

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND THE RENEWAL
OF A DECLINING INNER CITY
NEIGHBOURHOOD: A CASE STUDY OF
WINNIPEG'S NORTH LOGAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

A Thesis
presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
of the
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in Political Studies

by
Lukas Mungai

May 1984



CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND THE RENEWAL
OF A DECLINING INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD:
A CASE STUDY OF WINNIPEG'S NORTH LOGAN NEIGHBOURHOOD

BY

LUKAS MUNGAI

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1984

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter I: The Rationale and Justification for Citizen Participation in Western Democracies | 4 |
| A. The General Problem | 4 |
| B. Types of Citizen Participation | 14 |
| C. Community Development and Neighbourhood Participation | 18 |
| D. Community Development and Community Organizing | 19 |
| E. Social Conflict Perspectives | 23 |
| Chapter 2: North American Urban Renewal Contexts | 28 |
| A. Need for Renewal of the Inner City | 29 |
| B. The Old Method: Redevelopment | 31 |
| C. The New Method: Rehabilitation and Resident Participation | 34 |
| Chapter 3: The Winnipeg Context | 45 |
| A. Identification of the Problems of Winnipeg's Inner City | 45 |
| B. The Old and the New Approaches: Renewal and Rehabilitation | 47 |
| C. Shortcomings of New Programs | 50 |
| Chapter 4: The Case Study: The Logan-CPR Neighbourhood | 56 |
| A. A Brief History | 56 |

| | Page |
|--|------|
| B. Reasons for Expropriation: The Position of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative . . . | 59 |
| C. Reasons Against Expropriation: The Position of the Logan Community Committee . | 62 |
| D. L.C.C.'s Recommendations Regarding the Future of North Logan | 73 |
| E. Recognition of Logan-CPR Neighbourhood . . | 77 |
| F. The Cooperation Between the Logan-CPR Neighbourhood and the Other Organizations . | 79 |
| G. Present and Future Plans | 82 |
| Chapter 5: Lessons and Conclusions | 85 |
| A. Social Conflict and Organizational Lessons | 85 |
| B. The Significance of Resident Participation. | 89 |
| C. International Perspectives | 92 |
| Footnotes | 96 |
| Bibliography | 106 |

APPENDICES

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 1: Plan Winnipeg Policy Areas | 113 |
| No. 2: North Logan Redevelopment Plan Alternatives - Alternative 1 | 114 |
| No. 3: North Logan Redevelopment Plan Alternatives - Alternative 2B | 115 |
| No. 4: North Logan Redevelopment Plan Alternatives - Alternative 2C | 116 |

INTRODUCTION

Citizen participation in government has become an important political phenomenon in Western democratic countries since the 1950's. The pressure for government to listen to recipients of its services has come from many different groups, especially ethnic minorities, women, and the poor.¹ Particularly widespread have been the protests voiced by residents of many inner city neighbourhoods, who have fought to protect their dwellings from demolition by Urban Renewal programs.² In these conflicts, residents seek not only to secure their homes, but also to be fully accommodated in the decision-making process which determines the future of their neighbourhoods. The primary purpose of this work is to evaluate the nature and significance of resident participation in one such inner city neighbourhood of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Chapter One deals with the rationale of and justification for citizen participation in Western democracies. It is argued that certain shortcomings of modern democratic government create the conditions that may evoke various forms of citizen participation. These conditions include the role of bureaucracies and the dominance of professional experts and planners. Further justifications for citizen participation are identified: Citizens gain not only through the material benefits they receive from such participation,

but also because they are educated by learning the mechanisms involved in arriving at public decisions.

The second part of Chapter One presents a classification of citizen participation. The major distinction of this classification is between electoral and extra-electoral participation. Each category is described and evaluated. Resident participation is identified as one type of extra-electoral participation and further classified. Some forms of resident participation are initiated by the government, others by residents themselves. The concept of community development is introduced to illustrate how residents can determine the future of their neighbourhoods by participating in public decision-making. The process of community development that is focused on is community organizing which is undertaken without any support of the government. The significance of this type of resident participation is evaluated through a comparison with other types of resident participation. The importance of community organizing lies in the enormous power that it gives its members in dealing with governments.

Chapter Two deals with the experience of neighbourhoods in the face of government urban renewal programs that have caused displacement and homelessness in both U.S. and Canadian cities, especially before 1960. However, resident participation eventually attracted support and recognition so that in the 1960's and 1970's, the governments of both

the U.S. and Canada started to consider rehabilitation measures for declining neighbourhoods. The purpose of this Chapter is to show various governments' increasing recognition of neighbourhood vitality and viability in the inner city.

Chapter Three focuses on Winnipeg's urban renewal history. This discussion is the background for the case study which follows. The history of Winnipeg's urban development follows the same pattern of other North American cities as discussed in the previous chapter. In other words, more emphasis is put today on revitalization than in the earlier years. However, as it is indicated, there is still room for further commitment to rehabilitation and resident participation in the new urban development programs.

Chapter Four analyzes the case of resident participation in a neighbourhood in Winnipeg's inner city. This case study of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood indicates dedication portrayed by the residents as they protected themselves from the agents of urban renewal. The case study provides specific answers to questions such as: Can resident participation be effective? If so, how? What are the forces behind the success of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood that can be utilized by other threatened neighbourhoods?

Chapter Five establishes the relevance of the case study to the broader general concepts of citizen participation. The conclusion evaluates the vitality of neighbourhood involvement in urban development, and the impact it has on the international scene.

CHAPTER ONE
THE RATIONALE AND JUSTIFICATION FOR
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

A. The General Problem

The need for citizen participation was strongly felt and expressed in many Western countries in the 1960's and 1970's. The need for direct citizen action was created by the poor conditions existing especially in the big cities, and the failure of government programs to respond effectively to poverty, unemployment and other problems. This wave of citizen involvement included the civil right movement in the U.S., the protests of the youth and the feminist movements both in the U.S. and Europe. Canadian Indians began to struggle for their rights, tenants demanded decent homes, and welfare recipients organized for better services.³ The greatest force of the movement came from urban neighbourhoods, especially in the inner cities in their confrontation with government urban renewal programs. Generally all of these citizens were reacting against institutions of representative government which they felt were dominated by elites and experts acting with little or no regard for their concerns.

In the pre-industrial period, liberal democracies handled many public problems in small units such as towns, which required simple administration.⁴ In such units, many

citizens were politically visible and could participate. Such an organization was reminiscent of the Greek "city states" or "poleis" which were the ideals of participatory or direct democracy. However, one view of the 19th century is that it was marked by forces that disrupted this participatory simplicity. Those forces included industrialization, bureaucratization and urbanization. These forces reinforced the trends towards group or class politics and centralized government decision-making. The forum-type of local governing was overshadowed by political parties and stronger state and federal governments. It was presumed that this type of government would be more representative and responsive to its citizenry. Another characteristic that emerged with stronger central government was the need for experts who would organize a wide range of sophisticated state functions adapted to an ever-advancing wave of new technologies. These included engineering and electricity, motorized vehicles, city planning and zoning, water and sanitation equipment, and a host of other advances which required no citizen participation for their development.

Robert Dahl argues that the nation state replaced the city-state and representative democracy emerged. The representative model of government was necessary for the sophisticated modern society.⁵ Louis Wirth identifies certain traits which he attributes to urbanization, and holds them as a justification of representative government. These traits include

sophistication, rationality, high division of labour and acute specialization.⁶ A representative government is thought to be installed as a check of self-interested desire and special interests of individuals in the services of government. The representative system fits the modern nation-states as it could also be instituted over a far wider geographical area than a direct democracy.

However, representative democracy which is based on the voting system has its own critics. Some critics see an alienation of the electors by the elected:

Voters feel strongly it is their duty to vote but after that they have no control of power . . .

These emotions--a phantom worth a feeling of responsibility without power the emotion of fitting in one's emotions have become the apparent hazards of life in modern democratic society.⁷

According to Chekki, elected officials are usually interested in the "well-off, those at the higher levels of the socio-economic stratum because it is the latter who might have helped to finance their campaigns."⁸ Pateman, in her attack on Joseph Schumpeter, urges that participation or involvement of citizens should go beyond the ballot.⁹ Redford concedes that "election of representatives has always been recognized as the key means of access for citizens. However, more participation than this will be necessary to implant democratic nobility in an administrative state."¹⁰

Representative government is also taken to task for

its dependence on a bureaucracy that is far removed from the citizens. Proponents of participatory democracy advocate the need for citizen participation in the face of autonomous unresponsive bureaucracy.¹¹ Bureaucracy sometimes interferes with the intentions and plans the government has for its citizens:

Government often intervenes to help the ordinary citizens, especially those alleged to be disadvantaged. Citizens endeavour to make meaningful contact with their governments but often the two groups seem to pass each other like darkened ships at night with only occasional collisions to near misses.¹²

Bureaucracy may be far removed from the citizens because it is not directly accountable to them. It is appointed by the politicians to whom it is directly accountable. But being too much tied up with careerism and elitism, it is doubted whether bureaucracy could be answerable to its political masters.

The above noted connection between bureaucracy or representative government and elitism is important and needs elaboration.

One of the solutions developed to cope with the ever-growing government which faces the possibility of being blind to the needs of some citizens was "pluralism", which means government by and through the interaction of interest groups. Proponents of pluralism argue that since all citizens are represented by the interacting groups, there would be no danger of lack of representation or equality

for the citizenry. It is indisputable that pluralism is democratic if all groups are accommodated on an equal basis in the pursuit of government services as Lowi notes:

Pluralism as a theory and a plan of action assumes that groups are good. Citizens have the right to organize to advance their interests. The interaction of these interest groups are resolved in a bargain and compromise process. The end result-- a reasonable policy for everyone.¹³

But Lowi does not stop at the praise of pluralism, he proceeds to point out its shortcomings. He indicates that the problem with Western democratic pluralism is that only the strong groups can influence government decisions. Therefore, it is the most interested, best organized and well financed groups who have a meaningful impact upon the legislators and civil servants. Other observers add that less powerful groups and unorganized persons or interests may be excluded.¹⁴ The victims of exclusion, many of whom are people in the lower economic levels, are the persons having the greatest need for government assistance.

Further criticism has been aimed at the way pluralism operates. In the pluralist model, reasoning or deliberation is supplanted by haggling and bargaining. The process of bargaining ensures best results only to the powerful and strong groups. "Marketplace" or "bazaar" politics supplant the democratic process of deliberation. In contrast to this bargaining process, Meiklejohn notes that "Forum is the essence of decision making. Democratic citizens do not

bargain, they reason."¹⁵ But reasoning takes time and expertise, resources which are available more to experts than to ordinary citizens. Pluralism may be further criticized, therefore, because of the concentration of resources necessary to bargaining and reasoning in governmental and non-governmental experts.

The development of modern states has been based on the use of experts. This use has been called for by the advancement of technology and specialization. Unfortunately, there is a resulting tendency to leave decisions to the experts and planners, while ignoring citizen participation. It is argued that the ordinary citizen is apathetic, has no appropriate education or skills necessary for being included in the sophisticated decision making. This deficiency justifies the role of experts. But experts, as William Eimicke indicates, may not understand what ordinary people want, their decisions may be wrong, and the results hard to reverse.¹⁶ Paul Appleby, in Big Democracy, expresses doubts that "Government by experts and democracy are compatible."¹⁷ On this subject, Charles Frankel eloquently identifies the feeling of impotence which the ordinary person can feel when confronted by the experts:

The increasingly numerous high priesthood of experts . . . stand between us and everything we do, interpreting, guiding, arranging our lives because things are too complex for us to do for ourselves.¹⁸

Since the cult of the experts has become so pervasive,

it is not surprising that one of the most common justifications for the opposition to participatory democracy is the supposed incapacity of citizens to know enough to properly participate. The argument is that the citizens lack the education, time and resources to overcome their ignorance regarding complex public decisions. There are various factors that challenge the alleged total ignorance of an ordinary citizen. Today the level of literacy is quite high. More people read newspapers, listen to the radio and watch television than ever before. People, even when not involved, talk a lot about issues that affect the society in general, themselves, and their community in particular. People know very quickly what their politicians and administrators are doing or intend to do. A simple error is quickly decried by the sensitive press and the general public. The ordinary person is not as gullible as we would like to make him. And if the expert can demystify himself for a while and speak a simple language, the ordinary person can follow easily. In this regard Fanon says:

If you speak the language of everybody you will realize that masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn the tricks of the trade.¹⁹

A mere inclusion of citizens or residents in decision-making would not only enable them to contribute to the decision-making, but would also be a learning process for them, so that in the end they would have accumulated enough knowledge and experience for better decisions. Thus they

would actualize themselves and cultivate their human potentialities. Donald Kein summarizes the two components in a simple typology which he refers to as "Participatory Democracy I" and "Participatory Democracy II." Participatory Democracy I is an ". . . effort to encourage the direct involvement of citizens with the intention of increasing their control over decisions." Participatory Democracy II is for self-actualization of human potentialities as Kein indicates: "Man has great potential and should strive to achieve maximum development by becoming a well-rounded individual."²⁰ Education therefore has both objective and subjective values. Objective value means that education can be used for acquisition of skills which would be instrumental for the attainment of desired goals. Subjective value stands for self-actualization or self-development of a citizen who is inwardly contented by acquiring additional knowledge. As a result, acquisition of such knowledge makes better citizens. Following the above conclusion it can be argued that the government has a duty to educate its citizens. Such a need is based upon the very foundation of a democratic society in which the citizen is part and parcel of the government. Tussman puts it more clearly:

. . . the democratic citizen holds a public office and it is a crucial office. A society which bestows this office on all its citizens cannot afford to fail in educating its citizens to discharge that office responsibly.²¹

Meiklejohn states that the people must act as the fourth

branch of government. To do so, they need information or education. James Madison further indicated the need for public enlightenment:

Knowledge will forever govern
ignorance . . . A popular government
without popular information or the
means of acquiring it is but a
prologue to a farce or a tragedy or
perhaps both.²²

This suggests another argument for citizen participation. The greater the numbers of people involved, the more likely it is that the views of citizens will be considered in the decision, and therefore, the more popular the decisions will be. In addition, it can be argued that even if the number of a minority included in a decision making group does not participate verbally, its very presence put the strong decision makers on their toes and as a result be cautious in their decision making.

Participation is also a corrective response to alienation--a reaction to this Orwellian, Kafkaesque world. It is a means by which a resident of a poor neighborhood or a citizen can assert himself. The citizens, while rebelling against alienation, hopelessness and powerlessness, can assert themselves. In this regard, participation has a therapeutic function. Redford identifies a moral justification of participation:

Democratic morality posits that on
all matters where social action is
substituted for individual action,
liberty exists only through partici-
pation either in the decision making
or in control of leaders who make
decisions.²³

Arguments of critics of participation that seem to merit justification are those based on lack of time, advanced skills, money and political organization on the part of the citizens or residents. Owing to the lack of the above resources, citizens are not thought to be capable enough to amass their power for meaningful participation. Seeking a solution to the lack of these resources would require a citizen or a resident group to seek ways in which it can cooperate with the established groups including experts in order to share in their skills, financial aid and organizational knowledge which can enable it to be recognized as a force. Here a citizen group would sacrifice its independence or self-determination and enter into a state of codetermination or cooperation with the stronger groups, be they public or private.

There is a temptation for citizens seeking cooperation to be treated insignificantly by the superior groups. The citizen group should strive to be an equal partner in the negotiations involved. Codetermination means cooperation between the expert and the citizen in the decision making. Codetermination should not be confused with manipulation or tokenism, but it should be identified with true participation in which there is a fair trade off between the citizens and the power holders. The relationship between the two should not be founded on partisanship but on partnership.

A successful partnership between citizens or resident

groups and experts is possible. Axworthy (1973) indicates that while it has been hard to get good cooperation between citizen and expert, there are a breed of young architects, planners and lawyers who are prepared to work in the community as advocates for the citizen groups. By association with such experts the citizen would gather the knowledge and might later be skillful enough to conduct their own affairs. By such affiliation residents of poor neighbourhoods can attain skills related to mortgages, financing, designing and the like.

By association with already established organizations, be they political or corporate, the citizen groups can be audible and effective. From the European experience, it is possible to conclude that local political parties can be used as a source of pressure on municipal government to create effective opportunities for residents and consumers to participate in the designing and delivery of urban services and the management of redevelopment.

Finally, by association with businessmen, the citizen groups will be able to get loans to conduct their own affairs and in the end be independent.

B. Types of Citizen Participation

The foregoing discussion has focused on citizen participation in general. Such a discussion will, in this section, be linked with particular types of citizen participation in Canada before dealing with the particular

participation on which the remainder of this thesis focuses.

Citizen participation can be classified into many different types. However, all these types are motivated by the foregoing rationale of direct participation. First, citizen participation can be divided into two major types: electoral participation and extra-electoral participation.²⁴

Electoral participation is usually referred to as "traditional." It includes voting, campaigning and running for public office. The degree of involvement is discernible here. Campaigning is a more intensive form of participation than just voting, while running for office gives full involvement in political participation in Canada. Mishler refers to those who just vote, discuss and show interest in politics as 'spectators.' A higher level of political participation is in "transitional" participation, which refers to attending political meetings and contributing sometimes to political campaigns. The highest level of participation is marked by the "gladiators" who actually engage in politics, for example by running for public office.²⁵ The extent of various types of political participation in Canada is indicated by the following: Gladiators 4.4%, transitionals 21.8%, and spectators 73.3%.²⁶ It is obvious that most of the political participants in Canada are the "spectators." The most active citizens are the "gladiators," followed by the transitionals." The degrees of participation are often found to be related to classes. Draper points out that the largest proportion of participants in the election are from the

middle class who are more prone to organize to protect their interests than members of the lower socio-economic groups.²⁷

Mishler describes extra-electoral participation in two categories: individual participation and collective participation. Individually, a citizen can participate by expressing his opinion on political issues or seek assistance for politically related problems by writing to his representative or other public officials. Collective participation includes many types of participation. Mishler also refers to this type of participation as interest group participation. However, interest groups can broadly be divided in two: the special interest groups with economic motivation such as the labour unions, professional groups, trade associations and farm organizations. Citizen groups which are not particularly economically motivated can be organized for religious, cultural, or other social activities. One of the most common activities bringing citizens together is community organization. In this type of community action, citizen groups are formed to bring about development within a smaller settlement or neighbourhood, whether located in an urban or rural area. This community development participation will be the primary focus of this thesis.

Before proceeding to further examination of this concept, it is important to note Mishler's assessment of interest group participation in general. First, there is a general consensus that interest groups play a major role in

Canada and the U.S. more than in any of the other Western countries. The former two are known as countries of joiners.²⁸ Over 50% of Canadians belong to at least one voluntary organization. While this involvement is popular, it is questionable whether true participation is discernible in these organizations. The first argument is that membership is not synonymous with participation. The representatives of these groups play a greater role than the members whom they represent. There is usually a generally poor attendance at meetings and a fair amount of apathy among the members of interest groups. This leads to the conclusion that only a small number, perhaps "fewer than 25% who can be classified as political activists on the level of and content of their participation in voluntary organization and interest groups."²⁹ It is therefore not correct to suggest that participation in special interest groups is capable of imparting full participation to citizens.

Another form of extra-electoral participation is participation for protest. Groups organize to protest various government programs.³⁰ A good example of activism is the many pacifists of the 1960's. Currently in Canada, citizen groups protest the U.S. intention to test the Cruise missile on Canadian soil. Nevertheless, Canada is rated very low in protest participation among the Western countries.³¹

C. Community Development and Neighbourhood Participation

The term "community development" emerged in a conference on African Administration at Cambridge University sponsored by the British Colonial Office in 1948.³² The term had its roots in the colonial development of agriculture, sanitation and health provisions in the Third World. But since that time the concept has been widely applied in urban and rural areas of both the developed and the developing countries. Another aspect of the definition is that it can differ from country to country.³³ Community development is a decentralizing factor of government administration, and is tolerated more in some countries than in others. The U.S. and Canada respectively portray this distinction.³⁴ Community development can also be defined according to the nature of its function. When community development works with a government agency, the definition of the former would depend on the nature of the sponsoring agency. The sponsoring agency may be economic or resource development oriented or social development or local government oriented.³⁵ Community development has also acquired an international significance through international bodies such as the UNICEF and many others under the sponsorship of the United Nations.³⁶

The Canadian definition of community development does not differ essentially from definitions used in other countries. It states that community development is an educational, motivating process designed to create conditions

favourable to economic and social change on the initiative of a local community. But if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then techniques for arousing and stimulating it are taken in order to secure the fullest participation of the community residents.³⁷ This definition can be applied to any level of community development, be it international, national, rural or local.

The main purpose of this work is to focus on community development at the local government level. Professor Wichern distinguishes three areas of human activity within local politics. One of these areas is the surrounding community environment comprising units such as neighbourhoods, communities and settlement regions.³⁸ The focus here is on community development or participation in connection with the inner city neighbourhoods.

In the industrialized countries, community development became popular during the 1960's. The main area of focus was the inner cities which were characterized by illiteracy, unemployment and poverty. In Britain, movements such as Child Poverty Action Group and Welfare Rights Movement were established in response to the need of the core areas in the face of the high centralization of local authorities. An example of such programs in the U.S. was the American Poverty Program.³⁹

D. Community Development and Community Organizing

Community development may be initiated by the

government through various programs. In Britain's inner cities, for example, the government initiated programs such as the Educational Priority Development project to tackle the problems of educational inequality, poverty and unemployment.⁴⁰ In the U.S. the Equal Opportunity Act brought about many programs such as the Model Cities for alleviation of blight in the inner cities. In Canada, the government created the Company of Young Canadians which was a government financed agency for social action. In the U.S., and Canada, resident associations and citizen advisory boards were allowed to share in plans, especially those related to their neighbourhoods. The extent of this participation will be assessed at the end of this chapter. Acceptance of advisory citizen boards by the local government authorities can be considered as "structural" accommodation of citizen participation. This means that such participation was entrenched within the government structure. The most elaborate example of structural citizen participation was felt in Canada, especially in the City of Winnipeg.

In the years between 1960 and 1970, there was a trend toward centralization of municipal government for the sake of efficient administration.⁴¹ In Britain, the number of local authorities was drastically cut between 1964 and 1974. Like Britain, Canadian cities assumed this trend of centralization. For example, the 12 municipalities of Winnipeg were united into one city in 1972. As it will be recalled, the 1960's and 1970's were marked by the need for

citizen participation or need for decentralization. So the need to centralize municipal administration for better delivery of services encroached upon patterns of citizen participation. Winnipeg was unique in responding to the need for participation in municipal consolidation. The City of Winnipeg Act (1971) established formal legal structures designed to stimulate resident participation in community decision making. These were the Community Committees, composed of local councillors who were to deal with local problems and Resident Advisory Groups which were to be residents who advised and assisted the Community Committees. The Resident Advisory Groups are institutionalized public participation. While critics of these groups see them as ineffective, proponents see them as legal means by which residents can influence the local powerholders.⁴²

All the above are government initiated programs designed to encourage community involvement or participation. There are other types of community programs that are not initiated by the government but by the citizens themselves. This type of community involvement is voluntary and can be divided into two types: A neighbourhood may organize itself into a cooperative, thereby seeking economic development or any other self-help oriented goal. On the other hand, a neighbourhood may organize itself in order to confront urban renewal measures which may be detrimental to its existence. This type of community participation can be referred to as community organization for protest or conflict. While the first stage

of the struggle may be characterized by protest, the neighbourhood in question may shift its concern from protest to self-development. The book Displacement: How to Fight It, concerns the fight put up by residents for the survival and preservation of their neighbourhoods. Keating calls this type of community involvement "mass-based community organization."⁴³

Community development is based upon the need for full power for citizens: "It implies meaningful as opposed to token citizen participation." This very quality brings about conflict between the government in its sponsored community development programs, and its officers who in their bid to bring about social change may be too radical for the state. This paradox is outlined differently below:

Some kinds of community action encouraged by community workers (e.g. militant housing campaigns, rent strikes, women aid work) and conclusions of some community development projects indicate the need for radical changes in our society and it can become a contradiction for the state to continue its support of certain kinds of community action.⁴⁴

It is within the above paradox that mass-based community organizing is entrenched. Residents opting for this type of community participation are usually wrapped up in circumstances requiring immediate change. Such circumstances would be exemplified by a neighbourhood which is slated for redevelopment in an urban renewal program. The struggle of such a neighbourhood can be categorized in three

stages: paternalism, conflict and co-production.

Paternalism marks the time when the citizens are not organized and are manipulated by the decisions of the developers. The stage of conflict is entered when the citizens organize and oppose development measures. Co-production is the stage in which the power holders allow a neighbourhood to share decision making and planning that is related to the latter's programs. It is in this process the co-existence of community development and especially mass-based community organizing, is discernible.

The significance of neighbourhood or resident participation through the mass-based community organizing lies in the meaningfulness of such participation. Such participation is not subjected to consultation or tokenism. The residents express their power by making decisions regarding development of their neighbourhood. The purpose of the case study of a Winnipeg inner city neighbourhood is to examine meaningful resident participation which was successful.

E. Social Conflict Perspectives

The concept of citizen participation implies a conflict between the citizens and the top decision makers, i.e., the bureaucrats and experts. There is a divergence of goals between these two groups. The goal of the citizens is to be involved in decision making processes in order to ensure that their interests are recognized by such decisions. The bureaucrats and experts tend to keep the prerogative of

decision-making to themselves. What results is a pattern of social conflict. An extended analysis of this phenomena is not possible here; however, consideration of the theory of social conflict will contribute to an analysis of the relations between the residents and the decision-makers in the case study which follows.

The theory asserts that social conflict is inherent in society. Society is a collection of groups fighting over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources. One important result of social conflict is the dominance of one or more groups over others. Anthony Oberschall argues that such dominance is rooted within the framework of social organization.* In time, the group in authority becomes so dominant that weaker groups are neglected in determining the distribution of scarce resources. The weaker group, in this case the residents, must fight for its social rights. The process of the clash between such a group and the government is a social conflict. The underprivileged group mobilizes its resources such as quick organization and calling together its members for confrontation, while the powerful government forces attempt to defend their control over the decisions which the citizens are challenging.

*The analysis of social conflict cited here is found in Anthony Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movements (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 33. For this and the following reference, as well as suggestions on this section, I thank Professor Musa Khalidi, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba.

This process of social conflict has been elaborated by Louis Kriesberg.* One of the important aspects of such social conflict is "awareness." For a social conflict to exist, both parties must be conscious of their differences, which is usually expressed in a struggle for incompatible goals. "Intensity" is another aspect of social conflict. The degree of intensity depends on the nature of the cause of disagreement. Intensity may escalate with failure to find a solution to a conflict, or diminishing with availability of a solution satisfactory to the participants. "Regulation" is a dimension of social conflict in which the two opposed parties agree upon written regulations or rules by which they can reach an agreement. An example is collective bargaining regulations used in labour-management conflicts. By establishment of regulations, a social conflict is institutionalized. Regulation is important not at the beginning of a conflict, or at the height of conflict, the reactive stage, but when the two parties finally agree to get together and seek a common solution to their conflict. Regulation is therefore associated with the so-called "proactive" stage. Another dimension of social conflict is its "Purity." A social conflict is pure when it is "zero-sum", i.e., when one wins and the other loses. A conflict is not pure when one party can gain by surrendering some of its resources for another type of resource

* Aspects of social conflict are listed by Louis Kriesberg in The Sociology of Social Conflicts (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 3-12.

controlled by the other party. In other words, such a "non-zero sum" conflict involves trade-offs and possible gains by all parties. This is possible when the issue in contention is fragmented. A pure conflict is possible at the reactive stage. But at the end, the conflict may be characterized by trade-offs, thereby ceasing to be pure. A final aspect of social conflict is "power inequality." Power depends not only on the availability of resources, but also on the determination of the conflicting parties. The determination of a weak group may be so intense that it results in victory over the stronger group after a long struggle.

An analysis of the stage of a social conflict is essential for a later discussion. Kriesberg outlines these stages as follows: The first stage of conflict may be called "objective" or "latent" stage. Some writers argue that social conflict exists before the actual confrontation. An observer may see signs of social conflict between two parties even before the two parties realize they are in conflict. In the second stage, the conflict becomes manifest when the two parties realize they have incompatible goals. The conflict is escalated. Such a process may be marked by coercion, persuasion, or offering of rewards as the groups try to control each other. Eventually the conflict enters a de-escalation phase. This leads to the third stage or "termination stage," followed by the fourth or "outcome stage" which brings forth the consequences of

a conflict.* These notions of the theory of social conflict will be applied in the appraisal of the case study.

However, before dealing with the specific case of resident participation in Winnipeg, it is necessary to examine the factors in the urban context that have led to the rise of such participation and social conflicts. This is the task of the next chapter.

* This model is developed by Louis Kriesberg in The Sociology of Social Conflicts (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973). It is summarized in the diagram on page 19 (Figure 1.5).

CHAPTER TWO
NORTH AMERICAN URBAN
RENEWAL CONTEXTS

The marked increase in neighbourhood organization alluded to in the last chapter can be well illustrated by the city of New York where 8,000 neighbourhood associations and 10,000 block associations were reported to have thrived between 1972 and 1973.⁴⁷ This is an indication that the resident groups of downtown areas have reacted with watchfulness to the government policies of redevelopment that seem to threaten their own neighbourhoods. This watchfulness has been on the increase as Albert Rose states:

The residents of downtown urban areas throughout North America are more conscious than ever before of the difficulties facing them should their neighbourhoods be designated for urban renewal. Moreover, during the past two years they have become aware of the threat posed to them since 1940.⁴⁸

As implied above, the neighbourhoods have experienced conflict with certain government programs in downtown areas for a long time. The main programs that the neighbourhoods have struggled against are the urban renewal programs. There was a tendency in renewal programs to demolish neighbourhoods without offering alternatives to the residents. However, with time the strict adherence to demolition by these programs has been softened mainly because of

neighbourhood awareness and reaction to such programs. A brief history of urban renewal programs in both the U.S. and Canada will be illustrative of the above trend.

A. Need for Renewal of Inner City *History*

The first half of the 20th century saw tremendous growth of North American cities. Many people from the countryside flocked into the cities and the population grew dramatically. The cities expanded as a result. In the case of the U.S., it is recorded that in 1800 only 6% of the population lived in towns. But by 1960, 70% lived in the urban areas. Between 1950 and 1960, according to the Census Bureau the urbanized areas increased from 13,000 to 25,500 square miles.⁴⁹ In Canada, 45% of the Canadian population was reported to reside in a metropolitan area. The Royal Commission on Canadian Economic Prospects, 1955-1980, predicted two-thirds of Canada's population would become metropolitan.⁵⁰

The aftermath of the influx of people into cities and the subsequent urbanization cannot be underestimated. One major result was the expansion of the suburbs. The reason for the expansion is the outflux of the rich caused by the influx of the poor into the downtown areas. Usually the rich who move out are the rich who can afford good houses or a mortgage while those who move in are the low-income families who throng into downtown areas in search of jobs and cheap housing. Shopping malls and other huge stores

follow the rich into the suburbs so that their dependence on the downtown is minimized. With the rich and businesses moving out, they leave the downtown area to decline. }

The city loses its revenue by out-immigration while the residents are left jobless and with fewer services. Down states, "The social costs to the residents are severe; the fiscal burdens on their local governments are heavy."⁵¹

There has been a general consensus that downtowns need renewal and revitalization for the benefit of the city and its inhabitants be they rich or poor. There are various reasons why there should be concern for downtowns. First, they should be preserved in order to retain the taxbase, to maintain social welfare to the poor who otherwise would be subjected to poverty, crime, social disorganization and all other social pathologies. As it will be noted here, renewal programs are aimed at both economic and social goals.

Preservation and rehabilitation of downtowns will enhance the commercial enterprises by attracting the labour force that already lives in the inner city. The need for core area urban renewal is therefore vital. Woodbury et al. define urban renewal as

those policies, measures and activities that would do away with the major forms of urban blight and bring about changes in urban structures and institutions, contributing to a favoured environment for a healthy civic, economic and social life for all urban dwellers.⁵²

why urban renewal
is needed
(conclusion)

B. The Old Method: Redevelopment

Urban renewal programs have been in existence both in the U.S. and Canada since the last century. As far back as the late 19th century, the U.S. passed bills in an effort to curtail the expansion of the slums.⁵³ The history of urban renewal in Canada goes as far back as 1919 in the passing of House Legislation and The War Measures Act.⁵⁴ Yet it is after the Second World War that vigorous urban renewal measures were adopted by the government to cope with the blight that resulted from increased urbanization.

The urban renewal measures have constantly come under attack. The main criticism was that these programs were to a great extent blind to the social and economic welfare of the residents and small businessmen in the core area. Instead, the programs worked very well for the legislators and the private developers. It promoted grand sites at the expense of housing and preservation of neighbourhoods, as Axworthy indicates:

Government intervention in the form of urban renewal of expressways and large scale housing projects have proven with depressing regularity to be more painful than the problem they were supposed to cure.⁵⁵

Having explored earlier the objectives of urban renewal programs, the conclusion can be drawn that there is no conformity between the definition and the practice of such programs.

Attacks have been levelled at the experts for their

narrow and myopic planning. Their extreme concern with their expertise--professionalism--and their excessive trust in the administrators, and the rich for whom they plan, hamper their capacity to produce innovative planning. Aass sees urban renewal as class-oriented and usually directed to the benefit of the rich to the detriment of the poor:

For many years urban renewal programs stressed extensive clearance and rebuilding in old inner city areas. It was condemned as being insensitive to social needs and accused of benefitting the development of industry more than low-income, inner city residents.⁵⁶

It is for the above reason that in 1973 urban renewal programs were phased out in Canada and were replaced with Neighbourhood Improvement Programs or NIP, and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, or RRAP.⁵⁷

Urban renewal programs are particularly attacked for their displacement of the residents and the failure to offer alternatives in regard to relocation. Hartman et al., in their book, Displacement: How to Fight It, report that two and a half million Americans are ejected from their residential neighbourhoods every year. The evacuees have been characterized as low-waged, welfare recipients, single parent families, beleaguered minorities and fixed income elderly. They are the victims of the top decision makers:

Displacement--acts of profit seeking humans, blended in with the work of planners, administrators and legislators who give higher value to the interests of wealthy than to shelter needs and neighbourhood attachment to people with smaller pocketbooks.⁵⁸

Much of what has been written against the renewal programs focuses on their incapacity to cope with the evicted residents. Questions such as what happens to the displacees? where do they go? what do they pay in rents and housing costs? have not bothered the authors of renewal programs. Abrams is concerned with the availability of low rent housing before the programs are unleashed. He states that construction of subsidized low rent housing must precede demolition.⁵⁹ Maxwell dwells on the same theme of relocation:

Relocation of the families living in in the areas to be renewed proved far more difficult than was ever anticipated. Sometimes this meant that they simply moved from one slum dwelling to another often even less suitable and sometimes at a higher rent.⁶⁰

Maxwell continues by stating that most of the projects have resulted in destruction of more housing than was created by the new construction. According to Chester, owing to lack of ability to afford appropriate housing the evicted residents propagate blight by moving and congesting into substandard homes.⁶¹ Anderson puts this precisely: "The program does not clear slums: It merely shifts them to new locations." Little wonder then that homelessness has been the offshoot of displacement due to lack of accommodation of the displacees as indicated below:

It is estimated that there are 36,000 homeless men and women in New York whose shelter is in bus and railway stations, subways, steam tunnels and packing cases.⁶²

Because of constant attack the governments of both the U.S. and Canada have modified the renewal programs. The history of the evolution of renewal programs in both countries is a history marked with a broadening of scope and softening of the austere urban renewal measures as they existed, especially after World War II. Although renewal programs today are still geared more to redevelopment rather than to revitalization, it is a fact that the programs are more indulgent to the residents' needs than they had ever been.

In the U.S. the limitation of renewal programs is illustrated by the years before 1960. Abrahms indicates that in the 1930's the urban renewal program was based on clearance of slums and on government encouragement of the suburbs. In 1949 the program was devoted to destruction of low-rent housing for luxury apartments. Instead of the program helping to alleviate social malaise and to uplift the general public welfare--in terms of supplying affordable housing--it just served the welfare of private enterprise.⁶³ Anderson indicates that the program in the time prior to 1961 favoured the high renters and was generally devoted to government projects and high rent apartments. In 1963 the program forced over 6,000,000 people to leave their homes. In addition, it displaced a good number of businessmen.⁶⁴

C. The New Method: Rehabilitation and Citizen

Participation

While the above authors primarily dwell on the dark

side of urban renewal, Albert Rose traces the softening tendencies of the urban renewal programs. (Urban renewal programs acquired the force of law through the U.S. National Housing Act of 1949). Rose is particularly concerned with the amelioration of urban renewal plans in America in the 1960's. It was during this time that the government started putting a new emphasis on the protection of relocated families and small commercial enterprises. Various programs ushered in after the election of President Kennedy under the Economic Opportunity Act and followed up by President Johnson in his War on Poverty measures made the renewal program responsive to the interests of the old neighbourhoods. For example, one of the most important aspects of the Equal Opportunity Act was the Community Action Program defined as a program which is developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the group served. The cities were encouraged to work closely with neighbourhood residents in all phases of the formulation of the plans as well as their execution.

Another aspect that ameliorated the renewal programs and favoured resident input into renewal of the cities was the emphasis of civil rights during the past decade. The civil rights movement scrutinized programs that arbitrarily emanated from the top. Rose states:

The civil rights movement has given disadvantaged newcomers and older residents in the central cities the

moral basis for their organization and opposition to many public programs-- including Urban Renewal programs which threaten their existence.⁶⁵

The history of renewal programs in Canada more or less follows the pattern of U.S. programs. Canada has also experienced quite an amount of amelioration of these programs. The passing of the National Housing Act in 1944 was mainly to promote construction of new houses, to repair and modernize the existing houses and to improve housing and living conditions. Unfortunately what followed was a greater concern for new construction than the repair of existing houses. And even when the Act was amended in 1964 to help the residents participate in the renewal program, CMHC failed to give loans for improvement or alteration of housing lending money only to those who opted for new construction. The federal government declined to give enough money for renewal while the available help went only to those in the designated renewal areas.⁶⁶

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, however, there has been growing pressure for urban renewal programs to shift their concern from redevelopment to rehabilitation and preservation of neighbourhoods. This has been attributed to the aggressive citizen groups and neighbourhood opposition to redevelopment. This is evidenced by the active citizen groups in Strathcona in Vancouver, The Peoples Committee in Winnipeg's Urban Renewal Area Number 2 and the various associations in Toronto: Napier Place, Trefan Court and

Don Mont.⁶⁷ The case study of the North Logan neighbourhood is purposely selected in the next section of this paper to illustrate a recent example of neighbourhood dynamism. In 1970, owing to citizen and neighbourhood pressure the amount of \$200,000,000 was set apart for rehabilitation. One of the programs sponsored by this money included Kinew Housing Corporation in Winnipeg--an ethnic Indian oriented corporation dedicated to the preservation of already existing housing stock. The relationship between Kinew Corporation and the North Logan neighbourhood will be mentioned later.⁶⁸

Regardless of the above mentioned funding, the government response to rehabilitation left much to be desired. In 1971 CMHC hardly gave loans to the low and moderate income people. In addition it only made loans available to those in the Urban Renewal Area and in every \$6 rent only \$1 was allowed to go to rehabilitation.⁶⁹

In all, CMHC and NHA were oriented towards redevelopment and establishments for new construction that did not respond to the poor neighbourhood. Axworthy states:

NHA is also shaded to emphasize either the building of high-rise apartments or expensive single family units . . . There is almost no attention or money directed toward the housing needs of the low income, working class family.⁷⁰

CMHC is particularly castigated for its negligence of rehabilitation and its emphasis for new housing programs into which most of the lending goes. An important point

here is that CMHC, being a Crown corporation or a corporation set up by public purse should be able to respond to the needs of all--poor or rich--for all citizens are responsible for contribution to tax revenue. After all, there is evidence that most tax revenues emanate not from the very rich--who are subsidized through deductions and incentives for their businesses--but from the middle and low income groups.⁷¹

However, Canada's renewal program started giving more attention to revitalization and rehabilitation as time went by. The most notable milestone in this new shift was the federal government commitment to soften the urban renewal process. In 1969, the federal government's Task Force on Housing and Urban Development was accumulating evidence on the urban renewal and public housing experience in Canada. The task force dwelt upon the weaknesses in the past urban programs. The gist of its report was consideration of citizen and resident participation and interests in the renewal program as summarized below:

1. Renewal action must be oriented towards neighbourhood improvement programs. Rehabilitative and preservative elements are emphasized and redevelopment occurs on a selected basis.
2. Essential to the success of such a program is the endorsement of the principle of citizen participation through its planning and implementation stages.⁷²

This approach was well received in many cities

including Winnipeg. Following this trend of broadening the scope of urban redevelopment, Canada, in 1973, saw the abolition of Urban Renewal Program and its replacement by Neighbourhood Improvement Program and RRAP.⁷³ The emphasis of these two programs is on preservation and improvement of existing neighbourhoods, rather than clearance as was the case of Urban Renewal Program. In the NIP program, the Federal government shares in the cost for planning in co-operation with residents in improvement of neighbourhood facilities. The program promotes low income housing and recreational facilities. RRAP supplies loans for the proprietors for the rehabilitation of their residential properties.

Residential participation has spread widely across the cities of Canada. The United States influence on participation in the 1960's was widely felt in Montreal and Toronto.⁷⁴ The latter has become a great point of reference for many writers in their analyses of neighbourhood or resident participation in the inner city. For example, Rose gives an account of St. Christopher Neighbourhood House which is very instrumental in helping residents to become involved in Urban Renewal Planning.⁷⁵ In Winnipeg, the establishment of Unicity by the NDP government in 1972 ensured resident and citizen participation by creation of legal bodies to represent the citizens. These are the Residential Advisory Groups and Community Committees. Many Canadian cities, especially Vancouver, Toronto and Calgary,

have been characterized by a new breed of politicians who espouse citizen involvement. For example, citizen representatives have been included in planning authorities in Toronto and Vancouver.⁷⁶

The purpose for the foregoing historical accounts is to illustrate how neighbourhood movement has gathered momentum to the extent of asserting itself in the arena of decision-making within the municipal governments. The book, Displacement: How to Fight It, exemplifies the new force of neighbourhoods in their effort to retain their residences in the face of redevelopment projects and to plan further for the future well being and security of their homes.

Urban renewal's clearance of the blighted areas and old neighbourhoods was based on the necessity to do away with the blight of such areas while promoting the welfare of the residents. The critics of Urban Renewal programs argue that promotion of both physical and social well-being of such areas does not need total clearance. Much support is given to the notion that improvement of blighted core areas can come from within rather than from without. Willspaugh, in a spirited defence of rehabilitation, argues that physical measures alone cannot prevent or rehabilitate slums. Deep change in minds of people, both in and out of slums, are needed." Some of the outstanding points in his litany of the benefits of rehabilitation are the promotion of sociability and friendliness among neighbours, the education that is imparted upon the residents in their struggle for

rehabilitation and the respect they earn from politicians due to their tenacity for the demands.⁷⁷

In support of rehabilitation in declining areas, Aass suggests that policies on redevelopment should step up and modernize the blighted areas. There should be job opportunities to channel new sources of income into the area, direct job creation programs and counselling and aid to small businessmen. Programs for new services such as recreational and commercial facilities can stimulate the area while at the same time they would be of benefit to the residents. There should also be programs to make housing available to low income groups. There should be programs to focus and integrate economic development and urban program. Community development activities should be included.⁷⁸

Back in 1953 Colean attacked policies that discriminated against declining areas and offered alternative policies. He indicated the necessity of making non-profit loans available to occupants to help them repair their dwellings and pressed for low rents to be maintained between the tenants for the prevention of overcrowding. Improvement of facilities such as the streets and roads was also recommended.⁷⁹

Rehabilitation and preservation of neighbourhoods would be justified above all else by the fact that the residents identify the neighbourhoods as their homes. It is here where they can trace their roots and identity. Mindful of the fact that the core areas are the oldest areas of the city, most of its neighbourhoods go back many years. Most

of its neighbourhoods are tied by ethnicity and social cohesiveness. Demolition of such neighbourhoods for whatever reason has a repercussion on the social life of the residents. While demolition, usually according to developers, may seem to do away with anomie and social pathologies generated by factors such as overcrowding, it is also common that demolition of established neighbourhoods causes social dislocation as the displacees cannot reestablish their roots overnight.

Reg McLemore, et al., have indicated that demolition is not the appropriate renewal strategy for all declining areas in the inner city. The fear of demolition has aroused residents to fight for the preservation of their neighbourhoods. Residents are attracting attention and earning recognition for their neighbourhoods. But recognition is not enough. The great challenge is what follows the reactive period. Yet there is a question as to how the preservation of neighbourhoods is to be carried out. One indispensable requisite for a solution is to have the residents participate in the making of decisions affecting their areas.

This concern is indicated below:

Within these older residential districts that same diversity of people and community can help attune public policy to be both effective and humanly sensitive in improving life in these problem areas.⁸⁰

Resident participation should not be viewed as counter-productive. On the contrary, such participation can widen

the scope of plans and decisions of experts and legislators. The latter cannot offhand choose to do what they want to do with inner city neighbourhoods. The history of urban renewal has indicated the ever increasing awareness of citizen involvement in their neighbourhoods. Urban development cannot dispense with the inputs of residents. Therefore when the civic planners and legislators embark upon unilateral decisions to pull down a neighbourhood without studying circumstances and without consultation with the residents, then the latter can act aggressively and even initiate court action against the disruptive measures threatening their residence. The case study in this thesis is about a neighbourhood that was subjected to pressures of new urban renewal programs. Through a long struggle the residents were able to ensure survival and preservation of this neighbourhood. The case study provides the opportunity to examine the relationship between the above contemporary experience of resident organization and the concepts already discussed, particularly in relation to participatory democracy.

The neighbourhood in the case study is the Logan-CPR neighbourhood, which is situated at the heart of the Winnipeg inner city. Efforts to redevelop this inner city go back several decades. The effectiveness of such efforts while being commendable have also been received with mixed reactions, especially by various residential groups threatened by redevelopment.⁸¹ Logan-CPR residents are an

example of such a group. To have a fuller understanding of the circumstances that led to the struggle between Logan-CPR residents and the renewal agencies, a brief history of urban renewal in Winnipeg's inner city is essential.


CHAPTER THREE

THE WINNIPEG CONTEXT

A. Identification of the Problems of Winnipeg's Inner City

The history of urban development of Winnipeg's inner city is illustrative of the ideas discussed in the previous chapter. Like in other cities of Canada and the U.S., urban renewal in Winnipeg at first tended to emphasize redevelopment but later, especially after 1960, there was an increased concern for revitalization and rehabilitation. However, as different studies will show, the concern for rehabilitation was slow and even the current renewal programs initiated by the government are not as committed to rehabilitation and neighbourhood involvement as the civic administrators and their expert planners would suggest.

Before analyzing the recent developments in the inner city, a brief examination of some aspects of the earlier stages of Winnipeg's development is essential. Some notable aspects of such development are illustrated by Ruben C. Bellan in his thesis, The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre. This work traces the development of Winnipeg from the 19th century onwards. One of the notable aspects of this development is the tremendous growth of population. For example, in 1891, total population of Winnipeg was 25,639, while in 1941 it was 221,960.

A handwritten bracket on the right side of the text, spanning from the sentence 'One of the notable aspects of this development is the tremendous growth of population.' down to the sentence 'while in 1941 it was 221,960.' To the right of the bracket is a handwritten star symbol.

The depression heightened the rate of immigration to Winnipeg and to Canada in general. This unchecked influx of immigrants eventually aroused reaction from the government. Bellan states that the severe unemployment which developed in 1930 and the large numbers of recent arrivals among the unemployed produced a widespread conviction that immigration ought to be curtailed. But the curtailment could not solve the problems of the prevailing unemployment and the already soaring population.

Another important aspect in the development of Winnipeg was overcrowding. An explanation of overcrowding in the inner city, especially in the 1940's, can be traced by an analysis of the numbers of building permits issued in Winnipeg from 1900 to 1939.⁸² From 1908 to 1914, the number of building permits went up, but were later pushed down from 1914 to 1920 by the war. Between 1920 and 1929, there was another upsurge which was cut short by the depression during which time the number of building permits hit a very low mark. The dwindling number of building permits was aggravated by the Second World War. It can be assumed rightly that the limitation of building permits implied a limitation in house construction which subsequently resulted in overcrowding.

The blight in the Winnipeg inner city is attributable to the above conditions of the 1930's and 1940's. The most blighted area was labelled "Area Number 2" by the urban renewal authorities. This area comprises approximately 540

acres bounded by the Canadian Pacific Railway to the north, Notre Dame Avenue to the south, Sherbrook Street to the west, and Main Street to the east.⁸³ As indicated above, the deterioration of the area manifested by the poor housing conditions and the overcrowding was enhanced by the depression, the war and the post-war influx of immigrants.⁸⁴ Professor Gerson gave the following reasons for the blight in the area: the Midland Railway, the substandard premises, and the inadequate amenities.⁸⁵

Urban Renewal Area Number 2 has been subjected to several studies describing the need and the type of development it should receive. One of the first studies was carried out by Professor Gerson of the University of Manitoba in 1957.⁸⁶ Other studies include two interim Reports of the years 1963 and 1966.⁸⁷ The Final General Report of Area Number 2 dated January 1968 and the Urban Renewal Progress and Evaluation of the City of Winnipeg dated 1972⁸⁹ are other notable studies.

B. The Old and The New Approaches: Renewal and Rehabilitation

The study of the area by Professor Gerson in 1957 was notable in one aspect. Unlike most of the studies carried out during the 1950's, Gerson's study did not recommend total redevelopment of the area. He expressed a strong concern for the residents of the area. While other studies recommended structures such as condominiums for the area, he

recommended an area to be reserved for the development of low-rental housing to accommodate households that would be affected by the proposed redevelopment of the area.⁹⁰

Gerson pointed out the potentialities of the area: "Public transport is good, the area is close to recreation and entertainment and to major shopping and government functions."⁹¹ He identified various facilities that confirmed that the area had a residence component. "A further advantage lies in the fact that this is an established area, services are provided, schools are provided."⁹² All the above justified a co-existence of industry and residences within Area Number 2.⁹³ Gerson urged that the movement of population out of the area to the suburbs should be curtailed.

The Interim Reports of 1963 and 1966, unlike Gerson, emphasized the need for total redevelopment and disregarded consideration for rehabilitation and revitalization of the area.⁹⁴ The studies acknowledged the existence of the residential component, but this did not dissuade them from recommending strict urban renewal measures. The two studies emphasized that Urban Renewal Area Number 2 was more an area for industries and commerce rather than for settlement.⁹⁵ The conclusions of both studies are not surprising since, as noted elsewhere, the period before the 1970's was marked by an urban development orientation that emphasized demolition and redevelopment.

The distinction between the style of urban development

before and after 1970 can be brought out by a comparison of the Interim Report of 1966 and the Urban Renewal Program and Evaluation of the City of Winnipeg in 1972. The Interim Report of 1966 indicates the blight of the area was increasing with marked intensity. On the social characteristics of the area, the report indicated that the area had crime and liquor problems. It stated that the high rate of transience undermined any possibility of community identity and concluded that Urban Renewal Area Number 2 is more characteristically a place of employment than a place of residence. It recommended that to improve residences, "redevelopment would take the form of high density residential uses mostly high rise apartments, in order to provide assistance to central business district."⁹⁶ Other projects that the report recommended were the establishment of an industrial park, first class hotels and motels, educational campus library and offices of the Metropolis.⁹⁷ In addition, it urged that citizen participation should not be encouraged at the decision making level but at the implementation stage: "The best role for the public and for citizen organization is as a source of information and a sounding board for ideas."⁹⁸ In other words, citizens would not be fit to participate in any meaningful way. According to Arnstein's ladder of participation the recommended participation here would be confined to the level of consultation which is pseudo-participation falling under the category of tokenism.

The 1972 report, on the contrary, indicated the need for a curtailment of strict urban renewal measures emphasizing the need for a broader approach for Area Number 2. It makes an allusion to Professor Gerson's work of 1957 to enhance the need for a different approach.⁹⁹ The report indicates that because of Gerson's findings, the city council acknowledged the formation of Urban Renewal and Rehabilitation Board which was established to identify districts requiring redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservative measures. The board also emphasized the need for meaningful citizen participation "because planners sometimes fail to understand the human values of the individuals affected by renewal programs."

C. Shortcomings of New Programs

Efforts to improve the inner City of Winnipeg continued in the 1970's, but this time with a difference. Various factors altered the emphasis placed upon redevelopment by the Urban Renewal Program. First, in 1972 Winnipeg's 13 municipal governments were abolished by the province and replaced with a single amalgamated "Unicity" government. Along with Unicity came the establishment of Resident Advisory Groups and the Community Committee whose *raison d'etre* was to evoke resident participation in the municipal government. The critics of the unicity argued that unicity brought about by the NDP government was established by special interests. It would benefit Winnipeg's property

industry by bringing together the administration of the powers of local government into a single unit thereby ensuring that their interests would be properly taken care of.¹⁰⁰ However, the establishment of RAG's and community committees were regarded by the proponents of unicity as a means of bringing about political decentralization of the administratively centralized unicity.¹⁰¹ Residents would have a voice in programs that concerned them. They would constitutionally challenge extreme urban renewal measures.

In 1973, as pointed out earlier, the NIP and RRAP programs were established in Winnipeg as a response to what had gone wrong with the Urban Renewal Program. Winnipeg's inner city was divided into four areas where NIP started its work. These selected areas include the Centennial area, St. Boniface, Brooklands and North Point Douglas.¹⁰² While the success of NIP programs was quite considerable, critics of these programs argued that the programs were not completely different from the Urban Renewal Program. Signs of the old approach could be discerned in the nature of various programs that were instituted under NIP. Nick Ternette argues that some NIP programs bore the characteristics of the old renewal programs by being more involved in new construction rather than rehabilitation. He gives an example of a Logan neighbourhood which was ignored by the newly established Neighbourhood Improvement Program and concludes that, "Urban Renewal is alive and well."¹⁰³ In the case study, there will be an indication of a conflict

between the NIP and the residents regarding the development of the neighbourhood in question. The residents felt that NIP should have been fully involved, while the latter expressed its own constraints. Both views will be examined later.

The 1970's also saw a considerable cooperation between the Institute of Urban Studies and the residents of Winnipeg's inner city. The institute launched researches on how citizens can be democratically involved in the development of the inner city. The Institute was involved in the actual development growth and operation of citizen run organizations. Various projects were created by such cooperation, like the Roosevelt Park Neighbourhood situated in the middle of Urban Area Number 2¹⁰⁴ and the Kinew Housing Corporation--a non-profit corporation established to secure improved housing for native people in the city. These are only a few examples of projects in which the IUS has participated in residential organizations in the inner city.¹⁰⁵

A new wave of development of the inner city came again in the 1980's. The characteristics of blight that pervaded the inner city during the 1950's were still prevalent in the 1980's, especially in Winnipeg's core area. The core area still experienced emigration to the suburbs, sub-standard housing occupied by the poor, the singles and the elderly. Unemployment was rampant and there was a general deterioration of neighbourhood and commercial facilities.

There was also a shortage of community and recreational amenities.¹⁰⁶ These conditions resulted in the formation of Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, whose function was to improve economic and social conditions of the core area.

Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (WCAI) was the agreement of the federal, provincial and municipal government to co-operate in the development of the core area which is about 10 square miles and includes one-fifth of Winnipeg's population.¹⁰⁷ The authority of the cooperation between the federal government and the provincial government in regard to the renewal process of the core area goes back to 1974.¹⁰⁸ The federal government then agreed to share the cost of such development. The cooperation of these governments in 1980 was an extension of the 1974 agreement.¹⁰⁹ The new cooperation was ratified in September 1980 when the federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, Lloyd Axworthy, the provincial Minister of Urban Affairs, Gerry Mercier, and the Mayor of Winnipeg, Bill Norrie, signed a document known as the Memorandum of Agreement Understanding. The three representatives became the Policy Committee which reserved the right to make final decisions for the WCAI. The Memorandum also established a Joint Liaison Committee of two senior civil servants representing the three levels of government. They were to act as advisors to the Policy Committee.¹¹⁰ The Memorandum also contained programs, objectives and financial arrangements for WCAI. The federal government through the Department of Regional Economic

Expansion, the province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg were each required to contribute one-third of \$96 million-- the amount that was required for the W.C.A.I. between 1981 and 1986.¹¹¹

In October 1980, the Policy Committee published a request for public submissions on W.C.A.I. Many submissions were received from different interested organizations, business firms and individuals. These submissions formed the basis for the programs that were to be pursued by the W.C.A.I.¹¹²

The objectives of W.C.A.I. were as follows: To provide increased employment opportunities, to encourage appropriate industrial, commercial and residential development; to facilitate the effective social and economic participation of Core Area residents in development opportunities. These objectives were to be achieved through three broad sectors: Sector One covered all efforts that the W.C.A.I. would put into matters pertaining to employment, housing and neighbourhood revitalization. Sector Two was concerned with economic development through key site development, and Sector Three was reserved for Management and Consultation.

Like the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, the W.C.A.I. was not perfect. It tended to disregard the poor neighbourhoods in its efforts to establish economic development. Some politicians had been disillusioned by the project at its infancy. Pawley, the current NDP Premier of Manitoba, had slammed W.C.A.I. as a victory for buildings over people.

The plan "put its priority backward by devoting almost 60% of the funds of expropriation and construction to aid private business."¹¹⁴

The case study in the following chapter examines in detail an example of a successful resident resistance to urban renewal as designed by urban administrators and expert planners. It deals with one of the neighbourhoods that was threatened by the W.C.A.I. with expropriation and demolition in order to give room for an industrial park. The Logan-CPR neighbourhood was categorized as Program Area Number 6 in Section Two--which was reserved for economic development.¹¹⁵ By threatening the existence of such a neighbourhood, the W.C.A.I. was thought to be betraying one of its principles outlined in its objectives, which was "to encourage residential development." Nevertheless, the case study shows how Logan-CPR residents struggled against the WCAI's efforts to demolish the neighbourhood. It is important to note how the neighbourhood, after its triumph, was incorporated into the decision-making process of WCAI.¹¹⁶

CHAPTER FOUR
THE CASE STUDY: THE
LOGAN-CPR NEIGHBOURHOOD

A. A Brief History

In the spring of 1980, the federal, provincial and municipal governments started to deliberate upon how they would revitalize the core area of Winnipeg. On September 20, 1980, their representatives signed a memorandum of agreement which identified North Logan or Logan-CPR area as part of the area designated for their development program.¹¹⁷ The Tripartite Agreement was concluded on September 4, 1981. The expropriation of the area started soon afterwards. The residents and the businessmen started to react as soon as they discovered that the expropriation would do away with their neighbourhood.

The residents and businessmen found it difficult to engage in total action for various reasons. First, the expropriation had been permitted by the passing of an Order in Council No. 511 on May 27, 1981. Logically enough, another order in council further directed that no public inquiry should be conducted into the expropriation.

The residents learned of the expropriation plans in May, 1982. In June a meeting was held in which a committee was formed by the residents to be the mouthpiece of their demands. The committee was known as the Logan Community

Committee. The election of its leaders took place at the same time, with Helen Schultes as the chairperson.

In the following month, the L.C.C. appeared before the Executive Policy Committee of the City Council to voice their grievances. In that meeting of July 29, the L.C.C. asked that the homeowners be allowed a house-to-house compensation in the process of expropriation. In addition, they begged that an amendment be made to Schedule A, Program 6, of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative which dwelt on their neighbourhood. In other words, they demanded that their neighbourhood not be entirely subjected to industry but allow a resident component. Their voice was not hearkened to, and as a result, after being frustrated by the mayor, the L.C.C. decided to file a court case against expropriation.

On November 17 a new NDP government was elected to power. Mr. Arne Peltz, the legal counsel of the L.C.C., wrote the Minister for Urban Affairs, Eugene Kostyra, outlining the feelings and offering some proposals on behalf of the L.C.C. On December 8, the Minister ordered that the expropriation be put off pending the review of the plans of the Logan-CPR area. The Minister expressed dissatisfaction with the waiving of the inquiry following the order for expropriation. He claimed that the citizens must be involved in the issues that concerned them. As a result, he ordered an inquiry into the expropriation of North Logan. After the inquiry, he ordered that the expropriation go on as it could not be stopped, having been in operation since 1981.

However, he made a list of points that had to be adhered to in the course of expropriation: Offers of compensation will be made to those ready to move; people will be asked if they want to stay or leave if their property is not needed to meet the Initiative's objectives; Core Area Initiative must create jobs and revitalize the core area and funds should be made available to enable L.C.C. to represent its case to the inquiry. What L.C.C. needed was to finance the drawing up of their own alternative plans because C.A.I. plans had no regard for their residential rights.¹¹⁸

The period between June and February 1982 was marked by deliberations between the L.C.C. and the provincial department of Urban Affairs. The outcome was fruitful for the residents. The L.C.C. received \$39,500.00 to further their plans on condition that they drop all legal actions against the three governments. At the end of February, 1982, the L.C.C. was incorporated and acquired a new name: Logan Community Development Corporation.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Logan-CPR area started devotedly to study the area and to explore the cause of conflict between the residents and the tripartite government. The commission was particularly asked to check whether expropriation of the Logan-CPR area was fair and essential to the attainment of the Core Area objectives.

An understanding of the objectives of the Core Area Initiative is necessary in order to determine whether expropriation of North Logan would have been conducive to

the attainment of the tripartite plan. CAI was established to create employment opportunities; to encourage appropriate industrial, commercial and residential development and to revitalize the physical and social environment of the core area; and to encourage social and economic participation of the residents in development opportunities.¹¹⁹

B. Reasons for Expropriation: The Position
of Winnipeg Core Area Initiative

Expropriation was designed as a means to the attainment of the objectives of Core Area Initiative. Total demolition of the existing houses in the Logan-CPR area was thought to be necessary. The cleared ground would accommodate an industrial park containing several medium to large high technology companies. This initiative was designed to respond to the unemployment in the core area. It would also offer training facilities for the residents categorized as 'Special Needs,' i.e., those unemployed or underemployed.

To justify its stance regarding the expropriation of the Logan-CPR area the city claimed that the area was zoned for light industry for over 50 years. It was only normal to establish an industrial park in conformity with the past studies of the area. The city repudiated the claim that this area was preserved for residential purposes. It justified itself further by stating that since 1950 no residential construction has ever been permitted except that in 1972 zoning laws permitted additions to single family dwellings.

As seen elsewhere, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was established in 1973 to rehabilitate neighbourhoods as an alternative to the previous Urban Renewal programs with their clearance policies. Using the zoning argument, the NIP did not include the Logan-CPR area for its services. The argument was that NIP only dealt with housing related areas such as neighbourhood dwellings. But according to records this area was not designated as residential. The second reason was that the NIP did not have adequate funds to respond satisfactorily to the Logan-CPR area and its heavy demands for redevelopment. The "enclave required a commitment to greater public scale than offered by the NIP."¹²⁰ Tom Yauk, the director of NIP--who had worked with the Urban Renewal programs--indicated that NIP, due to its financial limitations, was even at pains in recommending aid for the Centennial Area which is adjacent to the Logan-CPR area. In an interview, he not only expressed scarcity of funds but he also did not consider North Logan as a viable residential area. His reasons were that the area is within the vicinity of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the heavy traffic from Logan Avenue which makes the area prone to accidents.¹²¹ Additional reasons for NIP rejection are outlined as follows: Lack of agency support; extent of housing deterioration; extent of short term tenancy; lack of available land for development, the proximity of industry, and the intrusion of automobile firms.

NIP conducted an assessment of the housing conditions

in the Logan-CPR area and its findings further demonstrated that the housing conditions were very bad. It classified the houses as follows: one as good, 22 as fair, 60 as poor and 53 as very poor. Out of the 136 houses only one could be spared from demolition.¹²²

In 1978 and 1979 a neighbourhood characterization study confirmed that the Logan residence was destined for strict urban renewal measures. The study concluded that only 9% of the land in the area could have been preserved for housing; 73 of the dwellings were classified as poor or in very poor condition, with 65% of the housing over 60 years old. The area had experienced a loss of a substantial population since 1971. And amenities such as streets and lanes were both scarce and those available were in bad shape.¹²³

Further evidence for total removal of the housing component from this area was the industrial encroachment upon the so-called residences. The accompanying characteristics of such intrusion was noise and pollution. The area therefore could not stand as residential. The city also made the point that there was a great outflux of the downtown residents to the suburbs for work. Instead, there should be job creation downtown as was to be availed by the industrial park.

C. Reasons Against Expropriation: The
Position of the Logan Community Committee

There was a considerable reaction of the L.C.C. to the studies and comments made for the phasing out of the residential component of the Logan-CPR area. Helen Schultes, the chairperson of the L.C.C., blamed the blight on the government policies of the area. She pointed out that the government has not been supportive of the neighbourhood. Instead, the government has been anxious to demolish the residences. She said that due to the prohibition since 1950 that ordered non-replacement of dwellings in case of fire, decay or calamity, the area eventually became invaded by blight. Schultes proceeded to state that the homeowners were neglected by the government as no grants were made to them. As a result, they could not improve their houses. Even those who could do so were not allowed to do so by the prohibition of 1950. According to Schultes, homeowners were not allowed to make any adjustments, not even to add a bedroom.

According to Schultes, in 1972 when the additions to houses were allowed, the government did not do much to improve the conditions that had prevailed before. The residents were once again left to themselves, and the government did little to improve the area. Therefore, Schultes concluded that instead of blaming the present condition on the residents, the city should accept blame for

its past policies.¹²⁴

The Logan Community Committee argued that the Logan-CPR area as a residential area has co-existed with the industrial component together with the railyards in its vicinity. If a co-existence had not been possible then they would not be there. As a result, the L.C.C. strongly defended the philosophy of co-existence.

We believe that a dynamic neighbourhood is one where housing, industry and commerce are blended into a balanced and integrated unity.¹²⁵

NIP, having been brought into existence as an alternative to earlier drastic renewal measures, should have been discredited for its repudiation of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. Differently put, there was no consistency between the NIP humane philosophy and its dealings with the Logan-CPR area. NIP in its refusal to aid the Logan neighbourhood was based upon the old renewal philosophy as indicated below:

Decisions to exclude North Logan from NIP was done from a subjective reaction to many past plans and studies which had favoured demolition.¹²⁶

Other reasons that the NIP had given for non-involvement were challenged. Reasons why NIP kept Logan-CPR at arm's length included lack of agency support, extent of housing deterioration and encroachment into the area by industry. During a discussion with Schultes, she spoke against NIP's negative attitude towards North Logan. She pointed out that NIP did not consider the positive nature of the

neighbourhood and its capacity for rehabilitation. In a tour of the area in August, 1983, Schultes showed some decent houses which, she argued, should have persuaded NIP to draw a different conclusion about the area. Schultes argued against the idea of industrial encroachment as the reason for NIP's repudiation of North Logan. She argued that encroachment of industry was also characteristic of the Centennial and Point Douglas areas, which were recipients of NIP subsidies. Schultes also stated that realization by NIP of Logan's lack of agency support should have aroused the concern of NIP to come to Logan's rescue.

The L.C.C. also rejected the Neighbourhood Characterization Study of the Logan-CPR area conducted between 1978 and 1979. The community spokesman rejected the perjorative assessment of the housing stock carried out by some experts. The L.C.C. argued that the assessment was subjective, superficial, biased and not related to rehabilitation. In other words, the assessment was done only from the viewpoint of the experts. This led to the already discussed assessment of the housing stock by both the NIP and the L.C.C. To guarantee lack of bias, the L.C.C. employed Kinew Housing Inc. to carry out the assessment. Kinew's assessment was positive; most of the houses were found fit for revitalization.¹²⁷

The City had regarded the Logan-CPR area as an "unstable" or "declining" area. There was an implicit assumption that the area had no residential identity. Other

characteristics of an unstable or declining area were identified with Logan. Such characteristics included deterioration of amenities and prevalence of vandalism.

In opposition to the allegation that Logan was not a viable residence, the Commission learned that about one-third of the people had lived there for more than 10 years. Another survey conducted in March 1982 by the L.C.C. indicated that only 20% of the families expressed a desire to leave the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. Comments of various individuals with a concern for the residents supported the viability of the residences. Schultes, the executive director of the L.C.D.C., stated that the people in the neighbourhood are so familiar with each other that they know each other by nicknames. Another resident added, "You get to know the people and everything. I can walk around the streets in the dark . . ." ¹²⁸ Commenting on the struggle in retrospect, Schultes stated that by fighting expropriation, "We proved that we were not welfare recipients, drunks, uneducated, jobless and transient." She also pointed out that there are people who have spent up to about \$10,000 upgrading their homes. She also expressed concern for the aged. "There are senior citizens living here who do not want to be moved into nursing homes," she said, "They want to die in their houses." ¹²⁹ Greg Selinger, the Executive Director of the C.E.D.A., an organization that will be examined in detail later, was also afraid that "the elderly people will leave behind a network

of friends." He also stated that "Jobs should not be created at the expense of low cost housing and relocation not at the expense of neighbourhoods." Schultes expressed the same concern that their residences were cheap and that residents might move out to find other new localities unaffordable. She said, "I cannot afford to stay in The Maples or Tuxedo. This is a good area for me and my children."¹³⁰ She was especially embittered that the residents were not consulted on the expropriation:

Don't you think that we as a people should have some input into what is happening to our lives? Someone should have recognized that we are people, not just a bunch of old houses.¹³¹

Through such comments the residents asserted themselves and insisted that there was a neighbourhood identity and solidarity in the area. There had been claims that there was vandalism in the area. The Commission of Inquiry after its investigation came up with negative results. The residents and the businessmen of the area denied that there was any vandalism. They felt there was adequate safety for their homes and property.

Another claim by the City was that the area lacked social facilities which would qualify it as a viable neighbourhood. According to the City, the Logan-CPR area lacked support systems such as parks, shopping centres, but the L.C.C. claimed that those support systems were there. Dufferin School was quoted as an example.

The deterioration of amenities such as roads and streets was cited by the City as a reason for doing away with the residential component. However, as was indicated before, the area had been neglected for a long time by the municipality. This enhanced physical deterioration. By blaming the victim, the City was blaming itself for its own negligence.

Another reason for preservation of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood was the cost that some homeowners had incurred in improving and upgrading their homes. Between 1950 and 1972, the area was zoned light industry district coded "M2." The zoning by-law of 1950 allowed no houses, but in 1972 by-law 233-72 permitted upgrading and additions to the houses.¹³² Since then many homeowners have spent a lot of money to upgrade their homes. The cost of upgrading became a point of conflict when the city approached the residents with expropriation. In one case the government offered a resident only \$11,000 for his house and business. The resident had spent \$20,000 alone in insulating his house. Mrs. Schultes indicated that homes upgraded with \$13,000 and \$17,000 were only offered \$12,000 by expropriation authorities. She knew of a home worth \$23,000 that was only offered \$12,000. In August 1981, the residents had approached the mayor for a house-for-a-house deal but the mayor turned down their petition.¹³³

To save the energy that had been devoted to the preservation of their homes, the residents were dedicated

to saving their residences.

Displacement or redevelopment measures carried out against a neighbourhood affects not only the residents but also disrupts the small businesses in the area. The benefits of small businesses with their employment opportunities tend to be disregarded by developers with their grand new projects. Martin Anderson, in his book, The Federal Bulldozer, includes displacement of small businessmen with that of residents. He gives an example that in 1963, a renewal program in the U.S. while displacing residents also destroyed small businesses. Of those displaced, one out of four ceased operation and those who moved paid about twice as much rent as they were paying before.¹³⁴ In a survey of 350 small businesses displaced in the period between 1954 and 1959 in Providence, Rhode Island, Basil Zimmer illustrates the effects of displacement upon small businesses. The mere shifting from the central city to elsewhere reduces the marketing capacity of such businesses. There are also problems with seeking new sites for resettlement. When the small businesses lose, the city's revenue sources are drained. Joblessness fills the vacuum created by the evicted businesses.

Businesses also were threatened in the Logan-CPR area as much as the residents. The tripartite plan of clearing the residences had little or no consideration of the small businesses. The L.C.C. was concerned that the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative never consulted the business community

that existed in the area. The three governments did not give much consideration to the existence of such businesses, "their viability, their contribution to employment and their potentialities to additional employment opportunities."¹³⁵ In addition, the L.C.C. demonstrated further that the central location of downtown and zoning by-laws favoured small businesses.

To prove further that the Logan-CPR area was a viable business area, L.C.C.'s survey yielded the following results: A total number of 20 businesses were identified. Of those, four had been there for more than 20 years, two for 20 years, three for six to 10 years, and 11 for five years. These businesses employ around 115 persons. Overtime jobs also existed for additional people.¹³⁶

The findings of L.C.C. regarding the viability of small businesses in the Logan area and the employment opportunities of such businesses made the L.C.C. wonder whether the proposed Logan Industrial Park could actually yield jobs for the residents of the area as suggested by the Tripartite Agreement. The Logan Industrial Park was to cost \$25.4 million and it was tailored for, among other things, the easing of unemployment in the inner city especially among the category of the unskilled or the "special need" residents. In a report submitted to the city in 1980, Mr. E. Levin, a planner for the city, argued that Winnipeg has been growing at a very slow rate. He added that the population and subsequently the labour force was in decline,

while poverty was on the rise. As a result, he recommended commercial and industrial development and the need for high technology together with need for training.

To start with, the L.C.C. indicated that there would be no need for an industrial park for job creation since the present small businesses are already making such opportunities available. The Commission of Inquiry came up with the same finding that "the area was already performing a valuable function as an incubator for small enterprises and as an employer of Core Area residents."¹³⁸

The L.C.C. also questioned the celebrated capacity of the creation of jobs by the proposed industrial park. The suspicion was based on the fact that the industrial park was primarily going to accommodate high technology industries. The Commission, after conducting its survey, found out that the high technology would not create as many jobs as proposed. The "special need" people could not fit into such industry. Two companies, Horstman Construction and Kinew Housing Corporation, confirmed further that the electronic high technology industries would not create as many jobs as other activities could. As the Core Area Initiative was dedicated to the principle of revitalization, the L.C.C. felt that the Tripartite Agreement should preserve jobs for special needs instead of disrupting such jobs through the establishment of high technology.

The L.C.C. also argued that Logan-CPR was not even a proper location for the industrial park. There was the

claim that the area was too small for an industrial park.¹³⁹ There was no room for its expansion to include facilities that go with industrial parks such as banks, shops and restaurants. Schultes expressed the concern that the planners have established that it would be difficult to dig down for the foundation of the industrial park.¹⁴⁰ She was concerned that the park should be moved elsewhere. It was further indicated that vacant land was available elsewhere in the inner city. There was the suggestion of such land in a 44.923 acre site owned by the Midland Railway and a number of private owners. The site could very appropriately accommodate the industrial park.

There were also doubts as to whether the industrial park would attract industries in the area as it had been suggested. For a long time after the Tripartite Agreement, no industry had shown much interest in locating in the proposed Logan Industrial Park. The Federal Department of Regional Industrial Expansion which was responsible for the advancement of the park was also suspicious of the capability of the park attracting the proposed industries. Perhaps such industries would have reacted positively and quickly if their electronic oriented industries would have to be accommodated elsewhere but not in the inner city. This was confirmed by the claims that

High technology is not seeking
out land in the Logan-CPR district;
rather, if Winnipeg is being
considered at all, the preferred
location would be the suburbs.¹⁴¹

The conclusion of L.C.C. was that the establishment of

the industrial park was not justified as a source of jobs and as an establishment proper to the location of the Logan-CPR area. The L.C.C. requested that the C.A.I. adhere to its principles of revitalizing the Core Area, create employment and keep abreast of the times by letting the residents participate in urban planning. These principles, it was felt, should guide the relationship between W.C.A.I. and the Logan-CPR area. The last thing a modern development plan would do is to cause an unnecessary out-migration of residents from their homes. Instead of clearing the whole area for the industrial park, the L.C.C. fought strongly for an alternative way which would accommodate both the industry and the residences. The modern zoning trend of a "balanced neighbourhood" should be adopted. In this way, both the residents and the proprietors would benefit.

The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative had promised to work hand in hand with the residents of the core area. However, W.C.A.I. ignored this objective when it ruled out any inquiry after expropriation of the North Logan area. The inquiry was important both for the residents and also for the W.C.A.I. developers. The inquiry was necessary to expose the needs of the residents. A Logan Community publication indicated the necessity for the inquiry: "It is . . . an inquiry that will indirectly make decisions about the quality of our life, the rights of citizens, the value of our employment and the nature of our education."¹⁴² An inquiry could have saved the review of the C.A.I. plans

as will be seen later. The input from the residents could have given the planners extra information. Such information would have saved time and money.

To ensure that C.A.I. would plan with the people in the Logan area, the L.C.C. fought for the right to be accepted as a partner in the planning of the area. The Commission of Inquiry into the expropriation of North Logan ordered that the expropriation process be softened. This would be done in various ways. The expropriation should go ahead and expropriate those who wanted to settle outside the Logan-CPR area. But the Commission emphasized that the relocation had to be smooth; it had to "ensure that those who choose relocation are afforded all the help they have been promised under the provisions of the Tripartite Agreement.

D. L.C.C.'s Recommendations Regarding
the Future of North Logan

One of the most important preoccupations of the L.C.C. was the future availability of jobs in the area. It is needless to repeat that the inner city is an area of employment and establishment of the right businesses and industries would alleviate unemployment, especially among the "special needs" people. Magnus Eliason, one of the councillors who stood by the Logan residents throughout the course of their struggle, defended the fact that the residents do not have to go long distances to work. The

inner city was, according to him, a place of residence and employment.¹⁴³ The urban renewal Interim Report of 1963 had identified that the area of Winnipeg designated as No. 2 which comprises Logan, to be a place of employment:

There is strong evidence to suggest that a large number of the employed persons living in Area #2 or in any case within walking distance of their homes. Over 50% of the employed persons live within two miles of their homes.¹⁴⁴

The Report further indicated the mode of travel to work for persons 15 years of age and over produced the results shown below:

| <u>Mode of Travel</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>%</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------|
| Walk | 1,244 | 37.3 |
| Transit | 1,112 | 33.4 |
| Private Car | 872 | 26.2 |
| Car Pool | <u>105</u> | <u>31</u> |
| | 3,333 | 100% |

The Commission recommended establishment of businesses that could respond to the employment needs of the people in the North Logan area. This concern was put forth by Evelyn Shapiro, the head of the Commission, to the inquiry. She demanded that companies locating in the Logan Industrial Park have a social conscience. The following conditions were recommended for any industry locating in the area: It must have at least 50% of activity directed towards manufacturing and process; it must participate in affirmative action programs; it must be non-polluting in terms of noise and air

quality, and it must be physically compatible with the site in terms of utilities and transportation facilities.¹⁴⁶

For availability of jobs in the future, the L.C.C. recommended that the residents should be invited to participate in developing and managing their own small enterprises. This would train the citizens how to conduct their own businesses. A profit that would emanate from such involvement would advance the material well being of their community. The running and management of such enterprises could be modelled on cooperative movements where the workers are owners at once. Just as the cooperative movements during the Industrial Revolution strove to eradicate poverty by such movements, so also the residents in the inner city can assert pride and do away with social and physical blight by self-management of their own enterprises.

The L.C.C. insisted that businesses needed in the area need not be complicated. They gave an example of a company that recycles glass and which meets the needs of "special needs" people. There would even be benefits accruing to the government by establishment of such businesses. "In fact, the employment opportunities created by such plants has reduced the amount of public social assistance payments to individuals by thousands of dollars."¹⁴⁷

John Little, the current program manager of C.A.I. development plan for North Logan discussed the reconciliation between the L.C.C. plan and the C.A.I. plan for the Logan-CPR area. He indicated how the L.C.C. had, with the help

of planners, drawn its Logan-CPR plan that it recommended as an alternative to the city plan. The tripartite plan was one-sided, i.e., it recommended a total phasing out of the Logan-CPR area for the establishment of the industrial park (Alternative 1, p. 114). The L.C.C. plan accommodated a co-existence of residential area, small businesses and light industry. However, the L.C.C. plan never accommodated the industrial park which according to the Committee could be moved elsewhere (see Alternative 2B, p. 115).

Pressured by the L.C.C. about the inevitability and viability of residences and businesses in North Logan, city planners drew an alternative plan that struck a balance between the L.C.C. plan and the earlier city plan designated only for the industry. The new plan included what both sides fought for: the industrial park, residences, business and commercial components (Alternative 2C, p. 116). These components were to be well separated from each other with the residences in the middle. This last alternative plan remained to be ratified.

North Logan had a mixed land use since 1950. This implies that residences, small businesses and other commercial enterprises were scattered all over the area. As an agreement was reached regarding the alternative 2C city plan, one of the major preoccupations of the C.A.I. was to create distinct areas by moving the scattered pieces of each component to where it was reserved. It is in this matter that the Commission recommended moving the adequate and potentially adequate houses which are not already located

there into a pre-selected residential neighbourhood; building in-fill single or multiple housing units on the land reserved for residential component through the help of the provincial government; providing green space designed to be used as recreational space and as a "buffer" between the residential and industrial components; developing street traffic patterns which protect residents from undue traffic or noise hazards; moving businesses from residential neighbourhoods to premises reserved for businesses as long as they are compatible with the needs of the residential component and the upgrading of municipal services to the level provided to other areas of the city and to the level required by both housing and businesses.¹⁴⁸

E. Recognition of Logan-CPR Neighbourhood

The foregoing discussion indicates the position held, on one hand by the CAI, the Mayor and the city planners, and on the other by the Logan Community Committee and the provincial Department of Urban Affairs. The former stuck with the idea of demolition of Logan Neighbourhood while the latter fought for preservation of the neighbourhood. These stances have already been discussed under the two different plans drawn by the city planners and by the L.C.C. This situation persisted for over one year and the Mayor started feeling the pressure put upon him by the L.C.C. and the provincial government. Events started to take a new turn towards the end of 1982. In November of 1982, Mayor

Norrie engaged in serious deliberations with the Minister of Urban Affairs, Eugene Kostyra, on the issue of Logan. While the deliberations proceeded, the city councillors were also divided on the Logan issue: some supported the Logan Community while others supported the position of the city.¹⁴⁹

On December 1, 1982, the Mayor agreed with the plans of the Logan community. The mayor's new position was the result of the pressure that was put upon him by some councillors to comply with the plans of the Logan community. However, the mayor did not give his final word.¹⁵⁰ In the meantime, the members of the L.C.C. were very active in the struggle to ensure security of their neighbourhood.

A final breakthrough in the negotiations was made on December 16th. After three hours of debate, councillors voted 19-8 in favour of the alternative plan that allowed the co-existence of industry, business and the Logan-CPR neighbourhood in the Logan area formerly designated by the CAI only for the industrial park.¹⁵¹ Thus the Logan-CPR neighbourhood was officially recognized. The size of the park was to be reduced to 3.2 hectares or 8 acres from the 9.3 hectares or 27 acres.¹⁵² The amount of \$25.4 million allocated for the park was now reduced to \$8 million. The spared amount of \$18 million was to be directed to other programs of CAI. For example, \$6.15 million of the spared amount was to go to CAI's program of Training and Employment.¹⁵³ The agreement was particularly ratified on

the understanding that the provincial government was to shoulder the responsibility of revitalizing the Logan-CPR neighbourhood without the involvement of the Core Area Initiative. The province would have to put \$5 million into the neighbourhood--an average of \$42,000 per home. Through these agreements, the original plans of CAI for the Logan-CPR neighbourhood crumbled and the residents basked in their victory after a battle that had lasted almost two years.

F. The Cooperation Between the Logan-CPR
Neighbourhood and Other Organizations

One of the factors that contributed to the success of the Logan residents is the fact that their organization worked with various influential organizations and individuals in the course of the struggle. For example, the struggle took a new positive turn when they allied themselves with the NDP government which was elected at the height of their frustrations. It was this government that set up the Commission which exposed the shortcomings of the CAI plans. The Commission also made the voice of the residents to be heard while it recommended measures that would not only help in the development of the area with the residents as partners in planning. Fortunately, the policies of NDP government have been community rather than development oriented with special emphasis on neighbourhood control and revitalization.¹⁵⁴ This tradition was manifested by the NDP's readiness to stand up for the L.C.C. when the latter

needed help.

The NDP is not the only organization from which the L.C.C. sought help. The Logan residents got a lot of support from the Community Education Development Association --CEDA--a non-profit organization. The interview with Greg Selinger, CEDA's Executive Director, was to determine the nature of CEDA's activities and its relationship with the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. Selinger pointed out that the functions of CEDA were very appropriate for the advancement of the L.C.C.'s goals. He pointed out that CEDA takes up the challenge of enlightening residents and neighbourhood groups in the city. CEDA also helps the city communities to share in decisions that are made for them at the top. It is a tool for decentralization of decision making. Selinger stated that CEDA is an alternative to big government. Its *raison d'etre* is ". . . to ensure that bureaucracy stays with the people."¹⁵⁵ In most cases, CEDA works with the core area communities.

Selinger indicated that there was an additional reason why CEDA was involved in the case of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. When the threat of expropriation of Logan emerged, CEDA was also directly affected since a school that it had been using in North Logan also faced expropriation. Selinger feared that the closure of the school would cause over 100 children to be on the streets. As a result, he became a strong ally of North Logan residents. He joined the L.C.C. and became one of its most active members. CEDA

identified itself very closely with the L.C.C., calling for the government to attend to the needs of the Logan residents. The organization also called for the government to include L.C.C. in the making of decisions that concerned them. Such concern is illustrated by the complaints aired by the President of CEDA in connection with lack of resident participation in government programs in the core area.¹⁵⁶

CEDA has done much, especially in educating the North Logan residents. First, it was involved in the reactive period in the door to door campaign evoking the peoples' concern for the danger of expropriation. In the proactive stage, it has been very instrumental in imparting organizational skills to the board members of the Logan Development Corporation. Such skills include bookkeeping and other matters pertaining to office management. Such skills would enable the L.C.D.C. to possess the ability to negotiate and to attract attention from the government.

It is through CEDA that the citizens can self-actualize themselves by promoting their political awareness. It is through CEDA that they can also acquire the necessary knowledge for the pursuit of their own needs and goals. Through knowledge of the matters involved, the residents can assert themselves with dignity and they can earn themselves respect and attention from the government and its expert planners.

The earlier claim that there is a breed of experts and

planners who are ready to cooperate with resident groups was very manifest in the development stage of the L.C.D.C. The committee included a lawyer and a civil engineer who were dedicated to the cause of the Logan residents. The lawyer was very vocal in defending the rights of the residents and he was also very active in the negotiations with the provincial government. The civil engineer was very instrumental in the drawing of alternative plans to counteract the demolition oriented city plan. Without such expert help L.C.D.C. would have been less convincing and perhaps it would have risked its victory.

It is also notable how the L.C.D.C. enlisted the help of the Kinew Housing Corporation. The function of this corporation fitted the needs of the L.C.D.C.:

Kinew is an example of how the inherent resources and potential of a dedicated group of leaders from the ranks of a minority and less advantaged group can be enhanced and made productive when the skill, knowledge and unselfish concern of others are employed as yet another resource in the development of self-determination.¹⁵⁷

As a legal neighbourhood-oriented housing corporation, Kinew was able to assert its authority in defending the viability of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. It has already been indicated how its positive appraisal counteracted the demolition-oriented NIP assessment of the Logan-CPR housing.

G. Present Status and Future Plans

Millspaugh states that "Rehabilitation does not remove

the cause of blight, a rehabilitated neighbourhood faces a continuing battle against the forces that would drag it downhill again."¹⁵⁸ The implication here is that in case of failure for the residents to constantly proceed with further improvement of their neighbourhood, there would be a danger of the area again being encroached upon by blight. The task now facing the Logan residents was to ensure that their residences were stable so that it could withstand any future threat. This could be called the proactive stage of the struggle. With the assistance of the provincial government, all the recommendations for the development of North Logan residences started to be implemented immediately.

The Logan Community Committee has been actively involved in rehabilitation of its neighbourhood. Many homes that had been designated for destruction have been preserved. 23 houses were demolished as they were in very poor condition. 20 houses which had been scattered all over the Logan-CPR area have been relocated in the central part of the area reserved for residences.

The notable characteristic is the cooperation that is so cohesive at this developmental stage. The L.C.D.C. is working hand in hand with the provincial government's Department of Urban Affairs, the Core Area Initiative and the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation. This cooperation was evidenced by an interview with Kathy Mancor, a consultant with the Department of Urban Affairs. She indicated that her department, the CAI and the L.C.C. always

meet weekly for deliberations on matters regarding further development of North Logan. The residents are part and parcel in the policies that concern them. Those policies are the ones that were earlier recommended by the Commission. CAI is involved in relocating the scattered suitable houses and businesses to their respective area. The money that was saved by the curtailment of the industrial park was used for the above purpose. The L.C.C. has its eyes open to ensure that relocation is smooth. The provincial government through its Department of Urban Affairs undertook the responsibility of upgrading and improving the amenities of the Logan-CPR area. This work is carried out by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation. All these organizations meet frequently to solve problems and discuss the future of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood.

There are various notable achievements attributable to the above corporation. As indicated previously, a number of houses that had been slated for demolition were preserved for revitalization. One of the major pre-occupations of the provincial government is its commitment to "retrofitting." This is a comprehensive program of upgrading the existing houses. It includes super insulating, sealing and triple glazing. All these measures are expected to reduce operating costs.

CHAPTER FIVE

LESSONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapter has described the struggles and the achievements of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood. This chapter singles out various lessons that can be learned from the case study regarding neighbourhood organization. This task is achieved through a reconsideration of various aspects of the social conflict.

The experience and the lessons of Logan-CPR cannot be confined to neighbourhood participation. The experience fits within the framework of the concept of citizen participation in general. Therefore, the purpose of the conclusion is to establish a link between the case study and the broader international perspectives of participatory democracy.

A. Social Conflict and Organizational Lessons

The experience of Logan residents vis-a-vis civic administrators and developers demonstrate the concepts of social conflict described in Chapter One. Several aspects of the theory of social conflict stand out significantly in the case study. The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, which was the dominant group entrusted with authority, underplayed the importance of the rights of Logan residents by seeking to get rid of their residences, instead of preserving them using resources made available by the government. The

residents fought against the loss of their neighbourhood. The theory of social conflict indicates that an under-privileged group has to fight for resources which are being taken away by the dominant group.

A parallel can be drawn between various aspects of the theory of social conflict and the struggle between Logan residents and the W.C.A.I. "Awareness" of the conflicting goals became manifest when the residents and the small businessmen learned about the expropriation. At this reactive or combative stage, the residents mobilized their resources quickly to counteract the intentions of W.C.A.I. Such resources included quick self-organization, strong leadership and solidarity. The residents were awakened by their leaders who embarked on community organization by carrying out door-to-door campaigns in which they revealed to the residents the threat of expropriation. The election of Helen Schultes as the leader of the residents was a unique benefit to the group. The success of the Logan residents depended largely on her capacity for daring leadership.

Solidarity among the residents was important to the residents. Various cases involving expropriation of urban neighbourhoods indicate that sometimes the struggle may drag on for such a long time with so many frustrations that some residents may lose enthusiasm.⁹⁴ This would be detrimental to the whole organization. In the case of Logan, there were cases of some residents who were too tired to proceed with

the struggle. It was reported that when Mayor Norrie yielded to demands of the residents, only 30 active participants remained, whereas a crowd of 200 protesters had shown up at an earlier council meeting. To ensure success, residents must stand their ground especially in the reactive stage when the intensity of the conflict is high, pure or zero-sum.

Owing to the determination of the residents and their capacity to mobilize the necessary resources, the W.C.A.I. started to listen to and to consider the claims of the residents. As a result, the struggle assumed a de-escalation process; and, at the same time, a trade-off was arranged between the residents and the W.C.A.I. Instead of the industrial park taking up the whole residential area, its size was reduced, while those residential houses which had occupied the area in which the park was to be built were moved to the new area designated for the residences. At that stage, the conflict lost its "purity," and gave way to the termination stage. The conflict was later "regulated" when the agreements between the W.C.A.I. and the residents were put down as rules which were to guide further relations in determining the future of the development of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood.

In summary, the account of the relationship between Logan residents and W.C.A.I. fits into Kriesberg's framework of the theory of social conflict. Implicit in this framework is the indication of how a determined, underprivileged group can succeed in asserting itself in the

face of strong opposition. In addition, the three stages of conflict, discussed earlier--paternalism, conflict and co-production or co-determination--also fit in the social conflict theory. For a conflict to reach the stage of co-production in which the two parties get together in an attempt to terminate the conflict, a lot of determination on the part of the underprivileged group is necessary. Such determination can be realized through community organizing or the ability of the weaker group to mobilize its resources for meaningful self-determination.¹⁵⁹

In summary, the Logan-CPR residents adopted organizational strategies that were very essential for the success of their organization. The lesson here is that careful planning on the part of the residents is a requisite for getting attention from the government, bureaucrats and planners. Residents can achieve success by analyzing and understanding the forces causing displacement, studying the opposition plan in order to find vulnerable points, building coalitions and alliances with groups, employing a wide variety of strategies such as passing legislation, bringing lawsuits and administrative complaints and seeking help from lawyers, planners, organizers and architects.¹⁶⁰

The steps taken by the Logan-CPR residents follow the above framework very closely. The L.C.C. first studied the plans of CAI and identified the problem that the industrial park would impose on the residents. For

example, it discovered that the industrial park would not be a perfect source of employment as it had been alleged. From this point the L.C.C. was able to proceed with its own plans. It allied itself with the provincial Department of Urban Affairs to challenge the CAI plans. To gain enough voice, the L.C.C. allied itself with legislated bodies such as Kinew Housing Corporation for neighbourhood-oriented support. It has also been indicated how the L.C.C. brought law suits against the city government for being subjected to an expropriation for which the residents had not been consulted. And finally, Logan Community Committee can attribute its articulate presentations, such as the alternative plans, to its collaboration with experts who were well dedicated to their course.

The experience of North Logan is a lesson to other neighbourhoods faced with the danger of being evicted from their dwellings. It is a case illustrative of dedication and tenacity with which the residents fought for what was theirs. It is also replete with tactics or a methodology that can be adopted for furtherance of neighbourhood concerns.

B. The Significance of Resident Participation

Resident participation in neighbourhood development is only one type of direct citizen participation. The choice to deal with resident participation both through

the history of urban renewal and by illustration of such participation in the case study was particularly to show the significance of the concepts of citizen participation. The controversial issue as to whether citizens can really participate effectively in their own programs has been resolved in the case study which shows positive results of resident participation. Citizen participation has further been supported by the realization of the shortcomings of traditional means of participation. This particularly includes electoral participation which is well tied to pluralism. Mishler has succeeded in indicating the general lack of involvement of the low income groups in the political participation in Canada. The poor have not been actively involved in electoral participation, neither have they been instrumental in joining the strong groups which can bargain strongly or have a tangible influence on the government. The purpose of the analysis of traditional participation was to help identify the inadequacy of such participation, thereby highlighting the need for direct or participatory democracy in which citizens can actually take pride in programs that concern them.

Resident participation was evoked by the long tradition of urban renewal programs both in Canada and the U.S. These programs have been blind to the viability of inner city neighbourhoods. The city bureaucracy, the professional planners and private developers all collaborated, mostly

in economically- and physically-oriented urban redevelopment. The chronology of events surrounding urban renewal shows how the social aspects and the potentialities of the inner city as residential areas were downplayed. This trend has heightened the need for resident reaction to those urban renewal programs.

Resident participation begins with reaction to civic policies threatening their own settlements. Eventually reaction is supplanted by organizational measures of the neighbourhood. Participation becomes more significant in the efforts of the citizens to become involved in community development, a way by which they can better their living conditions by rehabilitation of their own neighbourhoods and by communal involvement in the renewal of the amenities lying immediate to their neighbourhoods. The civic government and other government and private organizations have realized the positive determination of such neighbourhoods and have collaborated in their development. This coordination affirms the utility of the concept of co-determination. This cooperation could be cited as one of the factors that has resulted in the amelioration of urban renewal programs which now more than ever have given way to toleration of resident involvement in the decisions pertaining to their neighbourhoods.

The case study of the Logan-CPR neighbourhood in the inner city of Winnipeg has been examined primarily to bring up the significance and relevance of the foregoing

discussion of the concepts of citizen participation. The case study exemplifies the neighbourhood reaction to urban renewal strategies, the conflict between residents and the agencies of redevelopment, the strategies employed by the residents, the success of the residents in protecting their neighbourhoods, the challenge for rehabilitation and development of such neighbourhoods, and the virtues that are concomitant to such resident involvement. In sum, the case study is an indication that participation is not akin to mere rhetoric or wishful thinking. Citizen participation can work for the betterment of the citizens themselves and for the attainment of their material objectives.

C. International Perspectives

So far this thesis has been mainly centered upon the resident response to the challenges of urbanization in the Western countries, particularly in the U.S. and Canada. However, these urban challenges are not confined to the above countries but rather are world-wide:

From the shanty towns of Lima, Peru,
to the squatter settlements of
Bangkok, Thailand to the tenements
of the South Bronx in New York City,
life for the urban poor is filled
with misery, poverty, etc.

To eradicate various problems facing city residents, the excerpt continues to indicate that "it will require both the urban poor themselves and their governments to surmount obstacles that lie between them and a brighter future."¹⁶¹

Rapid urbanization, like other world problems, has

evoked international concern.¹⁶² Many international non-governmental organizations have sprouted under the United Nations since the end of World War II. There are over 600 international non-governmental organizations, 100 of which are involved in community development, especially in the Third World.¹⁶³ A U.N. body that requires special mention is the United Centre for Human Settlements--Habitat--whose main focus is the solution of problems that hinder adequate human shelter, whether in rural or urban areas.¹⁶⁴ These organizations are not involved in grand, massive developments, but are grassroot based, mainly concerned with micro or local concerns of the needy communities. One of the most important aspects of these organizations is that they "affirm a community development ideology especially stressing the value of participation and co-operative experience."¹⁶⁵

The history of the performance of these international bodies can be divided into two parts.¹⁶⁶ Their past performance was characterized by an emphasis on physical and economic development. In this stage the planners and organizers told the members of a community what to do and what was best for them. However, more comprehensive approaches have started to emerge in which the recipients of services are involved in participating in the making of the decisions on matters concerning them. Writers on community development are anxious to see more participation and decentralization in the process of community development.

Draper points out a list of obstacles to development. Included are professionalism, which implies "exclusion of laymen, of the public, the man and woman who must inevitably become part of the development process"--and authoritarian and paternalistic attitudes toward development.¹⁶⁷ Dwelling on the same theme of participation, one U.N. spokesman pointed out that "equality of opportunity should not necessarily mean equality of results."¹⁶⁸ What he implied was that there should be equality or partnership between planners and the members of the community in the process of decision-making in community development.

The foregoing is a critique of the nature of participation within the agencies of community development. What now should be pointed out is the effort that is needed for such international bodies to press for the need for citizen involvement to governments under which they operate. These organizations must tackle the problem of alienation to which most communities are confined by their governments. By persuasion these organizations can demonstrate the positive aspects of citizen participation. Citizen involvement in various community projects can establish a more cooperative, less conflictual atmosphere between citizens and government, thus avoiding some of the problems encountered in this case study. Governments can save money by community development brought about by citizens instead of spending much public money on projects which are injurious to the development of communities. Community

involvement can improve facilities such as schools, parks, public water taps and street lighting. It can preserve and develop residences. This may be undertaken, along with community economic development, by neighbourhood cooperatives and community development corporations, such as that established for the North Logan neighbourhood. By participation, citizens can become responsible and instrumental not only in local but in overall national development.¹⁶⁹

In sum, the urban renewal challenges that face all nations of the world today need more attention that can be given by governmental institutions. Governments tend to be dominated by politicians and experts whose programs adversely affect various groups of citizens. The result has been an inevitable alienation of, and protest from, these groups in the city and especially residents of neighbourhoods slated for removal or renewal in contemporary sprawling metropolises. Such alienation and conflict can be alleviated by a government's willingness to share some of its authority, and to assist groups willing to organize for community development, so that they can themselves become the agents of local development in the process of national development. This should be the case in countries which proclaim themselves to be democracies with widespread citizen participation, and particularly an "advanced" democracy such as Canada. The case study examined in this thesis provides excellent lessons and illustration of what can happen when such citizen participation is supported and successful.

FOOTNOTES

1. James A. Draper (ed.), Citizen Participation: Canada (Toronto: New Press, 1971), p. 16.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Warren Magnusson, "Community Organization and Local Self-Government," Politics and Government of Urban Canada, edited by Lionel D. Fehman (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), p. 61.
5. Robert A. Dahl, "The City in the Future of Democracy," Participatory Democracy, edited by T. E. Cook and P. M. Morgan (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 26.
6. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44:8-20, 1938.
7. Charles Frankel, The Democratic Prospect (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 50.
8. Dan A. Chekki (ed.), Participatory Democracy in Action: International Profiles of Community Development (New Delhi: India Offset Press, 1979), p. 6.
9. Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 5.
10. Emmette S. Redford, Democracy in the Administrative State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 29.
11. Lloyd Axworthy (ed.), The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg), p. 8.
12. J. M. Lotz, "Citizen Participation: Myths and Realities," Optimum, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1974, p. 55.
13. Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), p. 292.
14. Robert Adie and Paul G. Thomas, Canadian Public Administration: Problematic Perspectives (Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1982), p. 361.

15. William B. Eimicke, Public Administration in a Democratic Context: Theory and Practice (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974), p. 53.
16. Ibid., p. 43.
17. Ibid., p. 18.
18. Charles Frankel, The Democratic Prospect (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 5.
19. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 8.
20. Donald Keim, "Participation in Contemporary Democratic Theories," Participation in Politics, edited by J. R. Pennock and J. W. Chapman (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1975), pp. 16, 17.
21. J. Tussman, The Office of the Citizen, Public Policy Problems (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), p. 61.
22. Eimicke, op. cit., p. 46.
23. Redford, op. cit., p. 6.
24. William Mishler, Political Participation in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), pp. 39-62.
25. Ibid., p. 47.
26. Adie et al, op. cit., p. 349.
27. Draper, op. cit., p. 15.
28. Ibid.
29. Mishler, op. cit., p. 51.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 52.
32. Hayden Roberts, Community Development (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 25.
33. Ibid., p. 175.
34. Ibid., pp. 176-177.
35. Freeman H. Compton, "Community Development, Theory and Practice," Citizen Participation: Canada, edited by

- Draper, op. cit., p. 382.
36. Chekki, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
 37. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 176-177.
 38. P. H. Wichern, Local Governing and Politics in Canada (Toronto: Canadian Studies Foundation, 1983), p. 1.
 39. Community Development Journal, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1983, p. 122.
 40. Ibid.
 41. Magnusson, op. cit., p. 79.
 42. This view is expressed in an interview with Harvey Smith, a Winnipeg councillor for the Sargent Park Ward of the City Centre-Fort Rouge Community.
 43. Donald R. Keating, The Power to Make it Happen (Toronto: Green Tree, 1975), vii.
 44. Community Development Journal, op. cit., p. 123.
 45. Arnstein distinguishes meaningful participation from other illusory forms of citizen participation in Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35:4, July 1969.
 46. Wilson A. Head, "The Ideology and Practice of Citizen Participation," Citizen Participation: Canada, edited by James A. Draper, op. cit., p. 15.
 47. Stuart Langton (ed.), Citizen Participation in America (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1978), pp. 2-3.
 48. Albert Rose, "The Crisis in Urban Renewal," Habitat, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 2-8.
 49. Maxwell S. Stewart, "Can We Save Our Cities: The Story of Urban Renewal," Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 374, Nov. 1966, p. 3.
 50. Rose, op. cit., p. 2.
 51. Anthony Downs, Neighbourhoods and Urban Development (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1981), p. 1.

52. Morris Zeitlin, "Guide to the Literature of Cities: Abstracts and Bibliography, Part V: Urban Renewal," (Monticello, I.U.: Council of Planning Libraries, Exchange Bibliography No. 309, 1972), p. 3.
53. Kevin J. Cross and Robert W. Collier, Urban Renewal Process in Canada: An Analysis of Current Practice (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia, 1967), p. 1.
54. Ibid., p. 6.
55. Axworthy (ed.), The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, op. cit., p. 1.
56. Reg McLemore, Carl Aass and Peter Keilhofer, The Changing Canadian Inner City, Urban Affairs Canada (Ottawa, 1975), p. 1.
57. Ibid.
58. Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating, Richard Le Gates and Steve Turner, Displacement: How to Fight It (Berkeley, Calif.: National Housing Law Project, 1982), p. 4.
59. Charles Abrams, The City is the Frontier (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 10.
60. Stewart, op. cit., p. 2.
61. Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. XXX, No. 4, November 1964 in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 17.
62. Abrams in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 9.
63. Martin Anderson, "The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1942-1962" (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964), in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 11.
65. Rose, op. cit., p. 5.
66. Michael Denis and Susan Fish, Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), p. 298.
67. Ibid.
68. "Save North Logan!", a publication of North Logan residents, p. 37.

69. Ibid.
70. Lloyd Axworthy, The Politics of Urban Renovation, p. 9.
71. David Schuman, Bureaucracies, Organizations and Administration (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1976), p. 152.
72. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal Area No. 2, Phase 1, Midland Railway, June 1970, p. 5.
73. McLemore et al., op. cit., p. 1.
74. Rose, op. cit., p. 4.
75. Ibid., p. 7.
76. Axworthy (ed.), The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, p. 20.
77. Martin Millspaugh and Gurney Breckenfeld, The Human Side of Urban Renewal: A Study of the Attitude Changes Produced by Neighbourhood Rehabilitation (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1960), in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 7.
78. McLemore et al., op. cit., p. 10.
79. Miles L. Colean, Renewing Our Cities (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1953), in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 7.
80. David Vincent, "The Inner City - A Winnipeg Example," The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, edited by Lloyd Axworthy, op. cit., p. 54.
81. Nick Ternette, "Urban Renewal in the Inner City and Grassroot Organizing: A Canadian Example," in Dan A. Chekki, Participatory Democracy in Action, pp. 184-192.
82. Ruben C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre, Ph.D. Thesis (Columbia University, 1958), pp. 506-507.
83. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal Scheme, Urban Renewal Area #2, October 1966, p. 5; and Urban Renewal Progress and Evaluation, City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Inner City, 1972, p. 29.
84. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Interim Report, 1966, p. 20.
85. Wolfgang Gerson, An Urban Renewal Study for the City

of Winnipeg, the CPR-Notre Dame Area (Winnipeg: Planning Research Centre, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba, 1957), p. 55.

86. Ibid.
87. City of Winnipeg, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Metropolitan Urban Renewal Study, Interim Report, January, 1963.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Interim Report, Urban Renewal Scheme, Urban Renewal Area #2, October 1966.
88. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, January 1968.
89. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal Progress and Evaluation, 1972.
90. Interim Report, 1966, op. cit., p. 7.
91. Gerson, op. cit., p. 34.
92. Ibid.
93. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Progress and Evaluation, p. 29.
94. Interim Report, 1966, op. cit., p. 18.
95. Ibid., p. 17.
96. Ibid., p. 18.
97. Ibid., p. 37.
98. Ibid., p. 39.
99. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Progress and Evaluation, 1972, p. 11.
100. James Lorimer, A Citizen's Guide to City Politics (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1972), p. 91.
101. Magnusson, op. cit., p. 79.
102. City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, Neighbourhood Improvement Program 1974, pp. 23-71.
103. Ternette in Chekki, op. cit., p. 192.

104. Axworthy (ed.), The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, p. 70.
105. Ibid., p. 4.
106. City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Policy Committee, Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, June 1981, p. 6.
107. Ibid., p. 4.
108. Ibid., p. 2.
109. Ternette, op. cit., p. 186.
110. Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, op. cit., p. 1.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. Ron Campbell, "Program Slammed, Lauded in Wide-Ranging Reactions," Winnipeg Free Press, June 4, 1981.
115. Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, op. cit., p. 11.
116. Province of Manitoba, Inter-Departmental Memo from Kathy Mancer, Consultant, Department of Urban Affairs, April 1983.
117. Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, op. cit., p. 1.
118. Interview with Helen Shultes, Executive Director, Logan Community Development Corporation, August 1983.
119. Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, op. cit., p. 7.
120. "Save North Logan," a publication of North Logan Residents, p. 16.
121. Interview with Tom Yuk of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program of the City.
122. "Save North Logan!" op. cit., p. 37.
123. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Expropriation of the Logan-CPR area, pp. 16-17.

124. Interview with H. Shultes.
125. "Save North Logan!" op. cit., p. 31.
126. Ibid., p. 16.
127. Ibid., p. 33.
128. "Logan Debate Taking Toll in Weariness," Winnipeg Free Press, Dec. 3, 1982.
129. Joe Rubin, "Logan Residents Resent Expropriation," Winnipeg Free Press, July 24
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. "Save North Logan!" op. cit., p. 31.
133. Interview with H. Shultes.
134. Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 11.
135. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry, op. cit., p. 43.
136. Ibid.
137. "Save North Logan!" op. cit., p. 4.
138. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry, p. 61.
139. "Save North Logan!", p. 19.
140. Interview with H. Shultes.
141. "Save North Logan!", p. 20.
142. Ibid., p. 31.
143. Interview with Magnus Eliason, Councillor of Redboine Ward in City Centre-Fort Rouge Community, City of Winnipeg.
144. Final General Report, op. cit., p. 54.
145. Ibid., p. 55.
146. Social Conscience Issue Raised at Logan Development Inquiry, Msanitoba, Department of Urban Affairs, March 20, 1982.

147. "Save North Logan!", p. 53.
148. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry, op. cit., pp. 95-98.
149. "The Delay on Logan," Winnipeg Free Press, November 5, 1982.
150. "Norrie Plan May Save Homes," Winnipeg Free Press, December 1, 1982.
151. "Norrie Unveils Compromise to Logan Proposal," The Winnipeg Sun, December 2, 1982.
152. "Logan Debate Taking Toll in Weariness," Winnipeg Free Press, December 3, 1982.
153. The Winnipeg Sun, December 2, 1982.
154. Kent Gerecke, "Winnipeg: Establishment in a Quiver," City Magazine, Vol. No. 1.
155. Community Education Development Association, President's Report, May 5, 1982.
156. Ibid.
157. Lloyd Axworthy (ed.), The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, p. 98.
158. Martin Millspaugh and Gurney Breckenfeld, The Human Side of Urban Renewal: A Study of the Attitude Changes Produced by Neighbourhood Rehabilitation (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1960), in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 20.
159. In The Power to Make it Happen (Toronto: Green Tree, 1975), Donald Keating illustrates the power and utility of the concept of community organizing through the account of the success of the Toronto Riverdale Community.
160. Chester Hartman et al., Displacement - How to Fight It, p. 8.
161. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Habitat, Vol. 5, No. 1, April-May 1983, p. 23.
162. James A. Draper, "Issues and Future Trends in Community Development," Participatory Democracy in Action, edited by Chekki, op. cit., p. 251.

163. Frederic Elkin, "Community Development in the Context of National and International Voluntary Association," in Chekki, op. cit., p. 35.
164. Draper, "Issues and Future Trends of Community Development," in Chekki, op. cit., pp. 248-251.
165. Elkin, op. cit., p. 37.
166. Draper, "Issues and Future Trends," op. cit., p. 248.
167. Ibid., p. 272.
168. Ibid., p. 249.
169. Elkin, op. cit., p. 34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adie, Robert and Paul G. Thomas. Canadian Public Administration: Problematic Perspectives. Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1982.
- Axworthy, Lloyd (ed.). The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 1973.
- Bellan, Reuben. The development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre, 1958. Thesis (Ph. D)--Columbia University.
- Cahn, Edgar S. and Barry A. Passet. Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Carry, Lee T. Community Development as a Process. Columbia, Miss.: University of Missouri Press, 1970.
- Chekki, A. Dan (ed.). Participatory Democracy in Action: International Profiles of Community Development. New Delhi: India Offset Press, 1979.
- Cole, Richard L. Citizen Participation and the Urban Policy Process. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1974.
- Cook, T. E. and P. M. Morgan (eds.). Participatory Democracy. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Cross, J. Kevin and Robert W. Collier. Urban Renewal Process in Canada: An Analysis of Current Practice. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia, 1967.
- Denis, Michael and Susan Fish. Programs in Search of a Policy: Low Income Housing in Canada. Toronto: Hakkart, 1972.
- Downs, Anthony. Neighbourhoods and Urban Development. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1981.
- Draper, A. James (ed.). Citizen Participation: Canada. Toronto: New Press, 1971.

- Eimicke, B. William. Public Administration in a Democratic Context: Theory and Practice. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.
- Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. New York: Grove Press, 1963.
- Frankel, Charles. The Democratic Prospect. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Hartman, Chester, Dennis Keating and Richard Le Gates with Steve Turner. Displacement: How to Fight It. Berkely, Calif.: National Housing Law Project, 1982.
- Head, A. Wilson. "The Ideology and Practice of Citizen Participation," in James A. Draper (ed.), Citizen Participation: Canada, A Book of Readings. Toronto: New Press, 1971.
- Kranz, Harry. The Participatory Buraucracy. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1976.
- Langton, Stuart (ed.). Citizen Participation in America. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1978.
- Lorimer, James. A Citizen's Guide to City Politics. Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1972.
- Lowi, Theodore. The End of Liberalism. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.
- McLemore, Reg. Carl Aass and Peter Keilhofer. The Changing Canadian Inner City. Ottawa: Urban Affairs Canada, 1975.
- Mill, J. S. Representative Government. Everyman, 1910.
- Miller, S. M. and M. Rein. Participation, Poverty and Administration. Public Administration Review, Vol. 29, Jan./Feb. 1969.
- Mishler, William. Political Participation in Canada. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979.
- Parry, Gerraint. Participation in Politics. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972.
- Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Presthus, Robert. Public Administration. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1975.

Redford, S. Emmette. Democracy in the Administrative State.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

_____. Ideal and Practice in Public Administration. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1958.

Roberts, Hayden. Community Development. Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Schuman, David. Bureaucracies, Organizations and Administration. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976.

Skolnick, Jerome. The Politics of Protest. New York:
Ballantine, 1969.

Stewart, S. Maxwell. "Can We Save Our Cities? The Story
of Urban Renewal." Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 374,
Nov. 1966.

Tussman, J. The Office of the Citizen, Public Policy Problems. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971.

Verba, Sidney and Norman Vie. Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. New York:
Harper and Row, 1972.

Wichern, Philip H. Local Governing and Politics in Canada.
Toronto: Canadian Studies Foundation, 1983.

Articles

Aleshire, Roberts A. "Planning and Citizen Participation:
Costs, Benefits and Approaches." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 5:4, June 1970.

Arnstein, Sherry R. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation."
Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35:4,
July 1969.

Axworthy, Lloyd. The Politics of Urban Innovation.

Community Development Journal, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1983.

Compton, Freeman H. "Community Development, Theory and
Practice," Citizen Participation in Canada, edited by
J. Draper. Toronto: New Press, 1971.

- Dahl, Robert A. "The City in the Future of Democracy," Participatory Democracy, edited by T. E. Cook and P. M. Morgan. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Elkin, Frederic. "Community Development in the Context of National and International Voluntary Associations," in Dan A. Chekki, Participatory Democracy in Action: International Profiles of Community Development. New Delhi: India Offset Press, 1979.
- Elliot, Krause. "Functions of a Bureaucratic Ideology: Citizen Participation," in Cook and Morgan (eds.). New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Gerecke, Kent. "Winnipeg Establishment in a Quiver," City Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 1.
- Gerson, Wolfgang. "An Urban Renewal Study for the City of Winnipeg, The CPR-Notre Dame Area." Winnipeg: Planning Research Centre, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba, 1951.
- Goodman, John L. Jr., and Mary L. Streitwieser. "Explaining Racial Differences: A Study of City to Suburb Resident Mobility," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 3, March 1983.
- Henry, Schmandt. "Municipal Decentralization: An Overview," Public Administration Review, Vol. 32, October 1972.
- Kaufman, Herbert. "Administrative Decentralization and Political Power," Public Administration Review, Jan./Feb., 1969.
- Keating, Donald. "The Future of Neighbourhood Organizing in Participatory Democracy in Action," in Dan A. Chekki (ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1979.
- Lotz, Jim. "Citizen Participation," Habitat, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1970.
- Lotz, Jim. "Citizen Participation: Myths and Realities," Optimum, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1974.
- Magnusson, Warren. "Community Organization and Local Self-Government," Politics and Government of Urban Canada edited by Lionel D. Fehman. Toronto: Methuen, 1981.
- McDonald, Virginia. "Participation in the Canadian Context." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 84, 1977.

- Rose, Albert. "The Crisis in Urban Renewal," Habitat, Vol. 11, No. 3.
- Sternbeat, George and James W. Hughes. "The Uncertain Future of the Central City." Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1983.
- Susskind, Lawrence and Michael Elliot. "Paternalism, Conflict and Co-production: Learning from the European Citizen Participation Experience." Planning and Administration, Vol. 8, No. 2, Autumn 1981, pp. 12-27.
- Ternette, Nick. "Urban Renewal in the Inner City and Grass Roots Organizing: A Canadian Example," in Participatory Democracy in Action by Dan A. Chekki (ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd., 1979.
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. Habitat, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1983.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44: 8-20, 1938.
- Rosener, Judy B. "Matching Method to Purpose: The Challenges of Planning Citizen Participation Activities," in Stuart Langton (ed.), Citizen Participation in America. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1978.

Newspaper Articles

- Campbell, Ron. "Program Slammed, Lauded in Wide-Ranging Reactions," Winnipeg Free Press, June 4, 1981.
- "Committee Wants Best Deal Possible," Winnipeg Free Press, July 24, 1981.
- Leo, Chris. "City Core Needs Help," Winnipeg Free Press, August 27, 1981.
- "Logan Debate Taking Toll in Weariness," Winnipeg Free Press, December 3, 1982.
- "Logan Decline Blamed on City," Winnipeg Free Press, March 4, 1982.
- "Logan Residents' Future Cloudy," Winnipeg Free Press, March 24, 1982.
- "Norrie Plan May Save Homes," The Winnipeg Sun, December 1982.

"Norrie Unveils Compromise Logan Proposal," The Winnipeg Sun, December 2, 1982.

"Residents Celebrate with Cake at City Hall," The Winnipeg Sun, December 16, 1982.

Sullivan, John and Gregg Shilliday. "Many Vow They'll Fight Plan for Core." Winnipeg Free Press, June 4, 1981.

"The Choice on Logan," The Winnipeg Sun, December 14, 1982.

"The Delay on Logan," Winnipeg Free Press, November 5, 1982.

Youngs, Fred and Andy Blicq. "Norrie Reversal on Logan Hinted," Winnipeg Free Press, November 25, 1982.

Government Documents

City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, January 1968.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal Inner City, Urban Renewal Progress and Evaluation, 1972.

City of Winnipeg, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg. Metropolitan Urban Renewal Study, Interim Report, January 1963.

City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Policy Committee. Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, June 1981.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning. Neighbourhood Improvement Program, 1974.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal. Interim Report, Urban Renewal Scheme, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, October 1966.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal. Urban Renewal Area No. 2, Phase 1, Midland Railway, June 1970.

"Expropriation Inquiry for Logan Park Set," News Service, Manitoba Information Services Branch, December 18, 1981.

News Service, op. cit., February 12, 1982.

"Social Conscience Issue Raised at Logan Development Inquiry,"
Urban Affairs, March 20, 1982.

Other Publications

"Save North Logan!" a publication of North Logan Residents.

Articles of Incorporation and By-laws of LCDC.

Community Education and Development Association (C.E.D.A.),
 Project Documentation, June-December 1982.

Community Education and Development Association. Annual Report, 1981.

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the
 Expropriation of the Logan-CPR Area, May 1982.

Interviews

Eliason, Magnus. Councillor of Redboine Ward in City Centre-Fort Rouge Community, City of Winnipeg, October 1983.

Leskiw, Chris. Assistant Program Manager, Community Facilities and Community Services Program of Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, August 1983.

Little, John. Program Manager, Planning and Development of the Logan Industrial Development: A Program of Winnipeg Core Area Initiative.

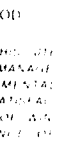
Mancer, Kathy. Consultant of Urban Affairs, August, 1983.

Selinger, Greg. Executive Director, Community Education Development Association, August, 1983.

Shultes, Helen. Executive Director, Logan Community Development Corporation, August, 1983.

Smith, Harvey. Councillor of Sargent Pack Ward in City Centre-Fort Rouge Community, City of Winnipeg, October 1983.

Yauk, Tom. Neighbourhood Improvement Programs of the City of Winnipeg, September 1983.



LOGAN - CPR AREA

