacent to the four other phases, up on the hill, on Superiorview Drive. The proposed 120 units, in four walk-up buildings and a main building located at 110 Castlegreen

[788] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 5 Sept 1979, 1.
[789] "Castlegreen community centre will open March 15," *Chronicle Journal*, March 12, 1980, 5.
[790] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 703.
[791] "Castlegreen community centre," 5.
[792] "Castlegreen Reasonable Cost Housing Survey," *Chronicle Journal*, April 15, 1981, 6; "Castlegreen considers expansion," *Chronicle Journal*, March 24, 1981, 15.
[793] "Castlegreen considers expansion," 15.

Drive, were estimated to cost approximately $7 million dollars. Thus, for the remainder of 1981, Nelson and his staff finalized funding and land arrangements with different levels of government, including the City of Thunder Bay who owned the land.[794] It was a difficult task, as Nelson "adjust[ed] his plans," many times, to meet the diverse criteria of more than 40 government agencies.[795] In the end, the project was downscaled to an 80 unit facility budgeted for $4 million.[796] In the fall of 1981, contractors designed working plans for phase five; however construction was pushed back until 1982, as it took longer than expected to work out the final funding arrangements. In the new year, a land deal, where Castlegreen "lease[d] city land below market value," was worked out with the City of Thunder Bay's Planning Department.[797] The land in question was also designated as a "special commercial zone," so Castlegreen could use the property to pursue other ventures, such as a medical facility, laundromat, credit union, or grocery store.[798]

In April of 1982, phase five of Castlegreen was on tenuous ground, as existing members of the cooperative voted to nix the project; as a result, a new cooperative was founded to continue the expansion. Although Nelson and the rest of the Castlegreen BOD, including Bolduc, voted unanimously to proceed with the expansion, individual members voted 111 to 69 to stop it. Members complained that phase five would make Castlegreen "too large" and that the cooperative would lose its close-knit appeal.[799] According to Nelson, Castlegreen members held the final collective say on the project, but he and other board members continued their efforts by

[794] "Castlegreen hits red tape in plans for subdivision," *Chronicle Journal*, June 12, 1981, 1.
[795] Ibid.
[796] "Castlegreen expansion scrapped by membership," *Chronicle Journal*, April 13, 1982, 11.
[797] "Castlegreen hits red tape," 1; "City and Castlegreen negotiating land lease," *Chronicle Journal*, December 15, 1981, 17.
[798] "Castlegreen negotiating land," 17.
[799] "Castlegreen expansion scrapped," 11.

meeting in late April to go over their options after the defeat.[800] The team believed that the need for housing was too great. Thus, the BOD formed a new cooperative called Superior View Housing Corporation Inc., which proceeded according to the original plan.[801] Construction began in August for the 80 unit complex, which had a tentative open date for April of 1983. Bellavance of the HAGI played a vital role in the project acting as the Development Coordinator. An August 24th, 1982, *Chronicle Journal* picture showed Bellavance along with Bill Pawliuk of the contracting firm Peterson, Pawliuk and Association Ltd. reviewing building plans that would provide increased housing options for "the handicapped and low and moderate income families."[802] Construction delays pushed occupancy into the summer of 1983, with the grand opening finally celebrated on August 7th, 1983. The grand opening was attended by various dignitaries, such as MP Douglas Fisher (Mississauga North) who presented Superior View with a federal cheque covering operating costs. City Councillor Ken Boschoff also attended on behalf of the City. PWD played a big part in the grand opening as they made up "a substantial part of Superior View's stock."[803] According to one of the new residents, Vivian Krieger, having disabled people play such a prominent role in the project was a major benefit and although patronizing, Krieger noted that her young able-bodied daughter wanted to learn "to live with and generally accept handicapped people in her everyday life."[804] With Superior View Cooperative established, the MCSS made an agreement with the HAGI to fund 10 accessible units in the main building at 110 Castlegreen Drive. The HAGI set up a small office to accommodate staff in the building.[805] There were even rumblings that Superior View was going to expand further in late

[800] Ibid.
[801] "New co-op formed," *Chronicle Journal*, May 6, 1982, 19.
[802] "Housing development in the works," *Chronicle Journal*, August 24, 1982, 3.
[803] "$4 million Superior View: Housing co-op opens," *Chronicle Journal*, August 8, 1983, 13.
[804] Ibid.
[805] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Brochure, 1986, 2.

1983 by acquiring the vacant Royal Edward Hotel in downtown Fort William, which had the capacity to add 100 apartment units as a satellite. Thunder Bay Non-profit Housing Corporation ended up acquiring the property, and created another 100 RGI units that also served PWD.[806] In addition to the above three projects, the HAGI reached a separate deal to establish their own accessible housing complex on Castlegreen property, which became known in its planning stage as the HAGI Group Residence, but later as One Fifty Castlegreen.

The Planning and Construction of the HAGI Group Residence, 1973-1979

After acquiring a LIP grant in 1973, the HAGI devised a two-fold accessible housing plan for the 1970s: having a third of the 215 housing units in Castlegreen built accessible; while also having their own separate HAGI Group Residence. According to Bolduc, "the two projects were going on about the same time, and I remember going to meetings almost every day when you combined the two organizations [HAGI and Castlegreen.]"[807] The Group Residence was to act as a transitional housing complex where the physically disabled who recently finished rehabilitation stays at other facilities continued their rehabilitation, with the help of about one dozen trained staff. After learning independent living skills through short term stays, PWD would then integrate into new accessible housing units in the city. Having partnered with Castlegreen and having access to their funding sources for the original cooperative, the HAGI needed considerable financial assistance for their own project. Thus, in January of 1974 they conducted a Group Residence Feasibility Study through the remaining funds of the grant to not only find new sources of funding, but to locate a piece of property for the project.[808] That same

[806] Leslie Papp, "Co-op asks for hotel lot," *Lakehead Living*, October 18, 1983, 1-2.
[807] "Gaston Bolduc."
[808] Lakehead University (LU) Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, 1975-1981, File 10, HAGI Group Residence Timeline.

month Bellavance, who was now the President of the HAGI, while also holding the positions of HAGI Housing Coordinator and the Vice-President of Castlegreen Cooperative, initiated overtures to Thunder Bay City Council for assistance noting that preliminary steps for the residence were in place.[809] Early work on the study demonstrated that there was a special need for accessible housing for two types of disabled persons. The first type were more independent disabled people who needed slight architectural modifications, such as wider doors and hallways, and exterior ramps. The second type required the above modifications as well as additional supportive care services to improve their independent living skills.[810] However, unlike Clarendon, which relied on group living that promoted "dependency" and "pity" from staff, One Fifty was based on the social model of disability that promoted independent living and consumer control for tenants.[811] The HAGI designated Castlegreen Cooperative to fill the first housing need, while the HAGI Group Residence filled the other.

There was an initial push to include the Group Residence as a part of the cooperative; but, since Castlegreen was a project devoted to a variety of different types of people (low income, seniors, disabled etc.), its mandate prevented it from catering to a separate project benefiting only one group. Indeed, the HAGI Group Residence was considered "a specialized service within the cooperative community" that provided additional assistance to those disabled adults who needed it.[812] Thus, for the Group Residence to be able to acquire funding from private and public sources, "it needed a separate identity" and "non-profit status," which would aid with

[809] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2, Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 14 Jan 1974, 3.
[810] Lakehead University, Paul McRae Fonds , A0029, Box 1 1975-81, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance, Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, 15 May 1975, 4; HAGI Group Residence Timeline.
[811] Carpenter, "Disability Social Equality," 233.
[812] Library and Archives Canada [LAC,] RG56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Handicapped Action Group, Application to CMHC for $10,000 start-up funding under N.H.A., 1974, 13.

operating expenses and capital costs.[813] The HAGI spent the remainder of 1974 engaging in planning, while also evaluating potential locations for the building.

The Group Residence was a huge project and the HAGI spent a considerable amount of time in 1974 organizing, acquiring staff, and setting up an office. The LIP grant funded the group's mandate: evaluating the various needs of the building, developing preliminary designs, setting up administration criteria, estimating the costs-capital and operational functions, and investigating new sources of funding for capital and operational costs.[814] However, most of the LIP monies were for worker wages. Bellavance believed that "[LIP grants] are great when you want to do some research and you have to pay your staff," but that the arrangement left limited finances for rent and equipment.[815] Furthermore, the LIP did not cover wages for Bellavance, as the coordinator of the project. In spite of this, the HAGI was resourceful, and Bellavance rented the front office of 89 Bay Street in Port Arthur for a reasonable sum. This was a building used by the OMOD Rehabilitation Industries to store equipment and large rocks. Bellavance's brother-in-law, Koivisto, served as the then-manager of the sheltered workshop. Additionally, Bellavance received donated office equipment, accessible tables, built by members of the community, and a secretary loaned from the Vocational and Rehabilitation branch of the Social Services Department. The HAGI also received a CYC grant that employed a young quadriplegic from Chukuni River (near Red Lake, ON) named Jerry Pringle. CYC grants, "inspired by the American Peace Corps," were a federal Liberal program that developed out of the Pearson government in 1966.[816] These grants continued under the successor Pierre Trudeau government

[813] Ibid.
[814] Ibid., 10.
[815] Ron Rupke, "Handicaps Get Active," *Stirring Giant*, February 27, 1974, 5.
[816] Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto University of Toronto, 2011), 316.

and focused on harnessing the productivity of the nation's youth to improve social conditions in Canada.[817] Pringle contributed to the Group Residence project by going over proposals, and organizing groups of potential disabled residents to provide input on the project.[818] Koivisto revealed that HAGI "employed as many disabled as we could in any program or plans or surveys or wherever we could to give them a break, to get them a little income."[819] Bellavance's organizing resulted in the establishment of the Group Residence Planning Committee that employed him as coordinator. His staff of seven assistants then began collecting data for the project.

After acquiring an office and workers, Bellavance and his staff prepared estimates of the number of disabled people living in Thunder Bay. This was a task attempted in the past through both the *DRR* and the OMOD's 1973 Employment *Research Project*.[820] The best estimates showed that some 16,000 Thunder Bay residents may have had had some type of disability; however, "nobody really [knew] how many handicapped people live[d] in [the city,] or what kind of housing they live[d] in."[821] The problem was also complicated because the MCSS had a policy of not divulging the names of individuals who received disability pensions. HAGI researchers had to deliver and receive back housing questionnaire forms from MCSS clients. As well, the group engaged in a city-wide telephone campaign to locate disabled individuals who may have been missed during previous attempts at contact. While it is not known if the HAGI

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[817] Richard Harris, *Democracy in Kingston: A Social Movement in Urban Politics, 1965-1970* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 71. For some politicians and business leaders, CYC grants were seen as radical due to the social action they brought about.
[818] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 21; LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Robert Andras, 11 Feb 1975, 1-2.
[819] "Dave Koivisto."
[820] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 21; LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Robert Andras, 11 Feb 1975, 1-2; OMOD, *Employment Research Project*, Thunder Bay, 1973. This report was an analysis on the OMOD's sheltered workshop and possible next steps it should take.
[821] Rupke, "Handicaps Get Active," 5; LSPC, *Disability Research Report*, July 1972, 4.

discovered a final disability count, they were successful in networking and building bridges with doctors, therapists, rehabilitation workers, and architects to develop policies that helped make the future group residence "fully usable by handicapped people."[822] HAGI's actions here follow the citizen participation described by Boyce et al. They note that "active participation improves relationships between community members and community organizations and thus reduces alienation."[823] With the Group Residence Planning Committee up and running, the next step was deciding on what type of residence would best meet the needs of disabled people.

The HAGI had in mind one of three variations for the residence. The first type of residence was for fully functioning disabled individuals where "handicapped person[s] lived among many ordinary citizens," with limited supportive services.[824] The second was a residence where one out of every two was disabled, with disabled residents having regular access to attendants. Finally the third option, which Bellavance preferred, was "a separate building…within Castlegreen" where people with different types of disability severities "share[d] among [them]selves, and yet [were] integrated into the community."[825] In the last concept, integration would take place once HAGI staff spent time with tenants or disabled consumers to help them with independent living. When tenants reached a level where they could move out, they had the option of different accessible living arrangements in the city, such as Castlegreen Cooperative or Habour View Terrace. As consumers in these new housing arrangements, PWD could hire attendant staff to assist them with specific needs.

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[822] Ibid.
[823] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill/Queen's University Press, 2001), 25.
[824] Rupke, "Handicaps Get Active," 5.
[825] Ibid.

Final results from the HAGI's study indicated that option number three was the most appropriate.[826] For Bellavance, modeling the residence on option three would ensure that disabled people were "neither kept out of the mainstream of normal life, nor isolated from each other."[827] They would inhabit a middle ground in an accessible, non-institutional setting where they had control over setting their daily schedule. This was quite a bit different than the situation experienced by Carpenter in Clarendon in the mid-1970s. In fact, Rembis notes that even some "assisted living facilities remained problematically institutionalized in their outlook and management."[828] This was not the case with One Fifty as it was modelled on a disabled consumer-first model.

After approaching the City with the preliminary results of the Group Residence Feasibility Study, the HAGI analyzed several sites before choosing one located on Castlegreen Cooperative.[829] While land on the cooperative was always the first choice, the HAGI looked for potential City-owned properties, but found them unsuitable for development. Not only were most sites in the city too small or too costly to prepare for construction, but sites on the margins were too isolated with few support services available. This led Bellavance to conclude that "Castlegreen provide[d] the best opportunity to integrate residents into the community and at a minimal land cost."[830] Furthermore, Koivisto stated that "they [Castlegreen] had already accepted the disabled into their community okay. So, we figured that would be the best place to build our residence."[831] Again, Freund refers to what Koivisto describes as an "enabling space"

[826] Lakehead University, Paul McRae Fonds, A0029, Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, 15 May 1975, 10.
[827] Ibid.
[828] Rembis, "Introduction," 6; Carpenter, "Disability Social Equality," 232-233.
[829] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 4, Planning, Meeting Minutes, 28 Jan 1974, 1.
[830] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Handicapped Action Group, Application to CMHC, 13.
[831] "Dave Koivisto."

where PWD "belong," feel "secure," and "can be at home in."[832] In turn, the HAGI then partnered with Castlegreen for a piece of land that was eventually leased out by the municipal government.[833] Castlegreen's then-manger Allen Nelson wrote a letter of support for the residence on May 24th, 1974, to help with HAGI's funding drive. The letter praised the HAGI for all the "research done for handicapped housing," and that Castlegreen supported the HAGI's belief that a "'self-help' approach" for disabled people worked best in facilitating integration into the community.[834] Nelson supported the guiding philosophy behind both organizations' views on housing, in that "[h]omes are not simply buildings; they are achieved by collective efforts of those who live in them."[835] The Manager of Castlegreen noted that the Group Residence was "within the scope" of the cooperative to accommodate, and that the HAGI could either "sub-lease the land" from them or acquire a "direct lease" from the City.[836] Nelson recalled that the Group Residence would "take time and planning" to put into practice, and that Castlegreen's architects would "take the needs of [Bellavance's] members into account."[837] Here it is evident the close relationship between Castlegreen and the HAGI, especially since Nelson's open letter was indirectly stating to potential funders that considerable resources were needed for the project. This was a good strategy and not only did the HAGI get the support from Castlegreen, but also from a "who's who" of City officials, local groups, and professionals, including: M.P. Robert Andras, Dr. Kim, City Councillors Grace Remus, Dr. Edward Anten, and Paul Inksetter, Margaret Phillips (Executive Director of the Planning Council), and Helen Bogett (Occupational Therapist at St. Joseph's Hospital) etc. In fact, a 23-person Advisory Committee was formed,

[832] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 703.
[833] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Handicapped Action Group, Application to CMHC, 13.
[834] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Allen Nelson to Terry Bellavance, 27 May 1975, 1.
[835] Ibid.
[836] Ibid.
[837] Ibid.

with many of these individuals aiding the HAGI by providing expertise and leadership for the project.[838] Bringing these people onboard was important for Koivisto because "includ[ing] letters of support from various agencies and organizations for your cause that was a real selling point for them you know."[839] Finally, on June 14th, 1974, the HAGI completed the Group Residence Feasibility Study, concluding that the residence would be built on the Castlegreen site.[840] Next for the HAGI was acquiring CMHC start-up funds.

Bellavance and Koivisto submitted a 31-page CMHC start-up fund grant application package for $10,000 (the maximum allowable) on May 21st, 1974, but only received about half of this amount ($4,740) on October 25th, 1974. The funds were to be used for completing the organizational work needed before HAGI applied for a construction loan for the non-profit project. While HAGI sought $10,000 from the CMHC, their total costs were actually $19,698.72; they sought to raise the remaining $9,698.72 from other sources.[841] The HAGI's application to CMHC coincided with a time when funds available for housing projects were limited.[842] Reaume notes that Lyndhurst, too, was not able to reintegrate high level quadriplegics into the community because of the "fiscal restraint that characterized these decades."[843] In turn, Lyndhurst housed many quadriplegics, in their own facility, until the early 1980s when funds became available to set up an accessible housing complex called Nucleus Housing I in Toronto. It was the first such facility for high level quads; eleven quadriplegics moved out of Lyndhurst into the residence.[844]

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[838] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from R.G. McAllister to the Secretary to the Executive Committee, 17 June 1974, 3-4.
[839] "Dave Koivisto."
[840] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from B.I. Sylvester to the Minister of Urban Affairs, 27 June 27 1974, 1.
[841] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, The HAG Start-up Grant Application form to the CMHC, 27 May 1974, 19.
[842] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Eric Acker to B.Y. Sylvester 2, March 1975, 1.
[843] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 183.
[844] Ibid. Nucleus Housing I opened May 1983, and took in eleven high level quadriplegics from Lyndhurst.

Later in 1993, Lyndhurst developed a transitional living program.[845] HAGI's residence was built before Lyndhurst's, and while the Group Residence was not solely designed for quadriplegics, as Nucleus Housing I, it housed many high level quads in addition to other types of physical disabilities. Funding, thus, was critical, but a July 12th internal letter sent to the organization from R.G. McAllister, the Thunder Bay branch manager of the CMHC, recommended that the HAGI be allocated only $4,740 for the following aspects of the project: architectural fees ($3,000), legal fees ($250), local transportation ($240), travel and negotiations with government and non-government agencies ($500), tenant selection ($250), administration ($500). In this new budget, the CMHC excluded monies to cover the coordinator's wages or the office rent.[846] As a result, the HAGI bargained with the CMHC for a renegotiation of the original amount.

Bellavance spent the remainder of 1974 trying to attain the additional monies from the CMHC. He arranged a July meeting with Bruce McGlashan, the Social Development Officer of the CMHC, where he made known the importance of the coordinator's position and the required wages needed to reimburse the position.[847] Bellavance also justified the need for travel money, as members of the HAGI needed to attend meetings with the Ministry of Housing, the MCSS and various foundations, to work out details for the project.[848] After having received only a portion of the CMHC Start Up funds, Bellavance submitted another application on October 8th in an attempt to receive the remaining funds. Two weeks later, to the HAGI's dismay, the CMHC executive committee announced the group would receive the reduced grant of $4,740.[849] A month prior to receiving the funds, Dave Pitt, the coordinator for Adult Group Homes for the

[845] Ibid., 184.
[846] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Bruce McGlashan to Roland Hennessey, 12 July 1974, 1.
[847] Ibid.
[848] Ibid.
[849] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Bruce McGlashan to B. A. Doran, 17 Feb 1975, 2.

Rehabilitation and the MCSS, visited Thunder Bay to engage in meetings with members of the HAGI and the local MCSS' Rehabilitation Bureau to discuss the project. Pitt was impressed with the HAGI's preliminary steps in establishing the Group Residence, and agreed to help in any way he could. Pitt met with Bellavance and Workman (supervisor of the local office of the Rehabilitation Bureau), and noted that it was possible to hire a coordinator under the Rehabilitation Bureau's Assessment Program. This prompted Workman to investigate the matter further, discovering that under the Rehabilitation Bureau's policy a person could be hired as a housing co-ordinator trainee for a period of six months, if the person trained themselves. With this information, the HAGI 'officially' hired Bellavance in October, while a secretary was loaned from the local Rehabilitation Bureau. However, the funding would only last until March 31st, 1975.[850]

These funding concerns were being brought up in the HAGI's weekly meetings, and the group developed a coordinated strategy to obtain the outstanding funds from their original budget. The campaign started with the HAGI contacting local M.P. Robert Andras. Bellavance started his February 11th, 1975, letter by outlining how the HAGI had finished their research into the need for the residence, and that they were in the process of coordinating efforts at tenant selection, site selection on Castlegreen, and an architectural design.[851] Andras, already having been involved in promoting local disability issues in the past through his dealings with Mary Sereda, was now the Minister of Manpower and Immigration. In this position, Andras had significant influence. In fact, Koivisto notes that at the time Andras was "probably the second strongest person in cabinet from a power standpoint."[852] Bellavance revealed to Andras that the

[850] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Robert Andras, 11 Feb 1975, 1-2.
[851] Ibid.
[852] "Dave Koivisto."

HAGI submitted their $10,000 application for CMHC Start Up funds in June 1974, but that the amount had been lowered. Also, the resulting $4,740 could not be applied to the coordinator's wages or for office rent. As he did with McGlashsan, Bellavance expounded to Andras the key role of the coordinator and why he had to be hired on a full-time basis to schedule the activities of the various committees, and act as a liaison between the group and the different levels of government.[853] Essentially, Bellavance was campaigning for his own job, and although this was a conflict of interest, as Bellavance was an executive with HAGI and a board member, he likely felt that he was in the best position to handle the position. These concerns would be brought up again (see below). In the summer months of 1974, Bellavance assumed the coordinator's role, but without a secure source of funding. The HAGI diverted some funds to Bellavance from other endeavors, but this hurt the group as it drained funding that was being used for projects such as the nascent HAGI-Transit (see chapter four). The HAGI Housing Coordinator made it known to Andras that once the group was informed by the CMHC that funds would not support Bellavance's wages, the HAGI submitted a number of briefs to government and non-governmental sources, but to no avail. The best the group did was attain a one year CYC grant to employ Pringle, but these wages could not be applied to the coordinator.[854]

Bellavance also relayed Pitt's visit to Thunder Bay on September 24th, 1974, and the glimmer of hope he gave, when he noted that the coordinator could be eligible for job placement under the Rehabilitation Bureau's Assessment Program. With this knowledge, the HAGI hired Bellavance while receiving the reduced $4,740 from the CHMC. However, Bellavance revealed to Andras that other groups, such as Homes Unlimited in London, Ontario (the site of a low

[853] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Robert Andras, 11 Feb 1975, 1-2.
[854] Ibid.

income housing complex), received CMHC start-up funds permitting them to hire a co-ordinator and to pay office rent. In fact, Bellavance went as far as to claim that there was "strong evidence that [the HAGI's Group Residence was the] only project CMHC had denied funds."[855] This was startling news for the HAGI, and they wanted Andras' help in finding out why this appeared to be the case.

Bellavance was clearly building up to his crescendo of invoking the Minister's help in resolving the matter between the HAGI and the CMHC. Not only did Bellavance outline what the HAGI had accomplished to date (initiated talks with Castlegreen and the City for land, drafted bylaws, started efforts at incorporation, developed architectural proposals, hired a CYC worker, convinced Confederation College to offer a social housing management course, set up their head office at 528 Simpson St., and arranged meetings with the planning committees), he also listed all the steps the organization was taking to address the funding issue. The HAGI looked into whether it was entitled to any other start-up funds from the CMHC, and whether they were eligible for CMHC Community Resources Organizational Program Funds (CROP) or CMHC Part V Grant Funds. Bellavance promised to keep Andras informed of the proceedings, along with sending him all correspondence from other agencies. However, Bellavance requested that Andras look into the reasons for the refusal of the original start-up funds and/or the availability of other grants. Along with Andras, Bellavance also wrote the CMHC local branch manager, Bruce McGlashan, with similar concerns, noting that HAGI's funding would run out on March 31st, 1975, and that the organization needed other avenues for funding.[856] As a result of

[855] Ibid.
[856] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Bruce McGlashan, 14 Feb 1974, 1.

Bellavance's letter, McGlashan ordered the assistant manager at the Thunder Bay CMHC office, B.A. Dornan to investigate and report back to him.

Dornan concluded that although the HAGI had received a lower sum than what was originally applied for, the group could re-apply for the additional funds as soon as possible. Doran explained to McGlashan that when Bellavance originally submitted the $10,000 application on June 14th, 1974, it was "not broken down into various items, but included in the [HAGI's] grant total of $19,698.72."[857] After internal discussions, between CMHC staff and several back and forth correspondences with the HAGI, the amount changed and the CMHC executive committee approved a start-up grant for $4,740 on October 25, 1974. Next, Dornan seemed to criticize the HAGI for not doing enough to acquire other types of funding. Indeed, he noted to McGlashan, that to his knowledge, he believed that the CYC was the "only agency that the HAGI contacted for funds," and that their employee, through this grant, was only a "spark plug, not a doer."[858] This could be taken as an insult as Pringle was a quadriplegic and was limited in what he could do, especially considering the lack of technical aids at the time.[859] Furthermore, Doran indicated that he thought the HAGI was going to seek funding from the following organizations: the United Church, the Secretary of State, Ministry of Health and Welfare, the City of Thunder Bay, local service clubs, and private foundations, but that he had "no indication of how the group made out."[860] Here Dornan seemed to be blaming the HAGI for not being clear on the original budget, and not doing enough to explore other options for funding. While it is important for a non-profit group to look into all other avenues for funding, Dornan had Bellavance's February 11th, 1975, letter in which he made clear to Dornan's superior

[857] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from B.A. Dornan to Bruce McGlashan, 17 Feb 1975, 1.
[858] Ibid.
[859] Ibid.
[860] Ibid.

McGlashan that the "HAG[I] had prepared briefs for submission to government and non-governmental bodies for funds for salaries and running the office, but to no avail."[861] Therefore, Dornan's claims seemed to be harsh. As regards to assertions that other groups, such as Homes Unlimited of London received extra start-up funds, Dornan stated that this was because the CMHC tightened its budget after April 1974. This seems to be true as Homes Unlimited received an $8,600 start-up grant in November 1973, close to the $10,000 maximum, and an additional $1,400 that December.[862] This new amount reached the maximum and drew HAGI's attention, as they also wanted to receive the maximum amount.

Even though Dornan seemed to be criticizing the HAGI in this internal letter, he met with Bellavance on February 11th, 1975, to discuss ways in which the HAGI could re-apply for funds. The meeting was cordial with Bellavance questioning Dornan on why the HAGI did not receive greater CMHC funds. Dornan revealed that the CMHC had tightened its budget, around the time the HAGI had applied, and encouraged him to re-apply for the remaining $5,260. However, Dornan stated that before Bellavance could re-apply, he would need to exhaust all other avenues for funding, including CMHC CROP and/or PART V grants. Indeed after the meeting, Dornan expressed his confusion in that Bellavance had made known to him that the Group Residence project would need to acquire about $20,000 to bring it online. Therefore, if the group could not raise funds from other avenues, "the $5,260 would not make or break the project."[863] Also, while Dornan seemed impressed that the Group Residence project "had several professional people on [the] advisory board," none of the other members of the HAGI appeared to be involved in the

[861] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Robert Andras, 11 Feb 1975, 1.
[862] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from G.R. Hennessey to London Homes Unlimited, 17 Dec 1974, 1.
[863] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Bruce McGlashan to B. A. Doran, 17 Feb 1975, 2.

current project besides Bellavance.[864] In fact, Dornan was "concerned" that Bellavance was the only person working on the project; this was not true as Koivisto and Bolduc were actively involved in seeking financial backers for the project.[865] Finally, he raised the potential conflict of interest concern, since Bellavance was a member of the BOD and also a paid staff member (in response to this claim Bellavance resigned from the board).[866]

The HAGI's persistence did eventually pay off as they received the additional $5,260 on May 1st, 1975; this was a major boost to the Group Residence project, and allowed the HAGI to move to the next step of designing plans. In the build-up to the increase of CMHC funds, Andras, played a major role by sending a letter to the Minister of Urban Affairs on February 24th, 1975. Here Andras noted that he was "impressed with the progress" the HAGI had made and wanted consideration for an increase in CMHC funding.[867] The Port Arthur M.P. also wanted to know whether the HAGI was entitled to CROP or Part V funding. The Urban Affair's Minister responded a week later noting that "the CMHC was receptive to the start-up increase," which would cover wages for a coordinator and office rent.[868] Confirming what the local CMHC official told Bellavance, the "CMHC's hesitation in June 1974 was due to the fact that funds available at the time were limited."[869] A subsequent March 6th, 1975, letter from Nicholas Dick, the Coordinator of Community, Rural, and Native Housing Programs, revealed that CROP was an "inappropriate" funding source for the HAGI, since that type of funding was reserved for "technical and professional groups" who provided advisory and or direct services to existing and

[864] Ibid.
[865] Ibid; "Dave Koivisto."
[866] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Bruce McGlashan to B. A. Doran, 17 Feb 1975, 2
[867] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from B.I. Sylvester to Eric Ackers, 24 Feb 1975, 1.
[868] Ibid.
[869] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Eric Ackers to B. I. Sylvester, 2 March 1975, 1.

emerging community housing projects.[870] Dick noted that HAGI's project fell within the realm of CMHC start-up funds, and that a new application from them, stating why the additional funds were needed, would suffice. The HAGI heeded this advice, and resubmitted a new CMHC application form for $5,260 on April 28, 1975, for staffing and office-administration expenses. Two days later on May 1st, McGlashan and the Thunder Bay branch suggested to the national CMHC office that they were "recommending $5,260 start-up funds under section 37.1 of the [National Housing Act] NHA" be administered to the HAGI.[871] Finally, to answer Dornan's claim about other sources of funding, other organizations agreed to contribute money with the United Church of Canada pledging considerable funds.[872] The funding from the United Church was a mixed blessing because some disability organizations that HAGI thought would contribute funds, in fact, refused. According to Koivisto:

> So it got to a point where we…you know HAGI was developing and we finally got after years of working got the go-ahead to build our first residence at 150 Castlegreen Dr. and we needed $40,000, $50,000 of in-term financing, with the CMHC, the government is securing the mortgage and everything was in place, but we need the money and I asked the March of Dimes for that $50,000 or $40, I can't remember if it was 40 or 50, but they laughed at me so…and the next call was to the United Church and they provided the money because it was a secured loan, you know it wasn't…it was just in-term financing so at that time I kinda…that drew the line, said I understood where you know where their…they were very old thinking you know. They couldn't see enough ahead that workshops you know, disabled people need more, they needed the housing, they needed the transportation. HAGI could have been all OMOD here at one time, but they didn't want that and it goes right back to their Board of Directors out in Toronto and they were good people, but they were people that didn't…there were very few disabled. They were more celebrity type people who were there to raise money, you know, and things like that.[873]

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[870] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Nicholas Dick to Bruce McGlashan, 6 March 1975, 1.
[871] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Correspondence from Bruce McGlashan to G.R. Hennessey, 1 May 1975, 1.
[872] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Memorandum from G.R. Hennessey, 28 April 1975, 2.
[873] "Dave Koivisto."

For the HAGI, this was disappointing. As a result, Koivisto resigned his position as the OMOD Workshop Manager. The OMOD did eventually enter other disability areas besides rehabilitation and vocational work (its original pillars) by opening its "first supportive housing project" in Hamilton in 1984, about five years after the HAGI opened One Fifty Castlegreen.[874] This followed a restructuring of the OMOD's mandate towards a work readiness and mainstream integration program in 1984. Terry Bellavance applied this new model locally, as the second OMOD Regional Director in Thunder Bay and NWO.[875] In spite of the OMOD's denial of funds for the Group Residence, funding was attained, which ensured the continuation of the project.

With funding in place, the HAGI held a membership meeting to update their members on the Group Residence. The meeting was held on May 25th, 1975, and was led by then-President Bellavance who was soon to leave his post (Koivisto took over the presidency in mid-1975) to work exclusively on the Group Residence and Castlegreen Cooperative projects. Revealing that it was a tough process going through "the various ministries and bureaucratic jungles," Bellavance informed the 233 members that the HAGI had completed a proposal with the help of the Co-operative Foundation of Canada that would include 32 units in five separate buildings, a central recreation area, and a staff area.[876] The HAGI would then rent land from the City near the Castlegreen Cooperative.[877] The T-shaped structure would contain 16 units in the main building, for more "severely disabled adults" requiring specialized care and support, and another 16 units, in four sets of townhouses next to the main building, for more independent disabled adults.[878]

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[874] March of Dimes Canada, *Annual Report: Sixty-Five Years and More Than Polio*, 2015-2016, 13.
[875] Dave Lammers, "Thank you, Terry B," *Chronicle Journal*, November 21, 1999, A2.
[876] "Architects' Drawings Presented For Handicapped Housing Plan," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 26, 1975, 21; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 18; Jack Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need it to build centre," *Chronicle Journal*, June 9, 1977, 17.
[877] Ibid.
[878] Jim Kelly, "Handicapped Housing," 13.

Units in the main building were one-bedroom apartments that included a bedroom, living room, kitchen, and bathroom; and, they also possessed self-operated controls for ventilation, heat, and windows to improve personal comfort. On the other hand, the townhouses contained both one and two bedroom units with a living room, full kitchen, and a four piece bath and storage area. The main building would also include a series of auxiliary services for both those in that building and those living in the townhouses, such as communal dining room, kitchen, recreation room, lockers, and a sauna. Furthermore, to improve communication and emergency responses, the separate 16 unit buildings were connected by an intercom system.[879]

Financial assistance for the tenants was discussed, and Bellavance noted that "the tenant will pay up to a 25 per cent maximum of market rents" with the additional 75 per cent paid by a combination of the City, Ministry of Housing, and the federal government as part of the *Canada Assistance Act*.[880] Before construction started in the spring, the HAGI retained the services of Phillip Geerts, of the Cooperative Housing Foundation of Canada, as the chief architect. Geerts was instrumental in developing preliminary drawings of both the main building and the four quadplex blocks.[881] Furthermore, to test the basic designs and layout, the HAGI produced mock-ups with donated furniture to assess their suitability for potential residents.[882] The mock-up was held on May 13th, 1975, at a North Street warehouse, with local media attending. Several disabled individuals spent the day physically testing and talking about the proposed layout. This was a memorable moment for Susan Ward who stated that, "we [HAGI] rented a big warehouse and we did cardboard mock ups, and, then, because of funding, we had to cut back a little bit on the space of the apartments, but I remember like it was yesterday, you know, going in with

[879] Ibid.
[880] Ibid.
[881] LAC, RG 56, 116-8-T63-3, Box 125, Memorandum from G.R. Hennessey, 28 April 1975, 2,
[882] "Architects' Drawings," 21.

wheelchairs and judging the heights."[883] Ward and the others conveyed their selections to Koivisto who made the final decision on an appropriate barrier-free layout.[884]

With approval given from the provincial government, the HAGI sought other financial agreements and fundraising outlets to proceed with the final stages before construction. The CMHC guaranteed a 100 per cent mortgage at below market interest rates, the Ontario MCSS agreed to service operating costs for any care services required by residents (including attendant and support services), and the Ontario Ministry of Housing provided rent supplement funding so those on the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement - Disabled (GAINS-D) program could become tenants in the Group Residence.[885] The mortgage was for 50 years and pegged at 8 per cent, with the HAGI paying $2 per unit every month. With the mortgage secured, the City also made a deal with the disability advocacy group to service the land for $49,000. With these arrangements signed, the HAGI received further assurances from the CMHC and the Ministry of Housing for separate 10 per cent grants on top of the mortgage.

The HAGI also sought guarantees that tenants would be taken care of financially, especially since those on GAINS-D (government social assistance for PWD) received a mere $250 a month pension. The rent supplement program worked out between multiple levels of government allowed low-income residents to pay up to 25 per cent maximum of market rents, while the City, province (Ministry of Housing), and federal government (CMHC) paid the remaining 75 per cent under the *Canada Assistance Act*. Lastly, the MCSS agreed to fully fund care and support services needed by residents, so they could "function in a semi-independent

[883] "Susan Ward."
[884] "Test Floor Plan", *Chronicle-Journal*, May 14th, 1975, 6.
[885] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 18.

matter."[886] The HAGI project was chosen "for funding as a demonstration of non-institutional housing for handicaps."[887] It was one of four 'Care Package' pilot projects along with those in Toronto, Ottawa, and Windsor.[888] In the Care Package, the MCSS paid all capital costs for employee facilities along with the wages for staff, and the Ontario Ministry of Housing funded 10 per cent of building costs and provided tenants, who qualified for RGI, a subsidized rate. Along with government assurances, the HAGI also engaged in fundraising drives to raise additional funds for the Group Residence. One of the most publicized events was the Family Funtime Country Western Music Show held in Thunder Bay on July 23, 1975, where Nashville stars, such as Sunset Kit Carson entertained the crowd with cowboy tricks and rifle shootouts. HAGI members were active in selling advance tickets to raise funds.[889]

With funding in place, HAGI's Group Residence Coordinator, Terry Bellavance, met with Thunder Bay's City Council Housing Committee on June 17th to seek several local agreements.[890] To Bellavance, funding must have seemed to be a sure thing, as the group had already discussed the project extensively with Thunder Bay City Council and that body was well aware of the provincial and federal agreements. However, to further emphasize his point, Bellavance revealed to the committee that research performed by the HAGI "found there was an emergency need for such a residence."[891] Years of ableist design had created an environment that was hostile to disabled people and was similar to housing discrimination faced by other minority groups. In fact, Marcum notes that:

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[886] Kelly, "Handicapped Housing," 13; Jack Hanna, "Much work went into proposal," *Chronicle Journal*, June 9, 1977, 17.
[887] Hanna, "Much work went," 17; Yoshida et al., "The Emergence of," 321.
[888] Ibid.
[889] "Western Music Show Slated For Next Week," *Chronicle Journal*, July 17, 1975, 3.
[890] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 6, Housing, Meeting Minutes, 17 June 1975, 21.
[891] Don Smith, "Handicapped Housing Plans Approved," *Chronicle-Journal*, June 18, 1975, 21.

> construction of urban and suburban residential spaces in the USA has been a racialized, classed, and gendered project that has excluded large segments of the population from the 'American dream' of home ownership, social and political integration, and economic independence.[892]

To rectify the situation for PWD, Bellavance emphasized the fact that Thunder Bay had "no facility designed for people needing minimal care."[893] This resulted in such people ending up in regular housing, which put severe strains on their way of life. Since Bellavance used a wheelchair, he knew that "suitable housing with the proper environment [was] of paramount importance as far as the physical health and mental attitude of the disabled person [was] concerned."[894] Therefore, he wanted to ensure that residents of this proposed new project would have "more freedom in controlling [their] own li[ves.]"[895] With greater freedom, PWD could take on a variety of new responsibilities, and this would have a cost saving effect on government.

Bellavance's presentation aimed to get the City to enter into agreements with the HAGI to supplement a 7 per cent rate of residents' rent. Since most of the residents of the HAGI's project were going to be "low-income people," the HAGI took advantage of the provincial Community Sponsored Housing Program.[896] This program bound all three levels of government to share the supplementing of rents for low-income residents on GAINS-D and other government programs. Thus, Bellavance wanted the Thunder Bay City Council Housing Committee to pay the City's share of this agreement. The City agreed to support the project and to pay the percentage for the rent supplement program, but redirected two other proposals from the HAGI to different City Council bodies (the Planning Committee and the Public Works Policy Committee). These proposals were agreements on leasing land, and providing municipal services

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[892] Marcum, "Rethinking the American Dream," 106.
[893] Kelly, "Handicapped Housing Becomes," 13.
[894] Ibid.
[895] Ibid.
[896] Ibid.

to the organization. The Housing Committee Chairman Paul Inksetter gave Bellavance his assurances that "this would present no problem since the city [was] already committed to leasing land to Castlegreen and one clause in that lease provide[d] for the arrangement with the action group."[897] In July and September, these City committees agreed to formally lease the required land and provide municipal services, which included water and lights etc. Lastly, the City agreed to provide $495/year to disabled residents needing furniture in their units; a means test would determine who qualified.[898] With these successes, the future of the Group Residence looked bright, but to the HAGI's dismay, the CMHC rejected the proposal as too costly.

With the basic design and plans finished by the summer of 1975, the HAGI submitted their proposal to the CMHC, and then switched emphasis to resident criteria and procedures for the Group Residence. However, shortly after the HAGI submitted their first proposal, the CMHC rejected it as being over the organization's funding level. This was a shock for the HAGI and they worked with Kembel-Ward Associates, a local engineering firm whom took over from the Co-operative Foundation of Canada in November of 1975, to redraw a new proposal for the project. The CMHC was also adamant that the HAGI move on from Phillip Geerts to a more "accredited architect."[899] As such, the HAGI initiated a search for a new architect that best suited the project. At the same time, the HAGI publicized the project throughout the NWO region. Although primarily meant for the disabled people of Thunder Bay, the Group Residence was open to disabled individuals throughout all of NWO. To spread the word, the HAGI engaged in a publicity campaign in local communities. For example, on August 13th, 1975, the HAGI Group

[897] Ibid.
[898] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 18; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2, Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1975, 28; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 6, Housing, Meeting Minutes, 16 Sept 1975, 40; Hanna, "Much work went," 17.
[899] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.

Residence was featured on the front page of the Geraldton newspaper, the *Times-Star*. The article discussed the current progress on the residence, and outlined developments at the final HAGI Group Residence Planning Committee meeting held at Confederation College on July, 2nd. A range of HAGI officials, architects, consultants, politicians, and potential residents attended, such as Phillip Geerts (chief architect), Ralph McMunn (technical advisor with Uni-Ram), and Paul McRae (Fort William M.P.). McRae praised the HAGI's "initiative" and pledged his "full support."[900] In the article, the HAGI encouraged any disabled individuals living in the Geraldton area to consider becoming a resident.[901] Also, since the *Chronicle-Journal* was distributed throughout NWO, the HAGI placed articles in the district news sections. One article noted that the HAGI was in the last stages of planning the Group Residence and that it would "be open to all the disabled in Northwestern Ontario."[902] Interestingly, the article stated that "the response from the smaller communities in NWO has been negligible."[903] There may have been several reasons for this. Firstly, disabled individuals in these communities could have already moved to Thunder Bay, at some point in their lives, to take advantage of better services offered by the regional hub, as was the case with Bellavance, Ross, Pringle, and Bolduc. Secondly, there may have been a negligible number of PWD living in these communities to start with. Lastly, PWD may have preferred to stay in their own community for various reasons. This last reason is posited by Alice Bellavance who stated that:

> I think people in some of the communities west of us in particular, you know, if they had strong caring families, and they had financial resources to make their homes barrier-free then people did stay in the home communities and so they didn't access the service. It was those that wanted to be independent that moved here [Thunder Bay], but…it was

[900] "Handicapped Group Plan Housing Project," *Times-Star*, August 13, 1975, 1.
[901] Ibid.
[902] "Housing," *Chronicle-Journal*, October 6, 1975, 3.
[903] Ibid.

> probably negligible. I think it was more people from Northeastern Ontario that moved here until they got services.[904]

In October of 1975, the HAGI surveyed 131 disabled persons, in the city of Thunder Bay, in order to determine the potential number of people who would occupy the new Group Residence. Results showed that more than enough disabled people were in need of accessible housing. The 1975 survey followed the 1972 *DRR*, which documented the accommodations of the city's disabled. The 1972 report showed that a sample of 149 disabled residents lived in the following types of accommodations: hospitals (11), senior citizen homes (18), houses (54), apartments (17), and other types of rentals (49). However, none of the disabled people surveyed lived in any type of building as the proposed HAGI Group Residence.[905] Furthermore, in the 1972 survey more than half of respondents believed that their residence was acceptable, but that they were not prepared to move to a more convenient one.[906] The Planning Council concluded that these numbers came down to a "function of personal choice" or familiarity rather "than any measurable criteria," and that with education the numbers would change.[907]

The disability rights movement in Thunder Bay was still in its infancy in 1972; thus, it was not surprising that those disabled who were surveyed may have lacked the impetus to seek a change in their type of housing. The situation changed after 1972. Here disability activism became a beachhead for greater independence and rights, including accessible housing. The HAGI Group Residence was the first such large scale attempt to provide more severely disabled with self-determination. The 1975 survey of 131 disabled persons in Thunder Bay found that

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[904] "Alice Bellavance."
[905] LSPC, *Disability Research Report*, 38.
[906] The 1972 DRR showed that 139 respondents (86%) found their residence acceptable, while 23 (14%) found their residence was unacceptable. Additionally, 70 respondents (44%) were prepared to move to a more convenient residence, while 89 (56%) were not prepared to move.
[907] Ibid., 43.

seventy-six respondents or 56 per cent "would likely move to this [type of] accommodation;" this was over a 10 per cent increase from 1972 levels and gave more legitimacy to the HAGI.[908] It is likely that numbers were not higher, as some older people were comfortable with their present accommodations or may have feared change, especially away from their families. Additional statistics showed that 39 people or 51 per cent of respondents were under 40; this showed the high numbers of young people wanting independence. Income was another area of concern for respondents, and 38 made $3,000 or less, with five of these people having to support dependents. Finally, 29 people needed services ranging from laundry and house cleaning, while 44 people required personal services for dressing, grooming, and entering/exiting their beds.[909] The HAGI Group Residence would meet these needs by providing disabled consumers "maximum independence" and "total responsibility" for their lives both socially and economically.[910]

The HAGI established guiding principles for admission to the Group Residence to ensure a smooth transition for tenants. Bellavance believed that with the right type of housing and a suitable environment, a positive impact on both physical and mental health would be felt by disabled people in the city. Not only would this atmosphere reduce the number of medical visits and social services required by disabled people, but it would encourage them to pursue independence. Independence was a core tenet of the ILM. It grew out of developments on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, in the early 1960s and its philosophy gave PWD freedom from the confines of an institutional setting or from having to live with their

[908] Kelly, "Survey Shows Handicapped," 17.
[909] Ibid.
[910] Ibid.

immediate families.[911] Prior to the HAGI's efforts, disabled individuals, such as George Maycock and Sereda (see chapter one) depended on their families and institutional living. In the above cases, their disabilities were magnified and resulted in considerable strain for their families. On the other hand, the complex would liberate disabled people from that environment, through self-determination and consumerism. It would give greater control over their lives.[912]

In order to screen applicants, Bellavance established a list of admission criteria. Firstly, the Group Residence accepted disabled persons in NWO 18 years of age or older who, although needing support, "[did] not require continuing nursing care."[913] Thus, a person requiring some level of physical staff support for mobility, eating, dressing, bathing, toileting, communicating, shopping, laundry, and housing-keeping could apply. Also, to go along with Bellavance's philosophy of self-determination and Castlegreen's focus on cooperative living, potential residents were encouraged to be "willing to help him or herself and be willing to help others" besides partaking in HAGI's programs.[914] On the surface, this seemed demanding, but Bellavance's dream was for each resident to "achieve maximum independence" and "total responsibility" in their lives up to what personal circumstances allowed.[915] Thus to vet potential residents, HAGI requested a medical examination and personal interview. If a potential resident was deemed fit, they could enter into a three-month trial or probationary period, where their adjustment was evaluated. During that time, residency could be "terminated either voluntarily or

[911] Kelly, "Handicapped Housing," 13; Cassandra Phillips, "Steering Your Own Ship: The Growth of Individual Advocacy within the Canadian Association of Independent Living Centres," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord: ON: Captus Press, 2003), 202.
[912] Kelly, "Handicapped Housing," 13.
[913] Kelly, "Survey Shows Handicapped," 17.
[914] Ibid.
[915] Ibid.

at the request of the management board."[916] Koivisto reinforces the emphasis on the self-help perspective by stating:

> And, we would unofficially force or request people to do things when they moved into 150. There were no rules okay like…but we made sure that they were active in the community, they had to work, they had to go to school, they had to get off [pain killers] because everyone coming in was on [pain killers] at first from the doctors, if they wanted to do something with their lives, we had to tell them that. We had a facilitator that would help them with all their daily living stuff that as well would help them kick whatever habits they had from the drugs standpoint.[917]

As HAGI leaders had achieved independent living, they may have been over-anxious or exuberant to see the same occur for tenants, even though the severity of disabilities and circumstances of life could stymie the integration of some. By the end of 1975, Bellavance's project was quickly evolving from an abstract idea into a concrete reality. However, by March 1976, CMHC again rejected the HAGI's proposal, putting the project in disarray.[918]

By March 1976, the HAGI Group Residence project was struggling to meet CMHC targets; the project had to undergo serious revisions or risk being cancelled. In the past, the HAGI had spoken out publicly about the "various ministries and bureaucratic jungles" that it had to go through in order to obtain funding for the residence, and this was the case yet again.[919] The four main ministries that the HAGI was dealing with were: the Provincial Ministries of Housing and the MCSS, the CMHC, the City of Thunder Bay, and the multiple granting agencies. HAGI was successful in some of these ventures, especially with the Ministry of Housing and the MCSS, as the Group Residence obtained both a housing supplement from the former, and was picked to be one of four pilot projects to receive attendant care and other staff funding under the

[916] Ibid.
[917] "Dave Koivisto."
[918] Kelly, "Survey Shows Handicapped," 17.
[919] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 18.

Care Package initiative of the latter. Where the group hit a snag was with the CMHC and the Ministry of Housing. It had been a struggle to receive the $10,000 in start-up funds in 1974, and the CMHC also urged the HAGI to obtain the services of an accredited architect. In 1976, the HAGI did this by bringing architect Don Kerr, from Toronto, onboard the project. Kerr was referred to the HAGI by Kembel-Ward & Associates, the group's local consulting engineer firm. Still, the CMHC was dissatisfied with the HAGI's square footage calculations.

According to HAGI, the Group Residence needed to possess "sufficient space…to be functionable," but it also had to meet particular capital cost per unit targets chosen by the CMHC.[920] In the latter half of 1976, the CMHC and the Ministry of Housing set a maximum of $24,000 per unit, well below the HAGI's best estimates of $36,000. The $12,000 gap was very significant and the HAGI had difficulty limiting costs to meet the CMHC's target. As a result, the HAGI was "forced to redesign the project" with Kerr's help.[921] Thus, along with advice from government organizations involved, the HAGI submitted a new financially scaled-down 24 unit proposal to the CMHC, with a cheaper building structure (wood siding instead of brick) and reduced recreation and staff areas.[922] Since the CMHC had held back financial support from the HAGI until their designs met the $24,000 limit both Kerr and Kembel-Ward were working for free (the former for six months and the latter for twelve); indeed, they both had tremendous faith that the project would get approval.

The new design was accepted by the CMHC in September 1976, but HAGI's costs fluctuated between their original $31,000 and the CMHC's maximum of $24,000. By the

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[920] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 22; LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, HAGI Housing Timeline, 1975-1981.
[921] Ibid.
[922] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17; LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, HAGI Housing Timeline, 1975-1981.

beginning of the 1977, they were still $3,900/unit away ($714,000 total) from meeting the CMHC's target.[923] Although, the 24 unit was approved (eight fewer units than originally proposed), it was still four more than the 20 the province wanted. The HAGI applied for a new CMHC mortgage in October of 1976, but their costs kept increasing causing the local CMHC office to postpone funding. In a January 1977 letter, the local CMHC made known to Bellavance that the highest square footage they would allow was $31.90. HAGI's best estimates put them at $47.00, but after the City agreed to share some of the servicing costs, the number decreased to $42.00; it was still about $10.00 over.[924]

In the spring of 1977, HAGI's dream of "a home for the handicapped" was on life support, as the group could not limit their proposal to $31.90 per square footage. After reviewing HAGI's latest proposal in March of 1977, G. Lafrance, the assistant manager of the CMHC's Thunder Bay office, sent another letter to HAGI outlining three options for the Group Residence. The three options were as follows: firstly, to "scrap the project entirely;" secondly, fundraise the cost difference between the two figures; and finally, produce new drawings and send these to different contractors to see if any could meet the CMHC's target.[925] Bellavance, HAGI's lead coordinator for the project, did not agree with any of the local CMHC's suggestions. Bellavance disliked the idea of scrapping the project, especially since HAGI "[had] gotten a lot of help from all over…There's been a lot of good faith. We can't just let it die, that's for sure."[926] As for raising additional funds, Bellavance noted that "[HAGI] could go after the charity dollar…[b]ut one of the reasons the government supports programs like this is because they think the physically handicapped person shouldn't have to be a fundraiser on his own behalf. And that's

[923] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 22; Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.
[924] LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, HAGI Housing Timeline.
[925] Hanna, "Money, Handicaps need," 17; Kelly, "Survey Shows Handicapped," 17.
[926] Hanna, "Money, Handicaps need," 17.

true. This is a rich country."[927] Lastly, Bellavance revealed that HAGI did not have access to anymore funds to produce new drawings to send to various contractors in the hope that one bid would meet the CMHC's target. Bruce McGlashan, the social housing manager of the Thunder Bay branch of the CMHC, confirmed HAGI's financial plight, stating that the group had "exhausted all the funds" available for the project.[928] Since none of these options was agreeable to HAGI, a last ditch compromise was attempted with the CMHC.

To Bellavance and the other members of HAGI, and their contractors Kembel-Ward, the CMHC's reluctance to support the project, after the tremendous amount of work put in, was foolhardy. Furthermore, they believed that the CMHC's limit for funding was simply a predetermined number that did not take into account all of the disability-induced costs specific to the project, such as pressurized corridors for fires. Sandy Backman of Kembel-Ward lamented the fact that "[y]ou [couldn't] exceed that magic number" of $31.90/unit even if there were extraneous costs. Backman also stated that the project contained many extra costs, which were higher than what the CMHC expected them to be.[929] Even after Backman met with the CMHC, he came out of the meeting stating that the "CMHC doesn't know what a building of this type will cost to put up because there aren't others like it in the area."[930] This lack of knowledge was also evident in the fact that the CMHC was "using residential guidelines" to categorize the Group Residence since the complex could not be designated as an institution.[931] On the other hand, the local CMHC official G. Lafrance explained the CMHC's position that "[a]t that price [HAGI's 1976 estimate] they're getting taken or there's inefficient costing in there

[927] Ibid.
[928] Ibid.
[929] Ibid.
[930] Ibid.
[931] Ibid.

somewhere…All our other projects are much cheaper."[932] This was not quite true, as a similar project in Windsor, Ontario, was also fairly costly with per unit costs for square footage at $34.00. It was above the CMHC's apparent maximum ($31.90) offered to HAGI. Indeed, the local CMHC official in Windsor acknowledged that the project "was higher than we've experienced before."[933] Former chair of the Ontario Advisory Council on the Physical Handicapped (OACPH; an Advisory Council to the provincial government on disability issues set up by Premier Bill Davis in 1975), Jack Longman revealed that the extra funding was needed because of disability specific costs, such as wider bathrooms for wheelchair mobility.[934] Even though the Windsor situation was brought to the attention of the Thunder Bay CMHC office, the end result was that HAGI and Kembel-Ward were "miles apart" on what it would cost to complete the residence. Bellavance commented that "[y]ou couldn't build an outhouse at that cost."[935] The CMHC's reluctance to support the project encouraged individual HAGI members to publicize the situation through the local media, and to write to the local CMHC, and other officials, to show that the Group Residence was greatly needed in NWO.

Both Bellavance and Sereda worked hard in the aftermath of the local CMHC rejection letter in publicizing HAGI's plight to the local community. Firstly, at a March 29th, 1977, HAGI BOD meeting, it was agreed that Bellavance would take the lead in "publiciz[ing] the situation through various media [outlets.]"[936] Bellavance accomplished this through three separate articles in the *Chronicle-Journal* on June 9th, 1977.[937] The articles, written by a *Chronicle-Journal* staff-writer, explained the complicated relationship between the CMHC and HAGI over the now-

[932] Ibid.
[933] Jack Hanna, "Similar project in Windsor costly too," *Chronicle Journal*, June 9, 1977, 17.
[934] Ibid.
[935] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.
[936] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 29 March 1977, 1.
[937] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need,"17; Hanna, "Much work went," 17; Hanna, "Similar project in, 17.

stalled Group Residence, and noted that a similar housing project in Windsor received the go-ahead from the CMHC.[938]

In the summer of 1977, Mary Sereda sent her autobiography along with a letter outlining her experiences to the manager of the local Thunder Bay CMHC, Bruce Fenlon, in an attempt to convince him of the importance of the HAGI Group Residence to the city's disabled. In a May 16th response, Fenlon thanked Sereda for the copy of her book "which [he]…read and found to be both informative and thought provoking."[939] While claiming to be "empathic to the special needs" of disabled people, the Thunder Bay CMHC boss' response to Sereda belied that claim.[940] His tone quickly shifted to accusing Sereda of "not [being] fully conversant with all of the details which necessitated the very difficult decision to reject the proposal submitted by the [HAGI.]"[941] Trying to justify the CMHC's position in not supporting the project, Fenlon stated that since 1975 his office had "approved loans and start-up funds to assist in the construction of 285 [local] units" for disabled people.[942] The bulk of these units were in the Castlegreen and Harbour View Terrace projects, and were mostly devoted to those PWD who had achieved independence. Fenlon did not take into account the needs of the more severely disabled in which the Group Residence was to serve. The CMHC manager did reveal that he was willing to meet with Sereda and any other disabled residents to discuss the matter further, but the invitation was perhaps window dressing. Fenlon sent his response to all of Thunder Bay's newspapers, and to both federal members of parliament for the region.[943]

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[938] Ibid; "Dave Koivisto."
[939] LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, Correspondence from Bruce Fenlon to Mary Sereda, 16 May 1977, 1; Mary Sereda, *Wheels are My Feet* (Thunder Bay: Guide Publishing and Printing, 1975), 81, 84, 86, 94, 101, 102.
[940] Ibid.
[941] Ibid.
[942] Ibid.
[943] Ibid.

With the Group Residence on life support, the HAGI and the Planning Council's Rehabilitation Committee reached out to both members of federal Parliament from Thunder Bay in the summer of 1977. After hearing HAGI's plea, the two whole-heartedly supported the project and acted as middlemen between the HAGI and the CMHC. Disappointed at the continued bureaucratic red tape and having exhausted all other means in HAGI's negotiations with the CMHC, Bellavance and C.A. Westcott, the Chairman of the Rehabilitation Committee, sought the political route as a last ditch effort to save the project. Reflecting back on these efforts years later, Bolduc stated that:

> I think the government asked us to redo that concept of what it was going to be [150 Castlegreen] five or six times. Terry Bellavance was involved in that. We would go to a meeting and some government [officials] wanted more updated information on what we wanted to build and what was the purpose. It seemed to get repetitious after a while. It would have been easy at some point to just give it up.[944]

However, HAGI did not give up. In his discussions with Andras and McRae, Bellavance stressed the importance of the facility in helping disabled people move from dependency to self-determination. After having talked to PWD at Westmount Hospital, the HAGI Housing Coordinator made known the fact that the residents "develop[ed] methods to help themselves but because they're in an institution they don't get a chance to make use of them."[945] Under no circumstances did the HAGI want these people "to vegetate," but instead "want[ed] to get them the hell out of those buildings," especially since a lot of those PWD were "moderately handicapped," and were not benefiting from the dependent mindset fostered by institutions.[946] The Planning Council also became involved in lobbying Andras and McRae, with Westcott

[944] "Gaston Bolduc."
[945] LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, Correspondence from Bruce Fenlon to Mary Sereda, 16 May 1977.
[946] Ibid.

writing letters to the two requesting their "intervention."[947] Westcott's letter to McRae castigated the lack of empathy demonstrated by the Ottawa bureaucrats, who were putting a "two and a half year struggle" building an accessible housing complex "in danger."[948] According to Westcott, "bureaucratic ineptness" was increasing construction and inflation costs and creating "disillusionment amongst HAGI members."[949] Having visited Copenhagen, Denmark, 15 years earlier, and seeing the work that that city performed in building accessible and integrated housing, Westcott was "at a complete loss" as to why the CMHC was stalling the Group Residence.[950] In turn, Westcott requested that McRae "review" all of the CMHC correspondence material in HAGI's possession and see for himself "the most amazing collection of contradictory correspondence ever generated by an office of the Crown."[951] It was hoped that with McRae's and Andras' help, the Group Residence could be completed, perhaps even serving as a "national model for special planning."[952] After hearing Bellavance's and Westcott's arguments, the two Thunder Bay federal politicians took a strong and unified stance in support of the project. McRae fully agreed with Bellavance on the need to get PWD out of institutions and also stressed the savings to the taxpayer, noting that "[t]hese people don't need to be kept in institutions at a cost of $160 a day."[953] McRae also took aim at the CMHC's reluctance to provide funding by confirming that construction costs were higher in Thunder Bay than some of the other cities like Windsor. Critical of the government, the Fort William M.P. lashed out by stating that "[t]his is a socially useful pilot project. The government should be breaking its neck to support it rather than

[947] LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, Correspondence from C.A. Westcott to Paul McRae, 21 Feb 1977, 1; LU Archives, A002.9 Box 1 File 10, Castlegreen Phase 5, Correspondence from Bruce Fenlon to Mary Sereda, 16 May 1977, 1.
[948] Ibid.
[949] Ibid.
[950] Ibid.
[951] Ibid.
[952] Ibid.
[953] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.

going out of its way to make things difficult."[954] Andras was also supportive, with his assistant Michael Gravelle disclosing that the now President of the Treasury Board had decided "to go right to the top" by personally contacting both Urban Affairs Minister Andre Oullet and the President of the CMHC Ray Hession.[955] Oullet and Hession were the top officials connected with the CMHC and could over rule decisions taken by lower officials. Thus, HAGI had a potential lifeline to keep their project alive.[956]

Robert Andras' meeting with Andre Oullet and Ray Hession was productive in that the former's influence resulted in renewed discussions between the CMHC and the HAGI in the summer of 1977. These were successful in keeping the project on schedule for construction in August of 1978. Koivisto provides an excellent view into these developments and the role Andras played in assisting HAGI:

> After about three, four, five years of working and having a stack of documentation that said the opposite things from CMHC, we met with Gravelle who was his [Andras'] right hand man at the time. And, Andras looked at these things…these documents that we brought forth and said 'look they [CMHC] say this one year and then the next year they're saying exactly the opposite.' He [Andras] looked at this stuff and he looked at these guys [Oullet and Hession] from [the] CMHC and he said build it and he left the room.[957]

Soon after the meeting with Andras, Hession contacted Bellavance to arrange for two CMHC consultants to work with the HAGI housing boss to review the project and determine areas in the plans where costs could be cut. The meeting with the Ottawa consultants led to a wider meeting between them, the local CMHC staff, HAGI, representatives from Kembel-Ward, and Don Kerr on June 10th, 1977.[958] These meetings along with HAGI's public relations campaign resulted in

[954] Hanna, "Similar project in Windsor," 17.
[955] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.
[956] Ibid.
[957] "Dave Koivisto."
[958] Hanna, "Money: Handicaps need," 17.

the project being saved, as the CMHC yielded to the public and political pressure.[959] Due to health and work-related issues, Bellavance stepped down as the HAGI Group Residence Coordinator, and Koivisto temporarily took over in November of 1977. One of Koivisto's major acts as coordinator was to finalize a land purchase and lease agreement in February of 1978 with the City of Thunder Bay. The City purchased land from the Castlegreen Cooperative and HAGI entered into a 50 year lease, which would result in acquisition once completed.[960] Besides the land agreement, HAGI developed the final drawings, and started construction in August of 1978, with the help of a local contractor Tom Jones and Sons Ltd.[961] With construction underway, HAGI finalized several financial agreements in September 1978 at a special housing meeting held at Confederation College. At this meeting, they signed and accepted the contracts for the CMHC loan, and Tom Jones's fee of $812,464. They also advanced $15,000 for operating costs to hire three key individuals: a project coordinator for $1,000/month, a bookkeeper for $300/month, and a project inspector for $1,400/month (7 months total). Finally, Koivisto and other HAGI leaders finalized the Care Package (pilot) component from the MCSS, and set up a fundraising approach that targeted service clubs and Wintario (the province's lottery division, which gave grants for community projects) in order to provide recreational areas and landscaping.[962] By late September of 1978, the HAGI Group Residence project was on target for construction, and a new HAGI officer, Ron Ross, took over.

Since Koivisto's tenure as the HAGI Housing Coordinator was only temporary, HAGI opted to hire a permanent coordinator to usher the Group Residence from the construction stage

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[959] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 183. Reaume documents a similar "big media blitz" from Lyndhurst in the early 1980s to acquire funds for the Nucleus House I project showing how persistence with officials yielded results.
[960] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 23 Nov 1977, 1.
[961] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 28 Feb 1978, 2; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 1.
[962] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 7 Sept 1978, 2.

to its grand opening in June of 1979. The position was filled by Ross in September of 1978.[963] Ross was born and raised in Port Arthur and became injured in a hunting accident in 1960 that left him a paraplegic. Although not directly involved with the Planning Council, in the early 1970s, Ross was recruited by Koivisto to join HAGI in August of 1972. It was through his early work with HAGI that Ross' talent for organization became evident, which naturally led to him rising within the organization's ranks.[964] Mauss refers to the second level of leadership in a social movement as the "rational-legal" leaders who become the wage-earning people that hold influential positions and provide a smooth flowing system.[965] Ross fit this characterization. As coordinator, some of Ross' first tasks were to set up three committees: tenant selection, finance, and interior design; he also directed the creation of the residence's first info-picture brochure to be included within the tenant application package. Construction of the Group Residence continued into November of 1978, and Ross coordinated the interior design committee. It approved new kitchen layouts, including cut outs for wheelchairs under sinks, wheelchair level appliances, and larger washrooms.[966] This new design confirms the analysis of Tauke and Smith of how "each home charts new ground in the creation of domestic spaces and marks a significant step toward built environments that meet the needs of more people, especially individuals with various [disabilities.]"[967] Ross' internal work with the Group Residence was also matched by his ability to work externally with other stakeholders of the project, including the CMHC. Indeed, in January 25th, 1979, Fenlon and Ross were pictured together in the *Chronicle Journal* looking over the final drawings of the building.[968] The partnership resulted in the completion of the

[963] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 14 Sept 1978, 1.
[964] "Dave Koivisto."
[965] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-55.
[966] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 1-2.
[967] Tauke and Smith, "Crossing the Threshold," 51.
[968] "Housing for handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, January 26, 1979, 3.

Group Residence in June of 1979. Chapters three and five will analyze the disabled consumer experience at One Fifty Castlegreen, and the integrated housing system HAGI created to help consumers in Thunder Bay and NWO transition into permanent accessible housing.

In the 1980s and '90s, HAGI continued its accessible housing advocacy, with three accessible housing apartments: Glenwood Court (1982), Cumberland Court (1988), and Jasper Drive (1994). In the 1980s, as disabled consumers began 'graduating' from One Fifty Castlegreen en masse, there was a need for new accessible housing projects, and the above projects provided more permanent housing for disabled consumers.[969] In the 1980s, HAGI's accessible housing system was becoming a leader in country, which is attested to by Koivisto. When asked about Clarendon and the accessible housing situation in Toronto, Koivisto sarcastically replied "one housing project or something like that for how many people down there and we'd have three or four going up here already you know."[970] Indeed, through the efforts of HAGI, Thunder Bay had several accessible housing projects by the early 1990s showing that in spite of its smaller size of 124,600 (metro), the city was on par or a head of much larger cities.[971] This was not something to be taken lightly and Bolduc who worked full-time in the Social Work department at St. Joseph's Hospital recalls:

> Lectur[ing] people who though that…the HAGI housing facilities just happened. I used to take the time to tell them that well, no, it just didn't happen. It happened over many years and over a lot of work and a fairly limited number of people. They were always surprised. They always thought: 'Oh, hasn't that always been there.' No, it hasn't.[972]

With the Group Residence set up in June 1979, it became known as One Fifty Castlegreen and a site to help disabled people re-integrate into the community.

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[969] Gord McLaughlin, "Province delays handicap housing decision," *Chronicle Journal*, December 30, 1981, 1.
[970] "Dave Koivisto."
[971] Ontario Henderson, *Thunder Bay City Directory* (Winnipeg, MB: R.L. Polk & CO. Ltd, 1992), 15.
[972] "Gaston Bolduc."

CH. 3: "We got in and we had a lot of fun": Consumer Life at One Fifty Castlegreen and the HAGI's Accessible Housing Services in the City of Thunder Bay, 1979-1994[973]

Opened in the summer of 1979, One Fifty Castlegreen provided both rehabilitative care and the (re)teaching of life skills by HAGI attendants to disabled consumers, of all different backgrounds, with the goal of integrating them into the community. One Fifty Castlegreen was an extension of Lakehead Rehab, but also much more. The transitional house was a place where dozens of disabled consumers or tenants socialized, built friendships, and learned independent living skills. The terms tenant and consumer will be used throughout this chapter to describe the inhabitants, as the two were used interchangeably at One Fifty. The latter term refers to disabled people being part of the Independent Living Movement (ILM), and having "control over the organizations and resources required to achieve maximal independence in their communities" (see below).[974] Also, to protect the identities of tenants, pseudonyms will be used to describe some that have not been included in public documents. One Fifty was an "enabling space" in the most private domain, the home.[975] It was the lynchpin for disabled consumers accessing other parts of the community as independent people. As compared with previous housing that did not consider accessibility, One Fifty provided the widest range of access for the physically disabled inside and outside their suites. It also served as HAGI's headquarters for about 15 years. One Fifty Castlegreen hosted many prominent disability and accessibility related events, including a January1987 Rick Hansen Man in Motion Tour stop.

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[973] Quote from Thadeus Weiss (one of the early disability consumers at One Fifty) referring to consumer life at HAGI's One Fifty Castlegreen housing complex: See "Thadeus Weiss," interview with Ulysses Patola, 3 March 2017.

[974] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 19.

[975] Rob Imrie, "Oppression, Disability and Access in the Built Environment," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 129; Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 703.

One Fifty Castlegreen recruited young disabled people (aged 18-35), of both sexes and backgrounds, for residency. PWD from Thunder Bay and NWO were the primary target group, but One Fifty also took applicants from other parts of the country. Bolstered by the mentorship of HAGI leaders (who were making the transition to rational-legal leadership), the transitional centre supported a new wave of disability rights leaders in the city including: Thadeus Weiss (1958-present), David (Dave) Shannon (1963-present), Sandy Salamon (1962-2013), George Simpson (1957-present), and Irmo Marini (1957-present) etc.[976] These individuals were some of the first HAGI consumers at One Fifty. They used the supports available to them, through HAGI's accessible housing system, to finish their education, advocate while post-secondary students, and continue the disability rights struggle for an accessible city into the 1990s. While the culture of One Fifty was arguably skewed towards masculinity, as was the case with most disability organizations in the 1970s and early '80s, disabled women, such as Salamon, were represented and carved out their own niche (see chapter five for the disabled women's experience as a whole). After leaving One Fifty, these PWD moved into one of a number of other Support Services Living Units (SSLUs) that HAGI secured in Castlegreen Cooperative, Harbour View Terrace, Superior View Cooperative, Glenwood Court, Cumberland Court, and Jasper Drive. The HAGI provided attendant care services to those living in many of these buildings. With the introduction of outreach attendant care in the late 1980s, support services were extended to those living in non-HAGI buildings.

To further complement its accessible housing system, HAGI leaders, including Ron Ross, Dave Koivisto, and Allan Buchan, were influential in starting a local branch of the Canadian Paraplegic Association in 1984 (CPA), and the Independent Living Centre/Homelink Program in

[976] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 52-55.

1987 (ILC).[977] Along with these services and HAGI's HAGI-Transit (see chapter four), disabled consumers could work and access other areas in an increasingly accessible city. They were starting to be liberated from ableism and all its variations, such as 'walkism'.[978] Nevertheless, it was not all smooth sailing. By the late 1980s, the HAGI evolved into a multi-dollar, non-profit, organization, which created problems. A certain level of bureaucratization occurred in HAGI's housing system. It resulted in the distancing of HAGI leaders from individual disabled consumers. Consumers, being in an un-equal power relationship with HAGI attendants, became leery of raising their concerns, and thus losing access to services. In a sense, their voice had become suppressed. Becoming aware of these concerns, which were raised by second generation disability activists, HAGI leaders remolded their housing system to improve working relationships.

This account follows Geoffrey Reaume's method of analyzing disabled people as "individual human beings who deserve to be understood on their own terms as people rather than labels."[979] Thus, it will also look at the accessible housing situation from the individual tenant experience. The terms tenant and consumer were used interchangeably at One Fifty, as PWD were both tenants of the building and consumers who self-directed their independent living schedules. Referring to PWD as consumers was an initiative that developed out of the 1970s United States' (U.S.) ILM. Richard Scotch shows how a new focus on "self-help," "consumer

[977] By the early 1980s, Alice and Terry moved over to the leadership positions of the OMOD and the Organization of the Multi-Disabled Inc. (OMDI). Through the OMDI they oversaw the creation of another transitional house for those with brain injuries. In 1987, Thunder Bay's ILC was Canada's fifth such centre.
[978] See: Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 695; Michael Oliver, *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 96-98, 108.
[979] Geoffrey Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients Past: Patient Life at the Toronto Hospital for the Insane, 1870-1940* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.

control," and "peer support" helped to make disabled people more autonomous.[980] In Canada, the national Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH) began using the term consumer after its creation in 1976. April D'Aubin chronicles how the COPOH, motivated by developments in the U.S., made "consumer control" a guiding principle of their organization to emphasis "control" of decision making by disabled people; it was a response to the medical model, which "disempowered" them.[981] In turn, this chapter will also complement Reaume's *Lyndhurst* by outlining tenant life, and their relationships with the many other people involved in HAGI's housing system, such as families, attendants, and executives. [982] As well, the indigenous experience will be highlighted to show the cultural differences involved amongst tenants, which also challenged HAGI to be more inclusive. However, to go beyond Reaume, the chapter channels Bess Williamson's "Designing Objects and Spaces," and Michael Rembis' edited collection *Disabling Domesticity*, to understand how accessibility in the domestic sphere was a crucial component in the lives of PWD. Firstly, Williamson's account is vital to understanding the evolution of inaccessible design, and how "much of twentieth-century design…did not acknowledge people with disabilities."[983] This inaccessibility contributed to their oppression in the domestic sphere until society started to "design…for disability," through such concepts as universal design in the 1960s and '70s.[984] Secondly, Rembis identifies how "domesticity and

[980] Richard K. Scotch, "American Disability Policy in the Twentieth Century," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds., Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 382.
[981] April D'Aubin, "'Nothing About Us Without Us': CCD's Struggle for the Recognition of a Human Rights Approach to Disability Issues," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Alfred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 113-114, 115, 117.
[982] Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries* (1945-1998. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 130-150.
[983] Bess Williamson, "Designing Objects and Spaces: A Modern Disability History," in the *Oxford Handbook of Disability History*, eds., Michael A. Rembis, Catherine J. Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 143.
[984] Ibid., 143, 159.

domestic relations are central to all our lives," but has been an area of neglect in the study of PWD.[985] Hence, it is necessary "to engage with 'domesticity'…as an organizing concept or as a lived experience" for disabled people.[986] Engaging with domesticity naturally fits with Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin's argument on the need to develop "new ways to conceptualize the disabled."[987] On the practical end, this is no more evident than in Weiss' journey from a healthy, young man, living in Dryden in the early 1980s, to a disabled consumer who found a sense of purpose and belonging, as he achieved independence in One Fifty. In fact, Weiss became a second generation HAGI leader, working his way up to become the President of the HAGI BOD in the late 1980s. His experience, along with others, will be intermingled throughout to show how the motivation behind accessible housing was a human one aimed at overturning years of ableist thinking and design. Accessible housing also integrated disabled people into attaining greater substantive citizenship in the city of Thunder Bay.[988]

In June of 1979, the HAGI's goal of creating their Group Residence for the continued rehabilitation of disabled people from Thunder Bay and the NWO was realized. The 24 unit One Fifty Castlegreen, as it was now called, was open for occupancy, with a 16-member staff (supplemented by university and college co-op students). They performed a variety of duties to help new tenants or disabled consumers become independent. While One Fifty was called the 'HAGI Group Residence,' in grant write-ups and policy documents, up until its opening, it was not designed nor operated as an institution. By the time of its June 1st opening, the HAGI had

[985] Michael Rembis, "Introduction," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 7.
[986] Ibid.
[987] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 2.
[988] Ibid.

several agreements signed for the first intake of disabled consumers including the arrangement between the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS), for the attendant care component (Care Package Pilot), the lease of the land from the City of Thunder Bay, and the tripartite deal with the HAGI, the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), and Ontario Housing, for the rent geared to income agreement.[989] Attendant care was a crucial element of One Fifty, as it allowed for the hiring of full and part time attendant staff, so services were available 24 hours a day. Ross' position changed from coordinator to administrator, and his staff of 15 included: a program facilitator (Claudette Sabeau; nee Pykka), a secretary/bookkeeper (Yvonne Husilik), nine full and part time attendant support staff (Vicki Scott, Brenda McLaren, John Boote, Paul Essery, Janice Gilbert, Heather Bolduc, Irene Hill, Richard Speirs and Margaret Leveridge), a full (Ruby Flett) and part time (Brenda Dubour) cook, a housekeeper (Polly Rizzeto), and a maintenance person (Steve Kozak).[990] Some of these staff members also had disabilities themselves, which led to an empathic environment amongst staff and tenants. According to Koivisto, "that's what made us [150]...people you know…the staff…you had a cleaning lady Polly who was a [petite] Italian lady who became the mother[ly] figure for people in there…the tenants…there was Brenda the cook…and it went on and on."[991] The staff were responsible for a number of functions aimed at improving the lives of tenants, such as cooking and preparing meals, shopping, housekeeping, doing laundry, dressing and undressing, cleaning, and basic repairs.[992] Staff helped consumers, with these tasks, "until [they] achieve[d] a certain level of independence" to perform them partly or completely by themselves.[993] Therefore,

[989] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 7 June 1979, 1-2.
[990] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Apartment Complex 1980-1981 Budget, 1; Terry Moran, "Castlegreen both a home and a rehab centre," *Lakehead Living*, June 27, 1979, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 13 Nov 1979, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 1.
[991] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017.
[992] Irene Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it on their own," *Chronicle Journal*, June 29, 1979, 15.
[993] Ibid.

instead of simply performing tasks for a person, skills were progressively taught; there were also courses in bookkeeping, money managing, cooking, and other basic life activities.[994] Ross noted that "deinstitutionalization" and "maximum independence," for tenants, were two of the guiding principles behind the project.[995] For Ross, the comfort of having one's own personal place gave tenants the motivation to attempt activities that at one time seemed extraordinary. Regular staff meetings were held to properly define roles, discuss policy and procedures, assess tenant progress, and address concerns.[996]

One Fifty Castlegreen served a plethora of PWD, of different backgrounds and circumstances, acting as a transitional house where consumers (re)learned life and self-care skills. The end goal was integrating them into permanent accessible housing in the community. The 24 unit complex (including one temporary unit) took in its first wave of tenants in June of 1979. This group was diverse including people those who lived with aging parents or in institutions, those recently disabled through accidents or diseases, and young people who had just graduated from programing through the Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre (NWOCCC).[997] Prospective tenants, some funded through Workmen's Compensation or the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement (GAINS-D), were chosen by a 10-member HAGI Selection Admission Committee chaired by Ross. The Selection Admission Committee was made up of more than just HAGI members. Representation came from the NWOCCC, Thunder Bay Social Services, Westmont Hospital, St. Joseph's Hospital, the MCSS, Ontario Housing, the Thunder Bay District Health Unit, and the local Hearing Society. The committee screened

[994] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[995] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1; Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15.
[996] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 13 Nov 1979, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff; Meeting Minutes, 4 March 1980, 1.
[997] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1. The NWOCCC became the George Jeffrey Children's Treatment Centre in 1983.

applicants before they moved in. It gave preference to those aged 18-35, since it was believed that younger tenants had the best chance at entering the greater community as productive and independent members.[998] However, all PWD in Thunder Bay and the NWO were encouraged to apply for admission. The Committee selected tenants based on a person's "motivation and desire to become independent;" therefore, even if someone was over the preferred age, they could still be admitted.[999] Before admission, each potential tenant was interviewed on their motivations for residency. This was followed by a general discussion amongst the committee about the possibility for success before being chosen. According to Koivisto,

> Our initial project at 150 became kind of like a transitional house where people would come in stay for a while and move into another project which we would start, which would be permanent then. And, we would…request people to do things when they moved into 150…There were no rules, okay…but we made sure that they were active in the community, they had to work, they had to go to school, [and] they had to get off [medication]….If they wanted to do something with their lives, we had to tell them that. We had a facilitator [Sabeau] that would help them with all their daily living stuff. As well, [she] would help them kick whatever [bad] habits they had.[1000]

In *Lyndhurst*, Reaume demonstrates that some patients at the rehabilitation facility developed addictions to drugs, due to "the stresses that have always existed for people with physical disabilities."[1001] During the 1970s and '80s, valium (a diazepam) was a common medication prescribed to disabled people by physicians, especially those with spinal cord injuries. Valium helped with the "management of spasticity;" however, the problem was that some developed a dependency to it.[1002] This was one of the factors that had to be taken into account after admittance to One Fifty. Also, as part of the admission phase, all tenants were subjected to a

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[998] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; HAGI, 150 Selection Admission Committee, Meeting Minutes, 29 Oct 1979, 1-2.
[999] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15.
[1000] "Dave Koivisto."
[1001] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 185.
[1002] Wesley Greenwood, "Alcoholism: A Complicating Factor in the Rehabilitation Of Disabled Individuals," *Journal of Rehabilitation* 50, no. 4 (Oct 1984): 51; Gary M. Yarkony, "Medical Complications in Rehabilitation," in *Substance Abuse and Physical Disability*, ed., Allen W. Heinemann (New York: The Haworth Press, 1993), 95.

three month probationary period to identify those not willing to make an effort at independence. This requirement was not strictly enforced; indeed, Koivisto states that less than a handful of people were dismissed and helped to seek alternative accommodations in the community. As the leaders of the HAGI had achieved independence, they were eager to see others strive to the same goal. Also encouragement was provided to those that were observed having difficulties.[1003]

The 20 bachelor and 4 two bedroom units were filled for June of 1979, and the waiting list quickly grew to some 50 people.[1004] Alice Bellavance viewed the tenant move-in day as a significant moment in the local disability rights movement. She states that:

> I think the next biggest [moment] was when, you know, 150 Castlegreen was built, and we moved people in there, and we moved people out of Westmount Hospital and Grandview Lodge. I mean one person actually moved back. Mary Sereda actually moved back into Grandview Lodge. See, she was so used to being pampered and cared for, and didn't like that notion of being in her own apartment, and having to direct her own care and tell people [attendants] what they needed to do…because she was so used to things being done for her, and so it was really hard for her, but for the other people that were able to move out…like for Mike [Prsa] and John [Crisser] and people like that who moved out, it was such a powerful, powerful thing for them.[1005]

The experience outlined by Bellavance is another demarcation line between the Happy Handicaps and the HAGI. Indeed, the latter group, benefiting from far more favourable circumstances, used citizen participation as a way to empower PWD by "addressing inequitable power relations," such as ableist design, and the pre-1970s paternalistic mindset.[1006] Although active in local disability advocacy, Mary Sereda, having come of age in an earlier era of heavy paternalism probably found it difficult to break free into the new independent living model represented by the HAGI. For example, Shannon, one of the new breed of disability activists,

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[1003] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; "Dave Koivisto."
[1004] Ibid.
[1005] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[1006] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 25.

who went through HAGI's housing system in the early and mid-1980s, believed, perhaps with a lack of empathy, that people like Sereda were "trapped very much in a paternalistic…world. They wanted to live oppressed that was their preference."[1007] It is reasonable to suggest that the privilege of people like Shannon created new barriers for PWD, especially since they tended to underestimate the complex structural barriers pre-1970s disabled activists experienced. One Fifty was meant to be a place where consumers strove for independence under the new right-based model of disability.[1008]

One Fifty accommodated three levels of supportive care for PWD: minimum, moderate, and maximum. The classification system was created by the Selection Admission Committee. Minimum was for tenants needing "assistance only for heavier types" of tasks; moderate care for tenants requiring some additional help with "personal hygiene," but who mostly required "life skills" training; and maximum care for tenants requiring "total assistance" in most tasks.[1009] One of the main goals for tenants, no matter what category they fell into, was "learning to adapt for life into the mainstream of the community," and here emphasis was put on the tenant having the motivation to achieve "maximum independence."[1010]

The HAGI also maintained a close relationship with Dr. Kim of Lakehead Rehab, and he regularly made "house calls to see [tenants.]"[1011] Dr. Kim saw One Fifty as "a big asset in the community."[1012] For him, "nursing homes…were just old people, and young people were stuck there for the rest of their life, and once [150] became available, it [was] community integration

[1007] "Dave Shannon," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 July, 2017.
[1008] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1009] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15.
[1010] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1011] "Dr. B.K. Kim," interview with Ulysses Patola, 27 Nov 2017.
[1012] Ibid.

rather than isolation."[1013] In short, Ross wanted One Fifty Castlegreen to be a model for "de-institutionalization;" and, in relation to Thunder Bay and the region, it was the only building that provided such a service.[1014] In fact, One Fifty was only the second building in Ontario with this mandate. It was followed by the Windsor project (HAGI acted as one of the consultants). This is not to say that other cities in the province did not have accessible apartment buildings for PWD because both Toronto and Ottawa, the two other pilot projects for the MCSS's Care Package, had SSLUs in accessible buildings.[1015] Toronto had the Cheshire Foundation projects of the early 1970s, but the early support component was modeled on a dependent mindset, and did not have the same type of rehabilitative mandate as Windsor and Thunder Bay. Indeed, when both transitional complexes opened, there was considerable "shar[ing of] information and ideas" in order to improve their efficiencies.[1016] Lyndhurst, although an institutional setting for rehabilitation, did not establish a "transitional living program" until 1993, some 14 years after One Fifty.[1017] This shows that at the time, Thunder Bay was provincially integrated into accessible housing and arguably a leader in the area. PWD in the region, and other parts of Canada, chose to move there. To illustrate, Susan Ward notes that the provincial average for PWD living in Ontario cities in the 1970s was "about 13 per cent" of the local population.[1018] Thunder Bay's disabled population "swelled to approximately 17 per cent," as disabled people moved there from "the small regions of [NWO.]"[1019] "There were even people that were coming

[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1015] Karen Yoshida, Vic Willi, Ian Parker and David Locker, "The Emergence of Self-Managed Attendant Services in Ontario: An Independent Living Model for Canadians Requiring Attendant Services," in *Disability and Society Policy in Canada 2nd ed*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 321.
[1016] HAGI, HAGI, BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Aug 1980, 1; Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1017] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 184.
[1018] "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017.
[1019] Ibid.

from Toronto because we had done so much, you know [the local] movement making things better [for PWD.][1020] Being the only such building in NWO, Ross received applications from throughout the region; however, since One Fifty was "municipal, rent-geared-to-income housing, a city waiver allow[ed] only those who [had] resided in Thunder Bay for more than a year" admittance.[1021] By the early 1980s, the city experienced an influx of PWDs.

One Fifty Castlegreen had a plethora of built in accessibility features, vital for an enabling environment. Rembis states that historically, "the home and other domestic spaces remain dreaded sites of oppression" for PWD.[1022] In the past, institutions or "disability gulags," such as the Toronto Hospital for the Insane had architecture designed to "intimidate."[1023] Furthermore, disabled people had to traverse the "design apartheid" in private homes and apartments or what Andrew Marcum calls the so-called 'American dream homes' of the able-bodied suburban dwellers.[1024] In contrast, One Fifty possessed a liberating and accessible domestic space, including many disability-friendly gadgets.

The early beginnings of universal design in architecture and consumer products "marked a significant shift in the way designers addressed disability."[1025] Indeed, Williamson describes how this type of design was shepherded through the late 1970s by the efforts of U.S. architect Ron Mace. Universal design refers to "a more open and experimental approach to issues of usability."[1026] While Mace is credited with coining the term 'universal,' in referring to multiple

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[1020] Ibid.
[1021] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1022] Faye Ginsburge and Rayna Rapp, "Forward," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), viii.
[1023] Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients Past*, 23.
[1024] Andrew Marcum, "Rethinking the American Dream Home: The Disability Rights Movement and the Cultural Politics of Accessible Housing in the United States," in *Disabling Domesticity*, ed., Michael Rembis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 103, 109. The "disability gulag" is attributed to disability scholars Fred Pelka.
[1025] Williamson, "Designing Objects and Spaces," 151.
[1026] Ibid., 150.

types of usability, the topic had been percolating inside architectural and design circles. It led many to realize that "the concerns of disabled people were not so separate from those of the general public."[1027] In fact, it was even believed that "considering the concerns of disabled persons could improve function and usability overall."[1028] Thus, early concepts of universal design focused on "eliminate[ing] difficulties for the hands and eyes," while design workshops demonstrated the new features of gadgets, such as "large, sliding buttons" etc.[1029]

The 24 units at One Fifty had many state of the art features, modeled on the universal design concept, which promoted independence.[1030] The self-contained "studio apartment[s]" contained a stove, bed, fridge, desk, and microwave oven at appropriate heights for wheelchairs. Not only that, but these appliances had additional special features. For example, in relation to the stove and the sink, there was an open space underneath for a wheelchair to roll under, so that the user could operate all of the knobs/handles. As well, the microwave oven had safety features that included push controls, side-open doors, and an automatic self-shut down system to stop burns.[1031] The washrooms were also wheelchair accessible. They had wider doorways, custom bars/seating, and a wheel-in shower with an adjustable nozzle. Outdoor patios were attached to each unit through a large sliding door system. Ross and Buchan later expanded the outside facilities to include a sporting facility and court, shed, raised gardens, a barbecue, and paved paths that extended to McVicar creek and the County Fair Shopping Mall. The tenants were also tied into 24 hour staff assistance through an intercom system, attached to their bed, so that they could contact staff for emergencies. One Fifty had a large communal area that included a

[1027] Ibid.
[1028] Ibid.
[1029] Ibid.
[1030] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1031] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; "Tracy Hurlbert," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 March 2017.

kitchen, multipurpose room, staff lounge, work out room, laundry space, administrative offices, and mail room; all of these areas were "completely accessible."[1032] Doorways were also large enough for wheelchairs, and included specially designed cupboards and hardware. Lastly, there were raised plug-ins, and lower and enlarged push-button switches for appliances and lights.[1033]

The first tenants at One Fifty were a diverse group encompassing males and females from all three disability categories, backgrounds, and personalities who developed various strategies to navigate everyday life.[1034] In *Remembrance of Patients Past*, and *Lyndhurst*, Reaume argues that 'patients' exercised agency, and this was the same with the disabled 'consumers' at One Fifty.[1035] Tenants were not simply passive recipients of services, as they formed their own Tenants' Committee, sat on the HAGI Selection Admission Committee, became members of the HAGI BOD, furthered their education, developed coping strategies, and engaged in multiple avenues for socialization, during their time at One Fifty. Occasionally, family members stayed with tenants, especially in the two bedroom units. They were also welcomed and encouraged to visit the complex throughout the year. As already stated, One Fifty Castlegreen hosted PWD from three different care distinctions. From these types, the majority were people with physical disabilities; however, there were some from other disability categories.[1036] Evidence obtained from newspaper articles, obituaries, and various HAGI records show that out of 40 different tenants, in One Fifty's first year of operations, there with twelve disability types. These disabilities included: paraplegics (7), quadriplegics (6), amputees (5), cerebral palsy (5), deaf (3),

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[1032] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Sept 1988, 1.
[1033] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15
[1034] Although One Fifty Castlegreen was open for tenants in June of 1979, its officially opening was September 15th, 1979. The official opening coincided with the opening of Castlegreen Phase 3 (see chapter two). Approximately 200 attended the festivities, which included a tour of some of the units. See HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 1979 Sept 5, 1-2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting, Minutes, 21 Aug 1979, 1-2.
[1035] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 130-150; Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients Past*, 3, 5, 76.
[1036] Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15.

unknown (2), Friedreich's ataxia (2), blind (3), traumatic brain injury (1), epilepsy (1), post-polio (1), hemiplegia (1), immune deficiency disorder (1), osteogenesis imperfecta (1), and congenital deformity of the spine (1).[1037] As Reaume also shows in his account, tenants at One Fifty also developed agency.[1038] In addition to their involvement on committees, tenants had other informal ways to exert power. For example, some tenants rebelled, in different ways, against staff. Some "display[ed] rude behaviour" or became "unreasonable or angry with staff."[1039] Others were "very pleasant," and rarely became combative with staff or other tenants.[1040] There were also tenants who were "too shy to ask for help," and in this regard staff took the initiative to build "a good rapport" and trust, so their needs could be met.[1041]

[1037] "Verna Lois Merkley," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 21 April 2017, http://www.legacy.com/ obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?pid=179750061; "Two hurt in car train crash," *Chronicle Journal*, April 17, 1974; "Andre Bourque," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 21 April 2017, http://www.legacy.com/ obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=andre-bourque&pid=174134959&; Chris Pappas, "Disabled athletes label a misnomer: They've achieved more than most," *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1981, 18; HAGI, 150 Selection Committee, Meeting Minutes, 29 October 1979, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 2; Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1, 6; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Dec 1979, 1-2; "Diver found unconscious on bottom," *Daily-Times Journal*, June 17, 1961, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 5 Feb 1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 19 Feb1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Dec 1979, 1; Tomaszewski, "Handicaps make it," 15; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 5 Feb 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2; Susan Buckle, "LU students help: Quadraplegic once again enjoying pinball machine," *Chronicle Journal*, April 20, 1981, 19; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 4 March 1980, 2; "Don McLaren," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 22 May 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?page=lifestory&pid= 174238931; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2; "Georgina Charlebois," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 20 May 2017, http://www.legacy. com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/ obituary.aspx?n=georgina-charlebois&pid=174135143&fhid=31366; HAGI, Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 19 Feb, 1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory, Meeting Minutes, 18 March 1980, 1; "Kendall Pascoe," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 22 May 2017, http://www.legacy.com/ obituaries/ chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=kendall-pascoe&pid=174238236&; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 Nov 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 1, 5; "Douglas Stacknick," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, http://www.legacy.com/ obituaries/chroniclejournal/ obituary.aspx?page=lifestory &pid=174133144; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 20 May 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, May 20, 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Tenant Selection Committee, D.O., Apartment Residence Application for Tenancy at 150 Castlegreen, 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Tenant Selection Committee, RD; Apartment Residence Application for Tenancy at 150 Castlegreen, 1980, 1.

[1038] Reaume, *Remembrance of Patients*, 68-71.

[1039] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting, Minutes 4 March 1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 3 June 1980, 2.

[1040] HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 20 May 1980, 2.

[1041] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 5 Aug 1980, 2.

Besides Thunder Bay, One Fifty took in tenants from each of the following towns/cities: Red Rock, (2), Kenora, (1), Bishop Falls, NL, (1), Dryden, (1), Atikokan, (1), Fort Frances, (1), Long Lac, (1), Gull Bay First Nation (near Armstrong, ON; 1), Beardmore (1), and Manitouwadge (1).[1042] As these statistics show, Thunder Bay was a "catch basin" for PWD in the region.[1043] It later drew some people from "larger cities like Ottawa and Toronto…because they heard of all the things we [the HAGI] were doing."[1044] Tenants came to One Fifty from a number of previous living arrangements: First Nations' reserves (2), Westmount Hospital (4), their parents/family home (4), St. Joseph's Hospital (3), NWOCCC (1), the Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital (1), and homelessness (1).[1045] One Fifty Castlegreen also had a diverse gender makeup in its first year, with 24 men and 16 women. Out of these 40 tenants, at least four were of indigenous descent, with two from each of Couchiching First Nation (Fort Frances) and Gull Bay First Nation, respectively in Treaty Three and Robinson-Superior Treaty lands. The other two were former residents of Westmont Hospital, but originally from Sioux Lookout (Lac Seul First Nation; Treaty Three).[1046] This was the same situation facing disabled indigenous in Manitoba. As there were "no accommodations on their reserves to assist them to live in that setting

[1042] "Andre Bourque," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 21 May 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chronicle journal/obituary.aspx?n=andre-bourque&pid=174134959&; Pappas, "Disabled athletes label a," 18; "Georgina Charlebois,' *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accesses 21 May 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=georgina-charlebois&pid=174135143&fhid=31366; "Douglas Stacknick," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 21 May 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?page=lifestory&pid=174133144; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Meetings, 19 Feb 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Tenant Selection Committee, R.D. HAGI Apartment Residence Application for Tenancy, 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Tenant Selection Committee, D.O. HAGI Apartment Residence Application for Tenancy, 1980, 1.
[1043] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March 2017
[1044] "Susan Ward."
[1045] HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Dec, 1979, 2; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 19 Feb 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 1, BOD; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, November 20, 1979, 1.
[1046] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 2.

[accessible] with their disability," they migrated to Winnipeg to live in accessible housing projects, such as Ten Ten Sinclair.[1047]

Due to cultural differences, the indigenous experience at One Fifty was unique. Koivisto claimed that everyone, including disabled indigenous tenants, were welcomed at One Fifty, but there were stereotypes at work. For instance, Koivisto states that:

> From a personal standpoint and an organizational standpoint, with the [indigenous] men or women…male or female, there was never a question, you know…never. Like it was never a question, like if anything, I remember the guy from Armstrong [ON]…he had one of our two bedrooms at 150 you know. Louis…Leo or something like that, who got an electric chair you know, and was so happy that you'd look outside and he had a toboggan hooked on to the back going up and down the parking lot hauling a kid behind him, you know…These people, a fire happened out at his reserve up in Armstrong [Gull Bay First Nations] and half the population was living at 150 eh…you know…the [indigenous] issue was never an issue other than there was always the cultural difference you know that when the person ended up…I remember a guy from…it was a reserve on Lake of the Woods…Grassy Narrows, a guy was hurt there…a para and he couldn't understand when I was trying to explain to him how to book HAGI Transit [scheduling.] 'Like what the [hell] I got to book a van for when I need a ride.' I'll call him you know. He couldn't [understand] that he had to phone at a certain time… Time concept you know.[1048]

Koivisto further elaborates that "it's a big move for these people [indigenous] to come into the communities, when they're not used to it at all…you know. I saw that over and over again with many of the disabled who ended up here from these small reserves…it was life changing."[1049] This fact is confirmed by Doreen Demas who states: "[w]hen you are disabled as an adult [indigenous,] you have to learn to adjust to your disability while simultaneously adjusting to white culture in order to receive services."[1050] Indeed, HAGI's housing system was developed by white leadership, and although they attempted to learn about the life and culture in indigenous

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[1047] Doreen Demas, "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 342.
[1048] "Dave Koivisto."
[1049] Ibid.
[1050] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 342.

communities, stereotypes were still witnessed as chapter five will cover in more detail. Chapter five examines HAGI's work advocating and providing accessible housing and transportation in the greater NWO region, especially its early work in bringing indigenous leaders together through the regular PUSH North West Talking Circles conferences on accessibility in the north.

HAGI's fourth Housing Administrator, Buchan, echoed HAGI's claim of open mindedness in integrating those of different cultures into the organization's housing projects. He stated that HAGI "never treated [indigenous tenants] any different. They were just another [PWD] and that's how we worked with them basically. No better, no worse."[1051] HAGI's internal records illustrates the support offered to indigenous PWD. To illustrate in 1979, when a quadriplegic from Gull Bay First Nation moved into One Fifty (a three hour and fifteen minute drive south) with his wife, after sustaining a forestry-related injury, the HAGI arranged for him to have weekly physiotherapy sessions at St. Joseph's Hospital, as an outpatient. They also registered him in On the Move's recreational program, and a separate swimming course.[1052] By March of 1980, the man became "a lot more active."[1053] This was bolstered by a new electric wheelchair and environmental control system, purchased through Workmen's Compensation. As the man progressed towards independence, he and the HAGI planned for his return to Gull Bay First Nation. Firstly, the HAGI made arrangements with a local architect to redesign a new fully accessible home.[1054] Next, a late summer meeting, with the Federal Indian Affairs Ministry and

[1051] "Allan Buchan."
[1052] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 1 Nov 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Feb, 1980, 1.
[1053] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2.
[1054] Ibid.

Gull Bay First Nation, was held to "accelerate construction of the home," which he eventually moved into in the early 1980s.[1055]

In its first year of operation (June 1979 to June 1980), One Fifty's 40 different tenants (33 stayed over a month, the others were shorter stays in the trial unit) were busy finding jobs, attending school/other activities, and learning life skills. Andrew Marcum notes that prior to accessible housing, "the inaccessibility of [the] built environment…prevented people with disabilities from being able to live, learn, and work in the community."[1056] One Fifty provided tenants with the support they needed to progress to independent living, according to their own timetables. For example, eight people acquired jobs, six people attended college or university, two people completed a community living skills program at Confederation College, and three people received work assessments, either through the Ontario March of Dimes (OMOD) or the MCSS's Vocational Rehabilitation office. Out of the six types of jobs: two were unknown (one was sponsored by a grant), one was at St. Joseph's Heritage, one was as a part-time security guard for the Ministry of Transportation, one was at the OMOD supervising the retail shop on Saturdays, one was as a part-time dispatcher at HAGI-Transit, one was at the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department, and one was with the OMOD, as a community worker.[1057] Some of the younger tenants were completing post-secondary studies. For example, George Simpson, a quadriplegic, finished the last year of his Bachelor of Outdoor Recreation degree at Lakehead University and had a subsequent work assessment with the City of Thunder

[1055] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 16 Sept 1980, 2.
[1056] Marcum, "Rethinking the American," 109.
[1057] HAGI, 150 Tenant Selection Committee, Meeting Minutes, 29 Oct 1979, 1-2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report 20 May 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1985, 1.

Bay Parks and Recreation Department.[1058] Five other tenants were also attending college, four at Confederation College and one at the local King's Business College. Another tenant upgraded, one majored in recreational leadership, and the other took English.[1059] Two other tenants were also at Confederation College, but in the Community Living Skills Program. Here they learned how to manage their lives in a more independent manner.[1060] Two separate tenants, although not working, were being assessed by either the OMOD or the local MCSS's Vocational Rehabilitation program. The end goal was to get these tenants fitted with jobs related to their ability and skill level.[1061]

Besides looking for jobs and attending school, some tenants also participated in On the Move's Recreational Centre, which was the city's north side equivalent of Harmony Place (see chapter one). Through On the Move, tenants participated in tubing on the Kam River, day trips to Middle Falls, and celebrated Canada Day at Chippewa Park and Mount McKay.[1062] Sabeau, One Fifty's facilitator, also made arrangements with the local Volunteer Bureau (a non-profit community organization for potential volunteers) to recruit a core group of volunteers to assist tenants with shopping, and recreation. Since volunteers and On the Move staff helped tenants with recreation and appointments, HAGI staff focused on assisting tenants with training in personal hygiene and life skills, such as preparing meals and grocery lists, speech therapy, taking control of their finances and medications, counselling, registering for post-secondary classes, making travel arrangements, and booking physiotherapy appointments etc.[1063] Finally, tenants

[1058] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2.
[1059] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Feb 1980, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 19 Aug 1980, 2.
[1060] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 3.
[1061] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan 1980, 2-3.
[1062] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July, 1980, 3.
[1063] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 March 1980, 1.

were active in disabled sports (see chapter six), which was an activity not pursued in other places, such as Lyndhurst.[1064] Several of these tenants were also training for the Regional Disabled Games in Sudbury. A month later four tenants, along with some HAGI officials, did well enough to qualify for the Ontario Disabled Games in Sault Ste. Marie, held July 25th- 28th, 1980.[1065]

Between participating in activities and making career choices, tenants were active in community life, inside and outside One Fifty. On February 14th, 1980, Ron French (immune deficiency disorder) became the first president of the Tenants' Council, and Jim Maier (an amputee), became vice-president.[1066] Reaume notes that Patient's Councils, such as those at Lyndhurst, served a vital purpose, as 'patients' were in a "weak position viz a viz the staff."[1067] Thus, it was a vehicle to address their concerns.[1068] Likewise, the Tenants' Council at One Fifty was the liaison between tenants and the HAGI. They held monthly meetings to discuss a variety of concerns and upcoming events. In a typical Tenants' Council meeting, a series of topics were discussed. In November 1979, concerns included: the posting of meal menus several days in advance; requesting tenants close their doors when leaving their apartment; encouraging tenants on the need to buy a 5lb multipurpose extinguisher; confirming the upcoming schedule for murderball (dodgeball); instructing tenants on garbage collection; scheduling for an upcoming play in the community called Cinderella; and, a guest speaker's talk on alcohol and drug abuse. The list of topics was wide-ranging, and meant to improve the efficiency of One Fifty from the

[1064] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 141.
[1065] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 April 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Pat O'Brien to Ron Ross, 16 June 1980, 1.
[1066] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 14 Feb 1980, 1.
[1067] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 171.
[1068] Ibid.

perspectives of staff and tenants.[1069] It was agreed at a HAGI BOD meeting on November 6th, 1979, that a "maximum of two tenants" serve on the BOD.[1070] By January of 1980, Don McLaren, a paraplegic who co-inhabited a two bedroom unit with his wife Brenda (she was a support staff worker), was providing tenant representation on the HAGI BOD.[1071] McLaren had an extensive record of involvement with disability organizations, serving as a community worker with both the UHGO and the OMOD.[1072] McLaren quickly made his presence felt by immersing himself in a number of activist and other HAGI internal matters. For instance, he and Koivisto teamed up in the early 1980s to discuss the *Ontario Building Code* updates on accessibility with City officials. McLaren also served on the HAGI Transportation Committee (one of the three HAGI committees, the others were Housing and Sports), where he worked to improve the efficiency of HAGI-Transit.[1073] There was even a case where a male amputee consumer named Cliff Pykka married the facilitator, shortly after his rehabilitation. Both worked for HAGI, with Pykka becoming a HAGI-Transit driver and Sabeau continuing her position as facilitator.[1074]

After about a year, One Fifty Castlegreen saw varying turnover rates for the 24 unit building. Indeed, 40 tenants stayed in the residence, throughout this period, with 16 moving out and (re)entering the community. The lengths of stay varied according to a number of variables: the type of disability, the progression one made toward independence, and vacancy rates in accessible apartments or other types of facilities. An analysis of the 33 permanent tenants showed that 14 lived there over a year; several of these tenants had more severe types of

[1069] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 1 Nov 1979, 1-2.
[1070] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1979, 1.
[1071] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1980, 1.
[1072] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1980, 1.
[1073] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1980, 1-3.
[1074] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 10 Sept 1980, 1.

disabilities, such as quadriplegia.[1075] These individuals continued to need supports after a year in One Fifty. Three tenants lived there for 11-10 months. One tenant acquired a job and rented a house, another moved out to an undisclosed residence, and the third person was still a tenant by September 1980.[1076] A total of five tenants lived in the residence for eight-nine months. Out of five, three acquired separate housing facilities (two in Castlegreen Cooperative and one in St. Joseph's Heritage). The other two were asked to vacate, after it was determined that One Fifty was not the best fit for them; they were helped in seeking new accommodations.[1077] Six additional people stayed between six-seven months. Here four people moved into different types of housing (one in their own apartment, another, a house, one in St. Joseph's Heritage, and one in City housing). With regards to the other two tenants: one died in One Fifty, while the other was still a tenant by September 1980. Another was still a tenant after the four month period, being first admitted in June 1980.[1078] Finally, four tenants lived in One Fifty for two-three months. Out of these four, one person obtained accommodations in City housing, one used the trial residence for a multi-month period, one was still a tenant by September 1980, after having been admitted in May 1980, and the other tenant couple were requested to leave.[1079] Stays in the first year were quite variable, as there was no particular standard model to exit One Fifty.

[1075] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 30 Sept 1980, 2-3; HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 7 Aug 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 5 Aug 1980, 1; HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1980, 1.
[1076] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 30 Sept, 1980, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 5.
[1077] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 30 Sept 1980, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Aug 1980, 2; HAGI, Housing Advisory Committee, 19 Feb 19, 1980, 1; HAGI, Housing Advisory Committee, 15 Jan 1980, 2; HAGI, Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 15 April 1980, 2.
[1078] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 Nov 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2.
[1079] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report 17 June 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 April 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Aug 1980, 2.

The personal experiences of tenants from each of the three categories of care show how stays at One Fifty were variable. Some tenants moved out quickly, others needed time to learn independent living skills, while still others used the complex as a platform for such things as sports and advocacy.[1080] Jim Maier, interviewed by the *Lakehead Living* when One Fifty opened, was an amputee, having lost his right leg from the knee down in a 1976 motorcycle accident. The young man, in his 20s, was considered a minimum level of care tenant when he moved into the complex in June of 1979, as he was independent in almost all aspects of his life. Maier was trying to acquire a proper-fitting artificial limb. This required a visit to Toronto, where he had another operation on his stump. After surgery, Maier worked to re-enter the job market. He had previously been a construction worker, but his disability required him to seek another type of job. HAGI staff assisted him with career planning.[1081] Maier became quite active in One Fifty during his short stay, serving as vice-president of the Tenants' Council.[1082] Having acquired accessible housing in the city, he submitted his notice to vacate on February 14th, 1980, and officially moved out on April 30th.[1083]

Sammy and Lucy Thomas, Lola Graham, and Sandy Salamon were moderate type care consumers, and their experiences varied from Maier's. These consumers needed extra assistance/encouragement to live independently, and stayed longer than most minimum care tenants. They were also involved in the greater disability community. Sammy Thomas and his sister Lucy were two of the original 24 tenants of One Fifty Castlegreen. From their youth, the young siblings were diagnosed with Friedreich's ataxia (a genetic disorder affecting movement),

[1080] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 130-39, 168-9.
[1081] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1, 6.
[1082] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 14 Feb 1980, 1.
[1083] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2.

causing both to use wheelchairs.[1084] Originally from Sioux Lookout, they lived in Westmount Hospital for several years, because there were no other appropriate housing arrangements in the city. Although having more mobility than a quadriplegic, their disabilities were still constraining to the extent that they needed staff support in independent living (doing housekeeping, chores, and personal hygiene routines etc.).[1085] As past living in institutional settings tended to shy some away from consumerism, individuals like the Thomas' were introduced to independent living and self-directed care. Not only did the siblings learn to take care of themselves through directing their own services; they also had work assessments with the MCSS's Vocational Rehabilitation office to evaluate their skills for future employment.[1086] Indeed, after less than a year at One Fifty, Ross noted the siblings had "nearly taken over complete control of their money management."[1087] Sammy enrolled in a woodworking class and Lucy a typing course at separate local high schools in the summer of 1980.[1088] Sammy became active in disabled sports in the 1980s, and Lucy became an author with her 1993 book *Mama's Absence*.[1089] The siblings moved out of One Fifty and into permanent accessible housing in HAGI's other projects.

Lola Graham was also a moderate level care tenant who used One Fifty as a bridge to participation in disabled sports. Graham was a young 21-year-old mother of an infant son when she moved into One Fifty Castlegreen from Castlegreen Cooperative, in the early 1980s. Graham became a paraplegic through a late 1970s car accident in Kenora, which required her to move to Thunder Bay to access the accessible housing at the cooperative. She put in her application

[1084] Moran, "Castlegreen both a home," 1.
[1085] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 19 Feb 1980, 2.
[1086] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 20 May 1980, 2.
[1087] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 1.
[1088] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 16 Sept 1980, 2.
[1089] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Memo from the NSOD to the HAGI BOD, June 1980, 1; See Lucy Thomas, *Mama's Absence* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Literacy Group, 1993). Lucy Thomas' book describes her early life in Sioux Lookout and how she took the lead caring for her family after her mother was hospitalized.

shortly after One Fifty opened. Graham was accepted in January of 1980 after completing a successful month long stay in the trial unit. Having some early difficulty, Graham later thrived in the residence. She enrolled in Confederation College's Recreational Leadership program, and accepted a position as a workshop supervisor at the OMOD. The young mother was also a successful athlete in disabled sports, excelling in shot put, javelin, slalom, discus, and wheelchair basketball.[1090] Taking interest after watching a television program of the Stoke Mandeville Games (the annual disabled sporting event that became the precursor to the Paralympics), Graham, initially hesitant to participate, soon became involved in the sporting culture at One Fifty. Indeed by 1981, she won four gold medals at the Ontario Disabled Games.[1091] Graham also excelled at wheelchair basketball, so much so, that she started playing with the Bay City Rollers, the local Thunder Bay men's team.[1092] Like Sammy and Lucy Thomas, Graham moved out of One Fifty at the end of 1980 into another HAGI accessible housing project.

Salamon, a "cheerful" and "outgoing" 19-year-old, involved herself in disability advocacy while at One Fifty. Salamon moved into the residence in 1981, after graduating from the NWOCCC's system. Salamon, diagnosed with Friedreich's ataxia, was a wheelchair user. She had recently completed her high school diploma at Fort William Collegiate Institute. She lived in a rural area before moving in, and had previously "felt cut off from work and social life."[1093] According to those who knew her, Salamon:

> Saw that it [150] was their chance to live independently at HAGI you know and maybe she was difficult at first…when she moved into 150 because it's a different lifestyle,

[1090] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18; Janie Donlon, "Two Northwestern athletes on Wheelchair Games team," *Chronicle Journal*, August 14, 1982, 11; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 Dec 1978, 1-2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 July 1980, 3.
[1091] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18.
[1092] Donlon, "Two Northwestern athletes," 11.
[1093] Ibid; "Sandy Salamon," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 12 June 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=sandra-salamon&pid=174241173&; Taimi Gibson, "Sandy Salamon is raring to go despite ever-present wheelchair," *Chronicle Journal*, December 18, 1981, 21.

> you're your [own] person, you have to follow your schedule according to what you make with the staff and you had to become independent like that and she adjusted without any major problem though and went on to live a fairly good life.[1094]

The independent living environment promoted at Castlegreen appealed to Salamon. Indeed, she noted in a 1981 newspaper article that she was learning "to live as near a normal life as possible."[1095] Staff noticed her progression, and she soon worked her way up to becoming one of the organization's secretaries.[1096] Koivisto states that Salamon found her niche in disability advocacy and "worked on some of our programs, our grants and…at different times, she was involved with HAGI…different committees, [different] levels and that, and had her input in…and she was involved as best she could…through the years."[1097] Salamon was known as a go-getter and "fought like a tiger" for the rights of PWD.[1098] For instance, by late 1981, she had compiled several reports for HAGI, including a proposal for the nascent Hazelwood Recreation Centre (a fully accessible campground; it later folded in favour of Wilderness Discovery; see chapter six).[1099] Salamon also became involved in disability advocacy while a social work student at Lakehead University in the mid-1980s, being part of the group that created the school's first disability student group – the Disabled Student's Action Committee (DSAC).[1100] In between her job duties for the HAGI, she was also involved in the creation of a video entitled 'the Chairperson,' produced by a local access video network called Monitor North. The video was an exposé about life in a wheelchair. Salamon also wrote an accessibility report on the 1981 Canada Games, hosted in Thunder Bay. The report found that there were many aspects of the

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[1094] "Dave Koivisto."
[1095] Gibson, "Sandy Salamon is raring," 21.
[1096] Ibid.
[1097] "Dave Koivisto."
[1098] Gibson, "Sandy Salamon is raring," 21; "Sandy Salamon," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 12 June 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=sandra-salamon&pid=174241173&.
[1099] Ibid.
[1100] "Disabled Students' Action Committee," the *Argus*, February 7, 1985, 3.

Games that could have been improved for disabled people. Finally, Salamon, was a member of the Disabled Horse Group, and participated in sailing and fashion shows.[1101] In the early 1980s, Salamon moved out of One Fifty and into one of HAGI's accessible units in Glenwood Court, as she continued her social work degree.

The final level of care found in One Fifty Castlegreen was the severe level, such as those diagnosed with quadriplegia. The experiences of Brian Sullivan, Irmi Marini, and Dave Shannon show that they, too, worked towards independent living. One Fifty was way ahead of its time in reintegrating quadriplegics into the community. As stated earlier, Toronto's Nucleus Housing opened in May of 1983, and according to Reaume was the country's "first attendant care facility for high level quads;" however by that time, One Fifty had been operational for nearly three years.[1102] Sullivan, an early consumer of One Fifty, was considered a more severe case, and because of his disability had some difficulties living an independent life upon arrival. Sullivan, originally from Long Lac, ON, was rendered a quadriplegic following a 1978 car accident. The incident required him to move into One Fifty a year later with a family member.[1103] Being a teenager with a debilitating disability, Sullivan wanted to further his education, and enrolled in an English program at Confederation College. However, he needed a lot assistance in all aspects of living including housekeeping, cooking, and transferring into a wheelchair.[1104] In turn, a support staff member replaced Sullivan's mother, and moved in with him to better help with his self-care.[1105] With the help of Dr. Dennis Roddy, a Lakehead University professor in the

[1101] Gibson, "Sandy Salamon is raring," 21.
[1102] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 183.
[1103] Susan Buckle, "LU students help: Quadriplegic once again enjoying pinball machine," *Chronicle Journal*, April 20, 1981, 19.
[1104] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 19 Feb 1980, 1.
[1105] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 15 April, 1980, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 18 March 1980, 1.

Electrical Engineering department, Sullivan continued his passion of playing pinball. Roddy, and a couple of his students, "designed and built a console that attached to the two flipper-switches," which Sullivan controlled.[1106] Roddy was also instrumental in developing an environmental control centre for Sullivan that, "with the touch of his hand or face to a skin sensitive piece of metal," allowed the young man to have access to the different features in his room: the television, telephone, stereo, radio, intercom, door lock, lights, and aquarium.[1107] These devices helped Sullivan gain independence by creating an accessible environment right in his own unit. This was vital since Williamson notes that able-bodied "mass-produced, ubiquitous designed objects and spaces…created inaccessibility" for people like Sullivan.[1108] Indeed, "the standardized heights of counters, widths of doorways, and interactive languages of electronics reflected an expectation that the 'typical' user of design had a normative body type."[1109] Sullivan was not a 'typical' user and the pinball machine greatly contributed to his experience.

Dave Shannon and Irmo Marini were two other quadriplegics who became tenants in the early 1980s. One Fifty Castlegreen helped these young men attain independence and become disability activists in the community. Both Shannon and Marini developed their injuries in sports-related accidents. In February of 1980, Marini, a 23-year-old ice-hockey player for Lakehead University's varsity team, had one of his skates hit a nick in the ice. This caused him to crash head first into the boards; the end result, in layman's terms, was a broken neck.[1110] The 18-year-old Shannon (originally born in Thunder Bay, but moved to Nova Scotia in his teens) also broke his neck, but, under different circumstances. In September of 1981, Shannon, a first

[1106] Buckle, "LU students help," 19.
[1107] Ibid.
[1108] Williamson, "Designing Objects and Spaces," 143.
[1109] Ibid.
[1110] "Love of his girlfriend helped hockey player," *Chronicle Journal*, November 26, 1981, 2.

year University of Waterloo varsity rugby player, broke his neck in a disastrous rugby practice pile up.[1111] After intensive rehabilitation and stays at Lyndhurst Rehabilitation Hospital in Toronto, Marini and Shannon moved to One Fifty Castlegreen. Marini moved in December 1980, and Shannon followed in April of 1982.[1112] In fact, one of the reasons Shannon moved back to Thunder Bay was because he had received a tip, from a family member, about HAGI's state of the art accessible housing system.[1113] When Shannon arrived, he discovered that Thunder Bay "was ahead of its time in the provision of independent living services. Attendant care was available in [his] own apartment [150,] a parallel transit service was well established and there was a strong advocacy group [HAGI] that had a good relationship with the City Council and the Mayor."[1114]

Marini was similarly surprised by how far advanced the city of Thunder Bay was in regards to accessible housing. Marini had all the supports he required to make a successful re-integration into the community. Marini's own words are a far better testament to the young man's amazement in finding out what the HAGI had done to make Thunder Bay accessible. Marini states that much to his:

> surprise and to this day, I tell people this…I've travelled all over pretty much Canada and the U.S. and you know unquestionably Thunder Bay was and continues to be the most progressive city, I think out of everywhere, I've visited which is probably 30, 40 different cities in Canada and the U.S. So when I came home in 1981, my family had already secured for me through Ron Ross and Dave Koivisto who were the real big movers and shakers of that time and really just ploughed ahead and I call them the grandfathers of disability advocacy and progress there in Thunder Bay in particular and expanding

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[1111] David Kendall, "Pain may mean hope for injured teen rugby player: Athlete fighting to beat paralysis," *Toronto Sun*, September 28, 1981.
[1112] "A Fluke Accident," *Toronto Star*, October 30, 1981; "Quadriplegics helped at hospital," *Chronicle Journal*, March 9, 1982, 13; David W. Shannon, *Six Degrees of Dignity: Disability in an Age of Freedom* (Ottawa: Creative Bound International Inc., 2007), 19.
[1113] Daryl Rock, *Making a Difference: Profiles in Abilities* (Toronto: Canadian Abilities Foundation, 2001), 215.
[1114] Irmo Marini, "Thriving Versus Succumbing to Disability: Psychosocial Factors and Positive Psychology," in *Psychosocial Aspects of Disability: Insider Perspectives and Counseling Strategies*, eds., Irmo Marini, Noreen M. Glover-Graf and Michael Jay Millington (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2012), 341.

> outwards, but I came home to a development that was set up for people with disabilities with all accessible apartments at Castlegreen and I'm not sure if you got a chance to go through there? I think it probably looks pretty bad these days, but back in 1981, my fiancée, now my wife, we came home and we immediately got a two bedroom one bathroom apartment in Castlegreen, which is kind of a transition place for people when they come out, and although some of them stay years, but we were there for six months.[1115]

For Marini, One Fifty was a blessing and he was equally astounded:

> to have 24/7 personal care attendants down the hallways, at a push of a button, to basically come down to your apartment and help you with all your activities and daily living was really unheard because we had left Toronto which had a similar kind of project [Clarendon,] except they had like months and months and months of a waiting list to get in there, so that's what people were doing and I know two guys specifically with high level kind of Christopher Reeve type injuries [quadriplegia.] They were stuck in Lyndhurst for like two years waiting for an opening to come, and so for my fiancée [Darlene] and I to like come home [to Thunder Bay] and immediately get settled into our own apartment [at 150 Castlegreen] was…I had no idea because before my accident much like Dave [Shannon], you know, disability of any kind wasn't even on the radar, so it was immediately like a comfortable setting. It was kind of a sanctuary because we all had a disability and many of us had spinal cord injuries and having the staff right there. So, you know, it took the burden off my girlfriend or my wife Darlene because she could do whatever. And, the staff were always there to come down and help out so that was amazing.[1116]

What Marini states is in fact true, regarding the Toronto situation, as Reaume reveals that "fiscal restraint" on the part of the provincial government resulted in high level quadriplegics remaining in Lyndhurst until the Nucleus Housing project opened in the summer of 1983.[1117]

With accessible housing in place, Marini and Shannon completed their post-secondary education at Lakehead University. Marini finished his undergraduate and graduate degrees in psychology, and Shannon his undergraduate English literature degree. In 1986, Shannon moved to Halifax, NS, for law school, while Marini took a job as Lakehead University's first student

[1115] "Irmo Marini," interview with Ulysses Patola, 11 March 2017.
[1116] Ibid.
[1117] Reaume, *Lyndhurst,* 183. It housed 11 quadriplegics

councillor (he later moved to the U.S. to complete his Ph.D. in Auburn, AL, in the 1990s).[1118] While at Lakehead, the two, along with Ross, and Dale McFarling, started a chapter of the Spinal Cord Society (SCS), which was an international disability organization based in Fergus Falls, Minnesota.[1119] The SCS was founded by Dr. Charles E. Carson in 1978 with a focus on finding a cure for spinal cord injuries: indeed, its motto was "a cure not care."[1120] The Thunder Bay chapter was the fifth in Canada and 120th in North America and Shannon and Marini took the lead as project coordinators. Also, Shannon and Marini, along with a handful of others including Salamon, created Lakehead University's first disabled student's society - DSAC. It was active in raising awareness and making the university accessible for disabled students.[1121]

The first year of One Fifty Castlegreen was historic, and HAGI staff celebrated the anniversary, while also developing ways to further tenant integration. The one year anniversary celebration was held on June 21st, 1980; it included a BBQ, tour of the building, and dance. As part of the tour, several tenants opened up their accessible units to the public, with HAGI staff acting as tour guides.[1122] Besides the festivities, the anniversary was also a time of reflection, with both Sabeau and Ross developing new ways for One Fifty to evolve. Indeed, on May 6th, 1980, Sabeau wrote a letter to the HAGI BOD "to share…some of [her] concerns and to initiate discussion on what might be termed as 'Public Awareness.'"[1123] Sabeau noted that although "much ha[d] been accomplished," there was "so much more to do" [at One Fifty,] especially in

[1118] Susan Craig, "Rugby mishap paralyzed him man tells trial," *Toronto Star*, April 17, 1985; Lyndsay Barrett, "Disabled prove no less capable," *Chronicle Journal*, October 20, 1990, F1.
[1119] Gerry Poling, "Cure! Not Care! Motto of spinal cord society," *Chronicle Journal*, September 1983, 21; "Students help set up spinal cord group," *Chronicle Journal*, August 30, 1984, 17.
[1120] Poling, "Cure! Not Care!" 21.
[1121] Ibid; "Students help set up," 17; "Student Services: What's New?" the *Argus*, November 7, 1985, 4; Sandra Salamon, *The Awareness of Students with a Disability at Lakehead by Faculty and Students*, Lakehead University, May, 1989, 3; Lakehead University, *Lakehead University Student Calendar*, 1986-87, 305.
[1122] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 5 June 1980, 2.
[1123] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Claudette Sabeau to HAGI BOD, 6 May 1980, 1.

the "alteration of the tenants' needs."[1124] Specifically, Sabeau highlighted the fact that in One Fifty's first year, a lot of work was spent on "instructional living skills," so that tenants could "control their financial affairs and daily routine schedules."[1125] This was important, as tenants were now generally able to perform tasks, such as ordering prescriptions, paying bills, meal planning and prepping, and doing laundry/housekeeping in a more independent fashion than when they first arrived. In turn, since "the amount of time required for these tasks…has decreased," Sabeau revealed that tenants had "more leisure time" that could be spent in the community.[1126] Sabeau, thus, proposed that One Fifty's next goal needed to be "integration" into the community.[1127] The definition that Sabeau used to define integration was "the removal of legal and social barriers imposing segregation."[1128] This echoes Devlin and Pothier's argument of PWD being "dis-citizens" due to their reduced substantive citizenship.[1129] Indeed, Freund states that the "[disabling] city…is replete with cultural signifiers and physical features" that make PWD "feel out of place."[1130] Acknowledging that HAGI was already doing a good deal of "educating the general public" (it had helped to set up a Barrier Free Design Committee that year), Sabeau wanted the HAGI to step up its efforts in a new "public awareness campaign," which could include wheelchair clinics, equipment demonstrations (hydraulic tub lifts), wheelchair basketball exhibition games, bake sales, mall campaigns, and elementary and secondary school public speaking engagements etc.[1131] According to Sabeau, these efforts would help alleviate "anxiety…caused by fear of the unknown" regarding disability and help

[1124] Ibid.
[1125] Ibid.
[1126] Ibid.
[1127] Ibid., 2.
[1128] Ibid.
[1129] Pothier and Devlin, "Introduction," 2.
[1130] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 700.
[1131] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Claudette Sabeau to HAGI BOD, 6 May 1980, 2.

mainstream tenant integration into the community.[1132] Sabeau's letter was presented to the HAGI BOD on May 14th, 1980, and members agreed that her presentation "showed excellent initiative."[1133] The BOD unanimously approved her request to start a public awareness program with the aim of tenant integration.

Ross also analyzed ways to improve the efficiency of One Fifty, and in the process received numerous awards for his and the HAGI's work in accessible housing. Ross was demonstrating the rational-legal style of leadership as he was a waged employee of HAGI, and put in charge of strengthening HAGI's accessible housing system.[1134] At the one year mark, the complex was operating on a $300,000 annual budget. Ross was not a complacent administrator, as he was always looking for ways to improve the project.[1135] Ross disclosed that acting as both a property manager and "dealing more with tenants with so many different personalities [was] a real learning experience."[1136] Specifically, he noted that "[p]eople's responsibilities and values vary substantially and this is compounded sometimes by their disability."[1137] Here Ross argued that he found it necessary to "set policy on different matters to ensure better control and protection of the corporation's assets."[1138] This was in response to a number of concerns, such as damage to the units discovered after tenant move-outs, maggots being found in a unit, and vandalism and theft noticed around the property. Thus, Ross set up an inspection/checklist system that new tenants had to sign before moving in. Year-end inspections, of each unit and full inspection after move out, would thus prevent the HAGI from having to pay for damages.[1139]

[1132] Ibid.
[1133] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 14 May 1980, 3.
[1134] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-55.
[1135] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1979-89, 7.
[1136] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 17 June, 1980, 1.
[1137] Ibid.
[1138] Ibid.
[1139] Ibid.

Ross's efforts at One Fifty led to his receiving several prestigious awards in the 1980s. In October of 1980, Ross and the HAGI were presented with an award at the 33rd annual conference for the Ontario Federation for the Cerebral Palsied. Ross accepted the award, which recognized "individuals or groups who have worked to improve conditions for the handicapped within the community."[1140] In regards to Ross, this was "better housing" in Thunder Bay.[1141] The awards kept coming, and Ross was presented the Vanier Award in March of 1981, as one of five "outstanding young persons in Canada;" two of the other winners that year were Wayne Gretzky and then-Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford.[1142] The award stated that Ross is "known throughout Thunder Bay for his leadership…[and] work for the rights of the disabled."[1143] In his acceptance speech, Ross noted that "he was proud to be a citizen of Thunder Bay which…serves as a model example in its support of the disabled."[1144] Thunder Bay was arguably at the cutting edge compared to many other Canadian cities.

The HAGI 1979-1980 annual report discussed some of the achievements and areas of improvement at One Fifty Castlegreen. One of the biggest areas of concern was "the lack of community housing and support services" for 'graduates' of One Fifty.[1145] Indeed, in its first year, some sixteen tenants with varying levels of disabilities moved out of One Fifty into other accessible facilities, such as Castlegreen Cooperative, Harbour View Terrace, or other city housing. The problem was that these accessible units were filling up. Also, there was a further need of attendant care services in these new living arrangements.[1146] The HAGI came up with a

[1140] "Special awards presented," *Chronicle Journal*, October, 16, 1980, 23.
[1141] Ibid.
[1142] "Ross receives Vanier Award," *Chronicle Journal*, March 6, 1981, 1.
[1143] Ibid.
[1144] Ibid.
[1145] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1979-80, 9.
[1146] Ibid.

five point plan to increase accessible housing and support services in the city of Thunder Bay. Firstly, the HAGI would conduct a survey of all existing community housing and apartments and identify their suitability for PWD. Secondly, if potential housing was discovered, the HAGI attempted to make agreements with private landlords to renovate units, as had been done with the Hudson Heights Apartments (see chapter two). Thirdly, at the time, individual disabled consumers of support services were not included in the Ontario Housing Corporation [OHC] or municipal non-profit housing rent-geared to income; thus, the HAGI lobbied these organizations to acquire the service. Fourthly, the HAGI lobbied the MCSS for a 24 hour/7 day a week attendant care component that extended outside of One Fifty.[1147] And, fifthly, the HAGI acted as an advocate in the creation of a tripartite agreement. In this agreement, OHC, private landlords, and disabled consumers could enter into arrangements for appropriate housing.[1148]

One of the most important external goals, which Sabeau outlined in her March 1980 correspondence, was the integration of tenants into the greater Thunder Bay community. To address the issue, the HAGI developed relationships with post-secondary institutions, to host placement students. These students played a major role by integrating tenants in activities throughout the city. These activities not only aided in tenant confidence building, but made "the public aware and sensitive to the needs of the physically disabled."[1149] The HAGI's collaboration with summer students, from both the College and Lakehead University, increased focus on disability issues in related social services programs and organizations. The HAGI also worked with secondary schools in Thunder Bay to start the Teen Independent Living Program. This was a program where disabled teenagers attended a weekly independent living program, at One Fifty,

[1147] Ibid.
[1148] Ibid., 9-10.
[1149] Ibid., 11.

to learn life skills.[1150] The HAGI believed that, since disability was usually a lifelong concern, it was important to make inroads with people younger than 18 (the earliest admittance age into One Fifty) to build relationships for the future. These aspects of integration provided PWD the opportunity to re-integrate into the community. They reflected the view that disabilities, themselves, are not what prevents people from integrating into society, it is the "structures that reify, reinforce, and in some cases produce those prejudices."[1151] The HAGI's accessible housing system broke down these structures, while also showcasing the uniqueness of One Fifty and its mandate to regional, provincial, national, and international stakeholders. In this regard, Ross, Pykka, and Koivisto were at the forefront of providing other organizations, and governments, with information and tours of the building and programs.[1152] Koivisto had an "open door policy" for showing off One Fifty to other interested parties. In fact, HAGI documents show multiple visitors either contacting Koivisto by phone, or visiting One Fifty directly.[1153] To illustrate, in 1985, representatives from a housing project in Sudbury reviewed HAGI's housing programs and new computer system, while in 1990 a delegation from North Africa did the same.[1154]

For Koivisto, in the 1980s HAGI:

> was providing services as best we could for [tenants] and HAGI was growing all the time and there were new programs like at any given time at 150…I would share an office…with a secretary or one other person and then you'd have a summer grant going with students coming in there, and you were heading up them too, and you know then all the other projects, you were meeting with government people or someone in the board room down at the end [etc.][1155]

[1150] Ibid., 12.
[1151] Marcum, "Rethinking the American Dream," 115.
[1152] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1979-80, 12.
[1153] "Dave Koivisto."
[1154] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1985, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1990, 4.
[1155] "Dave Koivisto."

By December 1980, the majority of tenants at One Fifty were learning to live independently with some graduating and moving out into the community; however, the influx of graduates resulted in a need for more accessible housing options. The 1979-80 Annual Report showed that "[a]s many as 16 tenants [had] flowed through the residence out into the community."[1156] According to the HAGI, it was "becoming more and more difficult to move [tenants] through because of the lack of community housing and support services."[1157] In turn, the HAGI needed new housing and became involved with the City of Thunder Bay's Non-Profit Housing Corporation's 48 unit apartment building located at 170 West Donald St. (the south side of the city) called Glenwood Court. By the summer of 1982, ten of the apartments were assigned to the HAGI, which also included the MCSS's support care component.[1158] As well, the HAGI finalized a deal with Superior View Cooperative in 1983 to acquire ten accessible units. Tenants from One Fifty began filling up the new SSLUs. This opened up space at the complex for new consumers, including Thadeus Weiss. In fact, how Weiss first came into contact with the HAGI and its accessible housing system provides a window into how the organization's influence extended into some of the smaller towns in NWO. It also shows the sense of community that was built amongst tenants, at One Fifty.

In June of 1980, Thadeus Weiss experienced a catastrophic diving injury, in his hometown of Dryden, ON, that left him a quadriplegic. However after his rehabilitation, Weiss found a home, sense of community, and purpose once he became a tenant at One Fifty Castlegreen in the fall of 1982. In his 2006 autobiography, *A Prison Within: An Account of Personal Tragedy and Recovery*, Weiss provides an intimate firsthand account, of living in One

[1156] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1979-80, 6.
[1157] Ibid., 9.
[1158] Gord McLaughlin, "Province delays handicap housing decision," *Chronicle Journal*, December 30, 1981, 1.

Fifty. Before the accident, Weiss was a lean and muscular 21-year-old, working for the Ministry of Natural Resources in the fire management division. He had a sports car, loving girlfriend and was a talented athlete - the epitome of masculinity.[1159] However, on June 11th, 1980, Weiss decided to go for a swim with his girlfriend Heather, in one of his favourite lakes in Dryden. Weiss was unaware that "the water levels were really low" and broke his neck performing a shallow dive.[1160] Weiss was rushed to Thunder Bay's Regional Trauma Centre, where he had emergency surgery. After spending some time in Thunder Bay, Weiss was transferred to the Winnipeg Intensive Care Unit, where he re-learned to breathe without using a ventilator. In 1981, Weiss was sent back to Thunder Bay, and referred to Lakehead Rehab under the care of Dr. Kim.[1161] The aftermath of the injury was a very trying time in Weiss' life, as he was shocked and in disbelief at the dramatic changes that were happening to him. According to Weiss, "each day became a grind," with "[h]ours of boredom" and panic attacks, muscle spasms, and pressure sores.[1162] As the months went by, Weiss "received very little mail, and even fewer phone calls."[1163] The situation left him very depressed.[1164]

His mental health improved during his rehabilitation at Lakehead Rehab, and once he discovered HAGI and its accessible housing system in Thunder Bay. Weiss made connections with HAGI leaders and tenants at One Fifty, who helped foster his future transition into the complex. One day Weiss recalls watching television and noticed a "very pretty woman in a wheelchair."[1165] This woman was describing a disability advocacy and service organization

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[1159] Thadeus Weiss, *A Prison Within: An Account of Personal Tragedy and Recovery* (Victoria, B.C.: Friesen Press, 2006), 7, 78.
[1160] "Thadeus Weiss," interview with Ulysses Patola, 3 March 2017.
[1161] Ibid; Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 82, 85, 171.
[1162] Ibid., 78, 81, 110; "Thadeus Weiss."
[1163] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 108.
[1164] Ibid.
[1165] Ibid., 236.

called the HAGI that was providing assistance to PWD in Thunder Bay.[1166] The young woman was Sandy Salamon, and the program was part of HAGI's public awareness campaign that developed out of Sabeau's recommendations to the HAGI BOD. In the program, Salamon not only described HAGI's accessible housing projects, but also its transportation and recreational services. According to Weiss, he was "impressed…very much" that such services were available to PWD attempting to reintegrate "back into the community to live a full life without restrictions."[1167] In fact, this is "what [he] wanted."[1168] In the following days, after the program, Weiss asked one of his social workers about HAGI and its services. From experience, the young man knew that his hometown, of Dryden, "did not have anything" comparable to what Thunder Bay had in relation to disability services. Thus, Weiss wanted to connect directly with the HAGI.[1169] Weiss' social worker provided him with information about the organization, and how he could qualify for its services. In Weiss' case, he had to fill out a formal application package, and submit it to the HAGI's Housing Advisory Committee. If accepted, Weiss would be added to a waiting list until an accessible unit in One Fifty Castlegreen became available. Also, before he could move in, HAGI policy required Weiss, and other new tenants, to spend a short time in the trial unit to see if a potential tenant was a right fit for One Fifty's independent living model. In his account, Weiss expressed his enthusiasm about the thought of moving out of Lakehead Rehab and into his "own apartment, [acquiring] access to transportation [through Handi Transit,] and a chance to once again have control over [his] life;"…"it was just what [he] was looking for."[1170]

[1166] Ibid.
[1167] Ibid.
[1168] Ibid.
[1169] Ibid.
[1170] Ibid., 237.

What gave Weiss even more motivation was meeting and developing friendships with HAGI leaders and consumers some who were current tenants at One Fifty. While undergoing rehabilitation at Lakehead Rehab, Weiss experienced frequent visits from many of the current leaders of the HAGI, and tenants at One Fifty Castlegreen. The camaraderie, established during these visits, was a precursor to the sense of community that permeated the complex. Shortly after his admittance to Lakehead Rehab, Weiss' name was circulated around Thunder Bay's disability community, as was common practice for those newly injured. As a result, HAGI leaders, including Koivisto and Ross, and One Fifty tenants, such as Salamon, Dale McFarling, George Simpson, and Dave Shannon, spent time with Weiss. These people shared personal experiences about life at One Fifty, and "all…the services and what to expect once [Weiss] got there."[1171] The Dryden native recalled that these young disabled HAGI consumers "seemed so content with their lives, and at ease with talking about what they themselves had gone through."[1172] In his account, Weiss stated that he listened, in "amazement," as the group discussed One Fifty.[1173] It was "the first time [he] had really talked to anyone living with a severe disability" like his.[1174] Weiss described the experience as refreshing and made him feel "special."[1175] The young man's new friends gave him something that he had craved, since the accident; this was "friendship and a renewed sense of hope in [his] future."[1176]

The visits Weiss experienced reflect what Rembis describes as the initial creation of an informal support network. These networks "extend well beyond the immediate nuclear family

[1171] Ibid; "Thadeus Weiss."
[1172] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 237; "Thadeus Weiss."
[1173] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 238.
[1174] Ibid.
[1175] Ibid.
[1176] Ibid.

and the highly permeable walls and doors of our homes."[1177] Over the next few months, the visits continued. Weiss' new friends spent time orientating him to what the HAGI was all about, and teaching him "all the ins and outs" of living at the transitional house.[1178] In mid-1981, Weiss' persistence paid off as his application, for admittance into One Fifty, was finally submitted to the HAGI. However, as discussed earlier, the lack of accessible housing in the early 1980s resulted in a waiting list for new consumers, who needed accessible housing. Weiss awaited word on his status, while also thinking about his goals if accepted, such as furthering his education. According to Weiss, he knew he would have to overcome a host of difficulties to pursue these goals. However, with the help of Dr. Roddy and his students at Lakehead University, a drafting table and an automatic page-turner were built for him to use at Lakehead Rehab. The new equipment greatly encouraged Weiss. It made him believe that his goal of finishing his grade 12 diploma and taking a drafting course were within reach.[1179]

By 1981, One Fifty's high turnover rate, combined with the migration to Thunder Bay by PWD in NWO and elsewhere in Canada, contributed to a lack of accessible housing options that delayed Weiss' admission into One Fifty. Nevertheless, at this time, the HAGI was developing the Glenwood Court project, with the help of the City of Thunder Bay. The intention was that the new project would take in tenants ready to graduate, while providing more openings at One Fifty. Weiss continued asking about the status of his application, and was informed by his friends in the fall of 1981 that the new Glenwood Court was nearing completion; it was scheduled to open in the spring of 1982.[1180] Weiss still had to wait several more months before he could move

[1177] Rembis, "Introduction," 3, 7.
[1178] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 246.
[1179] Ibid., 245, 260.
[1180] Ibid., 247.

into One Fifty, which showed the incredible demand for HAGI's services in the early 1980s.[1181] During Weiss' wait, he did everything he could "to show everyone at the hospital and those at HAGI that [he] could take care of [his] needs," and would thus be a model tenant.[1182] As well, Weiss' friends "always managed to drop by in the evening[s]" where they would either go out to restaurants or stay inside and watch sports, such as hockey.[1183] They were generally "well behaved," but on occasion got "a bit loud," resulting in some of the "cranky nurses" confiscating smuggled alcoholic beverages.[1184] Weiss was at home with his friends. As they predicted, he was admitted into the trial unit at One Fifty after Glenwood Court opened in the spring of 1982.

This was a life changing experience, for the young man, and his account of living there provides a glimpse into how disabled tenants in the residence created a sense of community. According to Weiss, "[he] had waited many months for this opportunity," and could not wait "to show" everybody that he could, indeed, live independently and "return into mainstream society."[1185] Weiss was also a little nervous, for "[i]f [he] failed…there would be nowhere for [him] to go but into a nursing home;" he did not want that.[1186] On the day of his departure from Lakehead Rehab, Weiss "felt a strange sort of happiness."[1187] To him, it was the "beginning of a journey that would take [him] to exotic places, and reveal a world that [he] had only been able to dream of" from his hospital bed.[1188] As HAGI-Transit's accessible van pulled up to One Fifty Castlegreen, with Weiss in it, he realized that the residence was "much larger than [he] had

[1181] McLaughlin, "Province delays handicap," 1.
[1182] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 266.
[1183] Ibid., 261.
[1184] Ibid.
[1185] Ibid., 272.
[1186] Ibid.
[1187] Ibid.
[1188] Ibid., 273.

imagined."[1189] In fact, it was also "much more impressive."[1190] Each of the 24 units had a patio, and the building was up against a forest, with a nearby stream (McVicar Creek); it was picturesque.[1191] As he got out, Weiss met a woman named Shari MacDonald (in a few years she would become the regional director of the local CPA branch), who was a project coordinator. She was joined by Ron Ross, HAGI's Housing Administrator, and Dave Koivisto, HAGI's Executive Director, whom Weiss had met previously while at Lakehead Rehab. The three helped Weiss settle in and gave him a tour of the complex, and a short primer on how life at One Fifty worked.[1192] MacDonald brought Weiss to his room, in the one hundred block. Here he was taken aback by all of the accessibility features: large patio doors, a small kitchen, stove, television, radio, table, chairs, bed, a special shower chair, and environmental control system. As MacDonald showed Weiss around, Vicki Scott, a HAGI Attendant Staff Team Leader, helped him develop a self-directed independent living schedule that included eating, waking, and activity times. The first day at One Fifty was a whirlwind of excitement for Weiss because he was so "busy" planning for his future. This took the focus off his constant thought about his disability, and fears about a possible future life in a nursing home.[1193]

By the time Weiss moved in, the tenants at One Fifty Castlegreen had established a unique culture and community. It was held together by the fact that they were all fairly youthful, had a disability, and liked to have fun. Weiss was quickly baptized into this community. Weiss ran into McFarling and Simpson and the two commended him for "finally [making] it over."[1194]

[1189] Ibid.
[1190] Ibid.
[1191] Ibid.
[1192] Ibid.
[1193] Ibid., 274.
[1194] Ibid., 275.

They then asked the new recruit what he thought about their "little abode."[1195] Weiss told them that "[he] was impressed," but that he had had only a small glimpse of the place.[1196] The two then proceeded to give him a personalized tour of the residence, showing him all of their rooms, and the accessible fitness area. They took him outside revealing to Weiss that "people enjoyed sitting out[side] during the day and would even put their stereo speakers" on to listen to music, while out in the sun.[1197] This was the first inkling Weiss had that "people here liked to party;" it was the complete antithesis of the environment at Lakehead Rehab.[1198] Indeed a few years prior to Weiss' arrival, one of the tenants even brought a horse into the residence and it travelled "down the hallway with a guy riding on it."[1199] Before Weiss' first taste of the social side of One Fifty, Simpson and McFarling took him down the paved accessible path behind the residence that led to County Fair shopping mall. To Weiss' amazement, just next to the mall was a hotel and bar called the Landmark. The Landmark housed the "largest bar in town" with "three levels plus a dance floor."[1200] That day, Weiss' friends invited him to go out partying, but the young man just wanted to take in the day outside and enjoy the sun. Weiss' friends let him be, but noted that if he ever wanted to hang out, they were only a call away.

After Weiss arrived back to One Fifty, he had supper and met the rest of the tenants who were all "friendly and young;" in fact, "[t]here did not seem to be very many people…over the age of twenty-five."[1201] Weiss did meet one tenant in his forties, but most were young like him and to his surprise most liked to socialize; he was invited to four parties that night. Besides being

[1195] Ibid.
[1196] Ibid.
[1197] Ibid.
[1198] Ibid.
[1199] "Dave Koivisto."
[1200] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 276.
[1201] Ibid.

young, tenants all had varying types of disabilities with many in "wheelchairs with varying degrees of paralysis caused by spinal cord injury."[1202] There were also others who were "blind or deaf, while still others [lived with] degenerative diseases such as CP or MS."[1203] In spite of their conditions, Weiss was "overwhelmed" by how all these people were "going [about] their day as if everything was normal."[1204] All around, Weiss saw "happiness and companionship" in combination with "people facing enormous difficulties."[1205] To Weiss, this was "more than just a housing complex; it was a home with a family that cared for each other."[1206]

Weiss' autobiography confirms Rembis' and other scholars' findings that "disabled people use the home or other 'homelike' settings to carve out critically important spaces within which they not only empower themselves, but also form meaningful, life sustaining, and often transformative relationships."[1207] One Fifty was this place for Weiss. Indeed, that same night, he decided to hang out with some of the tenants after supper and was further astounded by the "music and laughter" and all the "people…living their lives to the fullest."[1208] One Fifty was "a far cry from what [he] was accustomed to" in Lakehead Rehab, and the other hospitals he spent time in.[1209] As he prepared to go to bed, after his first day at One Fifty, Weiss dwelled on the fact that he did not want to blow his opportunity to become a permanent resident, but the sight of all those young disabled people having fun resulted in him joining them on several occasions.[1210]

[1202] Ibid.
[1203] Ibid; Contrary to the author of the quote, cerebral palsy is not degenerative.
[1204] Ibid.
[1205] Ibid.
[1206] Ibid.
[1207] Rembis, "Introduction," 8.
[1208] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 276.
[1209] Ibid.
[1210] Ibid.

Some mornings, Weiss noticed, "[m]ost of the building was still quiet after what sounded like a major celebration the night before," and that "the signs of the night before could be seen on a number of [tenants'] faces."[1211] These parties consisted of drinking, music, and games, and follow social patterns and behaviours identified by Reaume in Lyndhurst.[1212] These social gatherings were something distinct to One Fifty, where all the tenants were disabled. Marcum notes that some disability advocates, such as Amy Lutz, debate some aspects of "fully integrated housing."[1213] She argues that it "may be another form of discrimination" to say that disabled adults "can't thrive in a community of their own making."[1214] For Lutz, integrated housing attempts to "avoid discrimination," but as seen with Weiss' experience, the camaraderie he established with other disabled consumers would not have been possible without One Fifty Castlegreen.[1215]

Alcohol was part of this camaraderie; however, prior to Weiss' acceptance into the trial unit at One Fifty, the HAGI BOD stiffened its drug and alcohol policy on August 13th, 1980, by "not tolerating the use of illegal drugs and/or alcohol in the common areas of 150 Castlegreen Drive."[1216] This was not to say that drinking or "small gatherings" with alcohol were barred, but that they had to be kept in their place.[1217] Similarly, in Lyndhurst, there was an earlier "informal system" of staff "looking away" if they witnessed drugs or drinking that was also replicated.[1218] One Fifty's changes occurred because tenants constantly pushed these boundaries. For example during a, March 4th, 1980, staff meeting, some of HAGI's staff "expressed concern over helping

[1211] Ibid., 277-278.
[1212] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 114.
[1213] Marcum, "Rethinking the American," 111.
[1214] Ibid.
[1215] Ibid.
[1216] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 13 Aug 1980, 2.
[1217] Ibid.
[1218] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 172-73.

those [tenants] who 'toss[ed] their cookies,' due to drinking."[1219] It was determined that if this happened, staff would "assist tenants with a more severe disability," but that staff needed to "use their discretion with others" and "warn" offenders.[1220] The issue was raised at the Tenants' Council Meeting, where it was agreed that after drinking, tenants were "responsible [for] putting themselves to bed and clean[ing] their messes."[1221]

Weiss' first experience partying, at One Fifty, had a profound effect on him; in essence, it christened him into the new culture at the complex. He recalls, "everyone…just sitting around in their own apartments but after a while, people started coming out to roam the hall. Slowly each individual party began to merge until the whole building seemed to join in."[1222] At this time, the alcohol came out with people "going from one place to another with drinks in hand…[t]here was no shortage of alcohol."[1223] One particular night, Weiss witnessed "people falling out of their [wheel]chairs"…[noting that] [n]o one seemed to get hurt. They just got back into their chairs with or without help and carried on with what they were doing."[1224] Weiss was astonished, and "took this behaviour to be normal."[1225] Indeed, "[a]fter a few more drinks, none of this unusual activity bothered [him] any longer."[1226] After all of his struggles, Weiss was "really enjoying [himself] for the first time in quite a while" and became a "bit bombed" so much so that he raced another guy in a wheelchair down one of the halls with "a girl on each of [their] laps."[1227] No one was hurt in the escapade, but Weiss' race partner and the girl on top of him "took a nasty

[1219] HAGI, 150 Staff, Meeting Minutes, 4 March 1980, 1.
[1220] Ibid.
[1221] HAGI, 150 Tenants' Council, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1980, 1.
[1222] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 279.
[1223] Ibid.
[1224] Ibid.
[1225] Ibid.
[1226] Ibid.
[1227] Ibid.

spill."[1228] After all of the excitement, Weiss was "not ready to return to [Lakehead Rehab;]" however, since his time at One Fifty was only on a trial, he had to.[1229] The thought of going back "caused [him] distress," as "[his] short stay…show[ed] [him] a way of life that only a few months ago was unthinkable…and completely out of his reach."[1230] Weiss "found friends and companionship…but most of all [he]…found freedom, the one thing [Lakehead Rehab] could not provide."[1231] To Weiss, the "closed system" that "held [him] captive" was not freedom, as he could not make his own decisions as a disabled consumer.[1232] In fact, the short stay, at One Fifty Castlegreen, "taught [h]im a great deal and…[gave] [him] more confidence in [his] ability to do things on [his] own."[1233] Indeed, One Fifty was an "enabling space" in the truest sense.[1234]

Once back at Lakehead Rehab, Weiss spent as much time as possible outside of the building, as he could not tolerate the lack of control he experienced inside. Dr. Kim observed that the "[consumer's] voice became much stronger once living there [150] and they could express their needs and how to go…where to go to meet such a need and become much more active in solving their own problems."[1235] This insight is substantiated by Marcum who states that for PWD "physical locations can, and do, shape lived experiences," either in a negative or, in Weiss' experience, a positive manner.[1236] Weiss constantly waited until he heard word on whether his "application for housing was accepted," as, he desired "privacy and complete control over how and when things were done to [him.]"[1237] Finally, after what seemed liked forever,

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[1228] Ibid.
[1229] Ibid.
[1230] Ibid., 280.
[1231] Ibid.
[1232] Ibid.
[1233] Ibid.
[1234] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 703.
[1235] "Dr. B.K. Kim."
[1236] Marcum, "Rethinking the American," 113.
[1237] Weiss, *A Prison Within*, 281.

Weiss' social worker informed him in the fall of 1982 that he was accepted, and going "to move into the housing project at HAGI."[1238] Weiss was "ecstatic and a bit frightened at the same time."[1239] Reflecting back, on his time at One Fifty, Weiss revealed that "when I went over [to 150] we had quite a group of guys then – George [Simpson], and Dale [McFarling], and Dave [Shannon], and Brian [Sullivan], and myself. We got in there and we had a lot of fun."[1240] These multiple factors gave Weiss hope, and a new sense of community, which allowed him to reintegrate, eventually becoming HAGI's President of the BOD in the 1980s, and a HAGI leader himself.

Development of Additional Accessible Housing Options and Services, 1980s –Early 1990s

Initially, male HAGI leaders mentored tenants like Weiss, and encouraged them to take on leadership roles with the HAGI. This is not to say that female HAGI leader, such as Susan Ward, did not play a role mentoring young female consumers, but that this occurred later, especially in the mid-1980s (see chapter five). This follows trends described elsewhere. For example, Mary Tremblay and Marian Patterson Holleman's work on Canadian disabled WWII veterans demonstrates how the CPA was established as a male dominated organization led by such figures as John Counsell, Ken Langford, and Tony Mann.[1241] Beyond the CPA, Melanie Panitch examines how this masculine culture permeated into several other post-WWII disability advocacy organizations and how they also had a "disproportionate ratio" of male leaders as

[1238] Ibid., 301.
[1239] Ibid.
[1240] "Thadeus Weiss."
[1241] Mary Tremblay, "The Canadian Revolution in the Management of Spinal Cord Injury," *CBMH* 12, no. 1 (1995): 125-155; Mary Tremblay, "Going Back to Civvy Street: a historical count of the impact of the Everest and Jennings wheelchair for Canadian World War II veterans with spinal cord injury," *Disability and Society* 11, no. 2 (1996): 149-169; Marian Patterson Holleman, *From Darkness into Light: The Founding of the Canadian Paraplegic Association* (Toronto: Canada Paraplegic Association, 1991).

compared to their female counterparts.[1242] Panitch and Helen Meekosha note that the end result was "male" and "masculine bias" in the disability rights movement as a whole.[1243] Diane Driedger and Joan Meister analyze how this started to change by the mid-1980s through reforms in the COPOH, which saw the election of disabled women to key positions, and the development of a national disabled women's organization - the DisAbled Women's Network (DAWN).[1244] While chapter five will elaborate more on the disabled women's experience in Thunder Bay and the region, it should be noted that some disabled women, such as Susan Ward attained high positions within the HAGI in the 1970s (President of the BOD) and were also involved in supporting disabled women. In fact in 1985, NWO hosted the first women with disabilities conference in the province, which showed progressiveness in this regard. Disabled men in HAGI helped younger disabled women as well, and while there is no reason to question this support, disabled women also had distinct needs as will be brought in chapter five. Nevertheless, in Weiss' case, he was taken under the wings of those who has been living with disabilities for some time. As soon as Weiss moved into One Fifty, Koivisto and Ross helped him sign up for "individualized funding through the government;" then, once they saw him make progress, steered him towards "get[ting] onto the [BOD] and becom[ing] active…[in] committees."[1245] Gino Sonego, a paraplegic who sustained a workplace injury in the early 1980s, also spent time

[1242] Melanie Panitch, *Disability, Mothers, and Organizations: Accidental Activists* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 158-159.
[1243] Ibid., 159; Helen Meekosha, "Body Battles: Bodies Gender and Disability," in *Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives*, ed., Tom Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998), 165.
[1244] Joan Meister, "An Early DAWNing," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 221-242; Diane Driedger, "Emerging from the Shadows: Women with Disabilities Organize," in *Across Borders: Women with Disabilities Working Together*, eds., Diane Driedger, Eileen Giron Batres, and Irene Feika (Charlottetown, PEI, Gynergy Books, 1996), 10-23.
[1245] "Thadeus Weiss."

in HAGI's accessible housing system in the mid-1980s. He recalls a similar process with Ross encouraging him to join the BOD on both the HAGI and the nascent local CPA chapter.[1246]

Thunder Bay gained its own local branch of CPA Ontario in late 1984, as part of that organization's mid-1980s push to de-centralize services, and move towards a community rehabilitation service model.[1247] Two HAGI leaders, Ross and BOD member Les Bush (a paraplegic injured in the workplace and living in Castlegreen Cooperative), were influential in establishing the new branch, which provided services such as peer support, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, and referral services.[1248] The local CPA, which basically had the exact same members as HAGI, worked closely with the latter. It was another asset for PWD, in Thunder Bay and the region, especially in relation to rehabilitation. However, funding difficulties in the late 1980s and early '90s limited its role until permanent funding became available.[1249] In the late 1980s, under the regional directorship of former One Fifty Castlegreen support staff member Shari MacDonald, the local CPA acquired a $35,800 Wintario grant to purchase both the "state of the art" Regys 1 and the Ergys 1, maintenance version, computerized bicycles.[1250] Thunder Bay was the first city in Canada to receive this piece of equipment, which gave the spinal cord injured the opportunity to design individualized aerobic exercise programs that increased strength and prevented pressure sores; this assisted independent living.[1251]

[1246] "Gino Sonego," interview with Ulysses Patola, 26 March 2017.
[1247] "Paraplegic Association," *Thunder Bay Post*, February 23, 1993, 12.
[1248] Les Bush, "Dateline: Thunder Bay," the *FreeWheeler*, Fall/Winter 1984/85, 4.
[1249] Lyndsay Barrett, "Half service offices for paraplegics close," *Chronicle-Journal*, April 18, 1990, 17; Lyndsay Barrett, "Paraplegics offered trickle of hope," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 5, 1990, A3; "Paraplegic Association office in Thunder Bay reopens June 1," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 23, 1990, 15.
[1250] "The Regys is here," *The CPA Connection*, Spring 1989, 1; Shari MacDonald, "Thunder Bay," The *FreeWheeler*, Spring 1989, 6.
[1251] "The Regys is here," 1.

At this time, the CPA played a complementary role to the HAGI, which was even more proficient at obtaining grants. Grants were always the life blood of the HAGI. By the 1980s, the organization developed a small grant writing team each of whom had a specific job ensuring grant applications were a success. The team included Koivisto, Ross, Buchan, Sabeau, and Yvonne Husilik. They would often "walk [grants] backwards and find out what they [the funding agency] want[ed] and fit your program or your project" into those parameters.[1252] The team also submitted letters of support in their packages, which to Koivisto was a huge "selling point."[1253] According to Koivisto:

> Ron [Ross], Claudette Pykka, or Sabeau her name was at the time when she worked with us…Al [Buchan] was our budget guy, okay, so, like a lot of the times, I would do the write ups, and shoot it over to Al, and he'd do the financial budget for it, or whatever you know. If they were big projects especially. Small ones no hassle, but whenever…like if we were doing a housing development or something…a new program. We would…Ron and I would do the write ups or…either one of us could do them you know without too much problem, but Al always helped. Al could do them too, but he always was your budget guy, eh to make sure the dollars [worked]…and we [may have stretched the truth] with the money too…we had four incorporations [HAGI; Independent Living Services Inc.; HAGI-Transit Inc., and Wilderness Discovery Inc.] going at one time…We would apply from one government body through a couple of corporations and then send it back…we just moved [the money] around, eh.[1254]

Koivisto further states that he:

> Would be the one that…would negotiate…would go in or put the writings together or meet with them [granting agency.] We had a good system everybody knew their job in it you know what I mean. Like when we went for grants and applications, it was a joint venture…the core being Al [Buchan], Ron [Ross], myself and Claudette Sabeau or Claudette Pykka…She…was our facilitator but she was part of our core there…and then I shouldn't leave out Yvonne [Husilik] who was our secretary/bookkeeper for the organization at the time and that core of people everybody knew their job when we were going to do something, you know. Even though I would write the applications, a lot of them…my English and grammar would be terrible and Yvonne, the secretary, would make it into a perfect application that no government body could say no to eh. Al's

[1252] "Dave Koivisto."
[1253] Ibid.
[1254] Ibid.

> budgets were perfect and Ron, you know, he would be the strong arm negotiator with Mickey Hennessey [Thunder Bay City Councilor, 1970-1976, 1989-1991; MPP for Fort William, 1977-1987] if necessary or whoever…Ron liked that [stuff.] You all had your different things and it was excellent…it was a core of people that made the organization grow from nothing to where it was by providing services that were long overdue for our community.[1255]

As Co-Executive Director with Ross, Koivisto often met with government officials, and kept one of his better blazers on the front coat rack at One Fifty. Tenants and staff called that blazer 'the money jacket' because every time Koivisto wore it, to meet with officials, he came back with more grant money for HAGI's projects.[1256]

To further complement its accessible housing system, in the mid to late 1980s, the HAGI used grant money to acquire several additional programs, accessible apartments, and services to assist with independent living in NWO. First, the HAGI computerized its housing system at One Fifty, through the help of Brian Komenda. Komenda, a local Thunder Bay native, taught himself the intricacies of working with microcomputers during his job with the regional unemployment office, during the mid-1970s. As his skills grew, Komenda left this job, and acted as an independent computer programming consultant, through his business Komenda and Associates. This position took him around the world, as he worked for large firms, such as Lockheed Aircraft. In fact, he helped develop Saudi Arabia's air defence system. In the late 1970s, Komenda moved back to Thunder Bay, and took up a consulting position with the HAGI to computerize their housing division, and later its HAGI-Transit division. Komenda also designed an automated computer nursing charting system to help cut down on paper work at One Fifty Castlegreen. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the system tied into the HAGI's new outreach attendant care service in the region. The new program allowed HAGI staff to document resident

[1255] Ibid.
[1256] Ibid.

visits, medication inputs, and other nursing statistics. The system also provided the HAGI with pertinent information to justify continued financial support from the MCSS. The HAGI was one of the first organizations in all of NWO to computerize.[1257] At the end of One Fifty's computerization, Ross (HAGI's third Housing Administer) resigned his position due to health difficulties, which led to Buchan taking over his position.

With computerization in place, HAGI's fourth Housing Administrator Allan Buchan (1983-88) embarked on an ambitious plan to bring one of the first Independent Living Centres (ILCs) in Canada to Thunder Bay. In the 1970s, the ILM in North America developed a series of inter-related and independent living services, so that PWD could live in an accessible community. The ILC was a product of this movement. The first ILC developed through the efforts of four disabled university students in Berkley, CA. In the latter part of the 1960s, these students found that their support services could not be renewed upon graduation from university. In turn, they rented an apartment and hired attendant support staff. Overtime, the group added other services, such as advocacy, peer support, and legal services. ILCs then grew across the U.S. in the 1970s. However, it was not until the next decade that they gained traction in Canada.[1258] According to Laurie Ringaert, major events in Canada, such as the 1981 United Nations (UN) International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP), the UN Decade of Disabled Persons (1981-92), the passage of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982), the Rick Hansen Man in Motion Tour (1985-87), and the National Access Awareness Weeks (1988-) provided the

[1257] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Jane 1985, 1.
[1258] For a history of the early U.S. ILM see: Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 201-203; Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 37-43.

groundswell for government action at all levels for disability issues.[1259] Specifically, in relation to ILCs, the IYDP spurred the Canadian government to commission a study on what was needed to further the needs of PWD in the country. This report came to be known as the Obstacles Report. One of its recommendations was that Canadian cities develop ILCs to promote independent living. Canada's first ILC opened in December of 1982, in the Kitchener/Waterloo area. It offered a plethora of services: peer counselling, attendant care, educational materials, advocacy, and housing referrals etc.[1260] The centre also concerned itself with "supportive, affordable, integrated housing," something HAGI had been doing for several years.[1261] The second centre opened in February of 1984, in Winnipeg. About a year later, in January of 1985, the first national meeting of the ILC in Canada was held in Kitchener.

Buchan, the then-Housing Administrator of the HAGI, attended this conference, which became the impetus for Thunder Bay acquiring its first, and the country's fifth ILC in 1987.[1262] When Buchan returned to Thunder Bay, he made a presentation at the HAGI's General Membership Meeting on March 27th. During his report, Buchan distinguished between the ILC and HAGI's current housing services. Buchan summarized the difference as follows: the ILC provided a variety of independent living services through a "store front operation," as opposed to the HAGI, which provided "a residential setting."[1263] It was also discussed that other Canadian

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[1259] Laurie Ringaert, "History of Accessibility in Canada from the Advocacy Perspective," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 289-292.
[1260] "Background and Philosophy," Independent Living Resource Centre, accessed 17 July 2017, http://www.ilrc.mb.ca/about.htm; John Lord, *Impact: Changing the way we view disability – The history, perspective and vision of the independent living movement in Canada* (Ottawa: Independent Living Canada, 2010), 41-42.
[1261] Lord, *Impact*, 127.
[1262] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 27 March 1985, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Independent Living Centre Steering Committee Report, National Association of Independent Living Centres, 1985, 1; Lord, *Impact*, 42-44, 49.
[1263] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 27 March 1985, 2-3.

cities were looking to establish ILCs, and that this was a project that the HAGI should examine further.[1264] Buchan provided HAGI members additional information that he obtained from the ILC Steering Committee, outlining both the "rationale and objectives" of the organization.[1265] At the time, the ILC Steering Committee sought "some form of approval" from the HAGI in regards to establishing a centre in Thunder Bay, as well as requesting another local member to join Buchan on the Committee.[1266] After the meeting, talk of the ILC took a backseat to other HAGI concerns. However, on November 5th, 1985, Buchan reported on a meeting he had with Henry Enns, one of the founders of the COPOH and the Canadian Association of Independent Living Centres (CAILC). This re-ignited the local ILC discussions. John Lord, another early Canadian leader in the ILM, states that Enns along with the city of "Winnipeg [had] long had a reputation as being among the leaders in the [ILM.]"[1267] Enns was also instrumental in turning the ILC Steering Committee into the CAILC in 1985, shortly after the first national Canadian ILC conference. Buchan's meeting with Enns centered on the possibility of Thunder Bay hosting the "first national meeting" of the new organization, which was set to bring representatives, from dozens of Canadian cities, who were planning or already committed to setting up an ILC.[1268] After the meeting, Buchan gathered information on possible funding and potential topics for the conference, in addition to setting up a planning committee.[1269]

To Koivisto, who was serving as the lone Co-Executive Director, Buchan was a workhorse for the HAGI, regularly "put[ting] in 12, 15 hour days…to get an 8 hour job

[1264] Ibid., 3.
[1265] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 March 1985, 2.
[1266] Ibid.
[1267] Lord, *Impact*, 99.
[1268] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 Nov 1985, 1.
[1269] Ibid.

done."[1270] Indeed, Buchan was another HAGI leader who demonstrated a "rational-legal" approach to leadership in furthering the HAGI's goals and expanding the organization.[1271] In the end, the conference was held in Ottawa, but the HAGI agreed to compose a proposal to start an ILC in Thunder Bay.[1272] Buchan continued fulfilling his duties, as a member of the CAILC, attending a February 1986 meeting that planned the organization's charter conference held April 30th to May 2nd; this is where the first BOD was elected. Buchan stated in his report that although the HAGI supported the establishment of an ILC in Thunder Bay, it had "not as yet committed [itself] to becoming an actual centre."[1273] Buchan was concerned that since the HAGI had not committed that the HAGI's status, as a member, could be in jeopardy. Thus, he agreed to bring back a copy of the new CAILC Constitution, after the national meeting, so that HAGI could review it and formally commit, through submitting a proposal.[1274]

In the midst of the ILC talks, Buchan created a Thunder Bay outreach service proposal to fund attendant care services for PWD living outside of HAGI SSLU designated buildings. At the time, the MCSS provided funding for PWD living in certain buildings; however, this was not the case for those living in private homes.[1275] The proposal was submitted in March of 1986 for a total of $72,000. This would support one full-time staff leader and six part-time employees, who would provide attendant services throughout the day in private homes.[1276] The Thunder Bay outreach program was established in 1987. In April of 1987, the outreach program was consolidated, along with HAGI's attendant care component in all other SSLU buildings, and the

[1270] "Dave Koivisto;" HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Ron Ross to Dave Koivisto, 1 April 1985, 1.
[1271] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-55.
[1272] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1986, 1.
[1273] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 March 1986, 1.
[1274] Ibid.
[1275] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 8; HAGI, Finance Committee, Meeting Minutes, 5 March 1986, 2.
[1276] HAGI, Finance Committee, Meeting Minutes, 5 March 1986, 2.

new ILC, into a new HAGI corporation, entitled HAGI's Independent Living Services Inc.; it was the organization's fourth corporation.[1277] The Thunder Bay outreach program also coincided with the 1987 opening of Cumberland Court, where HAGI secured 13 accessible SSLUs.[1278] These new units were sorely needed as HAGI statistics showed that by September of 1985, some 70 disabled people had graduated from One Fifty into other accessible housing options.[1279]

The final ILC proposal was submitted in July of 1986. The HAGI BOD finalized the few remaining issues. Firstly, they determined that they could receive funding from the MCSS's Community and Neighbourhood Support Service Program.[1280] However, the BOD also wanted Buchan to address a few "current problems," such as insurance, accounting, and whether the ILC was better served to operate as a separate corporation, which it eventually did.[1281] On Buchan's return from a June 1986 U.S. ILC conference in Washington D.C., he provided HAGI officials with the itinerary and a positive report that encouraged them to "finalize [their] ILC proposal" as soon as possible.[1282] The HAGI looked for office space, and received an early offer from the City's Non-Profit Housing division, in the new Cumberland Court satellite project.[1283] The office would be a "cost shared" arrangement, with HAGI subletting part of it to the local CPA.[1284]

Buchan submitted the final 20-page ILC proposal to the HAGI BOD in July of 1986. In the proposal, Buchan documented that, in spite of all the work the HAGI had done in Thunder

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[1277] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 3; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 8; The organization's housing division remained under the parent division of HAGI. The other two incorporations were: HAGI-Transit Inc. (see transit chapter), and Wilderness Discovery Inc. (see sport and recreation chapter).
[1278] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 March 1986, 3; "Triple-header for apartment openings," *Chronicle Journal*, December 5, 1987, 1.
[1279] HAGI, HAGI BOD, *Proposal for Attendant Care Outreach Program*, Sept 1985, 3.
[1280] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1986, 1.
[1281] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 15 May 1986, 2.
[1282] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1986, 2.
[1283] Ibid.
[1284] Ibid.

Bay to promote disability services, "there [was still] a great number of disabled people living throughout the community who [were] unaware of the opportunities available that will enhance promoting independent living concepts for them."[1285] This lack of awareness needed to be corrected, so PWD in Thunder Bay and the region could have assistance in "understand[ing] the complexity of utilizing all service agencies and their delivery systems," within their community.[1286] An ILC in Thunder Bay would perform this task, along with "promot[ing] independent living," giving disabled consumers "maximum control over their lives."[1287] The Thunder Bay's ILC was designed as a "drop in centre" that provided a volunteer peer interaction program, attendant care management courses, vacation relief programs, referral and information services, and individual advocacy.[1288] A program facilitator would run the centre, with the help of a small staff, and report to the HAGI Executive Director and the Housing Administrator.[1289] The HAGI wanted the ILC to develop in a two phase timeframe, with the first phase from September 1986 to March 1987. Phase one consisted of the opening of the office, setting up a peer support program, incorporating the new division, developing a referral service, and creating public awareness of the services available. The second phase, from April 1987 to March 1988, focused on the continued development of the services available, with further expansion into the region.[1290] The ILC proposal was passed by the HAGI BOD, and the organization received funds, from the Secretary of State in December of 1986 to implement phase one.[1291] Things were looking up for the HAGI, and they soon received a major boost from Rick Hansen.

[1285] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Independent Living Centre Proposal, July 1986, 1.
[1286] Ibid., 2.
[1287] Ibid.
[1288] Ibid., 2,6.
[1289] Ibid., 7.
[1290] Ibid.
[1291] HAGI, 150 Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 16 Dec 1986, 2.

In January 1987, Thunder Bay hosted a stop by Rick Hansen and his Man in Motion World Wheelchair Tour. This energized the local disability rights movement. Hansen rolled into Thunder Bay, by wheelchair, on January 4th, 1987, to promote accessibility, and to raise funds for spinal cord injury research.[1292] Hansen's Canada trip was the last leg of a tour, beginning in 1985, that saw him travel across the world in his wheelchair. Ringaert states that the Rick Hansen tour was "a pivotal event in accessibility history."[1293] Indeed,

> as it swept through from Newfoundland to BC, it featured a number of events and often called upon people to review what they have done on accessibility. Rick would ask how accessible were these facilities that they would want to impress him, and made changes before he would arrive in the city.[1294]

Hansen made Thunder Bay his "second press conference…in Canada," in part because of how accessible the city was at the time.[1295] Hansen's multiple events in Thunder Bay were organized through the efforts of Ron Ross and the local branch of the CPA, along with the City of Thunder Bay.[1296] Since October of 1985, the local CPA had been corresponding with Hansen by mail, while planning for his stop. The local chapter met monthly in the common room at One Fifty, and tasked itself with a year-long fundraising drive. The goal was to present the monies to Hansen "on his arrival…in Thunder Bay."[1297] The group also organized "a number of special events" around the city.[1298] Hansen's arrival was a huge event, and the local media reported "[p]eople…lined the streets," for his first speaking engagement at Lakeview High School.[1299]

[1292] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1986, 1.
[1293] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 290.
[1294] Ibid.
[1295] Ross Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion; 'means lot to me,' says Rick," *Chronicle Journal*, January 5, 1987, 1.
[1296] Ibid.
[1297] CPA [Thunder Bay,] Meeting Minutes, 20 Oct 1985, 2-4.
[1298] Ibid.
[1299] Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion," 1.

Inside, Hansen "urge[d] the handicapped to strive to be their best," and called for additional research to find a cure for spinal cord injury.[1300]

Hansen then stopped by One Fifty where he was similarly treated like a rock star, and provided HAGI and tenants a jolt of enthusiasm. At One Fifty, Hansen was presented a donated wheelchair, on behalf of Jim Crooks (Shoppers Home Health Care Centre). Hansen gave the chair to staff of St. Joseph's General Hospital, where it was used at Lakehead Rehab.[1301] According to Koivisto, everyone was "jammed in there [150] like sardines, when he came in. And, he had wheeled from Pass Lake that day, you know like 35, 30 miles…incredible…that was an incredible feat."[1302] Koivisto recalled that Hansen was "such a nice person," and "spoke to everyone…on what his goals were."[1303] Hansen "went around the room and met everyone…there were a number of dignitaries and others, but a number of disabled too, we were just jammed into One Fifty all down the hallways."[1304] Hansen also "met privately" with HAGI leaders and tenants of One Fifty, and his presence had a positive and up-building effect. At the time, Koivisto noted that "[t]he way [Hansen] relates to people is wonderful;" for example, after a young 23 year old paraplegic met Hansen, the man was left with a "thrill," since he had acquired the same injury and was encouraged by the meeting.[1305] The Happy Handicaps and the CPA presented cheques to Hansen. Bill Horner, of the Happy Handicaps, was also encouraged by the event, commenting that Hansen's accomplishments made him "want to try harder."[1306] In Thunder Bay, Hansen also stopped by the Terry Fox Monument, which was set up in 1981 to

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[1300] Ibid.
[1301] "Hansen in Schreiber," *Chronicle Journal*, January 2, 1987, 1; Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion," 1.
[1302] "Dave Koivisto."
[1303] Ibid.
[1304] Ibid.
[1305] Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion," 1.
[1306] Ibid.

celebrate Fox and his 1980 Marathon of Hope, cross-country run that raised funds for cancer research.[1307] Hansen, a friend of Fox, "read the Fox story" engraved on the side of the monument and gave an uplifting speech.[1308] In fact, during Fox's last stop in Thunder Bay, before he was hospitalized for cancer, Fox gave Bobby Brewer, a then-tenant of One Fifty, his sleeping bag, after the young disabled man requested it.[1309] Prior to Hansen's western departure, the HAGI extended an invitation for a potential future return to the city to celebrate the opening of the organization's fully accessible Wilderness Discovery Camp (see chapter six).[1310]

Hansen's stop in Thunder Bay set the tone for HAGI and its new ILC. In 1987, HAGI finalized several agreements, and hired staff for the new ILC. The HAGI BOD agreed to a cost-sharing arrangement with the CPA for the new office at the OMOD building, located at 244 Camelot St.[1311] HAGI was very upbeat, as not only did the MCSS agree to fund the ILC, but they also agreed to financially support HAGI's Thunder Bay Outreach proposal.[1312] With funding in place, the ILC hired Linda Carins as program facilitator.[1313] Cairns, 28 years-old, was born with cerebral palsy. She had just wrapped up an accomplished disabled swimming and weightlifting career, having won numerous gold medals at various regional and provincial disabled games in the 1970s and '80s (see chapter six).[1314] Cairns also had a post-secondary education, which enabled her to further disability rights after her sporting career. By April, HAGI's new corporation Independent Living Services for Thunder Bay Inc. came online. The new corporation

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[1307] "Rick and Terry: a special moment with a very special friend," *Chronicle Journal*, January 5, 1987, 13.
[1308] Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion," 1.
[1309] "Dave Koivisto."
[1310] Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion," 1.
[1311] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 11 Feb 1987, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 11 March 1987, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 2.
[1312] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 14 Jan 1987, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1987, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Sept, 1987, 2.
[1313] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 January 1987, 3.
[1314] "Linda Cairns," Northerwestern Ontario Sports Hall of Fame, accessed 23 July 2017, http://nwosportshalloffame.com/inductees/inductee.aspx?id=31.

took control over several of HAGI's housing services, including attendant care delivery at HAGI housing projects, the Thunder Bay and Regional Outreach program, the Teen Independent Living Program, and the ILC. HAGI itself retained control over One Fifty and their satellite SSLUs.[1315]

Nineteen eighty-seven was a big year for the HAGI, as Thunder Bay was chosen as one of six cities in the province to host a two-year pilot project known as the Homelink program. Homelink was a housing registry system that put disabled tenants, looking for housing, in touch with accessible units. In October of 1987, Remo Mancini, the provincial Minister Responsible for Disabled Persons, attended a media event at One Fifty Castlegreen to announce the two year $31,000 grant, which was administered through the new ILC.[1316] According to Boyce et al., as public focus in Canada remained on disability throughout the 1980s, "disability organizations in Canada were high on the federal and provincial governments' social service priorities as part of an expanded social welfare system."[1317] In turn, the provincial and federal governments "set up distinct bureaucratic structures to organize disability policy."[1318] For example, the province of Ontario had an Office of Disability Issues that funded organizations like the HAGI.[1319] In fact, the HAGI used visits from high-profile politicians, from Toronto and Ottawa, to showcase their services. For instance, Koivisto states that:

> We [One Fifty] were show and tell for the government…It was opportunities, we realized that by being on display and showing…allowing the heads of ministries like the Minister of ComSoc would come…[and] it was HAGI's opportunity to provide a show and tell for the various government officials, you know, and we cashed in [with grants] on that. They would come, they would see the facility, they would do their tour, we would provide coffee and goodies, we would cook homemade stuff for them and then they left [and] we

[1315] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 30 1987, 1; HAGI, Independent Living Services for Thunder Bay Inc., Meeting Minutes, 5 Aug 1987, 5; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1987, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1987, 1.
[1316] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Oct 1987, 1.
[1317] Boyce et al., *A Seat at the*, 20.
[1318] Ibid.
[1319] Ibid.

> would apply to, you know, upgrade our computer system or whatever we were trying to get…another housing project…whatever the case may be. We had fun doing it though.[1320]

The HAGI were congenial towards Mancini. To illustrate, Koivisto brought in Marini a HAGI BOD member. Koivisto then introduced the two by stating: "So Remo Mancini meet Irmo Marini;" the pun was a play on both men's Italian heritage.[1321]

The amiable setting provided a good start for the new Homelink program, which was a municipal pilot to help Thunder Bay, along with North Bay, London, Kitchener, London, and Ottawa, better streamline their accessible housing system. Homelink made it easier for PWD to search for accessible housing by "assembling a [master] listing of available [accessible] housing," so that PWD in the city had multiple options to move into.[1322] Through the program, the ILC collected housing data by inquiring of city landlords and various housing agencies as to the accessibility of their existing units. In essence, Homelink was an accessible housing "clearing house with a data base."[1323] In their research, the Office of the Disabled noted complaints from both landlords and tenants; indeed, there were problems matching accessible units with disabled tenants. After the master list was assembled, disabled tenants filled out a survey, indicating their price range, need for transportation, location and unit size etc. The information from this survey was matched against the housing data base, and potential fits were provided to the tenant. According to then-HAGI President of the BOD, Thadeus Weiss, Homelink was "a major breakthrough" since it furthered the HAGI's role at providing greater options for PWD seeking accessible housing.[1324] Homelink became operational in 1988, and included in the ILC.

[1320] "Dave Koivisto."
[1321] Ibid.
[1322] Ross Longbottom, "Homelink program helps disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, October 23, 1987, 11.
[1323] Ibid.
[1324] Ibid.

In the late 1980s, the ILC established a store front operation that provided a variety of independent living services for PWD in Thunder Bay and the surrounding region. With Cairns as facilitator, the ILC set up information and referral services, advocacy, peer counselling, and the Homelink program.[1325] According to Buchan, the ILC fulfilled services that the HAGI was not able to provide and in the process "tried to hire [PWD] as much as possible."[1326] For instance, the HAGI focused on "day-to-day running of direct services like housing, tenant care, and transportation and camping…they [ILC] sort of did the other things like peer support, information referral."[1327] In addition, ILC's were also there "to find what the community's needs [were] for the disabled, [and to] run…pilot project[s.]"[1328] Shannon saw Thunder Bay's ILC as a "real good galvanizing point for getting community, you know, much more community focused and supporting people in their independence journey."[1329] The ILC also expanded into the NWO region hosting self-advocacy workshops in Dryden, and sharing concepts about independent living to indigenous communities.[1330]

The ILC held its 'official' grand opening during the first National Access Awareness Week (NAAW), from May 29th to June 4th, 1988.[1331] NAAW was one of the results of the Rick Hansen tour, and was set up by the Canadian federal government's Disabled Persons Secretariat, in the Secretary of State.[1332] According to Hansen, he wanted "a system to make certain that

[1325] HAGI, Annual General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 9 Dec 1987, 2.
[1326] "Allan Buchan."
[1327] Ibid.
[1328] Ibid.
[1329] "Dave Shannon," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 July 2017.
[1330] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 14.
[1331] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1988, 1.
[1332] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Approach," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 61-62. Within the Secretariat, it was the Disabled Persons Participation Program that directly set up the NAAW.

awareness and access would be ongoing concerns in every community, all over the country."[1333] In the system, which became the NAAW, communities would "study the local situation and give themselves a 'report card'" to both commend and encourage them to continue accessibility initiatives.[1334] Starting in the late 1980s, NAAW was celebrated in many Canadian cities to promote accessibility. Ringaert shows how individual cities dealt with NAAW through a variety of ways, such as through making "public declarations" on accessibility.[1335] In fact, the Canadian Federation of Municipalities created a "Five Star Award" on accessibility that municipalities could strive to attain in: transportation, housing, employment, recreation, and education.[1336] These awards encouraged municipalities to work towards accessibility in these areas; indeed, the city of Thunder Bay won the Five Star Award for Recreation in 1991.[1337] The first NAAW garnered local meeting attention in Thunder Bay, with the *Chronicle Journal* publishing a photo of HAGI BOD President Weiss cutting a ribbon, along with Thunder Bay City Councillor Ken Boshcoff, to kick start the festivities.[1338] The publicity of NAAW allowed the ILC to acquire a full funding package, and it moved to a larger office on 25 Front St. in 1989.[1339] The centre's library (part of the information and referral program) also grew, and included a Braille identification system for the blind. Furthermore, an *Independent Living Newsletter* was created to keep PWD informed of new developments; the newsletter supplemented HAGI's *Spoke'n Word* newsletter. Finally, the ILC created a computer data base, for all of their resources, which could be accessed at the centre or through a home computer (in what was called an electronic bulletin

[1333] Rick Hansen, and Jim Taylor, *Rick Hansen: Man In Motion* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre Inc., 1987), 22.
[1334] Ibid.
[1335] Ringaert, "History of Accessibility," 290-91.
[1336] Ibid., 291.
[1337] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from S. Rogerson to Allan Buchan, 26 June 1991, 1.
[1338] "Official opening," *Chronicle Journal*, June 4, 1988, 17.
[1339] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 4, 13.

board).[1340] Information about disability, accessibility, independent living, and legislation was now at the fingertips for disabled consumers.

The ILC became a big part of HAGI's accessible housing system; however, in order to maintain funding, the ILC was forced to separate from the HAGI. It relocated to Northwood Plaza and became the renamed Independent Living Resource Centre in 2001.[1341] According to Buchan, the CAILC decided, in the 1990s, that ILCs "couldn't provide direct services," which the "HAGI was."[1342] This led to the separation.[1343] Nevertheless, the local ILC continues to be the source for "direct funding dollars" for PWD, while also providing indirect services.[1344]

Reforms in HAGI's Housing System, Late-1980s – Early-1990s

As HAGI grew into a multi-million dollar, non-profit organization in the 1980s, it experienced a certain level of bureaucratization. This fostered distance between HAGI leaders and consumers/tenants in their different accessible housing projects. Initially, when the HAGI formed in the early 1970s, close bonds existed between the people who took the lead, setting up the organization, and those who remained disabled consumers. In fact, Sabeau noted that many early HAGI support care staff had disabilities themselves, which created an empathic environment, as tenants progressed towards independence. However, after the HAGI professionalized itself and established all of its core services, a gradual distancing started to develop, internally, within the organization. Salamon, one of the first HAGI tenants/consumers in One Fifty Castlegreen, began noticing these developments in the late 1980s. Salamon spent

[1340] Ibid., 13.
[1341] "Disability doesn't stand in way: Independent Living Resource Centre officially opens," *Chronicle Journal*, December 2, 1992, 2.
[1342] "Allan Buchan."
[1343] Ibid.
[1344] "Dave Koivisto."

time in One Fifty when its mandate was to teach mostly young disabled people the life and independent living skills needed to re-enter the community. At this time, HAGI leaders, such as Ross, Koivisto, Buchan, and Sabeau, were highly visible and accessible to tenants. Indeed, Weiss' autobiography, *A Prison Within*, details how One Fifty fulfilled a multi-purposed role for disabled people, where they built friendships and established a common community on their journey to independence.[1345] Yet, by 1988, the HAGI's lofty goals for One Fifty were becoming disconnected. There were accounts of tenant concerns being overlooked; HAGI administration lost its connection to tenants. In her position as assistant facilitator of One Fifty in 1988, Salamon, also a social work student, was tasked with creating a HAGI tenant handbook. After having received "very [few] response" from tenants, Salamon dug deeper.[1346] She first visited with tenants, at Superior View, "where [she] was led to believe there were no problems or concerns."[1347] However, Salamon "found many concerns and a certain unwillingness to correct these concerns which disturbed [her.]"[1348] Salamon thus took it upon herself to elicit tenant concerns, and develop a plan of action.

In 1988, Salamon wrote a letter to HAGI Executive Director (Dave Koivisto), filled with several suggestions designed to create improved relationships between HAGI tenants and staff. One of her first suggestions was for the HAGI to rename its 'complaint form' to something along the lines of 'form of concerns.' To Salamon, the change was about semantics, as some tenants were "hesitant to fill one out" because the word 'complaint' had "negative connotations" associated with it.[1349] Salamon discovered this through meeting with three different tenants at

[1345] Weiss, *A Prison Within*.
[1346] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Sandra Salamon to Dave Koivisto Aug 1988, 1.
[1347] Ibid.
[1348] Ibid.
[1349] Ibid.

Superior View. In fact, these tenants were "unwilling to voice [their] concerns to [the] HAGI."[1350] This was "[n]ot because tenants [did] not like their staff leaders" or "did not trust…the facilitator, but because they did not want to 'rock the boat' and risk losing their services" (to accessible housing and attendant care).[1351] This is important, as HAGI tenants were in a power imbalance in regards to HAGI staff. They could even be dismissed for breaching the tenant agreement. Although tenants had to commit an offence in order to be dismissed, there was still reluctance for tenants to articulate their concerns. Salamon believed that one way to rectify this situation was to have more people with a disability "permanently hired to work with tenants," especially those with a social work degree.[1352] If this happened, Salamon believed that tenants would "speak more freely" about their concerns.[1353]

When Salamon was a tenant at One Fifty, in the early 1980s, she had the benefit of working with people such as Ron Ross and Claudette Sabeau and others who had disabilities, or were empathetic to those who had. While Sabeau did not have a disability at the time (she later developed multiple sclerosis), her husband Cliff was an amputee and one of the first tenants in One Fifty; Ross was also a paraplegic. Thus, according to Salamon, these two "had more one-to-one contact with tenants and knew the concerns."[1354] Salamon believed that "[t]his important component does not exist today," and part of the reason for this was that "HAGI [had] become such a large corporation."[1355] Salamon also wanted a "new position" created to "make HAGI run smoother" in mending the relationship with tenants.[1356] She proposed that Koivisto, as Executive

[1350] Ibid.
[1351] Ibid.
[1352] Ibid.
[1353] Ibid.
[1354] Ibid.
[1355] Ibid.
[1356] Ibid., 2.

Director, bring these concerns and recommendations to the HAGI BOD for discussion.[1357] Salamon's concerns were bolstered by a tenant letter, which specifically outlined personal issues with HAGI support staff, as well as larger issues affecting the atmosphere in One Fifty.

On September 9th, 1988, Brian McMinn, a quadriplegic tenant at One Fifty Castlegreen, penned a letter to the HAGI BOD demanding improvements regarding the group dynamics, between HAGI support staff and disabled consumers. The situation came to a head due to a complaint, and counter-complaint, between McMinn and a female HAGI support staff member. The staff member felt "insulted by a comment" made by McMinn.[1358] In turn, she filed a complaint form, while also threatening him with eviction. The staff member also requested an apology, and that he "change [his] behaviour towards staff."[1359] However, McMinn believed that the incident was "only the tip of the ice berg."[1360] According to McMinn, not only did he have an "ongoing personality conflict with the staff member in question," but thought that "an apology [would] not solve the real problem," since it stemmed from the "standard of care provided by support care staff" at One Fifty.[1361] Indeed, McMinn "felt insulted at the provision of care by staff who are not always mature and competent and who sometimes behave and dress in a manner inappropriate to the care being provided."[1362] McMinn further noted that "staff are staff, not family, or personal friends," and believed that there was "some confusion about this."[1363] The One Fifty tenant considered other options, such as requesting that that particular staff member not provide him care, and the possibility of hiring his own attendant care staff. But, his specific

[1357] Ibid., 1.
[1358] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Brian McMinn to HAGI BOD, 9 Sept 1988, 1.
[1359] Ibid.
[1360] Ibid.
[1361] Ibid.
[1362] Ibid.
[1363] Ibid.

requirements prevented it. The whole situation placed him "under great stress," as he knew that "no other appropriate accommodation for [him] in this community" was available for his "level of disability."[1364] McMinn acknowledged that "the complexity of the tenant-staff interaction [was] bound to result in some frustration on both sides."[1365] However, since his "life depend[ed] on these people," McMinn wanted to work with the HAGI, and its support staff, to improve the strained relationship.[1366] In fact, McMinn "firmly believed that [his] behaviour toward staff [would] change when the quality of care improves."[1367] Thus, McMinn provided two recommendations to the HAGI: improving the quality of care for all tenants; and, promoting a more positive working atmosphere in general. For these recommendations to be successful, McMinn wanted to see a staff-management committee that included a tenant, HAGI support staff member, and HAGI executive. He also wanted regular staff training and evaluations, opportunities for staff professional development, and a process to deal with problems directly.[1368]

Salamon's and McMinn's concerns were not one-offs, as Shannon and Marini, two up and coming HAGI leaders, also noted similar discord in HAGI's accessible housing system. Shannon, himself a former tenant at One Fifty and Glenwood Court, was growing into a strong disabled advocate in the late 1980s. In regards to the tenant-staff relationship, he observed that:

> leadership [HAGI,] it didn't take them long to want to suppress the voice of the consumer who is receiving services from them directly. So, on one hand, they still wanted to be community or public advocates, but they created a model that did in fact limit choice for the individual receiving services. [It] became more about scheduling basically…scheduling to get your jacket on and off, scheduling over and over. If there was interpersonal conflict between consumer and the caregivers, of attendant care attendants, they would frequently side with the attendants because there was a power imbalance. There were more attendants and that was even pre-union. More attendants and

[1364] Ibid.
[1365] Ibid.
[1366] Ibid.
[1367] Ibid.
[1368] Ibid., 2.

> the consumer was receiving…was afraid to be denied services if there was a conflict. So that's a huge power imbalance.[1369]

Shannon further revealed that:

> To a person in [HAGI's satellite buildings,] it was…it was alright [independent living.] For the most part it approximated a normal apartment. One Fifty Castlegreen had a much stronger sense of being institutional living, and it was supposed to be transitional housing from institution to independent living. But, much depended on…and you had a…the domineering force was still the fact that there were 15 people on staff and often that really, although it was supposed to be independent living…created a very anti-independence power imbalance. I'll give you an example, if they [personal attendants] thought collectively…frequently the staff would start to gossip and chatter amongst each other and they get into what can only be described as a group think…fixed conclusion, and if they decided a consumer should do their own dishes, even though they could not… they had some physical ability, but did not have physical ability to do their own dishes, but they should do the dishes or they should not get cookies baked then, they would just refuse it or be so entirely insubordinate that the tension created in your own home was not worth even asking that. And…so that played out, those two examples played out with frequency in a host of daily activities, and so you always had to be on guard for the unhappy issue of the day, I guess you'd call it.[1370]

Similarly, Marini, in describing his experience at Glenwood Court, revealed that HAGI attendant staff seemed to value tenants who had "education" or "higher levels of intellect whichever you choose, the staff seemed to favour us over the ones that did have those types of problems."[1371] Marini further stated that at the time, "a lot of the personal care attendants…they would come and tell me their problems, so it would be an interesting inter-dependent symbiosis between [us,] they helped me physically and [told] me their problems, and I kind of help[ed] them with their problems."[1372] This balancing act between disabled consumers and support staff has been discussed in Disability Studies literature. In Yoshida et al.'s 2006 "The Emergence of Attendant Services in Ontario," the authors identify the "shortcomings" in the attendant care program,

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[1369] "Dave Shannon."
[1370] Ibid.
[1371] "Irmo Marini."
[1372] Ibid.

which include services not being "portable" and there being "no choice of attendants."[1373] Rembis also notes that disabled consumers had to bridge the gap between privacy and inviting "the state and waged workers into their homes creating an environment that was at once public and private, often in complex and occasionally damaging ways."[1374] Grace Chang elaborates on the relationship further by bringing out the perspectives of support staff and their "need for more hours of work" and the "physically, mentally, and emotionally demanding nature of [it.][1375]

Salamon's and McMinn's letters were discussed at a September 13th, 1988, HAGI BOD meeting where members agreed to change the culture in HAGI's housing system; however, reforms were pushed back due to changes in HAGI's leadership.[1376] At this same BOD meeting, Buchan accepted Ross' former Co-Executive Directorship, in order to serve jointly with Koivisto. As Buchan was transitioning out as HAGI's fourth Housing Administrator, it was left up to his replacement to implement the reforms, which included regular consumer/support staff retreats and the option of choosing and hiring one's own attendant care staff.[1377] By November of 1988, a full scale job search was initiated. Ads were placed in the *Chronicle Journal*, the *Globe and Mail*, all Canadian ILC newsletters, and the Office of the Disabled, and the position was filled a month later by Floyd Balius.[1378] The 39 year old Balius previously lived in Ceylon, Saskatchewan, and became physically disabled there through a car/train accident in 1967. After the accident, Balius moved to Regina and took up employment with Saskatchewan Housing. In this position he oversaw a September 1986 survey of all "disabled housing" in that city; this

[1373] Yoshida et al., "The Emergence of Self-Managed," 315.
[1374] Rembis, "Introduction", 6.
[1375] Grace Chang, "Inevitable Intersections: Care, Work, and Citizenship," in *Disability and Society Policy in Canada 2nd ed*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 174-175.
[1376] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 13 Sept 1988, 4.
[1377] Ibid., 1.
[1378] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 8 Nov 1988, 1.

survey spurred new accessible housing projects.[1379] Balius' background in housing impressed HAGI executives, and he was hired to oversee HAGI's housing reforms starting in January of 1989.[1380] However, Balius lasted less than a year in his new position, and was unable to implement the reforms. This led to the hiring of HAGI's sixth Housing Administrator, Rick Miles, who moved over from his position as HAGI-Transit Manager (see chapter four). Miles and Buchan oversaw housing reforms in the early 1990s, through regular spring and fall retreats. The retreats were a way for both HAGI support staff and consumers to freely talk about concerns, while also developing professionalism and a stronger holistic working environment.[1381]

As one problem resolved itself, another reared its head. By the 1990s, One Fifty Castlegreen was losing its mandate as a transitional house for disabled people, due to provincial funding cuts instituted by the new provincial Progressive Conservative government of Mike Harris. By 1994, HAGI acquired its second completely owned and operated accessible housing apartment Jasper (One Fifty was the other). The Jasper project provided a further 22 accessible units at 1201 Jasper Drive, and was the brain child of HAGI Executive Director Buchan.[1382] Buchan received full funding under the generous Bob Rae NDP government (1990-1995), and was extremely happy to complete the project in time, as "Mike Harris [came in 1995 and] killed everything. The NDP gave us the money to build Jasper and we just got the contract signed before Mike Harris got elected."[1383] Buchan was relieved that the contract was:

> legal [so] that they couldn't pull out. He [Harris] cancelled all the housing grants, our [HAGI] programs…because we had gotten in under the wire and got everything signed

[1379] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence fromto Floyd Balius, 6 Nov 1988, 1; "Floyd Balius," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 5 Aug 2017, https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ChronicleJournal/obituary.aspx?page=lifestory& pid=173981791.
[1380] Ibid.
[1381] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1990, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Memorandum, 8 Aug 1990, 1-2.
[1382] Nancy Doetzel, "HAGI apartments opened," *Thunder Bay Post*, November 15, 1994, 2.
[1383] "Allan Buchan."

> and sealed, he had to live with the program because everyone was signed up. Like our neighbour, the Church, beside Jasper there, they own a big piece of property between us and the Church. They were going to put an apartment building up there. And, they applied on the same program [as the HAGI,] but they were just a little behind before they got approved, Harris cut it out.[1384]

Besides housing HAGI consumers, Jasper became HAGI's new centralized headquarters and led to the concentration of several disability organizations under one roof, such as the local CPA, the TBDIWSG, and PUSH North West (see chapter five); the OMOD and HAGI's ILC remained at 244 Camelot Street.[1385] As Buchan reveals, the continued funding cuts by the Harris government quashed further accessible housing developments. This led to One Fifty changing its mandate from transitional housing into permanent housing. Susan Ward sums up the change as follows:

> Now people move in there [One Fifty], and they just stay, which is unfortunate because we used to, you used to go there and stay for a year or two, learn skills and then move out into the larger part of the community, which made them build more accessible housing, but now people go there and they just stay there and there's no, there's no unit that people can come in and try out for a month or two.[1386]

This situation was quite ironic as the 1970s, '80s and early '90s were a high point for the disability rights movement in Canada. Indeed, Galer describes the shift, arguing that "[b]y the mid-1990s a 'common sense' revolution [Mike Harris] rolled across Canada, effectively terminating the existing relationship between the state and disability activism by closing special offices and disbanding committees."[1387] The HAGI has acquired additional accessible units after Jasper, but they have been few and far between.[1388] For retired HAGI officials, such as Koivisto, there is still a huge need for local accessible housing in the 21st century.

[1384] Ibid.
[1385] Doetzel, "HAGI apartments opened," 2.
[1386] "Susan Ward."
[1387] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 174.
[1388] Sandi Krasowski, "Units give people choices in life: McKellar Place home to supported-living apartments," *Chronicle Journal*, November 27, 2014, A3. In 2014, HAGI acquired over one dozen units at McKellar Place, but these have to be shared amongst a host of other local disability and social service organizations.

To solve the current (2019) accessible housing need in Thunder Bay, Koivisto believes that young disabled consumers are best served following the example set by the HAGI from the 1970s to early 1990s. Many of HAGI's original members have died or retired in the 21st century, the organization is in need of an injection of new blood. Gino Sonego posits that HAGI is:

> only as strong as its members, and the people that are on the boards...I mean, I think what I've seen happen is that back when they [HAGI] first started, they had a strong board, strong members and I'm referring to the Dave Koivisto's, and the Ron Ross', those individuals back then and they were really active and over time they've gotten tired and they've moved on and so the new people on the board maybe aren't as active.[1389]

Koivisto's answer to this predicament is that:

> when we talk about this at 150, there at the meeting,…or at the board meeting, I'd say put out a new thing and anybody that is presently in need of housing and is physically disabled and we have lists too that we can contact by mail. Come out to a public meeting and we'll see who comes out you know. We'll see if people want to get involved, set up a little subcommittee and if you have this subcommittee that wants to plan for their housing future, it will happen. It will happen tomorrow because there's money…there's always going to be some money available, somewhere through government, but unless there's, you know, a body that's first of all willing to put these people together, secondly, if the people are willing to get together, then you have to have the follow up and work with this group to carry through and get what you want. You have to have the smarts to know where to do it and everything, which we have…HAGI has that, it's just the people behind it, you know. It still can keep happening, you just got to…people got to want it and if they don't want it, it ain't going to happen.[1390]

The regrowth of the local disability activist scene is needed in the 21st century to continue to improve accessible housing in Thunder Bay and NWO. Indeed, the HAGI's playbook during its first 20 years provides a good model of how a social movement develops and matures. Although the circumstances are surely different, younger activists will benefit from reviewing HAGI's goals and strategies in promoting accessible housing from the 1970s to the early '90s.

[1389] "Gino Sonego."
[1390] "Dave Koivisto."

CH. 4 "Is transportation a right or a privilege?": The Creation and Operation of HAGI-Transit in the City of Thunder Bay, 1972-1992[1391]

Since its creation in 1975 by the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI) as a parallel accessible transportation system, HAGI-Transit had a liberating effect on the city of Thunder Bay's disabled population, opening up the city to them.[1392] Disability scholars are universal in their assessment that "transportation remains one of the key barriers" preventing PWD from community integration.[1393] In fact, historically, North American cities had "design assumptions" that excluded disabled people through a system of stairs, and other inaccessible features, which also extended to the transportation system.[1394] Without accessible and affordable transportation, it was "virtually impossible" for people with disabilities (PWD), especially those with severe physical disabilities, to participate in the community beyond the institution.[1395] Thus, barriers to transportation were one of the first issues disability advocacy organizations challenged in the 1970s.

[1391] In April of 1975, Joana Paulionis, a district nurse with the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, asked the question of whether "transportation [was] a right or a privilege?" This was in response to her personal dealings with disabled patients, who had trouble using traditional forms of transportation. See "Handy transit: Local group avoided missionary approach," *Lakehead Living*, April 23, 1975, 11.

[1392] Until it incorporated in 1975, the organization was known simply as the Handicapped Action Group; HAGI-Transit was initially known as Handi-Transit until the HAGI incorporated it as HAGI-Transit in 1983; Both HAGI and HAGI-Transit will be used in this chapter. See: "125 Years of Transit Web Exhibit – Amalgamation: United Two Systems 1970s-1990s – Handi-Transit," City of Thunder Bay, accessed 20 Sept 2017, http://www.thunderbay.ca/City_Government/City_Records_and_ Archives/Web_Exhibits /125_Years_of_Transit/Amalgamation__Uniting_Two_Systems_1970s-1990s/Handi-Transit.htm?

[1393] Ravi Malhotra & Morgan Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity and Disability Rights Through Narratives: Finding a Voice of Their Own* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 125.

[1394] Laurence Parent, "Je me souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 209; April D'Aubin, "Making Federally Regulated Transportation Systems Accessible to Persons with Disabilities," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada 2nd*.,eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 372.

[1395] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 125; April D'Aubin, "We Will Ride: A Showcase of CCD Advocacy Strategies in Support of Accessible Transportation," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 88.

The 1867 *British North America Act* (BNA) divided transportation jurisdiction between the federal and the provincial governments. While the federal government oversees air, rail, marine, and some inter-provincial bus transportation, the provincial governments manage urban mass transit, taxis, and private automobile transportation. Thus, the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH) focused on making changes at the federal level, and local disability advocacy groups did the same at the municipal and provincial levels.[1396] In Thunder Bay, HAGI-Transit originated from one of the recommendations of the Lakehead Social Planning Council's (Planning Council) 1972 *Disability Research Report* (DRR). However, it was not an easy endeavour. Although developing around the same time as some of the accessible transportation systems in larger Ontario cities, HAGI-Transit had a rough start, as it was excluded from the province's, two year, five-city, provincially-funded accessible transportation pilot project begun in the late 1970s. This meant that until the pilot was completed, and a provincial-municipal cost-sharing agreement was in place, HAGI-Transit, under the leadership of Floyd James (1975-1979), had to make its own financial arrangements with local service groups, municipal council, and the federal government to stay afloat. The majority of these funds were short-term, which nearly quashed HAGI-Transit several times in its first three years of operation.

As was the case with the One Fifty project, grassroots campaigns by the HAGI and their supporters kept the parallel accessible transportation system afloat with municipal funding. HAGI-Transit grew from one accessible van, operating out of a small office at 112 North St., to a service operating three vans, and employing a staff of seven by 1977. However, the continued need for municipal funding resulted in a full-scale City review of the service. The 1977 City of Thunder Bay's operational review of HAGI-Transit led to the appointment of an 11-person

[1396] D'Aubin, "Making Federally Regulated," 371, 375-77; D'Aubin, "We Will Ride," 87-118.

Advisory Committee to help oversee and professionalize the accessible transportation service. By 1979, the Committee's recommendations were put into place, and HAGI-Transit's embarked on its period of professionalization. Its second manager, Allan Buchan (1979-83), presided over new policies and procedures, larger facilities and additional vans, a 50/50 municipal-provincial cost sharing agreement, transportation contracts, and the service's incorporation.

HAGI-Transit continued to expand under its next three managers, Rick Miles (1983-86; 87-90), Darrell Sanderson (1986-1987), and John Holmwood (1990-92). However, a June 1987 HAGI-Transit employee dispute halted services to disabled people. Not only did the job action show that there was a need for greater employee rights, but it demonstrated how important HAGI-Transit was becoming to the city's disabled. Although this dispute was resolved, to the benefit of passengers and employees, it did not solve the unionization issue, which persisted until employees unionized in 1991. By the early 1990s, HAGI-Transit had become a powerful division of HAGI, with 15 vehicles that made an average of 7,000 monthly trips.[1397] HAGI-Transit continued until 2014 when it was amalgamated, as Lift +, into the City of Thunder Bay's transit division. To the PWD it served, HAGI Transit was more than an accessible transportation service: it was the means for them to have a second lease on life in a growing accessible city. In addition to HAGI-Transit, HAGI and its allies also won access to 'no-parking' signs in front of disabled households, reduced municipal transit fees, accessibility upgrades to City transit buses, and disabled parking privileges. Through all of this activity, the HAGI contributed to the breaking down of ableism and inaccessibility in the transportation sphere, which allowed PWD to re-enter the community by becoming ever more integrated citizens.

[1397] Colleen Baxter, "New Transit service for handicapped – broadened and made more flexible," *Chronicle Journal*, May 24, 1991, 15; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1991, 18.

'No-Parking' Signs, Reduced Transit Fares, and Accessible Parking for PWD, 1972-1990

Providing accessible transportation to the city of Thunder Bay's disabled, through HAGI-Transit, was a long, hard fought, battle, but before that story can be told, it is important to briefly outline three other inter-related developments regarding transportation for PWD. In the DRR, four out of the 39 recommendations presented to the three levels of government in Canada, including the municipality of Thunder Bay, centered on accessible transportation rights. About a year later the City of Toronto, through the Task Force on the Disabled and Elderly, produced a similar report that also outlined the need for "improved access" to transportation; this resulted in efforts that created Toronto's Wheel-Trans.[1398] The DRR recommendations for transportation were as follows: that the City of Thunder Bay enact a reduced public transit fee for disabled people; that various social assistance programs increase their transportation supplement for PWD; that Thunder Bay Transit make alterations to their bus fleet so that disabled people could access them (lowering the first step by about six inches); and, that the Municipal Transit department create, and operate, a parallel accessible van system that PWD could use "on a call basis."[1399] During the 1970s and '80s, HAGI worked to actualize the above four recommendations. Arguably, their most important contribution was the creation of HAGI-Transit in early 1975. When HAGI was created, in August of 1972, providing accessible transportation was one of two foundational services that the group built their organization around. The other was accessible housing, and these two services were "first[s] for Thunder Bay" when they were developed in the mid-decade (see chapter two and three for accessible housing).[1400] Before the creation of HAGI-Transit, HAGI and its allies addressed a couple other transportation issues:

[1398] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 159.
[1399] Lakehead Social Planning Council (LSPC), *Disability Research Report*, July 1972, v-vi, 60-61.
[1400] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1974, 21.

reduced bus fares for disabled transit users, and accessible parking. These issues were solved through the collaboration of the HAGI, the Happy Handicaps, and Thunder Bay City Council. In the latter, Dr. Anten, a disabled Councillor at Large, played an early prominent role, as a conduit between City officials and the disability community.

In 1973, the Happy Handicaps successfully lobbied for a lower bus fare of 25 cents to 10 cents for disabled transit users who had the mobility to use regular transit.[1401] At the time, 22, out of its 75, members used City transit and in spite of some initial pushback by City Transit Manager S. L. Bishop, the "sympathetic" City Council led by Dr. Anten approved the change in mid-1974.[1402] According to Allan Buchan, having somebody with a disability on Council, in the 1970s, "helped move a lot of the policies…moved the city way ahead of the rest of the province when it came to disability issues."[1403] By the spring of 1983, City Transit created a special 20-ride disabled transit pass at a reduced price.[1404]

Cabs were the other primary means of transportation for PWD in Thunder Bay.[1405] Reaume quotes a patient at Toronto's Lyndhurst Hospital who attributed the lack of accessible transportation options for disabled people, at this time, to the "built environment in Toronto and probably everywhere [else] that didn't take the[ir] needs…into account."[1406] Laurence Parent refers to it as the "walking ableist society."[1407] For Parent, Montreal's inaccessible Métro of the

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[1401] "Matter of Precedents Comes Up In Dealing With Handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, September 12, 1973, 3; "Transit System Gearing For Exact Fare System," *Chronicle Journal*, April 11, 1974, 1; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 7 May 1973, 20; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 11 June 1973, 22; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services Meeting Minutes, 10 Sept 1973, 32.
[1402] "Matter of Precedents," 3.
[1403] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March 2017.
[1404] "Transit: good news and bad," *Chronicle Journal*, April 29, 1983, 19.
[1405] "Gaston Bolduc," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 April 2017.
[1406] Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries, 1945-1998* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 140.
[1407] Parent, "Je me souviens," 207.

1960s, was a public space where "segregation was inscribed" through stairs and other inaccessible features.[1408] For a fully accessible society, Peter Freund argues that there has to be a "universal recognition that all structures and all activities have to be built and all activities have to be organized for the widest ranges of human abilities."[1409] Indeed, Parent provocatively argues that the inaccessible Métro also denied disabled Montrealers citizenship, and excluded them from their place in Quebec's Quiet Revolution.[1410] The City of Montreal did have a retrofitted bus, with an attached ramp, provided by a branch of the Canadian Legion, but Parent notes that the word "special" on the side of the bus demonstrated the "segregation between abnormal and special users" of transit.[1411] Accessible parking was another issue that had to be addressed.

An American, Jerry Kittle, invented hand controls for vehicles in the 1950s. Some of HAGI's early leaders, such as Susan Ward, Ron Ross, Gaston Bolduc, and Terry Bellavance had vehicles with hand controls.[1412] The problem was that Thunder Bay lacked accessible parking. Firstly, in the early 1970s and after receiving complaints from disabled people about cars being parked in front of their residences, the HAGI lobbied City Council for a 'no-parking' policy. This went into effect in October of 1973; however, the signs were not enforceable. Full enforceability would not come until Ontario performed a province-wide overhaul of accessible parking in1990 (see below).[1413] Secondly, a lack of accessible parking in the downtown and

[1408] Ibid., 209-210, 216.
[1409] Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 704.
[1410] Parent, "Je me souviens," 209-210, 216.
[1411] Ibid., 209.
[1412] "History," Handicaps Inc., accessed 29 Aug 2017, http://www.handicapsinc.com/history; "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[1413] Thunder Bay (TB) City Council, Policy Committee No. 1 Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Sanitation and Waste, Meeting Minutes, 5 Feb 1973, 18; "Signs Advocated To Aid Handicapped," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 5, 1973, 13; "Committee Backs Handicap Idea," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 6, 1973, 13; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1 Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Sanitation and Waste, Meeting Minutes, 12 March 1973, 25; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 1 Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Sanitation and Waste, Meeting Minutes, 30 April 1973, 37; TB City Council, Policy

business areas forced PWD to park a fair distance away, creating a double standard. Various requests for accessible parking resulted in the issue being brought to the attention of City officials in January of 1974. W. Lysak, the Branch Manager of the Monarch Life Assurance Company, sent a letter and a copy of recently enacted disabled parking legislation from the cities of Duluth and Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Thunder Bay's City Engineer Tom Fell and the city solicitor for review.[1414] After reviewing the legislation, in March, the two men recommended to City Council that a similar by-law be passed in Thunder Bay.[1415] That November, the city solicitor prepared a, comprehensive, report ordering that a draft by-law be prepared to establish accessible parking spots, "in several principal locations throughout the business areas of the city."[1416] Before legislation was passed, City Councillors formed a special By-law Committee, consisting of Dr. Anten, Councillor of Port Arthur, D. O'Gorman, the Administer of Grandview Lodge Home for the Aged, W. Lysak, H. Lemarquand, the City engineer, one representative from the City's Parking Authority, and Floyd James, a member of the HAGI, and soon-to-be Manager of the HAGI-Transit.[1417] Although the Committee was set up to review the matter, and to come up with recommendations for new accessible parking legislation, no new legislation was passed.

Less than a year later, the situation came to a head when Bellavance made a public protest in provincial court over the fact that he had received numerous parking tickets in the business areas of Thunder Bay, due to lack of accessible parking. He accumulated these parking

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Committee No. 1 Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Sanitation and Waste, Meeting Minutes, 1 Oct 1973, 82.

[1414] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services Meeting Minutes, 14 Jan 1974, 1.

[1415] Tb City Council, Policy Committee No. 1 Protection of Persons and Property, Public Works, Sanitation Policy Communication, Meeting Minutes, 4 March 1974, 16-17.

[1416] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 12 Nov 1974, 36.

[1417] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 9 Dec 1974, 40.

tickets as the result of meetings with government officials to advance the Castlegreen accessible housing projects. The problem for Bellavance was that the government agencies he was dealing with had offices in "so-called public buildings" that were completely inaccessible to wheelchairs.[1418] With the use of hand controls, Bellavance drove his own car; however, the inability to locate adequate parking for the meetings caused him problems. Usually having to park a distance away from said buildings, Bellavance was denied the proper meter time, as he had to wait for people to lift him up the stairs. These time lags, combined with the resulting difficulty of exiting the buildings to refill the meter, meant that he racked up dozens of parking tickets. Bellavance took a stand in front of Justice of the Peace Paul Maki to explain that the reason for his many tickets was the fact that a lot public buildings "[were not] accessible to wheelchairs."[1419] To add insult to injury, the new provincial court house, opened in 1974, was also not accessible, and Bellavance had to be carried up the stairs by three men, including two police officers. According to Bellavance's wife, Alice, the event "was very much staged, but it was very effective, and the judge threw all the parking tickets out."[1420] Bellavance was still chastised by the judge, but used the platform to take on inaccessibility.

After the incident, Bellavance lambasted architectural barriers and the lack of accessible parking to the local media. According to the social movement theory concept of resource mobilization, social movement leaders use strategies and tactics to bring issues to the attention of the greater community. Seeking media attention is one way leaders try to address their issues and

[1418] Don Smith, "Access To City Buildings, Parking Problems Says Handicapped Rep," *Chronicle Journal*, November 13, 1975, 1.
[1419] Ibid.
[1420] "Alice Bellavance."

concerns.[1421] Bellavance's criticisms resulted in reporters contacting government officials, and inquiring on current policy regarding accessibility. Bellavance felt he was "convicted in the criminal division of the district court for violation of a law which I am physically incapable of upholding."[1422] He further retorted that the law "discriminate[d]" against him because of his inability to physically go back and forth to put money in the meter.[1423] Indeed, these were spaces that celebrated "walkism," or the "normative expectation that someone can walk and climb stairs."[1424] This was unfair, especially since the HAGI, and others, had fought for accessible parking privileges in the downtown and business sections of the city, and even a prepaid parking system. In regards to both proposals, "nothing [had] been done," and Bellavance believed the situation boiled down to a "human rights" issue.[1425] This was even more so as the HAGI Housing Coordinator had "received assurances from the former provincial member for Fort William [Jim Jessiman]" that the new court house would be accessible.[1426] The local newspaper contacted John Harrison, the Regional Director for the Ministry of Government Services, to clarify the government's position. Although Harrison noted that new legislation was in the works to mandate the accessibility of public buildings, the Regional Director admitted that older buildings were still a problem, in that some required extensive renovations for them to be accessible. When questioned on the inaccessibility of the new court house, Harrison said that it would "probably need an elevator;" in his opinion this would be "very costly."[1427]

[1421] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 56; William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 32.
[1422] Smith, "Access To City Buildings," 1.
[1423] Ibid.
[1424] Parent, "Je me souviens," 211; Michael Oliver, *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 96-98, 108.
[1425] Smith, "Access To City Buildings," 1.
[1426] Ibid.
[1427] Ibid.

In May 1976, after two and a half years of lobbying, disabled people received parking stickers that gave them enhanced parking privileges in the city of Thunder Bay. Shortly after Bellavance's protest, the Municipal By-law Committee decided that the City's Parking Authority would monitor the "identifying" of disabled parking stickers to prevent abuses.[1428] Firstly, in order to receive a sticker, a qualification system was established, which included: use of hand controls to drive; a medical note from a doctor; and, the use of external aides like crutches or wheelchairs. Secondly, the Committee toured the city to determine a list of public parking spots to be designated for PWD. Thirdly, a series of letters were sent, to shopping malls, medical clinics, schools, and recreational areas, urging these places to designate accessible parking spaces.[1429] Bellavance, and others, finally had access to accessible parking privileges.

However, by the early 1980s, this system saw high levels of abuse, as some able-bodied drivers ignored the designated spots, and parked in them anyway. Several letters to the editor of the *Chronicle Journal* and complaints to the City's Parking Authority created public pressure until the province, in an attempt to rectify the problem, began issuing special disabled license plates in 1983.[1430] The intent behind the plates was to "make identification of vehicles entitled to use reserved parking areas" easier for Parking Authority officials.[1431] In spite of the plates, the complaints persisted, causing Koivisto to address the issue at a September 1986, HAGI General Membership Meeting.[1432] Soon after the meeting, the HAGI Co-Executive Director sent a letter

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[1428] City of Thunder Bay (CTB) Archives, Series 117, 26902, Public Works, Traffic Studies: Special Parking Privileges for Handicapped People Correspondence from Tom Fell to R.E. Wainio, 11 May 1976, 1, TB City Council, Meeting Minutes, 3 May 1976, 1.
[1429] Ibid.
[1430] Dan Bauchman, "Drivers ignore handicap signs," *Chronicle Journal*, October 20, 1979, 1; Linda Nielsen, "Handicaps' parking," *Chronicle Journal*, January 28, 1983, 4; "Special for handicapped drivers," *Chronicle Journal*, December 26, 1981, 32; "Licence plates for the disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, February 1, 1983, 2.
[1431] "License plates for," 2.
[1432] Rick Reid, "Parking is abused," *Chronicle Journal*, December 22, 1984, 5; HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 23 Sept 1986, 1-5.

to F. D. Brown, the Manager of the City's Parking Authority, outlining "the misuse of designated wheelchair parking spots…[especially] at malls."[1433] Koivisto advised Brown that he was aware of current enforcement methods, such as fines, but that many drivers were not getting the message. Koivisto's message to HAGI members, whenever they encountered the problem, was to simply "contact the authorities" whether it be security or a manager.[1434]

During the next two years, the City of Thunder Bay worked with the HAGI to develop a new enforceable, and standardized, system for accessible parking, which coincided with the new 1990 provincial disabled parking system. In 1988, two years after Koivisto's letter to Brown, the City established an Accessible Parking Committee, composed of Brown and various representatives from local social service organizations including the HAGI, "to "review the parking [situation] within the city."[1435] Results indicated that there "was a shortfall of parking spaces for the handicapped," especially in strategic locations.[1436] In turn, the Committee worked with malls, hospitals, medical clinics, and other private facilities to develop increased accessible parking spaces, while also combatting the practice of illegal parking in these spaces. As well, enhanced criteria were included on the form to receive the new parking permit, including medical documentation of type disability, and a request section for a no-parking sign outside of ones' residence. After satisfying such criteria, the disabled person received one of two permits. If they drove themselves, they received a permanent one, while if they had a driver drive for them, a temporary permanent was issued, only to be used in the service of transporting that disabled

[1433] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to F. D. Brown, 7 Oct 1986, 1.
[1434] Ibid.
[1435] Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 74-49, B299298, Correspondence from F.D. Brown to Remo Mancini, 18 Aug 1988, 1.
[1436] Ibid., 1-2

person. By August 18th, 1988, the City had issued some 1,800 permits, and believed the system was working adequately.[1437]

The province was also instituting similar accessible parking enforcement measures, which came into effect in 1990. One of the recommendations of the Ontario Advisory Council for Disabled Persons' 1987 accessible transportation guidebook, *The Freedom to Move is Life Itself* was for the province to institute portable disabled parking permits.[1438] Remo Mancini, the Minister Responsible for Disabled Persons along with other government officials, used the recommendation to develop a new system. He sent a July 27th, 1988, letter to all the heads of municipal governments, in the province, outlining the new accessible parking program. The government wanted the system to be "consistent across the province."[1439] In turn, the letter urged municipal officials to pass enforceable local by-laws; the new system came into effect on May 1st, 1990.[1440] The new program scrapped the disabled licence plate system in favour of a portable permit system. The reasoning behind the change was that some felt the licence plate discriminated against those who did not have a vehicle. Furthermore, there was a safety concern, as the international disability symbol, which was on the plate, could "bring…one's disability to the attention of persons with criminal intent."[1441] The new permit guaranteed preferential parking in the province, while "also control[ing] abuse of parking privileges by persons who are not disabled."[1442] Mancini's letter was forwarded to Thunder Bay Mayor Jack Masters who then sent it to Brown. Brown composed a subsequent letter to Mancini, stating that the "Parking Authority

[1437] Ibid.
[1438] Ontario Advisory Council for Disabled Persons (OACDP), *Annual Report*, 1989-90, 19-20.
[1439] AO, RG 74-49, B299298, Correspondence from Remo Mancini to All Heads of Municipal Council, 27 July 1988, 2; OACDP, *Annual Report*, 1989-90, 19.
[1440]Ibid.
[1441] Ibid; OACDP, *Annual Report*, 1989-90, 19.
[1442] Ibid.

in Thunder Bay has been one of the leaders in Ontario in establishing a program for handicapped parking within the confines of the city."[1443] Brown then went on to explain the recent refinements to the City's accessible parking system, noting that they were very similar to the province's new parking program, and "working very well."[1444] Brown stated that he would fully ensure the Thunder Bay system complied with the new provincial system.[1445] The HAGI's advocacy along with their collaboration with other disability groups, and stakeholders, resulted in accessible parking rights. This was another step away from "dis-citizenship" for disability community towards greater substantive citizenship.[1446]

Transportation Options for PWD Prior to HAGI-Transit, 1970-1975

Prior to HAGI-Transit, several other types of transportation options were available to PWD; they all had their limitations. These included the Thunder Bay Homes for the Aged Bus, the Harmony Place accessible van, and the Planning Council's Volunteer Bureau service. The Thunder Bay Homes for the Aged retro-fitted bus was used to transport residents to various activities around the city. This bus, briefly described in chapter one, was donated to the city by Iron Range Bus Lines.[1447] It was similar to the retro-fitted bus in Montreal, which Parent describes as "the first initiative addressing the mobility needs of some wheelchair users" in that city.[1448] Although it was primarily used for residents, the Homes for the Aged bus was rented out by other organizations, such as the HAGI and Lakehead Rehab. It was also used to bring

[1443] AO, RG 74-49, B299298, Correspondence from F.D. Brown letter to Remo Mancini, 18 Aug 1988, 1.
[1444] Ibid.
[1445] Ibid.
[1446] Parent, "Je me souviens," 210; Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1-2.
[1447] "Bus For Aged Donated," *News-Chronicle*, August 20, 1970, 1.
[1448] Parent, "Je me souviens," 209.

disabled voters to election polls in the first half of the 1970s.[1449] By late 1974, the price to rent the bus became a concern, and this resulted in discussion with the City on subsidization. In October of 1974, Elizabeth Peters, a social worker at St. Joseph's General Hospital, wrote a letter to Thunder Bay the City Clerk, D.B. Morris, and City Council, with a request that the City subsidize the bus for disabled trips. In the letter, Peters spoke about the positive impact the bus had in transporting disabled people to recreational activities around the city. The hospital had conducted research and found that participation in recreational activities had a "positive effect" on disabled people.[1450] As a result, they began increasing these trips in the 1973-74 hospital year.[1451] Parent refers to the "Great Exit," of the 1960s and '70s, when deinstitutionalization freed many disabled people "trapped" in hospitals, and other facilities, but notes that "without transportation," it was difficult to fully participate.[1452] Peters' concern was that, once discharged, the disabled person would "become isolated within their own homes."[1453] Thus, it was vital to set up a good recreational routine, while people were still in the hospital.[1454]

Peters' letter identified two serious transportation concerns that hindered St. Joseph's recreational outings for disabled people. Firstly, the hospital used the Harmony House accessible van, but this van was only available after 5pm. It was only able to transport three people at a time, which proved quite inefficient.[1455] To illustrate, during a July 1974 trip to "the entertainment vein of the community," the last disabled person was not delivered back until

[1449] "Handicapped Voters Get Special Transportation," *Chronicle Journal*, November 28, 1974, 3.
[1450] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from Elizabeth Peters to D.B. Morris, 25 Oct 1974, 1-3.
[1451] Ibid.
[1452] Parent, "Je me souviens," 214.
[1453] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from Elizabeth Peters to D.B. Morris, 25 Oct 1974, 1-3.
[1454] Ibid.
[1455] Ibid.

11:45pm at night.[1456] The Homes for the Aged bus sat 40 people, and/or 14 wheelchairs, but the problem with the bus was that the City charged $7/hour, and an additional 40 cents a mile. This proved expensive, many of the users were on social assistance, and the trips were organized on a volunteer basis. In fact, three different trips in 1974 - a BBQ, a swim, and an Ontario March of Dimes (OMOD) wheelchair clinic - respectively cost $42.70, $38, and $100.[1457] Koivisto, the President of the HAGI and coordinator of the OMOD Ability Centre where the wheelchair clinics were held, wrote a letter of support for Peters. Koivisto lamented the fact that although the OMOD offered its services free of charge, including all wheelchair repairs, transportation to the event still cost $100.[1458] Peters wanted to see the City offer its bus "free of charge to handicapped groups."[1459] The City Clerk replied that the matter would be discussed at an upcoming Council meeting.[1460] Interestingly, the November 1974 City Council meeting was held around the same time that HAGI-Transit was getting off the ground. All information available suggests that the City passed the buck to the HAGI, and its new accessible transportation service.[1461]

The Harmony Place accessible van and the Planning Council's Volunteer Bureau service were the two remaining transportation options. The Harmony Place van, purchased in 1972

[1456] Ibid; "Handicaps Attend Theatre Performance," *Chronicle Journal*, July 31, 1974, 20.
[1457] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped , Correspondence from Elizabeth Peters to D.B. Morris, 25 Oct 1974, 1-3.
[1458] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to the City of Thunder Bay, Oct 1974, 1.
[1459] "Handicaps Seek Bus Service," *Chronicle Journal*, November 19, 1974, 3.
[1460] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from D.B. Morris to Elizabeth Peters, 25 Oct 1974, 1; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 3 Recreation and Community Services Meeting Minutes, 18 Nov 1974, 57.
[1461] Lakehead University (LU) Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 2, Files 39, LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, 1974.

through the joint contributions of both the Cerebral Palsy Parent's Council and the Metro Kiwanis Club, acted as the primary mode of transportation for disabled participants of the centre (see chapter one). Prior to the van, transportation was rented through inaccessible services.[1462] Local firefighters also drove the van, on a volunteer basis, to transport disabled HAGI members to their meetings at Sherwood Hall.[1463] However, the van's priority was for participants of the centre, and later On the Move.[1464] The van was phased out in favour of HAGI-Transit, which transported participants to the program.[1465] Another transportation option, but which was not accessible, was the Volunteer Bureau's transportation service. The Volunteer Bureau, created in February 1970 by the Planning Council, consisted of a series of volunteers that helped non-profit organizations in a variety of ways.[1466] One of these ways was by providing transportation, through the personal (and inaccessible) vehicles of volunteers. Volunteers even transported some disabled HAGI members to their meetings, which was cheaper than taxis, but equally inconvenient.[1467]

HAGI-Transit: The Early Years, 1974-1979

Following the recommendations from the DRR, and seeing the difficulties of the then-hodgepodge of transportation options for disabled people, the HAGI created a parallel accessible transportation system called HAGI-Transit to provide accessible transportation for the city's disability community. In 1978, Frank Bowe wrote that the right to accessible transportation was

[1462] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 12; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1973, 19.
[1463] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1973, 20, 22.
[1464] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from Elizabeth Peters to D.B. Morris, 25 Oct 1974, 1-3.
[1465] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017.
[1466] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1970, 11.
[1467] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1973, 20; "Recommendations Made: Rehab Conference Delegates Study Hodge-Podge Services," *Chronicle Journal*, November 18, 1974, 15.

one of the first areas fought for by disability advocates in North America.[1468] In 2006, April D'Aubin argued that, in spite of a host of different types of legislation, PWD in Canada, are "still seeking equality" in regards to transportation. At the time of her article, the *Council of Canadians with Disabilities* (formerly the COPOH) *v. VIA Rail Canada Inc*. and the *Lepofsky v. Toronto Transit Commission* cases were in progress (see footnote).[1469] Nevertheless, Canadian cities saw major improvements, and initiatives, regarding accessible transportation in the 1970s and '80s. The early ground work in Thunder Bay was laid after the HAGI presented the results of the DRR to City Council in July of 1972. The meeting led Council to investigate how many people would use such a parallel accessible transportation system. At the time, the only statistic the HAGI had was a 1965 National Research Council number, showing that one out of seven Canadians had a disability, and that the number increased to one in three for seniors.

Since the group was not able to provide a specific figure for potential users in Thunder Bay, Council was not ready to move on the issue. Thus, Bellavance and Koivisto "took it upon themselves to prove the need by initiating a transportation service, for people who [could not] use [City] transit."[1470] Interestingly, the HAGI moved faster than the provincial government, and many Canadian cities, in providing accessible transportation. For example, the City of Toronto had the Action League for the Physically Handicapped Advancement (ALPHA), founded in 1967, and while this organization attempted some efforts to "promote…accessible public

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[1468] Frank, Bowe, *Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), x, xii, 32, 79.

[1469] D'Aubin, "Making Federally Regulated," 372, 396-402; Deborah Stienstra, *About Canada: Disability Rights* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2012), 65. Some of the legislation Stienstra refers to include: the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Canadian Human Rights Code*, the *Ontarian Human Rights Code*, the *Canadian Transportation Act*, and the *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act.* The former deals with whether VIA Rail was required to make their recently purchased inaccessible rail cars accessible, while the latter deals with whether the Toronto Transit Commission was required to call out stops for blind transit users.

[1470] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, 1975-81, File 30, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance, Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, 15 May 4 1975, 4.

transportation" in the city, it was left up to the 1973 Task Force on the Disabled and Elderly to implement what was then known as Wheel-Trans, after their list of comprehensive recommendations were presented to City Council.[1471] In downtown Montreal, two brothers, Jacques and Jean-Marc Forest, started their own "adapted transportation service, for 'severely handicapped' people in 1973; they used their own lifesavings, and a small grant from the provincial government.[1472] In Winnipeg, the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped (MLPH; formed in 1974) hosted the "first [Manitoba] public meeting" in November 1974 on accessible transportation in that province.[1473] It was held in response to PWD having to take expensive private vans for transportation.[1474] By the spring of 1976, the MLPH presented their proposal to City officials, for "a transportation system for disabled persons."[1475] Officials acquiesced and signed a joint two year/$500,000 provincial-municipal Handi-Transit pilot project.[1476] The Canadian examples contrast with some American cities, which saw civil disobedience. For example, the United Handicapped Federation (UHF), in Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Americans Disabled for Access to Public Transit (ADAPT) used civil disobedience, through either shutting down streets or publicly demonstrating, to advocate for accessible transportation.[1477] In HAGI's case, Koivisto didn't believe in public demonstrations. Instead, he noted that he:

[1471] Reaume, *Lyndhurst*, 140-41; Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 159-60.
[1472] Parent, "Je me souviens," 215; Normand Boucher, Patrik Fougeyrollas, and Pierre Majeau, "French-speaking Contributions to the Disability Rights in Canada and Internationally: From a Quebec Perspective," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 174.
[1473] Diane Driedger, "Organizing for Change: The Origins and History of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped, 1967-1982," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 225.
[1474] Ibd.
[1475] Ibid., 228-229.
[1476] Ibid.
[1477] Kim E. Nielsen, *A Disability History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 174-76; Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, "Introduction – Disability History: From the Margins to the Mainstream," in *The*

> always believe[d] that if you approach people whether it be through the government or through the businesses…you don't have to put a big show on, you just ask to do it [a service for disabled people] when they can, and, you know, work with them to do it. You don't have to demonstrate, you don't have to embarrass them. You do things quietly. I always believe that was the better way of achieving your goals than to go through big demonstrations, and all this. So many people wanted confrontational moves all the time, and I didn't believe in that whatsoever, in any of the areas.[1478]

Without assistance from the City of Thunder Bay, the HAGI performed their own preliminary work in the early 1970s to set up the city's first parallel transit system. The HAGI's efforts also coalesced with the province of Ontario's first provincial study of the transportation needs of disabled people. For its 1974 study, the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (MTC) hired Kates, Peat, Marwick, a Toronto consulting firm, to "undertake a planning assignment of transportation services for the physically handicapped throughout the province."[1479] The results of the study would supplement the MTC's own data so that transportation services for PWD could be improved. Kates, Peat, Marwick surveyed seven cities (Sarnia, Windsor, Kingston, Ottawa, Timmins, Thunder Bay, and Toronto) to determine the present state of affairs; the study was completed in November of 1974.[1480] The study was discussed at the Planning Council's first annual Rehabilitation Conference, held at Confederation College, on November 17, 1974. Local delegates from disability and social service groups including the HAGI lamented the fact that although the provincial study was complete, it had not been publicly released. Delegates were divided into a series of groups relating to disability

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New Disability History: American Perspectives eds., Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 11; Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 105; Fred Pelka, *What We Have Done: An Oral History of the Disability Rights Movement* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 376-77; 380-382.

[1478] "Dave Koivisto."

[1479] CTB Archives, Series 117, 5102-12, 2635.007, Other Governments, Ministry of Transportation and Communications , Transportation for the Handicapped, Correspondence from Peter Lyman to HAGI, 20 Feb 1974, 1.

[1480] Ibid.

issues, such as housing, recreation, and transportation. In the transportation group, which included the HAGI's Floyd James, members expressed their frustration in having "to do this work [coming up with accessible transportation solutions]" when the provincial study, with the data for Thunder Bay, was already complete.[1481]

In January of 1975, the results of the provincial study were released, and the overarching recommendation was that a parallel accessible transportation system be established in the province. The results were discussed at the newly created Ontario Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped (OACPH), where Dave Koivisto served as an original member. The OACPH was created in February of 1975, and chaired by Minister of Social Development Margaret Birch. The OACPH was a way to advise the provincial Progressive Conservative government on matters related to disability policy. In regards to the Kates, Peat, Marwick study, one of the recommendations was that the province design transportation policy in the near future that centered on "a transit service for the handicapped that approximates the service for the non-handicapped."[1482] Furthermore, the study concluded that the province should also "make limited, but substantial steps in the direction of providing adequate transit service for the disabled."[1483] These were much needed goals for transportation policy in Ontario, and the OACPH argued that accessible transportation was "one of the paramount needs of the physically handicapped."[1484] In the United States, the 1964 amendment, to the *Urban Mass Transportation Act*, and the 1973 *Rehabilitation Act* (Section 504), required transportation providers to offer accessible services.

[1481] "Recommendations Made: Rehab Conference Delegates Study Hodge-Podge Services," *Chronicle Journal*, November 18, 1974, 15.
[1482] Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped (OACPH), *Annual Report*, 1976, Peat Marwick and Partners, "Urban Transportation for the Disabled," January 1975, 14; OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1976.
[1483] Ibid.
[1484] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1976, 3.

However, this requirement lacked proper enforcement, which contributed to several lawsuits, and protests, by disability organizations.[1485]

The OACPH set up an Ad Hoc Subcommittee, on transportation, with the aim of coming up with a series of recommendations to present to the William Davis Progressive Conservative government. The OCAPH's first three recommendations were as follows: a parallel accessible transportation system; modifications to municipal transit buses; and, grants to modify the personal vehicles of disabled drivers to make them accessible.[1486] The 1974 study was the impetus behind the province creating a two-year accessible transportation pilot project, announced in 1976. The pilot included five Ontario cities: Chatham, Ottawa, Peterborough, Sault Ste. Marie, and Metro Toronto.[1487] The project subsidized accessible transportation systems in these five cities, so that "the [provincial] government [could] determine the need and establish future funding criteria for this type of service in municipalities across Ontario."[1488] To the HAGI's dismay, the City of Thunder Bay was left out of this project, even though it was one of the few cities that had an accessible transportation system at the time of the pilot's start date (February 1977).

In late 1974, under the direction of Bellavance, Koivisto, and James, and several community members, the HAGI began laying the ground work for HAGI-Transit. The HAGI acquired financial backing for their new accessible transportation venture, through the assistance of several service groups. James used his connections with the Metro Kiwanis, and to the HAGI's surprise, the service group presented the group with a brand new, 15 passenger, Dodge

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[1485] Nielsen, *A Disability History*, 176; Pelka, *What we Have*, 585; Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 56; Bowe, *Handicapping America*, 79.
[1486] Ibid.
[1487] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1977, 11.
[1488] Ibid.

van. The HAGI was "overwhelmed" by the support; however, they still needed money to employ staff, and other start-up costs.[1489] The HAGI applied for a series of grants, and were successful in acquiring a short-term $19,865 federal Local Initiative Program (LIP) grant.[1490] The Ministry of Manpower and Immigration was impressed that the HAGI had already "secured a van," and noted that it was "indicative of [the group's] commitment as well as the community's to see this project developed."[1491] The HAGI also obtained a smaller grant from the Vocational Rehabilitation Services division of the provincial government for $2,904; this grant subsidized two additional employees (seven total).[1492]

On February 4th, 1975, under the direction of James, a former taxi dispatcher and school bus driver, the HAGI set up a "one van dial-a-bus" service, operating from 8:00am to 10:00pm, seven days a week.[1493] The 46-year-old James, who had severe rheumatoid arthritis, served as HAGI-Transit's first manager. James was a proficient organizer and combined with his past experience with transportation proved to be a good fit.[1494] In Armand Mauss' styles of leadership of a social movement, James was another rational-legal leader as his experience with transportation allowed him to further HAGI's goal of creating an accessible community.[1495] Alice Bellavance noted that during HAGI-Transit's start-up, James was "a real scrapper," while Koivisto referred to him as "old school."[1496] Thus, in spite of a post-secondary education, James

[1489] Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, May 15, 1975, 4; "Dave Koivisto."
[1490] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds , A002.9, Box 1, 1975-81, File 30, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance , LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, Nov 1974; Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, May 15, 1975, 5; Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 229. The MLPH also used LIP grants to fund accessible transportation services in communities outside Winnipeg (see chapter five).
[1491] LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, Nov 1974.
[1492] City of Thunder Bay Chief Administrator's Department, Budget Office, *Handi-Transit Operational Study: Administrator's Report 459/11*, July 1977, 16.
[1493] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1974, 21.
[1494] "Alice Bellavance."
[1495] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-55.
[1496] Ibid; "Dave Koivisto."

had the right combination of grit, past experience with transportation, and know how needed in a time when HAGI-Transit struggled to stay afloat. Under James were four employees, two drivers and two dispatchers. This number increased to seven following the second grant (four of these employees were disabled).[1497] To house the service, HAGI acquired a small office at 112 North St., and performed modifications on the van through community help. In particular, local OMOD workers designed the outside lettering (Handi-Transit was written in bold letters along with the name of the Kiwanis Club), and also carpeted the interior; the local OMOD provided the insurance. The HAGI received additional assistance from Canada Car Inc. workers, who created and installed an accessible folding ramp for the van. This assistance from local businesses and service groups was greatly appreciated. Koivisto stated that the community provided "great help…from local businesses…and local service clubs;" they "helped wherever they could."[1498] Finally, Lacom Limited provided a two-way radio that tied dispatchers to drivers.[1499]

The LIP grant started on January 7th, 1975, but HAGI-Transit needed a month to set up shop at their new office. Here James organized his staff of five (including himself), two drivers and two dispatchers. The HAGI BOD hired James for the start date of the LIP, and although he had a certain level of autonomy coordinating daily operations, the HAGI BOD controlled operating policies.[1500] In these early years, Koivisto explained that since "there was so much happening [within HAGI]…you didn't get a lot of supervision, you kind of had your meeting [with the BOD,]" but "you kind of did your job, and you better have d[one] it well or there'd be changes plain and simple."[1501] Thus, James was responsible for the hiring, firing, and training of

[1497] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1974, 21; "Council Supports Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, June 10, 1975, 17.
[1498] "Dave Koivisto."
[1499] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1975, 18.
[1500] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 5-25.
[1501] "Dave Koivisto."

staff, and here he took his position seriously, as he hired drivers with considerable experience, and as close to an accident-free driving record as possible.[1502] As part of their training, James accompanied new drivers on their route for two to three days. In these sessions, James taught drivers the proper method for loading and unloading disabled passengers, and the procedures for proper speeds and stopping.[1503] In addition to these duties, James performed the budgeting and bookkeeping (in 1977 a part-time bookkeeper was hired to assist James), while also collating the monthly statistics (number of trips, mileage, type of trip etc.).[1504]

HAGI-Transit drivers and dispatchers had diverse job descriptions aimed at providing a smooth flowing accessible transportation system for disabled people. When HAGI-Transit started on February 4th, 1975, two drivers were employed with the number steadily increasing as the HAGI acquired new vans; by 1977, five were employed.[1505] A good driving record, regular driver's licence, and empathy for PWD were three prime hiring criteria for drivers. Once they were trained by James, drivers had a diverse set of duties; the first being to fill out a detailed driver checklist before each shift.[1506] When arriving at a residence, the driver helped the person from their home to the vehicle and, depending on a driver's discretion assisted them with putting on a jacket, carrying groceries, and/or carrying the user. Indeed, the primary responsibility of each driver was to "deliver the person to their destination safely."[1507]

HAGI-Transit set up a classification system to serve the disabled population in Thunder Bay, and quickly built up a steady clientele. The 1974 provincial study found that some 4,594

[1502] Ibid., 24, 27.
[1503] Ibid., 27.
[1504] Ibid., 5, 8-9, 22-23, 25.
[1505] Ibid., 21, 28.
[1506] Ibid., 26-28. Starting in February 1978, the MTC required an F Classification licence for HAGI-Transit drivers.
[1507] Ibid., 25.

people were disabled in Thunder Bay, 4.1 per cent of the population. Out of this figure, 1,724 (1.6 per cent) could not use public transportation at all; 1,490 (1.3 per cent) could take public transit, but with great difficulty; and, a further 1,385 (1.2 per cent) could use public transportation with only little difficulty. The study noted that these numbers were probably "understated," and thus, should be taken as a minimum. HAGI-Transit served the bulk of these people, growing a clientele of some 506 by July 1977.[1508] The HAGI developed a series of policies and procedures to maximize HAGI-Transit's efficiency. Firstly, the overarching criterion for access to the service was the inability to access regular municipal transportation.[1509] Next, a person simply contacted the HAGI-Transit office, ideally 24 hours in advance, and gave their name, telephone number, pick up address, destination address, pick up address, and type of disability. The dispatcher logged the information, and quantified the person into one of four categories: no assistance (N/A), wheelchair rider who could be moved to a seat (W-1), wheelchair rider who could not be moved to a seat (W-2), and a blind rider. This information, written on a trip card, was presented to the driver upon the start of his/her shift.[1510]

HAGI-Transit had a policy and procedure system built around priority transportation, and flexible hours. The door-to-door transportation system classified trips by high to low priority in the following order: employment, education, medical, therapy, personal business, recreation, and shopping.[1511] Thus, trips for employment and education were of a higher priority than a shopping trip. This mirrored the priority system seen in the Forest brothers' system, in Montreal, where "workers and students [were given] top priority."[1512] PWD were also allowed to bring a non-

[1508] Ibid., 54.
[1509] Ibid., 41.
[1510] Ibid., 41-42.
[1511] Ibid., 41.
[1512] Parent, "Je me souviens," 215.

disabled person to accompany them. Due to increased demand, this priority system became problematic, as there were "competing agendas between…kids getting to school, [and] people need[ing] to get to work, people need[ing] to get to the doctors' appointments and then people still hav[ing] to do their groceries" etc.[1513] HAGI attempted to address this problem by acquiring new vans, as will be seen below.

With a priority system in place, HAGI-Transit had flexible hours, operating, 15 hours a day, Mondays to Saturday (8:00am to 11:00pm) and, 12hrs a day, Sunday (10:00am to 10:00pm).[1514] These hours corresponded with regular transit hours; the only exception was that shopping trips were prohibited, between the hours of 8:00am and 6:00pm, on weekdays.[1515] As well, HAGI-Transit booked most trips as two way trips. The exception was medical appointments, which were booked as one-ways. The reason, for this, was that it was too difficult to determine a pick up time.[1516] Furthermore, although HAGI-Transit was a voluntary donation service, posted rates were 50 cents, for a ward trip, and $1, for an out of ward one (Port Arthur to Fort William or vice versa).[1517] The HAGI also set policy to ensure riders were ready 15 minutes before their trip. This was important because tardiness resulted in a "chain reaction of delays."[1518] Again, HAGI ran into trouble, on occasion, with this rule, as the van could be late as well. Indeed, there were cases where users were "sitting with all [their] winter gear on for half an hour before the van [got] there."[1519] For example, David Shannon used HAGI-Transit as a Lakehead University undergraduate student from 1982 to 1986, and found that it was "typical" to

[1513] "Alice Bellavance."
[1514] "Local group avoided missionary approach," *Lakehead Living*, April 23, 1975, 11.
[1515] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 24.
[1516] Ibid., 42.
[1517] Ibid., 24, 66.
[1518] Ibid., 46.
[1519] "Alice Bellavance."

have "those long three or four hour waits."[1520] However, without one's own accessible van, HAGI-Transit was "the only way to travel."[1521] As a student, Shannon outlined how the waits were "a block of time when either I could have been socializing with my school colleagues or I could have been studying or just having downtime."[1522] Accessible taxis, offered by Superior Accessible Taxis and Oikenen's, did not become available until the 1990s. Thus, Shannon states that "spontaneity was gone," as the trips had to be booked two-weeks in advance.[1523] Nevertheless, Shannon, who moved to Nova Scotia in 1986 to pursue a law degree, reveals that that province "was certainly far behind NWO" in regards to accessible transportation.[1524]

Several other experiences from users of HAGI-Transit, in its first ten years, further reveals the pros and cons of the service. This is not to say that problems regarding accessible transportation were exclusive to HAGI-Transit, Dustin Galer identifies people, for example, who used Toronto's Wheel-Trans, and experienced similar concerns, such as "unreliability."[1525] Malhotra and Rowe discuss other disadvantages of paratransit systems, including limited hours, advanced booking, delays, restrictions, and increased expenses.[1526] Interestingly, a "central debate," within accessible transportation policy is whether it is worthwhile to continue to increase the "quality" of paratransit systems.[1527] For many people, just the thought of separate "parallel" transportation systems are "monuments to [PWD] as worthy poor," and evoke stereotypes of disabled people, as "sick" and special."[1528]

[1520] "Dave Shannon," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 July 1977
[1521] Ibid.
[1522] Ibid.
[1523] Ibid.
[1524] Ibid.
[1525] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 219.
[1526] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 126.
[1527] Ibid.
[1528] Marcia H. Rioux and Michael J. Prince, "The Canadian Political Landscape of Disability: Policy Perspectives, Social Status, Interest Groups and the Rights Movement," in *Federalism, Democracy and Disability Policy in*

Nevertheless from its inception, HAGI-Transit filled a void for PWD in Thunder Bay. Freund argues that a "non-disabling space" needs to "have transportation that is diversified and multimodal;" HAGI-Transit was a mobile accessible space.[1529] Tracy Hurlburt, a disabled teenager in the mid-1980s, acknowledged that HAGI-Transit was the "one system we could use," but "you had to book two weeks in advance" (as HAGI-Transit began taking in new riders, the period to book increased).[1530] In fact on one occasion, Hurlburt had to "call…an ambulance for a broken wrist," as the accessible transportation service was booked up.[1531] Similarly, Gino Songeo, who experienced a workplace injury in the mid-1980s, used HAGI-Transit, after rehabilitating from Lyndhurst Hospital, before purchasing his own accessible van. Living in Superior View Cooperative, at the time, Sonego found that HAGI-Transit was "better than nothing, but the system was still hard to get around because of trying to book times to go, and having to wait for it."[1532] Finally, Irmo Marini, who also rehabilitated at Lyndhurst after a spinal cord injury in 1981, was "totally reliant" on HAGI-Transit, from 1981 to 1985 and part of 1986, as a student, and later employee at Lakehead University.[1533] For Marini, the system was "a godsend."[1534] Indeed, many times, he "would be the only one on the van, so [it was a] straight ride there, straight ride back. Other times there'd be another one or two people that'd…we'd have to stop and get or drop off."[1535] Furthermore, Marini stated that "once every four or five trips they'd be late…anywhere from five minutes to 45 minutes or so and so I would just be

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Canada, ed., Alan Puttee (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 14; Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 185; James Charlton, *Nothing about Us without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 105.

[1529] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 703.

[1530] "Tracy Hurlburt," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 March 2017.

[1531] Ibid.

[1532] "Gino Sonego," interview with Ulysses Patola, 26 March 2017.

[1533] "Irmo Marini," interview with Ulysses Patola, 11 March 2017.

[1534] Ibid.

[1535] Ibid.

waiting at the designated spot."[1536] However, Marini noted that "the overall experience is [that] without [HAGI-Transit] [it would have been] tough for me to get back and forth to the university."[1537] In fact, in the six months between when he graduated with his Masters in Psychology and obtained a job as Lakehead's first student counsellor, Marini "took [HAGI-Transit] everyday back and forth to work" before acquiring his own accessible van.[1538] During these six months, the service was "excellent, they [HAGI-Transit] were great, all the drivers were personable," and "it was like a buck a trip. So you know cheap as hell and reliable for the most part and saved my wife from having to transfer me in and out of her car."[1539] Marini went on to complete his Ph.D. in Auburn, Alabama, in the 1990s. Afterwards he traveled to a series of cities, in both Canada and the U.S, and found that the systems, in these other cities, were not comparable to HAGI-Transit (for a more extensive quote see conclusion).[1540]

From February of 1975 until the end of its LIP grant in July, HAGI-Transit witnessed a considerable increase in its scale of operations. February to May 1975 shows a steady increase in the number of trips, miles, and people served. There were 1,811 trips in the following categories: 375 for employment, 202 for medical, 270 for therapy, 513 for recreation, 191 for personal business, 132 for shopping, 18 for religion, 36 for miscellaneous, 88 for meetings, and 40 for education.[1541] The number of trips the HAGI was making in the first half of 1975 demonstrated that there was a strong need for such a service.

[1536] Ibid.
[1537] Ibid.
[1538] Ibid.
[1539] Ibid.
[1540] Ibid.
[1541] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1976, 21; LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, 1975-81, File 30, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance, LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, November 1974; Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, May 15, 1975, Appendix I, 1-3.

In April of 1975, the HAGI started a campaign to acquire more funds, and to expand the HAGI-Transit system, highlighting the necessity of the service. Initially, the HAGI went to the local media to showcase the success of the system, and to draw increased support. By this time, HAGI-Transit was $1,000 in debt, and there was a "big question mark" regarding whether it would even continue after the LIP expired.[1542] Buchan notes that HAGI-Transit was "scrambling when they first started."[1543] "LIP grants got them off the ground," but they were only temporary sources of funding.[1544] Floyd James and Joanna Paulionis, a district nurse with the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, explained to local media that the system was helping provide accessible transportation to the disability community. They told the story of John [Crisser,] a 25-year-old man, who "[could] be a man again," now that he had access to HAGI-Transit.[1545] This is an example of how having a disability was emasculating. In this case, John could not drive and thus was in a passive state; however, transportation had a liberating effect because he "[could] now get to and from work."[1546] Russell Shuttleworth et al. argue that disability puts masculinity in jeopardy, as it is associated with dependency, while masculinity is associated with power and independence.[1547] Another example was that of a "self-supporting woman," in the north ward, who was also able to get to work because of HAGI-Transit.[1548] The problem was that the (unnamed) woman and John had to be at work at the same time, which created a scheduling issue. Thus, to accommodate more passengers, HAGI pushed for the funds to acquire another van. When questioned, James noted that there were "at least 8,000 known handicapped people,"

[1542] Peggy Stewart, "Handicapped Transport Service Facing Major Financial Problems," *Chronicle Journal*, April 19, 1975, 13.
[1543] "Allan Buchan."
[1544] Ibid.
[1545] "Handy transit: Local group," 11.
[1546] Ibid.
[1547] Russell Shuttleworth, Nikki Wedgewood, and Nathan J. Wilson, "The Dilemma of Disabled Masculinity," *Men and Masculinities* 15, no. 2 (2012): 74.
[1548] "Handy transit: Local group," 11.

in the city, and "an estimated 4000" unknown.[1549] Thus, the HAGI was only scratching the surface, with the approximately 300 different people it serviced.[1550] These people, some of whom had been "penned up for years[,]…[did not] want to be dependent upon friends;" they wanted to be self-sufficient.[1551] Furthermore, taxis were too expensive, as one woman, prior to using HAGI-Transit, was paying $200 a month for a taxi; also, it was a struggle to get into them.[1552] The head of the Volunteer Bureau, Ty Kaipio, also saw a need for HAGI-Transit, as his service provided transportation, in private vehicles, for only less severely disabled people. It proved extremely difficult for the drivers to transport people in wheelchairs; thus, Kaipio saw "no overlapping service."[1553]

With the LIP expiring in early July, HAGI-Transit needed other sources of funding, and applied to several organizations. One source of funding was service groups, but these groups could only contribute so much, and HAGI-Transit required frequent injections of monies. At the time, James was optimistic that HAGI-Transit would acquire funding. "When people said it was unrealistic to even start out with one van…, it's a hell of a lot better than what we had six months ago – nothing at all."[1554] The HAGI-Transit Manager further revealed that the system "ha[d] to be kept going" because, if it folded, it would cost even more money to start up in the future.[1555] In April of 1975, the HAGI made requests for support to the Ministry of Manpower and Immigration's Opportunities for Youth (OFY) program, the Secretary of State's Student

[1549] Ibid.
[1550] Ibid; OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1976, 21.
[1551] "Handy transit: Local group," 11.
[1552] Stewart, "Handicapped Transport Service," 13.
[1553] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, Box 1,A002.9, 1975-81, File 30, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance, LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, November 1974; Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, May 15, 1975, 6.
[1554] "Handy transit: Local group," 11.
[1555] Stewart, "Handicapped Transport Service," 13.

Community Service Program, the provincial government, and the City of Thunder Bay.[1556] While the first two programs rejected the request, the latter two required additional information before committing support.[1557] In a letter to City Clerk D.B. Morris, Koivisto explained HAGI-Transit's mandate. He stated that there was a "need for such a service for some time," and that it was, presently, constrained, due to the short-term nature of LIP grants.[1558] Koivisto further revealed that the service was running to "over capacity," and that there was a need for another van.[1559] He also provided the statistical data from the previous three months.[1560] The HAGI President concluded his letter by pleading that the City "give careful consideration to supporting this needed service."[1561] Terry Bellavance, the HAGI Housing Coordinator, sent a May 20th, 1975, follow up letter to Mayor Walter Assef, outlining dialogue with the provincial government. The province stated that they were trying to determine if the type of system HAGI-Transit provided fell under a transportation or social service function. If it was the former, funding could be provided on a 50-50 cost-sharing basis, between the province and the City of Thunder Bay, while the latter fell under an 80-20 cost-sharing split. Bellavance hoped this information would help the City with calculating its next budget, and any monies available for HAGI-Transit.[1562]

To further bolster HAGI-Transit's cause, HAGI encouraged users, and supporters, of the service to inundate the City with letters, detailing the positive impact of the service. The concept of resource mobilization used in social movement theory shows how social movements develop

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[1556] Ibid; LU Archives, A002.9, Paul McRae Fonds, Box 1, 1975-81, File 30, Handicapped Action Group – Terry Bellavance, LIP Applications, 2511-9 Handi-Transit, November 1974; Submission by the Handicapped Action Group to Premier William Davis, May 15, 1975, Appendix I, 5.
[1557] Ibid.
[1558] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to D. B. Morris, 27 April 1975, 1.
[1559] Ibid.
[1560] Ibid.
[1561] Ibid.
[1562] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2056.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance letter to Mayor Walter Assef, 20 May 1975, 1.

an ideology that is agreeable to members, which they then buy into.[1563] In this case, HAGI successfully argued that HAGI-Transit ws a priority, and had to be fought for. Joanna Paulionis set the tone for the letters. As a nurse, she saw first-hand how "for most people transportation [was] just a simple thing, but not for the handicapped…just having transportation [was] half the battle, for it [helped] the handicapped get out of their corners in their little rooms."[1564] This fact was illustrated by individual users, such as 71 year-old double amputee, Mary Lyons. In a letter, Lyons stated that prior to HAGI-Transit she was largely confined to her home. However, with the service, she could go to bingo and shopping, "whereas otherwise [she] would not have been able to."[1565] Jerry Pringle, a quadriplegic from Chukuni River (near Red Lake, ON), also revealed the positive impact HAGI-Transit had on his life. Unable to work due to lack of transportation, Pringle had been on welfare for 15 years, "until Handi-Transit offered transportation at a reasonable cost."[1566] As a result of HAGI-Transit, he was hired through a Company of Young Canadians (CYC) grant to work on the HAGI Group Residence project (see chapter two). Pringle had tried taxis, but found them ineffective. Not only was the cost $12 a day, but it was a struggle to get into one.[1567]

Besides the experiences of individual users, the City received letters from a host of other people involved in social service organizations. Firstly, L.C. Tett, a driving coordinator at the Volunteer Bureau, stated that HAGI-Transit was a "unique and very worthwhile service" and

[1563] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 56.
[1564] Stewart, "Handicapped Transport Service," 13.
[1565] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, File 30, HAGI – Terry Bellavance, 1975-81, Correspondence from Mary Lyons to Handi-Transit, 21 April 1975, 1.
[1566] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, File 30, HAGI – Terry Bellavance, 1975-81, Correspondence, from Jerry Pringle to Walter Assef, 1975, 1.
[1567] Ibid.

that the two organizations "complement[ed] each other."[1568] Elizabeth Peters, of St. Joseph's Hospital, also wrote a letter, her second in a year, expressing her fear that, without financial support, HAGI-Transit could end. Peters saw, firsthand, how the program "opened up all kinds of new possibilities" for PWD.[1569] The nurse provided an example of two people from Westmount Hospital, who did all their "necessary shopping and other arrangements" with HAGI-Transit; without the service, this "would have been impossible."[1570] Finally, Dr. Kim, of Lakehead Rehab, gave his support, revealing that the service was necessary, due to the high cost of alternative transportation, and the inability of some of his patients to use public transit. Echoing the sentiments of other supporters, Dr. Kim disclosed that, since HAGI-Transit had been in operation, "he found it a great help" transporting patients.[1571] The doctor presented the experiences of Crisser and Pringle, two quadriplegics, who had spent time at Lakehead Rehab, and with the help of HAGI-Transit were able to live independently.[1572]

With letters in hand, HAGI submitted a formal application package to Thunder Bay City Council in May of 1975, with the intent to acquire regular funding, and to expand HAGI-Transit. A similar brief was sent to the provincial government. The brief documented that with a small LIP grant, HAGI-Transit expanded into a service providing accessible transportation to some 300 PWD in the city. However, their 15-passanger van was "now…running to overcapacity," and there was a need for another van.[1573] Resource mobilization also helps to explain how social

[1568] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, File 30, HAGI – Terry Bellavance, 1975-81, Correspondence from L.C. Tett to Terry Bellavance, 5 May 1975, 1.
[1569] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Elizabeth Peters to Walter Assef, 14 May 1975, 1.
[1570] Ibid.
[1571] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Dr. Kim letter to Walter Assef, 13 May 1975, 1.
[1572] Ibid.
[1573] Don Smith, "Transit Question Goes To Committee," *Chronicle Journal*, May 28, 1975, 15.

movements bring politicians into their sphere of influence; this was seen with City officials.[1574] Councillors were shown statistics which demonstrated that the number of trips per month had increased from 206 trips to 440. Mileage per trip was also improving from 8.6 miles in February to 6.96 miles by April. As well, the HAGI demonstrated how employment trips were among the highest categories for the service. The same statistics were presented to the provincial government. City Councillor Mickey Hennessy explained that Charles McIlveen, the stand in MTC Minister, wanted the HAGI to attempt to acquire provincial funding from the MCSS, rather than the MTC, because "larger provincial subsidies would be available."[1575] Hennessey disclosed that under a MCSS funding arrangement, the cost-sharing, for the municipality, would be 20 per cent. With this ratio, he was in support of a City commitment. At the end of the May 27th meeting, Council decided to refer the matter to both its Health and Social Services Committee and Finance Committee for "further study," while setting up communications with the province to pursue a joint provincial-municipal cost-sharing arrangement.[1576]

In early June of 1975, with a month of financial support left for HAGI-Transit, the *Chronicle Journal* published an editorial aimed at persuading the City of Thunder Bay to provide funding for the accessible transportation service. The editorial referred to the "many handicapped people in Thunder Bay…[who] detest[ed] and even fear[ed] the often claustrophobic loneliness their handicap force[d] on them."[1577] The editorial then shifted to how "[f]or almost a year now these people have been helped by a small, specially-fitted van called Handi-Transit."[1578] Many of the trips were for medical, employment, therapy, and recreation usages, which the able-bodied

[1574] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 56.
[1575] Smith, "Transit Question Goes," 15.
[1576] Ibid.
[1577] "Help for the Handicapped," *Chronicle Journal*, June 5, 1975, 4.
[1578] Ibid.

took for granted; however were "next to impossible for people in wheelchairs or on crutches, and usually with little money to spare."[1579] With the end of the LIP grant in sight, the editor stated that "provincial or municipal money must be made available" to keep HAGI-Transit going.[1580] If this did not occur by the summer, the editor argued that the community would see disabled people become shut-ins again, "locked into their rooms or institutions."[1581] Here the editorial was harkening back to an earlier time, when PWD were excluded from public places because of inaccessible transportation. The article concluded that Thunder Bay's "aldermen would have to be very hard of heart" to refuse funding.[1582] The editorial was followed by a letter to the editor, five days later, by Lindsay Morgan the, Program Supervisor at Harmony Place, who stated that: "it [was] absolutely essential that Handi-Transit receive the financial support it requires."[1583]

This community support for HAGI-Transit helped lead to action. Several days later, on June 9th, the City's Health and Social Services Committee met to discuss the future of the accessible transportation service. HAGI supporters, including Dr. Kim and Floyd James, also attended to discuss the future of HAGI-Transit.[1584] Dr. Kim whole-heartedly backed HAGI-Transit. He shared the fact that not only did it allow patients to get to and from St. Joseph's for treatment, but it provided PWD the means to travel for employment. James explained that four out of the seven HAGI-Transit employees were disabled, and "dr[e]w wages instead of welfare."[1585] HAGI-Transit supporters were desperate to receive municipal funding, as there was a danger that "provincial financing might not be passed before the summer recess."[1586] James

[1579] Ibid.
[1580] Ibid.
[1581] Ibid.
[1582] Ibid.
[1583] Lindsay Morgan, "Letters to Editor: Handi Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, June 10, 1975, 4.
[1584] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 9 June 1975, 23.
[1585] "Council supports Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, June 10, 1975, 17.
[1586] Ibid.

revealed that HAGI-Transit was operating on a $1,127 a week budget. He wanted as much funding as possible to cover the costs. However, councillors were leery of the price tag, pointing out that James' figures totaled about $55,000 a year. In turn, councillors told James that the City could not afford such an expense unless the MCSS agreed to an 80-20 cost split.[1587] After hearing the information, Council voted in favour of making "overtures…to the provincial and federal governments" to enter cost-sharing agreements in support of HAGI-Transit.[1588] Council did sign off on a short-term, "interim grant" of $2,495, until such a funding agreement was worked out.[1589] The municipal grant came into effect at the end of July, and supported the wages of one employee until December 6th, 1975. This was a start, but Koivisto wanted more support. He went to two more City Council meetings in July, while also making a further deputation, and providing Council a petition from concerned citizens.[1590] In Thunder Bay, collaborative relationships contrasted with the UHF in Minneapolis/St. Paul who "shut down city streets," and "sued the Metropolitan Transit Commission, and its chairperson."[1591] Thunder Bay City Council's grant was small, but it signaled the start of City support for HAGI-Transit.

With the help of local politicians, HAGI-Transit received more short-term funding, through both the federal Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) and the provincial Vocational Rehabilitation Services (VRS). Port Arthur NDP MPP, Jim Foulds wrote a June 1975 letter to MTC Minister John Rhodes requesting that the MTC "find the necessary funding" to

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[1587] Ibid.
[1588] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 9 June 1975, 23.
[1589] Ibid; City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 16; TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 5 Finance Meeting Minutes, 29 July 1975, 15.
[1590] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 29 July 1975, 15; Tb City Council, Policy Committee No. 5 Finance, Meeting Minutes, 29 July 1975, 15; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to Grace Remus, 22 Sept 1975, 1.
[1591] Nielsen, *A Disability History*, 175.

keep the system going.[1592] The province eventually provided significant financial assistance for HAGI-Transit, but this would not kick in until the July 1st, 1979, cost-sharing program was finalized.[1593] The province did renew its VRS grant, for another $1,344, but it was a smaller sum. This grant simply continued the subsidization of two of HAGI-Transit's employees until September 27th. The greater source of funds came from the LEAP.

Federal LEAP funding was the major reason HAGI-Transit survived until November of 1975. The LEAP program was another pillar of the 1970s federal Liberal's job creation program. It was enacted to rectify Canadian unemployment rates by providing grants to new businesses.[1594] After hearing about the HAGI's plight, Robert Andras, Port Arthur Liberal M.P., and the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, stepped in to provide his support. This was important, as his position, essentially, put him in charge of the LEAP and the Liberal's job creation program. With the Minister's backing, the HAGI acquired a $14,179 LEAP grant. Andras sent a telegram to Thunder Bay City Council on August 11th revealing that the grant "should carry the project on until such time as [HAGI-Transit] is designated as a community service by the province of Ontario."[1595] Once this occurred, the City could enter into a cost-sharing arrangement with the province.[1596] Although the HAGI had some $18,018 in funds available by August, Koivisto sent a September 22nd, 1975, to Councillor Grace Remus, the Chairwoman of the Health and Social Services Committee, indicating that the VRS funding

[1592] "Endorses Van," *Chronicle Journal*, June 20, 1975, 3.
[1593] "Web Exhibits – 125 Years of Transit."
[1594] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to Councillor Grace Remus, 22 Sept 1975, 1; Thomas R. Klassen, "The Federal-Provincial Labour Market Development Agreement: Brave New Model of Collaboration," in *Federalism, Democracy, and Labour Market Policy in Canada*, ed., Thomas R. Klassen (Kingston: Queen's University Press, 2000), 166.
[1595] TB City Council, Policy Committee No. 2 Health and Social Services, Meeting Minutes, 11 Aug 1975, 34.
[1596] Ibid.

would run out by September 27th. He wanted a further $1,120, to cover the wages for one worker, until November when a second LIP grant started. The City agreed and this increased HAGI-Transit's funding to $19,138. It kept the service in operation until November 9th.[1597] Buchan recalls that those "first few years, for HAGI-Transit, [were] lean," and that "it was a real hodgepodge of dollars just to keep the vans on the road."[1598]

HAGI-Transit received a second federal LIP grant, at the end of 1975, which funded the operation until June of 1976. However, some local politicians took exception to the fact that the Ontario government was not contributing any large sums of money, even though transportation was in the province's jurisdiction. In the summer of 1975, the province of Ontario was gearing up for an election, and as part of his campaign platform, Iain Angus, the NDP MPP candidate for Fort William, took the governing Progressive Conservatives to task for "ignoring" funding requests from HAGI-Transit.[1599] Angus, a staunch supporter of the local accessible transportation service, subsequently defeated the Progressive Conservative MPP incumbent for Fort William, Jim Jessiman, in the September 18th election.[1600] A week before the election, Angus publicly called out the "callous disregard" of the Bill Davis government in failing to provide adequate funding for HAGI-Transit.[1601] Angus referred to the fact that when HAGI approached the provincial government with their May 15th 1975 brief, addressed to Premier Davis (prior to the expiration of their first LIP grant), they "were refused any long-term commitment."[1602] Instead, HAGI relied on the federal government, for funding, with "no thanks to the provincial

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[1597] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4716-12, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to Grace Remus, 22 Sept 1975, 1; City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 16-17.
[1598] "Allan Buchan."
[1599] "Handi-Transit Ignored By Tories Says Angus," *Chronicle Journal*, September 11, 1975, 3.
[1600] Ibid.
[1601] Ibid.
[1602] Ibid.

government."[1603] Angus further retorted that services, such as HAGI-Transit, were a "priority," and lamented the fact that the Progressive Conservatives built "million dollar buildings which benefit no one but the construction companies that get the contract to build them."[1604] Angus was, in fact, right in that HAGI's second federal LIP grant, in late August for $32,054, was a lifeline in keeping the service running from November 9th to June 5th, 1976. At the end of this grant, the federal government stated it would discontinue funding. Thus, HAGI had to make other financial arrangements after June 5th.[1605]

Disappointingly, HAGI was denied long-term provincial funding. The province refused to support municipalities' accessible transportation services, until the final results of their 1976, five-city, pilot were analyzed. This meant that HAGI again looked to the City for support. As the early months of 1976 passed, HAGI-Transit remained on shaky ground, as their second, and last, LIP grant was set to expire on June 5th. During a March 9th HAGI General Meeting, HAGI officials told their members that without new funds, the accessible transportation service would fold.[1606] The public pronouncement was important, as HAGI again mobilized members in a local letter writing and phone campaign, directed at the Mayor and City officials. Koivisto, who attended countless City Council meetings "for hours and hours" discussing HAGI projects in the 1970s and '80s, liked working with Mayor Assef because "he would always listen to what we, [HAGI,] had to say, and direct his staff to do what they could do for us, especially with the transit issues at the time."[1607]

[1603] Ibid.
[1604] Ibid.
[1605] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 17.
[1606] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit Correspondence from Edna Nightingale to Mayor Walter Assef, 10 March 1976, 1.
[1607] "Dave Koivisto."

Throughout the month of March, Mayor Assef's office received dozens of letters, numerous telephone calls, and two petitions requesting that he, and City Council, take action to continue HAGI-Transit after June 5th.[1608] One of the most dynamic letters came from Mary Sereda. Sereda told the Mayor that "Handi-Transit [was her] feet" and that she "nearly broke [her] neck" after she fell while trying to enter a taxi.[1609] Sereda was "frighten[ed] "and "having nightmares…thinking of what [would] happen if the Handi-Transit service [was] stopped."[1610] Sereda pleaded with the Mayor, whom she affectionately called Walter, on how the City needed to treat disabled people as "human beings."[1611] This was important as, in the past, "before Handi-Transit, we [PWD] used to be carried in the back of trucks like cattle to the slaughter."[1612] Other letters from HAGI-Transit users, such as Edna Nightingale, Gary Lysak, and Fred Selkirk, along with Molly MacKinnon of On the Move, and Frank Boon of Harmony Place, all echoed Sereda's sentiments.[1613] The two letters from Harmony Place and On the Move and their separate petitions from disabled participants provided another serious message to City Council.[1614] The growth of these recreational activity programs (see chapter one) fostered by the transportation provided by HAGI-Transit resulted in the program supervisors from each facility expressing their support.

[1608] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Gary Lysak to Mayor Walter Assef, 10 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Mary Sereda to Walter Assef, 9 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Fred Selkirk to Walter Assef, March 1976, 1-2; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Molly MacKinnon to Walter Assef, 22 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Frank Boon to Walter Assef, March 1976, 1.
[1609] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Mary Sereda to Walter Assef, 9 March 1976, 1.
[1610] Ibid.
[1611] Ibid.
[1612] Ibid.
[1613] See below footnotes.
[1614] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Molly MacKinnon to Mayor Walter Assef, 22 March 1976, 1; Correspondence from Frank Boon to Walter Assef, March 1976, 1.

Firstly, Molly MacKinnon wrote that HAGI-Transit was making "twenty-one pick-ups during the week," and that the disabled participants would not otherwise be able to attend the program without the rides.[1615] Similarly, Frank Boon wrote that HAGI-Transit was giving PWD "a new lease on life."[1616] The letters were authentic and it is hard not to feel the sense of urgency in them. Mayor Assef responded to each and disclosed that he was forwarding the responses for further review to various City officials, including City Clerk D.B. Morris, City Transportation Manager E. Poole, and City Council.[1617] After hearing of HAGI's dilemma, Thunder Bay City Council agreed to provide HAGI-Transit $39,481 for the remainder of 1976.[1618]

This cash infusion was essential for HAGI-Transit's short-term survival, but HAGI still needed long-term funding, which was not coming until the province's five-city pilot completed. The province was firm in this regard. The Ontario government had previously funded the 1974, five-city, pilot (Thunder Bay was included). It was aimed at identifying the needs and problems of disabled transit users in Ontario. The results of that study concluded that the province needed to establish a parallel accessible transportation service for disabled people. The Ontario pilot corresponded with a two-year City of Winnipeg accessible transportation pilot program, started

[1615] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Molly MacKinnon to Walter Assef, 22 March 1976, 1.
[1616] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Frank Boon to Walter Assef, March 1976, 1.
[1617] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Walter Assef to Edna Nightingale, 15 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Walter Assef to Gary Lysak, 12 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Walter Assef to Mary Sereda, 16 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Walter Assef to Fred Selkirk, 16 March 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit; Correspondence from Walter Assef to Molly MacKinnon, 29 March1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Walter Assef to Frank Boon, March 17, 1976, 1.
[1618] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 18.

in the latter half of 1976, which was similarly funded through a cost-sharing agreement.[1619] The Ontario pilot project started in January 1977. The above cities were chosen based on two criteria; firstly, that each represented a "cross-section" of population sizes; and, secondly, that "each [city]…ha[d] some form of public transportation for [PWD] currently in existence."[1620] The government funded the accessible transportation services in these cities for two years at "50 per cent of the operating deficit incurred."[1621] The outcome of this project would form the foundation of a new funding formula for other Ontario cities.[1622]

Even though Thunder Bay had an established accessible transportation system, on par with these cities, it was not chosen. The local media lamented the fact that the city had been "left out in the cold."[1623] This was in spite of the fact that HAGI and local politicians, such as Iain Angus and Jim Foulds, wrote numerous letters to Snow, former MTC Minister John Rhodes, Birch, and James Taylor, the MCSS minister. These letters were all returned with each responding, in a common front, that "at this time no funding would be given until a proper policy concerning such transit had been established by the province."[1624] Thus, the province was providing no additional funding until after the pilot-project was completed, and results analyzed.[1625] To disabled people and municipal officials, this was unacceptable. James and other

[1619] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 229.
[1620] AO, RG 74-33, B220413, Remarks By the Honourable James Snow Minister of Transportation and Communications, "Transportation Pilot Projects for the Physically Handicapped, 29 Sept 1976, 2.
[1621] Ibid.
[1622] Ibid.
[1623] "Centres Get Handicapped Aid, Thunder Bay Left Out In Cold," *Chronicle Journal*, September 30, 1976, 3.
[1624] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 17; CTBArchives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from Iain Angus to James Snow, 22 Sept 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Iain Angus to James Snow, 27 Sept 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit , Correspondence from James Snow to Iain Angus, 12 Oct 1976, 1; CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from James Taylor to Iain Angus, 8 Oct 1976, 1.
[1625] Ibid.

leaders of the HAGI were sorely disappointed by the province's response, as HAGI-Transit was now running on a "moment to moment" basis.[1626] After sending a series of letters to the province, in the summer of 1976, and not getting a satisfactory reply, Angus angrily responded that the government should "immediately initiate a province-wide policy of subsidy for municipalities in order that they too may operate a transportation service for the less mobile citizens."[1627] In Angus' opinion, it made "good economical sense" to fund this service because PWD would not be a "burden on the taxpayer."[1628] Moreover, the new Fort William MPP noted that since the City of Thunder Bay was providing a, "less economical," transit service to rural residents, disabled people "deserve[d] [a] transit service even if it costs more than regular transit."[1629] This was even more important, as HAGI-Transit obtained another van, through the combined contribution from the Lapidary Club, Canada Car Inc., and the Ladies of the Royal Purple.[1630] With the extra van, James expected the number of trips to substantially increase from the 1,000 or so the previous year.[1631]

Since HAGI was not able to make headway with the province, City of Thunder Bay officials made several overtures to the provincial government, requesting funding for HAGI-Transit. At an October 27th, 1976, City Council Meeting, Councillor Remus suggested that Council formally ask the province to retroactively include HAGI-Transit in its five-city pilot project. Remus believed Thunder Bay would provide vital data, as the other cities were all located in southern, or south eastern, Ontario "where climatic conditions are less severe and gas

[1626] "Centres Get Handicapped Aid," 3.
[1627] Ibid.
[1628] Ibid.
[1629] Ibid.
[1630] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 32.
[1631] "Centres Get Handicapped Aid," 3.

is much cheaper."[1632] Remus had been in communication with Taylor, the Minister for the MCSS, about the potential inclusion; however, he related that "the cities in the pilot plan weren't getting such a big deal," as it was merely 50 per cent of their operating costs.[1633] Contrary to that reply, the funding was a 'big deal;' HAGI-Transit needed all the help it could get. The HAGI's situation was so desperate that on November 8th Susan Ward, the President of the HAGI BOD, presented a brief to the City's Health and Social Services Committee, pleading that the City request Snow, the MTC Minister, to include Thunder Bay, as one of the cities, in the pilot project, and for the province to come up with a provincial transportation policy for disabled people. Remus responded to Ward that she had been in contact with Taylor and that although no guarantees were secured, his MCSS ministry had, in the past, been very helpful to the City. In turn, Remus was "reluctant to press the province for more aid."[1634]

However, to get a head start on subsequent funding after the pilot, Councillor Dusty Miller suggested that Snow be invited to Thunder Bay to "see the successful local operation" of HAGI-Transit.[1635] Snow accepted, and at the meeting, Floyd James highlighted the fact that HAGI-Transit provided 102 hours of service per week, whereas the pilots provided only 60 hours, and this was done "at operating costs equal to or more than Thunder Bay."[1636] Indeed, when the pilot funding for metro Toronto's Wheel-Trans came into effect in 1977 its hours of operation were 6:30am to 6:30pm. The reduced hours, as compared to Thunder Bay, resulted in complaints in the letters to the editor section of the *Globe and Mail* because these hours were

[1632] "Support Sought For Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, October 27, 1976, 21.
[1633] Ibid.
[1634] "Funds Sought For Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, November 9, 1976, 21.
[1635] Ibid.
[1636] Ibid.

designed primarily for employment trips.[1637] Thus, in spite of its exclusion from the pilot, HAGI-Transit was arguably just as advanced or even ahead of the cities in the pilot project.

HAGI-Transit acquired a third van in November of 1976, through the help of a Lakehead Board of Education contract to transport disabled children to city schools. Koivisto states that these contracts would be negotiated "on a yearly basis…and they [the Board] [were] only too happy to give us the jobs to…bring those kids to and from the school systems and quite lucrative."[1638] However, the main problem facing the service was the struggle to secure long-term government funding commitments. James was "grateful for City aid, but felt the province should be sharing the costs of the service."[1639] Without provincial funding, the City again stepped in.

The Financial Assistance Review Group of the City of Thunder Bay (administrative officials), agreed to give HAGI-Transit $72,435 for the 1977 calendar year.[1640] The large grant provided the funds for more staff, a night driver, and a bookkeeper. Since the City was investing such a large sum of money into HAGI-Transit, they wanted a complete "review of the internal structure of the system…to ensure that it was appropriate for the present demands put on it."[1641] In turn, the comprehensive study evaluated the "overall effectiveness" and areas for improvement, through an analysis of HAGI-Transit's administrative, financial, data collecting system, and policy and procedures.[1642] Data was collected through a variety of means, interviews

[1637] David A. Sheppard, "Wheel-Trans Project," *Globe and Mail*, March 16, 1977, 7; Judith A. Snow, and Jenn Straw, "Wheel-Trans Service," *Globe and Mail*, March 22, 1977, 6; "Wheels on wheels," *Chronicle Journal*, February 23, 1977, 36.
[1638] "Dave Koivisto."
[1639] 'Funds Sought For," 21.
[1640] "Web Exhibits – 125 Years."
[1641] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 29 March 1977, 2.
[1642] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 1-2.

(employees, customers, and social service agencies), direct observation, and reviews of internal documents (finances/budgets, information system, and statistical data).[1643] The City Budget Division/Chief Administration Department 187-page report was completed in July of 1977.[1644] Fifteen recommendations were made, the most important being the creation of a HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee to monitor and streamline best practices (the Committee was later composed of City, social service, and HAGI officials).[1645] The report expressed concern that James, as manager, was performing too many responsibilities and that the semi-annual BOD meetings were not enough oversight to supervise HAGI-Transit and its growing budget. The report also recommended changes in fare collection methods, better driver qualifications, the utilization of indoor storage facilities, higher fares, more efficiency with weekend trips, a new qualification system for users, and better communication between HAGI-Transit and other accessible City transportation services in the City (Harmony Place/On the Move, and Homes for the Aged).[1646] These were all valid recommendations, and as Jim Rapino, the City's Budget Officer noted, the report would help HAGI develop "a little more professionalism in making decisions."[1647] Rapino was not faulting HAGI in its operation of HAGI-Transit, especially considering the gargantuan effort made just to keep the service in operation for its first few years. The report simply sought to correct "natural operational flaws" that were found in any organization.[1648]

HAGI-Transit was growing too big for the current organizational framework. In turn, the creation of the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee would best guide the service into the future.

[1643] Ibid., 2.
[1644] Ibid., iii, iv.
[1645] Ibid., 3-4.
[1646] Ibid.
[1647] "Handi-Transit tightens up," *Chronicle Journal*, September 1, 1977, 1.
[1648] Ibid.

This was a valid point, as the City was currently subsiding HAGI-Transit by 91 per cent; indeed, the report noted that this number was quite a lot higher than the 52 per cent subsidization rate for regular transit. The report, thus, wanted HAGI to increase fares from 60 to 70 cents a trip, and for the City to gradually reduce its subsidy to HAGI-Transit by five per cent each successive year. Furthermore, the Advisory Committee would keep HAGI-Transit accountable by strengthening policies and procedures. For example, before the review, drivers were the primary authority determining who qualified as disabled; this should not have been part of their job description. The Advisory Committee would also help with the signing of contracts, as there was some concern that the HAGI's 1976-77 contract with the Board of Education did not account for fixed costs.[1649]

Another area of improvement was the current usage of the accessible vans, and here the report believed that better efficiency was needed.[1650] Statistics showed that Toronto's Wheel-Trans was transporting 2-2.5 people per vehicle an hour, whereas HAGI-Transit was transporting 1.3 people per vehicle an hour. Further statistics determined that 25 to 28 per cent of all HAGI-Transit trips were for recreation, whereas data from Ottawa and Edmonton had these trips making up 10 and 7 per cent respectively. Also, it was revealed that out of the 256 people who used HAGI-Transit in 1976, 25 per cent used it for 72.9 per cent of the trips.[1651] Finally, the report wanted HAGI-Transit to improve its safety features by mandating that drivers obtain the new F Classification licence by February 1978, and to stop the practice of using sandbags to hold wheelchairs into place.[1652] In fact, June Martinsen, the Recreational Co-ordinator for Thunder Bay's Homes for the Aged, stated, in one of the interviews, that she had "complain[ed]…about

[1649] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 3-4, 6, 10.
[1650] Ibid.
[1651] Ibid., 7-8.
[1652] Ibid., 6, 82.

Handi-Transit to the Labour Management Board" because of the sandbag issue and the fact that there were "no seatbelts in the van."[1653] In one specific incident, Martinsen revealed that a nurse attendant "hit her head" inside one of the vans after the driver crossed a set of railway tracks.[1654] Alice Bellavance acknowledges that HAGI-Transit "got creative" using the sandbag concept to make sure people didn't bounce around in the van, but that HAGI "was a little slow on the uptake" on safety measures.[1655]

While Martinsen complained about HAGI-Transit, most users spoke highly of the service. Two residents of Dawson Court Home for the Aged reported using HAGI-Transit and "like[d] it."[1656] In addition to these residents, a small sample of five randomly selected HAGI-Transit users were all "extremely satisfied" with the service and had "no trouble with it."[1657] When questioned about safety, the users "felt safe and had confidence," even with the sandbags.[1658] This can partly be explained by the fact that users did not want to see the system fold.[1659] Similarly, the interviewees explained that before the existence of the service, they used inaccessible cars and taxis, but experienced profound difficulties, one stating that it was "painful."[1660] Ravi Malhotra and Morgan Rowe's *Exploring Disability Identity* uses narratives to examine whether a disability "advocacy identity helps or hinders dealing with systemic barriers."[1661] The authors reveal that their interviewees experienced a "deep frustration with the accessibility of the key forms of public transportation," but that "door-to-door paratransit was

[1653] Ibid., 82.
[1654] Ibid.
[1655] "Alice Bellavance."
[1656] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 84.
[1657] Ibid., 91.
[1658] Ibid., 93.
[1659] CTB Archives, Series 117, 4941-05, 2046.002-1, Public Relations, Action Groups, HAGI – Handi-Transit, Correspondence from Mary Sereda to Walter Assef, 9 March 1976, 1.
[1660] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 93.
[1661] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 185.

almost universally criticized."[1662] By the time of Malhotra and Rowe's book (2014), many believed that a separate paratransit system had outlived its usefulness; however, in 1977, it was one of the few options available in Thunder Bay for accessible transportation.

Nevertheless, a couple of important points came out of the interviews. Firstly only two users paid the 50 cent voluntary fare, and that only one person was aware of all of HAGI-Transit's policies and procedures.[1663] The positive accounts from Thunder Bay users led the creators of the report to realize that a "special van system in Thunder Bay was…need[ed,]" but that the fare system had to be restructured and that HAGI-Transit required more publicity.[1664] These recommendations were discussed at two special City meetings on July 19th and August 13th, 1977, which were attended by the HAGI, the Planning Council, the Volunteer Bureau, the Lakehead Board of Education, and the City of Thunder Bay's Parks and Recreation, Social Services and Transit Departments. At the first meeting, each of the recommendations were reviewed, with the group debating the possibility and timing of putting them into place. The second meeting was held to present the finalized recommendations to the City of Thunder Bay's Finance Department. Furthermore, two general comments were discussed at these meetings. The first was that HAGI-Transit's "overall effectiveness…was good and worthwhile, [and it was] providing a needed service to the handicapped community at a reasonable cost."[1665] Secondly, it was revealed that "the system [HAGI-Transit] was efficient, but by implementation of the recommendations contained in the report, its efficiency could be improved and thus provide a better service at less or equivalent cost."[1666]

[1662] Ibid., inside cover, 185.
[1663] Ibid., 92.
[1664] City of Thunder Bay, *Handi-Transit Operational Study*, 93.
[1665] "Web Exhibits – 125 Years.
[1666] Ibid.

City Council agreed that HAGI-Transit needed to remain an independently run system, but adopted two resolutions. These resolutions were to approve a "new management structure and tighter internal controls," while requesting the provincial government to fund HAGI-Transit for 50 per cent of its operating costs.[1667] As part of the new management structure, a HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee would "set policy" and "monitor" the accessible transportation service.[1668] Shortly after the August 31st meeting, the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee was created to assist Floyd James. The eleven-member committee was chosen by the HAGI BOD, and contained a broad array of people, featuring three City officials, four social service representatives and four HAGI members, including HAGI President Koivisto.[1669] The Committee looked into installing new safety tie downs for wheelchairs, teaching drivers defensive driving strategies, increasing publicity in the local media about HAGI-Transit, researching the possibility of purchasing a fourth van, obtaining new contracts, and submitting a 1978 budget to the City for approval.[1670] According to Koivisto:

> When that whole process was happening [the move to the Advisory Committee,] we had ensured that we would do everything we could to improve it [HAGI-Transit] and for many, many years…many times the manager of the regular [City] transit sat on our BOD, sat on our advisory committees, you know, so they would have direct input into our operations, you know, so that if questions were being asked or improvements were needed, we were only too willing to try to do things… that system evolved tremendously too, a few managers, you know, when we first started. It was difficult to run it with just a hit and miss system you know…We didn't know what we were doing in many ways you know, again and there were problems, at times, but the bottom line is that it [HAGI-Transit] served its purpose, it developed, it grew, it became more specialized in handling disabled, you know, all kinds of improvements were made with the tie down systems and everything.[1671]

[1667] "Handi-Transit tightens up," 1.
[1668] Ibid.
[1669] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Committee names, 1978, 1.
[1670] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 23 Nov 1977, 1; "Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, October 25, 1977, 16.
[1671] "Dave Koivisto."

Indeed, the HAGI implemented many of these recommendations, right out of the gate, as will be discussed below, and the new funds increased HAGI-Transit's operating budget for 1978 to $120,000.[1672]

The Advisory Committee placed ads in the *Chronicle Journal*, outlining HAGI-Transit's mandate, which was "for citizens…unable to use municipal transit."[1673] They also distributed a HAGI-Transit pamphlet to the general public.[1674] To increase driver awareness, a March 1978 HAGI-Transit employee workshop was organized to help drivers "see the world view" from the passengers' point of view.[1675] Next, starting in April 1978, the Committee arranged for HAGI-Transit to take over the transportation contracts for Harmony Place and On the Move, and representatives from both programs joined the Advisory Committee.[1676] The Committee also improved the safety of the service, through defensive driving and first aid courses for drivers. As well, contacts were made between Lakehead University's Engineering Department for the creation of a new tie down and seatbelt system.[1677] Although the Advisory Committee performed great strides in professionalizing HAGI-Transit, serious underlying problems became evident in the process. This led to the dismissal of James in 1979, and the appointment of Allan Buchan as the new manager.

HAGI-Transit played a large role in disability conferences. Floyd James and Koivisto attended a UHGO meeting from May 6-8th, 1977, in Peterborough, ON, to discuss accessible transportation. One of the HAGI-Transit vans was used to transport Thunder Bay delegates to

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[1672] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 3.
[1673] "Handi-Transit," *Chronicle Journal*, October 25, 1977, 16; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 28 March 1978, 1.
[1674] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 28 March 1978, 1.
[1675] "Handi-Transit Workshop," *Chronicle Journal*, March 1, 1978, 16.
[1676] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 12 April 1978, 1.
[1677] Ibid., 1-2.

Dryden for the second Annual Talk Shop 78 conference.[1678] Talk Shops were early NWO regional disability/accessibility workshops, which were created after the 1976 formation of the Physically Handicapped Group of Kenora (see chapter five). The regional workshops were replaced by the annual PUSH North West regional disability consumer conferences organized by the HAGI and starting in 1982.[1679]

Professionalizing HAGI-Transit, 1979-1983

After the appointment of the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee in late 1977, some serious problems with James' leadership became evident. For example, in March of 1979, a HAGI-Transit driver was stopped by City police in the possession of alcohol; the driver was immediately fired. After an internal investigation, it was also discovered that one of the dispatchers also worked under the influence of alcohol. Furthermore, others dispatchers were observed using poor manners while on the telephone with customers. Koivisto believed that a fresh change in management and new culture was needed. He dismissed James as HAGI-Transit Manager. Despite his dismissal, James stayed involved in accessible transportation by buying HAGI-Transit's older vans and running his own private accessible transportation service for PWD who could pay higher rates. Koivisto initiated a job search for a new manager, and also reached out to Iron Range, and Turner bus lines to find a new driver.[1680] James' position was filled, in June 1979, by Allan Buchan, who relocated to Thunder Bay from Sault Ste. Marie for the new job. Previously, Buchan had operated a non-profit disability organization in Sault Ste. Marie called South Help Unlimited. One of the first things that organization did was partner with

[1678] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 7 June 1978, 1; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 2.
[1679] Pat Tonkin, "Disabled Seek Action on Many Fronts," *Daily Miner and News*, August 15, 1977.
[1680] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 10 April 1979, 1; "Alice Bellavance."

the local OMOD to establish the Sault Ste. Marie's first accessible transportation system - Parabus service. Parabus then joined Ontario's accessible transportation pilot. Buchan was a trained accountant, and knew both Koivisto and Ross through prior connections with housing cooperatives and disabled sports. In turn, the HAGI BOD saw him as the right person to take over for James, and lead HAGI-Transit into its professionalization phase.[1681] Having access to the pilot funds for his hometown accessible transportation service, Buchan was impressed by how Thunder Bay's service survived and grew despite not being in the pilot project. This led Buchan to conclude that "Thunder Bay was one of the leaders in the province starting their system back in 1975."[1682]

In the summer of 1979, Buchan designed new policies and procedures, acquired a new provincial funding agreement, and presided over the physical relocation of HAGI-Transit to Jumbo Gardens School in the north side of the city. Turner and Killian's third stage of a social movement is the "formal organization" phase where an organization becomes disciplined, practices are streamlined, and objectives articulated; arguably HAGI was entering this stage at this time.[1683] Indeed, the summer of 1979 was an eventful time for the HAGI. Firstly, the province finally agreed to a subsidy for HAGI-Transit that supported the service up until December 31st. Thunder Bay was one of the early recipients of this interim subsidy, and, by August of 1980, a formal operating agreement was finalized ensuring a 50-50 cost sharing system between the province and the municipality of Thunder Bay.[1684] The HAGI also saw the One Fifty Castlegreen transitional complex come online; here, HAGI-Transit drivers participated

[1681] Ibid; "Allan Buchan."
[1682] "Allan Buchan;" HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 7 June 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 June 1979, 1.
[1683] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior 2nd ed*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 253.
[1684] Web Exhibits – 125 Years.

in the grand opening.[1685] Finally, HAGI-Transit relocated from the small basement office in McKellar Hospital, to the back of Jumbo Gardens School on a three-year lease from the City of Thunder Bay.[1686] Koivisto reveals that the new building gave them lots of space for parking, access to two large offices, and a staff lounge "at a fairly reasonable price…so it worked out well for a number of years there."[1687] The move took place during the first week of October, and the Ministry of Northern Affairs provided funding to make the building completely accessible.[1688]

Buchan designed a new job description for dispatchers, as in the past there had been "no real duties…assigned."[1689] Buchan then instituted uniforms for drivers, introduced charter trips, and standardized trip log sheets.[1690] These reforms were important because, combined with the increased publicity, 80 additional people registered as HAGI-Transit users by November 1979.[1691] HAGI-Transit's increased professionalism was one reason other cities, such as Sudbury, ON, hired Buchan as a consultant to help develop their own nascent services after the province's commitment to the cost-sharing agreement came into effect.[1692]

With more users, one of Buchan's goals for 1980 was purchasing two new vans.[1693] The expansion allowed the HAGI to enlarge its geographical reach and improve overall efficiency. In order to expand, the group needed to secure stable contracts besides the provincial-municipal cost sharing arrangement, and they did this through contracts with the City of Thunder Bay's

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[1685] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 1 Aug 1979, 1.
[1686] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1979, 2.
[1687] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager Report, Aug 1979, 1; "Dave Koivisto."
[1688] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1979, 2.
[1689] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, August 1979, 2.
[1690] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, 2; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, November 1979, 1; HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1979, 1.
[1691] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 15 Nov 1979, 2.
[1692] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 13 Dec 1979, 1.
[1693] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 15 Nov 1979, 1,

Parks and Recreation Division, the Lakehead Board of Education, and the Separate School Board (Roman Catholic).[1694] The City was also providing $10,000 a month through the help from the Provincial MTC.[1695] The HAGI increased fares in 1980 to 75 cents, for an in-ward trip (within Port Arthur or Fort William), and $1.00, for an out of ward.[1696] These finances were greatly needed, as HAGI-Transit's vans required constant maintenance, upgrades, and repairs. The HAGI also used a modified station wagon, and then decided to rent cabs from Oikenen's taxi company to act as a fill ins (in 1993, Oikenen's was granted a special licence to transport wheelchair riders).[1697] The new vans increased the service's geographical boundaries by servicing those up to City limits, at 20th Side Road, while also reaching west of the Harbour Expressway.[1698] By this time, some 700 people in Thunder Bay, or about 90 passengers a day, were using HAGI-Transit, and this resulted in some 700 miles a day.[1699] Further, statistics showed that about 3,000 passenger trips occurred each month, which transported 3.4 passengers a van per hour.[1700]

Esther Gammon, a full-time dispatcher, was hired as Assistant Manager in June 1980.[1701] Buchan was happy with this appointment, as "it allow[ed] [him] a little more time to meet with

[1694] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Explanation of HAGI Cash Flow System, 1980, 1.
[1695] Ibid; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, March 1980, 1.
[1696] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1980, 14; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Explanation of HAGI Cash Flow System, 1980, 1.
[1697] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1980, 2; Jim Kelly, "Taxi operators angry [police board grants special licences to Oikonen's for wheelchair-accessible vehicles]," *Chronicle-Journal*, May 20, 1993, 3; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 24 Jan 1989, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 28 Aug 1989, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1980, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee. Handi-Transit Manager's Report, 31 Oct 1980, 1.
[1698] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Thunder Bay Health Proposal Patient Transfer Service, 1980, 1-2; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1980, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 30 Oct 1980, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 27 Nov 1980, 1.
[1699] Dan Baughman, "Drivers ignore handicap signs," *Chronicle Journal*, October 20, 1979, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Allan Buchan letter to the Castlegreen BOD, 11 June 1980, 1.
[1700] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Thunder Bay Health Proposal Patient Transfer Service, 1980, 2.
[1701] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 24 Jan 1980, 1, HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, June/July, 1980, 1.

organizations," and to expand services.[1702] Buchan shared his knowledge of accessible transportation services throughout the NWO region. This advisory support was similar to what Driedger observed in the case of the MLPH, as they also helped cities and towns outside Winnipeg, such as the Pas, Steinbach, Altona/Winkler, and Neepawa.[1703] Buchan lectured in Sudbury in late 1979 discussing HAGI-Transit's history, operating policies, and Advisory Committee, so that that city could start its own similar service.[1704] The cities of North Bay and Sault Ste. Marie also requested Buchan's expertise for their systems.[1705] The latter city, Buchan's hometown, was "amazed at the transportation system [he] operated in Thunder Bay."[1706] As chapter five will explain, Buchan also played a large role in the annual PUSH North West regional conferences of the 1980s, lecturing smaller NWO communities on the process of starting up accessible transportation services. Serving with Buchan, and Gammon, were the drivers and dispatchers, who greatly benefited from Buchan's reforms.

In the summer of 1980, Buchan refined driver duties through the production of a new eight-page driver's manual. This manual specified driver functions and duties, while also outlining repercussions for failing to abide by them. The manual was partly a response to a series of troubling incidents involving HAGI-Transit drivers.[1707] At the end of 1979, a HAGI-Transit driver was involved in a crash. This crash was not a one-off, as this particular driver already had a series of complaints against him, and was also on the three month probationary training period.

[1702] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Handi-Transit Employee Evaluation Report, 1980, 1.
[1703] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 229, 231, 237.
[1704] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, December 1979, 3; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 24 Jan 1980, 1.
[1705] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 25 Sept 1980; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 27 Nov 1980, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, 27 Nov 1980, 2.
[1706] Ibid.
[1707] HAGI, Handi-Transit Staff, Meeting Minutes, 27 Aug 1980, 1.

As a result, the driver was let go.[1708] Another crash occurred in April of 1980, and resulted in $2,000 damage to a van. In this case, the driver illegally changed lanes, and did not see an oncoming vehicle; this driver was placed on suspension.[1709] Another driver quit in April 1980 believing that "he was being discriminated against" for being a male driver.[1710] While it was true that 80 per cent of HAGI-Transit drivers were women, Buchan dismissed the driver's claim as "totally unjustified."[1711] Buchan had a discussion with the driver about his temper, but to no avail; the driver quit.[1712] Now short of drivers, Buchan placed ads in the *Chronicle Journal*, and hired three new drivers.[1713] Buchan created a new 3-6-9 driver point system. The point system: after three incidents the driver met with Buchan; after six they met with the Advisory Committee; and, after nine they were terminated.[1714]

The HAGI-Transit Manager also created a HAGI-Transit Staff Council to complement the new employee policies and procedures; the Staff Council was a forum where employees discussed on-the-job problems, such as overbooking, the difficulty of transporting 'heavy' passengers, and strategies for dealing with 'problem' passengers.[1715] To rectify them, dispatchers were told to inquire of a passenger's weight beforehand, with heavy passengers being assigned to a van with a sturdier ramp. As well, HAGI-Transit users were encouraged to install ramps to their homes, if the entrance had a series of stairs, to avoid the driver having to lift them. Buchan solved other problems by having personal sit-downs with 'problem' passengers, installing car

[1708] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, December 1979, 1.
[1709] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Accident Report, April 1980, 1.
[1710] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, April 1980, 1.
[1711] Ibid; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, November 1979, 1.
[1712] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, April 1980, 1.
[1713] "Handi-Transit [ad,]" *Chronicle Journal*, April 19, 1980, 26; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, May 1980, 1.
[1714] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes, 27 March 1980, 1.
[1715] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, February 1980, 1.

seats for disabled children, spreading out bookings, and refining the late/no show policy. Drivers waited five minutes and left if a passenger no-showed; repeat offenders were denied service for a time.[1716]

HAGI-Transit offices at Jumbo Gardens were renovated. Vans were painted the HAGI-Transit blue/white colour scheme, HAGI's new logo (an H that included design elements from three of HAGI's mandates – housing, transportation, and sports and recreation). By the end of 1980, HAGI-Transit was making 35,460 trips/year, with their six vans, traveling some 10,401 miles, and transporting 3.41 passengers per trip per hour.[1717] Buchan had clearly 'professionalized' HAGI-Transit, and this was attested to by the glowing internal BOD review that noted he was "excellent" and a "very good employee."[1718] After serving as HAGI-Transit Manager for about five years (1979-83), Buchan moved on to become the HAGI Housing Administrator. He was replaced by Rick Miles. Miles was a young educated man, with cerebral palsy, who was recruited from southern Ontario. HAGI's Hiring Committee was impressed with Miles' education and work experience, as he had Masters of Social Work degree and government experience with disability policy making.[1719]

However before his move, Buchan spent the remainder of the early 1980s finishing the professionalization and expansion of HAGI-Transit. In 1981, HAGI-Transit's seventh year of operation, it transported about 3,500 passengers a month, making some 55,000 trips, with 25 per cent of the trips being for employment. HAGI-Transit also employed 18 people, and had an

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[1716] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, February, 1980, 2; HAGI, Handi-Transit Staff, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1980, 2-3; HAGI, Handi-Transit Staff, Meeting Minutes, June 1980, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1980, 14.
[1717] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1980, 14.
[1718] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 March 1980, 5.
[1719] "Dave Koivisto."

operating budget of $596,000.[1720] By July 1st 1983, Buchan oversaw the incorporation of HAGI-Transit. The service continued to grow, transporting around 4,000 passengers a month.[1721] Miles ushered in a new era, which saw the computerization and continued expansion of HAGI-Transit.

HAGI-Transit Expansion, the 1987 Employee Dispute, and Safety Concerns, 1985-1992

Beginning in the mid-1980s, and through the leadership of Miles (1983-86) and Darrell Sanderson (1986-87), HAGI-Transit expanded its accessible transportation system in Thunder Bay by starting new programs and acquiring new vehicles, while also overcoming some problems. Miles' tenure saw HAGI-Transit regularly increase its operating budget. In 1984, it rose to $1,184,000.[1722] In the mid-1980s, these increased funds helped HAGI-Transit develop their computer system through the assistance of computer consultant, Brian Komeda. Komeda designed a regionally-specific computer system entirely unique to NWO that tied HAGI-Transit to the provincial government, and the growing regional accessible transportation systems. The new system came online in 1988 and improved data collection and route planning. It was funded by a provincial (75 per cent) – municipal (25 per cent) cost sharing agreement.[1723]

In November of 1985, Miles produced a policy paper expanding HAGI Transit's ridership to include seniors and ambulatory patients. The paper was discussed by HAGI executives at their year-end meeting, where they agreed to investigate Miles' plan further. The meeting also saw HAGI vote to introduce new passes for HAGI-Transit, research improved tie

[1720] Howard Reid, "Unique city transportation service enjoying its 7th year," *Chronicle Journal's Business Review and Forecast*, April 28, 1981, 9A; HAGI, Annual Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 12 Dec 1985, 1.
[1721] Gord McLaughlin, "City gives grants totalling $605,000," *Chronicle Journal*, March 23, 1983, 1; Web Exhibits – 125 Years.
[1722] HAGI, Annual Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 12 Dec 1985, 1.
[1723] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 17, 19; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 3; "HAGI may get help," *Chronicle Journal*, January 30, 1986, 15; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1988, 1.

down systems, and raise fares to $1 (in ward) and $1.25 (out of ward).[1724] The demand on HAGI-Transit from wheelchair users was becoming so great that in order to support new ridership, the HAGI experimented in 1986 with renting taxis to accommodate the new groups.[1725] Nevertheless, Miles resigned from his position for a job in Ottawa.[1726]

In June 1986, Darrell Sanderson, a HAGI BOD member and double amputee, replaced Miles as the fourth manager. The thirty-one year old Sanderson lost both of his legs in a railway accident in the late 1970s, while working as a switchman for Canadian National Railways. After the injury, Sanderson joined the HAGI and served on the BOD, while also advocating for injured workers in Thunder Bay. Sanderson had a computer programming diploma, which was an asset especially since HAGI-Transit was moving over to a computer based system.[1727] It was Sanderson who oversaw the implementation of the computer system, and increase in ridership. For instance, later that year, the new HAGI-Transit boss noted that the taxi system was "very effective," and resulted in the monthly reduction of unavailable trips and the cost per trip.[1728] In fact, the system worked so well that HAGI purchased a station wagon in March 1987, so that even more space could be freed up on their vans for wheelchair riders.[1729]

While the station wagon was important, HAGI's main vehicle remained the accessible van, and with the help of service groups, they acquired a new van in 1986. The new van was

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[1724] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1985, 1; HAGI, Annual Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 12 Dec 1985, 2; HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Oct 1988, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD; Co-Executive Directors' Report, 8 Nov 1988, 1-2.
[1725] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb, 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 2.
[1726] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darrell Sanderson letter to Thadeus Weiss, 5 June 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 15.
[1727] "Darrell Sanderson," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 20 Nov 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?pid=174239607.
[1728] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 16.
[1729] Ibid., 20; HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1986, 1.

purchased in February 1986, from a combined $18,000 funding package by the Ortona Legion and the South Ward Jaycetees.[1730] These contributions were important because although the MTC funded 50 per cent of the capital cost for a van, which in the mid-1980s was about $20-25,000, the rest had to be raised by the HAGI. To Alice Bellavance, "the funding formula [for HAGI-Transit] was never adequate to meet the demand."[1731] Bellavance noted that the "[MTC] had that, you know, they paid a certain percentage for new capital, like for new vans with the conversions. But then the rest had to come from, you know, fundraising or had to be matched, by the municipality. I mean it's an ongoing challenge" to raise funds.[1732] At this time, HAGI had a fleet of 10 vans in 1986, but had to replace one a year "because of age and mileage;" this number increased to two later in the decade.[1733]

With the new van in service, Sanderson renewed the HAGI's contracts with the Separate School Board and the Lakehead Board of Education. With the advent of Bill 82 (the Special Education Act), or the Education Amendment Act, 1980, it became easier for exceptional students to receive services. In his letters, Sanderson referred to this act, and how it "opened up the demand for specialized transit" for disabled students.[1734] He then renegotiated new multi-year contracts with both boards.[1735] Sanderson also negotiated a two year "legal operating agreement" with new City Transit Manager Alex Grant at the end of 1986.[1736] Indeed, during 1986, HAGI-

[1730] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1985, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 15.
[1731] "Alice Bellavance."
[1732] Ibid.
[1733] "Handicapped Action Group Inc. shows appreciation to its supporters," *Chronicle Journal*, April 16, 1986, 21.
[1734] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darrell Sanderson to John Beaucage, 20 Aug 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darrell Sanderson to Pentti Korkaninen, 20 Aug 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Sept 1986, 1.
[1735] Ibid.
[1736] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1986, 1.

Transit made 50,037 total trips, which worked out to about 5,000 trips a month.[1737] These successes were vital in helping PWD have the same access to accessible transportation.

Nineteen eight-seven opened with HAGI-Transit providing free transportation for a meet and greet with Rick Hansen, at One Fifty Castlegreen, during his stop in Thunder Bay on January 4th, 1987 (see chapter three).[1738] Shortly after Hansen's visit, HAGI expanded HAGI-Transit ridership to include people with Alzheimer's, and others with developmental disabilities. The reasons for including people with Alzheimers were twofold. The population of senior citizens in NWO had increased and many had disabilities due to old age. Thus, by including them, the HAGI could acquire additional funding. Parent shows that this growth in paratransit systems also occurred in Montreal after the Montreal Urban Community took over that city's paratransit from the Forest brothers. The injection of new municipal funding "led to an increase of admissible clientele."[1739] In Thunder Bay, the HAGI held a successful February meeting with, MCSS representative, June Shaw and Sister Shirley Caccaco, from St. Joseph's Heritage, on their expansion proposal. A month later, an expansion package was approved for the increased passenger load.[1740] The Alzheimer Day Care Program came into effect in May, and the new funding package allowed HAGI-Transit to purchase a new vehicle for the increased load.[1741]

By early 1987, the HAGI was observing an increased number of the developmentally disabled using their transit service. This raised concerns, as the new intake was consuming precious resources for the physically disabled. After an investigation as to the cause of the

[1737] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 3.
[1738] Ross Longbottom, "City cheers Man in Motion; 'means lot to me,' says Rick," *Chronicle Journal*, January 5, 1987, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 10 Dec 1986, 2.
[1739] Boucher, Fougeyrollas, and Majeau, "French-speaking Contributions," 174.
[1740] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1987, 1; HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 3.
[1741] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1987, 1.

increase, Koivsto, Co-Executive Director, realized it was occurring because of an increase of doctors' notes to the developmentally disabled, which allowed them to use HAGI-Transit. In March, Koivisto expressed his "concern to the HAGI BOD [that] doctors [were] referring more and more developmentally disabled to our service," and that it needed to be addressed.[1742] Indeed, both the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee and the HAGI BOD argued that a screening of passengers needed to take place. The Advisory Committee was concerned that referring agencies lacked the sufficient funds and training to provide developmentally disabled passengers with attendants. Without adequate attendants to monitor passengers, it was left up to HAGI-Transit drivers to supervise these individuals (some of whom had behavioural problems). Multitasking was hazardous, as a driver's main duty was to transport people to their destination in a safe manner.[1743] A second reason for the screening, brought up by the HAGI BOD, was the fact that HAGI-Transit was created with the physically disabled in mind. Thus, the BOD did not want to see this segment of the disabled population pushed out of a service that was started for them.[1744] In the literature, disability scholars refer to the "hierarchy of stigma" where the physically disabled are the least discriminated against, followed by those with cognitive disabilities, and finally those with psychiatric disabilities.[1745] While there is no evidence to assert that HAGI prejudged against those with developmental disabilities, the issue caused tension within the organization. Sanderson was opposed to this stance by the Advisory Committee. He believed it was HAGI-Transit's goal to "promote independence," no matter what a person's disability was.[1746] Also, the HAGI-Transit Manager was leery of opening up the organization to

[1742] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1987, 1.
[1743] Ibid.
[1744] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 8 April 1987, 2.
[1745] Julie Smart, *Disability Across the Developmental Lifespan: For the Rehabilitation Counselor* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2012), 188.
[1746] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1987, 1.

litigation because of denial of service.[1747] After a lengthy discussion with Sanderson, both the Advisory Committee and the HAGI BOD agreed that the "policy on eligibility as it [stood] [would] continue to be used," but that Sanderson would thoroughly "review" a developmentally disabled person before admitting them to HAGI-Transit.[1748] This policy to include people of different disability backgrounds became entrenched within HAGI-Transit in the late 1980s.[1749]

In the summer of 1987, HAGI-Transit experienced a major setback, when their employees resigned and walked off the job, leaving the HAGI scrambling. This was a serious labour dispute that shut down the service. On June 19th, eight HAGI-Transit drivers, and three office workers, "walked away from their jobs" in a dispute over wages and the right to unionize.[1750] The "mass resignation" led the HAGI to call an emergency BOD meeting that same day.[1751] It was agreed that the BOD would meet with these "disgruntled employees" three days later on June 22nd in an attempt solve the impasse.[1752] The HAGI was "caught…off guard" by the strike, and according to Sanderson, it stemmed from a "breakdown in the communication process."[1753] The HAGI was "not opposed" to unionization, but needed time to work out an agreement agreeable for both the management and the employees.[1754] At the June 22nd Special BOD Meeting, directors met with the employees and struck an agreement for them to return to work later at the end of month. The HAGI BOD refused to accept their resignation letters and instead opted for an upgrade of their policies and procedures for employee disputes, while also not taking any disciplinary action against those who walked off. As was done with tenants and

[1747] Ibid.
[1748] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1987, 1.
[1749] Ibid.
[1750] Dan Bauchman, "Handi-Transit workers 'quit' their jobs without warning," *Chronicle Journal*, June 20, 1987, 1.
[1751] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 22 June 1987, 1.
[1752] Ibid.
[1753] Bauchman, "Handi-Transit workers 'quit,'" 1.
[1754] Ibid.

support staff at One Fifty, the BOD agreed to host future meetings and retreats between staff to increase group dynamics; in fact, they also produced a revised complaint form for discussion at the first such meeting. This form outlined a four-step procedure to solve employee disputes. It ranged from talking over matters with the supervisor all the way to forwarding a written complaint to the HAGI BOD. On the other hand, the BOD accepted the resignation of Sanderson, and appointed Ron Ross as interim-manager. They also initiated a job search for a new manager.[1755] Later that week, a new financial agreement was worked out with HAGI-Transit workers, but unionization would not occur until 1991, under a different manager.[1756]

Indeed, a number of riders took HAGI to task for interrupting their travel plans, while not being prepared to improvise quickly enough in finding alternative transportation. Caught in the middle of the dispute were the 230 daily (about 900 people were registered by 1987) HAGI-Transit users, who had to find alternative transportation. Earl Traer, a wheelchair user, and three others, who daily depended on the service to access Lakehead Rehab, were "forced to take cabs home" the day the dispute started.[1757] Traer's wife thought it was "pretty terrible," and was concerned that if the drivers knew they were going to walk off the job, it was a shame for them to pick up passengers in order to leave them hanging at pick up.[1758] Another disabled rider, Anita Harris, believed that the dispute "show[ed] [HAGI-Transit employees] did not really care about the people they do the service for."[1759] To Harris, disabled people were a vulnerable group, and if HAGI-Transit drivers did not have "the compassion it takes, they [should not] have this job,"

[1755] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 22 June 1987, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1991, 18; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 July 1990, 2.
[1756] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1991, 18.
[1757] Bauchman, "Handi-Transit workers 'quit,'" 1.
[1758] Ibid.
[1759] Ibid.

especially since these users "relied" upon them.[1760] When interviewed about the 1987 HAGI-Transit labour dispute, Tracy Hurlburt, a then-19-year-old summer student, revealed that she, too, had to use cabs in order to get to her job at the local radio station. Hurlburt uses a wheelchair because of a physical disability and is dependent on accessible transportation. Thus, during the stoppage of service, her employer actually paid for her cab. The cost was "at least $50…each way," and on a few occasions, the local news crew gave her a ride since she worked for the radio.[1761] Hurlburt noted that "it was pretty bad that [her] employer paid for [her] to go to work."[1762] The dispute was resolved at the end of June; and to prevent further employee friction, the HAGI developed new policies to improve working relations with HAGI-Transit staff.[1763]

In order to prevent future employee disruptions, the HAGI developed new policies and procedures to improve the work environment in their transit department.[1764] Sanderson's resignation was a direct result of the strike and several people interviewed noted that he was "a little rough around the edges," and that "it [the job] didn't work out too well," due to Sanderson's lack of dispute resolution skills.[1765] By August of 1987, Miles was brought back from Ottawa to lead HAGI-Transit for the start of the September 1987 school year. Besides presiding over the different school routes, Miles was put in charge of mending employee relations.[1766] Following the strike, Koivisto and Ross believed that "more effort [was needed] to improve employee relations and involvement in the organization."[1767] Thus, a series of reforms were instituted, which included a new complaint procedure, an internal employee council within

[1760] Ibid.
[1761] "Tracy Hurlbert."
[1762] Ibid.
[1763] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1987, 2.
[1764] Ibid.
[1765] "Thadeus Weiss," interview with Ulysses Patola, 3 March 2017; "Dave Koivisto."
[1766] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1987, 1.
[1767] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1987, 2.

HAGI-Transit (that met regularly to address problems), regular monthly staff meetings, HAGI-Transit staff representation on the Advisory Committee, HAGI-Transit employee input in the hiring of managers, HAGI-Transit employee representation at HAGI's General Membership meetings (where policies and procedures were discussed), and HAGI-Transit employee representation on the HAGI BOD.[1768] These new steps helped iron out many of the non-monetary grievances that caused the June 1987 dispute. However, HAGI-Transit drivers still wanted unionization. The drivers attained this goal by joining the Amalgamated Transit Union Local #966 in March of 1990. After a yearlong negotiation, they signed an official agreement with the HAGI in 1991.[1769] According to Koivisto, HAGI leaders were happy for the drivers, but also conscious of the fact that increases in wages had to be balanced in order for services for disabled consumers to be maintained.[1770]

HAGI-Transit's goal was to provide all PWD in the city of Thunder Bay access to accessible transportation; however, by the late 1980s they encountered greater and greater backlogs. In 1989 the HAGI turned away about 1,700 unavailable trips, which "clearly indicate[d] the high volume of passengers using the service."[1771] HAGI-Transit's expansion to include new groups, and 24 hour notice to book a trip, put strains on the service. In turn, the HAGI investigated a series of strategies to solve the problem of 'unavailable trips' and chose to institute a program called 'dynamic routing.' John Holmwood, a member of the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee (and future HAGI-Transit Manager), introduced the idea to the Advisory Committee in 1989 after attending an urban-transit conference in Montreal in 1989. The

[1768] Ibid.
[1769] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Handi-Transit Manager's Report, January 1990, 1; HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee Handi-Transit Manager's Report, February 1990, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 21 Nov 1990, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1991, 18.
[1770] "Dave Koivisto."
[1771] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 17.

conference revealed that larger Canadian cities were operating such a service for people living in rural areas, and for PWD.[1772] A year later, in 1990, HAGI-Transit's number of unavailable trips increased to 2,964.[1773] In 1991, in order to cater to these 'unavailable' passengers, the HAGI instituted Holmwood's idea through a $250,000 government funded pilot project. Holmwood replaced Miles as the Transit Manager in early 1990 and saw the new policy come to fruition on June 3rd, 1991.[1774] The new system resulted in the HAGI leasing two new vans, bringing their fleet up to 15. The two vans were then set aside for transit users to "call anytime and have a van pick them up within one hour."[1775] The other 13 vehicles continued with the 24 hour booking policy. The new system, thus, allowed for an increase of users, and a greater number of recreational trips.[1776]

Safety was another ever-present concern, for HAGI-Transit and in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they implemented the 'Q-Straint' system for their vehicles. When HAGI-Transit first started in February of 1975, sandbags were the primary method used to hold wheelchairs into place. This was a method criticized in the City's 1977 Operational Review of the transit service. Tie downs were something the HAGI implemented, in the early 1980s, with the help of Lakehead University's Engineering Department. However in 1988, the HAGI wanted an even safer tie down system, and hence employed the Q'Straint.[1777] This new tie down system was important, as it helped the HAGI pass MTC safety checks, and protected the organization from lawsuits. As HAGI-Transit grew into 1989, its 14th year of operation, it was averaging about

[1772] Colleen Baxter, "New transit service for handicapped – broadened and made more flexible," *Chronicle Journal*, May 24, 1991, 15.
[1773] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1990, 15.
[1774] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 13 June 1991, 2; Baxter, "New transit service," 15.
[1775] Baxter, "New transit service," 15.
[1776] Ibid.
[1777] HAGI, Annual Membership, Meeting Minutes, 8 Dec 1988, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1988, 1.

6,000 trips with a 14 vehicle fleet.[1778] The increased amount of trips was not without its safety challenges, as the HAGI dealt with two lawsuits in 1989, from people who claimed they were hurt in HAGI-Transit accidents. The resulting lawsuits were handled by HAGI's insurance broker, but it did not stop the HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee from "looking into other funding sources to bring [the] fleet up to a modern approved tie down system."[1779]

By October of 1989, the Advisory Committee reviewed tenders for companies offering new restraints, including the Q'Straint. Impressed with the system, HAGI-Transit Advisory Committee recommended that the HAGI budget about $17,000 to upgrade half of their fleet, with the remaining upgrades occurring in 1990. Thus, the large purchase negated the purchasing of new vehicles, until the tie down system was installed on all of HAGI-Transit's fleet.[1780] The new tie down system ensured "passengers traveling in wheelchairs had greater protection in cases of sudden stops or accidents."[1781] Furthermore, the new restraint system complied with the Canadian Standard Associations model for safety. In addition to the new Q'Straint tie down, the HAGI also changed their policy in regards to purchasing vehicles, agreeing to acquire mini buses, with hydraulic lifts, to better ensure the safety of passengers, as opposed to the older fold out ramps; vans were thus phased out.[1782] Also, by 1995, the City of Thunder Bay purchased 15 "Easier Access," or 'low-floor buses,' for their transit fleet at a cost of $4.3 million.[1783] This was in response to new legislation, which kicked in July 1st, 1993, mandating that all new transit

[1778] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Regional conference, 15 May 1988, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, "A Success Story in Thunder Bay," *Destination Integration*, June 1989, 1.
[1779] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1989, 1.
[1780] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Oct 1989, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 17.
[1781] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 17.
[1782] Ibid., 11, 17.
[1783] "New buses for TB Transit," *Thunder Bay Post*, February 21, 1995, 2; "A giant step forward," *Chronicle Journal*, February 16, 1995, A3.

buses purchased by municipalities in Ontario be accessible for PWD.[1784] These buses included the new Flyer ramp system, which made it "easier [to] access for all riders" including wheelchair users.[1785] The new buses were not meant to replace HAGI-Transit, but simply to provide some riders the ability to "now use [the] conventional transit system."[1786]

Collaboration with the COPOH for National Accessible Transportation, 1970s-1990s

While groups like HAGI were engaged in grassroots efforts at the local level in the late 1970s, the COPOH, with the help of its affiliates, including the HAGI, attacked inaccessibility in the federal jurisdiction of transportation. These efforts complemented transportation initiatives at the municipal and provincial level. The Clarris Kelly case of 1978 helped to initiate the COPOH's involvement. Kelly was a disabled law student who was refused access to VIA Rail due to the fact that she decided to travel without an attendant. VIA policy, at the time, required employees to use their own discretion admitting disabled travelers who traveled alone. A complaint was filed with the Canadian Transportation Commission (CTC), which saw the CTC take issue with VIA's practices. In fact, D'Aubin argues that "four important principles" resulted from this incident: self-determination, one person/one fare, equality of access, and dignity of access.[1787] The COPOH used cases like the above as a spring board for a 1979 Transportation Conference in Ottawa to discuss disabled rights to transportation on federal services, such as air, rail, intercity buses (Newfoundland), and ferries etc. The COPOH then persuaded the CTC to organize a public hearing on federal transportation rights for disabled people, where a plethora of negative transportation experiences were presented. D'Aubin states that the COPOH was greatly

[1784] "PUSH Conference tackling the issues," *Chronicle Journal*, Sept 24, 1992, 15.
[1785] "New buses for TB Transit," *Thunder Bay Post*, February 21, 1995, 2; "A giant step," A3.
[1786] Ibid.
[1787] D'Aubin, "Making Federally Regulated," 379.

aided by the United Nations IYDP (1981) and the Special (federal) Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped that toured the country a year prior to the IYDP in order to gauge the experiences of PWD regarding such issues as transportation barriers.[1788] While the COPOH took the lead, they also "encouraged individual Canadians with disabilities to participate in the Committee's hearings and to present briefs."[1789]

The HAGI heeded the COPOH's calls, and submitted a joint-brief with six other local social service groups to the Federal Parliamentary Committee, highlighting recommendations to improve transportation under federal jurisdiction. The brief outlined how "transportation services" need to be provided "on an equitable basis to handicapped people."[1790] In turn, the HAGI wanted legislation to "be altered to insure" the above, especially since at the time accessible transportation was "characterized by gaps, inconsistencies, and unevenness."[1791] The HAGI wanted a full "review [of] existing services and to re-examine the funding mechanism that support them."[1792] Specifically, the HAGI made the recommendation that "the Ministry of Transportation and the [CTC] [take] leadership in research, co-ordination and legislative review of transportation services for handicapped people. Regulations should be developed to prevent discriminatory treatment of disabled travellers."[1793] The HAGI provided four ways in which the Ministry of Transportation and CTC could accomplish the recommendation. Firstly, they outlined the need to make "all major facilities," including, terminals and vehicles, accessible, and to "sensitize" staff to disability issues.[1794] Secondly, the organization wanted rail cars to "have

[1788] D'Aubin, "We Will Ride," 88-90; William Boyce et al, *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 57.
[1789] D'Aubin, "We Will Ride," 91.
[1790] HAGI et al., *Brief to the Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped*, August 20, 1980, 2.
[1791] Ibid.
[1792] Ibid.
[1793] Ibid.
[1794] Ibid.

some form of mechanical device for lifting wheelchairs on and off the trains," priority seating near exists, tie down devices, and accessible washrooms.[1795] Thirdly, the HAGI believed that intercity bus practices "of allowing the attendant to go free" created the same situation seen in the Kelly case where "disabled individuals travelling alone may be restricted from using the service on their own."[1796] Thus, they wanted that restriction changed, and the implementation of "foldable steps" and "courtesy seating."[1797] Fourthly, the HAGI wanted air service to be "made more generally and uniformly accessible."[1798] Along with this main principle for air travel, HAGI requested accessible washrooms, visual and audio updates, and the restrictions against traveling alone removed.[1799] The Obstacles Report was the end result of the Committee.[1800]

The Obstacles Report identified 130 recommendations to improve the situation of PWD in Canada, including in federal transportation services. The COPOH became the leading force keeping the federal government accountable for implementing them, but local groups such as the HAGI, contributed their part. D'Aubin notes that the report was a "watershed event" in Canadian disability history, and while this chapter primarily deals with HAGI-Transit, and efforts to make transportation in Thunder Bay accessible, the report and its aftermath are worthy of comment.[1801] Recommendations 83 to 92 deal with transportation issues, such as the implementation of a national transportation policy, terminal accessibility, new accessible transportation equipment, accessible intercity bus travel in Newfoundland (then under federal jurisdiction), exemption of accessible intercity busses from the Federal sales tax, ending the practice of PWD signing

[1795] Ibid., 3.
[1796] Ibid.
[1797] Ibid.
[1798] Ibid.
[1799] Ibid.
[1800] Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped, *Obstacles: Report of the Special Committee on the Disabled and the Handicapped: Progress Report* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1982).
[1801] D'Aubin, "We Will Ride," 92.

waivers to use services, and mandating that air carriers have wheelchairs etc.[1802] D'Aubin commends the COPOH for "never allow[ing] the Obstacles Report to gather dust," as the federal disability advocacy group "hammered the government" to put the recommendations into place.[1803] Indeed, two of the COPOH's primary objectives were to have the province of Newfoundland operate an accessible intercity bus service (this was accomplished in 1985), and for the government to form a national transportation policy on accessible transportation.[1804]

HAGI internal records show that HAGI maintained a relationship with the COPOH, and collaborated with the Advocacy Resource Centre for the Handicapped (ARCH), a speciality legal clinic for disability issues. In a mid-1980s correspondence, ARCH stated that HAGI "was most up to date in this area [standards for federal accessibility standards]" and wanted to continue collaboration.[1805] They, in turn, provided the HAGI with steps on how to continue the momentum being made. Specifically, ARCH wanted the HAGI to write to government ministries to support new proposals for air and rail standards.[1806] Anne Crichton and Lyn Jongbloed state that "gradual refinements" were made to federal transportation policies in 1983, 1984, 1988, and 1991.[1807] Indeed, by 1991, the Ministry of Transportation developed a new policy statement for accessible transportation, with the federal government also instituting a five-year national strategy to integrate disabled people into the above services. Still, D'Aubin reveals that this was not the end of the struggle for accessible transportation, as future incidents continue to arise.[1808]

[1802] Ibid.
[1803] Ibid., 93.
[1804] Ibid., 94, 97.
[1805] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from ARCH to Dave Koivisto, 1985, 1.
[1806] Ibid. 1-2.
[1807] Anne Crichton and Lyn Jongbloed, *Disability and Social Policy in Canada* (Toronto: Captus Press, 1998), 274.
[1808] D'Aubin, "Making Federally Regulated," 381-82, 86-87.

HAGI-Transit continued to serve disabled people, in the city of Thunder Bay, throughout the 1990s and 2000s until it was merged into the City's transit division in 2014, as a recommendation of the 2005 *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (AODA). The system is now known as Lift +, with HAGI-Transit drivers amalgamated into the City's transit union.[1809] Up until the City takeover, HAGI-Transit served an important function by providing PWD transportation for almost 40 years. The development of HAGI-Transit would not have occurred without the activism and organization of HAGI. The HAGI's interconnectedness in the provincial and national discourse on accessible transportation, and their ability to work with various groups were key in overcoming a handful of financial difficulties that threatened to halt HAGI-Transit in its early years. As professionalization increased, HAGI-Transit streamlined practices until the City merger. In 2019, disabled People in Thunder Bay now have a municipal accessible transportation system that accounts for accessibility, allowing them to participate as equal citizens.[1810] Along with developing accessible housing and transportation in the city of Thunder Bay, the HAGI also reached out to NWO to establish these areas in a number of regional communities.

[1809] Jeff Labine, "City taking control of HAGI transit in 2014," *Thunder Bay Source*, December 21, 2012, 5; "City takes over Hagi transit," *Chronicle Journal*, December 18, 2012, A3; "A bus for everyone," *Chronicle Journal*, December 17, 2012, A6; Kris Ketonen, "City looks at taking over HAGI services," *Chronicle Journal*, November 6, 2012, A3; "Accessible transportation," *Chronicle Journal*, May 11, 2012, A4.
[1810] Parent, "Je me souviens," 215.

CH. 5 "HAGI started reaching out into the other [NWO] communities [and] we helped them develop their own programs": 'PUSH'ing into the NWO Region, and the Disability Advocacy, Race, and Sex Divide, 1972-1995[1811]

During the late 1970s, '80s, and early '90s, the HAGI played a critical role helping the NWO regional towns and cities set up accessible housing and transportation services. Once HAGI had entered into the "formal organizational" stage (Turner and Killian's life cycle of a social movement) and developed their organizations with goals and strategies for Thunder Bay, they expanded out into the region.[1812] Indeed, these efforts broke down ableism, giving regional disabled residents reprieve from a previously inaccessible environment. HAGI's extension into the NWO region was a natural progression of the organization, and its leading officials, David Koivisto, Ron Ross, Terry Bellavance and Allan Buchan. Understanding the development of disability advocacy and services in these smaller communities follows Geoffrey Reaume's recommendation to examine disability "outside of the main population centres."[1813] This analysis will also touch on other aspects of disability history underrepresented in the literature, namely women with disabilities, race and disability in northern Canada.[1814] Twenty years ago, Paul Longmore and Lauri Umansky similarly noted that "[d]isability historians are…increasingly folding nuanced readings of gender…race…and region into their analyses."[1815]

[1811] Quote taken from Thadeus Weiss, a former President of the HAGI BOD, describing how HAGI expanded outwards into helping the NWO region develop accessible housing and transportation. "Thadeus Weiss," interview with Ulysses Patola, 3 March 2017.
[1812] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior 2nd ed*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 253.
[1813] Geoffrey Reaume, "Disability History in Canada: Present Work in the Field and Future Prospects," *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 62.
[1814] Ibid., 61, 63.
[1815] Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, "Introduction: Disability History: From the Margins to the Mainstream," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds., Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 17.

Starting in the mid-1970s, the first three HAGI executives directly aided some of the larger regional cities, such as Kenora and Dryden, in developing their own local disability clubs, while also providing advisory support, mentorship, and equipment. By 1980, Kenora (1976) and Dryden (1980) had full-fledged disability consumer organizations, while the other regional towns/cites remained in club (not organizational) status. In a sense, the HAGI acted as the parent organization for the region, something the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped (MPLH) and the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH) did on the provincial and national levels, and Disabled Peoples' International (DPI) performed on the international stage.[1816]

The HAGI's work in this area coalesced with major international, national and provincial developments regarding disability advocacy, which assisted and complemented the HAGI's efforts. During this period, the Canadian Independent Living Movement (ILM) was in full swing, with its philosophy of consumer control and maximum independence for disabled persons (referred to as consumers), as opposed to the older model of acquiescing to health professionals. The publicity around the 1981 United Nations (UN) International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) supported the ILM. The IYDP also provided the spark for regional clubs to develop into consumer organizations; nevertheless, most were fairly small. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, "a political framework" developed in Canada around disability issues.[1817] This increased

[1816] See: Diane Driedger, *The Last Civil Rights Movement: Disabled Peoples' International* (London and New York: Hurst and St. Martin's Press, 1989), 35-36, 41; James Charlton, *Nothing about Us without Us: Disability Oppression and Empowerment* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 6, 11-12, 15; April D'Aubin, "The Council of Canadians with Disabilities: A Voice of Our Own, 1976-2012," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 243-267; Diane Driedger, "Organizing for Change: The Origins and History of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped, 1967-1982," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 221-242.
[1817] Dustin Galer, "'Hire the Handicapped!' Disability Rights, Economic Integration and Working Lives in Toronto, Ontario, 1962-2005," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2014), 239, 241, 249.

government involvement and funding was something the HAGI tapped into, which allowed it to provide advisory support to assist the region's growing disability consumer groups.[1818] Indeed, the HAGI's main focus was helping disability consumer organizations closer to Thunder Bay, as seen through the establishment of Persons United for Self-Help North West (PUSH North West) in 1981.

PUSH North West was one of six regional affiliates of People United for Self-Help Ontario (PUSH Ontario), a new consumer disability organization created in 1981. PUSH Ontario was one of the new-wave disability rights organizations, along with the COPOH (1976), and DPI (1981) created in Canada and the province of Ontario during what Aldred Neufeldt calls the third wave of disability advocacy (see introduction).[1819] These organizations were markedly different from most of their predecessors, in that they were more militant in their dealings with outsiders, treated disabled people as consumers, included them in their leadership, and were committed to improving disability rights. Allan Buchan, HAGI-Transit's second manager, was one of the disability leaders who assisted in creating PUSH Ontario as the Ontario voice for disabled consumers. It replaced the then- ineffectual and recreational-oriented United Handicapped Groups of Ontario (UHGO), and became the COPOH's Ontario affiliate. PUSH North West, led by HAGI executives (who had authority over the group), used the organization as a vehicle to bring NWO disability organizations together in annual regional disability conferences, and to continue the work advising these communities, especially in their housing and transportation spheres. In the mid-1980s to early-1990s, the HAGI took additional steps, outside of PUSH North West, setting up and running outreach attendant support programs in

[1818] Ibid.
[1819] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Approach," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 39.

Kenora, Rainy River (Fort Frances, and Atikokan), and the North Shore (Terrace Bay, Marathon, and Schreiber). Outreach provided regional disabled consumers with self-directed attendant care in their own homes. The HAGI also operated a Handi-Transit system in Manitouwadge, while providing advisory support to several other regional accessible transportation services. As well, the HAGI made inroads reaching out to NWO indigenous communities (in Treaty Three, Treaty Nine, and Robinson-Superior Treaty lands) and demonstrating the basics of accessibility. While these efforts were minimal and demonstrated some cultural stereotypes, they started an important conversation. Doreen Demas argues the need to blend non-indigenous disability organizations, who "do not always have culturally appropriate programs to help people who are Native," and indigenous organizations, who "do have these programs, but…often do not have the understanding of disability issues."[1820] However, the HAGI over-exerted itself at times, micromanaging the regional organizations through PUSH North West. Demands by regional representatives for greater autonomy led to PUSH North West's gradual separation from HAGI in the late 1980s and early '90s. Indeed, the incorporation of PUSH North West in 1992 led to that organization becoming a powerful regional disability advocacy organization for Thunder Bay and the region until it, too, folded, due to financial and personnel setbacks in 2012. In the 1990s, financial cuts backs caused the dissolution of the regional NWO organizations, which paved the way for HAGI's western based outreach program in Kenora/Rainy River to separate, becoming, in 1993, HAGI's sister organization - the Northwestern Independent Living Services (NILS). In turn, HAGI and NILS became the two undisputed leaders in disability services from the Manitoba border, in the west, to Marathon, in the east. In 2018, HAGI and NILS re-

[1820] Doreen Demas, "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 342.

integrated, as Community Services for Independence North West (administers support services), and the HAGI (oversees the organization's properties, fundraising, and advocacy).

The split between HAGI and PUSH North West also shows the tension in the evolution of social movements. As HAGI built up its framework, ran several services (accessible housing, transportation, and sports and recreation), and developed ties with government, the focus for advocacy became reduced and distance was created between HAGI leaders and individual disabled consumers. In the last stage of Turner and Killian's life cycle, a social movement becomes an organic part of the community, which can produce complacency.[1821] Hence the creation of PUSH North West, which took an aggressive stance towards advocacy in a host of other areas, such as fighting for an *Ontarians with Disabilities Act*. This is not to say that HAGI did not pursue advocacy, but that they played a supportive role to PUSH North West. This tension within disability organizations has been observed by others. Armand Mauss' life cycle of a social movement shows that the successes of movements can lead to their "fragmentation."[1822] Mauss notes that after a social movement has reached "institutionalization" (stable membership and resources, division of labour, high profile in the advocacy realm, and societal respectability), this is its strongest stage.[1823] Inevitably the movement declines; for example, the leaders of social movements will compete over the direction and strategy for the future, leading to splits and schisms. Will Boyce, Kari Krogh and Emily Boyce argue that the economic and political changes of the early to mid-1990s caused disability organizations to develop "coping strategies"

[1821] Turner and Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 253.
[1822] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 64-70; For an analysis of how social movement theory has been applied to the DPI, see Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 124-125.
[1823] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 63.

in order to survive.[1824] Indeed, the demand for direct services combined with the need for greater levels of advocacy caused many organizations to seek "a more efficient and pragmatic approach" by focusing on providing direct services rather than "concentrate[ing] on large-scale advocacy initiatives," especially since the political climate in the 1990s was much less receptive to disability issues.[1825] In fact, Boyce et al. note that government support "became more contingent on the provision of direct services," furthering the fragmentation of disability rights organizations.[1826] Indeed, some argue that the larger organizations "lost their fighting edge in advocacy," while their clientele became mainly "white middleclass wheelchair users."[1827] Analyzing this tension in Thunder Bay and NWO through region and race helps to show the different nuances in the disability rights movement led by HAGI. It also shows how indigenous PWD, disadvantaged by the impact of colonialism, were inherently left on the margins of an emerging accessible region.

Finally, issues for women with disabilities in Thunder Bay developed later. Led by HAGI, the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay spent the first fifteen years breaking down barriers in the areas of housing, transportation, and sports/recreation. Once considerable progress was made in the above, more specific areas could be pursued, such as women's issues. Prior to disabled women in Thunder Bay taking the lead in organizing their own events in the mid-1980s, it was the wives of HAGI members who acted as "the muscle for the guys that were in the chairs."[1828] These women, such as Alice Bellavance, Paula Koivisto, and Heather Bolduc either

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[1824] Will Boyce, Kari Krough, and Emily Boyce, "Policy Shifts and Challenges: Coping Strategies of Disability Organizations," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada 2nd*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2006), 188.
[1825] Ibid., 189, 192.
[1826] Ibid., 197.
[1827] Ibid., 193-194; Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University of Press of America, 2003), 205
[1828] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.

had less severe disabilities themselves or were able-bodied; they played an influential role in planning events, organizing meetings, and providing much needed peer support for HAGI members, including their husbands. Around the same time of the establishment of the national DisAbled Alliance Women's Network (DAWN) in the early to mid-1980s, the OMOD and its Women and Disabilities Sub-Committee realized that the interests of disabled women in Thunder Bay and the NWO were being neglected; this was a trend that affected women throughout Canada.[1829] As a result, a survey was created in 1984 and results indicated that disabled women were lagging behind in a number of areas. This led to the first 'Women and Disabilities' conference of 1985, which became the precursor to additional disabled women's events that specifically focused on their issues. Disabled women in Thunder Bay also created their own action group, Women Independently Living with a Disability (WILD), in the late 1980s. WILD brought these women together, which saw them set up self-defence and violence prevention programs for disabled women. Susan Ward, a long-time executive with the HAGI, took the lead in organizing this group and many of its members were crossovers from the HAGI. WILD created much needed awareness and programs that specifically catered to the needs of disabled women in the area.

The Creation of Regional Disability Advocacy Organizations and Accessible Housing in NWO, 1974-1992

Starting in the mid-1970s, the HAGI turned its attention to developing regional disability advocacy groups in some of the larger NWO cities. This was a natural progression of the HAGI,

[1829] Joan Meister, "An Early DAWNing," in *Making Equality: History of Advocacy and Persons with Disabilities in Canada*, eds., Deborah Stienstra and Aileen Wight-Felske (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 221-242; Diane Driedger, "Emerging from the Shadows: Women with Disabilities Organize," in *Across Borders: Women with Disabilities Working Together*, eds., Diane Driedger, Eileen Giron Batres, and Irene Feika (Charlottetown, PEI, Gynergy Books, 1996), 10-23.

seeing that it had started accessible housing and transportation in Thunder Bay. By the early 1990s, HAGI's efforts in NWO resulted in many accessible housing and outreach services for PWD living in the region. Prior to the creation of PUSH North West, several HAGI leaders made inroads into NWO in the 1970s. This was important because a lot of PWD in the region were forced to move to Thunder Bay to benefit from HAGI's accessible housing and transportation services. To illustrate, Alice Bellavance notes that "when we started all this stuff with HAGI back in the '70s everybody [in the region] had to move to the city of Thunder Bay if they wanted barrier free and rent-geared-to-income housing or access to education or transportation…and attendant care staff."[1830] This was particularly true after HAGI created the Castlegreen projects and HAGI-Transit. Indeed, Thunder Bay witnessed an influx of PWD, from both east and west, especially "those that wanted to be independent."[1831] In fact, since Thunder Bay had a lively wheelchair basketball team, the Bay City Rollers, one of the informal requirements for moving into a HAGI housing project, from the region, was "whether or not they could play wheelchair basketball."[1832] Bellavance reveals that some PWD in NWO stayed in their home communities, if they had the "financial resources" or "strong caring families;" but if they desired independence, Thunder Bay was the answer.[1833] Several of HAGI's early leaders came from the region around Thunder Bay including Terry Bellavance (Geraldton), and Allan Buchan (Sault Ste. Marie). It was these individuals along with Koivisto and Ross that initiated the first campaigns for accessibility outside of Thunder Bay.

[1830] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[1831] Ibid.
[1832] "Alice Bellavance."
[1833] Ibid.

In the mid-1970s, Koivisto, through his position with the local OMOD, established the early groundwork, organizing local groups of disabled people in various towns and cities west of Thunder Bay. After having helped establish the HAGI in 1972, Koivisto took a job with the OMOD to run their Rehabilitation Industries sheltered workshop, and to act as a Community Development Officer for the region. Thus, as part of his work, he "travelled…to these small communities to get them going."[1834] Michael Prince shows that in any "disability policy community in Canada" there are a variety of groupings of organizations that focus on different geographical areas.[1835] For HAGI, NWO was part of its geographic sphere of influence in addition to the role it played representing PWD in Thunder Bay. Koivisto focused his efforts to the west of Thunder Bay. He did "a circle route sort of thing twice a year, [to] get all these clubs going," by meeting "with two or three people," and getting "some names of disabled people or people who were action oriented to making changes in the community."[1836] Once gathered together, a club was created and supported by Koivisto, Ross, and Bellavance.

Created in 1976, Kenora's Physically Handicapped Action Group (PHAG) was the first regional organization to graduate out of this club system. The group, led by Winni Magnusson, was significantly smaller than its Thunder Bay counterpart, having about a couple dozen members. With the HAGI troika acting as consultants, the nascent PHAG organized a local Talk Back workshop in 1977, to determine an accessibility assessment for the city.[1837]

[1834] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017.
[1835] Michael J. Prince, "Who Are We? The Disability Community in Canada," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada 2nd*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 167.
[1836] "Dave Koivisto."
[1837] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 2; Pat Tonkin, "Disabled Seek Action on Many Fronts," *Daily Miner and News*, August 15, 1977.

In 1975, Koivisto fell out with the OMOD. He developed irreconcilable differences with provincial OMOD leadership over the vision and philosophy of the organization. Koivisto wanted the OMOD to take a greater service-focused approach (accessible housing/transportation) in Thunder Bay and the region; however, the OMOD would not budge from its focus on vocational rehabilitation until the 1980s when they shifted over to a work readiness program.[1838] Nevertheless, Koivisto continued making contacts in the region, which increased due to his involvement with the Ontario Advisory Council of the Physically Handicapped (OACPH).

Koivisto, then-President of the HAGI, was appointed to the newly-created OACPH in February of 1975. In citizen participation, power plays a large role to "reduce alienation," and help "disadvantaged groups" so they can "gain access to resources and positions of control."[1839] Thus Koivisto, through this position, was able to become a "change agent…between state and the community."[1840] The Advisory Council was under the direction of the Social Development Secretary for the Ontario government, Margaret Birch.[1841] It was chaired by Edward Dunlop, the Managing Director of the Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, and created at the bequest of Premier Bill Davis, to:

> advise [the Ontario government] on matters pertaining to the well-being of the physically handicapped and to review current policies in the areas of education, employment, rehabilitation, income maintenance, health measures, services and facilities, housing,

[1838] "Dave Koivisto;" "Help Wanted for the Disabled: Gainful employment a possible objective," *North Magazine*, May 26, 1991, 3.
[1839] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 25, 32.
[1840] Ibid.
[1841] The other charter members of the council were: Andrew Clark(Willowdale), Walter Davis (Willowdale), Margaret Elliott (London), John Kellerman (Toronto), Stewart Kingstone (St. Catherines), John Lane (Ottawa), Doug Manuel Oshawa), Catherine McBride (St. Catherines), Charles McCormack (Fort Frances), Margaret McLeod (Toronto), Clare Millar (Cambridge), Bluebell Planck (Oakville), J. Stobo Prichard (Willowdale), Heather Rankin (Willowdale), Robert Rumball (Caledon), M. Sally Sullivan (Toronto), and John York (Westhill).

> recreation, guardianship and other related services as they related to the physically handicapped.[1842]

At the time, Davis, a second-term premier, promised to strengthen relations with the disability community, and this was one of the ways he fulfilled that promise.[1843] The OACPH was one of four provincial councils designed to help "particular target groups;" the others focused on multiculturalism, seniors, and women.[1844] The members came from a kaleidoscope of different backgrounds, with over half having a disability, and all being involved to some extent with organizations dedicated to improving the lives of disabled Ontarians.[1845] Meeting once a month in Toronto, the OACPH included some of the biggest names in the province's disability rights movement, with 14 members appointed directly. Some of the original members included Dunlop, Gerald Clark, and Jack Longman. Dunlop, a World War II veteran blinded in battle, went on to become the Director of the Ontario Rehabilitation Foundation and an MPP for York-Forest Hill. Clark was a quadriplegic who broke his neck in a workplace injury in 1963. He served as Co-Chairman of the Toronto Task Force on the Disabled and Elderly, and was the first Executive Officer of the OACPH. Finally, Longman, the Chairman of the Council, had osteogenesis imperfecta, a rare bone disease causing his bones to be very brittle and easily breakable. Longman was prominent in his hometown of Windsor through his advocacy work in promoting accessibility, and the growth of the Rehabilitation Foundation for the Disabled.[1846] Galer notes that the OACPH became the "formal conduit" between the provincial government and the

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[1842] Don Smith, "Local Man Appointed To Provincial Council," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 24, 1975, 1.
[1843] Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," 265.
[1844] Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 74-32, B220418, Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped (OACPH), Meeting Minutes, 14 March 1975, 1.
[1845] Ibid.
[1846] AO, RG 74-32 B220418, "Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped Established," *Iroquois Post*, February 19, 1975; Ken A. Severn, *The Windsor Club: A Historical Perspective* (Windsor: Walkerville Publishing Inc., 2012), 60.

province's disabled; indeed, it gave the latter "an official voice in government."[1847] All recommendations to government were made through Birch's ministry, and she summarized the OACPH's approach as follows: "It is our [the OACPH] intention to seek the advice of those who through no fault of their own encounter problems with many facets of life which the rest of us take for granted"…and to use this advice to "provide a direct voice to government."[1848] The OACPH was revolutionary for its time, and Koivisto played a vital role in it, until resigning in the summer of 1979.[1849]

The OACPH, the longest functioning disability advisory council in Canada, served PWD in Ontario for 21 years. In its first few years of operation, Koivisto sat on several of its committees, and played a leading role in developing regional contacts. The OACPH was not the first such council in Canada dealing with disability. That distinction belongs to the British Columbian (B.C.) Advisory Committee, which preceded the OACPH by a few months. Nevertheless, the B.C. Council folded very quickly, after a change of government in the mid-1970s. This left the OACPH as the most influential and powerful provincial disability advisory council in Canada, and it held this spot until it was disbanded, in 1996, by the Mike Harris Progressive Conservative government.[1850] To provide qualitative and quantitative evidence for future policy changes, the OACPH had a series of subcommittees and ad hoc committees on the following disability-related areas: transportation, accommodation and support services, income maintenance, special needs of physically handicapped children, human rights, building standards,

[1847] Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," 238, 266.
[1848] AO, RG 74-32 B220418, "Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped Established," *Iroquois Post*, February 19, 1975.
[1849] AO, RG 74-33, B100398, OACPH, Meeting Minutes, 26 July, 1979, 3.
[1850] "Advisors to Government," *Caliper*, Winter 1979, 6. This Advisory Council was set up by the then B.C. Minister of Human Resources Norman Levi in 1975. It was only operational for one year since its mandate was not renewed with the change in government.

publicity, assistive devices, recreation, and employment etc.[1851] During his time on the OACPH, Koivisto sat on the Accommodation and Social Services, and Building Standards Committees. He used these positions "to cut through some of the government red tape," and "pass on information about local experiences straight to the people who are making the decisions."[1852] Koivisto also found that the collaborative sessions gave him the opportunity to learn about tactics and strategies that other municipalities were using to better serve disabled people in the province, so he could apply them to Thunder Bay and region.[1853] While serving on the OACPH, Koivisto developed relationships with other NWO members, which strengthened HAGI's ties with the region. Other members on the Advisory Council from NWO included Nellie Lemon, Cochenour, (near Red Lake), who served from 1977-1979, and Charles McCormack, Fort Frances, who served from 1975-1977. Koivisto knew Lemon from his time as the OMOD Community Development Officer, and was impressed with Red Lake's "little workshop [Harmony Centre] going up there."[1854] Indeed, Lemon was a well-known and respected member of Red Lake's community for her decades-long work advocating for the mentally and physically disabled. As Koivisto alluded, Lemon's efforts resulted in the establishment of what was the town's first disability support service - Harmony Centre. Harmony Centre was a recreational and social program, for Red Lake's disabled, similar to Thunder Bay's Harmony Place.[1855]

Recreation was something HAGI leaders used in the late 1970s to further tie regional disability clubs together, prior to the advent of the PUSH North West regional conferences. For instance, Thunder Bay's wheelchair basketball team, the Bay City Rollers, participated in

[1851] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1976, 5.
[1852] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1975, 1; Smith, "Local Man Appointed," 15.
[1853] Ibid.
[1854] "Dave Koivisto."
[1855] AO, RG 74-32, B220418, Office of the Premier of Ontario, "News release: Appointments announced to the Ontario Advisory Council of the Physically Handicapped," March 4, 1977, 1.

various disabled sporting events, creating a lively disabled sporting culture in the city and region. The Rollers, made up of HAGI members, travelled the NWO region, which further strengthened HAGI's connections with the regional disability clubs. The Rollers' travels maintained and solidified ties within the region. Benedict Anderson shows how a common culture is created in a nation through a shared set of texts, ideals, and customs.[1856] To a smaller degree in NWO, the HAGI traveling sports culture helped tie the region's disabled together in the late 1970s. In the spring of 1977, the Rollers travelled to Kenora and to Fort Frances playing exhibitions games against the local Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), or mixtures of able-bodied/disabled teams.[1857] For Koivisto, these games and the greater aspect of recreation:

> Encourage[d] them [regional disability clubs] to hold sports as well. You know…recreation…not just like sport type things. But, when we brought them in to do these various… like to have a regional games, okay, we would have cribbage tournaments too and things like that you know besides the sporting events. But, then our wheelchair basketball team traveled through the region and would play hockey teams. We would bring our extra wheelchairs with us and obstacle course for a little half time demonstration, you know, and another guy…, Ronny Ross, would shoot. He was in archery, and he would shoot the apple off a Styrofoam head, you know. Once in a while, he would put it right through the head. We went to Red Lake…to give you an idea…we went to Red Lake and played to a packed crowd, and it was us against the OPP, you know, like this was in their arena or whatever, like there'd be 800, a thousand people to come out to see a wheelchair basketball team where we played the OPP guys, and we'd have a ball with them you know, and at halftime, we'd put on a little demonstration an obstacle course and things. But, that's where we'd help develop them [regional groups/communities] as well, you know, and do things like that. And, again, we'd get the travel grant and the monies for our vehicles, for gas, and that and for overnight stays…applying for grants through Wintario or wherever the money was available at the time. You know, that was our job, at the office there, to kind of figure out who had the money and for what purpose eh. We would always write our applications backwards eh, where's the money, what do they want…Then we'd figure out how to fit in what we're going to do.[1858]

[1856] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition* (New York: Verso, 2006), 7.
[1857] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 22 Feb 1977, 1-2.
[1858] "Dave Koivisto."

Indeed, HAGI members used the stops to touch base with the regional clubs, present written material, and provide further input on starting services and breaking down barriers.

While these trips were critical in fostering ties to the region, a series of provincial, national, and international developments in the late 1970s and early '80s provided the impetus for many of these regional disability groups to go beyond club status. This was a momentous period for the Canadian disability rights movement, as the disability file was high on governments' radar. According to Galer, "disability rights organizations largely lagged behind other civil rights groups [in the past,] but social activism by disabled people emerged directly out of an ongoing culture of protest that engulfed the 1970s political discourse of human rights in Canada."[1859] The creation of the COPOH in 1976 as the national body for disabled people in Canada was a major lynchpin in this regard. Largely created through the efforts of Winnipeg disability activists, the COPOH coincided with human rights discussions at the provincial and national level that led to the *Ontario* and *Canadian Human Rights Codes* being revised to include disability as a protected category against discrimination.[1860] The leaders of the COPOH, like the early HAGI executives, were part of the "new breed" of disability activists, who took a consumer-based approach to advancing disability rights.[1861] Indeed, the COPOH became the "national vehicle" used to connect provincial disability consumer groups, including the HAGI

[1859] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 81-82.

[1860] The *Ontario Human Rights Code* was created in 1962, but it did not include disability as a protected grounds against discrimination. It was not until the 1977 recommendations in the province's *Life Together Report* that concerted efforts began to update the Code. Indeed, the Code was not updated until June 1982. On the other hand, the *Canadian Human Rights Code* came into effect in 1978, but only initially had disability protected in the employment realm. In June 1983, this Code, too, was updated to include other areas including goods and services; it finally came into effect in 1985. See: Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*, July 1977, 29, 72-79, 81-82; "Handicap legislation," *Chronicle Journal*, September 7, 1977, 19; Minutes of the Ontario Legislature, "Human Rights," May 15th, 1981, 741; "Commons passes bill expanding rights law," *Globe and Mail*, March 30, 1983, 9; "Across Canada amendments to rights act are law Friday," *Globe and Mail*, June 29, 1983, 10; "Disabled leery of job protection," *Globe and Mail*, June 30, 1983, 10.

[1861] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 82.

and PUSH Ontario, so that disability issues could be addressed nationally through an interconnected system.[1862]

The COPOH was also behind the creation of DPI in 1981. The prime event leading to the DPI was the 1980 World Rehabilitation Congress, which was held in Winnipeg. During multiple HAGI BOD meetings in 1979 and 1980, members discussed the program of the event, while agreeing to "send a large delegation" to Winnipeg.[1863] The delegation included HAGI BOD members Koivisto, Susan Ward, and Ruth Wilson (a nurse with the Ontario Society of Crippled Children).[1864] At the World Rehabilitation Congress, the COPOH, with HAGI support, pushed back against the Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled (CRCD), which was considered a national and international leader for the rights of PWD; in turn, it held influential decision making authority over disability issues.[1865] The COPOH saw the CRCD as a body primarily composed of rehabilitation professionals, adhering to the medical view of disability. According to them, it "no longer represented the interests of persons with a disability;" hence their separation from that body.[1866] These developments also led to the establishment of an international disability rights organization, DPI, a year later.[1867] The 1980 World Congress was one of the events that Neufeldt and Enns call 'tipping points" for the Canadian disability rights movement; some of the others are the IYDP, and the creation of PUSH Ontario.[1868]

[1862] Ibid.
[1863] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 16 Aug 1979, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 11 Dec 1979, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1980, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 13 Feb 1980, 2.
[1864] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 13 Feb 1980, 2.
[1865] Driedger, *The Last Civil Rights*, 32.
[1866] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 74.
[1867] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 32-56.
[1868] Aldred Neufeldt and Henry Enns, "Future Directions in Pursuing Equal Opportunities for Disabled People Internationally," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 365.

The UN proclaimed 1981 the IYDP, which led to mass funding and publicity of disability issues in Canadian towns and cities, including Thunder Bay and NWO. The groundwork for this special year began in 1975 when the UN's General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on Rights of Disabled Persons*, highlighting that disabled persons had the "same rights" as other human beings.[1869] One year later, the UN General Assembly designated that the year 1981 would be the IYDP, with its main theme being the promotion of "full participation and equality."[1870] Neufeldt states that the years 1979 to 1981 were a "time of change" for disability in Canada, as both government attention and funding were directed towards disabled causes.[1871] In NWO, the build up to the IYDP led the HAGI, Lakehead Social Planning Council (Planning Council), OMOD, the Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre (NWOCCC), the City of Thunder Bay's Parks and Recreation Department, the Thunder Bay District Health Council, and the local Parents' Resource Group to submit a joint, August 1980, brief to the newly created federal Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped. The brief outlined the continued "gaps in services" for disabled people in Canada in the transportation, accessibility, housing, education, employment, recreation, health services, income supplement, community support services, and human rights spheres.[1872] The Special Committee, created to identify obstacles faced by PWD, produced the 1981 Obstacles Report, which included 130 recommendations for changes in policies dealing with disability.[1873] The IYDP helped another regional NWO club expand into a disability consumer organization, when disabled people in Dryden formed the Dryden Disabled

[1869] AO, RG 74-31, B216021, United Nations Association in Canada, "Fact Sheet on the United Nations and the International Year for Disabled Persons," 1981, 1.
[1870] Ibid.
[1871] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Approach," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 53.
[1872] HAGI et al., Brief to the Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped, August 20th, 1980, 1.
[1873] Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on the Disabled and Handicapped, *Obstacles: Report of the Special Committee on the Disabled and the Handicapped*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1981), 1.

Action Group (DDAG). It joined the HAGI, Thunder Bay, and the PHAG, Kenora, as the third group in NWO. As the accessible transportation section will reveal, these three cities were the first to have accessible parallel transit in NWO.[1874]

The IYDP was celebrated throughout Canada; in the province of Ontario, a traveling caravan was used to publicize the event. Both the federal and the Ontario provincial governments, in combination with a host of other groups and organizations, created organizing committees that set up events throughout the year. Thunder Bay celebrated the IYDP through a special mall display that was organized by the provincial government, in conjunction with the HAGI. The provincial government chose this route, along with the setting aside of substantial financial support, in part, through recommendations made from the OACPH. A year before the IYDP, the Advisory Council revealed that "plan[ning] for this event" will take up "a good part of the Council's work in the coming year [1980.]"[1875] This planning occurred through the Council's Committee on Public Awareness, with members agreeing to use "a caravan to move around the province."[1876] In each of the cities it visited, the caravan would "provide information" and awareness related to programming, services, and the abilities of PWD.[1877] From May 26th to August 29th, the caravan travelled the province, setting up information displays in various municipal malls; northwestern Ontario was visited from June 24th to July 20th. The Thunder Bay visit, July 9th to 11th, was held at Country Fair Plaza, on the north side of the city, with a display on nine disabled people and how "adaptions made" for them, such as hand controls, and braille labels allowed them to "live normal lives."[1878] Pictures, stories, and videos were used to

[1874] "Transit funding expected," *Chronicle Journal*, February 7, 1981, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Consumer Development Conference, Meeting Minutes, 12-14 March 1982, 2.
[1875] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1980, 7.
[1876] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1981, 20.
[1877] Ibid.
[1878] Janet Hume, "Travelling display year of disabled," *Lakehead Living*, July 15, 1981, 1.

demonstrate the progress local disabled people were making.[1879] A small group operated the display, and gave out some 200 information kits to interested people. The HAGI set up a secondary display, operated by four HAGI members, highlighting the local work it was doing to promote accessibility in the city of Thunder Bay and region; a special section showcased the progress on a fully accessible camp, which eventually became Wilderness Discovery. The operators were joined by several HAGI tenants (from One Fifty Castlegreen) who shared their experiences with mall-goers about the HAGI's barrier free housing service.[1880]

On a personal level, PWD living in Thunder Bay during the IYDP, generally believed the event had a positive impact. David Shannon, who became a quadriplegic the same year as the IYDP, believed it "really started a sea change…already the disability movement was moving from the medical model to then more of a social welfare model, but now this firmly centered the rights movement…centered it into a rights approach or an independent living approach."[1881] This sentiment is confirmed by the development of PUSH Ontario, that same year, which took a consumer oriented, advocacy centered, and independent living approach to their philosophy. Allan Buchan, HAGI-Transit Manager in 1981 and also the first PUSH Ontario Chairman, disclosed that the IYDP:

> helped start…although we'd already been working towards it, it gave a big push for advocacy issues. I know a lot of funding became available that year for a lot of projects. It became easier to get funding back then, for those first couple years, and that helped get PUSH [Ontario] off the ground both provincially and locally PUSH North West because money became available to hire staff.[1882]

[1879] Ibid.
[1880] AO, RG 74-31, B216021, United Nations Association in Canada, Nancy Angus, *International Year of Disabled Persons Display Report*, May 26-August 29, 1981, 17-18.
[1881] "Dave Shannon," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 July 2017.
[1882] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March 2017.

PUSH Ontario filled the provincial disability consumer void in the province, and it quickly evolved to become the "the voice of the disabled in Ontario," and the Ontario provincial affiliate of the COPOH.[1883]

By the end of the 1970s, the ILM was in full swing in the U.S.; however, the province of Ontario lacked a provincial consumer-focused group. A subset of members from the United Handicapped Groups of Ontario (UHGO) attempted to shift their organization from its long-standing social and recreation focus towards a greater advocacy role. When their attempts failed, several members created a new, cross-disability, organization called PUSH Ontario.[1884] PUSH Ontario developed ties to the COPOH, and established six regional PUSH affiliates. While PUSH Ontario represented the organization at the provincial, national, and international levels, the regional affiliates performed grassroots activism and services for disabled people within their particular region. Periodically, the regional affiliates reported back to PUSH Ontario on the state of affairs in each region. Nevertheless, each PUSH regional affiliate had autonomy on issues affecting the people in their region, and elected a Regional BOD of about 10 people. Furthermore two people from each regional board, were appointed to PUSH Ontario's Provincial BOD. Allan Buchan of Thunder Bay, and Sybil Mowe (the soon-to-be Vice-President of the new Rainy River District Handicapped Action Group), of Emo, ON, were the two PUSH North West representatives on PUSH Ontario's first 1982 BOD; Buchan also served as the first provincial Chairman of PUSH Ontario.[1885] Buchan attended the founding of PUSH Ontario and describes the momentous event as follows:

[1883] OACPH, Thunder Bay Public Forum, August 19, 1982, Brief No. 4, 6.
[1884] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 20.
[1885] AO, RG 74-33, B503780, Persons United For Self Help, Brief to the Ontario Advisory Council on the Physically Handicapped, September 22, 1983, 1; AO, RG 74-30, B391448, Correspondence from Allan Buchan to Ethel McLellan, 20 Dec 1983, 1-2; OACPH, Thunder Bay Public Forum, August 19, 1982, Brief 4, 11-12.

> Ontario had a number provincial organizations that dealt with disability issues provincially that were representing the province none of which represented anything north of Parry Sound, [ON,] basically. And in 1981, a meeting was called by the national body of the Canadian Council of Disabilities [Council of Canadians with Disabilities; before 1994 it was known as the COPOH]…They pulled the groups together to talk about unifying because Ontario never had a single voice at the national level. We were all a bunch of…doing our own things and we [HAGI] got invited down…I still remember that day, November 1981, we went to Kingston, [ON,] and all the groups claiming to be the voice of the disabled in Ontario got together and HAGI, being the only organization in 1981 [representing NWO,] we got invited down as a member and we had to sit there in a locker room…I remember a smoke filled locker room, for a weekend, to iron out who would represent the voice of the disabled [in Ontario.] And, out of that People United for Self-Help got born…which basically brought together all of those other organizations.[1886]

As the first Chairman of PUSH Ontario, Buchan was tasked with "creat[ing] the provincial network under one voice."[1887] In turn, he toured the six PUSH regions, and observed how ahead of the curve Thunder Bay was in terms of accessibility. According to Buchan:

> Thunder Bay was way ahead of the rest. I was involved with an organization in the early '80s called PUSH, provincial body; and, I ended up being their very first provincial Chairman. And during the year, my tenure as chairman, I traveled, I bet you to almost every community of 10,000 or more greater in the province, and Thunder Bay was way ahead of many, many…all the communities I ever travelled to. I mean Thunder Bay had curb cuts before they even knew what curb cuts were in the rest of the province.[1888]

The HAGI had spent its first 10 years breaking down barriers, in each of the five areas, in the *Disability Research Report*, and as Buchan noted, it showed. However, the HAGI was not only concerned with making Thunder Bay accessible; indeed, through PUSH North West, they also ensured that the NWO region would be too.

PUSH North West's first objective was to create additional regional disability consumer organizations. At the end of 1981, HAGI's Housing Administrator, Ron Ross, took control of PUSH North West; although PUSH North West was an affiliate of PUSH Ontario, it was

[1886] "Allan Buchan."
[1887] Ibid.
[1888] Ibid.

essentially a wing of HAGI until it incorporated, on October 22nd, 1992, as its own separate entity.[1889] Prior to its first regional conference in March of 1982, the geographic reach of PUSH North West encompassed Thunder Bay, Kenora, Manitouwadge, Schreiber/Terrace Bay, Red Lake, Dryden, Fort Frances, Emo, Atikokan, Nipigon, Geraldton, Marathon, and Sault Ste. Marie. The latter city, actually in the north east region, moved back to the north east, with "mixed feelings" in the summer of 1986; it later moved back to the north west.[1890] That city's disability consumer organization, the Community Interaction Association (CIA), believed that "Sudbury or the north east never wanted anything to do with us [in the first place,]"and felt comfortable in the north west sphere.[1891] However, they moved back to fit the boundary alignments, but noted that "being in the Northwest region" was "advantageous."[1892] This shows how welcoming Push North West was to the greater region. In fact, at the March 1982 conference, several regional disability consumer organizations, including the CIA, were created: the Marathon Handi-Action Group (MHAG1), the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group (MHAG2), the Nipigon Handicapped Action Group (NHAG), the Rainy River District Handicapped Action Group (RRDHAG; Fort Frances/Emo), the Disabled Action Group (DAG; Schreiber/Terrace Bay), and the Red Lake District Para Transit Group (RLDPTG).

PUSH North West conferences were essential for regional development. Koivisto confirms this stating that:

> once a year, at least, we would have a conference here [in Thunder Bay]…where we'd bring two or three reps in from Dryden, Kenora, Red Lake…all these different places and we'd help them, and when we had these regional [PUSH North West] workshops, there

[1889] PUSH North West, PUSH North West BOD, Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, Letters Patent for PUSH North West, October 22nd, 1992, 1.
[1890] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Terry Wright to Ron Ross, 10 July 1986, 1.
[1891] Ibid.
[1892] Ibid.

> would be various workshops: one on transportation, one on housing, recreation…We'd apply for funding to various ministries, could be the Secretary of Social Development or whatever,…wherever there was money, and there was always money okay to do things like that. HAGI was the body that would apply…bring these people in for the weekend and hold workshops and a little social etc., you know. And they would take back what we were doing to their communities and hopefully benefit, and it has. You know it has, in a smaller sense, it has and unfortunately those things don't continue now, you know, and that's a real loss, I think for both parties. We got to meet people from the region, and in turn, they could see what we were doing, and that…I don't think they would have existed whatsoever, like what they have in those places, and again without HAGI those things never would have happened out in the region. Our services became their models.[1893]

This regional mentorship mirrored developments in the international realm. Indeed, international disability representatives educated PWD in developing countries, such as Africa. James Charlton reveals how former DPI chairman Joshua Malinga of Zimbabwe was given support and resources to start advocating in his home country, and then the rest of Africa both before and after the events of the 1980 World Congress in Winnipeg.[1894] Furthermore, Driedger shows how DPI broke the world up, into seven regions, and drew two representatives from each region to sit on the first Steering Committee to help foster collaboration on an international level.[1895] For its first 10 years, PUSH North West played this mentor role in NWO.

In this regard, PUSH North West followed the examples of other Canadian disability consumer organizations. In *Working Towards Equity*, Galer outlines how the Toronto Mayor's Task Force on the Disabled and Elderly, after spearheading numerous accessibility-related changes in the city, enlarged its mandate to "serve the entire Toronto region."[1896] By the end of 1970s, Galer argues that Toronto "earned a national reputation" for its leadership in "promoting

[1893] "Dave Koivisto."
[1894] Charlton, *Nothing About Us*, 6, 11-12, 15.
[1895] Driedger, *The Last Civil*, 35-36, 41.
[1896] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 160.

accessibility and inclusion," which extended to the surrounding municipalities.[1897] However, Galer's analysis centres on Toronto. Diane Driedger's account of the MPLH, during the 1970s and '80s, provides some added information on how that organization also acted as a regional benefactor outside of Winnipeg. Formed in 1975, this organization chartered new branches throughout Manitoba, including in the Pas (September 1975), Steinbach, Altona/Winkler (Central branch; July 1977), and Neepawa. In fact, in the summer of 1977, the MPLH hosted its first rural conference, centering on the theme of integration. It was attended by some 80 representatives, and discussed topics, such as architectural barriers, recreation, education, and rural transportation.[1898] However, Driedger's focus primarily covers the city of Winnipeg. Being located in a larger city than Thunder Bay, and one of the hotbeds for disability advocacy in the country, the MLPH had considerable more resources than the HAGI. Nevertheless, only a few years later, the smaller HAGI followed the MLPH's model, developing and educating the NWO region through its advisory and service role.

PUSH North West's first regional conference, held in March 1982, provided the stimulus for several NWO disability clubs to reach the organizational stage, and make plans for their communities. The March 12th to 14th, 1982, conference, held at the Valhalla Inn in Thunder Bay, was co-chaired by HAGI Housing Administrator, Ron Ross, and Herb Gray, of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation; Gray's Ministry provided the funding. The expressed purpose of the event was:

> to bring together delegates from the small communities across [NWO] with the objective of providing information regarding: how to develop a [disability] consumer group, [accessible] housing, transportation, education (Bill 82) and sports and recreation

[1897] Ibid.
[1898] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 227, 229,231, 237.

> workshops, and electing two representative from [NWO] to sit on [the PUSH Ontario BOD.][1899]

This conference was attended by regional delegates from Kenora, Dryden, Emo, Fort Frances, Atikokan, Geraldton, Beardmore, Marathon, Sault Ste. Marie, and Nipigon. Ross had invited a guest speaker from the national COPOH, to give the keynote talk on Friday, but an illness forced Doug Mayer, a junior HAGI member, to give it instead. Mayer's talk focused on the changing views of disability over the last 30 years. Mayer showed how understandings of disability shifted from the post-World War II medical and charitable model to the consumer model of the 1980s.[1900] Mayer also gave delegates a crash course on the disability rights movement in Canada, and the philosophy and background of the COPOH and PUSH Ontario, explaining how the two were "inter-related with each other."[1901] Next, Ross discussed the "need for a communication network among the disabled" in NWO, which PUSH North West was hoping to address. With PUSH North West taking a leadership role, the delegates "agreed to develop [regional] consumer groups."[1902] Indeed, delegates acknowledged that "the services and facilities available [to disabled people] in the communities throughout [NWO] could be improved" in the following areas: housing and support services, transportation, sports and recreation, architectural barriers, education, employment, and public awareness.[1903]

In order to help the regional delegates establish disability consumer organizations, Ross explained the process of setting up and maintaining an organization. Here, the HAGI was endowing regional delegates with the knowledge to engage in citizen participation. Besides

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[1899] HAGI, BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Consumer Development Conference, Meeting Minutes, 12-14 March, 1982, 1.
[1900] Ibid.
[1901] Ibid., 2.
[1902] Ibid., 3.
[1903] Ibid., 2.

HAGI, the PHAG was the most established NWO group, with 22 members. It was successful in creating a small Handi-Transit accessible transportation system (see transportation section), and submitting a 1976 Brief to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (for that body's traveling committee seeking to update the *Ontario Human Rights Code* to include protection for more groups).[1904] The DDAG also had a small accessible transportation system, but experienced organizational decline after the IYDP.[1905] The remaining delegates did not have anything beyond the informal club structure.

In turn, Ross addressed two types of consumer groups that delegates could create or which could be a mixture of the two. While one centered on "improving the living conditions of the disabled," the other took the "role of advocates" in the community.[1906] After outlining groups, Ross discussed who to include in the organization (disabled consumers, friends, family, professionals, senior citizens, and representatives from government, churches, service clubs, and the public). He outlined the process of starting an organization, which hinged on holding an initial public meeting to "find out if there [was] enough general interest in the consumer movement to establish a local group."[1907] Following the model of how HAGI started, public meetings needed to be "well-advertised," as disabled people were often "hidden in the community."[1908] If delegates had trouble with meetings, Ross assured them that "HAGI [was] committed towards traveling into the area [NWO] and assisting in the handling of the public meetings."[1909] Ross concluded by providing information on how to maintain a consumer group,

[1904] Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*, July 1977, 72; Tonkin, "Disabled Seek Action;" "Transit service subsidized," *Chronicle Journal*, February 3, 1981, 3.
[1905] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Consumer Development Conference.Meeting Minutes, 12-14 March, 1982, 5.
[1906] Ibid., 4.
[1907] Ibid., 3.
[1908] Ibid.
[1909] Ibid., 4.

and acquire financing. The keys to the above were holding regular meetings, engaging members in a "high level of interaction," and "set[ting] priorities" in achievable areas.[1910] Additionally, Ross spoke on the importance of learning how government operates, and being able to work with the various levels of government, as opposed to working against them. The three levels of government were large financial contributors to the HAGI, and Ross went over various types of funding offered by all three levels.[1911]

Conference delegates divided into four workshops on housing, transportation, sports/recreation, and education/accessibility. Here, Buchan ran the accessible transportation workshop, where he explained the municipal-provincial cost sharing arrangement for a parallel accessible transportation system, and the means of acquiring accessible vehicles.[1912] In the education/accessibility workshop, the *Ontario Building Code* was described, along with its accessibility requirements. Presenters, then, outlined all the inaccessible public buildings and schools in the region, along with information on capital grants that could be used to renovate them. A discussion also took place on how to install/implement curb cuts, accessible parking, ramps, stair glides, elevators, and accessible washrooms in the host communities.[1913] Overseeing the sports/recreation workshop, Simpson discussed the history of disabled sport, while explaining the local disabled sporting scene in NWO, and how the delegates could participate in regional, provincial, and national games for the disabled.[1914] Finally, in the accessible housing workshop, Ross acknowledged the "limited [accessible] housing available in small communities."[1915] He addressed different types of accessible housing options, such as Support

[1910] Ibid.
[1911] Ibid.
[1912] Ibid., 5.
[1913] Ibid., 7.
[1914] Ibid., 10.
[1915] Ibid., 9.

Services Living Units (SSLUs), and highlighted HAGI's One Fifty transitional complex and the new Glenwood Court. Ross explained that HAGI tenants had accesses to 24 hour seven-day-a-week support service program, funded by the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS), which was currently unavailable in the region. However, Ross wanted it "available to any disabled [person] requiring such assistance regardless of where they live[d] in the community."[1916] In fact, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the region's disabled received this service through the creation of HAGI's outreach system.

Five of the communities represented at the first PUSH North West regional conference developed action plans for implementation in their home communities. The delegates from Nipigon agreed to set up a Steering Committee, and held their first public meeting in May of 1982. Their first goal was the development of a Handi-Transit parallel accessible transportation system. Geraldton and Fort Frances also pledged to create consumer groups. Meanwhile, Dryden and Kenora scheduled new goals for their already established groups. For Dryden, it was "revitaliz[ing] their consumer group" after it lost initiative following the IYDP.[1917] The revitalization plan consisted of reconnecting with local members of that city's disbanded IYDP Advisory Committee. Kenora planned to foster relations with that city's newly-chartered Peoples' First Group for developmentally disabled consumers.[1918] At the conclusion of the conference, HAGI agreed to support the new consumer organizations, and to set up further conferences to assess their progress.

After the PUSH North West March 1982 regional consumer conference, the HAGI outlined concerns about accessible housing and attendant support services to the OACPH's

[1916] Ibid.
[1917] Ibid., 5.
[1918] Ibid.

August 1982 public forum in Thunder Bay. Indeed, one of the methods that the OACPH used to elicit the grassroots views of disabled Ontarians was by holding forums throughout the province. The HAGI and a handful of other organizations, including the newly created Organization for the Multi-Disabled Incorporated (OMDI), a consumer group for those with traumatic brain injuries (TBI), lobbied for outreach attendant care services in the city of Thunder Bay as well as the NWO region. The Thunder Bay forum was "the first…held in the north western part of the province," and Dave Koivisto played a large role in the local organizing committee.[1919] Koivisto was an original member of the OACPH, serving for over four years before resigning in the summer of 1979.[1920] The forum was attended by local and provincial politicians, such as Thunder Bay Mayor Walter Assef, Fort William MPP Mickey Hennessy and Secretary for Social Development Margaret Birch (the overseer of the OACPH).[1921]

The purpose of the Thunder Bay forum was to "encourage the public to express their views and concerns" through briefs, so the OACPH could "gain first-hand information on matters pertaining to the physically handicapped across the public."[1922] Many of these briefs focused on the need to implement more accessible housing options in the city and region.[1923] Prior to the discussions, and highlighting HAGI's achievements during its first 10 years, the OACPH emphasized that it was "evident…that the Thunder Bay [disabled] community was well-organized and well-served by the agencies and organizations" [HAGI.][1924] Through Koivisto's efforts, the forum was widely publicized and led to briefs from six social service organizations, including Thunder Bay Social Services, the Happy Handicaps, the Steering Committee for Multi-

[1919] OACPH, Thunder Bay Public Forum, August 19, 1982, Appendix A, 2.
[1920] AO, RG 74-33, B100398, OACPH, Meeting Minutes, 26 July 1979, 3.
[1921] Ibid., 2.
[1922] Ibid., i.
[1923] Ibid.
[1924] Ibid., 1.

Disabled People, the Planning Council, and the HAGI. After each presentation, members of the OACPH outlined how the information in the briefs was being dealt with by the provincial government, and what particular steps could be taken in the future.[1925] Concerns included the need for greater attendant care services in private homes, the need for a transitional complex for disabled persons under 18 years of age, guidelines and increased government funding to provide support services for multi-disabled adults, and the need for a community housing and support services pilot program for disabled people in NWO.[1926]

One of the briefs came from a new organization, the Multi-Disabled and it focused on improving the lives of TBI people in Thunder Bay and NWO. The Steering Committee for Multi-Disabled People was formed in March of 1982 through the efforts of "concerned citizens" and representatives of the HAGI.[1927] After the creation of One Fifty Castlegreen, Terry Bellavance and his wife Alice started moving away from their role with the HAGI to cover a wider range of disabilities. This was one of the first major breaks in leadership witnessed by the HAGI, as the two had different strategies and tactics they wanted to pursue.[1928] In turn, they took the lead with the Multi-Disabled, along with Simon Hoad and Steven Haney. It became the primary advocacy organization for TBI people in Thunder Bay and NWO. At the time of the Multi Disabled's brief, community housing and support services in Thunder Bay were available to the physically disabled; however, people with TBIs fell through the cracks, receiving very little government funding. Thus, Alice and Terry Bellavance organized a group of like-minded people, and then created a feasibility study. They found some 80 to 100 multi-disabled people in

[1925] Ibid., 3-7.
[1926] Ibid., 3-7.
[1927] OACPH, Thunder Bay Public Forum, August 19, 1982, Appendix Brief 5, 2.
[1928] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 65.

the region, between the ages of 18-35, who needed services, including accessible housing, and 24 hour support care. Developing out of this study, the Steering Committee provided follow-up work through a formal proposal that was discussed at the forum; the proposal was later submitted to the Ministry of Health, the MCSS, and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing.[1929] As a result of their presentation at the OACPH forum, the Multi-Disabled received funding, in the early to mid-1980s, for a pilot program - the First Step Day Program.

This program provided life skills training, prevocational, and recreational skills to the TBI in Thunder Bay and those who moved from the region.[1930] In 1985, the temporary pilot ended, and the OMDI developed a permanent program that was to be housed in a transitional complex for the TBI (similar to One Fifty). By the late 1980s, leaders of the OMDI attempted to build this new transitional complex, known as the Transitional Learning Centre, on the Castlegreen Cooperative site. Terry Bellavance, the regional director of the OMOD, was hired to oversee the planning and development; his experience with setting up One Fifty Castlegreen proved invaluable.[1931] Initially, the HAGI pushed back against the decision to build the complex on Castlegreen property, as they believed, it would lead to "a saturation level [of disabled people,] which begins to erode…what we have accomplished."[1932] The HAGI, thus, wanted the complex to be located elsewhere.[1933] In the end, Alice Bellavance and Buchan, the HAGI Co-Executive Director, mended relations and the complex was built on the site, and opened in 1991.

[1929] Ibid.
[1930] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 5 Dec 1984, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Steven Haney to Allan Buchan, 1985, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 5 Feb, 1985, 1.
[1931] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 5 March 1985, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Organization for the Multi-Disabled Inc., Presentation to the BOD of the HAGI on the Transitional Living Centre for the Traumatically Brain Injured Proposed for Castlegreen Site, 12 July 1988, 1-12.
[1932] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Thadeus Weiss to Alice Bellavance, 17 Aug 1988, 1.
[1933] David Frood, "Brain-injured centre site opposed," *Chronicle Journal*, August 29, 1989, 13.

In 1996, the OMDI changed its name to Brain Injury Services of Northern Ontario (BISNO), serving those with TBI in Thunder Bay and the region.[1934]

Along with the Steering Committee for Multi-Disabled People's brief, the Advisory Council's August 1982 forum also addressed the new disability consumer movement taking off in the province, and the need for more regional housing and attendant care services for the physically disabled. According to the HAGI, part of the reason that services for disabled people took longer to mature than other minority groups was the fact that there was a "lack of a provincial organization representing the disabled consumer groups."[1935] Although there were the Ontario Federation of the Physically Handicapped (OFPH), the UHGO, the OMOD, and the Ontario Cerebral Palsy Association, their efforts at unifying the disability movement in Ontario were minimal. As a result, the "lack of organization and diversity of opinions…created confusion and delays in the development of essential services for the disabled…across the province," including outreach attendant care services.[1936] The HAGI had intimate knowledge of this new developing consumer movement, as one of their own, Buchan, was one of founding members of PUSH Ontario. In fact, HAGI representatives made known to the OACPH the events of the March 1982 PUSH North West regional disability conference, and the work that body was doing assisting the region to develop consumer groups and services, such as accessible housing and transportation.[1937] However, at the time, a serious problem, preventing accessible housing in the region, was that attendant support care was only available to consumers in HAGI housing projects in the city of Thunder Bay. As the HAGI did not have any housing projects in the region

[1934] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Alice Bellavance to Allan Buchan, 30 Aug 1989, 1.
[1935] OACPH, Thunder Bay Public Forum, August 19, 1982, Brief No. 2, 2.
[1936] Ibid.
[1937] Ibid., Brief No. 4, 6.

in the early-1980s, support services or outreach could not be provided in any regional accessible housing developments or private homes. The HAGI requested help in addressing this matter, especially since the OACPH revealed that recent Ontario government policy on accessible housing was moving towards outreach. As such, it was decided that HAGI support services be extended to NWO through a new outreach program.[1938]

The HAGI used the fall 1985 PUSH North West conference to 'officially' outline their new proposal for offering MCSS funded outreach support care services "in small Northwestern Ontario communities."[1939] The difference between outreach and HAGI's city of Thunder Bay attendant care services was that the former consisted of attendant care in a PWD's own home, as compared to being attached to a HAGI housing project. Indeed, the concept of outreach was not new. After One Fifty opened in June 1979, the MCSS wanted a formal program to take over from their four city 'Care Package' pilot program.[1940] To complement the data from their pilot, the MCSS conducted a survey in several major Ontario cities, "to determine the support services needed to enable moderately and severely physically handicapped adults to live in integrated, conventional apartment units."[1941] Out of the data, the MCSS decided that funding attendant care offered through outreach programs was the most cost efficient means to help disabled people live independently (as opposed building transitional complexes, such as One Fifty). However, it took until 1985 to finalize a provincial outreach policy where funding became available to social service organizations, such as the HAGI. The new policy allowed PWD, living outside of non-

[1938] Ibid., Brief No. 2, 1-2.
[1939] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 27 March 1985, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 8 May 1985, 3.
[1940] Karen Yoshida, Vic Willi, Ian Parker and David Locker, "The Emergence of Self-Managed Attendant Services in Ontario: An Independent Living Model for Canadians Requiring Attendant Services," in *Disability and Society Policy in Canada 2nd ed*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006) 321.
[1941] "Survey studies handicaps' needs," *Chronicle Journal*, February 4, 1980, 15.

profit housing developments, to access attendant care. The new program worked by giving direct payments to PWD, so that they could design and, then, control a support program that was customized to their particular needs; they would then purchase attendant care services from the HAGI.[1942] With the new program in place, the HAGI penned a 1985 letter of intent to the MCSS of their intention to expand the organization's support services into the NWO, through an Outreach Attendant Care Program based out of the City of Kenora. By July of 1985, the provincial government agreed to allot HAGI an initial three units for this expansion, providing they produce a detailed proposal on how the program worked.[1943]

The HAGI created its twelve-page proposal for the Kenora Outreach Program, and sent it to the MCSS in September of 1985. HAGI would train and provide staff for a Kenora Outreach Program for "minimum and moderate care levels."[1944] The proposal highlighted how the HAGI had been successful "providing attendant care services to some 46 consumers" that year, on a 24 hour basis.[1945] The province was moving away from transitional housing complexes like One Fifty; thus, without attendant care, PWD in smaller communities were relying on their families, homes for the aged, hospitals, or nursing homes, putting a strain on the resources of these providers. According to the HAGI, most of these people simply required "a minimum of two to three hours a day assistance."[1946] The Kenora Outreach Program would employ a coordinator and three support care workers; they would report to HAGI's Housing Administrator and its Housing Advisory Committee (later a separate Kenora Outreach committee was established). HAGI support care staff would provide attendant care services, such as personal grooming and hygiene,

[1942] OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1975, 6; OACPH, *Annual Report*, 1984, 13-14.
[1943] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1985, 1.
[1944] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 Aug 1985, 1.
[1945] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Proposal For Attendant Care Outreach Program, September, 1985, 2.
[1946] Ibid.

bathing and washing, meal preparation, toileting, rising and retiring, dressing and undressing, and transferring.[1947] The Kenora Outreach Program would initially serve three to five people, "who may need assistance two to three times a day" for a maximum of up to two hours a day, per client. Finally, the Outreach Program would be operated out of an office in Pine Crest Home for the Aged; it would be electronically connected to HAGI's head office at One Fifty.[1948]

On September 19th, 1985, Allan Buchan, HAGI's Housing Administrator, and Dave Koivisto, HAGI's Executive Director, met with Joan Richards, an MCSS official, to discuss the implementation of HAGI's new Outreach Program. Richards noted that, at the time, "HAGI [was]…the largest support care program in a single municipality in all of Ontario."[1949] This was a testament to the individuals and early organizing power of the HAGI, as it was revealed by Richards that the Ontario government was "not considering the development of more programs like the HAGI [One Fifty,]" due to the extensive start-up costs.[1950] Instead, they wanted focus on outreach programs, with substantial provincial dollars.[1951] Buchan and Koivisto indicated their willingness to proceed with the Kenora Outreach Program, and to "continue developing outreach programs in Northwestern Ontario."[1952] This was also a strategic move, as the two HAGI leaders argued that the "MCSS [would] be reluctant to expand the HAGI [in other experimental ways] when the rest of the province [was] so far behind."[1953] Thus it was in HAGI's best interests to focus on outreach programs to acquire more funding; in fact, the Kenora Outreach was budgeted to bring in somewhere in the ballpark of $40,000.[1954] HAGI was motivated by their desire to help

[1947] Ibid., 4.
[1948] Ibid,. 4-5; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1985, 1.
[1949] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Alternatives for the Future [Policy Paper,] September 1985, 1.
[1950] Ibid.
[1951] Ibid.
[1952] Ibid., 2.
[1953] Ibid.
[1954] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 Oct 1985, 1.

other PWD, but the increased funds were an added incentive. The Kenora Program was officially approved for funding by the MCSS in October of 1985.[1955] Kristan Axleson (later Miclash), a young HAGI attendant care provider at Glenwood Court and Superior View, was hired in November to be the Coordinator of the Kenora based Outreach Program; this was followed by the hiring of three HAGI support staff workers.[1956] Finally, a special emergency monitoring service connected disabled consumers living throughout the region to the Kenora Outreach office at Pine Crest. Thus, in emergencies (falls, drastic change in health), HAGI staff could assist the consumer.[1957]

In January of 1986, HAGI's Kenora Outreach Program became operational, with a staff of four; it quickly grew to provide services for regional disabled consumers.[1958] With Axelson in charge, the satellite office at Pine Crest was opened and a new internal committee, 'the Kenora Physically Challenged Committee Meeting,' oversaw the program's growth.[1959] Indeed, by May 5th, five individuals in Kenora were signed up in the program; a month later this number increased to seven.[1960] With the program at full capacity, Axelson conducted a needs study to determine the number of PWD in the area who could utilize the emergency response system.[1961] The success of the Kenora Program encouraged the HAGI to research and submit additional outreach proposal programs in Thunder Bay, for people living outside of HAGI buildings (in the

[1955] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Administrator's Report, 5 Oct 1985, 1.
[1956] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1985, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 Feb 1986, 1.
[1957] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Emergency Monitoring Service, 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 Jan 1986, 1.
[1958] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 3.
[1959] HAGI, HAGI Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Feb 1986, 2.
[1960] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 May 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 17 June 1986, 5.
[1961] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 5 July 1986, 1.

city of Thunder Bay), Rainy River (Fort Frances and Atikokan), and the North shore (Marathon, Schreiber, and Terrace Bay).[1962]

Lobby groups, such as PUSH Ontario, kept the MCSS accountable with mid-1980s reports and studies. For example, PUSH Ontario conducted a 1986 report on Attendant Care Programs in Ontario. They found that there was a "lack of attendant care choices for persons with mobility handicaps in [the province.]"[1963] In October of 1986, the PUSH North West conference brought 10 NWO communities together, and focused on several regional themes, such as law and the handicapped, rural transportation, accessibility for indigenous communities, and independent living in the region.[1964] A presentation was made on the Kenora Outreach program, and how other towns and cities in the region could apply for the service.[1965] The meeting also saw the election of 10 new members to the regional BOD, with four members from Thunder Bay, two from Sault Ste. Marie, two from Kenora, and two from Sioux Lookout. Common concerns, effecting all ten communities, were poor communication between towns/cities, too few public meetings a year, accessible transportation and housing, and the need to incorporate additional regional consumer organizations. Each of the communities also created action plans for 1987.[1966]

After the conference, the HAGI also directed resources towards expanding outreach services within Thunder Bay itself. At a January 14th, 1987, HAGI BOD meeting, Koivisto

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[1962] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1986, 1.
[1963] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Huguette Tries to John Sweeney, 6 March 1986, 1.
[1964] HAGI, HAGI Housing Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 15 July 1986, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference For Northwestern Ontario Outline of Events, 17 Oct 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 4; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31May 1986, 2.
[1965] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference For Northwestern Ontario Outline of Events, 17 Oct 1986, 1.
[1966] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northwestern Ontario 5th Annual PUSH Meeting, 19 Oct 1986, 1-5; HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northwestern Ontario 5th Annual Consumer Development Conference, 17 Oct 1986, 1-5.

revealed to the directors that the MCSS "agreed in principal to fund…[HAGI's] Outreach Proposal for Thunder Bay."[1967] The program was to start in the summer, and would provide PWD, "living anywhere in the community," access to HAGI's attendant care services.[1968] This was a welcome development, especially since the City's Non Profit Housing Corporation was developing new accessible housing, including the Picton II Project, where attendant care would be needed.[1969] The prevalence of more accessible buildings in Thunder Bay was a boost to the city, but according to Simon Hoad, a community service manager for the local OMOD, there was "[a] housing shortage in smaller [n]orthwestern Ontario towns."[1970] This concern was brought up at a second OACPH forum that September in Thunder Bay. Although HAGI's Kenora based Outreach Program was functional, the lack of physical accessible housing in the NWO region was pushing disabled people into Thunder Bay. Hoad wanted to see more accessible housing options developed in the smaller communities; in this regard government support was necessary.

Henry Kamphof, the Manager of Northwestern Regional Housing Programs, revealed at the forum that "sufficient housing and funding [was] available," but the problem revolved around the administration of programs.[1971] Kamphof wanted to see "a better vehicle put in place where maybe the Advisory Council or some organization attached to it will assist these people."[1972] Kamphof gave several examples showing the problem that smaller NWO municipalities faced regarding accessible housing. The situation was particularly bad in the towns of Marathon and Sioux Lookout. In the former, a proposed 48 unit accessible apartment building experienced a

[1967] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting, Minutes, 14 Jan 1987, 3.
[1968] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 24 March 1987, 2.
[1969] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator's Report, 6 March 1987, 1.
[1970] Jeff Hurst, "Lack of housing in area towns forces disabled to move to city," *Chronicle Journal*, September 26, 1987, 19.
[1971] Ibid.
[1972] Ibid.

two year delay because the project lacked "professional people to get the thing in place."[1973] Furthermore, there were rumblings that a lack of accessible housing options in Sioux Lookout was causing "disabled persons to live in garages."[1974] New accessible housing developments were in the planning stages at the time of the forum, but the OACPH forum noted that property to develop accessible projects "[were] not always available in smaller communities."[1975] HAGI's Co-Executive Director, Kovisito, also attended and apologetically acknowledged that "housing [in the smaller communities] is definitely a problem, but [that] city and provincial agencies [were] improving the situation."[1976] Koivisto believed that outreach attendant care services, offered by the HAGI and funded by the provincial government, would be the most appropriate avenue for allowing PWD in the region to remain in their home communities. According to Koivisto, the government shift to outreach meant that it was foolish to have accessible apartment buildings without the attendant care component. Hence, he planned to develop future regional outreach programs to complement the new regional accessible housing projects where HAGI acted as one of the advisers. At the end of the forum, OACPH member Karen Glen-Freeland best summed up delegate sentiment when she stated that "[p]eople with various types of disabilities want the freedom of choice to manage and control their own lives and to live in the community like anyone else."[1977] This policy of individual choice for independent living was the eventual policy that came out of the forum, as new accessible buildings were developed with HAGI's expanded outreach attendant programs meeting the support care component need.[1978]

[1973] Ibid.
[1974] Ibid.
[1975] Ibid.
[1976] Ibid.
[1977] Ibid.
[1978] Ibid.

Following the OACPH forum, HAGI's Outreach Program saw increased expansion with Kenora, and the start of the Thunder Bay and Rainy River Outreach Programs. By October of 1987, Kenora's Outreach Program expanded to provide services to ten disabled consumers.[1979] A few weeks later on October 22nd, 1987, Remo Mancini, the Minister Responsible for Disabled Persons, came to One Fifty Castlegreen and gave the HAGI funds for both of its new outreach programs. This special ministerial post, along with its federal counterpart, were created in response to Canada's commitment to the UN Decade of Disabled Persons. Galer states that these ministries were influential in "accelerat[ing] progress on disability policy and the "integration" of PWD in Canada.[1980] The first grant Mancini presented was an annualized grant of $100,000 for an Outreach Program for Thunder Bay, while the second was a $37,000 grant for a Rainy River Program.[1981] The two grants were vital, especially since 14 tenants had 'graduated' out of One Fifty Castlegreen during the 1987 calendar year, and were in need of continued access to support care in the community.[1982] The Thunder Bay and Fort Frances Outreach programs became operational in April of 1988. Around the same time, the MCSS agreed to fund an additional three units in HAGI's core buildings in the city of Thunder Bay, which boosted the total to 54 units in various HAGI housing projects.[1983]

While the HAGI was experiencing outreach growth, tensions emerged with local disabled advocates across the region. Regional representatives of PUSH North West wrote a May 9th, 1988, letter to the HAGI outlining their concerns over what they saw as HAGI's micromanagement of developments in the region. The letter, penned by Loraine Anka

[1979] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 3 Oct 1987, 2.
[1980] Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," 248-49.
[1981] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive's Report, 31 Oct 1987, 1.
[1982] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Annual General Meeting, Meeting Minutes 8 Dec 1987, 2.
[1983] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 7 April 1988, 2.

(Manitouwadge /the then-Chairperson of PUSH North West), Terry Wright (Sault Ste. Marie), and Winni Magnusson (Kenora), addressed the "severe lack of communication, not only from North to South, but also within our own region."[1984] PUSH North West was the largest PUSH Ontario regional affiliation, and it was understandable that there would be some communication problems in NWO. The writers of the letter wanted PUSH North West to apply for a grant to improve communication throughout the region. The regional representatives commended the HAGI on "the fine job" the organization was doing planning the most recent PUSH North West regional conference; however, they were concerned that "not one of us was consulted as to whether [the] date was convenient and if [they] had anyone [they] would like to see invited."[1985] In fact, these representatives "were shocked to say the least to receive a letter from the [Ontario] March of Dimes from Thunder Bay informing us of our own conference."[1986] It seemed the HAGI had taken for granted its regional role, as leader of the disability rights' movement in the region, and the PUSH North West representatives took exception. In turn, they wanted to be "consulted a few months ahead and be able to have a hand in the planning of the Regional Conference."[1987] Additionally, they wanted financial statements for the conference, so that they could "learn how much is required from travel; food; accommodation; and whatever else is involved."[1988] The information would help these regional representatives, if they "decide[d] to wet [their] toes and apply for a grant to put on small regional conferences."[1989] Finally, the regional representatives wanted to have a computer "link from Sault Ste. Marie to Manitouwadge to Thunder Bay to Kenora, so that these areas "could all feed and access information from this

[1984] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, PUSH Northwestern Regional Report, 9 May1980, 2.
[1985] Ibid.
[1986] Ibid.
[1987] Ibid.
[1988] Ibid,2-3.
[1989] Ibid., 3.

nucleus [HAGI's Independent Living Centre storage banks in Thunder Bay.]"[1990] In spite of these issues, the members thanked the HAGI for all the work they were doing "to improve awareness, quality of life, and to provide services as yet not available in all our communities."[1991]

The conference, held in Thunder Bay on May 15th, 1988, covered several important regional topics, such as accessibility awareness in indigenous communities in Treaty Three, Treaty Nine, and Robinson-Superior Treaty lands, and the further increase of HAGI's Outreach Program into the region. For instance, Fort Frances representatives reported on lobbying the Ministry of Housing to mandate 5 per cent of new housing projects in the region to include accessible units to complement the outreach growth in their community. Atikokan delegates made a presentation about joining Rainy River's Outreach Program, after observing the positive impact the program was having in nearby Fort Frances.[1992] This resulted in another motion passed that PUSH North West make "a request to the MCSS" in order that "future Outreach Programs be assigned to the region to meet the needs of those requiring services the most."[1993] One of the first requests for HAGI outreach, after the conference, came from the town of Manitouwadge.[1994]

The conference also outlined the need for more accessibility awareness in indigenous communities. This concern, brought up by delegates from Kenora (Treaty Three lands), resulted in a motion passed, stating that "PUSH Northwestern Ontario make an effort to increase

[1990] Ibid.
[1991] Ibid., 4.
[1992] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northwestern Ontario Regional Conference, 15 May 1988, 2.
[1993] Ibid., 4.
[1994] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1988, 1.

awareness among the disabled living on the reserves."[1995] This was important, as the majority of work improving accessible housing was taking place in the cities and towns of NWO. A 1985 study by Ekos Research Associates Inc. of Ottawa, commissioned by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, found that "almost half the housing on Indian reserves [was] substandard and [would] cost hundreds of millions of dollars to raise to normal Canadian standards."[1996] Indeed, if the housing was 'substandard,' it could be deduced that accessibility was very rudimentary, if it existed at all. A 1989 study of two Northern Ontario reserves, by the University of Toronto, also showed that indigenous people living on reserves were "twice as likely as an average Canadian to have a physical disability."[1997] Doreen Demas' recent (2018) article "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities," reveals that the situation is much the same today, as many indigenous communities have "more than 40 percent" of their residents living with some type of disability.[1998] Increased publicity around bringing accessibility to indigenous communities resulted in PUSH North West designing a specific conference called Talking Circles in 1992. This conference will be discussed below, but first, it is important to discuss HAGI and Push North West's separation.

PUSH North West's Emergence as a Disability Advocacy Organization for NWO, 1988-1994

The 1988 PUSH North West regional conference set in motion the gradual separation of PUSH North West from the HAGI; it eventually led to the former's self-incorporation in 1992. During the conference, the letter from the three PUSH North West regional representatives was

[1995] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northwestern Ontario Regional Conference, 15 May 1988, 1.
[1996] "'Poor' housing on reserves: study," *Chronicle Journal*, July 18, 1985, 5,
[1997] Ibid; "Disability rates at two reserves twice national average: study," *Chronicle Journal*, December 7, 1989, 19.
[1998] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 339.

discussed, and a series of recommendations were voted on. All regional delegates "unanimously decided that the region establish a [new] Board of Directors and begin taking full responsibility for [their] affairs," rather than relying solely on HAGI.[1999] HAGI received these recommendations, and they were discussed at a June 14th, 1988, BOD meeting. Here, directors agreed that PUSH North West "become self-incorporated…taking on their own affairs."[2000] The split follows tensions witnessed in the growth of service organizations. Mauss' life cycle of a social movement demonstrates that once a movement reaches many of its objectives, as was the case with HAGI (housing, transportation, sport and recreation), there is an inevitable decline and/or schism between leadership.[2001] Indeed, Ron Ross and Koivisto, two senior HAGI leaders, had different philosophies on the future direction of the disability rights movement in NWO. Koivisto, representing HAGI, wanted HAGI to grow as a service provider, whereas Ross, representing PUSH North West, wanted greater advocacy. Boyce et al. shows that disability organizations have to account for both "direct services, as well as for individual advocacy," which can pull an organization in different directions.[2002] It is also noted that once organizations acquire "political clout" there is a tendency to take "certain measures to gain favour with funders" that may not have been pursued in the past.[2003] HAGI received steady government funding for their housing, transportation, and sports/recreation divisions and was maturing into its role as a service provider. As a result, radical tactics and strategies could now be seen as alienating since HAGI was operating a $2 million dollar a year organization by 1988.[2004] Hence, PUSH North West took up the mantle of disability advocacy in Thunder Bay and NWO.

[1999] Ibid.
[2000] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 14 June 1988, 2.
[2001] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 50-66.
[2002] Boyce, Krough, and Boyce, "Policy Shifts and Challenges," 191.
[2003] Ibid., 195.
[2004] "HAGI has come a long way since 1972," *Chronicle-Journal*, February 6, 1988, 19.

Initially, the process towards incorporation did not go well, and by late 1988, PUSH North West was struggling. A report from the HAGI BOD noted that "the next year [would] be trying," especially since HAGI was dealing with their own internal issues with finding a new Co-Executive Director (Buchan filled this role later that year); thus, they could not provide a lot of assistance.[2005] By the end of 1989, PUSH North West set up a governing structure, as a "cross disability consumer organization" to "act as the voice of all disabled in the community."[2006] With Ross serving as President, the organization's geographic mandate extended from Sault Ste. Marie in the east to the Manitoba border, in the west, and to the southern portion of the North West Territories, covering some 800,000 square kilometres.[2007] It was considerably larger that the distance covered by the MLPH (in Manitoba), but also played into PUSH North West's mandate, which was to "strengthen the consumer movement in Northwestern Ontario" and represent disabled northern Ontarians "in matters that directly affect them."[2008] This was especially important, as Ross revealed that the progression of the disability consumer movement was "uneven, with larger centres developing" to "a far greater extent than the rural areas, including most of [NWO.]"[2009]

With a mandate in place, PUSH North West needed significant funds to open a regional office and arrange conferences. In the past, the HAGI provided the financial backing, but on its own, PUSH North West appealed to the community, including the HAGI, for a stable source of funding. In early January 1990, PUSH North West sent a letter to the HAGI BOD, "requesting a

[2005] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Sep 1988, 1.
[2006] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Jan 1990, 2.
[2007] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from PUSH North West to Allan Buchan, February 1991, 1.
[2008] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darlene Laboucane to Allan Buchan, 19 Aug 1991, 1; See Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 221-242.
[2009] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from PUSH North West to Allan Buchan, Feb 1991, 1.

letter of support" for the "securement of operating dollars."[2010] The HAGI letter, one of many such letters sent out in the community, helped PUSH North West obtain funds from the Federal Secretary of State, the Office of Disabled Persons, and Provincial Employment and Immigrant offices.[2011] The monies allowed PUSH North West to open its first Thunder Bay regional office in September of 1990 at 79 Court Street North.[2012] With Ross in the lead, the organization set up a resource centre that assisted disabled people within the NWO with skills development.[2013] Sandra Salamon, a recent graduate of Lakehead University's Social Work program and one of PUSH North West's first volunteers, was happy with the split with HAGI, as it allowed PUSH North West to directly focus on the "thousands of people with disabilities in Northwestern Ontario," and their range of needs.[2014] Specifically, Salamon believed PUSH North West, which officially incorporated on October 22nd, 1992, would help PWD in the region "to take more control over [their] lives" while avoiding the "bureaucracy in some organizations."[2015] This may have been a shot at the HAGI, as in 1988 Salamon was one of the first to bring up to HAGI officials the tensions between tenants and support staff in One Fifty Castlegreen (see chapter three). Salamon, who identified as Métis, wanted to see greater consumer control through new accessible housing developments, advocacy, and attendant care services for PWD living throughout the region. PUSH North West secured new SEED funding, from the Ministry of Health in the latter half of 1991, which provided the resources to host four regional "health promotion projects" in 1992 in the municipalities of Kenora, Dryden, Marathon, and Terrace Bay.[2016] One of these events was the Talking Circles conference on First Nations' disability and

[2010] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Jan 1990, 2.
[2011] Brad Hunter, "PUSH pushing for self-determination," *Thunder Bay Post*, February 27th, 1991, A3.
[2012] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from PUSH North West to Allan Buchan, Feb 1991, 1.
[2013] Hunter, "PUSH pushing for," A3.
[2014] Brad Hunter, "PUSHing for Change," *Thunder Bay Post*, April 10, 1991, B1.
[2015] Ibid.
[2016] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darlene Laboucane to Allan Buchan, 30 July 1991, 1.

accessibility issues. Its mandate was to give indigenous people with disabilities in NWO, the "information to take control of their health as far as possible," and work towards "self-reliance."[2017] This was an important development in the region because Duane Stroman states that one of the critiques of the ILM was that it turned into an "urban program," which "lost its fighting edge" in advocacy as it gained increased government funding. As well, he argues that the movement became more associated with serving "white middle class wheelchair users."[2018] Through the leadership of Ron Ross and then Marilyn Warf (a non-disabled ally who took over the executive directorship in the mid-1990s), PUSH North West became a powerful disability advocacy organization for Thunder Bay and NWO.

PUSH North West took an even larger provincial role after the dissolution of PUSH Ontario in 1994. After incorporation, PUSH North West successfully entered the advocacy arena, fighting to have intercity buses (Greyhound), taxis, and new buildings and structures in Thunder Bay, such as the Marina Park Overpass adapted for PWD.[2019] While PUSH North West was making progress in the region, the sudden collapse of PUSH Ontario, during the build up to the 1995 provincial electoral campaign, left a gaping hole for disabled advocacy. At the time, PUSH Ontario was the provincial consumer and advocacy organization for disabled Ontarians, as well a provincial representative of the renamed CCD (formerly the COPOH). In spite of receiving in excess of one million dollars in (mostly) provincial funding, from the Bob Rae NDP

[2017] Ibid., 2.
[2018] Stroman, *The Disability Rights*, 205.
[2019] Brad Hunter, "Pushing for Change," *Thunder Bay Post*, April 8, 1992, A5; Jim Kelly, "Taxi operators angry: Police board grants special licenses to Oikonen's," *Chronicle Journal*, May 20, 1993, 3; Jim Kelly, "On-call cab service for disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, June 24, 1993, 1; "Wheelchair accessible taxi service now operating," *Chronicle Journal*, August 31, 1993, 2; "Pedestrian overpass runs into roadblock," *Chronicle Journal*, January 25, 1994, 4; "A bridge too far: Access to the Marina Overpass," *Chronicle Journal*, January 27, 1994, 6; "Too long a climb," *Chronicle Journal*, February 4, 1994, 6; "Idea comes up short: Why weren't the handicapped considered in overpass design?" February 11, 1994, A6.

government, PUSH Ontario went bankrupt with a $137,000 deficit.[2020] A government audit found PUSH Ontario was "in a state of complete financial disorganization," which led to half of the BOD's resignation and the demise of the organization.[2021]

Without a provincial disability advocacy organization for the 1995 provincial election, PUSH North West attempted to fill the role through submissions to the Mike Harris Progressive Conservatives. One of these submissions was entitled "Ontarians with Disabilities: Common Sense Solutions." It was an appeal to Harris, using his own party's language (Harris ran on a 'common sense revolution,' neo-liberal platform of funding cuts) for continued assistance for the province's disabled, so they would not be left out of the government's new vision.[2022] According to Buchan, the then-Executive Director of HAGI, the Harris government was not a good fit for the disability community, as he cut many programs for disability consumer organizations throughout the province. Buchan referred to Harris as "a killer. He was radical, he was the [Donald] Trump back then;" for example, Buchan speculates that HAGI's new 1994, 22 unit, Jasper housing project would have been cancelled, by the Progressive Conservatives, if it had been signed off on any later then when it was.[2023]

In fact, the Harris funding cuts helped lead to the collapse of the regional disability consumer organizations (created out of the PUSH North West conferences) in NWO, as provincial funds became depleted for new programs.[2024] Boyce et al. states that the new socio-political climate created challenges for the disability rights movement in the 1990s as there was a

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[2020] Dustin Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," 284-85; Mona Winberg, *Solitary Courage: Mona Winberg and the Triumph Over Disability* (Toronto: Butterfly Book Publishing, 2010), 168.
[2021] Galer, "Hire the Handicapped," 285.
[2022] Ibid.
[2023] "Allan Buchan."
[2024] Ibid.

move towards "increased valuation of economic growth, corporatism, and deficit reduction."[2025] The funding crunch further solidified HAGI and PUSH North West at opposite ends of the service provider/advocacy continuum with HAGI entrenched as a service provider, and PUSH North West becoming the new advocacy face for disabled consumers throughout the NWO region. As Boyce et al. argue "increasing direct services was a more efficient and pragmatic approach than continuing to concentrate on large-scale advocacy initiatives."[2026] HAGI generally followed that model, but still teamed up with PUSH North West on projects. In the 1990s and 2000s, PUSH North West concentrated on several large local and regional accessibility initiatives, such as ensuring the new (2004) Thunder Bay Regional Health Sciences Centre was built accessible, while also successfully lobbying for the new *Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (ODA; 2001) and later the *Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act* (AODA; 2005).[2027] Another study is needed to analyze the activities of PUSH North West from 1992 to 2012, especially the differences in its strategy and tactics, which were more militant than HAGI's. During this time period, HAGI and the Northwestern Independent Living Services Incorporated

[2025] Boyce, Krough, and Boyce, "Policy Shifts and Challenges," 188.
[2026] Ibid., 192.
[2027] Wayne Ficek, "Disabled can make their vote count," *Daily Miner and News/Lake of the Woods Enterprise*, May 30, 1999, 8; Kimberly Hicks, "Ontario Disabilities Act to get a boost today," *Chronicle Journal*, October 29, 1998, A2; Ken Boschoff, "Becoming Canada's most inclusive city," *Chronicle Journal*, March 7, 2010, A6; Kimberly Hicks, "PUSH protest has positive results," *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1998, A3; Jim Kelly, "Activist snubs service award: Provincial government has let down the disabled, says protester," *Chronicle Journal*, May 19, 1999, A3; Dawna MacIvor, "P.U.S.H. reminds candidates the ODA is needed and overdue," *Thunder Bay Post*, May 24, 1999, A1-A2; Julio Gomes, "Candidates up on disability issues," *Chronicle Journal*, May 26, 1999, A5; Kimberly Hicks, "Tories get 2nd chance to do right by disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, June 4, 1999, A5; "Support for Disabilities Act," *Chronicle Journal*, March 12, 2000, A4; Michael Clarke, "Ontarians with Disabilities Act passed by legislature," *Outspoken!* Winter 2002, 1; "Disability bill needs time, work," *Chronicle Journal*, December 10, 2001, A6; Jim Kelly, "Disabilities Act flaws pointed out," *Chronicle Journal*, December 7th, 2001, A3; Jim Kelly, "Disability Bill rammed through," *Chronicle Journal*, December 14, 2001, A3; Cathi Arola, "Accessibility assessed," *Chronicle Journal*, February 4, 2005, A2; Stephanie MacLellan, "Barriers highlighted in public hearing on accessibility for people with disabilities," *Chronicle Journal*, February 8, 2005, A2; "Make Ontario accessible to all," *Chronicle Journal*, February 8, 2005, A6; Jim Kelly, "Accessibility comes with a price," *Chronicle Journal*, May 13, 2005, A5; "PUSH is on for free business assessment," *Chronicle Journal*, July 7, 2007, A4; Jim Kelly, "Disability Act gets praise," *Chronicle Journal*, October 15, 2004, A4; Agency offers help to business owners," *Chronicle Journal*, August 3, 2006, A13; Jim Kelly, "Accessibility plan on the table," *Chronicle Journal*, October 5, 2009, A3; "Gaston Bolduc," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 April 2017.

(NILS; see below) focused predominantly on providing services, such as accessible housing and transportation, while PUSH North West concentrated on regional and provincial advocacy until it too folded in 2012, due to Ross's death, the retirement of Warf, and funding cuts.

The Creation of the Northwestern Independent Living Services Incorporated, 1989-1993

In 1989, the HAGI's Outreach Program in Kenora experienced cost increases, which led to discussions regarding the separation of the Kenora/Rainy River Outreach Programs. By this time, the HAGI's Outreach Programs in the region saw continued expansion, with a new North Shore Outreach Program accepted for 1991. This new outreach program provided attendant care to PWD living in the towns of Marathon, Terrace Bay, and Schreiber. For HAGI's existing outreach programs, Kenora finished its fourth year of operation in 1989, seeing the first-time hiring of attendant care staff leaders in Dryden. The outreach program in these two cities serviced some 15 PWD, while a further 16 were on a waitlist.[2028] However, funding proved to be an ongoing issue, as the Kenora Outreach Program exceeded MCSS funding by about $18,000. This contributed to the MCSS revaluating the program, and recommending that a local disability consumer organization in Kenora take over that program and the Rainy River based Outreach Program.[2029] The Rainy River Outreach Program also saw growth, in its second year of operation, with a new staff leader appointed in the town. Nine disabled consumers, in the area, including the town of Atikokan were accessing HAGI's services in 1989, a further six were waitlisted. Besides Kenora and Rainy River, HAGI's regional Emergency Response System (ERS), although not technically an outreach program, provided special services to 150 people in

[2028] Ibid.
[2029] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Jan, 1990, 2.

the municipalities of Kenora, Dryden, Ear Falls, Sioux Lookout, Reddit, Sioux Narrows, and Vermillion Bay.[2030]

In 1989, the big change regarding regional outreach came when the MCSS requested that HAGI's western based outreach programs separate and become a new organization operating on a similar model as the HAGI. The MCSS, who funded the Kenora and Rainy River Outreach Programs, wanted the split to correlate with that ministry's "corporate structure" and "funding envelope," especially as the cost overruns were putting a strain on the MCSS's Thunder Bay branch.[2031] The MCSS had a District of Kenora branch that a local Kenora-based disability consumer organization could draw funds from, thus easing the pressure on Thunder Bay. HAGI representatives met with MCSS staff, in April 1990, and finalized the new plan with "consensus reached by all concerned parties."[2032] The meeting led to a five year plan to create a Kenora disability consumer organization.[2033] According to Koivisto, the HAGI "didn't care [about the split]…we just wanted to see the service go on. We don't care who operates it, as long as they [the consumers] get the support care."[2034] While there is no doubt that Koivisto wanted consumers in the region to continue receiving care, his comments may have also been a way to rationalize HAGI's loss of the Kenora program, and the organization's fragmentation. Prior to this request, Koivisto noted that "all pay roll etc. was right out of HAGI here [in Thunder Bay,] we'd pay the people up there [in Kenora] and Kristan [Miclash] ran the operation [on behalf of HAGI] up there."[2035]

[2030] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 10-11.
[2031] "Dave Koivisto;" "Allan Buchan;" HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1989, 1.
[2032] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1990, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1990, 1.
[2033] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1989, 1.
[2034] "Dave Koivisto."
[2035] Ibid.

The process of incorporation for the new entity began in 1991 when Miclash and other representatives from Kenora and Rainy River held a conference called 'Taking Control – A Consumer Challenge,' which drew 125 members. The conference laid out the structure for a new disability consumer organization, the Northwestern Independent Living Services Incorporated (NILS), to take the lead providing services west of Thunder Bay. A year later (April 1st, 1993), a BOD was elected, under the leadership of Miclash.[2036] With the new organization in place, the HAGI was still in a position to continue its own expansion into the new decade. Indeed, two of its centerpieces for the early 1990s were an Outreach Program to the east of Thunder Bay in 1991 (North Shore Outreach Program), and a new 22 unit accessible building at 1201 Jasper Drive in 1994 (the latter became the organization's new headquarters). When Jasper opened, it housed HAGI-Transit and the Independent Living Centre and later the CPA, PUSH North West, and the Thunder Bay and District Injured Workers Support Group.[2037]

Accessibility in Indigenous Communities and Reserves in NWO, 1975-1993

While HAGI made considerable efforts making the greater NWO region accessible for disabled people, from the mid-1970s through to the end of 1993, indigenous communities were generally neglected and left outside the growing accessible region. Starting in the early 1990s, HAGI, PUSH North West, and the OMDI teamed up to hold the Talking Circles Conference, specifically designed for NWO's indigenous communities from Treaty Three, Treaty Nine, and

[2036] Northwestern Independent Living Services Inc. "Our History," accessed 28 Aug 2018, http://www.nils.ca/modules.php?name=About_Us&op=show&pid=4.
[2037] Ibid; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1993, 4; Interestingly in 2015, the provincial government requested that the HAGI and NILS reintegrate, under one organization, to accompany the new funding structure of the Local Health Integration Network. Coming online in April 2007, the LHIN system administers the province of Ontario's health care system through 14 regional LHIN systems. The HAGI/NILS reintegration successfully took place on April 1st, 2018, with the new Community Services for Independence North West (CSINW) entity governing the support services in the region, and the HAGI entity governing the fundraising, properties, and advocacy.

Robinson-Superior Treaty lands. This is not to say that indigenous people had no relationship with Thunder Bay's disability consumer organizations before this time, as many HAGI consumers in the city of Thunder Bay and in HAGI's Outreach Programs were indigenous. Some indigenous disabled moved to the city to access HAGI's services, as chapter three describes. HAGI officials also traveled the region, but were not able to make a lot of inroads into indigenous communities. Koivisto's mid-1970s travels in the region to start up regional clubs "only [saw him] out there for a short time."[2038] Thus, "if those communities themselves had [indigenous] involvement, with your [regional] reps, it was okay".[2039] However, this was not a given as Koivisto:

> didn't go into reserves to do things like that, I didn't have the time or the effort or the physical abilities…from my understanding even today, you know, for a wheelchair to go to some of these places is pretty…tough, you got to be a tough, eh, to go into these places…to physically be able to survive.[2040]

In fact, Koivisto's trips to regional communities, such as Red Lake, were grueling enough. According to the long-time HAGI executive, traveling up the road to Red Lake and staying at the Howie Bay Motel was draining; furthermore, he had to tie his wheelchair small just to enter the bathroom as the doorframes would not accommodate a wheelchair. For Koivisto, "it wasn't easy living there…pretty tough…and like I personally [couldn't] do nothing," besides organizing the mostly white regional representatives into clubs.[2041] It was not until "later in HAGI's development" that the organization made attempts to send material and correspondence to indigenous communities.[2042] It is interesting that HAGI leaders had the conception that such communities were far away when Fort William First Nation (in Robinson-Superior Treaty lands)

[2038] "Dave Koivisto."
[2039] Ibid.
[2040] Ibid.
[2041] Ibid.
[2042] Ibid.

was adjacent to the south of Thunder Bay. There was no mention of any efforts to enter this community until the early 2000s.[2043]

In addition to Koivisto's efforts, Terry Bellavance made some attempts to reach out to indigenous communities in Treaty Three and Robinson-Superior Treaty lands, prior to the Talking Circles conference. In the 1980s, Bellavance "did some work with a number of First Nations communities" in the towns of Geraldton (Ginoogaming First Nation), Fort Frances (Couchiching First Nation), and Nipigon (Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek First Nation).[2044] With his background in overseeing the development and building of Castlegreen and Superior View Cooperatives, One Fifty Castlegreen, and the OMDI's Transitional Learning Centre, he was able to assist the Indian Friendship Centre in Geraldton to develop some accessible "urban based housing for indigenous families."[2045] According to his wife, the project "wasn't well-received, by the town of Geraldton," partly due to the fact that accessible design, especially in the regional towns was not viewed as a priority at the time.[2046] Nevertheless, Bellavance also consulted with indigenous groups in Fort Frances and Nipigon, "redeveloping some existing housing into family housing" in the former, and "helping develop a business case to develop a business using [wood] products of the land" (this plan never materialized).[2047]

Historically, indigenous communities in NWO and elsewhere have been plagued with a series of social, health, and economic problems due to the devastating effects of colonialism. A number of Canadian historians have analyzed the one-sided treaty process, assimilation policy,

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[2043] Cathi Arola, "New name, same goal: HAGI will continue to work to improve the quality of life for people living with a disability," *Chronicle Journal*, March 29, 2004, A4.
[2044] "Alice Bellavance."
[2045] Ibid.
[2046] Ibid.
[2047] Ibid.

white settler legal system, and racist governing structure (the 1876 *Indian Act* and that systems' 'Indian' Agents).[2048] In fact, Maureen Lux argues that the opening up of the Canadian west for white settlement fostered an environment that saw indigenous communities experience prolonged ill-health and disease.[2049] Reaume points out that the interrelations between physical disability and race in Canada are underdeveloped in the scholarship.[2050] In the U.S. much of the work analyzing race has centered on the African American experience of disability, and here race has been revealed to compound disability either by equating "blackness with disability" or making one "unworthy" to receive services.[2051] In the Canadian context, Robert Menzies and Ted Palys have analyzed the indigenous experiences of those deemed mad or mentally ill who inhabited British Columbia's institutions in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Indigenous patients were exposed to racist attitudes and culturally alienating treatment.[2052] In NWO, Scott Rutherford argues that the effects of racism and colonialism resulted in the summer of 1974

[2048] See: John S. Long, *Treaty No. 9: Making the Agreement to Share the Land in Far Northern Ontario in 1905* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Shelley A.M. Gavigan, *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men: Criminal Law on the Aboriginal Plains, 1870-1905* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012); Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canadian to 1915* (Athabasca: University of Alberta Press, 2008); Robin Jarvis Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2003); Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Health in British Columbia 1900-50* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Kristin Burnett, *Taking Medicine: Women's Healing Work and Colonial Contact in Southern Alberta, 1880-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2010); Maureen K. Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1890-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
[2049] Lux, *Medicine That Walks*, 4.
[2050] Reaume, "Disability History in Canada," 63.
[2051] Dea Boster, *African American Slavery and Disability: Bodies, Property, and Power in the Antebellum South, 1800-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Larry Logue and Peter Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Paul Lawrie, "'To Make the Negro Anew:' The African American Worker in the Progressive Imagination, 1896-1928," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011); Paul Lawrie, "'Salvaging the Negro': Race, Rehabilitation, and the Body Politic in World War I America, 1917-1924," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 321-344; Dea H. Boster, "'Unfit for Ordinary Purposes': Disability, Slaves, and Decision Making in the Antebellum American South," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 201-217.
[2052] Robert Menzies and Ted Palys, "'Turbulent Spirits: Aboriginal Patients in the British Columbia Psychiatric System, 1879-1950," in *Mental Health and Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives*, eds., James E. Moran, and David Wright (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006, 149-175.

armed occupation of Anicinabe Park in Kenora by the Ojibway Warriors Society. However, the occupation was simply the most prolific public response by indigenous people in the area. Rutherford shows that the 1960s and '70s witnessed a number of other acts of public resistance. In fact, some of their complaints were articulated in a 1965 magazine article, highlighting the "poor living conditions, lack of economic opportunities, and racism faced by First Nations men and women in the Kenora area."[2053] During this time, Margaret Phillips, one of the early leaders of the Lakehead Social Planning Council who brought young disabled people together to create HAGI, was the Recreation Director in the City of Kenora from 1960-67. In this role, she participated in the 1965 anti-racism march, organized by indigenous people, which ended at City Hall.[2054] Hence, this environment naturally led to indigenous people in NWO experiencing alienating practices even from the progressive disability rights movement, who attempted to help. One of the problems was that regional disability activists had a lack of experience and knowledge working with indigenous communities.

Ma-Nee Chacaby's 2016 autobiography, *A Two-Spirit Journey*, traces the experience of an Ojibwa-Cree leader, who has a visual impairment. Chacaby moved to Thunder Bay in the 1970s from Ombabika (an indigenous community near Armstrong, ON) and found "life in the city strange," as the lack of understanding of indigenous issues was profound.[2055] Demas acknowledges that knowledge and understanding by white society of indigenous issues, even in the 21st century, needs to be improved. Specifically, disability consumer and indigenous

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[2053] Scott Rutherford, "Canada's Other Red Scare: The Anicinabe Park Occupation and Indigenous Decolonization," in *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism*, ed., Dan Berger (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 77-78.

[2054] "Margaret Alberta Phillips," *Chronicle-Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 3 April 2019, www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?pid=176495650.

[2055] Ma-Nee Chacaby with Mary Louisa Plummer, *A Two-Spirit Journey: The Autobiography of a Lesbian Ojibwa-Cree Elder* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), 8, 85.

organizations have to collaborate and learn from each other on how to best meet the needs of disabled indigenous people.[2056] Indeed, it took PUSH North West about a decade to focus on indigenous communities, as Buchan notes that Ontario municipalities were the organization's first priority.[2057] This was in spite the fact that the 1989 study of two northern Ontario indigenous communities found that indigenous people were "twice as likely to have a disability," and Demas' assertion that "more than 40 per cent" of people in some indigenous communities have disabilities.[2058] As will be shown below, first the HAGI, and then Spinal Cord Injury Ontario (SCI Ontario; formerly the Canadian Paraplegic Association) started the conversation of working towards accessibility or what Freund calls "enabling spaces" in indigenous communities, with gradual steps in the 1980s and '90s until SCI Ontario made significant inroads in the 2000s.[2059]

Part of the reason for these time lags and lack of initiatives, which negatively compounded the situation in indigenous communities, were because of a series of social and economic issues stemming from colonialism. Firstly, indigenous communities are funded by the Federal Government, with money allocated to individual bands. Demas states that this equation of indigenous people with the federal government often denies many disabled indigenous consumers provincial rehabilitative resources.[2060] Also, lack of understanding of indigenous issues sometimes caused disability rights leaders to overlook the effects of colonialism and instead see the problems resulting from the 'apparent' mismanagement of resources by indigenous leaders or the perceived backwardness of reserves. It must be noted that at the time,

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[2056] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 342.
[2057] "Allan Buchan."
[2058] "Disability rates at two reserves twice national average: study," *Chronicle Journal*, December 7, 1989, 19; Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 339.
[2059] Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 703.
[2060] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 341.

regional disability rights activists meant well in trying to assist indigenous communities, but unwittingly perpetuated stereotypes due to their unfamiliarity with indigenous issues. For instance, in speaking to an indigenous HAGI consumer from Lac Seul First Nation (Treaty Three lands), Koivisto was told that in some cases "the money [doesn't] get trickled down…it stays at the top."[2061] The consumer mentioned that change does not easily come on reserves; in fact, Koivisto stated that the consumer appeared "embarrassed" explaining the situation.[2062] The interaction left Koivisto believing that "there's a lot of other issues" on indigenous reserves that have to be addressed for more systematic change to occur.[2063] This seemed to place blame on indigenous communities and also bolstered stereotypes of indigenous communities not able to properly manage resources.

Alice Bellavance bolsters this point of indigenous communities as backwards, noting that "you just got to deal with all of the other inequities. I mean the whole social determinants of health on northern communities in terms of clean drinking water, decent housing whether it's barrier-free or not, I mean they're just so far behind."[2064] Bellavance acknowledges that "healthcare and social services for First Nations people is a travesty…I mean if you can't even get decent housing for all those people, how are you going to add on…the inequities are just profound."[2065] Specifically in relation to fly-in reserves, Bellavance states that "they can't even get their equipment in these places" and power chairs have to be left outside and "somebody has to carry them [the disabled person] into the house."[2066] Bellavance makes vital points and is sincere, but when one unpacks terms like "they're so far behind," the association is that

[2061] "Dave Koivisto."
[2062] Ibid.
[2063] Ibid.
[2064] "Alice Bellavance."
[2065] Ibid.
[2066] Ibid.

indigenous communities are unable to move forward due to their own inability. In the last several years, Bellavance has attended provincial Indigenous Health Forums where she revealed that much discussion centers on the fact that present conditions on indigenous reserves is a by-product of over 500 years of colonialism; thus, it will take a "minimum of a couple generations to fix it."[2067] These forums are providing local health leaders the education on indigenous issues that was absent in HAGI's early years. Indeed, Irmo Marini, a professor in psychology in a university in Texas, who has studied the issue from an academic perspective provides larger context in that:

> just from a historical perspective of the books that I write and my knowledge about Canadian and American history treating natives and Aboriginals is that they get screwed over every step of the way, so the fact that reserves aren't really set up and there's no money earmarked for it. I do know from the cultural perspective cause I've read and written quite a bit on this is that, you know, Aboriginals they don't see a disability as a punishment for having sinned, they don't treat you any differently. But, there's no question even on most of the reserves in the U.S. they're living in poverty situations, most of them are rural and there's no access to health care, it's not great. Access to council is not great and so I don't know if the Canadian government kind of screwed over its Aboriginals as we know they did in various forms, but still the same thing happened down here so the majority group, in this case, white people kind of just, you know, conquered and took. So, it doesn't surprise me that the Aboriginals on the reserves don't have much trust there because they don't have much walking or otherwise…[2068]

Demas too confirms these "disadvantages," from colonialism, which extend into education, accessibility, transportation, housing, employment opportunities, recreational, and the cultural spheres.[2069]

Although past-HAGI President of the BOD Thadeus Weiss acknowledges that there were some efforts by the HAGI to attempt "to highlight the needs of their [indigenous] communities

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[2067] Ibid.
[2068] "Irmo Marini," interview with Ulysses Patola, 11 March 2017.
[2069] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 339.

and bring the issues to the forefront" in the 1980s and '90s, it was not a priority until the 1990s.[2070] As stated earlier, the 1985 Ekos Research Association's survey found that half of reserves had "substandard housing," let alone any accessible housing at all. [2071] The growing publicity helped PUSH North West shift resources and begin addressing accessibility in NWO indigenous communities at their May 15th, 1988, regional disability conference. Although not much occurred besides passing the motion to "increase awareness" on reserves by white disability activists, it did prove to be the springboard that the disability consumer organizations in Thunder Bay and the region needed to push further in their relationship with reserves.[2072]

Talking Circles, one of the first conferences held by PUSH North West, focused on the need to address accessibility in the "large aboriginal population" in NWO.[2073] According to Allan Buchan, one of the organizers, "we brought in [indigenous people] from all over the reserves from the far north [Treaty Nine lands]," including chiefs and health representatives.[2074] They either had indigenous people with disabilities in their communities or in their families. Indigenous conference representatives revealed to the organizers "what their issues were."[2075] This was "eye-opening" for Buchan, and the others, because even through his travels "to almost every community of 10,000 or more greater in the province" as PUSH Ontario Chairman in the early 1980s, his mandate did not include the reserves.[2076] Thus, Buchan was aware of "our urban issues [in NWO] with people living with a disability, but we didn't really understand what it was

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[2070] "Thadeus Weiss."
[2071] "'Poor' housing on reserves: study," *Chronicle Journal*, July 18, 1985, 5, "Disability rates at two reserves twice national average: study," *Chronicle Journal*, December 7, 1989, 19.
[2072] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Push North West Northwestern Ontario Regional Conference, 15 May 1988, 1.
[2073] PUSH North West, PUSH North West BOD, Correspondence from Ellen MacEachen to Ron Ross, 24 March 1993, 23.
[2074] "Allan Buchan."
[2075] Ibid; "Alice Bellavance."
[2076] "Allan Buchan."

like living on a reserve or way up north…that was unbelievable."[2077] As stated earlier, there were indigenous reserves much closer to Thunder Bay in Robinson-Superior Treaty lands (Fort William First Nation), but HAGI leaders' comments regularly equated indigenous communities with the 'far north.' While unpacking the 'far north,' HAGI leaders were referring to Treaty Nine lands in northern Ontario. Demas reveals what Buchan and others probably learned at the conference that many indigenous communities lack "options at home on their reserves" because there is "no accommodations" to help them live independently.[2078] Many of these communities did not have ramps, SSLUs, or accessible transportation. Furthermore, there were mostly gravel roads that make travel by wheelchair very difficult, and this was compounded by the isolation some reserves experience.[2079] In turn, conference officials demonstrated accessible services to the indigenous representatives, including HAGI-Transit vans, ramps, and the concept of SSLUs. The emphasis was on demonstrating that "you don't have to spend a lot of money to make things accessible;" in fact "some of the [accessibility] services…were an eye opener to some of the folks living up there on the reserves."[2080]

As a result of the conference, PUSH North West designated two seats on their BOD for indigenous members, while also creating the Disabled Persons Coalition (DPC). The DPC was a team of health care workers who regularly visited reserves to "deal with and respond to disability issues."[2081] There was also some follow up correspondence with chiefs, but Buchan acknowledges that he "wish[ed] we would have done more of those [conferences] because I

[2077] Ibid.
[2078] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 342.
[2079] Ibid.
[2080] "Allan Buchan."
[2081] PUSH North West, PUSH North West BOD, Correspondence from Ellen MacEachen to Ron Ross, 24 March 1993, 23.

think that opened eyes up to many" about the accessibility-specific needs of reserves.[2082] The Talking Circles conference was one of Buchan's lasting memories from his time with the disability rights movement, in Thunder Bay and the region, "because [as a grassroots person,] it got that knowledge out to the reserves [and]…the people at the ground level…giving them the skills necessary to do things for themselves."[2083] Alice Bellavance also remembers the Talking Circles conference, as she attended, in her position, as the Executive Director of the OMDI. Bellavance found that the situation on reserves is "different from community to community," and that one of the issues indigenous representatives "talked about [was] the hierarchy within different communities in terms of whether or not they could even have access to services."[2084] Part of this hierarchy centered on whether "[people] were related to somebody that was a chief or to someone that was on council."[2085] If this was the case, "then maybe they could get services," and "if they weren't and if their family wasn't valued in their community then they might make it to…the lower end of the hierarchy in terms of whether or not they got anything."[2086] While no doubt sincere in their desire to help, these comments again elicit stereotypes; the unfortunate by-product of the paternalism and perceived need to 'help' indigenous communities to 'progress.'

Lack of funding due to systemic colonialism was a large problem effecting reserves' abilities to account for accessibility, and which continued to hold them within the confines of what Pothier and Devlin call "dis-citizenship."[2087] However, according to some disabled people of indigenous background in NWO, this should not be the case. Tracy Hurlburt, a long-time

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[2082] "Allan Buchan."
[2083] Ibid.
[2084] "Alice Bellavance."
[2085] Ibid.
[2086] Ibid.
[2087] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1-2.

HAGI member and past-President of the Happy Handicaps and HAGI BOD member, takes issue with the lack of funding available to indigenous communities in their quest to become accessible. Hurlburt, who is part indigenous and identifies as such has several disabled friends living in indigenous communities who confirm that "accessibility on reserves is terrible."[2088] Hurlburt reveals that one of her friends in Thunder Bay "keeps saying that she wants to go home [an unidentified indigenous community,]" and that they are trying "to lobby for that, but the money is just not there."[2089] This migration to major population centres to access resources is something Demas also found with disabled indigenous consumers living in Manitoba.[2090] However in the 21st century, Hurlburt "[does not] know why the money is not there [to improve accessibility on reserves] because if you're building things for people, building new buildings, you should be building them wheelchair accessible."[2091] Hurlburt has heard of a few cases where an indigenous person moved back home. In fact, in detail, she related the story of how a woman's reserve became "more accessible;" in particular, the "store [became] accessible and the school [became] accessible."[2092] Hurlburt notes that this is just a start because she explained to her friend that "that's all that's accessible in your community. Your home is accessible, the school, and the store?"[2093] Hurlburt then drew her friend out by asking about the church, the restaurants, and the businesses, with her friend revealing "well, no, not yet."[2094] Hurlburt believes that the funding issue is simply "a crock" and that the matter stems from a lack of priority given to making indigenous communities accessible.[2095] She stated that when "building peoples' homes, build

[2088] "Tracy Hurlburt," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 March 2017.
[2089] Ibid.
[2090] Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 342.
[2091] "Tracy Hurlburt."
[2092] Ibid.
[2093] Ibid.
[2094] Ibid.
[2095] Ibid.

them accessible."[2096] "If you're building a store, build it accessible. Slap a ramp on a store, it's accessible for people to go in. They're going to a corner store, they don't need a bathroom, they just need a door to go in. What's the big deal?"[2097] Hurlburt's comments ring true, but the systemic colonialism in Canada has caused bureaucratic gridlock which has stalled many indigenous communities in NWO from becoming accessible, leaving indigenous PWD on the periphery of an accessible region.

In spite of these developments, the HAGI along with the regional Thunder Bay SCI have taken a greater interest in NWO indigenous communities in the 21st century. Firstly, after the HAGI created a new incorporation, HAGI Community Services for Independence, in the spring of 2004, they developed "a new strategic plan to focus on the community's growing senior population and [to] broaden its services to include Fist Nations' communities in the region."[2098] At the time, HAGI Executive Director Allan Buchan found that since the 1992 PUSH North West conference, First Nations reserves still "[did not] have the services," with the result being "a lot of them…end[ed] up either moving to Thunder Bay or moving from the reserve just to get the services."[2099] Thus, the first part of HAGI's plan was to work with the nearest indigenous community, the Fort William First Nation, before "branch[ing] out to reserves across the region."[2100] However, the lack of resources in accomplishing this second task resulted in SCI Thunder Bay, backed by Spinal Cord Injury Ontario, to oversee services to indigenous communities beyond Thunder Bay.

[2096] Ibid.
[2097] Ibid.
[2098] Arola, "New name, same goal," A4.
[2099] Ibid.
[2100] Ibid.

In June 2007, the then-CPA Ontario (in 2012 CPA Ontario became SCI Ontario) finished their 'A Place to Start: An Aboriginal Participation Strategy,' which was their plan for addressing the needs of disabled people of indigenous background in Robinson-Superior, Treaty Three, and Treaty Nine lands. SCI Ontario's Thunder Bay branch, under the direction of Coordinator Darren Lillington, was tasked with implementing the five thematic area plan for all indigenous communities in the newly created LHIN North West (14) region (includes all three treaty lands).[2101] Lillington, along with David Shannon, were instrumental in furthering the connections started by PUSH North West and the HAGI. SCI Thunder Bay brought indigenous communities together to implement the SCI program, which focused on improving access to services, reducing barriers and gaps in services, addressing service provider issues, and building collaborative relationships with reserves.[2102] In 2019, SCI Thunder Bay is the main contact for NWO's indigenous communities, with regional representatives regularly visiting and making contact with the region's disabled consumers. SCI's steps follow recommendations made by Demas, and need to be regularly reviewed and updated to better meet disabled indigenous people's needs.[2103] One can only hope that the *AODA* and the future *Bill C-81*, the *Accessible Canada Act* will further rectify inaccessibility on NWO indigenous communities.

Accessible Transit in NWO, 1980-1993

After HAGI-Transit started in 1975, HAGI assisted in the development of accessible transportation systems in the regional cities of Kenora and Dryden in 1980; however, with the advent of the PUSH North West regional conferences, and a new provincial-municipal cost-

[2101] Darren Lillington, "Darren On Darren," *Outspoken!* Winter 2010, 18; Meredith Burley, "Far North," *Outspoken!* Fall 2011, 35.
[2102] Lillington, "Darren On Darren," 18.
[2103] See Demas, "Triple Jeopardy," 339-344.

sharing arrangement in the early 1980s, accessible transportation systems spread to a collection of other smaller towns and cities in NWO. In this regard, HAGI played a critical advisory role, assisting the set-up of these systems, while also directly operating the Handi-Transit system in the town of Manitouwadge. Driedger outlines some facets of how the MLPH helped disabled people in the greater Manitoba region develop accessible transportation.[2104] There were some parallels between the two regions, as both tapped into Local Initiative Program (LIP) grants for funding, and used the regional conference system to bring different groups together.[2105]

The history of HAGI-Transit in the city of Thunder Bay is described in chapter four; but in 1980, the cities of Kenora and Dryden, to the west of Thunder Bay, started their own accessible transportation systems. As stated earlier, Kenora's PHAG was significantly smaller than its Thunder Bay counterpart, having about a couple dozen members. Mentoring this new disability consumer organization, along with its Dryden counterpart, which came into existence in 1980, was a goal for the HAGI. Thadeus Weiss confirms this, stating that "HAGI…reach[ed] out into the other communities [and] helped them develop their own programs like…Handi-Transit in Dryden and Kenora."[2106] Koivisto, who worked closely with these groups, also states that "we provided them [assistance,] once we got a [disability consumer] group going…as a result, some of them started transits, you know, Kenora and Dryden."[2107] Thus, with Ron Ross and Dave Koivisto acting as consultants for the Kenora group, one of its first tasks was getting its own accessible transportation system. Indeed, accessible transportation was a major topic at the 1977 Kenora Talk Back conference (a precursor to the PUSH North West conferences) that

[2104] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 227, 229, 231, 237.
[2105] Ibid., 229, 231.
[2106] "Thadeus Weiss."
[2107] "Dave Koivisto."

analyzed the city's state of accessibility.[2108] However, the lack of a funding arrangement prevented Kenora from developing a Handi-Transit system until 1980.

At the time, the province of Ontario was finishing up its two year accessible transportation pilot program, and they would not grant additional funds outside of the five-city pilot. Kenora and Dryden relied on their city councils, and the support of the HAGI for their first year offering accessible transit. In Manitoba, the MLPH used a LIP grant to start a Handi-Transit system in the Pas in the mid-1970s, as the Province and City of Winnipeg were undergoing their provincial-municipal pilot for the Manitoba capital. LIPs were also HAGI-Transit's lifeline in its first two years.[2109] In Dryden and Kenora, the build-up to the IYDP was the major motivation in helping to secure accessible transportation prior to the province finalizing a cost-sharing agreement; the IYDP was also catalyst for the creation of the DDAG.[2110]

In 1980, with the two western-based disability consumer groups up and running, the city councils provided the funding for each accessible transportation service until the new provincial-municipal cost-sharing agreement kicked in a year later. The Kenora City Council gave a $15,000 grant for the Handi-Transit service in its city, while a much smaller sum was provided to Dryden's Handi-Transit by its City Council.[2111] In his position as HAGI-Transit Manager (1979-83), Allan Buchan acted as "an outside consultant, getting them [the cities] going."[2112] Buchan recalls working closely with the "Dryden Action Group, I remember years ago…similar to HAGI, but not as quite organized. I…helped get the Dryden Handi-Transit going…there was

[2108] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 Sept 1978, 2; Pat Tonkin, "Disabled Seek Action on Many Fronts," *Daily Miner and News*, August 15, 1977.
[2109] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 229.
[2110] "Needs of disabled examined," *Chronicle Journal*, January 20, 1981, 3.
[2111] "Transit service subsidized," *Chronicle Journal*, February 3, 1981, 3; "Transit funding expected," *Chronicle Journal*, February 7, 1981, 3.
[2112] "Allan Buchan."

only one employee. She was the driver, dispatcher, manager…everything."[2113] The woman Buchan referred to was Judy Stratton who indeed ran the whole operation by herself. Kenora's operation was slightly larger, with Winnie Magnussen of the PHAG serving as the Manager of Handi-Transit, with the assistance of a small group of volunteers.[2114] These two accessible transportation systems continued for a year and were greatly aided in 1981 when the provincial-municipal cost sharing system came online. Buchan remembers, "when that new program opened up in [1981,] that's when you started seeing specialized transit pop up all over the place."[2115] For the region, the provincial Ministry of Transportation and Communications (MTC) agreed to share the operating costs for both Handi-Transit systems; indeed, Kenora's total cost for 1981 was $49,000, while Dryden's was $18,000.[2116]

In NWO, the PUSH North West regional disability conferences of the early 1980s spurred further towns and cities to get their own Hand-Transits. The first such conference, in March 1982 (described above), centered on providing information to regional delegates on how to establish disability consumer groups in their home communities. Driedger outlines a 1977 Manitoba "rural conference" organized by the MLPH and attended by 80 representatives from various communities of the province.[2117] One of the topics discussed was rural transportation in the region; a Rural Transportation Committee was set up to address this particular matter.[2118] At the NWO conference, Buchan led a transportation workshop that explained the process of setting up an accessible transportation system, acquiring funding, and choosing accessible vehicles. In the regional planning section, after the workshop, the Steering Committee for the Nipigon

[2113] Ibid.
[2114] "Transit service subsidized," 3; "Transit funding expected," 3.
[2115] "Allan Buchan."
[2116] "Transit service subsidized," 3; "Transit funding expected," 3.
[2117] Driedger, "Organizing for Change," 231.
[2118] Ibid.

consumer group outlined their goal of creating a Handi-Transit system in their town.[2119] Nevertheless, the Nipigon accessible transportation system was the only community that developed such a transit system after the March 1982 conference.[2120] It was not until 1985 that renewed efforts led to several more regional towns and cities acquiring accessible transportation.

In the three years before these developments, the HAGI continued helping Dryden, Kenora, Nipigon, and Sault Ste. Marie; the latter's accessible transportation was one of the five cities chosen for the 1976 Ontario pilot program. Allan Buchan, still living in Sault Ste. Marie at the time, negotiated with that municipality at the conclusion of the pilot, so that they took control over what was then known as the Para Bus Service.[2121] HAGI leaders played an important advisory role helping the above transit systems apply for government grants, while also giving them some of HAGI's old equipment.[2122]

In the mid-1980s, HAGI took a special interest in establishing accessible transportation systems throughout NWO. In 1985, Buchan invited disabled consumer groups from the east of Thunder Bay, including, the Marathon Handi-Action Group and the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group to Thunder Bay for a special presentation on accessible transportation. The impetus behind the presentation was to look into the "feasibility of offering a Handi-Transit service" to the towns of Marathon, Manitouwadge, Mobert, and Heron Bay.[2123] The "presentation went great," and regional representatives were given a tour of one of the HAGI-Transit accessible vans.[2124] After the presentation, it was decided that these communities apply

[2119] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Consumer Development Conference, Meeting Minutes, 12-14 March 12th to 14th 1982, 1, 5.
[2120] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 Feb 1986, 1.
[2121] "Allan Buchan."
[2122] "Dave Koivisto."
[2123] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1985, 2.
[2124] Ibid.

for government grants, as soon as possible, to secure a financial base to start their own accessible transportation services.[2125] As Buchan was now HAGI's Housing Administrator, it was left to the new manager, Rick Miles, to follow up regarding the conference through overseeing a multi-year plan to bring additional Handi-Transit systems to NWO.

In 1986, Thunder Bay hosted the fifth annual PUSH North West regional disability conference where the multi-year plan was developed. Before the October conference, HAGI-Transit involved itself in two other important ways in the region. In February, it agreed to rent one of its accessible vans to the Nipigon Parallel Transit Service after that service's only van underwent "major repairs."[2126] HAGI-Transit also expanded its regional reach by becoming a member of the Canadian Urban Transportation Association in early 1986. This organization provided a "forum" for different provincial transportation services to "exchange views and ideas to improve transportation services."[2127] HAGI's increased accessible transportation role manifested itself further during the October 17th to October 19th, 1986, PUSH North West regional conference where accessible transportation across the region was addressed. It is important to note that before the conference, there was a change in management at HAGI-Transit, as Rick Miles stepped down in June to take on a policy analyst and advisor role with the Secretary of State in Ottawa. As a result, HAGI BOD member Darrell Sanderson was appointed as the new HAGI-Transit Manager in the summer of 1986.[2128]

Sanderson played a key role at the October conference, especially in the accessible transportation section. This particular regional conference was influential in expanding

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[2125] Ibid.
[2126] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 Feb 1986, 1.
[2127] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 2.
[2128] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Darrell Sanderson letter to Thadeus Weiss, 5 June 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 15.

accessible transportation into the greater NWO region. The conference was attended by regional delegates from the cities and towns of Kenora, Fort Frances, Manitouwadge, Terrace Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, Sioux Lookout, and Thunder Bay.[2129] Here Sanderson took the lead in creating a multi-year Handi-Transit action plan for the town of Manitouwadge, while also providing assistance to other municipalities. Sanderson led the transportation section. Indeed, after his orientation and training in early June, he received a crash course on HAGI-Transit's operational system, as the HAGI teamed up with the City of Thunder Bay's Transit Division and its Manager, Ken McLean, to create the Committee for Transit Improvements for the Disabled. One of the Committee's first mandates was to complete a feasibility and market study on how the City and HAGI could better collaborate on improving accessible transportation within the city.[2130] To illustrate, new "self-contained lift device[s]" were displayed during the 1986 National Transportation Week, celebrated in Thunder Bay, and local talk centered on integrating these devices on City buses as well as implementing courtesy seating, and grab bars (see chapter four for accessibility upgrades to City of Thunder Bay transit buses).[2131] Furthermore, part of the study involved a comprehensive review of HAGI Transit's operations and policies, which allowed Sanderson to "further familiarize himself with the system."[2132]

Sanderson gave an October 18th presentation entitled 'Planning for Transportation Services,' advising regional delegates on how to develop an accessible transportation system.[2133] Sanderson covered such topics as conducting a needs study, finding sources of funding, setting

[2129] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference, Meeting Minutes, October 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 19.
[2130] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 30 June 1986, 1.
[2131] "Wheelchair life," *Chronicle Journal*, April 9, 1986, 1; "The transportation challenge," *North Magazine*, May 26, 1991, 4.
[2132] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1986, 1.
[2133] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference for NWO Itinerary, October 1986, 1.

up an operating system, integrating a computer system, and using various kinds of accessible vehicles.[2134] Sanderson explained that part of the government's criteria for funding a new Handi-Transit service was getting a medical authority to sign-off on the need for such a service. Once the above was in order, Sanderson revealed how the cost-sharing arrangement worked between the MTC and the municipalities. He also disclosed that the Federal government had a subsidy program available, which covered 80 per cent of capital costs for accessible vehicles in small communities. Next, Sanderson discussed the types of accessible vehicles available, and the need for an organization to weigh the pros and cons on what vehicle to obtain, depending on the specific needs of their community. To illustrate, Sanderson outlined how HAGI-Transit first employed accessible vans; however, after research, station wagons or taxis proved a better fit for ambulatory passengers, as they "free[d] up vans to handle more wheelchair passengers."[2135] After Sanderson's presentation, the conference shifted to the regional experience of how the town of Fort Frances was dealing with the implementation of a new Handi-Transit system.

Florence Buffington, from the Rainy River District Handicapped Action Group (Fort Frances), shifted the discussion to how her group was developing its own accessible transportation system. The experience provided delegates with an up-close model of how the group implemented their system, in spite of having to overcome a series of obstacles. Firstly, Fort Frances was not able to obtain the 80 per cent subsidy program from the Federal government; this was a serious concern and Sanderson pledged to look into the matter in order that other communities would not have to experience the same problem.[2136] Without federal

[2134] Ibid.
[2135] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference Meeting Minutes, October 1986, 1.
[2136] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference for NWO Itinerary, October 1986, 1.

financial help, Fort Frances fundraised and relied on donations from local citizens and service clubs to obtain the $27,000 needed to purchase an accessible van; it was scheduled to arrive that December (1986). In the end, the process had taken Fort Frances three years to implement; however, the group was extremely happy during the conference, as their new accessible transportation system was set to start in January of 1987.

In fact, the town's newspaper covered the event, showing the liberating effect Fort Frances' Handi-Transit system was having. The article demonstrated how 27 year-old Gordon Ash, a wheelchair user since a near-fatal car accident approximately seven years previously, was finally able to exercise his independence by travelling to work without the aid of his mother. This was possible only because the town of Fort Frances picked up the financial, operational, and maintenance costs, while the local disability group monitored the system from Rainy Crest Home for the Aged.[2137] The new system, although distinguished as a "handicapped" service, became an accessible public space that opened up the community to PWD.[2138] The service ran eight hours a day, five days a week, and had a cost of $1 per ride.[2139] After Buffington's presentation, she passed out copies of the town's 1987 annual Handi-Transit budget and a program operational manual to assist delegates who had not yet implemented a local Handi-Transit system.[2140] Fort Frances now joined Thunder Bay, Dryden, Kenora, Sault Ste. Marie, and Nipigon in having an accessible transportation service.

[2137] Terresa Van Drunen, "Van for handicapped coming but, wheelchair people can't use streets," *Fort Frances Times*, October 29, 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 18;
[2138] Parent, "Je me souviens," 211, 215.
[2139] "Finally, long-awaited handi-action van goes into action," *Fort Frances Times*, December 10, 1986, 1.
[2140] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference Meeting Minutes, October 1986, 1.

Other regional delegates at the conference also discussed their goals for accessible transportation; the HAGI agreed to directly assist some of them. Of the other remaining groups, the DAG, representing the towns of Schreiber and Terrace Bay, and the CIA, representing Sault Ste. Marie, discussed their goals for Handi-Transit. While DAG did not have a Handi-Transit system, their goal for 1987 was to create an accessible transportation proposal. On the other hand, Sault Ste. Marie had a lively Para Bus Service, since the1976 provincial pilot project, and simply sought to expand the service.[2141]

However, arguably, one of HAGI's most important developments was the action plan to set up a Handi-Transit system in Manitouwadge, as this would be the first time the HAGI directly pledged to operate such a system outside of Thunder Bay. The HAGI collaborated with the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group on creating the action plan and timeline for the implementation of that town's first Handi-Transit system. Part of the reason for the collaboration was the limited resources of the Manitouwadge based consumer group. They requested that the HAGI provide assistance in creating a Handi-Transit proposal, and, then, to continue budgeting financial expenses.[2142] A 15 month timeline was finalized and presented at the conference, with the end goal being the operation of the town's Handi-Transit service for the start of 1988. The HAGI spent the remainder of October working with the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group to complete, first, a needs study and, second, a plan for capital expenses to acquire an accessible van. Next, a program brief and operating budget were produced with the Manitouwadge group acquiring community letters of support for the service. The remainder of 1987 consisted of fundraising efforts, meetings with municipal officials, and the final submission of the group's

[2141] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual PUSH Meeting Minutes, October, 1986, 3-4. Sault Ste. Marie moved back into the PUSH North West sphere.
[2142] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 18.

application package for government funding.[2143] In spite of the collaboration, the accessible transportation system did not come online until 1990.

During the next three years, the HAGI and the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group worked together to establish the latter's Handi-Transit system; however, the timeline was pushed back due to internal discord at HAGI-Transit. One of Sanderson's last duties before stepping down as the HAGI-Transit Manager in June of 1987 was attending a summer Ontario transportation conference organized by MTC Minister Ed Fulton.[2144] The conference was important, as it set up a task force mandated to improve accessible transit across the whole province. Around the same time, the OACPH published the guidebook entitled *Freedom to Move Is Life Itself*. This guidebook was sent to the government task force as the OACPH's (renamed the OACDP; see footnote) official position on accessible transportation for the province. It contained a series of recommendations "designed to lead to a fully integrated, accessible transportation system by the year 2010."[2145] In order to accomplish this goal, the OACPH requested the provincial government "fund only accessible systems" in the future, and to set up "regional boards to recommend varying service needs in different parts of the province."[2146] Although the government had not committed to these recommendations, by the end of March 1989, they did commit to a new funding procedure to improve accessible transportation. These commitments included special grants to private companies to purchase accessible taxis, accessibility upgrades to municipal transit fleets, financial incentives to smaller communities to

[2143] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference Meeting Minutes, October 1986, 1.
[2144] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes 10 June 1987, 2.
[2145] Ontario Advisory Council for Disabled Persons (OACDP), *Annual Report*, 1987-88, 14.
[2146] Ibid.

employ accessible transportation services, enhanced accessibility training for transit staff, and the administration of new disabled parking permits to replace the special licence plate system.[2147]

Sanderson brought this knowledge back to Thunder Bay to help Manitouwadge; however, a month after the conference he was forced to step down as manager.[2148] Indeed, there were some serious concerns over Sanderson's management style, especially as his tenure resulted in the June 1987 HAGI-Transit employee dispute. While this incident was discussed previously, it must be noted that the mass resignation led to staff friction, as HAGI-Transit staff sought better pay and unionization. The dispute paralyzed the operation of HAGI Transit for the rest of June, and took several months to mend through retreats, a new staff council, and employee complaint form.[2149] In fact, senior HAGI officials Ron Ross and Dave Koivisto temporarily took over HAGI-Transit until Rick Miles was re-hired, as manager, in August of 1987.[2150] Miles took over development of Manitouwadge's Handi-Transit system.

During the remainder of the decade, the HAGI worked on the Manitouwadge Handi-Transit system, while also receiving requests from other regional towns for similar accessible transportation advisory assistance. At the start of 1988, Sandi Potter, Treasurer of the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group, sent a letter to Dave Koivisto, revealing that the group was in the process of incorporating itself, and requested that the HAGI help in conducting a "major fund-raising campaign."[2151] The finances collected from the drive were used to purchase an accessible van for the Town of Manitouwadge.[2152] Manitouwadge representatives discussed their

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[2147] Ibid., 15-15; OACDP, *Annual Report*, 1988-89, 18-19.
[2148] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1987, 2.
[2149] Ibid; Dan Bauchman, "Handi-Transit workers 'quit' their jobs without warning," *Chronicle Journal*, June 20, 1987, 1.
[2150] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1987, 1.
[2151] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Sandi Potter to Dave Koivisto, 12 March 1988, 1.
[2152] Ibid.

fundraising efforts at the 1988 PUSH North West regional disability conference.[2153] The HAGI's transportation presentation, entitled "Developing a Parallel System in a Small Community," was followed by a progress report from the delegates.[2154] The HAGI went over the process to fill out application packages, how to obtain funding, and types of vehicles. The discussion then shifted to a practical analysis of various Handi-Transit systems in NWO, including Thunder Bay's HAGI-Transit. HAGI described the service's continued growth and expansion, noting that it was now conducting about 6,000 trips a month.[2155]

While Thunder Bay was the undisputed leader of accessible transportation in the region, additional smaller communities were starting to get their feet wet in obtaining such services. The NWO communities of Manitouwadge, Red Lake, Dryden, Fort Frances, and Atikokan presented progress reports on the status of their Handi-Transit systems, some more advanced than others.[2156] Delegates from Dryden and Fort Frances had Handi-Transit systems in operation. The former stated that there was "a definite need for evening and weekend expansion," and the latter commented that their "[accessible] transportation [was] in operation" for 40 hours a week and "handicapped parking now exist[ed,]" with $25 dollar fines issued to offenders.[2157] The three other communities who presented progress reports were still in the earlier stages of establishing their accessible transportation systems. Out of these communities, Manitouwadge, with the assistance of the HAGI, was the most advanced, having organized a large fundraising drive to raise funds for an accessible van. On the other hand, Red Lake and Atikokan were still in the

[2153] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1988, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northern Ontario Consumer Conference, May 1988,1-2. Representatives came from Thunder Bay, Manitouwadge, Red Lake, Dryden, Fort Frances, Atikokan, Kenora, and Heron Bay
[2154] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northern Ontario Consumer Conference, May 1988, 2.
[2155] Ibid., 1-2.
[2156] The municipalities of Heron Bay and Kenora did not present progress reports on their accessible transportation systems.
[2157] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Northern Ontario Consumer Conference, May 1988, 1.

infancy stages; indeed, the former disclosed that the creation of their own parallel accessible transportation system was "a priority," while Atikokan representatives noted that there was "interest" in obtaining accessible transit services, and accessible parking.[2158]

After the 1988 PUSH North West conference, focus shifted to finalizing accessible transportation in Manitouwadge. Although the original start date for Manitouwadge's Handi-Transit was scheduled for 1988, the difficulties at the HAGI, and the lengthy application process shifted the target date back two years. The Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group continued with its fundraising drive, but were reluctant about running Handi-Transit on their own. Group leaders contacted the HAGI in the summer of 1988 "request[ing] that [the] HAGI operate their Handi-Transit system."[2159] Koivisto believed that this was an "excellent opportunity for regional expansion," especially since the HAGI already had experience with operating outreach attendant care services in Kenora and Rainy River.[2160] Koivisto delegated the expansion project to Miles, who worked on completing the Manitouwadge application package for the summer of 1988.[2161] Miles also explored the possibility of expanding Handi-Transit to those "townships immediately adjacent to Thunder Bay," such as Schreiber and Terrace Bay.[2162] In November of 1988, Miles wrote to several "rural townships, surrounding the municipality of Thunder Bay" to gauge their level of interest for their own Handi-Transit services.[2163] The Town of Red Lake wrote back requesting help with their application package for Handi-Transit. Miles agreed to work with town officials, but priority rested with Manitouwadge.[2164]

[2158] Ibid., 1-2.
[2159] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1988, 1.
[2160] Ibid.
[2161] Ibid.
[2162] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1988, 1.
[2163] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Manager's Report, November 1988, 5.
[2164] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Annual Membership, Meeting Minutes, 8 Dec 1988, 2.

By early 1989, Manitouwadge raised enough money to purchase a new accessible van with Miles submitting the application package for government funding. However, by September, the MTC sent correspondence to Miles informing him "of a delay in capital funding for the purchase of a vehicle for the Township of Manitouwadge."[2165] In early 1990, HAGI BOD member John Holmwood replaced Miles, as HAGI-Transit Manager, and it was at this time that provincial funding was finally finalized, with the MTC agreeing to support the Manitouwadge's Handi Action Group's transit system for up to 50 per cent of the operating costs.[2166] Everything was in place for the Manitouwadge Handi-Transit service to begin operations; indeed, this was a service that HAGI-Transit would directly run.[2167] In the HAGI's first operation of a regional Handi-Transit service, the organization took control over Manitouwadge's accessible transportation system, as a HAGI "affiliate" in September 1990 and this continued for five years until the local group took control of the system.[2168] Holmwood attended the Manitouwadge Handi-Transit grand opening, in Manitouwadge on October 4th-5th, and a year later the service acquired a Board of Education contract to transport disabled students.[2169]

Around the same time that the Manitouwadge Handi-Transit started, the NWO communities of Schreiber, Terrace Bay and Red Lake, with the help of HAGI, also set up accessible transit systems. The North Shore, commonly referred to as Schreiber and Terrace Bay, established Handi-Transit systems in 1991. In September of 1986 the North Shore's DAG, which represented both towns, took the lead in the application process. Rod Thompson, serving as President, represented the new group at several of the PUSH North West regional conferences,

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[2165] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 27 Sept 1989, 3.
[2166] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 8 March 1990, 1.
[2167] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 11 Jan 1989, 3.
[2168] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1993, 3.
[2169] HAGI, Handi-Transit Advisory Committee, Transit Manager's Report, September 1990, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Sept 1991, 2.

including the October 1986 conference; here he shared the group's desire for a Handi-Transit system.[2170] Following the advice, received at the conference, the DAG finished a Handi-Transit needs study in 1987, which determined that the two communities were ripe for such a service. However, the implementation proved to be a "lengthy process."[2171] After the needs study, the DAG created a Handi-Transit Steering Committee, with group members and "concerned citizens" from both towns.[2172] The Steering Committee designed a series of recommendations, and produced a proposal. The Handi-Transit proposal included information on their plan to set up an operating group, type of accessible van, and funding mechanism. In 1990, the municipal councils, of both communities, accepted the recommendations from the Steering Committee's report, and forwarded the final proposal to the MTC for funding. According to DAG officials, including new president Shirley Mikus, it was "quite a complicated process."[2173] The North Shore received their first Handi-Transit system a year later.

Red Lake was another NWO town that followed a similar pattern in acquiring a Handi-Transit system. Although they did not have a disability group at the time, representatives from Red Lake attended the May 15th, 1988, PUSH North West regional conference in Thunder Bay. The conference was vital in addressing the steps small communities needed to take in order to set up an accessible transportation system. Red Lake's representative, Nils Dahl, reported during the roundtable discussion that the "development of a parallel transit program [was] a priority" for Red Lake.[2174] With knowledge in hand, Dahl went back to Red Lake and started the incorporation work for the Red Lake District Para Transit group. In its first few months, Dahl,

[2170] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, NWO Fifth Annual PUSH Meeting Minutes, October 1986, 3-4.
[2171] Ibid; "Handi-Transit eyed for towns," *Chronicle Journal*, October 28, 1990, A2.
[2172] Ibid.
[2173] Ibid.
[2174] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, PUSH NWO Regional Conference, May 15, 1988, 1.

serving chairperson, grew paid membership to 13 people; a bank account was also set up. During the rest of the year, the group conducted an auction and While Elephant Sale to raise funds. Next, the group created a newsletter, held general meetings, and formed a six person Advisory Committee made up of: Dahl (Chairperson), Marybell Moore (Vice Chairperson), Fred de Wind (Secretary), Jean Delorme (Treasurer), Margaret Marshall, and Bob Conner. The Advisory Committee's mandate was to research further requirements for acquiring a Handi-Transit service.[2175] Because of a lack of resources, the fundraisers netted only $210.70. Thus, by December of 1988, Dahl approached HAGI-Transit Manager, Rick Miles, for help in moving forward.[2176] Miles gave the Red Lake District Para Transit group access to HAGI's by-laws for HAGI-Transit, and the Red Lake group studied them. Furthermore, Miles revealed to Dahl that Red Lake could purchase a van through HAGI, since the Thunder Bay group received a "fleet rate" from Lakehead Motors.[2177] A new van would cost approximately $25-30,000 dollars, and Dahl stated that using the fleet rate was "more economical for us."[2178] Similar to the DAG, the Red Lake group also ran into difficulties dealing with the MTC's guidelines. De Wind referred to the language that the ministry [MTC] "bombarded" them with as being "legal mumbo jumbo."[2179] Indeed, in one of the newsletters, Dahl wrote an article simplifying the language, for members, noting that the Ministry subsidized small communities up to 50 per cent for capital costs and up to 25 per cent for operating costs; they also provided $2.85 for every passenger

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[2175] Fred de Wind, "Plans for Para Transit," *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 1; Fred de Wind, "By-Laws," *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 1; Fred de Wind, "Purchase Van through HAGI?" *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 1; Jean Delorme, "Treasurer's Update," *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 2.
[2176] Delorme, "Treasurer's Update," 2; Shari MacDonald," Transit Development – Red Lake," *CPA Freewheeler*, Summer 1988, 4; HAGI, Annual Membership, Meeting Minutes, 8 Dec 1988, 2.
[2177] de Wind, "Purchase van through," 1; de Wind, "By-Laws," 1.
[2178] de Wind, "Purchase van through," 1.
[2179] Fred de Wind, "It's that again?" *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 2; Nils Dahl, "M.O.T regulations?" *Red Lake District Para Transit Committee News* 1, no. 1, December 1988, 2.

transported.[2180] However, in order to tap into this funding, an application had to be made through the municipality, and supported by an advisory committee. Red Lake, thus, passed their application form to the local council and acquired their first van in 1990.[2181] By the early 1990s, many NWO communities had accessible transportation systems; however, as Malhotra and Rowe note, many Ontario municipalities had to undergo the funding cuts of the Mike Harris Progressive Conservatives in the mid-1990s, which saw many Handi-Transit systems in the province take a financial hit, with some becoming "less reliable" than others.[2182]

Disabled Women's Activism in Thunder Bay and NWO, 1972-1993

Disabled women's issues were not initially a part of the Planning Council's 1972 DRR, but gradually developed once HAGI's core services were established and local women with disabilities began demanding articulation of their specific needs by the mid-1980s. In May of 1985, disabled women of Thunder Bay and NWO, along with the help of the OMOD, hosted their own conference which was the "first time that this issue [disabled women's issues] [were] presented publicly as a conference within Ontario."[2183] These conferences continued into the late 1980s and were the precursor to local disabled women setting up their own organization called Women Independently Living with a Disability (WILD).

Diane Driedger argues that "Canadian [disabled] women's issues [were] not considered serious issues by disabled men in the 1970s and early 1980s."[2184] As a result, scholars argue that disabled women "fared significantly worse economically, socially, and physically than either

[2180] Ibid.
[2181] Nils Dahl, "M.O.T regulations?" 2.
[2182] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 127.
[2183] "Women and disabilities," *Chronicle Journal*, February 4, 1985, 17.
[2184] Driedger, "Emerging from the," 14.

disabled men or non-disabled women" at this time.[2185] Neither were disabled women a priority for second wave feminism in North America during in 1960s and '70s.[2186] As scholars including Lisa Schur and Doreen Demas have demonstrated, this left white disabled women "double handicapped" and women with disabilities of a different race in "triple jeopardy."[2187] Disabled women had their own specific needs and interests and started to press for greater representation in Canadian disability organizations, such as the COPOH. In 1981, disabled women were behind the COPOH's resolution requesting "equal representation of women for leadership positions and affirmative action."[2188] Furthermore, the COPOH agreed in 1983 to study disabled women's issues, but the first study did not come out until 1987. However, the COPOH did set up a workshop on women's issues at their 1986 conference, and elected Irene Feika the organization's first female chairperson. The progress led Driedger to state that "gender parity was fairly well integrated into the [COPOH] by the mid to late 1980s."[2189]

Nevertheless, Canadian disabled women wanted their own organization. Thus, in June 1985, 17 women, led by Pat Israel (Toronto), Pat Danforth (Regina), and Maria Barile (Montreal) held talks in Ottawa for three days, discussing important issues (self-image, employment, violence, health, sexuality, and mothering), and setting up a Steering Committee.[2190] After the conference, the various delegates went back to their home communities and set up local women's groups. This work, then, led to the creation of the DisAbled Women's

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[2185] Lisa Schur, "Is There Still a 'Double Handicap'?: Economic, Social, and Political Disparities Experience by Women with Disabilities," in Gendering Disability, eds., Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 253.
[2186] Driedger, "Emerging from the," 14.
[2187] Lisa Schur, "'Contending with the 'Double Handicap': Political Activism Among Women with. Disabilities," *Women and Politics* 15, no. 2 (2003): 31-62; Schur, "Is There Still," 253-271; Doreen Demas, "Triple Jeopardy: Native Women with Disabilities," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 339-344.
[2188] Driedger, "Emerging from the," 14-15.
[2189] Ibid., 15.
[2190] Meister, "An Early DAWNing," 222-223.

Network (DAWN Canada), which held its founding conference in March 1987 in Winnipeg, MB. At this conference, DAWN Canada approved a Constitution and By-laws, joined the COPOH, appointed a BOD, and reaffirmed their focus on the six key issues disabled women first raised in 1985 (see above).[2191] Interestingly, a Thunder Bay 'Women and Disabilities' conference was held a month prior to the June 1985 national conference that created the national DAWN Steering Committee.

Indeed, the situation in the city of Thunder Bay was slightly different to national developments, particularly due to the fact that disabled men and women often worked closely together in the HAGI, which had powerful leadership from disabled women, such as Susan Ward. However, HAGI was still male dominated, and disabled women's issues were underrepresented. Disabled women built upon the work of pre-1970s pioneers, such as Mary Sereda of the Happy Handicaps. Also, several able-bodied feminist leaders in the Planning Council, such as Margaret Phillips, Gwen Workman, Rose Mary Collins, and Ruth Wilson, were the driving force behind organizing the city's disabled youth together into what became known as HAGI in 1972. Susan Ward, in her 20s at the time, described Philips as "a community activist, a feminist and she owned the last women's bookstore in North America and when she passed away then the bookstore was sold and no longer exists, but she was an amazing person."[2192]

The founding core group of HAGI included several couples: Ward and her husband, Joe; Gaston Bolduc and his wife, Heather; Dave Koivisto and his wife, Paula; Ron Ross and his wife, Judy; and Terry Bellavance and his wife, Alice.[2193] Alice Bellavance acknowledged that at the time, women with disabilities "made themselves heard, but I think a lot of the women that were

[2191] Ibid., 222-223, 225-226.
[2192] "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017.
[2193] Ibid.

very powerful in the disability movement were those of us that were spouses of men that had a disability, so it's always, you know, behind every good man there's a good woman kind of thing."[2194] Indeed, Bellavance noted that these able-bodied women:

> were the muscle for the guys that were in the chairs or the women. There weren't many women with disabilities at that time [early 1970s,] there were a few. But it was mostly men and so we were the support for those guys and we were the ones that did the physical slogging or hauling them up and down stairs and all that kind of stuff.[2195]

These women performed similar duties as those described in Nancy Forestell's account of the gendered relationships after a workplace injury in a northern Ontario mining camp. Wives took on the "onerous responsibility of taking care of the incapacitated worker" through such "labor-intensive tasks" as bathing, cooking, changing clothes, and massaging parts of the body.[2196]

However, the wives of HAGI members played a large role in HAGI's founding and early activism. In fact, they helped push for a mid-1970s conference on 'Sexuality and the Handicapped,' which was the first open discussion on the topic in NWO at the time (very little was written on this conference).[2197] Male HAGI leaders, such as Bolduc and Allan Buchan, recalled that "there were a number of women involved with HAGI, and I think they did well. They contributed as much as a male," and "they [women] were just another participant, equal to…you never gave any weight whether to male or female. I mean some more radical females were…that's why they started that DAWN group to get their point across. But, I think they were just equal participants."[2198] While this may have been true, it is important not to forget the impact of male privilege, including in the disability rights movement. Corbett O'Toole notes that

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[2194] "Alice Bellavance."
[2195] Ibid.
[2196] Nancy M. Forestell, "'And I Feel Like I'm Dying from Mining for Gold'": Disability, Gender, and the Mining Community, 1920-1950," *Labour: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 3, no. 3 (2006): 77-93.
[2197] Marcel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb 1976, 10.
[2198] "Gaston Bolduc;" "Allan Buchan."

"[r]esearch shows that those who have benefited the most from these advances [disability rights] have been those whose needs were the most parallel to the mythic disabled man" or the "white, straight man in a wheelchair."[2199] This privilege resulted in reduced opportunities for disabled women in regards to employment, education, and income.[2200]

In spite of these difficulties, Susan Ward became a powerful HAGI leader in the 1970s. Ward was the preeminent disabled woman and feminist associated with the HAGI, and led several important disability-related initiatives in the city of Thunder Bay and NWO region. Ward, born in 1952, grew up with cerebral palsy. As a disabled youth in the twin cities, she spent time with the local Crippled Children's Centre and Easter Seals. Two of her early mentors were Margaret Phillips and Gwen Workman of the Planning Council. Influenced by these strong, independent feminists, working in the social service field in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ward pursued a social work degree and career with the NWOCCC. In this position, she mentored young disabled boys and girls, such as Sandy Salamon, helping them to become disabled advocates themselves. Ward describes herself as a "feminist and [was] very involved in the Women's Council [and] the NWO Women's Decade Council" (the local group advancing the United Nations Decade of Women).[2201] Ward's education allowed her the social mobility that was lacking for disabled women of the Happy Handicaps. In fact, Buchan states that in the late 1970s and early 1980s: "there were many women with disabilities, but not many were strong advocates. They'd come to meetings and stuff, but not say a whole lot."[2202] Perhaps, these women lacked education and the social status to make their voices heard. On the other hand, the

[2199] Corbett Joan O'Toole, "The Sexist Inheritance of the Disability Movement," in *Gendering Disability*, eds., Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2004), 295.
[2200] Schur, "Is There Still," 253.
[2201] "Susan Ward."
[2202] "Allan Buchan."

educated Ward considers herself a "mouthy person, I get in people's faces, you know. If I want something, I go after it."[2203] Ward became the President of the HAGI BOD in the late 1970s, and was very active organizing and participating in disabled sporting events. In a sense Ward was to Thunder Bay as Beryl Potter was to Toronto in the mid-1970s. Galer's work shows how Potter, a triple amputee, set up the Scarborough Recreation Club for disabled persons in 1976.[2204]

Ward was very active in promoting disability rights issues in the 1970s and her efforts, along with the development of HAGI's core services, produced more female disabled advocates in the 1980s. In June 1976, Ward produced and presented the joint HAGI-Planning Council Brief to the traveling Ontario Human Rights Commission's Committee on how disability needed to be a protected category. The Committee, tasked with researching ways to update the 1962 *Ontario Human Rights Code*, sought provincial input on potential updates to the *Code*. Indeed, including disability was one of the recommendations of the 1977 *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*, which came out of the Committee's research.[2205] Ward was also influential in organizing a small group of disabled people that confronted Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau during a spring 1977 local rally in an inaccessible building in Thunder Bay.[2206] In spite of the fact that Ward held several positions with the HAGI, and steady employment, she also observed the subtle discrimination experienced by disabled women. Ward states that the discrimination was "not as blatant, but it still existed," and that the disabled men, in the HAGI, "took the jobs because they needed to look after us."[2207] In employment, if the choice was between "a man with

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[2203] "Susan Ward."
[2204] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 93, 97-99.
[2205] Robert Vickers, "Accessibility Is Sought For Human Rights Group," Chronicle-Journal, June 4, 1976, 17; Lakehead Social Planning Council Rehabilitation Committee and HAGI, *Representation to the Review Committee Ontario Human Rights Commission*, June 1976, 1-10; Ontario Human Rights Commission, *Life Together: A Report on Human Rights in Ontario*, July 1977, 74, 79.
[2206] "Trudeau's Visit to City Scheduled for April 29," *Chronicle Journal*, April 13, 1977, 1; "Susan Ward."
[2207] "Susan Ward."

a disability or a woman with a disability they [the employers] would tend to look at the men first."[2208] Ward also felt that "the men were more forthcoming in looking for jobs too. You know educated women with disabilities back then, there weren't as many."[2209] Ward personally always had employment and did not feel discriminated against or left out; in fact, if she was not hired for a position, she reasoned that it was due to the fact that she was not the right person.[2210]

The establishment of such HAGI services as One Fifty Castlegreen, HAGI-Transit, and its sporting culture allowed a new cohort of young disabled women, such as Sandy Salamon, Linda Cairns, Debbie Hashaguchi, Lola Graham, Ann Farrell, and Tracy Hurlburt to join Ward and become involved with the local disability rights movement. In 1985, these disabled women, backed by able-bodied female allies in Thunder Bay and disabled women in the region, organized the first local OMOD 'Women and Disability' regional conference. As mentioned earlier, this was the first such conference in the province. The activities of Canadian disability activists, such as Beryl Potter, Pat Israel, Pat Danforth, Marie Barile, Diane Driedger, Irene Feika, and Francine Arsenault have been analyzed by others, but the literature is silent on the activities of disabled women in Thunder Bay and NWO.[2211] The impetus behind the May 1985 conference was the fact that the experiences of women with disabilities were something women "may never have had the opportunity to publicly discuss."[2212] In turn, the conference provided

[2208] Ibid.
[2209] Ibid.
[2210] Ibid.
[2211] Galer, *Working Towards Equity*, 93, 97-99; Meister, "An Early DAWNing," 222-223; Driedger, "Emerging from the," 14-17.
[2212] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), HV 1569. 3 W65 W65 1985, OMOD, *Women and Disabilities Conference*, 1985, i.

hope for "future change and development in the lives of women with disabilities" by giving them the "support to make needed changes."[2213]

The local OMOD recognized the need for such a conference in May of 1984 and set up a Women and Disabilities Sub-Committee made up of disabled women and their able-bodied female allies in NWO, which included, Winnie Magnusson (Kenora), Dawn St. Amand (Thunder Bay), Karen Maki (Thunder Bay), Shari MacDonald (Thunder Bay), Anna Marie Hrymnak (Thunder Bay), Carrie Marshall (Thunder Bay), Linda Cairns (Thunder Bay) and Claudette Pyykka (née Sabeau; Thunder Bay).[2214] The OMOD surveyed 120 women with disabilities in the area, producing 99-page report entitled *Women and Disabilities: Life in Northwestern Ontario*.

The report surveyed women on accessibility, special needs, transportation, social policy, housing, education, employment, income, medical knowledge, facilities, expenses, attitudes of family, relationships, and personal issues. Community accessibility and accessible transportation were the two issues of greatest concern.[2215] The May 10th- 11th conference was advertised several months in advance by the HAGI and the local media, requesting the participation of women with disabilities in the survey.[2216] The *Chronicle Journal* stated that the "goal of the conference [was] to discard existing myths in favour of knowledge, while maintaining and increasing public awareness of the special needs of women with disabilities. Needs have to be met and issues resolved."[2217] To gear up for the conference and to analyze the results of the OMOD survey, 12 disabled women from NWO met in March. Participants at this meeting concluded that

[2213] Ibid., 1.
[2214] Ibid., 1-2.
[2215] Monique Raimbault, "Women with Disabilities: A Research Survey Report," in *Women and Well-Being*, ed., Vanaja Dhruvarajan (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 154.
[2216] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Housing Administrator Report, 19 March 1985, 2; OMOD, *Women and disabilities*, 17.
[2217] OMOD, *Women and disabilities*, 17.

"accessibility is at a different stage in every NWO community," which complicated the development of disabled women's issues.[2218] It was agreed to raise the issues of accessibility in transportation, housing, employment, and public attitudes with the growing number of regional disability consumer groups and at the annual PUSH North West regional conference.[2219]

The 1985 OMOD women's conference provided a forum where disabled women from the city of Thunder Bay and the region, and their allies, discussed issues related to disabled women. The conference centered on four areas: lobbying, rights, coping skills, and sexuality. The keynote speaker, Gwen Matthews, was one of the founders of Nova Scotia's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women and the author of a 1983 book on women and disability, entitled *Voices from the Shadows*. Matthews' talk to the 100 in attendance touched on all of the four areas; participants then broke into workshops on these areas.[2220] In the first workshop, disabled women were given tips on how to lobby several different stakeholders for change, which to some was "uncomfortable" due to not having much experience in the area.[2221] The second workshop analyzed rights in regards to several domains, including patient, human, legal, transportation, and tax relief. The third workshop provided coping skills, problem solving, and stress management.[2222] Finally, the fourth workshop, headed by Ward, was entitled 'Sexuality: Toward Intimacy.' Ward was introduced as the Social Worker Supervisor at the rebranded George Jeffery Children's Treatment Centre (formally the NWOCCC), and who had achieved intimacy in her marriage. Indeed, Ward was an authority in this area, as she had studied the matter since 1974 and attended several sexuality workshops in Canada and the U.S. She had

[2218] "Meeting looks at survey on women and disabilities," *Chronicle Journal*, March 18, 1985, 17.
[2219] Ibid.
[2220] LAC, HV 1569. 3 W65 W65 1985, OMOD, *Women and Disabilities Conference*, 1985, 1-5.
[2221] Ibid., 15.
[2222] Ibid., 17-28.

even set up a sexuality program for disabled young people at George Jefferies. Ward expounded on the fact that "sexuality [was] not eliminated by disability," and that disabled women needed to develop a "positive self-image."[2223]

After the workshops, participants from the region provided follow-up of what they liked and did not like about the conference, and several next steps. While overall feelings were positive, delegates identified some areas that they wanted to see improved upon in the future. Delegates from the North Shore (Nipigon, Marathon, Terrace Bay, and Schreiber) were impressed with the "usefulness" of the information, but also wanted "more in-depth" workshops, and the integration of disabled women's families into future conferences.[2224] The Kenora delegation, led by Claudette Pyykka, noted that it was the "first time" many local women with disabilities attended such a conference.[2225] However, this group also wanted workshops to be more "in-depth," and for specific disabilities to be elaborated upon. Two other concerns were the isolation in indigenous communities, and single mothers with disabilities.[2226] As the PUSH North West regional conferences were a regular occurrence at this time, disabled women planned to speak to the local delegates attending these conferences to lobby for accessible housing and transportation, while also starting local support groups for disabled women. Finally, delegates wanted to see a full conference on sexuality and disability, as that workshop had been the most popular with participants.[2227]

With feedback in hand, the organizers of the 1985 OMOD conference implemented the concerns into a series of late 1985 and early 1986 regional workshops and conferences on

[2223] Ibid., 29-30.
[2224] Ibid., 32.
[2225] Ibid., 33.
[2226] Ibid.
[2227] Ibid., 32-41.

women and disabilities. It was acknowledged that the first conference "increase[d] public awareness" and laid the "groundwork for a networking system," but that greater discussion and new areas needed to be looked at.[2228] In an October 1985 news release, organizers stated that a dozen smaller workshops were going to be held in towns and cities across the NWO, including Sioux Lookout (December 6-7), the North Shore (January 10-11), Thunder Bay (January 17-18), Kenora (January 31-Feburary 1), Dryden (February 4), Red Lake (February 5), Manitouwadge (February 7-8), Terrace Bay (February 12), Nipigon (February 13), and Fort Frances (February 15).[2229] These workshops focused on sexuality and the family in the lives of disabled women and were attended by anywhere from 5 to 12 participants.[2230]

A larger Women and Disabilities conference was held in 1987 and covered even more issues, such as income, education and employment, community involvement, social activities, accessible housing, accessibility transportation, and substance abuse etc. Statistics at this conference showed that disabled women in the region had a 75 per cent unemployment rate, which was consistent with current research at the time.[2231] Distinctions between Thunder Bay and the NWO were also brought up as the former had "a greater range of available community services, and is less isolated than the smaller communities."[2232] As well, sexual orientation was also discussed for the first time. One disabled woman from the region discussed being a lesbian. While not explicitly referring to homophobia, the woman felt more accepted by the gay community than her disabled peers. According to the woman, many disabled people were

[2228] LAC, HV 1569. 3 W65 W65 1986, OMOD, *Women and Disabilities: Report on Community Workshops*, February 21, 1986, 2.
[2229] Ibid., 47-48, 50.
[2230] Ibid., 3, 16.
[2231] LAC, HV 1569. 3 W65 W65 1985, OMOD, *Women and Disabilities: Life in Northwestern Ontario Conference*, 1987, 1, 13.
[2232] Ibid., 36.

heterosexual, which led her to believe that they were not as accepting to alternative lifestyles. The woman also felt more accepted by women and she revealed that "women accept you for who you are."[2233] The woman noted that being disabled was a "perfect cover up" for lesbianism; indeed, no one questioned her for all the time she spent with other women because people believed disabled women were "asexual."[2234] In the introduction to the 2013 edited collection *Disability and Passing: Blurring the Lines of Identity*, Jeffrey A. Brune and Daniel J. Wilson reveal that "[t]he topic of disability passing reveals the dynamic nature of disability and identity and provides insight into what is at stake when it comes to disability and nondisability identification."[2235] Many times disabled people are forced to hide their disability or draw attention to it; indeed, in the above woman's case, she drew attention to it so that another identity could exist unhindered and safe from public view.[2236] For instance, no one questioned her about why she did not have a boyfriend.[2237]

After the 1986 and '87 women and disability events, the city of Thunder Bay saw the creation of its first group for disabled women – WILD. The group was set up by Ward in the late 1980s and continued for about 15 years, holding monthly meetings. WILD, specifically, looked at issues related to disabled women, such as reproductive rights, violence against women, self-defence courses, and medical concerns. WILD grew to about a core of "20-30 active women," with others participating "as far as their health allowed."[2238] The group included such members as Hurlburt, Salamon, and Lucy Thomas. The support from the group helped these younger

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[2233] Ibid., 32.
[2234] Ibid., 32-33.
[2235] Jeffrey A. Brune and Daniel J. Wilson, "Introduction," in *Disability and Passing: Blurring the Lines of Identity*, eds., Jeffrey A. Brune and Daniel J. Wilson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 1.
[2236] Ibid.
[2237] LAC, HV 1569. 3 W65 W65 1985, OMOD, *Women and Disabilities: Life in Northwestern Ontario Conference*, 1987, 32-33.
[2238] "Susan Ward."

disabled women attend post-secondary education. For instance, Salamon went on to complete her Social Work degree at Lakehead University, where she was a co-founder of the first disability student group, the Disabled Students Action Committee.[2239] Other women, like Hurlburt and Thomas, became advocates through their writing. Hurlburt wrote frequent articles and letters to the editors of local newspapers about disability, and accessibility issues, while Thomas became a local author.[2240] Two particular concerns raised in the late 1980s were reproductive rights for disabled women and accessible medical examination tables. Ward reveals that the prevailing view, at the time, was that disabled women were:

> discouraged from having children and like anything else, we wanted women to have a choice, but also to have a choice with appropriate support care, so that any child that might have… wouldn't… this is a hard phrase… wouldn't have a different life because her mother may have happened to have a disability because the supports would be there so it could be similar to the rest of the world.[2241]

Ward, thus, wanted to breakdown this stigma of disabled women in their child rearing roles, while also providing them with the resources they needed to live 'normal' lives as mothers. The other issue was that medical examination tables were not accessible in that the "table…would [not] go down to the person's level. Because as you probably know, the standard examination table you kind of have to leap up on it and those things."[2242] This was a problem because the situation negatively impacted their dignity. The women of WILD were not paid, but volunteered on their own volition. They were assisted by the Ontario Women's Directorate and the Status of Women Canada, which both had offices in Thunder Bay and helped WILD secure government grants. Philips, of the Planning Council and Northern Ontario Women's Bookstore, also

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[2239] Sandra Salamon, *The Awareness of Students with a Disability at Lakehead by Faculty and Students*, Lakehead University, May, 1989, 3; "LU more accessible," *Chronicle Journal*, February 01, 1987, 1.
[2240] Lucy Thomas, *Mama's Absence* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Literacy Group, 1993); Tracy Hurlbert, "Did he really call Chippewa 'accessible'?" *Chronicle-Journal*, June 2, 2015, A4
[2241] Ibid
[2242] Ibid.

collaborated with WILD by advertising the group and its activities in the Bookstore's newsletter, while also publishing articles on local disabled women. Philips even teamed up on a 'questions to ask your doctor' campaign to educate local doctors on the issues of disabled women.[2243]

In 1992, DAWN Ontario was created and collaborated with WILD on conferences and workshops throughout the province. After seeing the success of DAWN Canada, organizers believed that provincial DAWN groups were needed to reach disabled women at the local level. In response, DAWN Ontario formed in October of 1992.[2244] WILD had been organized for several years by this point, and saw the creation of DAWN Ontario as an opportunity to address disabled women's issues on a larger platform. As a result, Ward and others would "go off to Toronto…there was a time for me in the early '90s, I think for eight weeks in a row, I spent weekends in Toronto and we didn't get paid, but our flights and hotel room were paid and we did the work [with DAWN Ontario."][2245] One important issue that came out of these talks in the early 1990s was the problem of violence against disabled women. WILD secured a $5,800 provincial grant in 1992 to provide self-defence training and violence prevention for disabled women. Ward stated that, at the time, "regular self-defence courses [were not] accessible to women with disabilities;" therefore, WILD's program was designed to "empower women with disabilities, and give them a greater sense of control over the circumstances in their lives."[2246] A workshop was also held so local women could "discuss violence in their own lives."[2247] WILD continued for about 15 years, but as "a lot of the problems were solved. It was a little harder to interest very young women because things were kind of there."[2248] In addition to the lack of

[2243] Ibid.
[2244] "DAWN group aids disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, March 28, 1991, 23.
[2245] "Susan Ward."
[2246] "Disabled women funded for self-defence," *Chronicle Journal*, December 23, 1992, 3.
[2247] "Local group get $5,800 grant," *Thunder Bay Post*, January 6, 1993, 2.
[2248] "Susan Ward."

interest with younger disabled women, both the Status of Women's and the Women's Directorate offices closed. According to Ward, these organizations were the "major helpers and I [Ward] was doing it for about 12 years and, you know, grant money was running out because everybody wanted more of a piece of the pie and so it was very valuable for the time we did it, but you know things move on and the group folded."[2249] Nevertheless, the forum that the OMOD conferences and WILD provided, in the 1980s and '90s, were invaluable in allowing disabled women to better integrate into an accessible community where their views as women were addressed.

[2249] Ibid.

CH. 6 "If everybody else can do it, so can I": Disabled Sport and Recreation in Thunder Bay and Northwestern Ontario, 1970-Early 1990s[2250]

After the creation of the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI), in August of 1972, the organization worked on implementing the sports/recreational recommendations in the *Disability Research Report* (DRR).[2251] In the subsequent two decades, the HAGI not only succeeded in realizing these recommendations, but created an accessible disabled sporting and recreation culture that challenged the city of Thunder Bay's and NWO's previous "walking-ableist" society.[2252] This was done by integrating people with disabilities (PWD) as active citizens of community life. This sporting and recreation culture was a stark contrast from the sheltered recreation programs that existed prior to the HAGI's creation. Sport and recreation were also used as a vehicle for disabled people to build friendships, and advocate for greater rights. In the recreation barrier section of the DRR, the Lakehead Social Planning Council (Planning Council) had identified seven recommendations, with three directed towards the City of Thunder Bay. These were: that their Parks and Recreation Department take the lead in coordinating information on programs for PWD; that they take over the St. Joseph's Hospital Recreational Activities Program (RAP); and, that they provide leadership and funding to develop new accessible recreational programs. Two additional recommendations were addressed to community agencies/groups, urging them to create, continue, and encourage participation in their

[2250] Chris Pappas, "Disabled athletes label a misnomer: They've achieved more than most," *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1981, 18. The quote is attributed to Lola Graham, a Thunder Bay disabled athlete in the 1980s, in response to her reaction to watching the Stoke Mandeville Games (precursor to the Paralympics) on television.
[2251] Prior to HAGI's incorporation in 1975, it was known as the Handicapped Action Group (HAG).
[2252] Laurence Parent "Je me souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 207, 211. Parent uses the concept of 'walking-ableist' society to refer to a type of ableism that "ignore[s] and marginalize[s] the exclusion of dis-citizens" or disabled people whose mobility cannot by accommodated by society.

programs.[2253] The final two recommendations requested that the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) provide greater financial assistance to communities for pilot projects that increased the participation rates of PWD in recreation programs, and that MacLean Hunter Cable television station offer disabled people reduced costs for television programming.[2254]

The literature shows that one of the oldest international bodies for disabled sport was the Comité International des sports des sourdes (deaf sports), created in the 1920s. Modern sport for the physically disabled had its origins in the Stoke Mandeville Hospital in Aylesbury, United Kingdom. Specifically, Dr. Ludwig Guttman integrated sport into his post-WWII rehabilitation program for those with spinal cord injuries, and this grew into the first Stoke Mandeville Games for those using wheelchairs in 1948. The success of these games led to the start of an international Stoke Mandeville Games in 1952, and the first Paralympic Games (originally the 9th International Stoke Mandeville Games) in Rome in 1960. The progress of these events encouraged the growth of local disabled sporting clubs in Canada, and in turn, a regional, provincial and national sporting culture.[2255]

In the twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur a handful of local disabled community members trained independently in the 1960s. After HAGI's founding, groups of physically disabled were organized into a sporting program at local schools, which produced the city's first wheelchair basketball team, the Bay City Rollers. The Rollers traveled throughout the region, and the province, facing off against other teams. Many of the players came from previous

[2253] Lakehead Social Planning Council (LSPC), *Disability Research Report*, July 1972, vi, 63
[2254] Ibid., vii, 63.
[2255] Steve Baily, *Athlete First: A History of the Paralympic Movement* (West Sussex, England: John Wiley, 2008), 1, 7-8; For the development of an early Manitoba sporting culture in the 1960s see: Diane Driedger, "Organizing for Change: The Origins and History of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped, 1967-1982," in *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 221-242.

sporting backgrounds, and the team's rough nature reinforced its northern masculine identity. Disability scholars argue that disability challenges masculinity; hence, the Rollers used wheelchair basketball to reverse that narrative.[2256] During these excursions, Thunder Bay and other regional disabled athletes refined their skills, built bonds amongst themselves, and made connections with other disabled groups. The success of the sports program, and wheelchair basketball team led to the Northwestern Ontario Sports Organization for the Disabled (NSOD), which provided the training facilities, funds, and encouragement for local disabled athletes to compete in various disabled games, including the Regional NWO Games for the Disabled, the Ontario Disabled Games, the National Disabled Games, the Pan American Wheelchair Games, and the Paralympics etc. Indeed, as HAGI moved to the "institutionalization" stage of the social movement cycle, it was able to branch out into other areas, such as sport.[2257] Thunder Bay and NWO even produced many top-rated athletes of both sexes who won medals at the highest levels. In the 1980s, the NSOD morphed into a separate entity called Superior Athletics for the Physically Disabled Sports Club, providing similar resources for disabled local athletes. HAGI's community building through sport in the 1970s and early 1980s provided an active avenue for disabled people, which replaced the sheltered recreation programs that offered only patronizing recreational activities. In fact, HAGI's collaboration with the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department in the late 1980s, led to the establishment of a new wing within that

[2256] For how disability, in this case caused by polio, challenges the masculinity of young men see: Daniel J. Wilson, "Fighting Polio Like a Man: Intersections of Masculinity, Disability, and Aging," in *Gendering Disability*, eds., Bonnie G. Smith and Beth Hutchison (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 119-121; For an analysis on western culture's expectations for disabled men see: David Serlin, "Introduction," in *Phallacies: Historical Intersections of Disability and Masculinity*, eds., Kathleen M. Brian and James W. Trent Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5.
[2257] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 63.

department called the Integrated Services Division, with the mandate to make all City-run sport and recreation programs inclusive rather than segregated.

In addition to disabled sport, the HAGI built a completely accessible, five cabin, camp called Wilderness Discovery on Lake Shebandowan, about one hour west of Thunder Bay. The project, started in the mid-1980s, officially opened in 1990; on-going renovations occurred throughout the 1990s. Wilderness Discovery was not the first foray into accessible camping for disabled people, as two predecessor projects were started in the mid-1970s and early '80s on Hazelwood Lake, about 25 minutes to the north east of Thunder Bay. While the first project, an accessible picnic area, was a minor success, the other, a six cabin accessible camp, was a failure. Hence, the shift to Lake Shebandowan. Once opened, the camp was an "enabling space" for PWD in Thunder Bay, the region, and even those in the northern United States; indeed, one disabled camper calls the camp a "jewel of the north."[2258] The disabled experience of rugged outdoor camping contradicts historical stereotypes of disabled people as passive. However, the segregated nature of summer camps has led to some debate, in the literature, on the contrast between inclusive and segregated camps.[2259] These accomplishments could not have been possible without the efforts of the HAGI, who through local and provincial activism, and a dedicated core of community builders made Thunder Bay a lively accessible city in regards to sport and recreation.

[2258] "Gino Sonego," interview with Ulysses Patola, 26 March 2017; Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 703.

[2259] For the debate between inclusive and segregated summer camps see: Ravi Malhotra & Morgan Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity and Disability Rights Through Narratives: Finding a Voice of Their Own* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 88-89. For examples of how PWD challenge dominant views of themselves in camping experiences see: Karen Yoshida, Susan Ferguson and Fady Shanouda, "Breaking the Rules: Summer Camping Experiences and the Lives of Ontario Children Growing Up with Polio in the 1940s and 1950s," in *The Routledge History of Disability*, eds., Roy Hanes, Ivan Brown, and Nancy E. Hansen (London: Routledge, 2018), 455-480.

From Sheltered Recreation to the City of Thunder Bay's Parks and Recreation Integrated Services Division, 1971-1989

For those disabled of more limited socio-economic means, such as shut-ins and those with few family and friends, two City-run recreational programs, Harmony Place (1973) and On the Move (1976), provided PWD in Thunder Bay access to recreational activities in the 1970s and '80. Essentially based on the medical model of disability, where health providers made the decisions for disabled people, these programs conflicted with the new consumer approach to disability. By the late 1980s, they were disbanded in favour of a City-led integrated and inclusive approach to recreation.[2260] As noted in chapter one, the precursor to Harmony Place was the RAP started in the summer of 1971 at St. Joseph's Hospital. It provided recreational activities and programs for disabled patients, and tried to promote a sense of community and refuge from boredom and loneliness. According to staff, the program induced "so much enthusiasm among staff and participants" that St. Joseph's made arrangements with the Planning Council to continue the program once it moved out on its own.[2261] Realizing that the program was drawing more participants and outgrowing the hospital, Colleen Hughes, the Director of Social Services at St. Joseph's, contacted the Planning Council for help. These conversations resulted in the creation of a Rehabilitation Committee, which then negotiated with the City to use the old CMHC building. Chief therapist Annamay Hadfield directed the program with a reduced staff. The Planning Council continued its involvement, but in an advisory role.[2262]

[2260] Henry Enns and Aldred Neufeldt, "Introduction," in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Alfred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 6.
[2261] Ahti Tolvanen, "Help Them to 'Do What They Want," *Stirring Giant*, October 23, 1971, 3.
[2262] Ibid.

Following the relocation, the RAP saw an increase in participants; however, this was offset by the lack of employees. The program was now servicing 30 disabled people, with a waiting list of 15 more. At the time, it was difficult to take in more participants because of the limited number of employees. To rectify this, Hadfield put out calls for assistance in Thunder Bay area newspapers, seeking greater help.[2263] By 1972, some 76 PWD participated in the program from eighteen years-old (those who were too old for the Northwestern Ontario Crippled Children's Centre; NWOCCC) to senior citizens; their disabilities ranged from stroke victims, people unable to speak, and various types of mobility impairments. In a newspaper article on the program, it was revealed that the "community failed in providing useful roles for its handicapped citizens, but Annamay Hadfield is succeeding" to help them.[2264] To further assist those without transportation, a van was purchased, and retrofitted with a ramp. Once in the program, individuals engaged in a variety of crafts, such as wood and leather working, copper tooling, macramé, flower making, rug sewing, basketry, bead making, mosaic working, knitting, furniture refinishing, bingo playing, television viewing, and even simple conversations amongst each other. In addition to these activities, the program had a series of "special activities," such as bowling, picnics, and evening socials that would vary from the normal routine.[2265] The crafts were sold to the public, including wall plaques, mats, baskets, pot stands, and mosaics etc.[2266]

The RAP served a variety of psycho-social functions of the participants, but in an isolated sheltered environment. Having developed about a decade before the start of Independent Living Movement (ILM) in Canada, the RAP hinged on an older model, where disabled people were

[2263] Ibid; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 12.
[2264] Tolvanen, "Help Them," 3.
[2265] Ibid; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 12.
[2266] Tolvanen, "Help Them," 3.

"expected to be compliant."[2267] At the time, Hadfield believed the program was worthwhile, since the "enjoyment [was] obvious in the activity and conversation which fill[ed] the workshop all day long."[2268] She also felt that it served the basic psychological needs of association and socialization, especially since people could work at their own pace.[2269] However, disability historian Fred Pelka provides evidence that some participants in the United States (U.S.) were "not really happy" in these recreation centres.[2270] One participant in a San Francisco centre in the late 1960s, took offence at "these do-gooders [social activists] telling us what to do;" instead, they wanted the "self-determination" provided by local disabled sports' clubs.[2271] This informant was a higher functioning disabled person, and his conception of self-determination would have naturally conflicted with Harmony Place's main aims and objectives. These were: to provide a centre for physically and psycho-socially disabled adults in Thunder Bay who had "either extremely limited or no use of other existing facilities and programs;" and, to fulfill "basic psychological needs," such as instilling friendship, usefulness, sense of purpose, and independence.[2272] Participants were referred to the program from different social service organizations, such as Home Care Programs, the Cumberland Drop-in Centre, the Ontario Society for Crippled Children, the Wayside Centre, the MCSS, the Lakehead Psychiatric Hospital, the Port Arthur General, and McKellar Hospital. On May 31st, 1973, the program's

[2267] John Lord, *Impact: Changing the way we view disability – The history, perspective and vision of the independent living movement in Canada* (Ottawa: Independent Living Canada, 2010), 13, 15. Many judge the ILM in Canada to have started in 1980, during the 1980 International Rehabilitation Congress in Winnipeg.
[2268] Tolvanen, "Help Them," 3.
[2269] Ibid.
[2270] Fred Pelka, *What We Have Done: An Oral History of the Disability Rights Movement* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 119.
[2271] Ibid.
[2272] Lakehead University (LU) Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 2, File 42, Harmony Place: Background Information, 7.

second LIP came to an end and, following recommendations in the DRR, the City of Thunder Bay's Parks and Recreation Department took over the program to ensure its sustainability.[2273]

After Parks and Recreation finished their 1972 study on the recreational needs of the disability community (see chapter one), it was submitted it to City Council for further review.[2274] This report was reviewed along with the DRR, and led to the City restructuring Parks and Recreation so that it offered accessible recreation. Taking control of the RAP was a convenient fit for the City, especially since the program was already in operation, and had a growing clientele. According to HAGI's first President, Dave Koivisto, the RAP averaged "30, 40, 50 people coming on a daily basis."[2275] Even though the City took over responsibility of the rebranded Harmony Place, the Planning Council's Advisory Committee and the HAGI played a supportive role. As Koivisto disclosed, this role centered on "mak[ing] sure that the City…continued funding [Harmony Place]" on a yearly basis.[2276] After HAGI-Transit started, in February 1975, it "provided the transportation" to and from Harmony Place and On the Move (the later program being the City's north side equivalent; it opened in 1976).[2277] By 1973, Harmony Place increased its "workshop setting" to mass produce various crafts for local residents.[2278] Just before the City took over control of Harmony Place, an open house was held, on July 25th, 1973, to showcase the program to the public, so that they could become "better

[2273] Ibid., 12-13.
[2274] Thunder Bay City Council, Policy Committee No. 3, Recreation and Committee Services, Meeting Minutes, 14 April 1972, 9.
[2275] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 13; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1973, 19.
[2276] "Dave Koivisto."
[2277] Ibid; LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 13; LSPC, A*nnual Report*, 1975, 11.
[2278] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1973, 19.

acquainted" with disabled people and their crafts.[2279] It was a good transition event to initiate the City's permanent involvement with the program.

Disabled activists touted the benefits of Harmony Place and On the Move, in spite of their paternalistic approach. Long-time Brain Injury Services of Northern Ontario (BISNO) Executive Director Alice Bellavance noted that although both programs were essentially "sheltered recreational activity," they provided participants the opportunity to partake in a range of arts and crafts. As well, the social atmosphere allowed for the fact that if "people just wanted to get together, and have a coffee and play crib or cards," they could do that.[2280] For the disabled person who was a shut-in, or had little family, the programs provided "a good avenue to get out," participate in activities, and make friends.[2281] Koivisto maintained that "those programs should have never been shut down, and that they served a vital purpose in the community."[2282] In fact, when the programs were going to be shut down in the late 1980s, the HAGI discussed potentially "shut[ing] down Victoria Ave" and "bog[ging]" the street up "with wheelchairs" to protest the closures.[2283] In the end, the protest did not occur, and the City, did in fact, shut down both Harmony Place and On the Move, with the goal of integrating PWD "in what existed in other [City] programs."[2284] Indeed, in the late 1980s, the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation Department created an Integrated Services section that combined recreation activities for both the able-bodied and the disabled, so that "[c]onsumers with all types of abilities [could] enjoy participating in recreation in Thunder Bay."[2285] This was done because the City believed that

[2279] "Open House Scheduled At Handicap Centre," *Chronicle-Journal*, July 19, 1973, 3.
[2280] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[2281] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13 March 2017.
[2282] "Dave Koivisto."
[2283] Ibid.
[2284] Ibid.
[2285] "Recreation: not only for the able-bodied," *North Magazine*, May 26, 1991, 5.

recreation for PWD had developed into "an isolated and segregated experience for people with disabilities."[2286] Thus, through an Advisory Committee, it was determined that "integration [was] most often the best way for a person with a disability to enjoy recreation."[2287] However, according to Koivisto, "many people, who attended those two programs, ended up sitting at home; they didn't get integrated or involved in any other programs."[2288]

The HAGI Sets Up a Local Sports and Recreation Scene in Thunder Bay, 1972-1975

Even before the HAGI was formed, several disabled members of the group's predecessor, the Planning Council, presented a brief to the provincial government's Select Committee on the Utilization of Educational Facilities, in February of 1972, urging the Committee to make schools and other facilities accessible for disabled people. This event is discussed in chapter one and while the government worked to update the building code to make accessibility mandatory, the HAGI found a couple of accessible schools to develop a sport and recreation program.

Firstly, the organization set up a sports and recreation program at Sir Winston Churchill Collegiate and Vocational Institute and Ogden Elementary School; these programs became the precursor to greater sports participation later in the decade. Dustin Galer shows that similar organizing in Scarborough, Ontario, resulted in the Scarborough Recreation Club for Disabled Adults starting up in 1976. It became a site for working-aged disabled to feel "optimistic" about living independently in society.[2289] In Thunder Bay, the HAGI met with Churchill's administration and set up a Saturday afternoon program that included wheelchair basketball,

[2286] Ibid.
[2287] Ibid.
[2288] "Dave Koivisto."
[2289] Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 93.

floor hockey, archery, and card playing.[2290] The program drew small groups of PWD, but accessible transportation proved difficult. The development of HAGI-Transit in 1975 increased numbers of disabled participants, and helped HAGI secure new facilities at Ogden Community School. The HAGI stumbled upon Ogden because Dave Koivisto's wife, Paula, worked there in the day care centre, "and told [the group] about it" and that the site was "wheelchair accessible."[2291] The program, thus, began on September 15th, 1975, funded by a Local Initiatives Program (LIP) grant, and ran every Monday night, with Susan Ward acting as the first coordinator. Initially, the program was only going to last until the funding stopped at the end of the year; however, participation was high.[2292] The program consisted of table tennis, football, basketball, and volleyball that were played in the school's gym free of charge.[2293] The program developed as a way for PWD to keep fit and for some it was a training ground for greater participation in competitive disabled sports.

As an activist group, the HAGI developed the Ogden program "to make the handicapped aware that they needed physical fitness as much as everyone else;" this also addressed historical discrimination that routinely dismissed disabled athletes.[2294] Ward remembered a time when disabled people "were automatically disqualified from competitive sports."[2295] She stated that on the playground, growing up, it was not uncommon for disabled youth to act as scorekeepers for their able-bodied peers at recess. Thus, the program was a way for PWD to develop their skills, and to establish a "good psychology of being able to

[2290] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 15.
[2291] "Dave Koivisto."
[2292] Robert Vickers, "City Handicaps Keep Fit," *Chronicle Journal*, October 21, 1975, 17.
[2293] Ibid.
[2294] Ibid.
[2295] Ibid.

participate."[2296] For example, two early participants of the program, Ron Ross and Guy Paquette, had already won medals at the Ontario Wheelchair Games in June of 1975 in Cambridge, Ontario. Ross won silver in archery and a bronze in both weightlifting and riflery, while Paquette won silvers in weightlifting and the club-throw. The two were using the school as a training ground to compete in the August 1976 Paralympic Games in Toronto.[2297] Although they did not win medals at that event, Thunder Bay athletes were successful in a host of other sports, including wheelchair basketball.

The Bay City Rollers: Wheelchair Basketball in Thunder Bay and Ontario, 1970s-1980s

Thunder Bay's wheelchair basketball team, the Bay City Rollers, played a vital role in building a sense of community amongst its players, while making connections throughout the province and Canada. Some of the young disabled in the region had been accomplished athletes prior to their injuries.[2298] Dave Koivisto, a charter member of the Rollers, lamented not having sledge hockey available, since many of "the guys that ended up in chairs…were pretty tough ass guys…[who] played junior hockey…a high class of junior hockey."[2299] For instance, Guy Pacquette, originally from Nipigon, had played for the Thunder Bay Vulcans, an elite Junior A hockey team, prior to becoming a paraplegic through a motor vehicle accident. Ken Pascoe played for the Montreal Junior Canadiens of the Ontario Hockey Association. Therefore, "hockey was in [their] blood" and wheelchair basketball was, essentially, a necessary compromise. Disability scholar Daniel J. Wilson argues that physical disability presented "challenges to the masculinity of its male victims."[2300] Specifically, disability "often reduce[d]

[2296] Ibid.
[2297] Ibid.
[2298] "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31 March 2017.
[2299] "Dave Koivisto."
[2300] Wilson, "Fighting Polio Like," 119.

strong, athletic boys and men to total paralysis and complete dependence;" however, one way to counteract this construction was to "fight it like a man" using the "cultural values of masculinity-strength, aggressiveness, toughness, activity, stamina, and fortitude."[2301] By playing wheelchair basketball and cultivating a rough style of play, the Rollers embodied a northern (the Lakehead has traditionally been viewed as a 'tough' area) masculinity, as the Bay City Rollers. However, the Rollers were a mixed team, so disabled women also challenged constructions of themselves as passive, and the team's identity was not entirely masculine.[2302]

The team initially played in the Churchill gym, but switched over to Ogden School, when the HAGI started their sports and recreation program on September 15th, 1975.[2303] It was at this point that the Rollers took the sport more seriously, although Koivisto admitted that the Bay City Rollers did not really "have the skills" for the sport compared to other Canadian wheelchair teams.[2304] Part of the reason was that they did not have access to some of the special 'sporter' wheelchairs that were specifically designed for wheelchair basketball. These chairs were quite a bit lighter than regular wheelchairs, and had an adjustment where the axle spacing could be changed for maximum pivoting; there was also an anti-tipping bar at the back. The Rollers received their first 'sporter' in late 1978, from the Order of the Royal Purple service group, but most of the teams in southern Ontario had these chairs for years, which created an unequal playing field.[2305] Nevertheless, the Rollers adopted a rough style of play to make up for the disadvantage of the chairs, and competed in exhibition, regional, provincial and national games.

[2301] Ibid., 119, 121.
[2302] "Dave Koivisto."
[2303] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1972, 15; Vickers, "City Handicaps Keep," 17
[2304] "Dave Koivisto."
[2305] "'Sporter' presented to club,'" *Chronicle Journal*, October 3, 1978, 24.

Throughout the 1970s and ’80s, the Bay City Rollers were made up of both disabled men and women of a variety of backgrounds and disabilities. In addition to Ross, Koivisto, Pacquette, and Pascoe, the team consisted of Tim Kozak, Lola Graham, Lyle Summers, Sharon Hamilton, Alex Gromow, Don McLaren, Fern Semard, and Rod Copenance.[2306] Graham, Summers, Hamilton, McLaren, and Pascoe were all early tenants at One Fifty Castlegreen. Pelka documents how disabled people in the U.S. “became very bonded to the [sporting] group,” developing all sorts of friendships and relationships out of it.[2307] In fact, in Thunder Bay, Graham and Summers were a romantic couple, who developed their relationship out of this sporting culture. The couple both lived in One Fifty Castlegreen where they were introduced to disabled sport by HAGI Housing Coordinator Ron Ross.[2308] As Ross had spent more time in a wheelchair than the rest of the team, he had become involved in disabled sport at an earlier age. Ross was the President of the Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association (OWSA) from 1975-1977, and, along with Pacquette, represented Thunder Bay in disabled sport in the first few years after the HAGI’s creation.[2309] Pacquette, originally from Nipigon, became a paraplegic through a pedestrian/motor vehicle accident. McLaren, Kozak, Copenance, and Semard were also paraplegics and members of the HAGI. McLaren and Kozak were both hurt through motor vehicle accidents in the mid-1970s. McLaren served as a Community Worker for the UHGO and the local Ontario March of Dimes (OMOD), and Kozak, a native of Nipigon, sold medical supplies. Copenance moved to Thunder Bay from Grassy Narrows First Nations reserve near Dryden and was on the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement for the Disabled (GAINS-D). Semard worked for a local

[2306] “Most sportsmanlike award for Simard,” *Chronicle Journal*, November 21, 1978, 24.
[2307] Pelka, *What we have*, 120.
[2308] Chris Pappas, “Disabled athletes label a misnomer: They’ve achieved more than most,” *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1981, 18.
[2309] “Gaston Bolduc,” interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 April 2917; Vickers, “City Handicaps Keep Fit,” 17; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Ron Ross Resume, 1985, 3.

jeweller, as a watch repairman, and mostly played with the team locally. Pascoe and Hamilton were amputees, with Pascoe developing a workplace injury, at Great Lakes Forest Products mill, and Hamilton becoming a double amputee, below the knees, due to health complications in her youth. Hamilton took a secretarial course, at Confederation College, and became a secretary for the HAGI and dispatcher for HAGI-Transit. Finally, Gromow, a polio survivor, worked at Pinewood Mercury as a parts technician. These members formed the core of the team, but the HAGI was always on the lookout for new players. According to Alice Bellavance, when HAGI vetted housing applications, they were always on the lookout for those who could play wheelchair basketball.[2310] In fact, to inaugurate the official opening of Castlegreen Cooperative on October 2nd, 1976, the Bay City Rollers held a wheelchair basketball game, on the new basketball court behind the Cooperative; the game was between the Rollers and a make shift team called the Castlegreen Wheelers.[2311]

Throughout the 1970s and '80s, the Bay City Rollers contributed to a lively sporting culture in Thunder Bay. After refining their skills, "every Monday and Thursday nights," at Ogden School, the team started to compete locally, then regionally, and provincially; the latter trips were funded through Wintario grants.[2312] Wintario, originating in May of 1975, was the province of Ontario's most prominent lottery, with monies raised used to fund community recreational projects throughout the province; Wintario matched funding on a dollar to dollar basis. However, because of their low skill level, Koivisto recalls that the team "would get killed."[2313] The Rollers "had a ball" playing, and enjoyed the social nature of the trips, which

[2310] "Alice Bellavance."
[2311] "Castlegreen Opened," *Chronicle Journal*, October 4, 1976, 3; "Basketball on Wheels Marks Castlegreen Opening," *Times-News*, October 4, 1976, 1.
[2312] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes 22 Feb 1977, 2; "Dave Koivisto."
[2313] "Dave Koivisto."

included a lot of socialization at pubs.[2314] To compensate for their lack of technique, the Rollers developed a rough style of play that highlighted significant aspects of their disabilities, such as the banging or ramming of wheelchairs, contrary to the "erasure of…disability."[2315] According to Rembis, when some disabled athletes reach the "pinnacle of the [disabled] sporting world," their disabilities become less of a focus.[2316] On the other hand, the Rollers embraced their disabilities.

Aside from the regular practices at Ogden School, the Rollers played local able-bodied teams in the city and region. For example, in order to train for a tough exhibition and tournament schedule in the first half of 1977, the Rollers played local able-bodied baseball teams the Baird Dodgers and staff from Confederation College's fitness centre. After these tune-up games, the team travelled the NWO region and competed in Kenora, and Fort Frances.[2317] The opposing teams were composed of either able-bodied athletes or police officers, with the Rollers "provid[ing] [the] wheelchairs."[2318] Koivisto recalled the "cops…sit[ting] in [them] and try[ing] to play basketball…[but] they couldn't even move."[2319] These exhibitions were followed by a slalom or obstacle course during the half time festivities. Here, wheelchair athletes would show up the able-bodied athletes in the course.[2320] Sometimes Ron Ross demonstrated his archery skills. The team set up a Styrofoam head, with an apple on top, and Ross would proceed to shoot an arrow in an attempt to hit it. Koivisto stated that "once in a while [Ross] would put it right through the head" to the laughter of the crowd.[2321]

[2314] Ibid.
[2315] For Michael A. Rembis' concept of 'passing' for disabled athletes see: Michael A. Rembis, "Athlete First: A Note on Passing, Disability, and Sport," in *Disability and Passing: Blurring the Lines of Identity*, eds., Jeffrey A. Brune and Daniel J. Wilson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 112-113.
[2316] Ibid.
[2317] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 22 Feb 1977, 1-2.
[2318] "Dave Koivisto."
[2319] Ibid.
[2320] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 22 Feb 1977, 1.
[2321] "Dave Koivisto."

Ross and Koivisto were the main HAGI officials responsible for Wintario grant applications, and the monies covered "vehicles for gas…and for overnight stays."[2322] According to Koivisto, their "job at the office was figure out [which granter] had the money and for what purpose."[2323] The applications were then written "backwards…where's the money, what do they want…[and]…figure out how to fit it in with what [HAGI was] going to do."[2324] The Rollers traveled to almost all of the smaller communities in the region. Koivisto recalled two exhibition games, in Hearst and Red Lake, in the 1970s that stuck out in his mind as creating community. Hearst brought dozens of disability groups from across the province, together to compete in a series of games, with the aim of celebrating a particular event about disability. The winner of the tournament received $1,000 dollars. Koivisto decided to pay "a couple ringers" to join the team.[2325] The Rollers travelled up to Koivisto's camp, in Geraldton, and spent the night there, having a sauna and some beer before driving the two and a half hours to Hearst the next day. The Rollers won second place. Koivisto reminisced that "the only time we really did good [was] when [we] were playing for money…[then]…the boys got serious."[2326]

After the game, the Rollers talked with the other teams, and asked them what they had for accessible transportation and housing. This revealed how advanced Thunder Bay's HAGI-Transit and Castlegreen projects were. Koivisto was miffed that the other disability groups, from across the province, "[had] nothing."[2327] In Koivisto's words: "[t]hey're from Toronto, they got no transportation, they got no housing…they beat the [pulp] out of us in basketball, but that's all they had you know. Like, it was a joke…I couldn't believe that [Thunder Bay] [was] so far

[2322] Ibid.
[2323] Ibid.
[2324] Ibid.
[2325] Ibid.
[2326] Ibid.
[2327] Ibid.

ahead of these other communities."[2328] Toronto did have the Cheshire Home projects and Wheel-Trans, but Koivisto noted that these were severely strained, due to the increased numbers of disabled people using the services in such a large city. HAGI devoted resources after their exhibition games in NWO to share knowledge on accessibility services.[2329] Koivisto related that during another exhibition game in Red Lake, in the late 1970s, the Rollers played a game against the OPP in front of a crowd of about a thousand people. Everyone had "a ball," but after the game, the HAGI "help[ed] develop [the community.]"[2330] This was done by assessing what resources the community had, and coming up with action plans for short, medium, and long term objectives.[2331]

Disabled sport in Canada has a distinguished history. Deer Lodge Hospital, in Winnipeg, was the host of Canada's "first organized disabled sports competitions" in 1947.[2332] Interestingly, although the national Canadian Paraplegic Association (CPA) "looked favourably on disabled sport," it "decided not to actively support it," as they believed disabled sport would interfere with their fundraising agenda.[2333] Also, the CPA believed that disabled sport was "not essential for rehabilitation" since many of the patients in Canada's first rehabilitation hospital, Lyndhurst, were "not involved in team sports."[2334] However, the 1950s saw wheelchair basketball become a popular sport in Canada. The Montreal Wonders, a wheelchair basketball team, were the first team to compete in an international multi-sport event, when they traveled to England for the

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[2328] Ibid.
[2329] Ibid.
[2330] Ibid.
[2331] Ibid.
[2332] David A. Greig, "Splitting Hairs: The Struggle between the Canadian Federal Government and the Organizing Committee of the 1976 Torontolympiad concerning South African Participation," in *Onward to the Olympics: Historical Perspectives on the Olympics*, eds., Gerald P. Schaus and Stephen R. Wenn (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 298.
[2333] Geoffrey Reaume, *Lyndhurst: Canada's First Rehabilitation Centre for People with Spinal Cord Injuries*, 1945-1998 (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 141.
[2334] Ibid.

1956 International Stoke Mandeville Games. This international attention led to the creation of disabled sports clubs in several Canadian cities in the 1950s and ’60s.

Some of the early leaders of the Council of Canadians with Disabilities (CCD; formerly the COPOH) became major figures in the national disabled sporting scene. In particular, Allan Simpson, a wheelchair user in Winnipeg, took motivation from the Manitoba CPA on the “possibilities for vigorous, active lifestyles” that disabled sport offered.[2335] The Manitoba Wheelchair Sports’ Association was created and became a place where disabled people “could meet to socialize and exchange ideas.”[2336] One of their ideas was for the Pan American Games to develop a parallel wheelchair sporting event that would build off the success of the first interprovincial disabled games held in Saskatoon in 1962. In turn, Simpson devoted his organizational abilities to see this project through. He traveled to both Mexico and Jamaica in the mid-1960s, to promote the expansion of the Pan American Games. Initially told that it was “against the rules,” Simpson acquired support from disability groups around the world, which led to the first Pan American Wheelchair Games held in Winnipeg in 1967.[2337] That same year, the first Canadian Wheelchair Sports Association was created; a year later, this led to the establishment of the Canadian National Wheelchair Games.[2338]

In Ontario, there were also regional and provincial disabled games; an Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association was formed in 1972. Steve Bailey, the author of *Athlete First: A History of the Paralympic Movemen*t, states that this development of regional disabled games

[2335] April D’Aubin “‘Nothing About Us Without Us’: CCD’s Struggle for the Recognition of a Human Rights Approach to Disability Issues,” in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Alfred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 115.
[2336] Driedger, “Organizing for Change,” 222.
[2337] Ibid; Greig, “Splitting Hairs,” 298.
[2338] Greig, “Splitting Hairs,” 298-299.

was "another important phase in the growth of the Paralympic movement."[2339] Indeed, although the Pan American Wheelchair Games "open[ed] up new opportunities" for disabled athletes, organization at the regional level made for a "much greater level of participation," due to the reduced costs needed to attend.[2340] Additionally, regional competitions allowed countries to develop "higher levels of athletic competition" for the larger events, and to open up disabled sport to more people.[2341] Thus, through the 1970s and '80s, the Rollers competed in the regional and provincial games in Ontario. In 1977, they travelled to Winnipeg, from April 22-24th, to play Western Canadian and U.S. teams. After the Western Canadian event, the Rollers went to Sault Ste. Marie for the North Eastern Games, on May 26th-29th, and the provincial games in Brantford on June 16-19th.[2342] The Rollers never reached the National Games, usually falling to the Toronto teams.

Regional, Provincial, National, and International Disabled Games, 1970s-1980s

Thunder Bay and the NWO region produced many successful disabled athletes in a variety of sports. A few disabled athletes, from the region competed in the first Ontario provincial games for the disabled, held in 1975 in Cambridge, ON, under four different categories: amputee, blind, cerebral palsy, and wheelchair. Ron Ross and Guy Paquette competed at these first provincial games, wining a total of five medals.[2343] At the most grassroots level, Thunder Bay and NWO disabled athletes became part of the Northern Sports Organization for the Disabled (NSOD) and the Northwestern Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association

[2339] Bailey, *Athlete First*, 30.
[2340] Ibid.
[2341] Ibid.
[2342] HAGI, HAGI General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 22 Feb 1977, 1.
[2343] Vickers, "City Handicaps Keep," 17. Ross won three medals: silver in archery, bronze in weightlifting, and bronze in riflery, while Paquette won two medals; silver in both weightlifting and the club-throw

(NWOWSA), which were created in 1976. This allowed them to compete in sanctioned sporting events, such as the provincial games.[2344]

The NSOD became a vehicle for disabled athletes to seek "self-realization through competitive sport."[2345] The mandate of the NSOD was to "act as an advisory sports committee under the structure of the Handicapped Action Group."[2346] Under the HAGI, the NSOD had a tight administration system, strong financial control, and good resources to teach people about sports administration and development. Thus, the NSOD's goal was "the total integration of physically disabled sports and athletes into established local and regional able-bodied sports clubs, associations, and organizations of the community rather than continue as a segregated multi-sport organization."[2347] This was done through a 16-person Advisory Sports Committee, which was made up of two HAGI BOD members, two people from each of the four regional sports associations (Ontario Wheelchair Sports Association, Ontario Amputee Sports Association, Ontario Blind Sports Association, and the Ontario Cerebral Palsy Sports Association), two past directors, an ex-director of the Sports Council, a consultant from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, a consultant from City Parks and Recreation, and a medical professional. Thus, the Advisory Committee acted as a "resource council" for all physically disabled athletes in Thunder Bay and the greater NWO region.[2348] Athletes were provided with resources, helped with preparing budgets for travel, integrated into local community sporting events, and provided with information on sports policy and procedures.[2349] This was quite a contrast to the local sheltered recreation centres, as the NSOD followed a social model approach

[2344] LSPC, *Annual Report*, 1976, 13.
[2345] Bailey, *Athlete First*, 1.
[2346] NSOD, Advisory Committee, *Discussion Paper on the Northern Sports Organization for the Disabled*, 1979, 1.
[2347] Ibid., 2.
[2348] Ibid., 1.
[2349] Ibid., 1-2.

to disability by giving disabled athletes "control over the direction of their own lives."[2350] In a sense, they evolved from the "docile bodies" in sheltered and institutional environments, to "active" bodies through sport.[2351] By 1977, the province of Ontario was separated into six regions to provide greater competition in summer and winter regional games; Thunder Bay was in the North East region.[2352] A regional relations officer and six regional representatives worked together to coordinate the different games, and worked with the local sporting bodies.[2353]

As a result of efforts by the NSOD and the NWOWSA, greater numbers of Thunder Bay and regional athletes began competing at regional, provincial, national, and international events in the mid and late 1970s. One of the first things these meets did was build bridges between Thunder Bay athletes and others from across the province. Susan Ward, HAGI's BOD President in the late-1970s, competed in a host of events, including wheelchair track and swimming. She noted, that "it was a way to reach out to different areas of Ontario and make connections for access."[2354] When Allan Buchan was still living in Sault Ste. Marie, before moving to Thunder Bay in 1979 and taking over the position of HAGI-Transit Manager, he competed in the Ontario Disabled Games, in the hammer throw, where he met Ron Ross. Both were on the OWSA Board in the mid-1970s; Ross served as President and Buchan as Treasurer.[2355] In the late 1970s, Thunder Bay and NWO athletes started competing in the regional and provincial games on a

[2350] Lord, *Impact*, 13.
[2351] Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 1997, 38-39. Garland-Thomson uses Michel Foucault's concept of 'docile bodies" to show how the disabled have historically been the subject to institutional settings that limit their self-determination.
[2352] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Ontario Cerebral Palsy Sports Association, General Meeting, Meeting Minutes 10 May 1980, 3.
[2353] NSOD, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 18 June 1980, 2.
[2354] "Susan Ward."
[2355] "Allan Buchan."

larger scale. According to Thadeus Weiss, the various games "enriched the lives of those who could participate…instead of being shut in [their] apartment."[2356]

In the late 1970s, the NSOD ran public awareness campaigns in the local media and their own internal publications on the benefit of disabled sport. With the recreation program up and running at Ogden Community School, the HAGI placed a series of ads in the *Chronicle Journal* to increase their numbers, noting that their organization was "sponsoring programs for the physically disabled" every Thursday night at Ogden.[2357] These programs consisted of "fitness, floor hockey, wrestling, archery, table tennis, and wheelchair basketball."[2358] These training sessions helped to send 23 NWO athletes to the 1977 Ontario Disabled Games, in Brantford, ON, where 10 athletes won a combination of eight gold, six silver, and two bronze medals. Magella Belanger (amputee), of Dubreville, and Ross (wheelchair), of Thunder Bay, did well enough to qualify for the national games in Edmonton held that August. Belanger won gold in the shot put, 100m dash, high jump, and broad jump, and Ross won gold in archery, and silver in shooting. Guy Paquette (wheelchair) was named an alternate to the national games, as he claimed gold in the club throw, silver in weightlifting, and bronze in the shotput.[2359] Prior to moving to Thunder Bay, Belanger won gold in the 100m dash at the 1976 Paralympic Games in Toronto. Ross and Belanger went on to the national games where Belanger won four gold medals in the high jump, shotput, broad jump, and 100m dash; he either tied or set the Canadian record in three events. However, Ross failed to medal in his three events: archery, rifle shooting, and archery.[2360]

[2356] "Thadeus Weiss," interview with Ulysses Patola, 3 March 2017.
[2357] "Programs," *Chronicle Journal*, April 6th, 1977, 16.
[2358] Ibid.
[2359] "Handicap Games," *Chronicle Journal*, June 18, 1977, 9; "Ross on Ontario Team," *Chronicle Journal*, June 22, 1977, 12.
[2360] "High jumping record falls," *Chronicle Journal*, August 22, 1977, 7.

The NSOD also took greater steps to promote regional expansion and recruit disabled athletes in NWO. At an April 3rd, 1978, NSOD Executive Meeting, it was decided to produce a regional pamphlet on disabled sports, and to send representatives around the region to conduct presentations for recruitment purposes. This meeting also dealt with fundraising, trip planning, and selection of athletes for the 1978 North East Regional Games for the Disabled, held from June 9 to 11th in Kirkland Lake Ontario. The NSOD created a three person Selection Committee, composed of Peter Prinselaar, Dave Koivisto, and Ron Ross (Ross was also the Chairman of the NSOD) that chose 30 disabled athletes from across NWO, in the four different competition categories. The executives organized a bus charter and found local sponsors, since Wintario would only cover "about half of the costs."[2361] In order to participate in these events, disabled athletes had to be paid members of the NWOWSA. Ross put athletes in touch with coaches for competitive training. The athletes who qualified for these games would go on to the provincial games in Windsor on July 1st.[2362] Indeed, the regional division of disabled sport in Ontario gave the HAGI a vehicle to develop and organize athletes on the local level.[2363]

Thunder Bay and the NWO region sent 30 disabled athletes to the June 1978 regional games in Kirkland Lake, ON; the North East region also included athletes from Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay, Timmins, and Kirkland Lake. The 30 member NWO contingent represented were the core of disabled athletes who competed for the area for the next decade. They brought home 61 medals: 37 gold, 10 silver, and 14 bronze (see footnote).[2364] Twenty-two qualified for the

[2361] NSOD, Executive, Meeting Minutes, 3 April 1978, 1.
[2362] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 28 Feb 1978, 1.
[2363] Bailey, *Athlete First*, 30.
[2364] These athletes included; firstly, the *wheelchair* category: Ron Ross (archery gold, rifle shooting gold, discus gold, club throw gold), Guy Paquette (weightlifting gold, club throw gold, shotput gold, 100m track gold), Lola Graham (club throw gold, shotput gold, 60m track event silver), Floyd James (rifle shooting gold, club throw gold, snooker gold), Lyle Summers (shotput gold, discus gold, club throw gold, javelin gold, precision javelin gold), Alex Gromow (100m track gold, 200m track gold, 1,500m track gold); secondly, the *amputee* category: Magella Belanger

Ontario Games in Windsor from July 1-4th. For the Kirkland Lake event, two of the athletes were recognized for outstanding achievements, namely Belanger, who set one provincial and two national records in the 200m run, 100m run, and the high jump, and Pacquette, who was named the most sportsman athlete.[2365] Both athletes won medals at the Windsor games, which was good preparation for the 1980 Paralympic Games in Arnhem, the Netherlands.

In November of 1978, the city of Thunder Bay hosted the Winter North East Regional Games for the Physically Disabled. Planning for these games began in September, with the competition held in different venues. The NSOD received $1,500 from Loto Canada to help fund these games, which was the third year in a row they were held concurrently with the able-bodied regional winter games. The goal for these games was "to encourage more physically disabled people to become involved in sports and also create an awareness of disabled sports in the community."[2366] Some additional sports were: checkers, chess, cribbage, table tennis, badminton, amputee volleyball, murderball, fencing, and bowling. What was interesting about these games was that quadriplegics were heavily involved. For example, they participated in table tennis, air rifle, pistol shooting, and murderball.[2367] Thadeus Weiss, a quadriplegic, stated that the games "enriched the lives of those who could participate…instead of being shut in your apartment."[2368] The games also promoted better ties with disability groups in different cities, as the finals of the wheelchair basketball championship pitted the Bay City Rollers versus the Sault Ste. Marie

(200m run gold, 100m run gold, high jump gold, discus gold, shotput gold), Cliff Pyykka (javelin bronze), Sharon Hamilton (100m run gold, discus bronze, shotput bronze); thirdly, the *cerebral palsy* category: Bobby Brewer (club throw silver, javelin gold, shotput bronze, weightlifting gold), Tom Bryson, Linda Cairns, Gwen Dobson, Linda Lavoie (freestyle swimming gold, backstroke bronze), Rhonda McCaig, George Walsh, Philip Quinton, Susan Ward, Cliff Wilson, Bill Asmunt; and fourthly, the *blind* category: Larry Hamlin (shotput gold, discus silver, javelin bronze), and Karen Marsh (100m run gold, discus bronze, shotput bronze).

[2365] "Local disabled athletes shine," *Chronicle Journal*, June 14, 1978, 16.
[2366] "Games for disabled funded," *Chronicle Journal*, October 20, 1978, 13.
[2367] "Weekend is full of games events," *Chronicle Journal*, November 17, 1978, 10.
[2368] "Thadeus Weiss."

Team. At the conclusion of the games, a social was held at Vale Community Centre, which further promoted inclusion and enhanced relations.[2369]

With Thunder Bay and regional athletes doing so well, Ross believed that greater public relations were needed to introduce disable athletes to the public, especially as the 1980 Paralympics Games were fast approaching. In social movement theory, the concept of "resource management" explains how tactics and strategies are used to advance the movement; one prominent way to do this is through using the media to convey messages.[2370] In 1979, Ross engaged in a series of public relations initiatives to build community support in Thunder Bay for the Paralympics. Ross was appointed as the NSOD public relations wheelchair representative in late 1978. His first goal was to highlight the achievements of disabled athletes to a larger degree in the community. Ross distributed pamphlets, gave presentations to the public and wrote editorials in the newspaper.[2371] In September 1979, Ross listed the various achievements of disabled athletes, and promoted the athletes going to the 1980 Paralympic Games. Ross observed, "little has been said about the disabled athletes and their 1980 Olympiad," which was to be held June 21st-30th in Arnhem, the Netherlands.[2372] Ross went on to state that "there are probably many in Thunder Bay unaware that many sets of qualifying games [had] been held this past year in the province and country involving highly-trained physically-disabled athletes with [Thunder Bay and NWO] well-represented."[2373]

[2369] "Most sportsmanlike award," 24.
[2370] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 56.
[2371] HAGI, Annual Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 28 Nov 1978, 2.
[2372] Ron Ross, "Disabled athletes hoping to earn Olympiad awards," *Chronicle Journal*, September 28, 1979, 4.
[2373] Ibid.

According to Ross, the NWO team "earned more gold, more silver and bronze medals than any other at both regional and provincial games."[2374] Magella Belanger (100m race, and standing long jump) Ken Pascoe (air pistol), Tom Hainey (100m breast stroke, 100m butterfly, and 200 individual medley), and Ron Ross (air rifle, air pistol, 22-cal. Rifle, and archery) did well enough at the provincial games to qualify for the national games. Three of these athletes set national records; Belanger set two while also qualifying for the 1980 Paralympics.[2375] Hainey set two national records, while Ross set three.[2376] At the time, Hainey was a new-comer to the disabled sports scene, at 13 years of age. He was from Atikokan, and known as a "wonder kid" for his ability in the swimming pool.[2377] All of this success was important to Ross, and he believed that "the public should know that [Thunder Bay and NWO] had some outstanding winners."[2378] Furthermore, the success was important to disabled athletes: "[it] encouraged young physically handicapped [people] to become involved and [to] seek the opportunities available to them."[2379]

Thunder Bay's disability community was dealt a major blow in the summer of 1979 when twenty-seven year old Guy Pacquette died at the Ontario Games for the Physically Disabled. Pacquette, born in Quebec, moved with his family to Nipigon (about an hour from Thunder Bay) during his youth. In Nipigon, Pacquette became heavily involved with sports, but a car accident rendered him a paraplegic. After the accident, Pacquette graduated from Confederation College, obtained a job at the NWOCCC, married, and moved into Castlegreen Cooperative. The injury

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[2374] Ibid.
[2375] Belanger qualified for the 1980 Paralympic Games due to his times at the Canadian Amputee Sports Association National Championships at McMaster University in July of 1979. See "Local athlete gains Canadian team spot," *Chronicle Journal*, July 3, 1979, 9.
[2376] Ross, "Disabled athletes hoping," 4.
[2377] Dan Pelton, "World marks bettered at regional games," *Chronicle Journal*, June 11, 1979, 8.
[2378] Ross, "Disabled athletes hoping," 4.
[2379] Ibid.

did not stop Pacquette from competing in sports, as he was a founding member of the NSOD and one of the region's top disabled athletes.[2380] Pacquette competed in numerous regional and provincial games, in track and field and weightlifting. However, on the last day at the July 1979 provincial games in Oshawa, Pacquette was found dead in his hotel room.[2381] It was later determined that Pacquette's death was the result of an accidental overdose. Other city and regional athletes revealed that the athletes used the games to engage in social events, when they were not competing. Some athletes took pain killers to control the pain of their aliments, and this had to be balanced since it was not hard to ingest a fatal combination of pain killers and alcohol.[2382] According to then-Oshawa Councillor Jack Whiley, Pacquette's death was a "very sad end to what [had] been an outstanding set of games."[2383] After Pacquette's death, the HAGI and the NSOD created the Guy Pacquette Memorial Fund for disabled athletes.[2384]

While Magella Belanger and Ann Farrell were busy training with the Thunder Bay Olympic Club for the 1980 Paralympics, their fellow athletes overcame some funding difficulties to attend both the regional and provincial games that same year. The 1980 regional games were fast approaching; however, a month before the games, the NSOD had not received any funding from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation.[2385] By May 14th, the HAGI was given a "written commitment" from the Ministry for $4,000, but their expenses were $5,000.[2386] The HAGI and the NSOD raised the additional $1,000 through various fundraising initiatives, such as selling t-

[2380] "Obituary – Paquette," *Chronicle Journal*, July 17, 1979, 23; "Funerals – Paquette," *Chronicle Journal*, July 19, 1979, 27.
[2381] "A city athlete dies at Games," *Chronicle Journal*, July 16, 1979, 8
[2382] Chris Pappas, "Disabled athletes label a misnomer: They've achieved more than most," *Chronicle Journal*, August 28, 1981, 18.
[2383] "City man dies," *Chronicle Journal*, July 16, 1979, 1.
[2384] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 23 Oct 1979, 3.
[2385] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 8 April 1980, 3.
[2386] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 14 May 1980, 1.

shirts and buttons.[2387] At the Games in Sudbury, local athletes won a total of 68 medals (52 gold, 10 silver, and 6 bronze), but there was still a deficit.[2388] The big winners were Ken Pascoe and Tom Hainey, who each won five golds, and Linda Cairns, who won four swimming golds); Cairns was named the best all-round cerebral palsy athlete.[2389] With government cutbacks again affecting the possibility of sending athletes to the July 25-28th Games in Sault Ste. Marie, the NSOD "decided to raise [their] own money" instead of no-showing the games.[2390] The NSOD organized fundraising events that summer including a car wash, and social at the Castlegreen Community Centre.[2391] According to Sharon Hamilton, the Chairperson of the NSOD, the "fine showing" of NSOD athletes at the regional Games warranted them being given the opportunity to go to the Ontario Games. However, since the Ministry of Culture and Recreation was not "subsidizing air travel," they instead offered to fund 5 cents/mile/person in a motor vehicle, the NSOD had to be resourceful.[2392] The fundraising raised enough money for 18 disabled athletes to attend the Sault Ste. Marie Games.[2393]

The Sault Ste. Marie Games were overshadowed by the 1980 Paralympics Games, in the Netherlands, where Thunder Bay locals Magella Belanger and Ann Farrell captured a combined six gold medals. These two athletes increased Thunder Bay's international reputation in disabled sport during the 1970s and 1980s. Belanger and Farrell both moved to Thunder Bay in the late 1970s to make use of the HAGI's growing services. Belanger grew up in Dubreuilville, ON, five

[2387] Ibid.
[2388] NSOD, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1980, 1.
[2389] "Sudbury a gold mine for Northwest squad," *Chronicle Journal*, May 31, 1980, 8.
[2390] NSOD, General Membership, Memo to the HAGI BOD, June 1980, 1.
[2391] NSOD, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1980, 1-2.
[2392] NSOD, General Membership, Memo to the HAGI BOD, June 1980, 1.
[2393] These athletes included: Lola Graham, Sharon Hamilton, Alex Gromow, Lyle Summers, Tom Hainey, Floyd James, Lorna Ikola, Tom Bryson, Bill Cesmunt, Ken Despins, Sammy Thomas, Susan Ward, Linda Cairns, Allan Buchan, Marina Sandrin, Shilly Mack, Fred Wilson, and Mrs. Floyd James.

hours to the east of Thunder Bay. He moved to Castlegreen Cooperative and made use of the enhanced NSOD training equipment. Belanger was a below the knee amputee, and competed in track and athletics. Farrell, on the other hand, was originally from Bishop's Falls, Newfoundland, and also an amputee, having lost a part of her left leg in a train accident, as a young child.[2394] In late 1979, she too moved to Thunder Bay, becoming one of the first residents in the HAGI's new housing complex, One Fifty Castlegreen. Indeed, less than 10 years into the HAGI's existence, the world class level of its services enlarged the local disability movement and was drawing top disabled athletes to the city. Belanger and Farrell trained at the Thunder Bay Olympic Club under head coach Glen Fogolin. The training at the club provided the two athletes greater resources. According to Farrell, the two fit in just well with their able-bodied peers.[2395] Both athletes won gold medals in the 100m, on June 21st, the first day of the Games. Farrell broke the 100m record with a time of 16.08 seconds.[2396] Farrell, who was nineteen at the time, won five gold medals in the 100m, shotput, discus throw, javelin throw, and long jump.[2397]

After the 1980 Paralympics, Belanger and Farrell continued their momentum, entering another international tune-up event in Brisbane, Australia, in December of 1981. As was the case with the previous year's regional and provincial Games, "no government funds [were] available to send a team to Brisbane."[2398] Thus, although both athletes won gold medals the year before,

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[2394] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18.
[2395] Ibid.
[2396] "TBOC Stars Win Two Gold Medals," *Chronicle Journal*, June 23, 1980, 10; "Belanger Retains Gold Track Medal," *Chronicle Journal*, June 25, 1980, 15; "Protest Sees Medal Taken Off Belanger," *Chronicle Journal*, June 24, 1980, 7; "Sports Star [ad,]" *Chronicle Journal*, June 28, 1980, 8.A protest saw Belanger's gold medal in the 100m taken away. The reason for the protest was an organizer's error that accidently barred an Australian competitor from racing. The twenty-seven year old, being the true competitor, re-raced the same event, on the 24th, and re-won the gold medal, with a time of 13.79 seconds. Belanger's feat was properly recognized in the *Chronicle Journal* where he was called a "sports star" for winning a gold medal "the hard way," having to repeat his "earlier win."
[2397] "TBOC Stars Win," 10; "Ann Farrell – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, http://paraolympic.ca/athletes/37548.
[2398] Bill Guy, "Two city athletes shine at games for disabled," *Chronicle Journal*, December 21, 1981, 1.

the situation "looked bleak" until local sponsors came to the rescue. The local McDonalds sponsored the athletes for $5,000.[2399] Belanger and Farrell did not disappoint, as the pair combined to win seven gold medals.[2400] The 1984 Paralympics was a time for another NWO sports' star to shine, Tom Hainey of Atikokan. The nineteen year old won four gold medals in swimming and another five silvers at the 1988 Paralympics in Seoul before failing to medal at the 1992 Barcelona Games.[2401] Terry Robinson, of Dryden, and Tami Saj (spina bifida), of Thunder Bay, also competed in the 1988 Games; the former won a bronze medal in the slalom. Both trained out of Thunder Bay's new Superior Athletics Club (see below), which formed in 1985 to provide more advanced training facilities for disabled athletes.[2402] Saj and Kathryn Rutherford also completed at the 1992 Barcelona Paralympics where Saj won silver in the 4 x 100m relay.[2403]

Thunder Bay and NWO athletes excelled on the international stage, but several other athletes did well at the regional and provincial level. While Lola Graham did not compete at any Paralympic Games, she did participate in the Seventh Pan American Wheelchair Games in Halifax in August of 1982; the Pan American Wheelchair Games were a precursor to the Para

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[2399] Ibid.

[2400] Ibid; "Ann Farrell – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, http:// paraolympic.ca/athletes/37548; "Magella Belanger – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, paraolympic.ca/athletes/37502. For Belanger these medals were in the 100m, 200m, and 400m, and for Farrell they were in the 100m, 200m, 400m and the long jump. In all of these events, the athletes were world record holders. Belanger and Farrell also attended the next Paralympics, the 1984 New York Games; however, their success was not as readily transferable. While Farrell won gold, in the javelin throw, and two bronzes, in the 400m and the 100m; Belanger failed to medal mustering 9th in the 100m.

[2401] "Tom Hainey – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, paraolympic.ca/ athletes/37673.

[2402] "Handicaps are no handicap for these athletes," *Chronicle Journal*, April 14, 1990, B1; "Tami Saj – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, paraolympic.ca/athletes/41912.

[2403] "Tami Saj – Medals," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, paraolympic.ca/athletes/41912; "Kathryn Rutherford – Summary," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed 20 Nov 2017, paraolympic.ca/ athletes/41949.

PanAm Games, which fully integrated disabled athletes in 1999.[2404] Graham moved into One Fifty Castlegreen, two months after Farrell, and stayed for about nine months until she found an accessible residence in the city. Ron Ross, the Housing Administrator of One Fifty Castlegreen, got her involved in competing competitively.[2405] Graham competed at the regional and provincial Games, but her first international event was the 1982 Pan American Wheelchair Games where she was part of the nine person female basketball team, the Chariots.[2406] At this time, disabled women's participation in the traditionally male sphere of disabled sport was becoming more accepted, and contrasted with earlier time periods. Audra Jennings' work demonstrates that in the immediate post-war years of the U.S., "gendered ideals worked to stigmatize disabled Americans," as able-bodied society viewed with "skepticism" "disabled citizens' capacity to serve as wives and mothers or fathers and breadwinners."[2407] Disabled men and women transcended these constructions, and "performed the very roles from which society often excluded them," including participating in sports.[2408] Carla Rice et al. also examine the marginalization of disabled women in society through "cultural and medical messages" related to their bodies, which highlight "bodily fragility, dependency, contamination, and sickness."[2409] Disabled athletes such as Farrell and Graham rose above these images, and provided inspiration to younger disabled women.

[2404] Janie Donlon, "Two Northwestern athletes on Wheelchair Games team," *Chronicle Journal*, August 14, 1982, 11.
[2405] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18.
[2406] Donlon, "Two Northwestern athletes," 11.
[2407] Audra Jennings, "Engendering and Regendering Disability: Gender and Disability Activism in Postwar America," in *Disability Histories*, eds., Susan Burch and Michael Rembis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 345-46.
[2408] Ibid., 357.
[2409] Carla Rice, Hilde Zitzelsberger, Wendy Porch, and Esther Ignagni, "Creating Community across Disability and Difference," in *Rethinking Normalcy: A Disability Studies Reader*, eds., Tanya Titchkosky and Rod Michalko (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2009), 318-19.

Graham attended Confederation College, in the recreational leadership program, and had a son with fellow sporting competitor, Lyle Summers. Graham enjoyed competing and found that disabled competition was different from able-bodied games since "if you [didn't] place, you don't feel bad, but the competition is still there."[2410] In other words, Graham felt that disabled athletes were "like a big happy family," and that events were "reunion times because that's the only time you get to see all of the people you've got to know from other places."[2411] As well, Graham saw a difference between the ways disabled competitors conducted themselves. For instance, one woman whom she was competing against in the javelin throw, took some time to give Graham pointers about improving her own throwing technique.[2412]

Linda Cairns of Thunder Bay was a swimmer, diagnosed with cerebral palsy at a young age. She started competing in the late 1970s regional and provincial Games in swimming, bowling, basketball, and weightlifting. In a string of regional Games in the late 1970s and early '80s, Cairns was named "best CP athlete."[2413] The success transferred over to the provincial level where she won a total of 15 gold medals, nine silver, and two bronze from 1978-1995; in the process she also set numerous records. Two career highlights included being named the Ontario CP Athlete of the year in 1991, and winning three gold medals at the first ever Cerebral Palsy Sports National Championships in 1987. During her time competing, Cairns coached other athletes, and became the vice-president of a new disabled sports club in the city called Superior

[2410] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18.
[2411] Ibid.
[2412] Ibid.
[2413] "Sudbury a gold mine for Northwest squad," *Chronicle Journal*, May 31, 1980, 8.

Athletics.[2414] In addition, she became the first Coordinator of the HAGI's Independent Living Centre in the late 1980s.

The achievements of Hainey, Cairns, Belanger, and Farrell were the impetus behind Thunder Bay establishing a Disabled Sports Hall of Fame in 1981. The project was started by NSOD Vice-President Floyd James in the late 1970s, as a way to celebrate "local outstanding disabled athletes."[2415] Initially, James contacted the Northwestern Sports Hall of Fame, but after realizing that their display was in an inaccessible building, it was decided to set up an alternative display at Confederation College. The athletes were ecstatic about the project. Farrell commented that "they have one for everybody else, why not for us too."[2416] Hainey chimed in, "not many people recognize how good disabled athletes are."[2417] Disabled athletes were eventually included in the Northwestern Sports Hall of Fame.

Superior Athletics for the Physically Disabled Club, 1985-1992

In the mid-1980s, as Thunder Bay and NWO athletes continued to excel at regional, provincial, national, and international events, better training facilities were needed. This led to the creation of the Superior Athletics for the Physically Disabled Club (Superior Athletics) in 1985, which provided world class services and training for disabled athletes. Prior to the creation of the Superior Athletics, disabled athletes in Thunder Bay and the region trained in a combination of different facilities that included: Ogden Community School, and the Thunder Bay Olympic Club. In the 1980s, Susan Ward started a sport and recreation program at McKellar

[2414] "Linda Cairns," Northwestern Ontario Sports Hall of Fame, accessed 25 Nov 2017 http://nwosportshalloffame.com/ inductees/inductee.aspx?id=31.
[2415] Pappas, "Disabled athletes label," 18.
[2416] Ibid.
[2417] Ibid.

Park School.[2418] However, there was a need for a facility that provided more advanced training for disabled athletes. According to Allan Buchan, the club was a place "you could practice and…[it provided] tuning up to go to the Ontario Games for the Disabled."[2419] The club was formed by Susan Ward, Fred Wilson, and June Thayer. While Ward was actively involved with the HAGI at the time, Wilson and Thayer were able-bodied social activists with community connections.[2420] The club started with two coaches; Mary Bluechardt, the official coach, and Linda Cairns, the swimming coach. Bluechardt was not an athlete, but she specialized in disabled sport, having obtained a Bachelor of Physical and Health Education and a Master of Science in Coaching at Lakehead University.[2421] In its charter year, Superior Athletics had only seven athletes, but steadily increased its numbers every year with disabled athletes competing at all different levels.[2422]

From the mid-1980s on, Superior Athletics was the preeminent training club for disabled athletes in Thunder Bay and NWO. The club, originally housed in both Lakeview High school and Confederation College, moved to the Canada Games Complex in the late-1980s. According to then-club president Gino Sonego, these facilities were accessible; however, it must be noted that before Songeo became involved with Superior Athletics, the HAGI fought to have the Canada Games Complex made accessible. The Complex was built for the 1981 Canada Summer Games, hosted by the City Thunder Bay. It had a swimming pool, indoor track, and multi-

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[2418] "Susan Ward.
[2419] "Allan Buchan."
[2420] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1; "Frederick Wilson," *Chronicle Journal* Online Obituary, accessed 27 Nov 2017, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/chroniclejournal/obituary.aspx?n=frederick-wilson&pid=174239822&fhid=12304.
[2421] "Dr. Mary Bluechardt – Biography," Memorial University, accessed 27 Nov 2017, http://www.msvu.ca/site/media/msvu/Bio%20-%20Dr%20Mary%20Bluechardt.pdf.
[2422] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1.

purpose fitness area.[2423] However, the problem was that although the Complex was built to be accessible, "not all of the buildings' facilities [were] useable."[2424] Thus, since the building was going to be used "by all the community once the games leave us," Ron Ross, of the HAGI, created an Accessibility Brief a year before the building opened to provide the City of Thunder Bay options to make several important features of the Complex accessible, including the Olympic pool, shower, and change rooms.[2425] The changes were made, and provided a good fit for Superior Athletics.

Membership in Superior Athletics grew from seven athletes in 1985 to 21 athletes (nine juniors and 12 seniors) in 1990, with an age range from nine to 40; these athletes competed at a variety of competitive levels in the 1980s and early '90s. By the time Superior Athletics took hold in the city, many of the disabled athletes from the 1970s had retired or moved on from active competition. The NSOD also folded, as the HAGI divested itself from sports to focus on accessible transportation, housing, and camping. Thus, athletes from the mid-1980s represented the second wave of disabled competitors in the region.[2426] The number of coaches increased to include: Bob Sponchia (track and field), Jamie Hood (swimming), Diane Harjumaki (boccia), and Jeff Howie (weightlifting).[2427] Sonego, who joined Superior Athletics shortly after an accident that rendered him a paraplegic in 1985 and who went on to become the club's president in the 1990s, stated that it "dealt with people with different disabilities that wanted to become

[2423] City of Thunder Bay, "Canada Games Complex," accessed 27 Nov 2017, www.thunderbay.ca/living/recreation_and_parks/facilities/canada_games_complex.htm.
[2424] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Ron Ross, *Accessibility Brief: 1981 Canada Games Complex*, July 2, 1980, 1.
[2425] Ibid., 1-2.
[2426] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1. Some of these members included: Linda Cairns, Ryan Falconer, Benny Galati, Christine Harjumaki, Debbie Hashiguchi, Bill Kohut, Rob Labate, Judy Martens, Teddy Massalin, Terry Robinson, Ken Despins, Gino Sonego, Randy Sponchia, Ron Yantz, Marnie Amos, and Crystal Tasala
[2427] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1.

recreational athletes…and, if they wanted to move on, they could move on into provincial events and nationals and Olympics."[2428]

Members of Superior Athletics competed in numerous regional, provincial, national, and international events. For instance, members attended the 1985 Regional Games in Kirkland Lake, the 1986 Regional Games, and the Provincial Games. Superior Athletics members enjoyed participating in the Windsor Indoor Games. At the time, the Windsor Games were a yearly non-profit invitational sporting competition held since the early 1980s, with competitors competing from all over the world.[2429] The Games provided a tune-up for athletes, and encouraged the yearly promotion of Paralympic athletics. In the 1990 Games, club members won 41 medals, including 31 gold. Although the government did not provide funding for the Windsor Games, the club sponsored athletes to attend this event "simply because they [had] fun there."[2430] Partial government funding was available for the Regionals, Provincials, and National Games and the club used these funds to attend the 1987, 1988, and 1989 tripartite arrangement of Games. The 1988 Regional Games were held in Thunder Bay. The Games had a positive impact on the city, leading to five new members for Superior Athletics, accessibility upgrades to the Legion Track/Delaney Arena, and increased media coverage. Rob Labate, of Superior Athletics, was named both the best cerebral palsy athlete and overall best athlete, having set two provincial records in weightlifting and the club throw.[2431] In the late 1980s, Terry Robinson became Superior Athletics' most successful athlete. He competed at the 1987 Can-Am Games, in New

[2428] "Gino Sonego."
[2429] Beth Robins, "Superior Athletics gives people with disabilities a chance to discover their potential", *Chronicle Journal*, February 28, 1995, B1.
[2430] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1.
[2431] "Labate breaks two records at North Regional Games," *Chronicle Journal*, June 21, 1988; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Regional Games for the Physical Disabled, Organizer Package, 1988, 1-4.

York, and the 1988 Paralympics, in Seoul, where he won bronze in the slalom. Ken Bjorn, of Superior Athletics, also went to the 1988 Games.[2432]

In order to send their members to different sporting events, the Superior Athletics Club had to raise some of their own funds. As was the case with the NSOD in the 1970s, granting agencies became "[very] stickler [for funding,] with the disabled athlete groups among most others."[2433] Superior Athletics raised the full cost to send athletes to the annual Windsor Games; in this regard, they relied on sponsors, including the HAGI. Although the HAGI had disinvested itself from its Sports Committee, they still supported disabled sports through a variety of means. In early 1985, Ken Despins, a disabled athlete and former resident of One Fifty Castlegreen, began raising funds for his trip to Windsor, but was "unaware that receipts (taxable) would be required for donors."[2434] Despins contacted Dave Koivisto, who allowed him to put the donations through HAGI, which provided proper receipts.[2435] Superior Athletics raised part of the money to send athletes to other competitions with "[a]ny additional people the Club want[ed] on their trips….[having to] pay."[2436] Government cutbacks reached individual municipalities, as the 1990 Regional Games became a "province-wide regional" since "no city [was] willing…to provide enough support for individual area regionals."[2437] Thus, the 1990 Games were split, the swimming and weightlifting events were held in Scarborough's Variety Village; this part was funded by the government. However, the second part of the Games held, in Cornwall, had to be

[2432] Ibid; "Ken Bjorn – Summary," Canadian Paralympic Committee, accessed Nov 27 2017, http://paralympic.ca/athletes/41884
[2433] "Handicaps are no handicap," B1.
[2434] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Jan 1985, 2.
[2435] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Ken Despins to the HAGI BOD, 11 Jan 1985, 1-2.
[2436] Ibid.
[2437] Ibid.

funded by the Club. With this being the case, individual and corporate sponsors provided the group with subsequent financial support so the athletes could participate.[2438]

A local film production company, Monitor North, produced two videos outlining the accomplishments of the region's disabled athletes. Monitor North was both a "community access video network," and a local non-profit Thunder Bay film and video production company, established in 1973.[2439] It received financial support from Canada Council, the Ontario Arts Council, and the City of Thunder Bay.[2440] Film maker Jim Hyder, who worked extensively with the company in the 1970s and '80s, noted that its origins came out of the late 1960s when the National Film Board created the "Challenge for Change" program that employed a number of film makers across Canada to produce films that documented social concerns in various communities.[2441] This fit Hyder's philosophy of using film as "a tool for community and social change," with Monitor North as the vehicle to "tell [people's] stories."[2442] In order to document disabled athletes in the 1982 Regional Disabled Games, in Thunder Bay, Monitor North produced an award-winning film entitled "We're Athletes Too."[2443] The video profiled several athletes, including 12 year old Tami Saj (her first Games) and 16 year old Tom Hainey, as they trained and competed. The film discussed the challenges of being a disabled athlete, which was important because at the time disabled athletes received "less coverage" than their able-bodied peers.[2444] "We're Athletes Too," along with a second Monitor North film entitled "It's Now or

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[2438] Ibid.
[2439] "The Art of the Story," Nancy Angus, *Bayview Magazine* Online, March 2017, accessed Nov 30 2017, http://www.bayviewmagazine.com/article/2017/03/art-story; Deidre Boyle, *North American Film and Video Directory: A Guide to Media Collections and Services* (New York, R.R. Bowker Co., 1976), 258.
[2440] Ibid.
[2441] "The Art of the."
[2442] Ibid.
[2443] "Monitor North videos receive high praises," *Chronicle Journal*, June 3, 1986, 17.
[2444] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Elle Saj to Dave Koivisto, 10 Oct 1986, 1.

Never" (about immigrant women thriving in Thunder Bay), were showcased at the Independent Film and Video Alliance Showcase in Quebec City and both received "excellent reviews" from judges from "Halifax to Vancouver."[2445] One judge praised Monitor North's work, noting that their "videos are unique and rate a class of their own," while another judge encouraged the film company to "keep producing these kinds of videos…don't stop."[2446]

With the success of "We're Athletes Too," Monitor North created another film on disabled athletes; this film documented athletes over a multi-year period. Unlike the first film, which documented one Regional Games for the Disabled, the second film followed several athletes, as they competed at the Regional, Provincial, National, and finally the 1988 Paralympics Games. However, before the production team received any funds for the film, it was learned that two local athletes, Tami Saj (Thunder Bay) and Tom Hainey (Atikokan) were chosen for the Pan-American Wheelchair Games in Puerto Rico. After discussions with Saj's mother, Elle, it was felt that the film makers should attend these Games to include material for the new film, especially since this was Saj's first international meet. With the date fast approaching, money was needed to send the film makers and their production team to the Games. Saj's mother approached the HAGI for $6,000 to fund the project. Saj outlined the purpose of the film and how it would be a "follow up" to the 1982 film, which featured her daughter Tami.[2447] According to Saj, her daughter and Hainey were combined multi-gold medal provincial, national winners and record holders. Hainey even had world records to his name; thus, the film would provide great publicity for disabled athletes. Saj argued that Haniey's accomplishments were "generally unrecognized," and that he was a "role model for upcoming

[2445] "Monitor North videos receive," 17.
[2446] Ibid.
[2447] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Elle Saj to Dave Koivisto, 10 Oct 1986, 1-2.

athletes."[2448] Similarly, her daughter, who swam with the Thunder Bay Thunderbolts swim team, was one of the youngest athletes going to those Games, and one of only four members on Canada's swim team.[2449] The HAGI backed the film and it was important that they did because both athletes came away with multiple medals and were named "sports stars" by the *Chronicle Journal*.[2450]

While the disabled athletes covered in this analysis all had physical disabilities, it is interesting to note that there was a nuanced relationship between these athletes and their intellectually or developmentally disabled counterparts. Tracy Hurlbert joined Superior Athletics in the 1990s, when she was in her 20s; this allowed her to train and compete in spite of having a physical disability. During her association with the club, Hurlbert noticed the fact that members from Superior Athletics did not want to mix with the local Special Olympics Club and vice versa. Furthermore, "the two clubs did not want to be mistaken for the other."[2451] According to Hurlbert, the intellectual disabled felt:

> it would be horrible to be physically disabled, and people with physical disabilities were like oh my goodness, it would be awful to be intellectually disabled. They didn't want to mix. They didn't want to have games together, and it was like one or the other not both. We didn't want to be mixed up with the other group. And that I think is kind of funny because we're all in the same…we're all the same, but the people with intellectual disabilities didn't want to be mixed up with people with physical disabilities and the same thing.[2452]

This shows that there were internal divisions within the disabled sporting realm. These divisions extended into all aspects of disability. Alice Bellavance discloses that:

[2448] Ibid.
[2449] Ibid; "Tami Saj selected on national team," *Chronicle Journal*, October 14, 1986, 10.
[2450] "Hainey, Saj sparkle in Games swimming," *Chronicle Journal*, November 8, 1986, 6; "Sports Star," *Chronicle Journal*, November 8, 1986, 6.
[2451] "Tracy Hurlbert," interview with Ulysses Patola, 6 March 2017.
[2452] Ibid.

> there certainly was a hierarchy within disability. So there was the hierarchy between paras and quads, there was the hierarchy between those born with a disability and those who were able-bodied and then became disabled, there was a hierarchy between people who had a disability that was disease related versus you know a traumatic event. There certainly was a hierarchy between people with physical disabilities and people with developmental disabilities. Like 'I'm not like them, I'm not you know retarded' because it was an assumption that if you were in a wheelchair or whatever you also…that your brain didn't work as good. And, then there was a hierarchy, as well, between people with disabilities whether it was physical or developmental and people who had mental illness, there certainly was a hierarchy there and there's still you know even to this day there's still some stigma attached to you know people with mental illness. I mean, you know, it's something we're constantly fighting against, but it's certainly still there. Not as pervasive as it was, but…[2453]

These divisions are interesting, as it shows that these hierarchies transcended sport into other areas; but, no evidence could be found that the NSOD or Superior Athletics had such hierarchies in their sports club besides the divisions witnessed by Hurlbert with the Special Olympics. On the other hand, Buchan revealed that "sport and recreation…kept…bringing people with disabilities together and allowed…you know…we should be able to do this and that."[2454] Superior Athletics eventually became the Thunder Bay Accessible Sport Council (associated with Parasport Ontario and Spinal Cord Injury Ontario) in the 2000s. As of 2019, it offers increased training and access to sports, such as sledge hockey, curling, skiing, and goalball.[2455]

Wilderness Discovery: the Outward Bound Canoe Trips and the Wilderness Discovery Camp, 1975-1992

For many people in NWO, camping (or cottaging in southern Ontario) has traditionally been an important part of community life. Local disability activists wanted disabled people to participate as well, and in the 1980s developed a fully accessible camp called Wilderness

[2453] "Alice Bellavance."
[2454] "Allan Buchan."
[2455] "Accessible Sports," Thunder Bay Accessible Sport Council, accessed 1 Dec 2017, http://www.tbaccessiblesports.ca/.

Discovery (located about one hour west of Thunder Bay on Lake Shebandowan). This camp was widely praised by various stakeholders in the community, and for the individual disabled camper, it was said to have "erase[d] [one's] disability."[2456] Wilderness Discovery was not an easy venture for the HAGI. It developed out of previous outdoor recreation ventures, such as a joint disabled-able-bodied canoe program (also called Wilderness Discovery), based out of Lakehead University. In September 1990, HAGI opened their fully accessible, five cabin, camp that included an accessible boardwalk, pontoon boats, and water skiing on Lake Shebandowan. The HAGI could not have done this without the efforts of individual HAGI members. According to Gino Sonego, the former-President of Superior Athletics, Dave Koivisto was "really instrumental in getting…the HAGI camp out at Shebandawan."[2457] This was also confirmed by long-time HAGI BOD President, Thadeus Weiss who noted that Koivisto "was the guy who developed Wilderness Discovery when the land became available."[2458] Koivisto was helped by other HAGI members, such as Ron Ross and Allan Buchan. They planned the project, prepared studies, and acquired various government grants. In addition to these members, service groups, volunteers, politicians, and local businesses contributed assistance, including donations in kind, labour, and financial assistance. For one disabled camper, Wilderness Discovery was a "jewel of the north."[2459] For another, it "was a remarkable place."[2460] However, there was also a "fear of ghettoization" in having PWD segregated into a single place as opposed to having inclusion.[2461] Malhotra and Rowe discuss the pros and cons of both segregated and inclusive summer camps

[2456] "Tracy Hurlbert."
[2457] "Gino Sonego."
[2458] "Thadeus Weiss."
[2459] "Gino Sonego."
[2460] "Irmo Marini," interview with Ulysses Patola, 11 March 2017.
[2461] "Dave Shannon."

for disabled youth, but the implications also extend to all PWD and these will be discussed later in the analysis.[2462]

In Canada, summer camping for disabled children developed out of the organizing efforts of the Ontario Society for Crippled Children (OSCC) in the late 1930s, but had its origins much earlier in the Moral Hygiene and Fresh Air Movements of the early 20th century. The Moral Hygiene Movement combined a Christian ethos with aspects of medicine and science, holding that an individual was responsible for their character through putting mind over body. In fact, poor health was seen as a "matter of choice."[2463] However, between the World Wars conventional health authorities began to assert greater control over health and the body.[2464] Nevertheless, aspects of Moral Hygiene remained, and were integrated into some of the early OSCC summer camps for children with polio and other disabilities in the late 1930s. The OSCC used Moral Hygiene along with the Fresh Air Movement to promote healthy living, to help "change people," such as disabled children.[2465] Karen Yoshida, Susan Ferguson, and Fady Shanouda argue the OSCC's web of summer camps for disabled children promoted a philosophy that demonstrated "ableist notions of disability," which sought to assist children to "overcome their disability."[2466] Disabled children, however, "challenged the dominant negative views of disability" by engaging in "risk taking," defiant activities, and "mischief."[2467] Later in the 1950s, Easter Seal societies, which developed in response to polio, redefined the mission of summer camps, and they became vehicles to provide recreational opportunities for children who had polio. In Canada, "a network of summer camps were opened and run by Easter Seals and

[2462] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 88-89.
[2463] Yoshida, Ferguson, and Shanouda, "Breaking the Rules," 459-60.
[2464] Ibid.
[2465] Ibid., 460-61.
[2466] Ibid., 455.
[2467] Ibid.

rehabilitation societies."[2468] While the OSCC promoted more of a medical model approach to disabled camping, the HAGI took the opposite stance and developed their camping experience on the social model to emphasize independence and self-determination.

In 1975, the Multiple Sclerosis Society (MSS) started work on an accessible campsite for PWD, but after a promising start, the project was scrapped in the late 1970s. The Ladies Auxiliary to the MSS's Thunder Bay chapter performed the initial foray into developing an accessible campsite on Hazelwood Lake.[2469] The purpose was to provide "a much needed camping area for all handicapped people in Thunder Bay."[2470] The group successfully obtained a $27,150 LIP grant in late 1975 that funded eight people to implement the "Handicamp" project.[2471] With grant in hand, they cleared land to make room for a future picnic area and cottages. However, the Lakehead Regional Conservation Authority (LRCA) stated that the site "wasn't suitable;" the LRCA suggested another "adjacent" location.[2472] This new site could have worked, but the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR), whom the LRCA answered to, changed its policies regarding "future land use."[2473] Indeed, new sites had to have "master plans" before land could be developed; hence the camping project was "shelved" by 1979.[2474]

The HAGI started work on the "investigation into the development of a summer camp" for disabled people in 1979, about the same time that efforts into the MSS camp fizzled out.[2475] At a HAGI BOD meeting on November 6th, 1979, it was decided that "before any formal

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[2468] Aldred H. Neufeldt, "Disability in Canada: An Historical Approach," in In *Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred H. Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 40.
[2469] Bruce Langer, "Handicapped Action Group starts plans for Hazelwood," *Chronicle Journal*, April 27, 1981, 19.
[2470] "33 City LIP Grants Approved," *Chronicle Journal*, October 31, 1975, 3.
[2471] Ibid.
[2472] Langer, "Handicapped Action Group starts," 19.
[2473] Ibid.
[2474] Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1979, 2.
[2475] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 6 Nov 1979, 2.

negotiations [were] finalized" that a brief be developed and sent to the HAGI Board for approval.[2476] The HAGI BOD then set up a special meeting at Confederation College on December 6th to discuss developing an alternative accessible camp for disabled people; in addition, to the HAGI, several interested groups and organizations attended.[2477] The HAGI's President, Dave Koivisto, stated that "it's [camping] part of our life" in this region; thus, "how could we not have this as part" of the HAGI.[2478] The original idea was to "build it, rent it to the able-bodied people, and then the money made from that would help carry the camp" into the future.[2479] By March of 1980, the HAGI submitted a proposal to the MCSS for funding under the name Hazelwood Lake – Special Population Centre.[2480] In addition to the funding proposal, the HAGI brought together 17 groups and organizations who were also interested in developing an accessible camp. With enough demand in place, the HAGI met with LRCA officials to acquire land at Hazelwood Lake. This resulted in the LRCA offering "three possible land sites" in the area.[2481] At the end of the year, the HAGI received a federal $49,700 Community Development Project grant, allowing it to employ five people for 1981. They prepared four documents: a further needs study, a site development plan, a financial plan, and a program plan.[2482]

While the funding proposal for Hazelwood Lake was being reviewed by the MCSS, the HAGI collaborated with Lakehead University's Outdoor Recreation Department to create an outward bound canoeing program, Wilderness Discovery, which partnered able-bodied students with the disabled. According to Allan Buchan, HAGI-Transit Manager at the time, the outward

[2476] Ibid.
[2477] HAGI, Annual Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 27 Nov 1979, 1.
[2478] "Dave Koivisto."
[2479] Ibid.
[2480] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 March 1980, 3.
[2481] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1980, 16.
[2482] Ibid., 16-17.

bound canoe program was the brainchild of George Simpson, one of the first tenants at HAGI's One Fifty Castlegreen. Simpson, a student in Lakehead's Outdoor Recreation program, partnered with his department and the HAGI to run a four year program that took canoers into "boundary water areas or up north," such as Quetico Provincial Park, Northern Lights Lake, and the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in Minnesota, USA.[2483] A Steering Committee was created in late 1980, made up of Simpson, other Outdoor Recreation students, On the Move, Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation, the OMOD, and Lakehead University. This Committee met twice in November of 1980 and planed its first trips, while also adopting the name Wilderness Discovery.[2484] The Outdoor Recreation Department provided "full use" of their equipment, such as canoes, and Bruce Hyer, of Wildwaters Wilderness Shop, gave the HAGI a 40 per cent discount off food for their trip.[2485] With these provisions, the Committee decided that it would be best to merge their group with the HAGI since the former had the infrastructure in place to better apply for grants and other additional resources to handle the project. To finalize the merger, Simpson sent a letter to the HAGI BOD, requesting that the Wilderness Committee merge with the HAGI to create a Wilderness Discovery Sub-Committee.[2486]

In 1981, the HAGI developed both the Wilderness Discovery canoe program and the Hazelwood Lake – Special Population Centre in order to provide outdoor recreational opportunities for PWD. At the charter meeting of the Advisory Committee meeting, policies and procedures were set up and, and three different canoe trips were finalized. Before any actual trips occurred, Simpson and Doug Mayer, a disabled employee of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation, created a brochure for the program, and developed application forms and waivers; meanwhile,

[2483] "Allan Buchan;" HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 24 Nov 1980, 3.
[2484] Ibid; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 10 Nov 1980, 1-3.
[2485] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 10 Nov 1980, 1.
[2486] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting Minutes, 12 Nov 1980, 4.

Cliff Pyykka, a HAGI-Transit driver, was the adaptive equipment coordinator. The first pilot program that the Committee initiated was a three day, March 6-8th, camping trip to Isabella Lake; the cost was $25, and 10 disabled people attended. The main program started three months later, a canoe trip in June and July to Quetico Provincial Park, Northern Lights, and Boundary Waters.[2487] The Committee placed advertisements in several disability publications, including the OMOD *Advocate*, the CPA *Caliper*, and the CPA Ontario *Freewheeler*.[2488] While it is not known how many people attended the first Wilderness Discovery Outward Bound Canoe Program, the program was renewed for another year and witnessed increased growth.

By 1982, the Wilderness Discovery Outward Bound Canoe Program saw an increase in the number of trips and participants, which promoted the "maximum independence and self-confidence" of disabled campers.[2489] To accommodate for the increased participants, the Committee developed improved training sessions for its three employees, funded through government grants.[2490] To ensure trip safety, all staff members were members of the Ontario Registered Canoe Association, and each trip was logged with the MNR.[2491] Before the trips took place, both staff and participants went through training sessions that involved reading an information booklet, watching the film 'Path of the Paddle,' practicing cook outs, and canoeing on Boulevard Lake (in Thunder Bay). These sessions emphasized teamwork and safety; thus, staff were told that since some disabled participants were "used to being served," they were not to "fall into [this] trap" because "maximum independence" was the main philosophy.[2492] Indeed,

[2487] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 15 Jan 1981, 1-2.
[2488] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 4 March 1981, 1; Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 74-31, B216021, "Thunder Bay," *MOD Advocate*, January/February 1981.
[2489] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Year End Report, 27 Aug 1982, 2.
[2490] Ibid., 4; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Wilderness Advisory Board to Gary Johnson , 3 Nov 1982, 2.
[2491] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 22 May 1984, 1.
[2492] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Year End Report, 27 Aug, 1982, 2, 4.

this contrasted with the mindset of the 1930s and '40s OSCC operating documents for their summer camps that referred to disabled bodies as "weak" and for children to strive to "overcome" their disabilities.[2493]

Five different trips were created for the 1982 season, and cost $75, for a five day trip, or $50, for a three day one. The trips were as follows: a three day Perching Gull Lakes trip for four people, a five day Northern Lights Lake trip for four people, a three day Perching Gull Lakes trip for five people, a three day Quetico Provincial Park trip for four people, and a five day Boundary Waters trip for five people; HAGI-Transit provided the transportation and van number five was retrofitted with canoe racks for the trips.[2494] On these trips, and to the best of their ability, disabled participants cooked meals, set up tents, started fires, fetched firewood, navigated the waters, and carried packs with only limited assistance from staff. Thus, unlike older assumptions about fighting disability "like a man" through forced and sometimes painful masculine activities, these outdoor activities were meant to provide disabled people the same opportunities as the able-bodied, but through self-determination and to their ability.[2495]

In the debriefing after the trips, the Committee discussed the positives and negatives of these excursions. Firstly, staff revealed that "the group worked best" when facing obstacles "together," such as challenging portages, and/or lining or wading canoes in rapids.[2496] Each of the five trips were made a little more difficult than the 1981 versions, with the longest trip being a five day/ 40 mile trip to Northern Lights Lake. This particular trip resulted in four different

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[2493] Yoshida, Ferguson, Shanouda, "Breaking the Rules," 458.
[2494]HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Year End Report, 27 Aug 1982, 1, 17; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Final Report, 1984, 2.
[2495] See: Ann Finger, "Dancing with a Cane: The Public Perception of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Disability," in *Disabling Barriers: Social Movements, Disability History, and the Law*, eds., Ravi Malhotra and Ben Isitt (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 71; Yoshida, Ferguson, and Shanouda, "Breaking the Rules," 478; Wilson, "Fighting Polio like," 119-121.
[2496] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Year End Report, 27 Aug 1982, 2.

portages that tired some of the participants out. The other routes were well-liked and allowed for an alternative or shortened route if participants experienced fatigue.[2497] The Committee discussed other improvements for the 1983 season, such as acquiring more staff, advertising the program earlier, increasing funds, and purchasing their own equipment.[2498]

During the next two seasons (1983 and 1984), the Wilderness Discovery Outward Bound Canoe Program became more professionalized and varied in its operations. The outdoor program expanded to include one day camping trips at Lake Shebandowan, Armstrong, Wawing Lake, Sibley Lake, and Arrow Lake. The variation of both camping and tripping was done in order for participants to learn the "skills needed" in the former and then to apply them in the latter.[2499] Federal grants were extended; but, by 1984 the funds were not keeping up with the demands for the program, which had served some 100+ people by the end of 1983.[2500] Thus by early March, Koivisto applied for a $5,000 Wintario Grant; these funds were doubled through contributions from service and community groups. The monies were used to purchase equipment, a permanent operating facility, and to incorporate Wilderness Discovery.[2501] For the first three years, the program was operated out of One Fifty Castlegreen; however, the new funding allowed the HAGI to set up an office at Lakehead University.[2502] The funding also helped with Wilderness Discovery's incorporation process, which first gained traction in 1983.[2503] Indeed, the program's Advisory Committee submitted a detailed package to the HAGI BOD requesting that they

[2497] Ibid., 1-3.
[2498] Ibid., 9-10, 12
[2499] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 3 Feb 1983, 1.
[2500] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Wilderness Advisory Board to Gary Johnson, 3 Nov 1983, 2, 5.
[2501] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 1 March 1984, 1; HAGI Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting, Minutes, 8 Nov 1984, 2.
[2502] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Final Report, 1984, 2.
[2503] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 25 Jan 1983, 1.

"incorporate as a subsidiary of the HAGI."[2504] The Advisory Committee believed that it would increase "visibility for the HAGI," and allow for the program to have "closer contact with one of our target groups."[2505] Wilderness Discovery incorporated as a subsidiary of the HAGI in mid-1984.[2506] After a few years of the outward bound canoe program, it was determined that a "number of people with severe disabilities…couldn't do that type of camping."[2507] According to Allan Buchan, this is when HAGI began "looking for a base camp to run a camp program, and that's what started Wilderness [at Lake Shebandowan] going."[2508]

Wilderness Discovery Camp for the Physically Disabled, 1980-1992

In order to understand how the Wilderness Discovery Camp on Lake Shebandowan developed, it is important to briefly analyze the rise and fall of the Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex. By 1981, the HAGI obtained both provincial government and Conservation Authority approval to build a 'Special Population Centre' on 55 acres, of the 1,270 acres, of Hazelwood Lake Conservation area (about 24km from Thunder Bay). After having their funding proposal approved, at the end of 1980, by the provincial government, the HAGI contacted Jim McKeever, the Resource Manager of the LRCA, and presented a preliminary plan to develop the Centre in March of 1981. The plan, for the north side of the lake, called for a main lodge, six cabins (later seven), which included indoor plumbing, kitchenettes, passive solar heating, and an electric furnace back up, a sauna, whirlpool, and fitness/nature trails. The goal was to keep the 'Special Population Centre' "as rustic as possible," with PWD the primary users of the site.[2509] However,

[2504] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Wilderness Advisory Board to Gary Johnson, 3 Nov 1983, 2.
[2505] Ibid., 4-5.
[2506] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Rene Larson letter to Dave Koivisto, 9 March 1984, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 4 Dec 1984, 1.
[2507] "Allan Buchan."
[2508] Ibid.
[2509] Bruce Langer, "Handicapped Action Group starts plans for Hazelwood," *Chronicle Journal*, April 27, 1981, 19.

in order to maximize the use of the camp and increase revenue, the HAGI planned to rent out the facilities, in the offseason, to the able-bodied and different community/church groups. The beach, picnic area, and trails would be open to both the able-bodied and disabled for the whole year. The peak season was reserved for a variety of disabled people, including the developmentally disabled, disabled youth, and the physically disabled.[2510] The HAGI set up a 12-person Construction and Site Planning Advisory Committee in February of 1981, with a two-pronged mandate; firstly, to design construction techniques and materials, and to develop a site plan.[2511] The preliminary plan was presented to McKeever and after "check[ing] [it] out," the LRCA Resource Manager concluded, it was "a viable proposal."[2512] In March of 1981, McKeever approved the HAGI's preliminary proposal "in principle," but still wanted the HAGI to "answer…questions on a lot of matters" for final approval.[2513] Final approval depended on the HAGI's ability to acquire Wintario grants and the matching service group donations. Furthermore, the LRCA wanted a more detailed proposal. By satisfying these requirements, the HAGI could then enter into a leasing agreement with the LRCA, allowing them to start clearing the land in January of 1982. A proposed grand opening was set for September of 1982.[2514]

The HAGI spent the remainder of 1981 completing the LRCA requirements, and by the fall, presented a 50-page proposal to the Ministry of Culture and Recreation (Ministry that oversaw Wintario) to justify their planned Hazelwood Lake project. It must be noted that the name of the project was changed from 'Special Population Centre' to 'Outdoor Complex' as the previous name 'special' "discriminate[d] the use of the facilities;" indeed it would to be open to

[2510] Ibid.
[2511] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal Issue II, 1981, 4.
[2512] Langer, "Handicapped Action Group starts," 19.
[2513] Ibid.
[2514] Ibid.

all.[2515] The proposal was comprehensive in its analysis and included information on programs, a feasibility and community use study, site development, operating budget, capital budget, and fund raising schedule.[2516] The overarching goal of the project was to promote the "integration of community groups," and provide PWD the same opportunities to participate in recreational programs as the able-bodied.[2517] The HAGI revealed that there was great demand for the camp, as "no facility [was] available in the region."[2518] In fact, organizations paid large sums of money to send small groups of "two to three" disabled people to facilities in Sudbury, Oshawa, and Kingston. In turn, the rest of disabled people in the region were "confine[d]…to day activities within the city or [did] not participate in outdoor recreation at all."[2519] In their Needs study, the HAGI surveyed some 45 community groups in Thunder Bay and determined that out of the 6,598 people that they serviced, 1,945 people were "seen as potential users" of the camp.[2520] Thus, PWD in Thunder Bay and the region "[were] seeking a place" of their own to organize camping and outdoor activities.[2521] The survey also indicated that these users would be most interested in swimming, picnics, barbeques, outdoor games, relaxing/sunbathing, and crafts. The HAGI reached "similar conclusions" from their Community Use study of 45 community organizations; in fact, 18 of these organizations wrote letters of support for the camp.[2522]

[2515] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal Communications, 1981, 3.
[2516] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, Correspondence from Jennifer Tett and Dave Koivisto to John Hatten, 30 Sept 1981, 1.
[2517] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal to Wintario, 1981, 2.
[2518] Ibid., 6.
[2519] Ibid, 6, 13.
[2520] Ibid., 13; LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal Communications Proposal – Issue II, 1981, 3.
[2521] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal to Wintario, 1981, 6.
[2522] Ibid., 13; LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds A002.9, Box 1, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal Communications, 1981, 2.

The HAGI's site analysis demonstrated that Hazelwood Lake was "excellently located" being only 26km from Thunder Bay; it also had a "high potential for outdoor programming."[2523] The HAGI included preliminary floor plans of the main lodge, cabins and sauna.[2524] According to Koivisto, from June 1st to August 31st, "first priority" would be given to disabled campers, with other community groups having the opportunity to rent the camp at other times.[2525] In order to run Hazelwood Lake, the HAGI designed a 10-person Management Committee, made up of representatives from several social service organizations, the HAGI, and the LRCA. This Committee oversaw the 15-person staff that included a manager/care taker, general manager, beach supervisor, nurse, support staff, caretaker, office workers, head cook, cook assistants, housekeeper, and program developer. The operating budget was set at $103,515, per year, and projected over three years, while the project cost was pegged at $1,717,000. The HAGI noted that they could raise half of this amount through a fundraising drive in 1982, but needed the other half from Wintario.[2526] By October of 1981, the HAGI raised only a little over $60,000 from the community. The response from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation indicated that HAGI's proposal had "two basic short comings."[2527] Firstly, it was felt that the organization had not "proven the commercial viability" of the camp, and had not raised "the majority of their 50% capital contribution."[2528] The HAGI submitted an updated proposal, but it was for naught.

[2523] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal to Wintario, 1981, 16.
[2524] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Canada Community Development Project Proposal: Hazelwood Lake Special Population Centre Phase II, October 8, 1981, 1.
[2525] LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex Proposal to Wintario, 1981, 20.
[2526] Ibid., 20, 23-25, 37, 59-60; LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, HAGI, Canada Community Development Project Proposal: Hazelwood Lake Special Population Centre Phase II, October 8, 1981, 1.
[2527] HAGI, LU Archives, Paul McRae Fonds, A002.9, Box 1, Canada Community Development Project Proposal: Hazelwood Lake Special Population Centre Phase II, October 8, 1981, 2.
[2528] Ibid.

After five years of work on the Hazelwood Lake Outdoor Complex, the project was nixed. When asked why the Hazelwood Lake project was cancelled, Dave Koivisto believed it was for one of two reasons. Firstly, he noted that, he might have "scared a few people from the [local] hotel industry."[2529] In the revised proposal and in presentations to the community, Koivisto revealed that the Hazelwood Lake project was going to "draw crowds out there."[2530] In turn, Koivisto "approached [the local] industr[ies] to see if they would "rent the facilities out there from me."[2531] Thus, the industries may not have wanted the competition of another facility in their area. The other potential reason was that the LRCA quashed the project because "a few years later," they built an alternative site on the property.[2532] It must be noted that it was also an expensive project, and this has to account for a large reason why it failed. Whatever the case, Koivisto lamented the fact that he put in "five, six years on Hazelwood…and…was so close to getting it."[2533] However, Koivisto did not feel this time was wasted because "it taught [him]…some stuff about government, about doing things."[2534] By mid-1984, Kovisto investigated the possibility of acquiring another camp, especially since some sort of base camp was needed for the Outward Bound Canoe program. This was a must because Wilderness Discovery offered "only canoe excursions with some overnight tenting," and while these adventures were successful, some PWD could not fully participate "because of their physical limitations."[2535]

[2529] "Dave Koivisto."
[2530] Ibid.
[2531] Ibid.
[2532] Ibid.
[2533] Ibid.
[2534] Ibid.
[2535] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal, February 1, 1985, 1.

In March of 1984, the Advisory Committee debated the possibility of using another base camp to house their Outward Bound Canoe Program; this camp would allow for a continuation of the canoe program, as well as an integrated summer program for disabled campers.[2536] Thus, in the summer of 1984, they agreed to try a one-week stay at the Black Sturgeon Lake Facility owned by Lakehead University, 90 miles north east of Thunder Bay. This facility was "an abandoned research station" that the university acquired for a nominal lease.[2537] Koivisto spent the early summer trying to organize the one-week stay, but the facility needed a lot of repairs and the Director of Lakehead University's Physical Plant, Art Davies, wanted the HAGI to provide "proof of public liability insurance," so the university would not be liable for any personal injuries on the property.[2538] Furthermore, the camp underwent major repairs, in June and July of 1984, and in the end, the HAGI could not use the facility.[2539] Even though the one-week camping period did not work out, Koivisto continued laying the ground work for acquiring a camp; and, by the end of 1984, he narrowed down the selection process to Camp Carson Cross on Lake Shebandowan.

In late 1984, HAGI decided on Camp Carson Cross, and spent the new year preparing the paper work to obtain a land permit. Failing to secure Black Sturgeon Lake, Koivisto "heard that the MNR had this camp out at Shebandowan" that was originally used as a Boy Scout Camp and which later transitioned into a division of the YMCA.[2540] Koivisto spent the remaining summer months performing an inventory of other potential base camps, but Camp Carson Cross, about 60 miles west of Thunder Bay, was the preferred site. Koivisto presented his preliminary

[2536] Ibid; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 13 March 1984, 1.
[2537] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence, Correspondence from Art Davies to Dave Koivisto, 18 May 1984, 1.
[2538] Ibid.
[2539] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 31 May 1984, 1.
[2540] "Dave Koivisto."

report to the Advisory Committee on September 13th, 1984, revealing that the Shebandowan camp was "an excellent site and currently available."[2541] After the preliminary report was presented to the Advisory Committee, the members agreed that they "must try to obtain a base camp for next year's program" and assigned Koivisto and Darrell Sanderson the task of "visit[ing] the old YMCA camp to get a true picture of the physical outlay" of the site.[2542] The two HAGI members visited at the end of October and reported back to the Committee on their findings. The Committee agreed to pursue Camp Carson Cross, for two important reasons. Camp Carson Cross was closer to Thunder Bay, and very safe (it was clear of debris).[2543] The HAGI, then, sent a letter of intent to the MNR to make known their desire to develop the camp.[2544] The MNR received the HAGI's correspondence in November, and provided Koivisto with a tentative timeline for how his group could proceed with acquiring the camp.[2545] First, the MNR needed to meet with the Shebandowan Campers' Association (SCA) before Christmas of 1984 to see if they were amenable to having HAGI obtain the land. Second, if the SCA gave its approval, the MNR would finalize a land/program agreement with HAGI by May of 1985.[2546]

The HAGI obtained a land use permit for a one year trial period in March of 1985; with permit in hand, it spent the next year developing the camp, and setting up a summer program. Since multiple campers held the rights to the access road into the camp, approval had to be

[2541] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 13 Sept 1984, 1; Sandi Krasowski, "Wilderness camp saved: Centre to be dedicated to 'handy capable' people," *Chronicle Journal Online*, February 10, 2017, accessed 2 Dec 2017, http://www.chroniclejournal.com/news/wilderness-camp-saved-centre-to-be-dedicated-to-handy-capable/article_efbdb572-efb1-11e6-ae23-4703395d163a.html; AO, RG 74-49, B255591Correspondence from Marthe Dallaire to Clem Sauvé, 10 Aug 1987, 1.
[2542] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 3 Oct 1984, 1.
[2543] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 8 Nov 1984, 1.
[2544] Ibid., 2.
[2545] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from D.E. McHale to HAGI, 9 Nov 1984, 1.
[2546] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 20 Nov 1984, 1.

obtained before the MNR could enter into any agreement with the HAGI.[2547] Furthermore, the SCA also needed to be consulted.[2548] By December 27th, no objections were received, but in order to proceed, the MNR wanted the HAGI to submit a "more detailed proposal" that could be used as a basis for a land use arrangement.[2549] The HAGI completed their proposal on February 1st, 1985, indicating the successes of their 1981-1984 Outward Bound Canoe Program, and the fact they needed a base camp, since "no such facility exist[ed] for the physically disabled in northwestern Ontario."[2550] If successful in obtaining the camp, the HAGI revealed that they planned to spend the remainder of 1985 making minor repairs and renovations to the current buildings in order to make the facility wheelchair accessible. The HAGI's long term goal was to tear down the buildings and replace them with new ones.[2551] This proposal was shared and presented by Koivisto to both the MNR and 20 campers from the SCA, at the Mini Queens Park government building, in Thunder Bay. The SCA were agreeable to the HAGI venture, but wanted assurances that parties and abuse of the access road would not occur.[2552] These assurances were given, and the MNR extended a one year land permit with conditions to the HAGI in March of 1985, which the group accepted.[2553]

Beginning in March of 1985, the HAGI started the work of developing their new camp. The group did this by acquiring government grants and workers, but they also received a lot of support from the local Thunder Bay area community. Wanting to make a good impression in their one year trial period, the HAGI set up guidelines to maintain a "low key" approach to the

[2547] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Dec 1984, 1.
[2548] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 4 Dec 1984, 1.
[2549] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1984, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Dec 1984, 1.
[2550] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, *Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal*, February 1, 1985, 1.
[2551] Ibid., 1-2.
[2552] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1985, 1.
[2553] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 19 March 1985, 1.

camp, which involved having a HAGI official onsite all the time during renovations and camp programs.[2554] The renovations and programing could not take place without the funding and in this regard, the HAGI received generous support from a number of government agencies. The help came from a $12,803 Canada Works Grant that employed one project coordinator and two construction workers; these workers were tasked with making the camp accessible. Additional help came from a $20,821, Challenge 85 Summer Employment, Federal Grant that employed five people (one recreational attendant care staff leader, two recreational attendant care staff, one maintenance worker, and one assistant facilitator); these workers were assigned summer programming duties. Starting on June 3rd, the first group of workers performed a variety of duties, such as cleaning out the property (two cabins, two bunkhouses, one main lodge, and one washroom building), upgrading the electrical and plumbing system, ramping the buildings, making the beach accessible, laying down rubber mats to connect the buildings, fixing broken windows, putting screens on the doors, widening washroom doors, installing new flooring, and installing grab bars.[2555] The HAGI also reached out to the community through television and radio advertising, which elicited the support of 35 local merchants, including Great West Timber, Great Lakes Paper, CP Rail, Macmillan Bloedel, and the local grain elevators.[2556] These businesses helped through the donation of monetary funds, building materials, and workers. In addition to the supplies, the HAGI organized a furniture drive on June 8th where a combination

[2554] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1985, 2.
[2555] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 14 May 1985, 2-3; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence, Memo from Kevin Ellis, June 1985, 1.
[2556] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Fundraising Advisory Committee, 3 April 1985, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 June 1985, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal, September 1985, 2.

of 150 community and local businesses dropped of furniture, such as beds, dressers, dishes etc. to One Fifty Castlegreen; the local OMOD used their moving truck to transport the goods.[2557]

In the summer of 1985, the HAGI continued their outdoor recreation program; however, instead of focusing on lengthy canoe trips, they opted for outings in Thunder Bay and Lake Shebandowan. In May, the program began, with HAGI staff taking disabled participants to Old Fort William, Boulevard Lake, Centennial Park, the Port Arthur Waterfront, Sibley Provincial Park, Wild Goose Park, and Kakabeka Falls.[2558] By July 18th, HAGI workers completed the most necessary renovations making Lake Shebandowan accessible and safe. In turn, a total of 80 people (PWD and family members) camped out in a combination of six day trips and five overnight stays. They engaged in canoeing, cooking, trail-exploring, crafts, and sports.[2559]

At the end of the first camping season at Lake Shebandowan and with the one year trial program nearing an end, the HAGI continued their discussions with both the MNR and the SCA to permanently acquire the camp. The Advisory Committee believed they had accomplished enough with their renovations and programs to justify a lease of a minimum of 20 years for the camp. However, the MNR wanted the HAGI to provide a revised "long-range plan on [their] proposed use" of the camp; this plan had to be approved by the SCA in order to move forward with a formal lease.[2560] In late August, the HAGI created an updated proposal, which reiterated their goal of "offer[ing] a program even to persons with the severest level of disability."[2561] The

[2557] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 14 May 1985, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Terry Bellavance to Dave Koivisto, 3 May 1985, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal, September 1985, 2.
[2558] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Co-ordinator's Report, 15 May 1985, 1.
[2559] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1985, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Coordinator's Report, 7 Aug 1985, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal, September 1985, 1-2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Committee, January 7, 1986, 2.
[2560] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 13 Aug 1985, 2.
[2561] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Shebandowan Lake Camp Proposal, September 1985, 1.

HAGI touched on the renovations and outdoor program they conducted, noting that they were "proud of the improvements made," and hoped the MNR could see that their "proven success," in other programs, would result in success at Lake Shebandowan.[2562] With this being said, the HAGI wanted to "secure the camp…on a long term, if not a permanent basis," with some kind of long-term leasing agreement with the MNR.[2563]

Indeed that October, students from Confederation College's Architectural Program visited the camp to conduct measurements and drawings in order to provide the basis for major renovations for the existing buildings, once a long-term lease was secured. The student plans would then be compared with a civil engineer's report to assess whether the HAGI should proceed with the major renovations or simply tear down the existing buildings and construct new ones.[2564] The HAGI's proposal was submitted to the MNR in September and after the SCA approved the proposal in November, the MNR did not extend a long-term lease; they simply renewed HAGI's land use permit for five years with a rate of $116/year. This conflicted with the HAGI's desire for a long-term lease to move forward with the proposed tear down and rebuild; it was viewed as "not [an] ideal situation."[2565] However according to T.R. Isherwood, the then-District Manager of the MNR, the government was prepared to consider a long-term lease, any time during the new five year agreement, if the HAGI met three criteria. The MNR wanted the HAGI to provide evidence that that they had developed a consistent program, provided a set of

[2562] Ibid., 2.
[2563] Ibid., 2-3.
[2564] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31Oct 1985, 1; HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 3.
[2565] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1985, 1.

renovation drawings and cost estimate, and acquired substantial community support to warrant the long term lease.[2566]

The five year land use agreement still allowed the HAGI to develop the camp, and in 1986, the HAGI continued with their camping programs and renovations. Early in the year, the Advisory Committee was divided into two sub-committees: the Building and Grounds Committee (12 members), and the Program Committee (14 members); each committee was designed to meet the MNR requirements. With the committees up and running, the HAGI had their two grants renewed: the Section 38 grant (for three maintenance workers), and the Summer Student grant (for five program staff).[2567] The HAGI started the year off by collaborating with Confederation College's Architectural and Technology program to design preliminary renovation drawings for the existing buildings, including the cabins, main lodge, and shower house at the camp. This report was supervised by the students' teaching master Emmerick Sashegyi and presented to the HAGI in April of 1986.[2568] This report was supplemented by a structural report by independent civil engineer, Don Gustafson, which was completed in May. Gustafson started his report by noting that it was a "cursory survey concerning the viability for upgrading" the camp.[2569] He took the approach of examining the "the soundness of all existing buildings" and "review[ing] some tentative schemes."[2570] Although all of the buildings were still

[2566] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence, Correspondence from T.R. Isherwood to Dave Koivisto, 17 Dec 1985, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 12 Dec 1985, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1986, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1985, 1.
[2567] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 24-25; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Building and Grounds Committee, Meeting Minutes, 21 March 1986, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Finance Committee, 5 March 1986, 3.
[2568] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, E. Sashegyi et al., *HAGI Summer Camp: Technical Reports, Renovations and Restoration*, April 1986, 1-7; "Handicapped Action Group Inc. shows appreciation to its supporters," *Chronicle Journal*, April 16, 1986, 21.
[2569] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Don Gustafson, *Report to HAGI, RE: Camp Carson Cross Construction, Renovation Feasibility*, May 12, 1986, 1.
[2570] Ibid.

standing, Gustafson highlighted that most had major flaws, due to their advanced age. Some of these flaws consisted of rot, and poorly laid foundations. Gustafson gave a list of minimum recommendations for the HAGI to complete in 1986, such as repairing holes, replacing doors and walls, fixing cracks, clearing rot, removing some foundation, cleaning off moss, and replacing some of the roofs.[2571] Gustafson did not "recommend renovation of the existing cabins, to any great extent, as it [was] very probable it would be cheaper to build new ones."[2572] Gustafson encouraged the HAGI to hire an architect to perform a site survey and produce site layout drawings, as the current buildings were only "suitable for short term use."[2573] With this knowledge in hand, the HAGI workers performed a number of upgrades to the electrical wiring, minor renovations, and ground maintenance. From the two reports, the Building and Grounds Committee determined that a $451,000 cost estimate was needed for the major renovations.[2574]

After summer discussions, the Advisory Committee decided to go ahead with building new cabins in 1987 and presented this plan to the MNR. According to Gino Sonego, it was a "fairly aggressive plan to build [cabins]…accessible [cabins] with water, electricity to be able to house people with a disability."[2575] In June of 1986, the Advisory Committee sent reports, along with the cost estimate, to the MNR "requesting a negotiation on the lease agreement."[2576] To bolster their case for a long-term lease, the HAGI had raised thousands of dollars from 40 different businesses, community organizations, and services clubs by late April of 1986; these donations ranged from $25 to $5,000.[2577] A second round of letters was also sent out to service

[2571] Ibid., 2-4.
[2572] Ibid., 8.
[2573] Ibid., 10-11.
[2574] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 24; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Building and Grounds Committee, Meeting Minutes, 18 Aug 1986, 2.
[2575] "Gino Sonego."
[2576] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1986, 1.
[2577] "Handicapped Action Group Inc. shows," 21; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Itinerary for Presentation of Awards, 1986, 4.

groups that spring, with a major fundraising campaign planned for the fall. Furthermore, Gustafson was employed to prepare a site survey and grid plan prior to the start of construction; this was completed in June. The new plans allowed the HAGI to meet with construction companies to begin preliminary discussions for a spring 1987 construction date.[2578]

The renovations and building plans were followed by an active camping program. The HAGI spent the 1986 camping season trying out both a structured and unstructured camping program for disabled people and their families. With the Challenge 86 grant in hand, the HAGI hired several workers to oversee the camping program; these employees included Pam Bechta (Program Director), Jaye Carlson (Camp Counselor), Debbie Meredith (Secretary), and several assistant counsellors. The employees formed a Selection Committee designed to vet camper applications. Early criteria were that campers had to be members of HAGI, approve the camp rules, complete an assessment form outlining their disability and needs, sign a waiver, and indicate what equipment they wanted to use.[2579] This was important because the HAGI acquired new camp equipment, such as a pontoon boat, canoes, and other outdoor equipment.[2580] The structured program provided a pre-set arrangement of activities (interpretive trail, crafts, cooking, and canoeing etc.). The non-structured system allowed disabled campers and their guests to organize their own outdoor activities.[2581] Being viewed as "not very successful," the

[2578] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 26 March 1986, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1986, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1986, 1.
[2579] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 27 May 1986, 1.
[2580] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Building and Groups Committee, Meeting Minutes, 6 Feb 1986, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Itinerary for Presentation of Awards, 1986, 3.
[2581] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Selection Committee, Meeting Minutes, 12 June 1986, 1; HAGI, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1986, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Program Committee, Meeting Minutes, 7 Jan 1986, 2; HAGI, Annual General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 17 Dec 1986, 2.

structured system was cancelled August 15th, with the remainder of the season, and the next, running on the non-structured system.[2582]

The HAGI renewed their land use permit with the MNR, so they could work on their renovation and program plans for 1987.[2583] As a result, the camping season took a lower key approach although it still saw an increase to approximately 100 campers. These campers primarily engaged in unstructured activities with their families and friends, which included nature walks and boating trips on the accessible pontoon boat.[2584] As was seen in the OSCC summer camps, these activities "challenged normative assumptions about disability" and a disabled person's ability to outdoor camp.[2585] Furthermore, Sonego found that a lot of PWD were on fixed incomes, thus, to be able to have an accessible camp at affordable prices was just "fantastic."[2586] In addition to individual campers, groups such as Harmony Place, the George Jeffery Children's' Centre (previously known as the NWOCCC), and a disability group from Sioux Lookout, ON, booked the camp for their clients.[2587] The disabled campers were ferried to the camp by HAGI-Transit, who designated an accessible van and charged "fairly cheap" rates.[2588] The campers also enjoyed the new accessible dock that was created through the assistance of the Lakehead Rotarians in April. Besides the dock, the Rotarians collaborated with the HAGI's maintenance staff to perform several upgrades to the camp, such as painting, path levelling, floor repair, and installing exterior lighting.[2589]

[2582] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1986, 1; HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1986, 25.
[2583] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 5 May 1987, 3.
[2584] HAGI, General Membership, Meeting Minutes, 3 Oct 1987, 2.
[2585] Yoshida, Ferguson, and Shanouda, "Breaking the Rules," 480.
[2586] "Gino Sonego."
[2587] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 4 Aug 1987, 2.
[2588] "Gino Sonego."
[2589] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1987, 3.

The majority of the HAGI's Wilderness Discovery efforts in 1987 were spent trying to acquire the long-term lease and legal assurances, from adjacent property owners, for the construction of a new access road. The year started off well as the HAGI was given a $50,000 grant, from the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, for the construction of the new access road, professional fees, a new dock, ramp installation, electricity upgrades, and some underground service work. New cost estimates by the HAGI showed that the group required about $500,000 to completely rebuild the camp, but the $50,000 grant was important because it covered external renovations that were not related to the rebuild efforts.[2590] With the grant in hand, the HAGI obtained the services of a local lawyer, Rene Larson, to iron out the road access issues, and work on signing the property agreement with neighbouring owners; a piece of property was purchased from an adjacent owner for $5,000.[2591] While Larson finalized the road access agreements, the HAGI set up a meeting with representative from the MNR and the Ministry of Government Services (MGS) in early June 1987 to secure the lease. At the meeting, Wayne Suttie, of the local MNR, would not extend a lease until the HAGI submitted yet another proposal.[2592] The HAGI submitted this new proposal on June 19th, indicating they had sunk $45,000 into the camp, and that the long-term lease, of 30 years, was desperately needed to help raise the $500,000 to rebuild it. Three major reasons were presented for the lease, which included the fact that the $50,000 grant had to be spent by June 30th, service groups wanted the HAGI to have title to the property, and local property owners required verification. The proposal also indicated that the HAGI wanted an "exemption from standard leasing" and gave the example of

[2590] "Rural 60 Plus, HAGI funded," *Chronicle Journal*, March 13, 1987, 13; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 March 1987, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from David Ramsay to Thadeus Weiss, 23 March 1987, 1.
[2591] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 May 1987, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1987, 3; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1987, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 12 Aug 1987, 2.
[2592] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 2 June 1987, 3.

Lakehead University which, at the time, was leasing 31 acres at Black Sturgeon for $1 a year.[2593] The HAGI received an extension on the $50,000 grant, but did not hear back from the MNR about the lease until early August when, contrary to what the HAGI wanted, the MNR offered a five year lease with an option for another five years.[2594]

The HAGI declined the lease, and spent the remainder of 1987 sending letters to politicians to rectify the situation. In an August internal government correspondence between Marthe Dallaire, the Coordinator of the Community Action Fund, and Clem Sauvé, a senior government adviser, the problem with extending a long term lease to the HAGI was discussed. Typically, a property, such as the Lake Shebandowan camp (valued at the time at $65,000), was leased at market value; however, since the HAGI was a non-profit, they wanted a nominal rate. The MNR had to obtain permission from the Management Board for a lower rate or else the MGS was responsible for granting a higher market rate. There was confusion over jurisdictional issues between the MGS and MNR on how to obtain the long-term lease; this delayed the process.[2595] The delay caused other politicians to become involved, such as the Minister Responsible for Disabled Persons, Tony Ruprecht, the Minister for Natural Resources, Vincent Kerrio, the Minister for Government Services, Richard Patten, and Port Arthur MPP Taras Kozyra. After having read the HAGI's proposal, Ruprecht wrote a letter to Kerrio "indicat[ing] [his] support" for the camp, and that the HAGI was "anxious to work out a satisfactory lease agreement with [Kerrio's] ministry."[2596] The HAGI's efforts at fighting for the lease appeared to

[2593] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Proposal for Lease to MNR and MGS, 19 June 1987, 3-4.
[2594] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Management Staff, Meeting Minutes, 5 Aug 1987, 2; Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 12 Aug 1987, 2.
[2595] AO, RG 74-49, B255591, Correspondence from Marthe Dallaire to Clem Sauvé, 10 Aug 1987, 1.
[2596] AO, RG 74-49, B255591, Correspondence from Tony Ruprecht to Ron Ross, 21 Aug 1987, 1; AO, RG 74-49, B255591, Correspondence from Tony Ruprecht to Vincent Kerrio, 21 Aug 1987, 1.

have worked, as at the end of August a "verbal agreement [was] reached" for a 10 year lease with the option of another 10 years.[2597]

However, in order to proceed with their plans, the HAGI BOD needed a written response and time frame. In turn, Koivisto wrote the local MNR representative in Thunder Bay, Wayne Suttie, requesting an update on the lease status. After no response by the end of October 1987, Kovisito sought the help of local MPP Kozyra; the Port Arthur politician wrote a letter to Kerrio asking the MNR to provide a written response.[2598] In early November, the HAGI received a letter from the local MNR noting that the MNR was "prepared to give [the HAGI] a 30 year lease," but the "only unknown" was the annual rental rate.[2599] Having months to finalize the rental rate, this minor issue was still not agreed upon and was pushing the project back. Nevertheless, the letter was written proof of a long-term lease and the HAGI used it to further the road construction, and appeal to service clubs for the approximately $500,000 needed for the rebuild.[2600]

Although written confirmation was given, the rental fee still needed to be finalized. Rene Fontaine, the Minister of Northern Development and Mines, added his "support" to the HAGI by also writing to Kerrio in December.[2601] Fontaine confirmed that his ministry provided the HAGI with $50,000 in March, for road construction, but that the work was on hold until the lease was signed. The current market rate was too high for the HAGI to afford; they wanted something like

[2597] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1987, 2.
[2598] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to Wayne Suttie, 2 Sept 1987, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Taras Kozyra to Vincent Kerrio, 24 Nov 1987, 1.
[2599] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from W.H. Therriault to Dave Koivisto, 3 Nov 1987, 1.
[2600] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to Don Cameron, 25 Nov 1987, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1987, 2; Wilderness Discovery, Annual General Meeting, Meeting Minutes, 9 Dec 1987, 2.
[2601] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Rene Fontaine to Vincent Kerrio, 23 Dec 1987, 1.

$2 a year.[2602] In late December, Kerrio wrote back to Kozyra noting that although the MNR agreed to lease the property for 20 years, it was subject to certain conditions (a to be determined nominal fee, non-profit use, future camp renovations to be a collaborative process, and HAGI had to build the access road).[2603] The HAGI accepted these conditions; and, by May of 1988, a representative from the MGS met with the HAGI BOD to review the draft of the 20 year lease; the BOD approved the lease on May 4th. The provincial government signed the lease and returned it to HAGI in July with a rental rate of $200/year.[2604]

With the property agreement in place, the HAGI began phase one of the camp fundraiser and rebuild in May of 1988. The existing camp was composed of four cabins, a main lodge and shower house. Thus, HAGI's phase one plan was to tear down the cabins and build three new ones, begin construction on the new access road, and upgrade the electrical and plumbing system. A fourth and fifth cabin were scheduled for 1989 and a new lodge was planned for the next decade.[2605] For the HAGI, phase one of the rebuild, was the "primary focus" for 1988, with most of their resources going towards the camp.[2606] Gustafson was hired in April of 1988 to oversee the project, as head foreman; his staff consisted of six workers from a renewed Section 38 grant, four prison inmates from the city's Correctional Centre (a guard supervised them), and dozens of volunteers.[2607] Weiss recalled that "service clubs were the backbone in getting the

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[2602] Ibid.
[2603] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Correspondence from Vincent Kerrio to Taras Kozyra 18 Dec 1987, 1.
[2604] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1988, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1988, 2.
[2605] "Rotary clubs staging TV auction to help HAGI wilderness project," *Chronicle Journal*, February 10, 1988, 21; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Jan 1988, 2; Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 5 Oct 1988, 1.
[2606] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Campaign Committee, March 10, 1988, 1.
[2607] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1988, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 17 May 1988, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1988, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1988, 2.

camp constructed and up and running."[2608] Without them and city businesses, Weiss believed that "the camp itself probably wouldn't have evolved. They supplied all the labour, the carpenters, the electricians that was all pretty much free labour."[2609] Another aspects of citizen participation is strengthening relationships between a social movement and the greater community; in turn, partnerships give the movement "access to resources."[2610] Since funding for the camp was "beyond [the HAGI's] normal requests," the organization sought "special funding" from the local service groups.[2611] According to Koivisto, he "went out to the service clubs and Ron [Ross] went out to the service clubs, Al [Buchan] went to the service clubs, you know begging for money. We got grants from the service clubs, doubled them through Wintario and built the cabins."[2612] Turner and Killian's life cycle of a social movement shows that in the "institutional stage," a movement becomes an accepted part of a society; hence, various organization's willingness to work with HAGI.[2613] Indeed, in 1988, the service groups rallied behind the project with "very generous" contributions.[2614] Wintario matched the funding by the community.[2615] The Rotary Club also took their involvement to another level through their collaboration with Maclean Hunter television station for a T.V. auction on April 23rd and 24th.

[2608] "Thadeus Weiss."
[2609] Ibid.
[2610] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 25.
[2611] "HAGI thanks its supporters," *Chronicle Journal*, April 13, 1988, 19.
[2612] "Dave Koivisto."
[2613] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior 2nd ed*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 253.
[2614] "HAGI thanks its supporters," 19.
[2615] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Jan 1988, 2; "Rotary clubs staging TV," 21; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 April 1988, 2; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1988, 2; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Correspondence from Barney Game to Dave Koivisto, 11 Feb 1988, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Correspondence from John Karnichuk to Dave Koivisto, 9 Feb 1988, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Correspondence from Fred Wilson to Dave Koivisto, 18 Jan 1988, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Correspondence from R.E. Thom to Dave Koivisto, 25 Jan 1988, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Correspondence from Hugh O'Neil to Dave Koivisto, 19 April 1988, 1; "$16,000 donation," *Chronicle Journal*, January 18, 1989, 17.

Materials from local merchants were donated, and many of Maclean Hunter's 89,000 viewers raised an undisclosed amount of money.[2616]

With Gustafson in charge, construction began in May 1988 and continued until mid-October.[2617] In August, the Rotary Club visited the camp, with their volunteers, and built one of the cabins.[2618] However, the HAGI experienced problems with two of the adjacent land owners. In 1987, the landowners verbally agreed to put in the access road; but, by June of 1988 they became "hesitant" on building the road.[2619] According to an internal HAGI correspondence, much "bickering" was taking place because of the road, which put construction "two weeks behind schedule;" it was the HAGI's "biggest problem" in phase one.[2620] Koivisto wrote a letter to one of the landowners explaining the HAGI's position in that as part of the organization's lease agreement with the MNR, the HAGI had to install an alternative access road. Thus, he wanted to know if the landowner would "continue to allow construction to proceed."[2621] No agreement was reached in 1988; in fact, one landowner hired a local lawyer and the litigation continued into early 1990.[2622] By mid-October most of the work for the three new cabins was complete. In turn, the HAGI submitted their phase two proposal package to Wintario for renewed funding to build the fifth cabin, perform landscaping work, construct a boat house, and tear down the lodge.[2623] There were some cost-overruns of about $25,000, but these were figured into the

[2616] "Rotary clubs staging TV," 21.
[2617] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 17 May 1988, 1; HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, BOD, Meeting Minutes, June 14, 1988, 1.
[2618] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 July 1988, 2.
[2619] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 17 May 1988, 1; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 June 1988, 2.
[2620] Ibid.
[2621] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Dave Koivisto to landowner, 24 June 1988, 1.
[2622] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1989, 1.
[2623] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Aug 1988, 2.

cost estimate of phase two.[2624] Indeed, enough work was finished that the HAGI started taking bookings in January 1989 for summer camp rentals.[2625]

The HAGI continued work on phase two of construction in 1989, while also operating an accessible camping program. Firstly, the organization designed a new booking and registry system for PWD of $5 dollars per person per night; any able-bodied person who wanted to use the camp had to be accompanied by a disabled person.[2626] To publicize the camp, the HAGI produced a new brochure, with the help of one of the residents of One Fifty Castlegreen, Harry Whiskeyjack. Whiskeyjack, a quadriplegic, created the official Wilderness Discovery loon logo.[2627] To accompany the brochure, the HAGI set up posters in HAGI-Transit vans and commercials on Maclean Hunter channel 7 station.[2628] The campaign worked, as the camp opened for 60 days and had 111 camping days. According to the HAGI, this was a "sure sign of extensive use for the facility."[2629]

In Thunder Bay and NWO, PWD were excluded from being citizens through explicit and implicit ableism in the sport and recreation scene. However, Wilderness Discovery was a big step in breaking down these barriers, and creating an "enabling space," which could be used by the "widest range of mind-bodies."[2630] Indeed, Tracy Hurlbert noted that when the camp was

[2624] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 31 Dec 1988, 2.
[2625] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 30 Nov 1988, 2.
[2626] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Co-Executive Directors' Report, 28 Feb 1989, 2; "Official opening held Saturday," *Chronicle Journal*, September 9, 1990, B1.
[2627] HAGI, Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1989, 1; Kim Casey, *Thunder Bay City's True Murder Investigations*, 1882 to 2014 (Canada: Ahneen Publishing, 2014), 324; *Chronicle Journal*, August 20, 1991; Unfortunately, two years later, Whiskyjack was murdered by a relative at One Fifty. It was the complex's first homicide.
[2628] Wilderness Discovery, Advisory Committee, Meeting Minutes, 9 Jan 1989, 2.
[2629] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1989, 4.
[2630] Freund, "Bodies, Disability, and," 703.

opened in the late 1980s "that was a huge…huge thing that happened in Thunder Bay."[2631] Hurlbert was impressed that you could:

> go out there with your disability and all of a sudden you can do everything the able-bodied people can do except walk. You could go on boats, you could go in the water, they had a lift going right into the water. You could swim, you could do absolutely everything that the able-bodied could do. It was like your wheelchair was erased.[2632]

Hurlbert was also amazed at the size of the camp in that "it's bigger than most accessible houses. And these are cabins that you're camping in. They were so amazing. I couldn't believe it, it was like I died and gone to heaven. It was more accessible than my wheelchair accessible apartment."[2633] Irmo Marini, a HAGI BOD member, echoed these sentiments revealing that Wilderness Discovery was:

> a remarkable place. You know you have a severe disability and to have a cottage or camp to go to. The cottages were just really well set up, really well thought out and to be able to do things that you normally wouldn't be able to do like get on a pontoon boat, be in your wheelchair and water skiing and swimming, so I think those things were great things and a great addition for HAGI to take on.[2634]

Disability organizations from the NWO region were also impressed with the camp, and the HAGI received many letters thanking them for their efforts in developing the camp for use by their communities as well. For example, in April, the President of the Manitouwadge Handi-Action Group, Lorraine Anaka, wrote a letter "commend[ing] the HAGI on [their] initiative [on] develop[ing] the Wilderness camp."[2635] The excitement was evident in Anaka's words as she gleefully stated that "finally [we] have a family oriented camp in our area where families with a member who is differently abled can go wilderness camping together and enjoy the beauty and

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[2631] "Tracy Hurlbert."
[2632] Ibid.
[2633] Ibid.
[2634] "Irmo Marini."
[2635] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Lorraine Anaka to the HAGI, 10 April 1989, 1.

tranquility that nature offers us all."[2636] Anaka concluded her letter by exclaiming that: "[t]his camp will definitely benefit residents of NWO."[2637]

Some, such as Dave Shannon, were concerned that the camp would promote the ghettoization of disabled people. Shannon acknowledged that Wilderness Discovery "seemed like a really good thing…great potential…having the accessibility and support services on-site."[2638] However, there was "a fear of ghettoization…having a segregated place, when really having inclusion at resorts or recreation facilities is better or hotels or whatever you know."[2639] Scholars Ravi Malhotra and Morgan Rowe address this debate about whether segregated or inclusive summer camps "best serves the needs of disabled children" to "feel normal and accepted."[2640] While the proponents of segregated camps stress the ability to "relax and not feel subject to scrutiny" in such spaces, others suggest that inclusive camps are the "general trend in physical education programing."[2641] While both able-bodied and disabled campers participated in camping at Wilderness Discovery, the camp was primarily reserved for the latter. As recreation is a key component of life, having a fully accessible camp was a huge breakthrough in integrating disabled people in the city and region into the community. Wilderness Discovery continued to develop in the 1990s and 2000s. In 2006, a new lodge/conference centre was finally built, which was part of a major facelift for the camp (each cabin was refurbished and refurnished).[2642]

[2636] Ibid.
[2637] Ibid.
[2638] "Dave Shannon."
[2639] Ibid.
[2640] Malhotra and Rowe, *Exploring Disability Identity*, 88.
[2641] Ibid., 88-89.
[2642] "HAGI Community Services Statement on Wilderness Discovery Camp," *NetNewsLedger*, April 10, 2015, Retrieved from, http://www.netnewsledger.com/2015/04/10/hagi-community-services-statement-on-wilderness-discovery-camp/.

Conclusion: "Becoming Canada's Most Inclusive City [for disabled people]": The Disability Rights Movement in Thunder Bay and NWO, 1972-1990s[2643]

In about a 20 year period, from 1972 to the early 1990s, the advocacy of the Handicapped Action Group Incorporated (HAGI) and its allies built a working accessible community for PWD in the city of Thunder Bay and northwestern Ontario (NWO). During this time, HAGI, having developed fairly early in the post-1970s rights-based disability discourse, was well-integrated into provincial, national, and international debates on disability. In turn, HAGI not only set an example with regard to accessibility for other municipalities in Ontario, but for others in different parts of Canada. As Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson conclude in "When elevators were for pianos," physically disabled Canadians living between 1945 and 1970 were some of the first to enter society as wheelchair users; they did so in a society that did not consider their access needs.[2644] These disabled Canadians struggled to enjoy substantive citizenship, and their efforts "were not enough to bring about changes in either attitudes or policies to support their full participation in society."[2645] These changes regarding accessibility would come in greater regularity after 1970. In Thunder Bay and NWO, they were led by the efforts of the HAGI.

In the 1960s, groundwork had been laid by the subtle and informal activism of some Happy Handicap members. However, it was not until 1971, with the gathering of disabled young people of Thunder Bay into the Lakehead Social Planning Council's (the Planning Council) Rehabilitation Committee, that more concrete action was taken. Riding the third wave of

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[2643] Title is taken from a 2010 letter to the editorial by former Thunder Bay Mayor and MP Ken Boshcoff. See: Ken Boshcoff, "Becoming Canada's most inclusive city," *Chronicle Journal*, March 7, 2010, A6.
[2644] Mary Tremblay, Audrey Campbell, and Geoffrey L. Hudson, "When elevators were for pianos: an oral history account of the civilian experience of using wheelchairs in Canadian society – The first twenty-five years: 1945-1970," *Disability and Society* 20, no. 2 (March 2005): 114.
[2645] Ibid.

disability activism, and an environment where several other identity groups were fighting for greater equality in Canadian society, leaders of the Planning Council provided this group of young disabled people with the confidence, skills, and advocacy know-how. As a result, they branched off on their own, as the HAGI, to tackle the problem of hegemonic ableism and inaccessibility, represented through what some scholars call a "walking-ableist society."[2646] Because of the inaccessible environment within NWO, the young disabled HAGI activists, such as David Koivisto, Terry Bellavance, Ron Ross, Gaston Bolduc, Susan Ward, and Joe Ward were essentially denied many aspects of substantive citizenship. The disabling social-material spaces in NWO rendered them "dis-citizens."[2647] In response, HAGI, aided by crossover members from the Happy Handicaps, built a social movement, and used citizen participation to tackle the physically and socially disabling city. They created a spatial and social environment that, while not benefiting all, benefitted many disabled people.[2648]

The HAGI had a monopoly as the principal disability advocacy and service organization for Thunder Bay's disabled from 1972 until 1985. The mid-1980s saw the proliferation of additional disability rights groups or the remodeling of existing ones. For example, a local branch of the Canadian Paraplegic Association (CPA) was created in late 1984, Persons United for Self-Help North West (PUSH North West) gained full autonomy from the HAGI in 1992, the local Ontario March of Dimes (OMOD) took on a greater advocacy role in the mid-1980s, and

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[2646] Laurence Parent, "Je me Souviens: The Hegemony of Stairs in the Montreal Métro," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2018), 207.
[2647] Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship," in *Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics. Policy, and Law*, eds., Dianne Pothier and Richard Devlin (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1-2; Peter Freund, "Bodies, Disability and Spaces: the social model and disabling spatial organizations," *Disability and Society* 16, no. 5 (2001): 693.
[2648] William Boyce et al., *A Seat at the Table: Persons with Disabilities and Policy Making* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill/Queen's University Press, 2001), 25.

Women Independently Living with a Disability (WILD) was added in the late 1980s. Also, the Organization for the Multi-Disabled Inc. (OMDI) was formed in 1982, but solely dealt with people with traumatic brain injuries. This was a welcome change and the HAGI, as the undisputed leader of the local disability rights movement, often collaborated with these groups, many having current or former HAGI members running them. Speaking before the rise of disability activism, Dave Koivisto revealed the nature of the inaccessibility he and others confronted in the pre-1970s twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur. Koivisto lamented:

> There was no housing. There was no transportation. The schools weren't accessible, and I always considered if in a regular person's life, an able-bodied person's life, if you took away one or two of those elements in his life, where would he be. So consider for the disabled, there [were] so many gaps in the overall services. That's why so many couldn't succeed, it just wasn't there.[2649]

Indeed, at the outset of the Planning Council's work on the 1972 *Disability Research Report* (DRR) and *Thunder Bay: A Guide for the Disabled*, Koivisto was right. These rights, that able-bodied society take for grant, "just [weren't] there" for PWD.[2650] The documents were simply the start or the identifying of what was required to make Thunder Bay an accessible city.

HAGI was formed in August of 1972 to attack the very pillars of able-bodied society through advocacy on accessible housing, transportation, sport/recreation, and the physical environment.[2651] They then directed efforts to making the greater NWO region accessible.[2652] Irmo Marini best sums up the end result of HAGI's accomplishments, and what it meant for a recently disabled person in the 1980s to re-enter an evolving accessible Thunder Bay. Marini stressed that the significant moment of the local disability rights movement for him was:

[2649] Tremblay, Campbell, and Hudson, "When elevators were for," 113.
[2650] Ibid.
[2651] "Town Talk: 'Action Group,'" *Chronicle-Journal*, August 15, 1972, 3.
[2652] "Dave Koivisto," interview with Ulysses Patola, 23 April 2017.

> coming home in a wheelchair, never having known anybody in a wheelchair and thinking, I don't know what I was thinking, nursing home or whatever, but being able to have accessible transportation with a spinal cord injury, being able to have accessible housing, integrated housing and being able to have 24/7 attendant care, it just fulfils your life. You know, it's all anyone would ask for and it's what I came home to way, way a long time ago. So there's no specific moment where we won this big battle with city council or you know we turned out a lawsuit or what have you, it was just the cumulative pecking away at getting what we wanted that was successful way back then.[2653]

Marini thought that he would spend the rest of his life in an institution. This rested on the pre-1970s medical model environment that Mary Sereda and George Maycock experienced in Port Arthur and Fort William in the 1930s, '40s, '50s, and '60s. Marini further noted:

> You know coming in there [Thunder Bay] in 1981, the end of 81, 82 and so forth, just everything was in place, the integrated housing, the [accessible] vans. Because I think even back then they had at least 15 vans or so [HAGI Transit], very busy every day. And, so you know when I got there, I thought holy cow, I didn't even know that Thunder Bay had this because I had never looked for it. I didn't know it existed, so really it was really pleasant but part of that 2 million bucks [HAGI's operating budget in 1989] was definitely going there. Koivisto, Ron Ross all of those guys much like we see virtually today you know directors and CEOs, private and non for profit organizations skimming off the top and taking money, those guys never took a dime. They always did the right thing, they ran their grants properly, they didn't abuse them, they didn't get their wrists slapped for anything so yeah I mean I couldn't tell you about the 2 million budget, but I could certainly tell you everything that I needed to get to move around the community was all in place. We had no idea any of us that had nothing to do with disabilities that Thunder Bay was set up so well and now you know 30, 40 years later still remarkably one of the most progressive cities in both countries [Canada and the US].[2654]

Marini developed even more respect and admiration for HAGI's efforts, at making Thunder Bay accessible, by reflecting on how far it was in relation to other cities back in the 1980s.

Marini, now a professor at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley in Brownsville, TX, states that is was remarkable how ahead of the curve the HAGI was in fostering an accessible community in Thunder Bay. Commenting on HAGI-Transit, which he used in the early to mid-1980s to attend his job as a student counselor at Lakehead University, Marini notes:

[2653] "Irmo Marini," interview with Ulysses Patola, 11 March 2017.
[2654] "Irmo Marini."

> [It was] cheap as hell and reliable for the most part and saved my wife from having to transfer me in and out of her car…which would have been really tough, but they were there [HAGI Transit] and again you know in comparison to a lot of cities here in the U.S. including the city I'm in now McAllen-Edinburg, you now I'm in a group of four cities that are kind of like Fort William/Port Arthur so you know before they amalgamated [in 1970] so you'd look on the map and you'd see two cities kissing each other. Well, there's four cities kissing each other here and about half a million people, but there's no para-transit system…the cab companies don't have any wheelchair accessible vans and there is a private company…, but it's really more for medicare/medicaid patients and if you want to take them privately because I called them one time when they came into service you know, when I had used to have one van. I actually have two now. I have a 2010 and a 99 that are set up for me, I have a backup in case one breaks down. I called this company and my house was literally five minutes from the university and they wanted 60 bucks each way, which is you know is just a… that's a rip off and I never did take them… But, you know it's just outrageous, just outrageous. You know, I mean it's a city of about half a million people [in 2017] and we got nothing.[2655]

In 1992, the HAGI made sure that the approximately 1,600 physically disabled people, or 17 per cent of Thunder Bay's metro population of 124,600, had the benefit of living, working, playing, and socializing in an accessible community.[2656] In fact, HAGI's expertise was regularly solicited from disability organizations in the NWO region, southern Ontario and other parts of the world.[2657] Koivisto had an "open door policy" where he would consult, and help other communities to implement the best practices of accessibility.[2658] HAGI developed at an opportune time, and took advantage of the significant strides made in the third wave of disability advocacy in Canada during the1970s and '80s. This helped HAGI challenge and re-mold an older system built on ableism and the medical model of disability, and to reform it into an accessibility-first one, built on the social model of disability.

[2655] Ibid.
[2656] Jim Kelly, "Disability group pushes for financial assistance," *Chronicle Journal*, December 1, 1993, 3; Ontario Henderson, *Thunder Bay City Directory* (Winnipeg, MB: R.L. Polk & CO. Ltd, 1992), 15.
[2657] Jodi Lundmark, "City acts as leader in area of accessible spaces," *Chronicle Journal*, June 12, 2015, A1, A3.
[2658] "Dave Koivisto."

The growth in the Canadian disability rights movement in the 1970s and ’80s resulted in increased government involvement on disability issues, and the growth of national, provincial, and local disability rights and advocacy organizations, such as the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH), People United for Self-Help Ontario (PUSH Ontario), Disabled Peoples’ International (DPI), and the Ontario Federation for the Physically Handicapped (OFPH); HAGI was the local organization for Thunder Bay. This period was a momentous time for PWD, it gave rise to the Independent Living Movement (ILM) and disability consumerism. It also saw the inclusion of disability into important legal documents: including the *Ontario Human Rights Code*, the *Canadian Human Rights Code*, the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and the *Ontario Building Code*. Additionally, the Ontario social safety net provided eligible disabled people with funding through the GAINS-D program (it later became the Ontario Disability Support Program or ODSP). International recognition through the United Nations International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP; 1981), and the Decade of Disabled Persons (1983-92) brought renewed government attention in promoting the rights of disabled people. For example, Canada produced the Obstacles Report in 1981, as a result of the IYDP, which led to the push for Independent Living Centres (ILCs). In fact, Aldred Neufeldt notes that this was a time when the “government became more proactive on ‘the disability file.’”[2659] The Rehabilitation International’s World Congress in Winnipeg in 1980, and the Rick Hansen Man in Motion World Tour (1985-87) drew more attention to disability issues.[2660]

Concomitant to these developments, the provincial government created the Ontario Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped (OACPH) in 1975, which advised the

[2659] Aldred Neufeld, “Disability in Canada: An Historical Perspective,” in *In Pursuit of Equal Participation: Canada and Disability at Home and Abroad*, eds., Henry Enns and Aldred Neufeldt (Concord, ON: Captus Press, 2003), 54-55, 62.
[2660] Ibid.

provincial government on disability issues; a Ministry without Portfolio responsible for disabled persons soon followed. On the federal level, the Office of the Minister of State on the Status of Disabled Persons, and the Disabled Persons Secretariat were established in 1983 and 1985 respectively.[2661] These government ministries regularly met and collaborated with disability organizations, such as the HAGI to further the rights of disabled people. This was the environment that HAGI was working within, and it greatly aided their mission. It was a period of growing disability consciousness or what some scholars call a 'golden age' of disability advocacy in Canada.[2662] Nevertheless, in order to take advantage of the situation, to benefit PWD in Thunder Bay and NWO, the HAGI needed to grow into a strong social movement.

The HAGI would not have been able to take advantage of the growing prominence of disability in the 1970s, '80s, and early '90s to further its goal of an accessible community in Thunder Bay and the region without having first developed into a strong grassroots social movement. In the 2018 edited collection *Untold Stories: A Canadian Disability History Reader*, a chapter by Diane Driedger is devoted to the history of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped (MLPH), which developed about the same time as the HAGI. The editors state that histories on advocacy organizations "run by and for people with disabilities" is essential for Canadian history because they show how "grassroots organizations…came into existence and how they influenced disability rights and history in Canada."[2663] The HAGI was/is such an

[2661] Ibid., 55, 61; Dustin Galer, *Working Towards Equity: Disability Rights Activism and Employment in Late Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 157, 165, 169.
[2662] Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed, "Conclusion," in *Disability and Social Policy in Canada, 2nd ed*., eds., Mary Ann McColl and Lyn Jongbloed (Concord, ON: Captus University Publications, 2006), 404.
[2663] Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger, "Section IV," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2018), 205; See also: Diane Driedger, "Organizing for Change: The Origins and History of the Manitoba League of the Physically Handicapped, 1967-1982," in *Untold Stories: A Disability History Reader*, eds., Nancy Hansen, Roy Hanes, and Diane Driedger (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2018), 221-242.

organization, and its history and development provide insight into how it was able to make Thunder Bay and the NWO region into a lively accessible city.

Bolstering the nascent organization was essential to the advancement of the local Thunder Bay disability rights movement. The HAGI strengthened itself in the early 1970s, in a number of ways, first by identifying the problem of inaccessibility and making sure PWD had complete sovereignty over addressing it. Necessary to this sovereignty was replacing the old reliance on others, for direct assistance, and instead taking a rights-based approach to improving the lack of access in the community. Members of the Happy Handicaps did not have the privileges and social mobility of HAGI leaders, and although they made smaller strides in the pre-1970s environment, it was difficult for them to break free of their reliance of able-bodied leaders. The privileges and circumstances of disabled members of the HAGI allowed them to break free of the Planning Council; however, some these new leaders underestimated their privileges, which occasionally led them to speak disparagingly about pre-1970s disabled activists. Nevertheless, HAGI redefined the lack of accessibility in Thunder Bay as the principal problem preventing disabled people from possessing full substantive citizenship in the community. What Armand Mauss calls the "rising expectations" of a social movement were evident prior to the HAGI's creation, as disabled people of Thunder Bay were denied basic rights putting them in a position of "relative deprivation" against the able-bodied in Thunder Bay.[2664] The HAGI then created a grassroots organization of disabled people for disabled people, which followed up on research outlining the state of inaccessibility like the DRR. They worked towards realizing its recommendations through a vibrant organization with dynamic leadership.[2665]

[2664] Armand L. Mauss, *Social Problems as Social Movements* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1975), 52-55.
[2665] Ibid., 56.

The HAGI developed an early core leadership group, in the early to mid-1970s, through the efforts of Koivisto, Dr. Edward Anten, Bolduc, Bellavance, Ross, Susan Ward, and Joe Ward. These individuals transformed the organization from one existing on a shoe-string budget, supported by government grants and service group donations in the early to mid-1970s, into a 2 million a year non-profit enterprise by the start of the 1990s.[2666] According to Mauss, a successful social movement uses "resource management" to increase members and foster effective leadership.[2667] This early group of HAGI activists provided the charismatic and the rational-legal leadership that mobilized, theorized, and stirred PWD into action. They also made connections with political leaders, built relationships with service groups and other community stakeholders, attained financing, and started HAGI's key projects (accessible housing, transportation, and sports/recreation).[2668] This first group were joined, in the late 1970s and '80s, by other key activists, such as Allan Buchan, Thadeus Weiss, Dave Shannon, Les Bush, Darrell Sanderson, Irmo Marini, Gino Sonego, Sandy Salamon, Linda Cairns, and Rick Miles. These individuals took up leadership roles within the HAGI and other disability organizations. In addition to the above, many other PWD, including Mary Sereda, George Maycock, Edna Nightingale, Jack Paterson, Tracy Hurlbert, Gary Lysak, Dave Padovese, Maurice Rubenick, Jim Rob, Mike Prsa, Doug Merifield, Doug Mayor, and Deb Hashiguchi, contributed support through serving on BODs, fundraising, volunteering, and participating in awareness campaigns.

Some of these disabled activists moved to Thunder Bay from the greater NWO region to make use of the additional services available there, such as the Lakehead Rehabilitation Centre and HAGI's accessible housing projects. The increase in migration to Thunder Bay strengthened

[2666] Jo-Ann Mihalich, "HAGI has come a long way since 1972," *Chronicle Journal*, February 6, 1988, 19.
[2667] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 54.
[2668] Ibid., 63.

the local disability rights movement by bringing strong leaders to the forefront, such as Bellavance, Buchan, and Weiss. While involvement from disabled people was vital for the HAGI's success, it must also be noted that critical support for the HAGI came from able-bodied spouses of members, able-bodied support staff of the HAGI, local social service organizations, medical professionals, and local politicians in Thunder Bay.[2669]

By the start of the 1990s, contributions from leaders and supporters led HAGI to achieve multiple successes in disability advocacy. For example, City Hall was made accessible, Supplement No. 7 to the *National Building Code* was adopted, and a program to curb cut city sidewalks was passed.[2670] HAGI Transit's accessible parallel transportation system grew to 15 accessible vehicles, which made approximately 84,547 trips in the 1990-91 year.[2671] In the housing realm, several accessible housing options became available: Castlegreen Cooperative (1976), Superior View Cooperative (1983), One Fifty Castlegreen Transitional Centre (1979), Glenwood Court (1981), Cumberland Court (1987), and Jasper Drive (1994). One Fifty provided accommodations for people leaving Lyndhurst Hospital or Lakehead Rehabilitation to continue their rehabilitation and then graduate into accessible HAGI housing units throughout the city. Not only were these housing units completely accessible but were fully funded with attendant care support by the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS). A later outreach component supported people living in non-HAGI buildings and personal homes. HAGI leaders became mentors to people entering HAGI's accessible housing system and encouraged them to become involved locally with disability issues and/or take on disability leadership positions.

[2669] "Alice Bellavance," interview with Ulysses Patola, 7 March 2017.
[2670] Macel Dion and Suzan Paquette, "Action Group – The Disabled," *Canadian Welfare*, Jan-Feb, 1976, 10-13; Rita Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation For Aiding Handicapped In Overcoming Barriers," *Chronicle Journal*, February 1, 1974, 13.
[2671] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1991, 18.

An accessible sporting community and culture was cultivated through the establishment of the Northwestern Ontario Sports Organization for the Disabled (NSOD), and Superior Athletics for the Physically Disabled Sports Club. These organizations assisted disabled athletes with training and funding, so they could compete at all different levels of competition. Additionally, in the 1970s and '80s, a wheelchair basketball team, the Bay City Rollers, toured the region and other parts of Canada competing and nurturing ties with other disability rights groups. Along with sports, HAGI's Wilderness Discovery Camp provided a fully accessible outdoor camping experience, through the mid-1980s and early 1990s, on their Lake Shebandowan property. In 1993, 980 disabled people stayed at the camp from Thunder Bay, other parts of Canada, and even the U.S.[2672] Finally, collaboration with the City of Thunder Bay Parks and Recreation division saw the establishment of an integration services division in the late 1980s.[2673] These developments were the result of the HAGI's successful mobilization as a grassroots social movement. HAGI built strong ties with all three levels of government as they advocated for disability issues. At the municipal level, the HAGI and disabled City Councilor Dr. Anten moved to bring City Council onside local accessibility issues.[2674] On the provincial and national scenes, politicians such as Port Arthur MP Bob Andras regularly aided the HAGI through funding for the Castlegreen projects, HAGI-Transit, and other projects. With so much money needed to start and keep their services and programs operational, HAGI leaders developed a well-oiled machine for obtaining funding from governments, local businesses, and service groups. Koivisto revealed, in chapter three, how each HAGI leader played a specific role in the fight for funding. For Koivisto, everyone "had your different [areas] and it was

[2672] HAGI, *Annual Report*, 1993, 17.
[2673] Shari MacDonald, "Thunder Bay," the *FreeWheeler*, Summer 1988, 4.
[2674] Ubriaco, "City Winning Reputation," 13.

excellent…it was a core of people that made the organization grow from nothing to where it was providing services that were long overdue for our community."[2675] Koivisto's involvement with the OACPH proved effective, as he was able to foster new contacts and raise concerns to the highest levels of provincial government. HAGI members lobbied several influential politicians, including Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

While some pre-1980s attempts at organizing in the broader NWO region took place, HAGI played an even larger role after the creation of PUSH North West in 1981. Run by HAGI officials, PUSH North West helped create regional disability advocacy groups in NWO. Prior to organized advocacy in the region, the HAGI built links in NWO and the rest of Ontario through the advocacy efforts of Koivisto, and the Bay City Rollers, wheelchair basketball team. With the establishment of PUSH North West, the HAGI directly mentored regional consumer organizations through regular conferences. These conferences brought regional delegates together to discuss accessibility developments, and/or other concerns, in their home communities, while also sharing their strategic plans for the future. Besides the conferences, the HAGI provided used equipment, assistance in applying for grants, consultative help, and even administered some services including Handi-Transit in Manitouwadge.[2676] They also ran a regional outreach attendant care program based in Kenora/Rainy River for regional consumers. While the majority of these disability organizations thrived for a decade or two, they were usually run by only a handful of people. By the 1990s, these organizations fizzled out, as the HAGI and its breakaway Outreach program, the Northwestern Independent Living Services Inc.

[2675] "Dave Koivisto."
[2676] HAGI, HAGI BOD, PUSH North West, Fifth Annual Consumer Development Conference, Meeting Minutes, 1986 Oct, 1.

(NILS), came to split up disability services in the NWO region. In turn, NILS looked after communities west of Thunder Bay, while HAGI took the lead east of the city.[2677]

The HAGI was not immune from internal division, and growing pains during its first 20 years of existence. Two of the HAGI's early challenges were its relationship with disabled women and indigenous disabled consumers. Firstly, it must be noted that many HAGI leaders were white, middle-class male wheelchair users. While these privileges ensured the smooth development of the organization, some disabled people were left on the margins of an evolving accessible region. Like the disability rights movement in general, the HAGI did not place a big emphasis on disabled women's issues during its first 20 years. This did not mean that women were not integrated into the HAGI system, as disabled women filled their accessible housing units, contributed to disabled sport, and in some cases took up leadership positions. However, there were no specific advisory committees or conferences dealing with disabled women's issues or with gender inequality. With this being the case, Susan Ward provided important leadership contributions and mentored young disabled women to address this gap. By the mid-1980s, disabled women, led by Ward, began advocating on a much greater level and addressed their views through several 'Women and Disabilities' conferences, and WILD.[2678]

HAGI's initial focus rested on making the city of Thunder Bay accessible, and later the regional towns and cities, this left indigenous PWD on the margins of an evolving accessible NWO. These communities (in Treaty Three, Treaty Nine, and Robinson-Superior Treaty lands), negatively impacted by years of colonialism, were initially overlooked by white disability rights activists and their organizations. Furthermore, when these activists did attempt to genuinely help,

[2677] Northwestern Independent Living Services Inc., "Our History," accessed 28 March 2017, http://www.nils.ca/modules.php?name=About_Us&op=show&pid=4.
[2678] "Susan Ward," interview with Ulysses Patola, 31, March 2017.

they displayed misunderstandings of the culture and/or perpetuated stereotypes. The first real forays into addressing inaccessibility in these communities began with the 1992 PUSH North West Talking Circles conference, which brought indigenous leaders and white disability activists together.[2679] However, it was not until the early 2000s that the HAGI and the CPA (now Spinal Cord Injury Ontario) made greater efforts to tackle accessibility issues and provide services in indigenous communities.[2680] For example, in June 2007, CPA Ontario finished their 'A Place to Start: An Aboriginal Participation Strategy,' which was their plan for addressing the needs of indigenous PWD in NWO. The CPA Thunder Bay branch was tasked with implementing the five thematic strategy for all indigenous communities, in the newly created LHIN 14 region.[2681]

Also, as the HAGI grew into a multi-million-dollar non- profit organization, in the 1980s, it experienced a certain level of bureaucratization, as it settled into its role as a service provide. Not only did this create distance between HAGI leaders and consumers but caused a split within the movement. Initially, when the HAGI formed in the early 1970s, close bonds were formed between the people who took the lead setting up the organization, and those who remained disabled consumers. However, by the late 1980s, tenants of One Fifty had become reluctant to express their concerns, while frequently having to answer to able-bodied attendants who may not have been able to empathize the way earlier HAGI leaders had.[2682] HAGI was receptive to these concerns and attempted to improve their group dynamics, through hosting staff-tenant retreats.[2683] Later in 2014, Dave Shannon, a former tenant of One Fifty, became executive

[2679] "Allan Buchan," interview with Ulysses Patola, 13, March 2017.
[2680] Cathi Arola, "New name, same goal: HAGI will continue to work to improve the quality of life for people living with a disability," *Chronicle Journal*, March 29, 2004, A4.
[2681] Darren Lillington, "Darren On Darren," *Outspoken!* Winter 2010, 18; Meredith Burley, "Far North," *Outspoken!* Fall 2011, 35. Ontario's new Local Health Integration Network (LHIN) system was created in 2006 to provide an updated service delivery and funding model for the provincial health system.
[2682] HAGI, HAGI BOD, Correspondence from Sandy Salamon to Dave Koivisto, Aug 1988, 1.
[2683]Ibid; HAGI, HAGI BOD, Meeting, Minutes, 13 Sept 1988, 4.

director of the HAGI for two years and implemented further strategies to empower disabled consumers. However, activists Dave Koivisto and Ron Ross began to develop divergent opinions about HAGI's direction in the late 1980s and early '90s. Koivisto wanted HAGI to solidify itself as a service provider, while Ross wanted greater levels of advocacy. Mauss notes that when social movements evolve in their life cycle, they tend to fragment.[2684] Hence, Ross led PUSH North West into the 1990s as a strong disability advocacy organization, and Koivisto and Allan Buchan led HAGI, which predominantly remained a service provider.

Nevertheless, in a 20-year period, the HAGI and its allies made remarkable progress in making the city of Thunder Bay and the NWO region into an accessible community where disabled people could live, work, and play without the many access barriers that plagued the traditional 'disabling city.'[2685] This fact is attested to by numerous PWD, who lived during the period. Firstly, Allan Buchan, stated that he believed that part of the reason for this success is:

> Because of guys like Dave Koivisto, Terry Bellavance, you know Ron Ross all were key people who weren't going to sit around…around and just let the world go by after their disability. And, mainly, also you know myself I've had a disability since birth. Dave is disabled in I think high school and Ron was 12 or 13 when he got disabled in a hunting accident.[2686]

Indeed, this core group of disabled people, along with their wives, were relentless in making sure that they, along with other PWD in Thunder Bay and the region, had the same services as the able-bodied. Probably the most explicit summary of how Thunder Bay led the pack regarding accessibility by the early 1990s is provided again by Marini who proudly stated that:

> It [Thunder Bay] really was the city where things started, you know it really was the city where everything started. I know Toronto should and usually is a progressive city, but by its sheer size and the increased number of people with disabilities, you know, they didn't

[2684] Mauss, *Social Problems as*, 52-65.
[2685] Freund, "Bodies, Disability and," 689-706.
[2686] "Al Buchan."

> get the proportion of funding that Thunder Bay got and you know guys like Ron Ross and Koivisto they would go to every city council meeting and just continually hound those guys for money and 'what about us,' 'what about us,' 'what about us.' That they got what they wanted sooner or later…they got what they wanted. Did you ever see the movie The Shawshank Redemption? Do you remember when Tim Robbins like I don't know sends hundreds of letters to the legislation to donate money for books to build a library in the prison? Yeah, same thing, same thing like god knows how many meetings those guys went to before they started getting stuff, but they got their cheque and they got their library, and, in this case, they got their fleet of vans, they got their integrated housing, they got their low income, they got their personal care attendants paid for and it was primarily those guys cause I would sit and have drinks and they would tell me about what they needed so Thunder Bay was the city, like there's no question, it was the city.[2687]

With a foundational account on the disability rights movement in Thunder Bay and the region, new histories can address other areas. For instance, more in-depth accounts on PWD and employment (HAGI and the OMOD's relationship over the sheltered workshop, and injured workers activism), accessibility in indigenous NWO communities, advocacy by disabled women, a full history on PUSH North West, and HAGI's post 1990s activities can provide a nuanced understanding of the movement. In 2019, HAGI is primarily a service provider with two corporations Community Services for Independence North West (CSINW), and HAGI. It serves PWD from the Manitoba border to Marathon, Ontario. Recently, HAGI has underwent some challenges. In 2014, the municipal government took over HAGI-Transit; and in 2015, HAGI nearly lost Wilderness Discovery. This latter challenge mobilized the community and brought former HAGI leaders back into the fray. In fact, Koivisto is trying to re-kindle that early dynamism of the 1970s and '80s. The camp is now secure, but the torch needs to be passed to new leaders so that the social movement created in the 1970s can start anew, with a potential catalyst being the 2019 attempts to introduce Bill C-81, The *Accessible Canada Act*.[2688]

[2687] "Irmo Marini."

[2688] "Dave Koivisto;" CSINW includes NILS. Growing expenditures and repairs at the camp forced HAGI to successfully lobby the provincial government and service groups for financial support. The City followed recommendations of the AODA, which advised municipal transit divisions to offer accessible transportation.

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