

The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal: A Collection of Working Papers on Planning with People in the Inner City

The Future City No. 3

**edited by Dr. Lloyd Axworthy
1972**

The Institute of Urban Studies





THE UNIVERSITY OF
WINNIPEG

FOR INFORMATION:

The Institute of Urban Studies

The University of Winnipeg
599 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg
phone: 204.982.1140
fax: 204.943.4695
general email: ius@uwinnipeg.ca

Mailing Address:

The Institute of Urban Studies

The University of Winnipeg
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9

**THE CITIZEN AND NEIGHBOURHOOD RENEWAL: A COLLECTION OF WORKING PAPERS ON
PLANNING WITH PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY**

The Future City No. 3

Published 1972 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg

© **THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES**

Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2015.

The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction Lloyd Axworthy	1
Planning and Participation Lloyd Axworthy	8
The Inner City - A Winnipeg Example David Vincent	43
Roosevelt Park Redevelopment Lloyd Axworthy	70
A Paper on Knew Housing Incorporated David Henderson	93
The In-Fill Experimental Housing Project - Phase 1 Eric Barker	123
Experiments in Community Communications Systems Jocelyne O'Hara	139
The University as Innovator in the Urban Community Lloyd Axworthy	152
Research Perspectives in Participation and Planning David Vincent	161
The Role of the Resource Group in Citizen Planning David Henderson	177

	Page
The Role of the Professional in Eric Barker Dealing With Residents	201
The Neighbourhood Development Corporation . . David Henderson	230
A Physical Planning Approach Eric Barker To Inner City Renewal	238
The Necessity of Information Systems James Cassidy	273
Technology as Process James Cassidy	289
Neighbourhood Renewal - Suggestions Lloyd Axworthy for Implementation	292
 APPENDICES	
Map One - Urban Renewal Areas and Core Area of Winnipeg	308
Map Two - Urban Renewal Area Number Two	309
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 310
 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	 326

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Lloyd Axworthy

The discovery of effective methods for planning and managing the process of change in our cities has become a crucial task. It is also a difficult task. Cities grow at an accelerated pace. The problems generated by that growth multiply and the frustrations of urban residents rise in equal proportion to the problems as existing methods of coping with urban change become increasingly ineffective.

Traditional structures of local government cannot deal with the myriad of demands placed upon them by a more restive citizenry and the frequent accusation that local government is not very democratic in its workings is not that often wrong. The concepts and methods used by the present generation of planners have done little to control the unsightly sprawl of cities or to preserve and maintain the older sections. Government intervention in the form of urban renewal, expressways, large scale housing projects have proven with depressing regularity to be more painful than the problem they were supposed to cure. Programs in housing, welfare, transportation and education are being shown to be inadequate. The ability of the private market to supply an adequate housing stock is extremely limited. Conventional theories on the benefits of high rise development, downtown restoration and urban redevelopment are called into question by the experience of many unfortunate consequences of these activities.

The time for developing a new framework of thought, planning and action in the cities is overdue. In the early 1960's, reports issued by

the Ontario Association of Housing Authorities and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada told us that we were not prepared to deal with the rapid urbanization. In 1967, the Economic Council warned of an urban crisis and our lack of capability to meet the problems generated by our growth as an urban nation. In 1969, the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development detailed the inadequacies of existing institutions and practices. In the first years of this decade, governments at all levels have been discarding old programs, setting up new agencies, searching for new answers. Business corporations, trade unions, churches, universities - the basic private organizations of our society have been exploring the changing role they must play in the urban community. Most importantly, there is the swelling voice of private citizens expressing their needs and concerns through a growing number of new organizations and action groups. They are a major force in propelling the demand for an improved quality of urban life and a more democratic means of achieving that better life.

What is in very short supply, however, are specific ways to bring about change, develop new methods and implement more effective answers. There appears to be an abundance of speeches on the urban crisis, an adequate supply of cries of alarm and ever-growing documentation of problems and needs, but a limited stock of useful, applied answers.

The reason for the shortage is that very few people, a small number of institutions and an even smaller amount of money are committed to the process of innovation in the urban areas. Governments are too often occupied with daily administration and solving yesterday's problems to spend much time in exploring new policy directions. Universities, at least until

recently, have been too concerned with basic, formal research and too unconcerned with immediate urban issues to be of much help. The professional planners and architects have been too circumscribed by the demands of their clients and often too professionally hide bound to become involved in innovative work. Private business has been satisfied with the status quo, as long as it would sell. The result -- there is little work being done on the critical task of how we can plan and manage the change, improvements, developments and renewal of our cities in a more effective way.

Which comes to the purpose of this report.

For the last two years, the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg has been engaged in a series of investigations to find ways of developing distinctive answers to the problems of the city. A major emphasis of the work has been in the core of the city in an area that has been designated for urban renewal for the past 20 years. The aim of this activity is to discover ways in which the planning and implementation of improvements in this area could be both more effective and more democratic. The work centered on the issue of how residents of the area might become involved in and even responsible for the renewal of their own neighbourhood. Answers were sought to the question of whether people can and want to become involved, how they might become involved, what resources would be required, what organizational methods should be used, how such activities would be received by local government, other groups, agencies, the community, what benefits could accrue from citizen involvement in planning, what would be the costs and what would be the policy and program implications of such involvement for the planning of urban development.

The method employed by the Institute to seek answers to these questions was action research. This involved the Institute in the actual development, growth and operation of citizen run organizations, integrated with a system of observing, recording and evaluating the process that took place. It is a way of learning by doing, of linking practice with research, of involving the participant in social action in the research itself. It is an important method for undertaking exploratory work in the urban environment.

The first initiative taken under those guidelines was the setting up of a demonstration project in the Roosevelt Park neighbourhood, situated in the middle of Urban Renewal Area II. Out of this came the People's Committee, a citizen self-help corporation which sought to improve housing and social conditions in the area. From the beginnings with the People's Committee, a series of other neighbourhood self-improvement activities have grown, involving the rehabilitation of older homes, experimental in-fill housing, a move towards establishing a community-run health clinic and the creation of a neighbourhood social service and housing complex under the auspices of the local church.

Another area of activity involved working with the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre in establishing a non-profit corporation to secure improved housing for native people in the city. The accomplishments of the Kinew Corporation over the last two years have provided many useful insights in the operation of a citizen-sponsored housing project.

A major area of activity that grew out of the work with citizens' groups was the development of an alternative system of community-controlled

communications. Beginning with the experimental use of VTR equipment and ending with a major six-week trial operation of a community cablevision station, the Institute has been involved in the issue of how information is disseminated and used by citizens, how this affects the planning process and what alternative systems should be created.

The following report contains working papers based on the above field projects carried on by the Institute over the past two years. The first section lays down the basic problem areas that were considered -- first the issue of planning and participation, second the issue of re-development in the inner city. The next section provides short studies of the different projects. The third section concentrates on specific propositions and policy ideas that have emerged from the work and may be of value to the planning process. These include the use of resource people, the role of professional advisors, the techniques of community research and so on. The final section attempts to provide recommendations on ways in which planning and implementing improvement and change in the inner city can become both more effective and, hopefully, more democratic.

This report is designed primarily to be of assistance to those involved in the act of renewing or developing our cities, whether elected politician, civic administrator, professional advisor, community organizer or ordinary citizen. It will hopefully provide suggestions that can be immediately applied and used in developing new policies, planning projects or carrying out programs. It is intended as a guide, a manual, a catalogue on how to better plan and design city neighbourhoods.

There are many limitations to this report. First, it is not complete. The projects and activities it describes are still going on. They continue to evolve, change and develop. Many of the preliminary observations made in this report may have to be revised in later assessments. Thus, the conclusions offered must be treated as tentative and only suggestive.

Secondly, there are many aspects of redevelopment not covered in this report. It draws its work from activity that was primarily neighbourhood based. It, therefore, is not instructive on the issues of metropolitan-wide planning. There are many areas of research that were not conducted, such as economic benefits of neighbourhood renewal, the role of social agencies in the area, education and so on. This was partly a result of limited resources and limited time. As work continues in the area, many of these gaps will hopefully be covered.

Another limitation is the nature of the Institute itself. It is a fledgling organization, beginning at the same time as the projects. It was as much an experiment for the university to engage in the form of community activity as the projects themselves. There were not over-abundant resources and personnel and it is a tribute to Institute staff that they were able to do as much as they did. As a result, errors were made, albeit errors of commission, not omission, as the Institute does seek to be an activist body.

With all the limitations, both in the projects and in the report, it is important that the experience and lessons of the past two years be recorded, even in an interim fashion. As mentioned at the start, the question

of how to improve our cities is a vital one. It can only be answered through active testing, investigation and research, followed by debate, discussion and evaluation. The purpose of this report is to initiate thought on how to plan with people, based on real experiences. We hope that it will engender a willingness to learn from these initial beginnings and a preparedness to continue in developing better ways to manage urban change.

PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION

Lloyd Axworthy

There are new voices being heard in the city. They are calling for citizen involvement in the planning and implementation of policies in housing, renewal, welfare, urban transportation, downtown development or any other of a number of enterprises formerly considered the exclusive preserve of small coteries of planners, architects, developers, bankers and the odd politician.

This has caused confusion, consternation and, increasingly, acts of confrontation in the management of urban issues. The institutional mechanisms, the conventional practices and the intellectual concepts that have determined the way cities are planned were not designed with citizen participation in mind. It is a new social phenomenon demanding a different set of responses and new institutional machinery.

The forms of government we now use were sufficient for providing the caretaker services that were required in simpler days. But, as instruments capable of handling the complex, subtle social and human concerns of modern urban citizens, they are failures. They are too distant, too bureaucratic, too simplistic in their approach. What is even more dismaying, they are becoming less and less democratic -- immune to the citizen who wishes to express himself on problems that affect him.

Our institutions of local government were devised in the nineteenth century and have been only moderately amended since that time.

Yet the volume of government business, the flow of information, the variety of tasks have increased multifold without accompanying adaptations. As government becomes more involved in people's lives, it is only natural for them to want to exercise greater control. Sydney Verba notes, "the expansion of governmental interventions in the economic and social life of the nation increases the stakes of participation: the government does more and therefore more is to be gained by having a voice over what it does".¹

Representative chambers, public hearings, devices that we proclaim provide access to the system, only provide access in an intermittent way. The average citizen of a large city has limited contact with his government and even less control over what it does. Roscoe Martin points out in his book the Grass Roots that the level of government furthest away from most citizens is city hall.² And Emmette S. Redford observes in his study of democracy that,

"Election of representatives or referendum have always been recognized as key means of access for the citizen. But more participation than this will be necessary to implement democratic morality in an administered society."³

-
1. Sydney Verba, "Democratic Participation", Bertram Gross (ed). Social Intelligence for America's Future, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969).
 2. Martin Roscoe, Grass Roots, (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1957), p. 3.
 3. Emmette S. Redford, Democracy in the Administrative State, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 29.

The truth is that our present practices and our existing institutions are not very democratic. Decisions are made by small clusters of influentials. There is limited access to the forums of decision-making. And, there are large numbers of people who have no power to act.

This is not willfully done. There is no subversive conspiracy to wreck democratic ideals. It is simply a result of events overtaking institutions and of indifference, sometimes confusion, in the behaviour of those who have the power to make corrections.

There is a fundamental issue in balance. Everyone involved in the thinking, planning or executing of urban matters must learn how to meet the requirements of advanced, sophisticated, complicated decisions to cope with demands of an urban society while insuring the involvement of citizens in the construction of the urban environment. Perhaps Wentworth Aldridge of Dartmouth used more straight-forward terms at the 1968 American Institute of Planners Convention when he said,

"Professional Administration (rule by experts) versus participatory democracy (planning with people) is the dilemma of the late twentieth century".⁴

For many, especially professional planners and government administrators, it is not a dilemma. They see little need for people to be involved in planning. They contend that what is needed is less citizen involvement and more getting on with the job. There is already too much time consumed in honouring democratic niceties when there are many urgent

4. Wentworth Aldridge, "Toward a National Policy for Planning the Environment", Ernest Erber's Urban Planning in Transition, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), p. 5.

urban problems crying for solution. If there has to be elitism to do the job, then it is worth the price, according to the advocates of this position.

This is an understandable, but a flawed philosophy. Citizen involvement is an essential element in planning a good environment. The involvement of people in the planning process gives them an opportunity to express their needs, as they see them, to take on responsibility for the improvements in their own community, to acquire a stake in what is done. Without effective participation in urban planning, the outcome is often an ill-suited solution to the problem.

This is a lesson that can be drawn from the analysis of the American experience with participation during the War on Poverty. Various authors have pointed to the frustrations, difficulties and defeats suffered by citizen groups in their efforts to achieve maximum feasible participation in planning anti-poverty measures.⁵ But, similarly the American experience also gave evidence to the benefits that come from citizen participation.

Robert Aleshire, in his assessment of community action programs, lists the major benefits of citizen participation in planning as follows:

First, because society grows large and the individual more anonymous, it becomes essential for the individual to be involved in decisions that affect his community. It is a way for a citizen to take responsibility for his community and thereby avoid a sense of alienation.

5. See Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, Community Action in The War on Poverty, (New York: Free Press, 1969).

Peter Marris, Martin Rein, Dilemmas of Social Reform; Poverty and Community Action in the United States, (New York: Atherton Press, 1967).

Secondly, it represents a check and balance against the elitist or the technocratic theorist. Increased involvement of citizens can often save the community from the decision of the technician or professional which might produce irrelevant and unresponsive action. Thirdly, it is a way of giving individuals a sense of worth. Powerlessness demeans, participation dignifies. Fourthly, involvement of citizens is a way of properly establishing community priorities. If some groups are missing from the arena of decision making, which is now the case, then the planning priorities that emerge will not represent a true public interest. Similarly, it is a better way of raising and debating important issues, something that political parties often do not do. Finally, the act of citizen participation unifies planning. The citizen has an integrated life. It is not separated into physical, social and economic components. Therefore he might give a perspective often missing from the vertical plans and programs now made by planners and administrators.⁶

Alan Altshuler makes a similar assessment of the benefits of participation in planning. He offers the idea that citizen participation exercised by disadvantaged urban populations offers the only hope for long-term reform. It offers a chance for the unskilled to engage their energies and acquire experience in making decisions. It builds skills and self-respect and gives people a tangible stake in the system. It transforms bureaucracies by forcing them to deal with a different constituency and see problems through the perception of those who experience the problems.

6. Robert Aleshire, "Costs and Benefits of Citizen Participation", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 4, June 1970, p. 374.

Finally, Altshuler asserts that government becomes more efficient through participation because the allocation of resources to needs becomes more finely tuned and less wasteful.⁷

Two examples drawn from the community action program in the United States illustrate these arguments.

The Hough Development Corporation in Cleveland and the Jeff VanderLou neighbourhood corporations in St. Louis are both community-run planning operations. Both grew out of community initiative, not government sponsorship, and have grown to a point where they have undertaken major redevelopment. The Hough Corporation, initiated by a broadly represented community group, has begun major programs of economic development in an area of Cleveland that suffered severe rioting in 1966.⁸ It operates a loan guarantee program, a home maintenance program and is in the advanced stage of planning a unique shopping centre-housing complex.

In St. Louis, the residents of the Yeatman district were disturbed by the indifference of local government to the steady deterioration of their area. They banded together, formed the Jeff VanderLou Community Corporation in 1968 and have since begun a major rehabilitation of 300 homes in the area, built a community park and started a medical clinic.⁹ They had problems, mainly from a city government which refused to give money and

7. Alan Altshuler, Community Control, (New York: Western Press, 1970), p. 199.

8. See "Community Capitalism Under Fire", in City, June/July 1970.

9. See Arthur Robin, "A Community CAP in the Housing Business" in Housing and Education, p. 46-47. A Special Council on Urban Education Report.

designated another neighbourhood group as the area's official poverty agency. The corporation has persevered and now receives major federal financing for its work. Both cases demonstrate a capacity for self-renewal in lower-income areas and that programs devised by the community corporations can often undertake more effective renewal than conventional government agencies.

There are also costs and difficulties. One obvious difficulty is the time and effort required to make participation work. Citizens' groups do not emerge full blown, skilled and competent in the ways of planning. Organizing is required. Resources in the way of outside skills and money are necessary. Allowance must be given for citizens to develop a sense of purpose, build confidence to pursue their goals, acquire competence in simple tasks of running meetings, writing newsletters, presenting ideas.¹⁰ Equally important is the time of the government official who must spend many hours working with groups, explaining complicated programs, working out satisfactory arrangements.

There is also the problem of fractionalism. Different citizens' groups with different objectives and different leadership will emerge in the same area and conflicts will often ensue. Martha Dethick, in a case study of the Fort Lincoln renewal project in Washington, D.C., shows how stalemate and confusion result when there is competition between community groups and how a prime opportunity for building a new community was lost because of community-group warfare.

10. See Marshall B. Clinard, Slums and Community Development, (Toronto: Collier Macmillan, 1966), Chapters 10-12.

This often occurs, however, because there aren't mechanisms available at the community level to provide co-ordination or because government officials often play one group against the other. As Martha Dethick concludes, "The effort to achieve participation cost local officials dearly, not so much in actual delays of planning or construction, but in what the delays revealed about the local government's ability to conduct its business effectively."¹¹

The American experience has shown that government officials and administrators resist efforts at community participation.¹² To them it is a threat. To the politician, it creates new political forces that challenge his traditional base of support. To the civil servant, citizen involvement challenges his professional status, his competence, his ability to determine goals according to what he thinks is correct. This is particularly true of the "street-level bureaucrat", as defined by Michael Lipsky. The primary contact between government and citizen is represented by the policeman, the welfare worker, the school teacher and this is where much of the tension and disaffection takes place. The solution, according to Lipsky, is to develop greater citizen control and involvement in the activities of those lower-level civil servants through a form of neighbourhood government. Only through increased contact between citizens and government officials and a sharing of responsibilities can stress and differences be overcome.¹³

11. See Martha Dethick, "Defeat at Fort Lincoln", The Public Interest, No. 20, Summer 1970, p. 37.

12. See Kenneth Clark and Jeanette Hopkins, A Relevant War Against Poverty, (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 212-213.

13. See Michael Lipsky, "Street Level Bureaucracy and the Analysis of Urban Reform", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 4, June 1971.

The point of these criticisms is that if citizen involvement is to be a positive factor in the planning of the cities, then there must be a redesigning of governmental institutions and a reshaping of administrative and political practices to incorporate citizens as legitimate actors in a way different from their normal roles as voter or recipient of programs. Presently, government is not structured for a participative kind of involvement. Citizen involvement is grafted onto the structures that exist and is therefore unnatural or non-symbiotic.

This suggests that if the demand for involvement now being expressed is to be met and if the greatest benefits of citizen participation are to be gained, then there will have to be first a redefinition of democratic theory working away from concepts of representative government toward concepts of participative government;¹⁴ and second, the development of different operational principles and organizational methods, such as community-run development corporations, neighbourhood city halls, a public information system.

It also suggests that the basic style of planning itself will have to change. Planning can no longer be a function of planners working in isolation from a community, analyzing a set of objective factors, prescribing goals, recommending plans and having them endorsed by a political body. It will now be a process involving a number of different persons who must integrate information and perceptions from a number of sources, lay out prescriptions for a fluid, continuous form of planning and

14. For a good analysis of the different theories and their application, see Carole Pateman, Participation and Democratic Theory, (England: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

development, work through a public-private institution and share responsibilities among officials, private citizens, and private groups. Dennis Rondinelli calls it adjunctive planning and describes it as,

"a process that seeks to mobilize disparate resources and, by focusing them on remediable aspects of problems, to move marginally through successive approximation away from unsatisfactory states of development...It seeks to bind together potential participants into a coalition strong enough to obtain desired policy outcomes by promoting policy-making integration along lines of specialization and shared interest. Adjunctive planning seeks to reconcile differences where possible and search for compromises, bases for exchange, incentives and instruments of manipulation and persuasion. Not being concerned with imposing centralized co-ordination and control or hierarchial integration, it does not seek or attempt to create the 'center of decision-making in government'." 15

The exact organization of this form of planning is still an open question. It will require testing of new principles and different techniques and must go beyond the kind now practiced where a few perfunctory meetings are held between planner and citizens to discuss plans already decided upon. But it carries through the concern about participation and reveals the need for a more open, flexible style of planning that breaks down the former notions of unilateral intervention of government agencies as the sole agents of renewal.

An assessment of American experience in community action planning indicates then that, 1. participation in planning has benefits, but also costs, 2. there is a need for structural reform in government to accommodate

15. Dennis Rondinelli, "Adjunctive Planning and Development Policy", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 1, September 1971, p. 31.

participation and reduce the costs, 3. the nature of planning itself will have to be revised towards a more open, flexible approach.

The American experience derives from black ghettos. The system of government and the political character of the two countries are different. The magnitude of their problem is immeasurably greater and the problems thereby different.

The difficulty is that there is relatively little written on the issue in our country. Since we do not have a particularly effective system of either researching social policy problems or disseminating research results, there is a dearth of information.

The Canadian Experience

From what we know, it is clear that the idea of community-based planning in Canada owes much to the community action programs in the United States. These ideas were transmitted across the border during the mid 1960's and picked up by Canadians working in social development. Therefore many of the ideas and theories are derivative.

Even so, there has been an increase in the tempo of citizen activity. Federal government agencies and politicians have given impetus to the emergence of citizen movements and the idea of community participation. The Company of Young Canadians, a government-financed agency for promoting social action, became involved in a series of community planning projects and succeeded in spawning a number of citizen groups across the country that challenged official plans in urban renewal areas. Wide-spread popularization of the idea came about as a result of Prime Minister Trudeau's repeated call for a form of participatory democracy during the 1968 federal election campaign.

The Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, established in 1968 to review and redesign federal policies and programs, sought to involve citizens in the solution of urban problems. It provided a forum for many citizens' groups during its cross-country tour in the autumn of 1968 and incorporated many of the ideals of citizen participation in its report. The subsequent stoppage of federal urban renewal assistance based on task force recommendations and more tenant concerned approaches to public housing reinforced the movement towards programs based on some kind of citizen involvement.

In the last two years the federal government has funded a series of demonstration projects and trial programs involving citizens' groups in rebuilding their own communities. Several federal departments are involved in different funding ventures and there is a move to create policy on citizen participation. For the past two summers, a "Youth Opportunities Program" was introduced. It provided money to young people to design and execute their own programs of community improvement. This winter, as part of its program to fight unemployment, the federal government allotted \$50 million to community groups and citizen organizations for projects of community improvement. The federal government has thus begun to take seriously the notion that private citizens can be involved in planning and implementing programs for their own improvement.

It is also spawning a force of activist citizens who will expect such support to continue and who, through such programs, are developing skills and experience in citizen-run operations. The ramifications of this government sponsored mobilization of private individuals will have a

profound impact upon the systems of planning and decision-making in Canada. A force has been unleashed that will affect many areas of social and economic policy through the sheer numbers of people who are now getting a taste of doing things for themselves.

The place where this force is having, and will have, the most immediate and powerful impact is in the cities. Already the signs of change are apparent. In Winnipeg, a new system of government emphasizing greater citizen involvement, has just come into operation. In Toronto and Vancouver, there is a new breed of politician in office who espouses the cause of citizen-involved planning; in Calgary, Mayor Rod Sykes supports people over the experts. In the Strathcona area of Vancouver and Trefan Court in Toronto, interesting experiments in community-controlled renewal have been initiated. And, the federal government is promising a new neighbourhood improvement program to replace urban renewal which is supposed to contain provisions for community involvement.

There remains, however, many unanswered questions about how citizens participation in planning can be effectively developed in Canada. Right now it is still something of a random occurrence with little comprehension of what it involves or what the implications are. Basic guidelines are needed to order the relationships between planner and citizen. Techniques for appraising and analyzing community attitudes and feelings are required. Similar to the situation in the United States, Canadian cities require new decision-making mechanisms to make the idea of participatory planning work. Strategies for organizing citizens and dealing with the fears of elected politicians must be developed. In other words, a serious

examination of the meaning and conduct of citizen participation in planning must be started.

For the past two and a half years, the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg has been engaged in a series of action-research projects in an effort to gain answers to some of these questions. The method of action-research is to actually initiate a process of change or innovation and, through evaluation of what takes place, be able to assess the results and draw conclusions. Using this method, we have helped start a number of citizen action projects in several urban renewal areas of the city and have begun to develop some tentative prescriptions for citizen-based planning or participatory planning.

A full description of the projects is available in the following essays, but a brief listing here will suffice to give an idea of the nature of the work.

-- A neighbourhood development corporation, called the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood, Incorporated, has been actively engaged in a series of housing and renewal projects in an inner city area for the past two years. The corporation is composed of area residents - be they tenants, people on welfare or local merchants. They succeeded in moving a six-unit apartment 10 blocks, rehabilitated the apartments and now manage a low-income housing project. Presently they are involved in negotiations with city officials over the planning of a recreation complex in an abandoned railway site in the area, are seeking uses for a major library building in the area scheduled by the city to be torn down and are

developing a series of housing proposals.

-- A project of experimental in-fill housing combining the efforts of a self-help housing group, the Winnipeg House Builders Association and the Institute has nearly reached the stage of implementation. This is designed to explore ways of utilizing the small open spaces in the downtown area and to provide opportunities for home ownership to a group of lower-income residents.

-- A self-help housing corporation, The Kinew Housing Corporation, is managed by native Indian and Metis people in the city. It has purchased over 50 homes for Indian families newly migrated to the city from rural areas. This corporation helps the families make the transition from rural to urban life and the people running the corporation have developed a high degree of skills.

-- A series of experiments in community television has been attempted. A city-wide communication system operating on one channel in the cable system was operated on a trial six week period. It acted as an information outlet for citizens during the municipal election and enabled programs to be made by ordinary citizens. It gave an opportunity for residents to present issues important to them, to express their concerns, to discuss issues pertinent to what they feel. It is the beginning of a public communication system which will be used to develop an effective two-way flow of information between citizens and government.

In each of these projects, the role of the Institute was to help initiate and organize communities, provide technical and professional

advice, present alternative ideas that the group could use and evaluate the process. In return, staff at the Institute could begin to understand the conditions of the inner city, the difficulties of building new planning processes, and ways to have citizens become involved in the improvement of their community.

These experiences, as can be seen in the other working papers with insights drawn from other situations, provide the starting point for raising questions on how to plan the inner city neighbourhood with the involvement of people.

The following are factors drawn from the Institute experience that should be considered in a new approach to planning.

Neighbourhood Planning

The first set of questions centers on the problems of renewal of the inner city neighbourhood. The answers to these questions depend upon how one perceives these neighbourhoods. Basically they are areas that have lost their economic function and offer little choice for the inhabitants. The outward signs of deterioration -- bad housing, disease, crime rates -- reflect the basic loss of dynamism in human or economic activity. George Sternlieb suggests that as the inner city loses its economic value, it even loses its capacity to be a staging area in which newcomers to the city can advance.¹⁶ An apt analogy to the inner city is a sandbox where the inhabitants play a game that keeps them busy in useless tasks and keeps them from bothering the more affluent, occupied people of the urban world. The game is basically to fight over or divide the money that is provided to the

16. George Sternlieb, "The City as Sandbox", The Public Interest, No. 25, Fall 1971.

sandbox residents by the outside community. Thus, the inner city game is one of division of spoils, a game primarily fought by the social agencies, workers and institutions dealing in the problem of poverty.

The inner city is also characterized by its heterogeneity. There are multitudes of ethnic class groups with a variety of interests. The welfare family lives next to the working family. The Italian family lives on one street, the older Ukrainian railway pensioner on the next street over. Thus, the inner city has an infinite number of behaviour patterns, encompassing a variety of needs. (This is dealt with by David Vincent in the next section).

What is also important for many people is a degree of identity and involvement with their neighbourhood. It is fashionable in sociological circles to dispute the notion of neighbourhood. The claim is made that transiency is so high, mobility so easy that inner city people have little affinity for their geographic area. Our work in the inner city of Winnipeg found this not to be the case. There was an attachment to neighbourhood and a relatively high degree of willingness by residents to work for improvement. The reasons for this may be simply a matter of pure exchange or trade-off. There is attachment because the inner city neighbourhood offers certain benefits -- cheap housing, closeness to work, a network of social supports that are not available elsewhere. The willingness to become involved may also be a function of pure exchange where the resident will become involved if he can see some tangible reward coming from his efforts.¹⁷ The rhetoric of participation is not important

17. See the description of the exchange model idea of Harold Weissman, in H. Weissman's Community Councils and Community Control, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970).

but the achievement of a benefit is. The act of being involved in the attainment of a tangible goal can have a salutary effect on the participant.

The point of these short observations on the character of the inner city is to indicate that a scheme of participatory planning must be based on a realistic appraisal of the context in which the planning is to be applied. If the problem is lack of economic vitality and an absence of choices for residents, then the objective of planning should be to meet these problems. Thus, rather than concentrating on physical improvement or new social services, the question must be raised, how do physical improvements or new social services meet the lack of choice, the sense of dependency, the desire to be involved in the attainment of a benefit. If the physical improvement is simply an act of someone (government) doing things for people, then it just increases the dependency. If, however, the physical improvement is designed to involve residents, improve skills, give jobs, increase a sense of self, then it may be of value.

One of the important needs in low-income inner city areas is to build a network of neighbourhood organizations that will function in those areas that are now missing. Paul L. Lawrence compares these areas to underdeveloped nations where there are few organizational forms for transactions between people. They lack organization for economic, political, educative functions and particularly for shaping a sense of community and offering a richer variety of options for pursuing individual satisfaction.

As Lawrence notes,

"This analysis suggests the importance for a developing community of an extensive array of organizations....The citizens awareness of choice is clearly enhanced by such an array...This same fosters the individuals's development of a range of capacities and unique personal style.¹⁸

Therefore, another objective of planning intervention should be to stimulate the growth of new organizational life. This can be done by having the development tasks performed by resident community organizers, rather than government bureaucracies or outside developers. The planning of new housing, commercial development, recreation, businesses should be such that it is local groups who are involved in the planning and implementation. The impact of the new network of organizations that are brought into existence will yield important improvement benefits.

Secondly, because of the diversity of the area, the planning process must be pertinent to the residents.¹⁹ Goals, strategies and implementation must account for the behaviour, needs and attitudes of the mixed residents and have the flexibility to accommodate a variety of different interventions and improvement activities. The older, conventional forms of renewal planning, which worked sequentially from planner determined goals to fixed development scheme was too rigid and narrowly focused. It was eye-needle planning, too circumscribed to reflect the real texture of the community. A more realistic approach would be to compare the model of

18. Paul Lawrence, "Organization Development in the Black Ghetto" in Social Innovation in the City, ed., R. Rosenbloom and Robin Marris, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

19. See Herbert Gans, People and Plans, (New York: Basic Books, 1968), Parts II and IV.

planning of neighbourhood improvement to the field theory of physics.

A system of energy or action centres must be initiated. They interact one upon another, building to a critical mass and a change in the composition of the system.

This means that the locus of decision making must be closer to the locus of the application of the decision; that there should be a non-administrative approach where general guidelines are set out, not detailed plans; that incentives be offered to the residents and other participants in the area to set up programs of improvement in their own self-interest; and that government would set the general framework, provide the mechanisms and resources for involvement, give the incentives, then evaluate results. It is therefore a system of continuous planning, never-ending improvement, as opposed to the present idea of carving out an area on a map, detailing a plan, implementing a prescribed set of actions, then moving on. What is required, therefore, is a basic reorientation in the notions of planning and the ways of designing intervention. The role of government changes from being an interventionist to being a facilitator, enabling community residents themselves to be the implementors of their own renewal.

The exchange, or renewal model of participation, also raises certain important questions about the notion of participation itself. The emphasis in participation normally centers on involvement in decision making. Decision making is suitable, however, to only certain skills of negotiation, certain attributes of leadership, certain political temperments, availability of time. As Weissman notes²⁰ only a limited number of people can actively

20. Harold Weissman, Op. cit., p. 171.

participate in making decisions. There is no reason why participation of community residents cannot be extended to other forms of self-help activity. Some residents may be involved in the decision making aspects related, say, to a housing program, others may be involved as supervisors of the construction or in the work itself. A recent experiment in setting up a repair and rehabilitation company by the Institute involves the workers in a range of activities from appraising to repairing housing and the consequences of this form of work-related participation are highly beneficial.

It also means that the improvement activities be aimed at the attainment of real, immediate goals. One of the problems with recent community development practices is the emphasis on group dynamics. The community worker can become mesmerized by the interaction of people inside the organization, forgetting that an important objective of community organizing is to attain real benefits. Therefore, the planning of neighbourhood activity and improvement must be geared to basic changes in unsatisfactory conditions, not just a heightened sense of communal feeling and group cohesiveness.

It is also important to note the limitations of a system of participation and neighbourhood planning. An approach of this sort cannot solve all problems, it is not a panacea. The goals of neighbourhood improvement involving participation must be scaled to what is achievable. Some problems cannot be solved from a neighbourhood base. Some decisions must be based on long term, metropolitan-wide, provincial-wide, nation-wide

planning and programs.²¹ A definition of what is possible and reasonable on the neighbourhood level and on the metropolitan level is a major requirement for urban planning. At this stage very little guidance or wisdom is available on these questions. The criteria for determining what kind of programs fit which scale of activity are thus a research priority.

There are not as many difficulties in connecting neighbourhood scale improvement activities to broader development schemes as some planners and government officials suggest. Transportation is normally cited as the prime example of planning which must be city-wide, at least. There is an interesting case in Baltimore which shows that this need not be the case. The mayor of Baltimore set up a special corporation to oversee the planning of an inter-state highway system which threatened to seriously disrupt the inner city harbour area. The corporation brought together local residents, state traffic planners and government officials. Eventually agreement was reached on a new highway route and a program of development to improve the harbour area, with a minimum of disruption.

Similarly, the proposed system of a state-wide urban development corporation connected to a network of local development corporations that was proposed by the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs under Paul Yvilsacker also showed how a system of institutional linkages can be devised to integrate micro-level neighbourhood planning and macro-level planning. The problem is that we attempt to plan through governmental institutions that are not suitable.²² This returns us to the question of redesigning our institutions.

21. See Francis Fox Piven, Regulating the Poor, (New York: Pantheon, 1971).

22. Richard Rosenbloom, "Corporations for Urban Development", in Social Innovation, op. cit.

A program of neighbourhood planning requires more, however, than generalized concepts and strategies for institutional change. It also requires some examination of how it might be done. What are the necessary resources, the techniques, the operational process? These are questions that have also been part of the inquiry of the Institute.

Information

A starting point in the planning process is information. If the information used by planners is bad or distorted then the plan will also be bad or distorted. Land use analysis, demographic statistics, traffic patterns, economic market studies, these are the stock in trade of the planner. But such information does not say much about how people live or the political and economic realities with which they deal. This requires new techniques of research and investigation. Community self-surveys, video tape, observation analysis are some of the methods employed in the Institute's work. Such methods of unobstructive community research can be used to capture behaviour that is an essential element of planning information.²³

There is a reciprocity in acquiring this information as well. It must not be solely for the use of the planner, but also shared with community residents. In the Roosevelt Park project, information gathered through a survey was given back to the residents at a community meeting. The same is being done in the health action project. The usefulness of

23. For an interesting discussion of ways of developing new techniques for acquiring urban information, see Stephen B. Sweeney and James C. Charlesworth, Governing Urban Society: New Scientific Approaches, (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1967).

this is twofold. One, it is basic courtesy to share what one has found, a courtesy rarely honoured by government or university researchers who enter a community, extract what they need and then use the information for their own purposes. Secondly, providing information is often a spur to constructive citizen action. Often what is labelled apathy or indifference on the part of citizens is simply a lack of knowing what is happening to them. If information is disseminated on what is known of the area, the possible decision, the factors changing the area, then citizens can respond.

It is important to recognize that this involves more than simply issuing a press release or holding a public meeting. These reach few people and do not mean much. To give one example, in Roosevelt Park, a video tape was made by the People's Committee explaining the proposed Sherbrook-McGregor Bridge. An Italian commentary was overlaid on the tape and it was shown to Italian families living in the area. For many, it was the first time they knew what was being proposed. This points to the need for an alternative system of public communication incorporating a network of community television, radio, and local newspapers. Even though it may appear there is a communication overload, most citizens have little idea of what is happening in their community, what decisions are being made that will affect them. The mass media beam at undifferentiated audiences. They do not cater to localized neighbourhood needs. Thus, what happens at the local school board, decisions taken on public works, zoning, services go unnoticed until it is too late to act or react. And, governments usually make very little effort to see that proper information is supplied. As Scott Greer notes, "evidence indicates that information policy is not

designed to develop an informed public."²⁴

An information system that can be used to receive public information and for people to return their views to government is a prime requisite for a new planning system (see reports by Jocelyne O'Hara and Jim Cassidy on communications).

Resources

There are three kinds of resources essential for neighbourhood planning -- time, money, skills.

I. Time -- Time is important because it is a scarce resource and often the most squandered resource. Government decision makers want to take action right away. Citizen involvement slows things down, they say. Citizens themselves, if they work hard all day, have children to care for, have limited time to become involved. Impatience can become a problem with planner and citizen. They both want something to happen. Yet, too great an emphasis on immediate action can harm the process of group formation and the time imperatives imposed by governments on citizens' groups can create disruptive pressure.

Time has a cost factor and the amount of time available depends on the pressure of events and the interest of these involved.²⁵

It is essential, therefore, that the problem of time be incorporated into any neighbourhood planning scheme. If citizens are involved in planning

24. Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), p. 38.

25. For a useful discussion on the economy of time in the making of decisions, see Robert Dahl, After the Revolution, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 40-55.

at the very beginning, then it means there will be less confusion, less opposition later on. The process of involvement must therefore be continuous and there must be the acknowledgement that if people are to be involved, then the timetable of bureaucracy should not necessarily take precedence.

Equally, the time of citizens should not be wasted. They should not be involved in endless meetings that discuss nothing, or discuss items already decided. Efforts must be made to husband time and even compensate people for time spent. Lower-income families cannot afford babysitters and time away from work. Another kind of damage occurs when government procrastinates on proposals from citizens' groups or doesn't respond to requests for assistance.

One answer to the problem is to have people in different government agencies whose job it is to work with groups and deal with proposals. CMHC, for example, has appointed regional social development officers who meet with groups and interpret their needs to the corporation. Such a step has been a valuable one in shortening the period of negotiations between groups and government.

II. Money -- The great question posed by government officials, especially in the senior levels, is how much should be given to groups to organize and maintain themselves. Some money is essential, but is often given to the wrong groups for the wrong reasons. Assistance to groups is now given on a totally random, ad hoc basis, seemingly dependent on which groups become favoured by fund givers. This fosters a degrading form of citizen huckstering. Groups can have support denied equally, capriciously, and for a variety of covert reasons, as was recently seen in the cancellation

of a major funding by the Department of Health and Welfare to a self-help organization in Hamilton.

An organized system of granting in which groups' requests are considered by a public commission, where opposition and support must be expressed publicly and can be carried out, is one way to overcome this problem. If a system of public hearings on grant requests were held, similar to those held by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, then some of the inequities might be weeded out. This would also impose a discipline on the citizens' groups themselves, as they would know that they would be expected to defend their application in public.

There is also a major role to be played by private business in this area. If citizens' groups are to become self-sufficient, they must lose their complete dependence on government. Furthermore, one area where there are few funds available for community groups is in capital or equity funding. Non-profit groups need start-up money to obtain a CMHC mortgage. A rehabilitation group needs limited funding to buy supplies and materials.

In several American cities, business and private foundations have formed community resource groups which supply seed financing, equity capital to different neighbourhood groups.²⁶ This has proved to be of great assistance in enabling these groups to survive and progress. It is a practice that as yet has little application in Canada.²⁷ But, it could be adopted in Canadian cities and be of substantial use.

26. The work of the Allegheny Conference in Pittsburgh or the Old Philadelphia Corporation in Philadelphia are good examples of the way private business becomes involved in this area of work.

27. See unpublished report by Ted Allan and Lloyd Axworthy on the Role of Canadian Business in Urban Innovation, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972.

It is important to remember, however, that money itself is not enough. Too often it's assumed that an infusion of funds wedded to a good cause is all that is required to solve a problem. For citizen groups, too much money might be a problem, especially if it comes too easily. As Herbert Kohl notes, "Power has to grow within the community before outside money can be used effectively."²⁸

III. Skills -- One of the fallacies of the present philosophy of participation is the idea that citizens are perfectly capable of doing their own planning and deciding. It is not true. The prime minister of Canada relies on the skills and expert advice of others. The same privilege must be given citizens if they are to be involved. They must have access to people who know how to organize, know about mortgages, financing, design, etc.

The key is to close the relationship between skilled professionals and the laymen. Training in many of the professions inculcates an attitude of superiority and exclusiveness towards the layman which creates artificial relationships. There are ways this can be changed. In our work, professionals made home visits to community residents, met with them over the kitchen table and worked in the area. Fortunately, there are signs that a new breed of architects, planners, lawyers are willing to work on the street, away from the desk. But, such professionals must have places to work from, organizational structures suited to their new roles.²⁹ These we do not have.

28. Herbert Kohl, "Out Our Way", New York Review of Books, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, March 23, 1972.

29. See Bernard J. Frieden, "New Roles in Social Planning" in Urban Planning in Transition, Ernest Erber, ed., (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970).

If neighbourhood planning is to work, then there are the questions of where the skills are to come from and how they reach the citizen to be answered. There is in the private sector -- business corporations, universities, unions, churches -- a great pool of talent that must be used for community improvement purposes. The need is to find ways of linking these resources to the community. Here some of the work of the Institute has been highly instructive and later essays will detail how the skills of private professionals and government officials have been utilized for the benefit of citizens' groups.

One model that should be looked at by government is the establishment of urban based research-resource centers which would operate much like the agricultural college-extension programs in the prairie provinces. The agricultural schools with an extension wing provided applied research, training, and policy advice. They served as a vital link between government and the farmer and were the source to many creative innovations in Western farm life. The same kind of "linking" institution is desperately needed in the cities.³⁰

Organization

The organizational problem of neighbourhood planning and improvement is not an easy one. Present institutions working on the neighbourhood level tend to be isolated and often antagonistic towards one another. There is a housing network, a social service network, a recreation network, a medical

30. For a fuller discussion of this need for new institutions, to link different groups in the city, see Ronald G. Havelock, Planning For Innovation, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1971), Chapters 6 and 7.

network. Rarely do they work together and even more rarely do they involve the citizen.

Many remedies are being proposed -- model cities programs, neighbourhood development corporations, quasi-public-private corporations. Yet the experience of all is limited. Until an understanding is gained on how to organize a mechanism to manage and administer planning of change, all the theories will remain in limbo, simply because there is no effective method of implementation.

Certain basic principles should underlie the creation of neighbourhood organizations for development purposes. First is the idea of decentralization. Simply, it means transferring to the neighbourhood certain functions and decisions now made by centralized administration. Upper levels of government may set basic standards that they wish to see met, but they need not directly intervene. Secondly, neighbourhood planning and development should be less bureaucratic. The neighbourhood institution should involve private individuals, private groups and government officials, working in tandem on different tasks. Thirdly, there needs to be an openness. Techniques such as public hearings should be used more extensively as should plebiscites and referendums. The California Legislature has recently passed a statute which sets out model standards for community based planning. A critical element here is the elimination of closed meetings, or tightly restricted decision making centers.³¹

31. For a good discussion of this, see Alan Altshuler, "New Institutions to Serve the Individual" in Environment and Policy, William Ewald Jr., ed., (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1968).

The work by the Institute in Winnipeg in setting up non-profit corporations has been instructive in this problem. It has provided an examination of one kind of mechanism that can be used for channeling citizen involvement and working out shared responsibilities between the public and private sector. (See report by David Henderson). Even more important, the new City of Winnipeg Act sets up a system of community committees and resident advisory groups as an integral part of the government structure. They have the potential of becoming new organizational forms for neighbourhood planning.³² If neighbourhood planning is to work, then it desperately needs extensive experimentation in finding new structures.

Legislation and Programs

One of the most serious drawbacks to effective neighbourhood improvement is the lack of a legislative framework conducive to its implementation. Housing legislation is quite rigid, even more so is the administration of housing programs. In Winnipeg, the Institute was fortunate to have a regional Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation office willing to experiment and innovate. But, they are somewhat unusual.

The difficulty is that most government service and assistance programs are predicated on old welfare-state concepts. The state does things for people, gives them things, or applies controls and regulations. This approach results in increasing dependency by the private citizen and increasing bureaucracy.

32. See Lloyd Axworthy, "An Experiment in Local Government", Canadian Forum, May, 1972.

A new direction in government programs must be in the use of incentives to the private person and group. The user of a service is given assistance or reason to become responsible for the delivery of the service. This means moving away from rigid programs into more persuasive, discretionary forms of public administration. Loans or grants would be applied on the basis of how they fit the needs of a particular problem and how they can be used to stimulate private action, working within guidelines set by the legislature. In some American states, public powers, such as land expropriation, taxation or the right to issue public bonds, are transferred to quasi-private bodies like community development corporations as long as they perform according to public purpose.³³

This throws the problem back into the more complex realism of inter-governmental arrangements, public finance, administrative reform. Access to different incentives, applied through direct cash, tax allowances, or other subsidies, is critical and should be the area of continuing research.

Evaluation

It is presently popular to pay lip-service to evaluation. Unfortunately little is done because little is known about how to do it. There is more use of quantitative indicators to judge performance, but these have little application to an area where process and change are the important qualities

33. See David R. Mandelken, "New Incentives and Controls", in William Ewald's, Environment and Policy, op. cit., p. 386.

to be measured. Criteria for assessing the efficacy of social planning, of judging citizen involvement, are still very primitive. This constitutes a major missing element in developing a comprehensive approach to new forms of urban planning. The development of such indicators to determine the impact and effort of plans and programs is therefore of priority concern.

Edward Suchman, of the University of Pittsburgh, suggests certain standards for the measurement of neighbourhood planning. These are: 1) effort, estimating the quantity and quality of action that takes place; 2) performance, the result of the effort; 3) adequacy of performance, the degree to which the performance satisfies the needs; 4) efficiency, is there a better way to attain the same result; 5) process, how and why a program works.³⁴

The development of the means of measuring these categories, however, will require far more work in the field of evaluative research than is presently being carried on in Canada. Such research requires joining the real world of the community and the academic world. Unfortunately, such linkages are hard to forge in most universities and it is not the kind of research that can be performed well by government. Therefore, the creation of centers for evaluative research is of major importance as we move into new areas of community planning and control.

Conclusion

The most serious handicap to incorporating these changes in the style and approach to planning is not the lack of knowing what to do.

34. Edward Suchman, "Principles and Practice of Evaluative Research" in John T. Doby (ed.), An Introduction to Social Research, 2nd Edition, (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1967).

It is the basic conservatism and inflexibility of professional planners and others involved in making plans and policies for our cities and the reluctance of elected and appointed public officials to admit that changes are needed. They often resent the efforts of citizens' groups to become involved in the planning process. They see the idea of citizen participation as a threat to their pre-eminence and a challenge to their position. They do not concede that citizen involvement can result in both better plans and a more democratic form of decision-making.

There will therefore be conflict. Already in Canada there have been innumerable examples of confrontation between the advocates of citizen participation and civic administrators, planners and politicians.

But the signs are hopeful. To begin with, citizen groups have won some victories. For example, they succeeded in convincing the provincial government of Ontario to step in and stop the building of the Spadina Expressway in Toronto. In the Winnipeg experiments, they are demonstrating that they have a capacity for responsible action on their own behalf.

And the professions are changing. Young architects, planners and lawyers are prepared to work in the community as advocates for the citizen. They are supplying the citizen organizations with skills that make for fair competition between government and people.

New knowledge in the art of planning and in the social sciences is beginning to emerge. It shows how planning must be based on more sophisticated understanding of people's behaviour and attitudes and is beginning to supply the methods for analyzing community concerns.

And finally, there is a growing realization by officials that better forms of urban government are required if there is to be an effective response to the changing issues of the city. The new Winnipeg system of regional government introduced this year, while providing one government for the entire region, delegates much of the authority for decision making down to a series of "community committees" which offer the citizen at the neighbourhood level contact and involvement with his government.

The changes towards a system of urban planning will not come easily, but they will come. The forces demanding change and giving support to change, at least in Canada, seem at this moment to be gaining strength.

The belief in self-determination and open democratic planning and management is gaining credence and a following. It is impelled by the recognition that the basic theorem of democracy is once again making sense: "If you want to know if the shoe fits, ask the man who wears it, not the man who made it." But it is also based on the stark fact, realized by more and more people, that unless we put our mind to it and develop a new commitment to democratic goals and make the necessary changes, then democracy in the urban age will not survive.

THE INNER CITY - A WINNIPEG EXAMPLE*

David Vincent

Introduction

Inner city refers to older residential neighbourhoods close to the central business district. As a term, inner city has the advantage of geographic precision, while it also avoids the emotional connotations of such terms as slum and ghetto. Its disadvantage, however, is to convey the impression that inner city conditions are confined to central city neighbourhoods, when in effect, small pockets of such conditions are also found in the older suburban cities of metropolitan areas. A further disadvantage of the term as far as Winnipeg is concerned is that urban planners and researchers have not agreed upon the precise delineation of the inner city. The former Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg determined both urban renewal and rehabilitation areas for the city¹, but specify no inner city area as such, while the Social Service Audit referred to the area of greatest concentration of social problems as the Core Area of Winnipeg.² These two reports are helpful in emphasizing the locus of housing and social problems in the metropolitan area, as shown in map one. However, for the purposes of this paper, the area of Winnipeg designated Urban Renewal Area No. Two and shown in detail in map two, has been chosen as reflective of inner city conditions and problems.

* I am indebted to Tom Yauk of the City of Winnipeg Department of Housing and Urban Renewal for his critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

1. Metropolitan Urban Renewal Study, Final Report, The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, July 1967.
2. Report of the Social Service Audit, sponsored by The Manitoba Government, United Way of Greater Winnipeg, The Winnipeg Foundation, Community Welfare Planning Council, May 1969.

The following papers describe some of the planning responses of citizen groups in this inner city area, and while these efforts are significant in encouraging citizen initiatives in planning, they are small in comparison to the initiatives that must be taken by public and private agencies (in conjunction with citizens) in the renewal of inner city neighbourhoods. An attempt is made in this essay, therefore, to provide a perspective on the inner city that will be helpful to the many individuals and groups sharing responsibility for the planning of neighbourhood renewal. The perspective adopted is that of the inner city as a multi-faceted area, representing a wide diversity of people, problems and living conditions, a heterogeneity in fact that should caution against singular solutions to inner city problems either in physical or social planning terms. The aim of this essay is to provide a way of looking at an urban neighbourhood that reflects something of the dynamics of inner city development, as well as clarifies to some extent the nature of inner city problems.

Two main data sources contributed to this perspective of the inner city as a multi-faceted area: a review of the literature on the inner city, and an analysis of an inner city neighbourhood designated for urban renewal.

1. Literature Review of the Inner City

Despite our earlier claims for the term inner city as a non-emotive term, the literature is replete with references to slums, albeit working-class slums, immigrant ghettos, declining neighbourhoods, urban poverty and decaying core cities. Used by their authors as various descriptive and analytical tools, these terms reflect the complexity and often interdependence

of the viewpoints on the inner city. Thus Marc Fried and his co-authors write about the functions of the working-class community. Having considered the many varieties of dilapidated residential areas and made distinctions between the stable, family-based working class slum and skid row, and between the working class slum and the ghetto, Marc Fried and Joan Levin list six social functions performed by the urban slums: 1) a local labour market for low-status workers, without stable job expectations but within reach of many job possibilities, 2) a transitional community, allowing gradual and selective adaptation to a new and complex environment, 3) a haven, because of an environment of relatively low pressure for social adaptation and change, 4) an area that houses a number of people who show little signs or little likelihood of any social mobility, 5) a haven for those moving down the status scale, and 6) a residential and often social source for many people who experience a loss of occupational status or of income due to difficulties in physical health, social adjustment or emotional well being.³

John Seeley analyzes the functions of the slum from the perspective of its various users. Such user functions must be properly understood if public policy is to be sensitive in improving life in the problem areas.⁴ Herbert Gans has written extensively on several aspects of the inner city (see Bibliography, pages 317-23), but of particular value is his study on class and community in these inner city areas.⁵ Referring to the West End of Boston as "a run-down area of people struggling with the problems of

3. Marc A. Fried and Joan Levin, "Some Social Functions of the Urban Slum", in Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (eds.), Urban Planning and Social Policy, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968), pp. 67-68.

4. John R. Seeley, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users", Journal of American Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, No. 1., February 1959.

5. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans, (New York: The Free Press, 1962).

low-income, poor education and related difficulties", Gans analyzed the group experiences of this population in terms of class and community. In this analysis he differentiated between the intensity of the social relationships of the residents and the physical condition of the neighbourhood. Three additional studies emphasize the importance of the values and living patterns of residents in run-down inner city neighbourhoods.⁶ Of particular interest is the study by Lorimer of the Toronto 'East of Parliament' area which is engaged in a struggle to maintain its character and identity in the face of on-going high rise developments.

Throughout much of the literature a recurring theme is that of the inner city as an important area of first settlement for immigrant populations. In "The Urban Villagers", Gans refers to the variety of people who lived in the West End because of low rents, the cheapness of the cost of living, and the convenience to downtown. David Ward in turn gives a historical perspective to the emergence of central immigrant ghettos in American cities and notes the establishment of ethnic neighbourhoods at a time when "the distributional implications of accessibility (i.e. of home to employment) were determined not only by the extent and density of the streetcar network,

6. James Lorimer and M. Philipps, Working People: Life in a Downtown City Neighbourhood, (Toronto: J. Lewis and Samuel, 1971).

Gerald Suttles, The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, (London: Penguin, 1959).

but by the long working hours, low wages and unpredictable nature of unskilled employment."⁷ Thus the central area provided cheap available housing, accessibility to jobs in the growing central business district, and the opportunities to save money to bring over family and relatives.

Ward's essay is particularly helpful because of its recognition of the central business district today as only one of several sources of employment, and the availability of low-rent housing in more than central residential districts. Thus "the more recent immigration has had more modest effects upon the central residential pattern than that of the nineteenth century." For Winnipeg, the inner city is still the area of first settlement for Portuguese, Italians and native people, although the latter two groups have shown a disposition to move into the older neighbourhoods outside the central residential districts.

Inner city mobility and social disorganization in core neighbourhoods are two aspects of the inner city that pose problems in both social and physical planning terms. As Ronald Boyce points out in his study of Seattle, "people who live in low-rent housing areas move much more often than people who live in high value housing areas. Thus, people who can least afford to move do most of the moving."⁸ In Boyce's study, 38% of all housing in low value, non-white housing changed occupants each year, a percentage twice that of middle value, and four times that of high value housing areas. The

-
7. David Ward, "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettos in American Cities - 1840 - 1920", in Larry S. Bourne (ed.), Internal Structure of the City, Readings on Space and Environment, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 291 - 299.
 8. Ronald Boyce, "Residential Mobility and Its Implications for Urban Social Change", Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 1, 1969, pp. 22-26.

transiency of low-income populations thus makes the task of social welfare agencies that much more difficult in attempting to cope with the social and emotional problems of the inner city. In "The Urban Villagers", Gans mentioned the low rents of the West End as an attraction for people with social and emotional problems, including some "spilled over" from skid row, and some associated with low income and acculturation.⁹ Fried and Levin elaborate on the slum housing and the number of people who show few signs or little likelihood of any social mobility, such as "the poverty-stricken, those with chronic difficulties at work, the lower-status aged, and the 'disorganized' multi-problem family."¹⁰ Some of these groups are transient, while others require the sense of familiarity of psychological security and of acceptance that the slum community offers.

A complex network of social agencies, both governmental and private, concentrate their services on these inner city areas. Winnipeg is no exception, and as the Social Service Audit showed, "over one-quarter of the total services went into the Core Area, yet the area has only 18.5% of the Metropolitan population. Nearly half of all the income maintenance services went into the area. Recreation and informal education services, on the other hand, were much less in the Core Area than in other parts of the City of Winnipeg and in some of the municipalities. Services were given in the Core Area by over one hundred agencies."¹¹ The nature of health and social problems and the response of the health and social welfare systems are thus important aspects of inner city conditions.

9. Gans, op. cit., p. 316.

10. Fried and Levin, op. cit., p. 67.

11. Report of the Social Service Audit, op. cit., p. 17.

Some of the key analytic concepts on the inner city are provided in a series of articles on the dynamics of decline in older neighbourhoods.¹² Naturally a brief paragraph or two cannot hope to do justice to the ideas of these authors; thus some of the main ideas are listed below to be noted with reference to Winnipeg in a later section. In his 1968 paper, Bernard Frieden comments on the importance of neighbourhood surroundings in both the physical and social environment in relation to such factors as residents' morale, self-perception and motivation (page 162). In recommending better community facilities he re-emphasizes a major theme of his 1964 study, in which he maintains the importance of establishing necessary environmental conditions as a precursor to rebuilding the older areas. (page 8).

-
12. Bernard J. Frieden, The Future of Old Neighbourhoods, Rebuilding for a Changing Population, (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964).

"Housing and National Urban Goals: Old Policies and New Realities" in James Q. Wilson (ed.), The Metropolitan Enigma; Inquiries into the Nature and Dimensions of America's "Urban Crisis", (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 159-202.

Truman A. Hartshorn, "Inner City Residential Structure and Decline", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 72-96.

Edgar Hoover and R. Vernon, Anatomy of a Metropolis, (New York: Anchor Books, 1958).

Jerome Rothenberg, "The Elimination of Blight and Slums", in Michael A. Stegman (ed.), Housing and Economics, The American Dilemma, (Cambridge Mass. and London, England: M.I.T. Press, 1970), pp. 90 - 103.

Michael Stegman, Op. cit.

George Sternlieb, "New York's Housing: A Study in Immobilism", in Michael Stegman, op. cit., pp. 482-499.

Truman Hartshorn utilized a spatial process approach in considering the decline of inner city residential neighbourhoods in Cedar Rapid. From his analysis he suggests that substandard housing has expanded spatially by affecting blocks formerly of predominantly sound housing and not simply by intensifying in blocks already downgraded (page 92). This spatial diffusion process he describes as a reverse-wedge idea, with the apex penetrating outward from the centre and the base toward the city centre. Quoting Julian Wolpert (page 77) he refers to his process as the "expanding contagion of dilapidation", recognizing that run-down neighbourhood conditions have a negative impact on surrounding properties. Rothenberg also refers to this neighbourhood externality effect as "the dynamics of contagion".

In their study, "Anatomy of a Metropolis", Hoover and Vernon point out that residential areas characteristically evolve through a series of stages. Five stages are identified and discussed in turn. (pages 185 - 198). Of particular interest to Winnipeg's discussion of the inner city are stages three and four -- a downgrading stage, where old housing is adapted to greater density use than originally designed for, followed by a thinning-out stage, in which the reduction in density and dwelling occupancy is accomplished to a considerable degree by shrinkage of household size.

The identification of these two stages by Hoover and Vernon complements Rothenberg's analysis of slum formation, in terms of intensive and extensive production. 'Intensive production means converting property to lower and lower use and then, for lowest uses, to lower and lower quality levels of service. Extensive production means extending the spatial boundaries of slum concentrations'. "The most important kinds of intensive production are to

convert dwellings to increasingly overcrowded occupancy and to allow the state of the property to deteriorate progressively". (page 99).

Although the scale is massive in comparison to Winnipeg, George Sternlieb jolts us into thinking about our own inner city with his claim that "the slums of New York are growing at their periphery and dying at their core". (page 497). His "zones of abandonment" at the core are formed because they no longer have an economic function, as a result of the stabilization of the immigrant flow and the refusal of the "welfare state" to place families in such poor housing. On the other hand, at the periphery, "older white housing, sustained in fair condition by the relatively advanced age of the inhabitants and their relative childlessness, but systematically under-maintained for a generation, is being submerged by Negro and Puerto Rican immigration from the hard core". (page 497).

These ideas provide key analytic supports in the discussion of Urban Renewal Area No. 2, in addition to indicating areas of needed research activity on Winnipeg's inner city.

This discussion of various inner city perspectives concludes with a brief consideration of two aspects which help to form the basis for this report' urban renewal and redevelopment of the inner city and new organizational concepts for the inner city. An extensive bibliography is available on urban renewal efforts particularly in the United States from the era of slum clearance projects to the present Model Cities Program. In Canada, the Hellyer Task Force on Housing and Urban Development¹³ came out strongly

13. Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, January 1969.

against the large urban renewal schemes, such as the Lord Selkirk Park development in Winnipeg, and similar schemes in cities throughout Canada. Subsequently, the Federal Government announced a "freeze" on certain of these renewal schemes, while encouraging municipalities to develop the means for citizen involvement in renewal planning. Almost three years after this "freeze" was announced, the Federal Government has brought forward new Amendments to the National Housing Act, which in effect state the priority of urban renewal planning in terms of neighbourhood improvement programs. While few details are available as yet, the suggestions for neighbourhood renewal seem to echo Gans' call for a more flexible and humane planning approach which maintains community relationships while improving older neighbourhoods through rehabilitation and renewal.¹⁴

The previous essay by Lloyd Axworthy traced the idea of citizen participation in urban renewal in both Canada and the United States and briefly described some examples of citizen-based organizations initiated by the Institute of Urban Studies in inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. These examples, along with a paper on Neighbourhood Development Corporations, are analyzed in greater detail in the papers that follow. Thus an important component in that complex web of factors that comprises the inner city is the increasing sincerity with which residents of inner city neighbourhoods demand to be part of the planning of solutions to identifiable inner city problems.

This brief review of the literature has identified some eight themes which have been used as vehicles for establishing perceptions of the inner city. Any one of these themes by itself merits research application in Winnipeg on

14. Quoted by Bourne, op. cit., p. 276.

both theoretical and empirical terms. However, such research must enjoy the co-operation of many disciplines and planning orientations in problem solving if we are to match the inner city's multi-faceted character.

2. An Inner City Neighbourhood: Problem and Potential

Because of the rather impersonal categories of our analytic framework, it would be relatively easy to proceed from the review of inner city literature to the analysis of an inner city neighbourhood, and lose our perspective on the people of the area and how they experience life on an everyday basis. Within the diversity of inner city people and community, inner city to some invariably means low incomes, occupational instability, and possibly social and emotional instability, as well. To others, inner city raises their susceptibility to the problems such as alcoholism, drugs, mental illness, divorce and child neglect. Still others see the inner city as the most deteriorated area of the city, the worst housing, a mixture of railroad tracks, warehouses and factories, the area that houses large numbers of senior citizens, people on welfare, immigrants from overseas and native peoples from many Manitoba reserves and communities. Thus it is not without cause that Larry Bourne suggests that inner cities (his term, urban slums) are "concurrently a social problem in terms of social pathologies, a poverty problem because of low incomes, a housing problem in regard to space shortages and deterioration, and a spatial problem because of the geographic position of such areas relative to areas of growth within the metropolitan area."¹⁵

15. Ibid., p. 430.

As the literature has shown, however, it would be a mistake to stereotype all inner city neighbourhoods as simply problem areas. 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. It is for this reason that the analysis of Winnipeg's inner city is entitled, Problem and Potential.

3. Winnipeg's Inner City -- Problem and Potential

A) Problem:

a) Environment: The housing of any consumer in the city includes not only his dwelling but the location of his dwelling and its neighbourhood. It is for this reason that a consideration of environment is so important in examining Winnipeg's inner city. Housing is a problem, as we shall see in the next section, but the wider problem is really one of environment. Frieden pointed out in an earlier section with reference to the evidence that housing is an important factor in self-perception, that such factors as morale, self-perception and motivation appear to be related to a broader environment than the housing unit alone: thus the importance of neighbourhood surroundings in both the social and physical environment.¹⁶

In Winnipeg's inner city the most consistent finding of the various housing and urban renewal reports has been that of the deteriorating effects of industrial, commercial and transportation activities on the residential character of the neighbourhood. The "dynamics of contagion", as Rothenberg

16. Frieden, 1968, p. 162.

calls these neighbourhood effects, have been in operation in the area for over fifty years.¹⁷ In 1957 Gerson undertook the most thorough investigation to date of residential blight in the inner city and found that, "...in the CPR-Notre Dame area (the inner city) it is the location and character of the warehousing and other industrial uses, including the railways, which are the generators of blight, and unless they can be adequately dealt with, there is little likelihood for improving the substandard conditions in the industrial part of the district, let alone the residential."¹⁸

At the present time, the major neighbourhood run down conditions which have a negative impact on surrounding properties are:

1. The railway; the CPR yards which form the northern edge of the inner city, and the Midland Railway which bisects the very core of the area;
2. Substandard industrial premises;
3. A system of traffic arteries which divides the area into a series of sectors and blocks, affording little communication with each other; and
4. Indiscriminate mixture of land uses. "This mixture of land uses is one of the main causes of the deterioration."¹⁹
5. The poor repair and maintenance of roads.

The question of the impact of environment on the residential character of Winnipeg's inner city is clear. Much less clear is the outcome

17. Rothenberg, op. cit., p. 96.

18. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Interim Report, Urban Renewal Scheme, Urban Renewal Area 2, October 1966, p. 5.

19. Wolfgang Gerson, An Urban Renewal Study for the City of Winnipeg: The CPR Notre Dame Area, Planning Research Centre, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba, 1957, p. 14.

of the various proposals affecting the use of the Midland Railway property and the plans for the new overpass and bridge. At the same time, a tri-level government study is underway on the possible affects of relocating the CPR yards. Any one of these activities will have a major impact on the inner city environment. All three would completely recreate the environment. In the meantime, however, while decisions on these major projects are pending, small scale things can happen right away to improve the area, such as upgrading roads and services, and rerouting some of the heavy truck traffic around the area.

b) Housing: This area is one of the oldest in the city. Ninety per cent of the dwellings were built before 1911, including many of the light industrial and commercial buildings. However, age alone might not necessarily result in poor and substandard housing. In the previous section the impact of environment was considered and found to be significant in the deterioration of the residential character of the area. However, the conditions which produced slum housing in Winnipeg's inner city occurred at two different periods in Winnipeg's growth, but had quite similar consequences in terms of the housing stock. The first serious housing shortage occurred in the first decade of this century when Winnipeg's population increased five-fold. The housing problem occasioned by this serious overcrowding was accentuated by the Depression, the War, and the post War influx of immigrants.²⁰ The result was serious family overcrowding of dwellings, low rentals, landlords unable to maintain their property, and decreasing incomes for many people. The situation was aggravated by the mobility of the

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

the population as families kept moving to cheaper and cheaper homes. "Rural in-migration swelled the proportion in search of extremely low rentals."²¹

Thus, the combination of serious overcrowding, rural in-migration and the increased rate of family formation created a demand for low quality housing in Winnipeg's central area, already the area of poorest housing. The supply in this context came from conversion of already crowded space to more overcrowding. Thus, by 1951 the Census of that year showed that this was the area most severely affected by overcrowding and by the multiple use of single-family dwellings.²² Although the population of the area in the last twenty years has fallen dramatically and thus relieved much of the pressure on this housing stock, Rothenberg points out that it is easier to create dwellings suitable to slum occupancy than to "uncreate" them. "While slum-creating forces are sporadic, their effects are asymmetrical formed slum structures tend to persist."²³

The quality of the inner city housing stock thus reflects these historical antecedents. In 1955 a housing survey of the area undertaken by the City of Winnipeg's former Emergency Housing Department, recorded 34% of the dwellings as poor and in need of major repair or demolition; approximately 60% were classified as fair, needing minor repairs to bring them up to a reasonable standard, and 6% were classified as good. Although the categories are not strictly comparable in the survey of housing as part of the urban renewal study (1966-68), "over 75% were found to be in only fair to poor, or

21. Winnipeg Council of Social Agencies, Housing in Winnipeg, Report of the Committee on Housing, 1943, p. 118.

22. Gerson, op. cit., p. 22.

23. Rothenberg, op. cit., p. 101.

poor condition, and only 1.1% were found to be in good condition. The remaining 22% were in good to fair or fair condition."²⁴

The ratio of tenant to owner is three to one in the area, and the same report points out that a large number of the tenants (40.9%), including elderly persons, are paying excessive rents for their accommodation. A rent is considered to be excessive when more than 27% of the monthly income is involved.²⁵ To Stegman these excessive housing costs of inner cities are related not to income, but to the quality of the housing, space and the neighbourhood environment.²⁶

Surveys over the last twenty years have consistently recorded large numbers of people who would like to remain in the area if decent housing were available at rents they could afford. There is considerable evidence that some of these families are unable to locate such housing. As some of the other papers in this report explain, a major thrust of the Institute's activities in the inner city is to assist families in coping with this problem.

c) Declining Population: In the review of the literature it was pointed out that Stages 3 and 4 of Hoover and Vernon's typology of neighbourhood evolution were helpful in understanding a significant aspect of

24. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, January 1968, p. 16.

25. Ibid., p. 56.

26. Stegman, op. cit., p. 203.

Winnipeg's inner city.²⁷ Stage 3 refers to a "downgrading stage" which results from old housing, both multi-family and single, being adopted to greater density use than originally designed for. New construction is minimal, but some population growth occurs, while the density increases through conversion and crowding of existing structures. As the previous section on housing indicated, Winnipeg experienced serious downgrading of its housing stock, particularly during the period of the Depression, the War and the post war influx of immigrants.

Hoover and Vernon's fourth stage, "the thinning out stage", seems to approximate the experience of Winnipeg in the last decade. This stage is characterized by a reduction in density and dwelling occupancy, little or no residential construction, and a decline in the population. The authors point out that in the "thinning-out process, after the slum areas reach peak density, a considerable part is played by the shrinkage of household size, often resulting in a population decline, along with an increase in the number of dwelling units.

The Final General Report of Urban Renewal Area No. 2 observed that the population of the area has been declining steadily since 1941, and particularly in the five year period, 1961 - 1965 (22.5%). At the same time, the number of households increased markedly by 31.5%.²⁸ The Report concludes that the inner city lost family households and gained large increases of single person households. With this decline in population is an attendant change in the population's composition in favour of the older age group. Between 1961 and 1966 the area lost 12% of its population

27. Hoover and Vernon, op. cit., pp. 185 - 198.

28. City of Winnipeg, Final General Report, pp. 35-40.

aged 1 - 19 years and 33% of the age group 20 - 24 years.²⁹ Population estimates from the City of Winnipeg indicate that the population totals have remained fairly static between 1966 and March 1972, but that the percentage of elderly has increased, while the school age population has declined. Data provided by the Winnipeg School Board for inner city schools indicates an 8% decrease in the elementary school population and a decrease of close to 10% for the junior high school in the two-year period 1970 - 1972.

The fact of family out-migration from inner city neighbourhoods is confirmed by the desire of the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood, Inc. to build up a housing portfolio that would attract families back into the area.

Herbert Gans also reports upon a declining population phase in the case of Boston's West End, where the area's population suffered a 23,000 to 7,000 loss from its hey-day in 1910 to 1961. Gans suggests five reasons for the West End's declining population 1) decreasing family size among the descendants of the immigrant group, 2) gradual reduction in dwelling units, as the hospital expanded its facilities, 3) deteriorated buildings became vacant, 4) young families moved out to lower density suburbs, and 5) in 1951 it was announced that the area would be redeveloped.³⁰

In comparison to the West End, however, it seems that Winnipeg has at least halted the loss of its population in the last six years. While the dynamics of this decline, at least in the 1951 - 1966 period, indicated with reference to the Hoover-Vernon model, it is possible that in the six

29. Ibid., p. 44.

30. Gans, 1962, page 8.

years following 1966 the presence of new populations has enabled the inner city to halt, and maybe even reverse this population trend. Data from the 1971 census is not yet available to confirm or deny this suggestion. However, the presence in the community of Italians, Portuguese and people of Indian ancestry brings new life to the inner city, as well as challenges the existing neighbourhood institutions to respond appropriately to a new set of needs.

d) Poverty: The latest data available on income for the inner city is provided by the Final General Report of Urban Renewal Area Number Two. Although the Social Service Audit was published a year later than the Final Report, the income figures are based upon 1961 data and are therefore hopelessly out of date. The Final Report's data was acquired by survey, and gives both wage and total family income. The results on both scores leave no doubt that the inner city populations have very low incomes.

Fifty-three per cent of wage earners in 1966 earned less than \$3,000 while 66.5% of those declaring total income for the year earned less than \$3,000. This figure (\$3,000) was chosen by the Economic Council of Canada in 1968 to denote the poverty-line for a family of four. The level of a single adult was considered less. Given this data, and the indications of social assistance levels in the inner city, (i.e. 20% of the population supported by the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba), there can be little doubt that Winnipeg's inner city is a poverty problem.*

* Estimate provided by the City of Winnipeg, May 1972.

There is some possibility that the social assistance rates will have increased since 1966: the minimum wage has gone up, as have wages in general. But it is doubtful that the proportions of better skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen will have increased in the inner city, even if full employment were available. The inner city attracts those who have few skills to offer on the urban market and provides a support community until the transition to the urban work force is effected. In general, the inner city has the lowest educational levels, the largest proportions of men in the craftsmen and labouring categories and the resulting lowest incomes. Thus, not only is the earning power of the employed worker at a fairly low level, but the inner city also has sizeable numbers unemployed and many not in the labour force at all.

Herbert Gans suggests a division of this low income population into two groups:

- A. The working class composed of semi-skilled and skilled blue collar workers, who are stable, if not affluent, and
- B. The lower class, composed of people who perform the unskilled labour and service functions in the society.

As the need for unskilled labour decreases, it is all the more difficult for the lower classes to improve their condition. "Partly because of occupational instability, their lives are beset with social and emotional instability as well, and it is among them that one finds the majority of the emotional problems and social evils that are associated with the low

income population."³¹

Thus the problem of poverty is not simply lack of economic potential: it is often a lack of access to important opportunities both for oneself and one's family. In these circumstances, although low incomes may make the inner city neighbourhood the only choice, that same inner city neighbourhood often provides a sense of familiarity, of psychological security, and of acceptance in the midst of the occupational and emotional instability described above.

e) Social: Perhaps this aspect of the inner city character is more obvious to the general public than the four factors discussed previously. Unfortunately, the problem of poverty is often part of the same image of the inner city as a social (pathological) problem. Thus, low income wage earners are generally not thought of by those unfamiliar with the constraints of the minimum wage, as being poor. But the more visible signs of behaviour, particularly behaviour deemed undesirable by the majority of the community, gives the image of social breakdown. Such behaviour, however, is usually confined to the skid rows of the inner city; in Winnipeg, Main Street, between Higgins and William.

Social problems affecting individuals and families on the other hand tend to be distributed throughout the inner city. The recent Social Service Audit reported higher than average incidences for the inner city of several indices of social disorganization, including mental illness, illegitimacy, venereal disease, alcoholism, child neglect, domestic and criminal offences.

31. Herbert J. Gans, "Planning for the Elimination of Urban Poverty" in Frieden and Morris, op. cit., pp. 42-51.

Such problem areas receive a great deal of attention from the Social Service Agencies, but they themselves confess to merely a 'band-aid' role. However, there is evidence to suggest that this 'band-aid' approach may be in the process of being replaced, albeit haltingly as new forms of social planning interventions become active in Winnipeg. While agencies within the social welfare system discuss the need for reorganization of the 'delivery system' and recommend new ways of providing services, the papers in this volume describe the organizational forms in which direct funding can be provided to enable groups of citizens to deal with the problems they themselves are experiencing. Other self-help organizations in the community are active in attempting to clarify the key issues and provide solutions to the range of social problems present in the inner city.

Summary

In these five sections an attempt has been made to look at some of the real problems associated with the inner city. Perhaps because of the emphasis on the problems, we commit the folly of designating the whole inner city area as a problem. This is certainly not the intention. As David Ward points out, "we need to identify variations in the social and living conditions of low-income residential areas"³² in order to determine the source of strength and potential as well as identify areas of need. The concluding section of this essay will consider four indicators of development potential in Winnipeg's inner city.

32. David Ward, op. cit., p. 293.

B. Potential

1. Population: An earlier section commented on the diversity of population groups located in the inner city, groups such as the aged, rural immigrants, immigrant groups including Italians and Portuguese, native peoples, single people of all ages, excluding aged, and families, many of whom have lived in the area for a long time, and thus lend stability and continuity to the area. "...Stable, family-based working class people, economically deprived but without extensive dependence on professional services and assistance, represent the vast majority of slum populations."³³

Both the urban renewal reports and the Institute's survey of Roosevelt Park, a neighbourhood within Urban Renewal Area No. 2, indicate that the percentage of long term residents is declining. Although in both surveys, some 60% of the population had lived less than five years at their present address, 70% indicated that they would like to remain in the area. Besides the incidence of transiency normally associated with large single male populations, there is considerable family mobility within the inner city. Our knowledge of this whole process is extremely limited at present, but other inner city studies have shown that "the people who can least afford to move do most of the moving."³⁴

Despite the evidence of fewer long-term residents in the inner city and the tendency towards frequent intra-urban housing shifts, the Institute, through its surveys and related activities, has been struck by the number of residents who feel very strongly about the inner city and what it has

33. Fried and Levin, op. cit., p. 293.

34. Boyce, op. cit., p. 339.

to offer as an urban neighbourhood. Thus, within the population diversity, there are both those who see the inner city merely as a transitional community until they move on to some other part of the city, and those residents who identify with the area and are concerned enough to start taking initiatives towards its improvement. From a slightly different perspective, Milton Kitler emphasizes the importance of neighbourhood identity and the sense almost of the neighbourhood as liberator in those low income areas where residents feel they have little personal control over their own lives.³⁵

2. Area Plans: Despite the fact that the inner city was considered a number one priority for renewal since the late 1950's and early 1960's no definite plans have yet been established. Residents have endured the frustrations of hearing official announcements about planning, but seeing little actual evidence of renewal. However, following the redevelopment of Lord Selkirk Park in the North End in 1966-1967, City Council adopted the Final General Report of Urban Renewal Area Number 2 in January 1968 as a suitable guide upon which to base future long-range planning. In the two year interval between January 1968 and January 1970, the City began negotiating for the removal of the Midland Railway from the area, the Hellyer Task Force forcefully suggested new ways of renewing cities and the Federal Government proclaimed a "freeze" on certain urban renewal schemes, meanwhile promising to help the City with the purchase of the railway. The city had begun to look at new approaches to urban redevelopment and in January 1970, a new

35. Milton Kotler, Neighbourhood Government, The Local Foundations of Political Life, (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969).

approach was indeed adopted by Council, based on two principles. 1) Renewal actions must be oriented towards neighbourhood improvement programs, in which rehabilitative and preservation elements are emphasized, and redevelopment occurs on a selective 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.³⁶

Although very little in the way of renewal planning or action has transpired since the adoption of this concept, it is known that the city presently favours an action area plan for the inner city. It is likely that the two principles enumerated above will be embodied in such planning. At the same time the federal government has recently announced amendments to the National Housing Act which would support neighbourhood improvement plans. While details of this plan are few the intent seems to be that of selective measures for neighbourhood renewal, again involving local residents in these efforts.

Thus with the suggestions of new plans the inner city seems about to realize some of that potential assumed in this essay.

3. Citizen Self-Help Groups: In recent years several self-help organizations have developed in Winnipeg focussing on issues of housing, health, welfare and employment and training. The Institute has been associated with some of these activities and they are reported on in this volume. Their significance with regard to the potential of inner city renewal lies in the experience gained by inner city residents in the process of developing

36. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, Phase 1, Midland Railway, June 1970, p. 5.

new organizational forms, and in the planning, albeit on a very reduced scale, of certain programs for their neighbourhood. In this sense a portion of this potential for renewal has already been realized.

4. Local Government: The new unicity legislation makes legal provisions for citizens to share in the planning for neighbourhood improvement programs. Citizens can be involved both at the community committee and resident advisory group levels. In the case of Centennial Community Committee, of which the urban renewal Area No. 2 is a part, two of the local councillors are experienced in community organization and planning. Citizen based planning initiatives are already underway in this community committee area, and with the probability of acquiring neighbourhood improvement grants (and their requirement for resident participation), the potential of this new instrument for citizen involvement in neighbourhood renewal may soon be realized.

Conclusion

Perhaps in comparison to the problems of the inner city discussed earlier, this brief comment on the potential for inner city renewal seems to be stretching the point. However, the four factors mentioned represent certain strengths to the inner city, and seem particularly relevant in light of the suggested formats for inner city renewal. In essence, the objective of the Institute in its inner city work is summarized in the following comment by Roy Hadden: "As urban renewal passes from the stage of 'once-for-all' clearance schemes to the continuous process of improving the quality of existing physical fabrics, we shall need to pay much more

attention to adjusting our techniques of improvement to the variety of circumstances found in our cities."³⁷

This essay has attempted to convey the idea that inner cities are multi-faceted areas, performing distinctive functions within the urban community for a population of diverse social characteristics and aspirations. While housing for the most part is old, the quality varies and the worst housing is usually in proximity to those areas used for non-residential purposes. The essay has looked at more than the physical problems of inner cities and in doing so has attempted to be sensitive (if somewhat simplistic), as well as theoretical, in examining the range of problem conditions in these areas. In both the analysis of inner city problems and the implementation of programs for their solution, a dialectic is required, therefore, not only between researchers and planners of many disciplines, but particularly between the residents of inner cities and those who would plan on their behalf.

37. Roy Hadden, Review of Norman Dennis, *People and Planning*, Urban Studies, Vol. 7, No. 3, October 1970, pp. 316 - 317.

ROOSEVELT PARK REDEVELOPMENT

Lloyd Axworthy

The Area

Roosevelt Park is a small district located in the middle of Urban Renewal Area II in downtown Winnipeg. The name comes from a playground centred in the area. The population is basically working people, with a large number of families and individuals on welfare. There is a high percentage of older people, mainly single, living in rooming houses. There is a mixture of population groups, with recent settlement by Portuguese and Italians and Indian and Metis. The housing stock ranges from a few good units to many sub-standard units. The area has a high incidence of disease and social problems and is consequently served by many social agencies.

The area has been designated for urban renewal for over twenty years, yet very little in the way of government action has been taken. The result is that the area has suffered not only from the difficulties inherent in its conditions as a declining neighbourhood, but also from the paralysis of not knowing what to expect in an area designated for renewal that never comes. As far back as 1949, the Gerson Report recommended that small scale rehabilitation and improvement could be introduced in Urban Renewal Area II, even without a major urban renewal plan. Successive reports supported the idea, but as of 1969 no action of any kind had been taken. And, in fact, public services and amenities such as streets, highways and boulevards had been allowed to deteriorate. It has been a community constantly under study, constantly talked about, and constantly ignored.

The Concept

In the summer and fall of 1969, the Institute of Urban Studies planned a pilot project to test whether more effective methods of neighbourhood renewal could be developed and implemented. General reconnaissance and discussion with residents was carried out in several parts of the area. Discussions were held with city and federal officials involved in renewal, members of social agencies and churches working in the inner city and with a range and variety of residents. The point of the discussions was to assess what the different government agencies and social organizations were doing, what the role of the Institute might be in developing new approaches to renewal and what response this would receive in the community.

This preliminary reconnaissance indicated that there was an interest on the part of residents in rejuvenating the area, but they felt that there was no agency or organization interested in the job. The social agencies in the area tended to concentrate on specific issues or on problem families and were not available to work for general improvement and renewal. Also, there was a distrust of government generated by years of neglect. Another important fact gleaned from this initial assessment was the lack of information. Most people talked to had little knowledge of what was happening to the area, what resources or programs might be available to them to bring about change.

From the survey it appeared that the most useful experiment would be to begin a pilot scheme in the Roosevelt Park area to test ways of undertaking community renewal.

The design of the project undertaken by the Institute began with the following purposes:

- 1) to test the possibility of having residents involved in the planning of their community;
- 2) to test how private professionals and other community resources could be allied to projects of community-based planning;
- 3) to test new organizational forms on the neighbourhood level for carrying out community purposes;
- 4) to test ways of assessing user needs in planning;
- 5) to test different approaches, in low-cost housing, examining various techniques of financing, construction and rehabilitation;
- 6) to test new methods of educational, social and economic activity of benefit to the community.

In general, these elements were a composite testing of the ways that an inner city neighbourhood could initiate and carry out its own redevelopment, using a mixture of public and private resources.

The process used in carrying out this project followed the guidelines of action research. The staff of the Institute would be involved with the community in the search for improvements, would observe, record, assess the process and share their information with residents, would present ideas and receive ideas back from residents, would work with residents on different strategies, would formulate and conduct different programs and generally support a scheme of community centered problem-solving. From this involvement would come an understanding of the process and the opportunity to introduce and try innovative techniques in planning, communicating, or building. It was a mutual experiment by university staff and neighbourhood people in testing the application of knowledge to practical problems, a

partnership in seeking constructive change and understanding how and why such change occurs.¹ A good description of this mode of action research is supplied by Robin Marris. "By action research we mean the involvement of representatives of the group as actors in a situation whose dynamic we simultaneously undertake to study."²

This indicates that, in fact, the project was testing another question unrelated to neighbourhood redevelopment - the role of the university in socially useful research. There is a continuous debate within the university and without over its place in the community. There is strong opinion that the university should confine itself to traditional roles of teaching and basic academic research. On the other hand, there is increasing discontent of many students, faculty and certainly non-academic people over the apparent irrelevancy of the university to many critical problems faced by the community. One answer is for the university to engage in community related research where it attempts to assist the community by applying a thoughtful approach to the solution of problems.³ From this can come both direct, tangible improvements and the kind of analysis and understanding useful in determining new policies and programs. So, in effect, the capacity of the university to perform this kind of function was a prime element in this first project undertaken by the Institute.

-
1. See, Nevitt Sanford "Whatever Happened to Action Research". Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 26, No. 4, Autumn 1971.
 2. Marris, R., "The Role of the Business-Like Organization in the Technology of Social Change" in Social Innovation in the City ed. Richard Rosenbloom and Robin Marris, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).
 3. See "Submission to Commission on the Rationalization of University Research" I.U.S. November, 1971.

First Steps

The beginning of the project was to plan and design a strategy of entry into the area. Informal talks were begun with residents and groups in the area. At the same time, what statistical data and information was available on the area was compiled. Thirty-five University of Winnipeg students from a volunteer group of close to 100 were selected and given training in methods of community contact. This involved role playing, using VTR, discussing renewal and planning and trial field activities under supervision of trained community workers. The approach to be used by the students was that they were not to impose their ideas on how to renew the area, but to offer to assist residents who wanted to become involved in a renewal effort.

At the same time, a group of private professional people was recruited to form a technical advisory group. This group included several architects, a planner, a geographer, an economist, a mortgage consultant, a banker, a builder, a lawyer, a government official and a social worker. The role of this group was to examine the various development possibilities in the Roosevelt Park area and then be in a position to assist and advise the residents. This group recruited 10 students from the environmental studies faculty at the University of Manitoba to begin a technical survey of land use and property ownership in the area.

The technical group, as the project progressed, demonstrated a high degree of commitment to the project. Equally important, several have continued to act as advisors over the past two and a half years of work with citizens in the area and have made invaluable contributions. The motivation for their involvement seems twofold. First, a concern to do something for the community. Secondly, a chance to break out of the

conventional pattern of their professions and become involved in innovation and new thought.⁴

The work by this group points to a source of very useful skills. There are limitations of such a volunteer group as they are usually busy in their own careers. But, they can supply specialized assistance on a continuous basis when such assistance is required and appear pleased to do so.

Community Survey

Beginning in December and carrying through January and February, the students from the University of Winnipeg, under supervision of a community worker from the Institute and a volunteer social worker, undertook a door-to-door visit in the Roosevelt Park area. The purpose of these visits was to make contact with the residents, gauge the feelings and interests of residents on the issue of renewal and acquire information. A questionnaire was prepared by two members of the technical advisory group, one a research officer with the Community Welfare Planning Council, the other a social worker with experience in the area. The questionnaire was designed to simply acquire basic information about the residents and to assess degrees of commitment to the area and interest in becoming involved in a community effort at renewal. The most important reason for the visits, however, was to make contact and explore with residents the possibility of a community renewal program. Part of this was achieved by guaranteeing each person interviewed that the information gathered would be shared and that they would be invited to a meeting to hear the results.

4. A series of interviews undertaken by Angus Cranston, a student in the Masters course in Planning with the technical advisory group confirms these comments. See Angus Cranston. "The Role of the Technical Advisory Group", unpublished working paper, Institute of Urban Studies.

Information gathered from the visits was useful in portraying characteristics of the area that had not been shown in previous studies. For example, it found that about 33% of the property was resident owned, that the fair degree of change in homes by residents was always in the general inner-city area, that much of the social and leisure activity was concentrated in the area. This suggested that there was greater community related action and attachment than was normally portrayed by previous studies, which tended to emphasize the pathology of the area, not its strong points.⁵ These findings emphasized the possibility of community renewal action.

Toward the end of February, as the students completed their visits and as a number of return calls were made to residents who wanted to become involved in renewal programs, it became apparent that residents were interested in coming together to take some action. Accordingly, it was decided that a meeting should be called in the area so members of the technical advisory group could supply information on the area and on proposed planning decisions that were being considered, such as the use of the Midland Railway site, the proposed new bridge across the CPR, the expansion of hospital facilities in the area.

A meeting was scheduled for March 6th at Hugh John Macdonald School, a junior high school in the area. Students and field workers revisited families and a hand bill was delivered announcing the meeting. A group of residents played a major role in planning the meeting.

Close to 200 people attended the meeting, drawn from a potential 1,200 households. The first part of the meeting involved a discussion of the reports presented by the technical advisors on the results of the survey,

5. See - Survey Results - Institute of Urban Studies. Roosevelt Park Demonstration Project, an unpublished working paper.

the land use of the area, the possible planning decisions that were pending and some directions that a citizens' group could take. A strong sense of frustration was expressed by many residents over the history of broken promises and unmet expectations, along with a willingness to do something. The posture taken by the IUS fieldworkers and technical advisory people was that something could be done, but only if the residents were willing to take the initiative. If there was this willingness, then the resources of IUS and the technical advisors would be available to help. The meeting concluded with a decision to form an ad hoc committee and some 30 to 40 people said they would be prepared to work on the committee.

The People's Committee

This began the next phase of development in Roosevelt Park. There was now the embryo of a residents' group prepared to take action. The make-up of this group was mixed. There were both landlords and tenants, local businessmen and housewives and members of different ethnic groups.

The first meetings of this group, called the People's Committee, primarily dealt with specific issues in the area, i.e. the ultimate use of the Midland Railway property, the proposed Sherbrook - McGregor bridge, the lack of housing in the area, the poor recreation facilities, the problem of older people. These meetings were attended by 15 to 20 people and discussion ranged over many topics without any real decision on priorities or on development strategies. They met in a storefront building at 149 Isabel St. that was supplied by IUS. An additional task decided by the group was to print a community newsletter supplying information on the area.

At the same time, a "brainstorming session" was held at the faculty of architecture of the University of Manitoba, organized by the architects on the technical group. The purpose was to involve a wide range

of students, professionals and residents in a discussion of possible planning strategies. Many ideas were discussed, some of which, notably a concept of in-fill housing and the redevelopment of the commercial strip, later became ideas promoted by the People's Committee.

Following this, a series of home visits was organized in the area at which professionals from the technical group met with residents in their own homes to discuss needs, concerns and interests. This was an interesting, at times troublesome, but useful experiment. It began to break down many of the barriers that often exist between professionals and laymen, especially low-income laymen. In addition, newsletters were prepared in different languages, providing information on the area and experiments were tried using video tape as a means of providing information, especially to people who could not read or speak English with facility.

The Apartment Move

In early April, it was noticed by one of the IUS field-workers that the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg was planning to demolish several buildings about 10 blocks from the Roosevelt Park area. This was brought to the attention of the People's Committee and they decided it offered an opportunity to take some explicit action to improve housing in the area.⁶ At the same meeting (April 27th) that this was discussed, a family of eight who lived in the area asked if the People's Committee could help them obtain immediate accommodation.

6. A full report on this aspect of the apartment block moving is contained in a report by IUS staff members. See Lawrie Cherniack and Eric Barker, A Report on 610 Ross, Institute of Urban Studies Report on the Roosevelt Park Demonstration Area.

This highlighted the need for new housing in the area. The People's Committee decided at the meeting to ask Metro to delay awarding tenders on the buildings until the committee could look into moving them. At the following meeting, after discussions with the technical committee, the decision was taken to buy the buildings, move them into the area and renovate them for use as low-income housing.

This decision to buy the apartment block was made because it seemed to answer some basic concerns of the area. The People's Committee had discussed what could be done to halt the attrition of housing stock in the area and to provide good accommodation for families. The apartment block represented a way of solving these problems, so they decided to proceed.

Then ensued an intensive period of activity for the People's Committee. It involving extended negotiations with four levels of government, a decision to incorporate as a non-profit development company, the working out of the technical problems of financing and managing the apartment block that was to be moved and the actual moving, renovation of the block and selection of tenants. Each of these activities revealed noteworthy aspects of how a citizens' group operates.

(a) Government Negotiations: Meetings were held with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation officials after Metro agreed to delay tenders. MHRC reports indicated it was not feasible to move the buildings. With the assistance of their technical advisors, the People's Committee prepared documents showing that it was feasible and the minister responsible for housing accepted their estimates. This demonstrated both the value and necessity of having experienced resource people available.

The decision of the provincial government was delayed through late May and early June. Metro indicated that it could no longer wait and planned immediate demolition. Within 24 hours, the People's Committee organized a demonstration on the steps of the Legislature where a brief was presented to Municipal Affairs Minister Howard Pawley, minister responsible for housing, with full news coverage. A few days later, the cabinet agreed to a \$45,000 dollar loan to cover land acquisition, moving and renovating costs. The formula for repaying the loan and the question of who would own the block, the People's Committee or the government, was left open. The experience showed how ill-prepared government is to deal with this kind of citizen development. Because such an initiative falls outside the frame of conventional practices, decisions had to be made on an ad hoc basis. Obviously a system of response and support for such ventures should be developed to overcome delays and to encourage further efforts at self-help.

(b) Incorporation: An important step taken by the People's Committee was to become an incorporated body. This gave them the legal right to lend money, sign contracts, undertake obligations with limited liability to the individuals. At the same time, it imposed a degree of discipline on members of the group and ensured their commitment.

The basis for incorporation, discussed over several meetings between the People's Committee and their lawyer, was as follows: A board of directors elected from the membership with a revolving chairmanship, membership in the People's Committee open to all area residents who attended at least two meetings.⁷

7. VTR tape of discussions leading to incorporation is available from IUS, as is a copy of the letters patent of incorporation.

The potential users of this device of incorporation are many and it can become a major technique for combining the necessary elements in neighbourhood improvement. It is a way of using an institution that has been highly successful in developing private enterprise for neighbourhood or community enterprise. It is a form of social technology that can be used to better manage our cities and provide the necessary legal instrument which can give neighbourhoods more control over the planning and conduct of their affairs.⁸

(c) Moving and Renovating: Once approval was received by the provincial government and a piece of private land purchased (the city refused to give city-owned land as they maintained that the land should not be used until a renewal plan had been developed), it was decided that only one of the structures should be moved - a 110-ton apartment block containing six suites. The other buildings had become unusable due to vandalism during the delay.

Moving and renovating an apartment block involved the People's Committee in a number of complicated administrative and technical tasks - securing building permits, arranging with streets and traffic for moving the building, preparing the site, etc. To help in this effort, the People's Committee hired a full-time architect, paid for by the Institute, but responsible to members of the committee. But, much of the work was done by the members themselves.

The benefits of this activity were that the citizens in the group began to develop skills in management and administration and became aware of all the pitfalls, of rules and regulations that must be followed to take some form of action in a modern city.

8. For a full discussion of the use of neighbourhood corporations see Milton Kotler, Neighbourhood Government, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969).

An added benefit occurred during the period of renovation. Several neighbourhood people and students from R. B. Russell Technical School volunteered to work on the renovation and appeared to gain satisfaction in doing so. It illustrates that community participation does not have to be limited to decision making. It can actually involve people in direct work of improvement, a variation on the old community barn-raising activities of rural communities. This kind of involvement is just as important and as beneficial as decision making and should be a basic point of any self-help program.

Another area of major importance discovered by the People's Committee is the problem of management and service of low-income housing. How are tenants selected, what are the relations between citizens groups and tenants, who performs repairs? This is an area of exploration still going on at 610 Ross and one that is still not resolved. The first ambition of the People's Committee was to have a very democratic and open relationship with tenants. For example, the lease was a product of negotiation between the building committee and tenants. But, the People's Committee at this stage are becoming more emphatic in their management and less open in their tenant relations.

The block was successfully moved in September of 1971 and an official opening held in December after renovations had been completed. The whole job, from decision by the People's Committee to acquire the block to the time people moved in, took 10 months. Six families are now in the block, paying monthly rent ranging from \$70.00 to \$90.00.

The effect of this particular activity by the People's Committee was basically positive. It had a stimulating effect upon the community. It symbolized that improvement can happen in an area where little improvement

has occurred and that the authors of the improvement can be residents themselves. It had a positive educative effect on the People's Committee. They learned a great deal, acquired skills and became a more identifiable group. On the other hand, as IUS staff assessments show, this venture also taxed their resources and prevented them from undertaking other ventures. It also engendered friction between members of the group, caused in part by the publicity and public attention focussed on the group and a few of its members. This conflict continued through the months after the apartment block move was over and ultimately involved the field worker from IUS. The group ultimately resolved the difficulties, although it took a fair degree of time and energy to do so.

At the same time, it provided the chance to reduce the involvement of IUS staff in the project. In a series of meetings with the Institute, the People's Committee became independent from direct support, relying upon the Institute for resources only when required. The IUS role as a professional advisor has worked satisfactorily and makes the People's Committee one of the few groups that has cut the umbilical cord and survived without the services of a professional community worker.

In all, the apartment block project was an accomplishment and a useful demonstration of what a citizens' corporation can do, given the right resources, even though faced with a number of serious handicaps. It also provided a good testing ground for learning about neighbourhood improvement techniques, the attitudes and actions of government and the potential of participation.

Government Competition

Simultaneous to their involvement with the apartment, the People's Committee was also engaged in a running skirmish with local government officials over the role of a citizen group in planning the area.

The focus of the debate was the Midland Railway yard, a strip of open land, tracks and warehousing bisecting Urban Renewal Area II. In 1969, it appeared that the city would purchase the yard, thus opening important development possibilities and eliminating a major constraint on federal-provincial involvement in renewal. At the same time, however, the Hellyer Task Force had recommended a halt to all renewal efforts and it appeared that federal assistance would be frozen. Thus the City of Winnipeg's planning officials were stymied, even though urged to proceed with plans for acquisition.

The People's Committee, after its formation, had begun promoting several development programs for the use of the Midland. They proposed the idea of using the warehousing sheds on the Midland property to provide a form of community mall for small stores and local services. They proposed a major senior citizens' housing project on the corner of Elgin Avenue and Isabel Street right across from the Midland. They spoke of new housing on the site of the Midland.

The city was unresponsive to these ideas. First, they said that nothing should be done in the area until the question of the Midland had been resolved and until their planners had drawn up a master plan for the area. In effect, the area, according to the city, should stay frozen.

Secondly, the city set up its own citizens group, which it claimed was the only legitimate spokesman for residents of Urban Renewal Area II.

The Citizen Steering Committee was made up of representatives of different groups involved in the inner city. The People's Committee had been asked to join, but had declined on grounds that this would limit their ability to act independently and reduce their ability to bargain and negotiate with the city. They felt that they were being co-opted.⁹

A competitive relationship grew up between the two committees, aided and abetted by the community workers attached to each group. The claim of the People's Committee that they should be allowed to work in one neighbourhood within Urban Renewal Area II and make direct representation to city officials was opposed by both the Steering Committee and staff of the Urban Renewal Department of the City of Winnipeg. The argument was that the city did not accept the notion of having multiple groups operating in their area, each with their own access to government. It is an argument often used by government officials. What it does not recognize is that what might be a bureaucratic standard of control, dealing with only one spokesman, may in fact impose artificial parameters on citizen development and restrict the growth of a pluralism of organizations, each of which perform an important function.

As mentioned in a previous essay, one of the prime ingredients in neighbourhood improvement or development is the creation of a number of community structures and organizations. Each of these fulfills a certain need and aids in the emergence of a more complex social system that can perform a greater variety of tasks.

9. See Kenneth Clark and Marian Hopkins, A Relevant Ward Against Poverty, (New York: Harper and Row, 1969). They show that American CAP programs invariably tried to defeat or co-opt independent citizens' groups. Interestingly, the only ones able to survive this were those who had third party support, similar to IUS support of the People's Committee.

The People's Committee pursued their independence by deciding to make an issue over the proposed Kinsmen Park. A local service club working with the city planning department and the Citizen Steering Committee proposed building a large-scale recreation complex on the Midland property. The People's Committee, looking at the proposal, felt that this was a poor use of the site. A large recreation complex would, in their opinion, not serve older people in the area, or families with young children, nor satisfy the need for housing. Their counter proposal was that the Midland be designed to include housing combined with smaller open spaces.

They publicized their position throughout the area and organized a demonstration on the Midland Railway site attended by only about 25 people. It was not a particularly successful move. But the ensuing publicity was embarrassing to the service club and a series of discussions were then initiated between the People's Committee and city officials. The result was that they gained recognition. Tacit admission was given by city officials that they would deal with different groups in the area.

This conflict with the city and the other citizen group was an additional pressure on the fledgling committee and again occupied a good deal of time and effort. It is another illustration of how the attitude and approach of different government departments has a strong bearing on the actions of a citizen planning organization. Too often government officials take the view of operating according to what is convenient to them. They do not see their relationship with the citizen group as a useful partnership which is good for the area. More often, it is an attitude of pained indulgence, which leads to finding reasons for not working with or encouraging groups. There are some simple steps that would improve the relationships of groups to governments. Rather than worrying about the number of citizens groups, government should be more concerned about developing a framework

within which different groups can operate. Rather than insisting on one spokesman for a citizen movement, government should set forth criteria for performance, stability and effectiveness that groups must meet to gain support. Rather than fixing on the "representative" nature of one group over another, government should be seeking to encourage pluralism, intervening to co-ordinate the different groups when it is necessary and providing the mechanisms which they can operate to make decisions.

The style of government response to citizen groups should not follow the standard 19th century-early 20th century theories of public administration and government organization. These theories emphasize hierarchial structures, executive centered decision making, strict division between public and private sectors, the insularity of the civil servant, the notion of someone "speaking for" or "representing" the public. Now, the emphasis must be on specific tasks and responsibilities, combining, in collegial fashion, government officials, private citizens and private resource groups such as universities. These combinations and the people who comprise them shift and change as the tasks alter.¹⁰

It will require, of course, a different form of government organization and a different type of public servant and politician. Yet, this approach is being seen by students of government and public administration as the way government must approach the problems of urban development.

Michael Svirdorf, former director of the human renewal programming in New Haven, reflecting on the failure of that city to master the problem of urban redevelopment, even though it had all the finances it needed, used

10. See paper by Frederic Thayer, "Participation and Liberal Democratic Government" prepared for Committee on Government Productivity, Government of Ontario.

the best architects and planners available and utilized the most modern techniques of urban management, concluded that the only answer was a form of power sharing.

As he says:

"Power sharing is a fine art, which no mayor has figured out how to do. And there just are no easy ways. It means, in some cases, creating community-based corporations and delegating authority to those corporations. It means maybe decentralizing your school system and delegating a measure of authority and control to a locally-based group. It means setting up economic development corporations and putting some of your wealth into those corporations. It means allowing new leaders from the new groups - in this case the black groups - to emerge as leaders; it means providing them with the instruments for the development of leadership".¹¹

His comments make sense for Winnipeg and other Canadian cities.

New Directions

The activities of the People's Committee were not confined just to the apartment block or the Midland Railway. They also sponsored a repainting of one of the area's commercial building clusters. In response to need, they were active in recruiting a new doctor for this area. They undertook a study of residents who were to be affected by the proposed Sherbrook - McGregor bridge. And, they have started to work on a program to retain the central library building that the city has decided to move from the area.

11. As quoted in Fred Powledge, Model City, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 332.

As of the writing of this report, the People's Committee has launched another housing program. They have acquired a \$10,000 fund from the Winnipeg Foundation to be used to improve housing in the area. The plan is for the committee to acquire older homes or build new ones for area residents, using equity from the fund and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation mortgages. Their ability to handle their program will determine their viability as an independent group and further establish the role that a self-help corporation can play in the inner city.

Equally important, the experience with the inner city that the Institute acquired from its work with the People's Committee has enabled it to assist a number of other groups and develop several new initiatives in neighbourhood improvement. It was a seed-bed, out of which has grown a series of related developments. For example:

- . A rehabilitation company, employing 25 men under the Local Initiatives Program, is at work repairing older homes and training unemployed men in the construction skills;

- . An experimental in-fill housing program has been developed in conjunction with the Winnipeg House Builders. A group of area residents is involved in the project, helping with design, in return for an option to purchase the experimental low-income units;

- . A local church, St. Andrews, is developing a combined housing, multi-purpose social service complex on the site of a burned out church. A corporation involving both neighbourhood residents and church people will manage the project;

- . A health action committee, residents concerned about health problems, has been organized and is now involved in an educational and organizational

process. The committee has established a health information and referral center in the area and is providing a necessary linkage between residents and health services.

Aside from these efforts directly involving the Institute of Urban Studies, other agencies and groups have also been affected by the initial work in Roosevelt Park. There is now a more extensive range of organizing going on in that area, and many of the techniques and methods, such as the concept of non-profit corporations, the use of VTR as an organizing tool, are being utilized.

There remain many unanswered questions. One major one is how the different citizen groups in the inner city will relate to and use the new system of city government that came into effect in Winnipeg on January 1, 1972. This new system has a structure of decentralized decision making called community committees. The question is, does the community committee become the focal part of decision making at the community level with the citizen groups being absorbed into the resident advisory committees, or do the citizen groups retain their autonomy and use the community committee as a mechanism for co-ordination? This will have to be one of the major issues faced in the near future.

Equally important will be the question of how the proposed neighbourhood improvement program of the federal government will affect the operation of the People's Committee and other groups. The critical question here is whether such a program will establish administrative rules that will hamper the development of different kinds of self-help organizations in the inner city. The record of model city programs in the United States indicates that

the problem of working out mutually beneficial relationships between agencies of all three levels of government and citizen run corporations is very troublesome.

If there is too great an emphasis placed on the idea of accountability or representation, which some news reports suggest may be the case, then this could stifle the pluralism of organizations and approaches that seem to be required. Such standards are not applied to business firms seeking loans and grants for economic development. There is no reason why they should be applied to citizen development corporations.

On the other hand, the experience in Roosevelt Park suggests that there should be a rationalization of the approaches used by government in dealing with proposals from citizen groups. For example, in Winnipeg, if there were a joint municipal, provincial, federal, co-ordinating group which would handle development requests and work out the most effective forms of assistance, it might be aided by private citizens or other institutions in providing judgement on the use of the money and on the kind of help needed. This, in a small scale, is what is now being worked out with the housing funds set aside for the People's Committee by the Winnipeg Foundation. A trustee arrangement is being employed involving the foundation, the Institute of Urban Studies and private citizens.

Conclusion

The work in Roosevelt Park is by no means completed. Each day of activity in the area opens many new options for new enterprises. Some improvements have been brought about by the past two years of work. The

basis has been laid for more beneficial changes, but there are still many areas of work that remain.

The experience thus far, however, has demonstrated the potential for a better approach to the improvement and revival of our inner city. It has shown that citizens can act in their own behalf, that the residents or neighbourhood citizens can make plans for the area, that there are many community resources available to assist in these pursuits and that new organizational forms for community renewal can be employed.

What are most apparent are both the difficulty and importance of the task. The renewal of an inner city neighbourhood is not a simple job of bricks and mortar. It is a job of reshaping and energizing a human community to provide the mixture of resources that enables people to find answers to their problems. If the way to do that can be found, then a major step forward has been made in helping Canadians manage and organize their affairs in this urban age.

A PAPER ON KINEW HOUSING INCORPORATED

David G. Henderson

An Introduction to Kinew

A1. Kinew Housing Incorporated is a non-profit company under the Companies Act of the Province of Manitoba¹ whose membership, board of directors and personnel are persons of Indian ancestry dedicated to a set of objectives² designed to assist Manitobans of Indian ancestry with their transition from rural to urban communities.

This report attempts to employ the methods of investigation research in order that what is commonly referred to as the "Kinew Experiment"³ might provide some useful information. Perhaps it will provide insight into at least one example of how Indian and Metis people in the city have begun to cope with the problems of urban living.

Kinew's origin stems back to a study known as the Indian-Metis Urban Probe⁴ conducted in the Winnipeg area in the Spring of 1970 by the

-
1. Established under Part III of the Companies Act of the Province of Manitoba as a corporation without Share Capital.
 2. A series of objectives set forth in Section 1 of the General By-laws of Kinew Housing Corporation adopted October 18th, 1970 and the Letters Patent.
 3. A term attributed to Mr. Jim Houston, Regional Supervisor of the Prairie Region, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Winnipeg, when Kinew was incorporated and seeking a loan under the National Housing Act.
 4. The Indian-Metis Urban Probe, "A Study by the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies", January 1971.

Indian and Metis Friendship Centre⁵ and the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg.⁶ That study identified housing and the problems of adjustment to urban living as two crucial areas in which the Indian and Metis people had been attempting to cope, despite severe disadvantages and limited resources.⁷

The Indian-Metis Urban Probe was designed to also find solutions to problems identified in the study through involving people of Indian ancestry in the discussion, planning and implementation of courses of action. A detailed description of the participation and subsequent progress made by members of the Indian and Metis community in developing a program to deal with the problem of providing adequate housing in a satisfactory neighbourhood or community environment within the City of Winnipeg⁸ is the essential purpose of this paper.

-
5. A non-profit corporation established under Part III of the Companies Act of the Province of Manitoba with objects which are only of a social, educational, fraternal or athletic nature and intended to provide opportunities for socialization, counselling and education for people of Indian ancestry.
 6. See Urban Issues, November 1971, Institute of Urban Studies, Vol. 1, issue 1.
 7. The Indian-Metis Urban Probe op. cit. pp 8, 11, 12, and 13.
 8. As defined in the City of Winnipeg Act. Chapter 105, summer 1971.

A2. On July 14, 1970 a report was prepared for the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre by the Institute.⁹ This report provided a focus for previous discussions among members of these organizations who had reviewed the Indian-Metis Probe findings and had begun to explore methods of assisting people. Several concerned individuals in the Indian - Metis community participated in further discussions to learn more about incorporation of a private company, potential resources both in organization and funds and the problems which might be inherent in any attempt to create a company owned and operated by people of Indian ancestry. At this point, the Institute applied its practice of enlisting the voluntary services of professionals and individuals with specific expertise to assist people prepared to help themselves who hadn't access to competent and sympathetic advice.

The result was a conscious decision by 10 - 12 people from the Indian-Metis community to incorporate as a non-profit company, having learned the rudimentary mechanics, implications and responsibilities of such an enterprise. Subsequent discussions on the by-laws of the new company¹⁰ and the drafting of the application for Letters Patent¹¹ established the basis

-
9. David G. Henderson: A Report to the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre by the Institute of Urban Studies- July 14, 1970 - dealing with creation of a housing company - an unpublished report.
 10. A memorandum of agreement setting forth the general terms of future by-laws drafted and agreed upon by founding members prior to adoption of the by-laws at the first membership meeting.
 11. Letters Patent issued under Part III of the Companies Act of the Province of Manitoba on August 28, 1970.

for the aims and objectives of this new company. They are generally defined as follows:

(1) To provide reasonably-good housing in satisfactory areas of the urban community¹² for families of Indian ancestry and thus assist them in the transition from rural or reserve communities.

(2) To plan and provide a community-relations program to assist the tenants in adopting to a new home, a new community and the wide range of services available to all members of society.

(3) To help elicit administrative and leadership skills of persons of Indian ancestry through participation in, and employment by, the Company, thus developing a process of self-government and self-determination.

A3. A full board of ten directors was established at the October 18, 1970 annual meeting of Kinew. During the three months prior to the annual meeting a small group of activists, leaders and staff in the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre, along with Institute staff and interested resource individuals met to determine programs that might best attain Kinew's objectives and define the kinds of resources needed to implement the programs.

It was during this period that the small group of volunteer resource people showed how an organization might be created and maintained, the procedure for gaining access to housing finance, various methods of purchasing housing and the implications of general legal and financial requirements in operating a company. Members of the study group were also introduced to several officials of CMHC, various departments of government and private firms

12. Letters Patent extend authority to all of Manitoba thus providing for future expansion to urban centres other than the City of Winnipeg.

to obtain first-hand knowledge of various methods of operation in the housing field. This included study of co-operative housing, limited dividend housing, public housing and other concepts of organization and financing for housing.

Essentially, this preliminary study allowed the founders of the new company to draft its proposed by-laws, make application to CMHC for a housing loan and form a committee structure related to program activities prior to the first full meeting of the membership and the election of its first Board of Directors. As pointed out by J. S. McNiven, in theory, the organization of a program committee or a board should take place before incorporation or the assurance of funds.¹³ However, the prior study and organizational work undertaken with the "know how" rather than "push" provided by the advisors, together with an assurance by CMHC to loan the company housing funds, gave the membership and board an importance and authority which attracted thinking and concerned Metis and Indian people to the housing program. This experience demonstrated again the weakness of that theory and, as stated by Mr. McNiven, "the prior formation of a board might well have resulted in a different, and less effective group of leaders."¹⁴

13. J.D. McNiven: An Evaluation of Kinew Housing Incorporated, prepared for the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, September 16, 1971, p. 12.

14. J.D. McNiven: op. cit.

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 skills, knowledge and unselfish concern of others are employed as yet-another resource in the development of self-determination.

A4. As earlier indicated, Kinew began operations with a program developed prior to establishment of the Board. That program of development was based upon a set of aims and objectives, confirmation of a potential source of financing, an assessment of the demands which would likely be made upon the directorship and an inventory of resources upon which the company could draw.

Kinew wisely responded to the suggestion that the overall objectives would best be realized if its programs were based on the principle of staged development. This implied the concept of defining realistic and attainable programs which, if successful, would produce a sense of accomplishment and encouragement to proceed further.

Experience in the first twenty months of operation has demonstrated the wisdom of this approach. The development of the Kinew program has been characterized by achievement and resolution to proceed, thus encouraging the development of the current program and providing insight into possibilities for further growth and experimentation.

During the first three months, Kinew operated on a committee basis with various directors undertaking management and work loan responsibilities for a specific section of the program. Despite the fact that no salaried staff could not yet be engaged, the directors made progress with the acquisition of

the first five dwelling units and the selection of qualifying tenants. They were also able to assess the characteristics of the managerial and community relations work which would have to be developed. Equally as important, the directors, through involvement in the workings of the company, obtained some insight into the need for an office location, the limitations upon expansion of its housing stock if full time managerial staff were not made available, the economics of establishing rentals within the means of its potential clientele and the value of resource people with expertise in areas not yet fully understood by the directors.

The result was an effort to tap all potential resources and obtain financial assistance in the form of grants, which would allow the rental and equipping of office space, the hiring of a full-time office secretary and a manager and, eventually a community-relations worker. The company was successful in this and the historical account of Kinew's further progress is recorded elsewhere.¹⁵ However, it might be noted that Kinew now owns, as of June 1972, over fifty occupied single-family dwellings, and operates out of a well-equipped office staffed by a full-time secretary and two managers who split managerial and community relations assignments.

The work of the directorship of the company has undergone changes. There is now greater concentration on policy making, evaluation, and general overseeing of the operations of the company as its personnel becomes more experienced and procedures are stabilized.

15. A series of three papers written by David G. Henderson, Research Associate at the Institute of Urban Studies and known as "A Report on the Kinew Housing Incorporated Experiment, (Time Period: June to December 1970)", "A Second Report on the "Kinew Housing Experiment" (July 30, 1971), and two unpublished papers entitled "Kinew Housing Incorporated" (January 1972) and to be produced in forthcoming Institute of Urban Studies publications.

B. The Achievements of the Kinew Program

B1. It does not suffice, however, to merely refer to numbers of dwellings owned by Kinew and the number of staff now engaged in its office. The following attempt to provide some details and facts about the Kinew program will hopefully prove of value to those who might ultimately benefit from the Kinew experience.

Kinew has purchased over 50 single-family dwellings as a private corporation operating within the housing market. It has tried to acquire dwellings which have three or more bedrooms with adequate basement or storage space. In addition, recognizing amortization, property tax and general maintenance cost factors relative to the full recovery rentals which must be assessed, Kinew, after consultation with CMHC officials, has attempted to not exceed an average purchase price of \$13,000. In actual fact, Kinew has managed to review all multiple listings provided by the real estate industry, inspect homes meeting their general criteria, place offers to purchase on ideal properties and purchase dwellings ranging from \$11,000 to \$14,500 after adjustments. The numbers of bedrooms range from three to six, the majority of units being four bedroom dwellings.

The self-imposed limitation on the average purchase price to be paid for relatively-large houses, together with a requirement that all be located in stable neighbourhoods with recreation, school and shopping facilities relatively close at hand, has resulted in the majority of units being two or two-and-one-half storey structures. In Winnipeg, the majority of dwellings meeting these characteristics are in areas adjacent to the inner city and were constructed during the 1920-1930 period. The average age of

the dwellings purchased is about 45 years and, while the majority had been modernized by previous owners, Kinew's offers to purchase have taken into account the need to improve electrical and heating systems. The original \$360,000 CMHC loan under Section 16 of the National Housing Act provided for the acquisition of properties and minor rehabilitation of units purchased. Photos of a number of typical Kinew housing units are shown on Plate A.

Following the purchase of the first 27 units, a map was prepared showing their locations as well as the previous location of the Kinew tenants. Data and photos were compiled recording the characteristics of the dwellings and neighbourhood qualities of both the former and new locations of residences. Plate B depicts the locating of Kinew housing units as well as the prior location of residence of the tenant. It shows that all housing units acquired to date are located outside areas which have been designated urban redevelopment or rehabilitation areas.¹⁶ Generally speaking, the units tend to form clusters in three or four "grey" areas of the city.¹⁷ The clustering pattern fosters mutual support and socialization by Kinew staff. However, Kinew continues to uphold its policy of seeking housing in various sectors of the city.

16. The Metropolitan Winnipeg Development Plan, adopted as Schedule 'A' of By-law No. 1117 of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Plate 14.

17. A term more commonly known as the "zone of transition", discussed in "Urban Land Use Planning", University of Illinois Press, 1965. p.28.

The management of Kinew has recently been organized so that community relations work with tenants and their communities is a staff function. In the earlier stages of its development, Kinew relied upon the voluntary services of one of its directors trained to council tenants and assist them in adjusting to a new neighbourhood. Kinew has determined that it cannot assume an "agency" role. Therefore, it has designed its community relations role to maintain contact with the tenants, act as liaison with agencies which have clients requiring Kinew housing or who can assist Kinew tenants with a particular problem and contact neighbourhood organizations to ease the process. This program is relatively new but at the second annual meeting of the company, it was reported that efforts were being made to develop a Kinew Tenant Association to develop social contact and self-improvement discussions.¹⁸ The same report observed that the children of the tenants have benefited to the extent that they are proud to invite their friends home, their attendance at school and grades appear to be improving and they are involved in various programs available in local community centres.

The development of staff to manage the various functions of the company, finance, office operations, personnel, property acquisition, tenant selection, property maintenance and community relations work, has been slow but sure. The experience gained by Kinew as it developed to a scale beyond the capacity of volunteered services of dedicated directors has been characterized by success and some failure. However, a grant by

18. Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of Kinew, November 13, 1971.

CMHC under Part V of the National Housing Act enabled it to employ a full-time staff of Indian ancestry.¹⁹ The present staff of three full-time employees is sufficiently organized and experienced to consider further expansion of the Kinew Housing stock.²⁰ Kinew has always been hesitant to over reach the capacity of its membership as well as its staff, a policy which has appeared to pay off in the long run.

The process of incorporation, organization, funding, managing and staffing a new company is no easy assignment for anyone. Members of the board of directors of Kinew originally lacked exposure to the concept and practicalities of creating and guiding a new business venture. However, they have combined dedication with knowledge and advice volunteered by people with legal, planning, management, real estate and financial expertise. They have managed to consider opinions and suggestions about methodology and approach without losing any sense of self-determination and autonomy. This basic characteristic has, in turn, developed confidence and rapport, not only within Kinew but also with those who influence decisions about financial assistance and community support. J.D. McNiven has dealt with the role of resource people in the organization of Kinew. And, the policy of Kinew to use all available human and financial resources continues to be a key element in the company's development.²¹

19. CMHC approved an application for a grant under Part V of the National Housing Act in the amount of \$19,000 for purposes of acquiring and furnishing leased office space, employment of a full time secretary and a full time manager.

20. J.D. McNiven op. cit. pp. 21-28.

21. J.D. McNiven: Ibid.

Kinew Housing Incorporated has been successful in the technical sense. It has also acted as a vehicle for limited social change within the Indian and Metis community by its efforts to provide a better quality of life for families who individually hadn't access to an improved living environment. Kinew has achieved its present level of accomplishment in a systematic, responsible and devoted manner, earning recognition by the government and private sectors as a good corporate citizen. This recognition has taken the form of moral and financial support by CMHC, the Winnipeg Foundation, volunteer resource people and, above all, members of the Indian-Metis community.

B2 A great deal of emphasis has been given to the role of resource people in the Kinew Program. J. D. McNiven stressed the degree of dependence the Kinew program has had on outside experts who shared a common dedication to a successful enterprise. He has summarized in detail the work and method of operation of a number of resource people.²² He emphasizes, quite correctly, that this is not to slight the dedicated work of the directors, for time has proved the effectiveness of the combination.

Without exception, all participants in the resource role have been requested to work with the directors and staff. This is a proven and desirable approach for the expert up to his neck in work and those who recognize their own limitations in certain areas. The professionals sensed the sincere need for their services and the opportunity for contributing

22. Minutes of Second Annual Meeting of Kinew - November 13, 1971.

something extra of value to their fellow human beings and the community at large. The Kinew membership was able to relate and communicate without the feeling that outsiders were intervening and manipulating their decisions. The inherent danger in a founding organization with well-meaning resource people is that they may be unable to relate to and assist the participants due to a mistrust of their motives or their inability to communicate, or both. This did not occur in the Kinew situation.

The resource people who have worked with Kinew have seen their function as being primarily educational. They have taken the attitude that they are recognized by Kinew as an important element in their program, that their primary task is to help participants understand the way the system works, to develop alternative methods of overcoming problems and to assess various options available prior to making decisions. At no time has any resource person quarrelled with or criticized the actions of the Kinew directors, although there have been some good-natured reproaches directed to participants who ignored time-proven procedures.

With the growth of the Kinew program and the subsequent necessity to engage specialized services, it was only natural that the relationships developed during many hours of voluntary association would be recognized. While it cannot be documented, there is sufficient evidence that such resource people or their firms do not assess the full fees to which they are entitled for services far and above that to be normally expected. Certainly all who accepted the invitation to assist in the organization and implementation of the Kinew program did so without question of remuneration and with full realization that personal, out-of-pocket expenses would never be claimed or recovered.

During the initial three months of discussions about the Knew program and the first six months of operation, many hours of effort were put in by various resource people representing many professions and expertise. In addition, the secretarial work, office supplies and facilities were provided without cost prior to establishment of the Knew office in March of 1971. There is no record of what this represented in time and value, but a review of the available documents and some knowledge of what was involved would justify an estimate of 340 to 400 hours, representing a cost of \$6,200 to \$7,400. Resource people continue to function, a number of whom now recover part of their time and their expenses.

Knew has obviously benefited from the existence and, fortunately, the correct use of resource people. Its president has acknowledged this fact.²³ The resource people have also benefited through association with the members and staff of Knew, through a better understanding of some of the needs and problems of the Indian-Metis community and from a sense of satisfaction derived from the accomplishments of Knew. There is no dollar sign which can measure these benefits.

B3. The resource people chose not to push but rather equip the directorship for the functions they were to perform. Fortunately, the majority of the Indian and Metis people who participated in discussions prior to establishment of Knew were people with some experience as directors

23. J.D. McNiven op. cit. pp. 16 and 17.

or staff of existing fraternal or philanthropic organizations. They represented people who had more or less "made it", despite limited opportunity for completion of their secondary education. Many knew the ways of government and had some concept of the workings of the civil service and crown corporations. The lesser experienced soon learned.

While those who have participated in the directorship of the company might be described as the upper middle class of the Indian-Metis community, few could afford to volunteer the time required to make the project a success. However, the majority did make time with some sacrifice, with wages lost, expenses incurred and employment in jeopardy. During the first nine months, there were extreme demands upon the directorship both in decision making and the handling of various management functions. The board had adopted a committee structure with a director responsible for a specific function. This meant only a few directors had to put in extraordinary effort and allowed other directors with prior employment commitments to carry on under less pressure.

In these early months, which witnessed incorporation, securing of a CMHC loan, the establishment of the board, the adoption of by-laws, acquisition and occupancy of the first five dwellings and development of the resource group, it is interesting to note that none of the original 10 directors found it necessary to resign. It was not until this had been accomplished and the decision made to expand and employ a full-time manager that the board membership began to change. The first two resignations were caused by job commitments at a time when the prospects for securing a grant for hiring of a manager was in doubt. When funds were made available, two members of the board were asked to assume the management role due to

the poor quality of respondents to the advertised position, the general capabilities of the individuals concerned and the fact that, as directors, they had developed the management experience required.²⁴

The employment of a full-time secretary and two managers by July, 1971, permitted the board to revert to an instrument for general policy, discussing the staffing of the office, developing a continuing program for Kineu and considering the proper kind of publicity. By September, 1971, the membership of the board had been brought up to full strength with the addition of two persons who had been active members, and two tenants. The total number of units acquired and occupied then was 17.

The records of the company and the observations of various resource people will confirm that the board, for the most part, continues to be dedicated to the improvement of housing for families of Indian ancestry. A high level of co-operation and harmony has characterized the board, which has frequently been subject to many pressures and frustrations. It is to their credit that they were not hesitant in calling upon resource people for guidance at critical points in their progress. The board has resisted the temptation to assume a social agency role by working in co-operation with others better equipped for this purpose. It has wisely slowed its pace when resources and capacity were not available and it has initiated an evaluation program to provide an objective view of Kineu's progress.²⁵

24. J. D. McNiven op. cit. p. 2.

25. J. D. McNiven: op. cit.

Recently, Kinev has applied for and received an additional CMHC housing loan of \$375,000. Also, it has taken steps to assure continuation of its management and community relations capacity. At the second annual meeting, the directorship again experienced resignations of founding members and the election of new ones, some of whom are tenants of Kinev's 27 dwellings. The directors reported precisely and frankly to the membership, which had been expanded by invitations to all tenants to participate. The minutes of the annual meeting reflect the successes and shortcomings of Kinev during its first year of operation. The directors proposed ways of improving and expanding the company and more fully realizing its original objectives.

The membership of the board of directors is quite different than that originally established. Housewives, individuals who have gone through the process of moving into the city from the country or reserves and others coping with limited education and economic opportunity are now working with some of the more experienced directors. Kinev has thus been successful in maintaining continuity in its membership, and adding new people by providing an honorarium is more than offset by the participation of new members with new points of view, an appreciation of Kinev's value and a desire to resolve the serious housing problem experienced by their people.

B4. As suggested earlier, a commitment by the Kinev directorship plus equally dedicated resource people has been the basic ingredient of Kinev's progress. One measure of that progress is the housing stock actually acquired and occupied.

As pointed out earlier, Kinev has acquired properties subject to several restrictive criteria, most of which are self imposed. There is no one who wouldn't like a brand new middle-class home on a large lot and in an area in which family, friends and congenial neighbours are close by. This ideal is denied many who have limited means or whose recent migration to the city or between sectors of the city has placed them in a new and unfamiliar environment. This ideal is more remote when they must contend with negative attitudes of some sections of society. Kinev has recognized the principle that it would be more effective to acquire more housing units of a satisfactory standard at a reasonably low price than to acquire more expensive and higher quality units and reducing the number of families which can benefit from the program. Kinev is also aware that tenants in any location will feel the pressure of "keeping up with the Joneses" if placed in a district far beyond their means. Similarly, the costs of property maintenance and taxation must be recovered in the rents, necessitating selection of units in locations where utilities are paid for and taxes are relatively low.

Kinev has demonstrated that the co-operative actions of a number of leaders or potential leaders of a sector of society characterized by economic, social and educational disadvantages can begin to find answers to specific physical problems faced by its membership. While established Indian and Metis organizations struggle to improve the economic, social and education opportunities for their people, the plight of people of Indian ancestry in the city and on the reserve is not generally appreciated by society. The fact that these people have severe problems is recognized, but the average person has not had personal contact with an Indian or

Metis family. It suffices to say that, except in the limited instances where Indian and Metis families have made it, the initial urban residency of the average Indian and Metis family is substandard and is often expensive rental housing in deficient and substandard neighbourhoods. Thus families are denied a fair chance to maintain human dignity and pride in their homes and the opportunity for happy, safe and enriching community life.

Kinew, however, is very much aware that its efforts to place families in various established neighbourhoods which provide recreational, educational and social programs for its residents exposes the Indian or Metis family to scrutiny by the uninformed and perhaps the intolerant. It is for this reason that Kinew is currently giving higher priority to the community relations function of its staff. Somehow, liaison and moral support has to be provided to both the tenants and the leaders of the communities in which they locate. To date, the transition has been relatively smooth with only minor difficulties experienced.

At the same time, the "grey" areas in which Kinew is acquiring housing are characterized by older homes, changing population characteristics, a degree of conversion to suites and rooming houses and signs of the pressures of urban growth. Such areas provide housing for people of Greek, East Indian, Portuguese and Italian origin. The actions of Kinew represent, in fact, another source of change in population characteristics for these neighbourhoods. Its program contributes to the complexity of the problems faced by the community in accepting and accommodating new residents with different customs and values. The exact effect upon the ability of the neighbourhood to maintain its standards of community facility and participation has not been measured. Any inability on the part of Kinew, its tenants and

others in the community to acceptance within the community might ultimately prove costly. However, this is true in many circumstances, not only in locating Indian and Metis families in neighbourhoods not previously inhabited by them, but also with the migration of other families of various backgrounds and characteristics formerly foreign to a neighbourhood.

B5 The evaluation program undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies on behalf of Kinew has dealt with the general organization and management of the Company.²⁶ A supplementary evaluation concerned itself with the personnel functions and use of staff resources. An assessment of tenant selection, characteristics and performance will be the subject of the third stage of the program and will begin within the next few months. Kinew directors have quite rightly held back this aspect of evaluation to protect the tenants from undue exposure to interviews, which they view with suspicion and resentment. Premature attempts at evaluation of the program and its influence upon the tenants might prove damaging. In any event, many Kinew tenants have only occupied premises during the last six months and their concerns and problems are being communicated by directors who are themselves tenants and who maintain contact through the community relations program.

26. Contant, Gates and McNiven: "Job Analysis and Projection for Kinew Housing Incorporated", October 5, 1971, unpublished.

It must be pointed out that Kinew, while not ignoring its objective of assisting families making the transition to the urban scene, was initially careful to select applicants who were known to the directors and who could be expected to adjust more readily than others. This reflects the previously described concern of Kinew for the question of community acceptance of families in the trial period. Also, the Indian-Metis Probe²⁷ revealed that 73% of Winnipeg Indian-Metis households and incomes were considerably below the \$5,000 per annum level, thereby putting the required initial rental fee of \$145 per month well beyond the reach of most families. Therefore, until Kinew could increase housing stock and bring the average rental down, it was inevitable that families selected in the earlier period of development would be limited to those already paying \$145.00 or more for substandard or overcrowded housing. A number of families receiving public support were also selected, if referred by an agency prepared to pay rental on a Kinew unit of more satisfactory situation and service. Kinew does not officially accept responsibility for families on full public assistance unless requested to do so for sound sociological reasons and where public housing does not appear to be the answer for a particular family. Also, while Kinew would like to help all families of native ancestry who have little or no income, live in substandard conditions and possess special social problems, it cannot intentionally accept such applicants as yet.

27. Indian-Metis Urban Probe, op. cit., pp. 4, 5, and 9.

The general characteristics of families served by Kinew can be described as follows:

- . The parents average 23-35 years of age;
- . The family size average is 5 to 8 persons, with one family of 11 including one parent;
- . The families have lived in substandard or overcrowded conditions;
- . The head of the household is employed full time or seasonally and has been in the labour force for some years;
- . The average education level of parents is between Grades 9 and 11;
- . Many wives have a higher education than their husbands and are employed as lab technicians, stenographers, nurses and so on;
- . The majority of families have lived in the central city for 2 to 5 years at two or three locations during that period;
- . The family incomes are primarily in the \$3,600 to \$4,500 per annum range, but a number are in the \$6,000 to \$7,000 range;
- . The reasons for seeking Kinew housing are usually related to the desire to raise families in better areas and with improved opportunities for privacy.

These characteristics are not unlike those identified in the Indian-Metis Urban Probe interviews with 184 Indian and Metis families scattered throughout Winnipeg. However, the Kinew residents' family income and opportunity to adapt to urban living are generally higher than average.

They are disadvantaged people who have been barred from decent housing in adequate neighbourhoods for economic, social and ethnic reasons.

In recent months, Kinew has been assured funding to carry on management and community relations. Thus, the procedure for receiving and reviewing applications will broaden the contact with the Indian and Metis population requiring satisfactory housing and having the means to afford the rental. The initial publicity given Kinew had been intentionally restricted for fear of increasing expectations when the supply of units was limited or non-existent. The Kinew operation now is reasonably well known and accepted. Therefore, the Kinew office now receives applications from many sources and assigns dwellings to qualifying families, families not as well known to the directors as in the earlier stages of development.

It is premature to attempt to correctly assess the influence of the Kinew program upon its tenants. The proposed third-stage evaluation may reveal much in this regard. However, there are signs that most tenants take great pride in their homes, desire to learn more about home economics and family management and experience personal well-being. It is known that children perform better in school, participate in community recreation programs and adapt to their new surroundings.

Families of Indian and Metis background bring very positive values to a community. At the same time, they are part of a larger community which, because of its particular values, attitudes and customs, sometimes constitutes a problem for the family developing new relationships and a new way of life.

These, plus other factors over which Kineu has no control, such as employment, family income, personal and marital problems, intolerance, abuse and so on, continue to constitute barriers to a satisfactory level of living for families of Indian ancestry.

This is not uncommon to disadvantaged sectors of society. But the interest and participation of Kineu tenants indicates that an adequate family environment is appreciated and ought to be made available to many more families. There are obvious indications that Kineu tenants find themselves in a better position to tackle other problems which face the family when satisfactory living conditions are achieved.

Kineu has been successful in obtaining a grant under the Federal Incentives Winter Program to hire eight men to perform property maintenance work which Kineu would normally have to contract out. This has allowed Kineu to employ at least four residents of Kineu housing. This is consistent with the objective of providing training and employment opportunities. The by-product is a greater insight into and an understanding of the Kineu program by those it employs and by those with whom they associate.

C. The Cost Benefits Aspects of the Program

The \$360,000 borrowed under Section 16 of the National Housing Act is to be repaid over a period of 35 years at a rate of \$2,335.04 per month starting on a date yet to be established. This includes principle and interest at the rate of 7 1/4% per annum. The agreement requires Kinew to execute a real property mortgage for each property in favour of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to include all monies advanced by CMHC, legal fees, insurance fees, disbursements and accrued interest. Kinew was required to pay from its monies the costs of surveyors' certificates, maintenance of fire insurance, legal fees for searches of titles and so on. Kinew has agreed to not sell or otherwise dispose of any mortgaged premises, except with the consent of CMHC and subject to the applicable loans being repaid. A schedule of approved rents and the provision of an approved operating, maintenance and tax payment was agreed to as a pre-condition of buying units.

The equity provided by Kinew was, in effect, "sweat" equity representing the volunteer efforts of its directors and the resource people associated with Kinew. No doubt considerable ingenuity by CMHC assisted Kinew to meet its ultimate commitment to repay the loan as agreed, particularly in the first few months of operation.

To date, Kinew has been meeting its commitments and the record of the tenants in making monthly rental payments has been good. Kinew has found that its rentals, which range between \$120 and \$145 per month, are recovering the estimated costs, with only one or two properties currently in deficit.

The \$29,000 grant under Part V of the National Housing Act for office, managerial and community relations costs is budget-controlled and being employed efficiently. An accounting of this fund is made from time to time for the information of both Kinew and CMHC.

A \$10,000 grant to Kinew for acquiring needed fixtures and appliances in newly acquired premises has been employed efficiently, resulting in maintenance of the lowest possible rentals and relief to individual families lacking spare capital or credit.

To date, there have been no monies granted to Kinew by any government department or agency for purposes of rent subsidy.

The resources of Kinew during its first sixteen months of operation as a company might be estimated as follows:

KINEW "SWEAT" EQUITY

Volunteer resources (time and costs) -	\$7,200	
Directors' resources, including volunteered management duties (approximately 3,840 hours) at \$2.50 per hr. -	\$9,600	
<u>sub-total</u>		<u>\$16,800</u>

GRANTS AND LOANS

CMHC management and community relations grant actually expended -	\$22,000	
Winnipeg Foundation (appliances) -	\$10,000	
<u>sub-total</u>		<u>\$32,000</u>

LOAN

CMHC (secured in mortgages) and expended to date on 28 units (one unit to be sold) -	\$350,000	
<u>sub-total</u>		<u>\$350,000</u>
TOTAL MONIES IN PROGRAM		\$398,800

It would appear that the Kinev equity of \$16,800 very closely approximates the normal 5% equity position required by the expended Section 16 loan. The continued volunteer support of resource people and directors over the next year or two, together with accrued value in property holdings, will no doubt maintain the equity of Kinev at that required level.

For the monies advanced the program to date, Kinev has title to 28 dwellings purchased and rehabilitated at a cost of approximately \$350,000. One dwelling proven to be inadequate may be sold or rehabilitated. Twenty-seven families have been leased premises and, in general, their performance has been good. The benefits of the Kinev program beyond having served 27 families cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. However, these families are benefiting to varying degrees in a personal and social sense from life in a more satisfactory living condition. There is also no doubt that leadership skills in the Kinev directorship have been sharpened and potential leaders have been encouraged to become involved. An interesting by-product is the participation of original and existing directors in programs subsequently developed in the Indian and Metis community.

The progress and experience of Kinev will continue to be evaluated and the knowledge gained will be made available to others. However, on the basis of the known, it is clear that Kinev has qualified as a bonafide, low-cost housing company servicing a particular need in the community without public subsidy. Had Kinev not come into being, the costs to the community in its attempts to handle the problems associated with 27 families

living in overcrowded or substandard conditions would likely have been considerable. The costs of the Kineu program will be shown to be exceeded by the benefits gained, if this has not already been demonstrated.

D. The Real Significance of Kineu

There is no doubt that all the investigation, discussion and sheer determination which were essential ingredients in creating the Kineu program would have been for nought had there not been a sympathetic and positive reception from senior CMHC officials in its Prairie Region office. The proposal to CMHC represented a new departure for the corporation. Families who individually had little or no equity, relatively low incomes and no experience in approaching mortgage companies or CMHC for a housing loan, stood little or no chance of acceptance. They would be informed that other housing programs would best meet their needs, such as public housing for which they might be eligible. Kineu demonstrated that a self-help group operating within the format of a corporate body could achieve what individuals could not on a personal or ad hoc committee basis.

Recently, several Indian and Metis people wanting to buy homes within their means have turned to Kineu for advice and moral support in making applications for housing loans, the selection of solicitors or the making of offers to purchase. Kineu has responded and, in effect, has acted as a resource to individuals normally not inclined to enter into such legal procedures. Admittedly, this latter group represents families who have achieved a reasonably satisfactory income and a degree of stability qualifying them for conventional mortgage monies.

The Kineu experiment has been duly noted and carefully observed by officials in CMHC and a number of departments of the federal government. Similarly, other Indian organizations have observed the Kineu approach and have initiated programs for various purposes including housing.

The Canative Housing Company in Edmonton traces its basic concept to the Kineu model and similar corporations throughout Canada have learned of the Kineu approach through senior officials of CMHC, the federal government and Indian or Metis organizations. The frequency of applications by new housing corporations representing people of native ancestry and other self-help organizations is growing since Kineu "broke the ice". The result is serious consideration in high places of new provisions in the National Housing Act, as well as other federal programs which will use the Kineu type of program and provide policy as a basis for review of similar proposals across Canada.

There is no doubt that organizations such as Kineu will function well and develop faster than Kineu. However, the fact remains that the directors of Kineu and its staff pioneered the field and overcame many frustrations and problems which have benefited Kineu and sowed the seeds for policy which was to ultimately benefit those that followed. Kineu did not end up as an experiment in isolation, but rather as an important link in a chain of new approaches and concepts for people who didn't qualify for federal housing assistance.

The Kineu action might be yet another factor to be studied by those concerned with the process of urbanization. The impact of rural-urban migration on the capacity of older but relatively stable residential areas to accommodate low-cost and public housing, special categories of families

and new concepts of communal and hostel accommodation requires careful study if we are to understand its implications in urban change. The growth of private programs such as Kineu may well accelerate the need for such study.

The Kineu program, while relatively new and faced with many unresolved problems, has demonstrated the capacity of a self-help group suffering several disadvantages to:

Identify the nature of a problem; explore ways of coping with a particular problem; utilize volunteer resources and expertise; propose unique and well-supported proposals for consideration by CMHC and federal officials; organize and operate a non-profit company; develop liaison with various agencies better equipped to service its membership; share its experience with other; and assume a responsible approach to the neighbourhoods in which they locate their tenants.

The Kineu experiment has demonstrated that families with limited experience in urban living and lacking many of the attributes possessed by other sectors in society can secure rental housing in satisfactory living situations without public subsidies. What's more, Kineu's achievements were realized through programs available to all sectors of society.

THE IN-FILL EXPERIMENTAL HOUSING PROJECT - PHASE I

Eric Barker

The involvement of the Institute of Urban Studies with this project began in February of 1971. At that time, the Winnipeg House Builder's Association contacted the Institute about the proposed Mark VIII project aimed at building housing for ownership in the inner city area. The "Mark" series denotes an experimental housing project sanctioned and supported by the then National House Builder's Association, now called the Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada, or HUDAC. The intent of these "Mark" projects had been, upto that time, to test the structural mechanical and material aspects of house construction.

The idea for this project began at a local house builder's meeting in June 1970, where a film of the Mark VI project in Kitchener, Ontario, was shown. This presentation sparked another meeting with Metro councillors and planning staff, who supported a pilot project in Winnipeg. They suggested urban development area two would be an appropriate district for the housing because some residents would be displaced by proposed construction of an overpass. A committee was struck to study the project's feasibility. It proposed a project of at least two buildings with a minimum of three units per building, aiming at a total of 12 housing units for sale. This was approved by the committee and application was made to the national association in February of 1971 for a "Mark" designation, which they then received. The approved concept called for eight to 12 housing units, preferably in two buildings, to be built in the core of Winnipeg for persons

of an income less than \$6,000 a year - available for home ownership.

It was in February of 1971, after this approval, that the Winnipeg House Builder's Association contacted the Institute about the proposed Mark VIII Project. A meeting was held and an Institute staff member was invited to attend a meeting of the Mark VIII committee. This committee was made up of local house builders, contractors, material manufacturers' representatives and government officials. The committee had several sub-committees, each responsible for a different phase of the project.

This initial meeting of the Mark VIII committee was to chart the course of the project and gain some understanding of the area. It was evident at this meeting that the members felt the primary purpose of the experiment was in the social field with the structural and materials matters considered secondary. At this time, the project was conceived as two or three buildings of a row-house type to be built on "cleared land". The Institute staff gave the committee a brief description of the area physically and socially. It was evident from this discussion that there was much to be learned by members of the committee in dealing with an inner city renewal area.

The committee members knew little about the area's land availability and costs, its population characteristics, what citizens' groups there were in the public housing. They shared the general notion that the area was completely deteriorated.

At this meeting, several sites were discussed, including the burned-out St. Andrew's Church site at Elgin and Ellen and the school site on the corner of Notre Dame and Sherbrook. Initial consideration was given to

selecting large sites, but those were rejected as being untypical of the area. After weeks of discussion and site visits, Institute staff helped the committee look for lots representative of the area. They are single or double vacant lots, with or without lane, shallow or deep, scattered throughout the area. Thus, through an assessment of the existing situation, the concept was to develop housing units suited to small sites available between existing houses.

Thus, the initial relationship with the house builders was one of educating them about the area. This role reversed in the later stages of the project as they educated Institute staff about the limitations in putting the package together.

The house builders then contacted the department of housing and urban renewal of the City of Winnipeg in an effort to obtain some of the vacant land held by the city in urban renewal area two. This process extended over the summer and into early winter with the request finally being turned down. The city officials gave as their reasons:

The imminent but long deferred Sherbrook Street overpass; the imminent purchase of the Midland Railway property by the city; the vague need for north-south throughways in the area; and the fact that there was no comprehensive plan for the area.

During these negotiations, the city suggested they would make land available in urban renewal area one north of the CPR yards, or in urban renewal area three (Point Douglas). Institute staff strongly recommended remaining in urban renewal area two because:

(a) Urban renewal area one was in a stage of social chaos and had a 10% ownership figure. The best approach regarding this area was to build around it, eventually working into it. The cause of this chaos was the Lord Selkirk Park development, built as urban renewal, with total clearance, with an all new public housing replacement;

(b) Point Douglas has a 80% ownership ratio, was a stable area and was the focus of Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) and its programs;

(c) Urban renewal area two had a 30% to 40% ownership ratio, had been neglected and could use the assistance to turn the tide of transient residents;

(d) The Institute staff in the area had established a relationship with residents which could be tied into the project at a later stage.

The house builders accepted this advice and turned their attention again to urban renewal area two.

At this point, early in the summer of 1971, Institute staff did an initial survey of a few residents about new housing. The house builders expected, and were mistakenly promised, concrete information about residents' preferences in housing types and layout. The information gained was negligible. But the resident contacts formed the base of a new group to be formed. The Citizen Steering Committee was holding an information display in a local hall and Institute staff assisted by creating another display. It was a lettered poster which explained the project, asking people to take the cards provided and send them in to the house builders, postage free, to show their interest. The house builders received no cards and the display had little impact.

Meetings were arranged between the house builders and the Board of Directors of the People's Committee, Inc. They turned out to be little more than information meetings. The house builders at that time had nothing concrete to offer and the People's Committee was restructuring. Through the contacts made in the initial housing survey, Institute staff began to help form a group of residents who were interested in new housing in their own area. The intent of this group, later to be known as the Self-Help Housing Group, was to act as a resident advisory group to the house builders or any other developer in the area. This group moved quickly towards developing its own project separate from the house builders because:

- . the house builders wanted to gain land before going any further;
- . the group didn't trust the house builders and the questioned the quality of suburban housing, thinking they could build and design a better house themselves;
- . the house builders had nothing concrete to offer, so the group wanted to establish quickly if a project was found feasible.

Over these same summer months, Institute staff looked at the problem of developing housing on limited sites independently of the house builders, anticipating future development. This extensive programming and design work culminated in the preparation of a design study report in early September on the feasibility of infill housing in urban renewal area two.

From September to December of 1971, the house builders suspended general activity and concentrated on attempting to obtain lots owned by the city. At the same time, the Self-Help Housing Group worked with CMHC on developing its own proposal. The unicity elections, held in late September, suspended city involvement for months. Institute staff submitted the infill housing report to the house builders for perusal and assisted them in locating viable vacant property owned by the city. Specific lots were chosen and a request submitted.

In early December of 1971, after their request for city property had been turned down, the house builders decided to hire a private real estate firm to acquire private property in the area. It was decided that the Institute would prepare a written agreement with the house builders describing its role and services in any project. The Institute pledged to work with them in earnest. The Mark VIII committee reorganized and set up weekly luncheons to get the show on the road. At the initial meeting, a written agreement was submitted to the committee to be studied. And, it was agreed that one of the Institute staff would be sociological chairman and, therefore, a working member of and voice on the Mark VIII committee.

The first step was land acquisition. There was initial discussion about residents or Institute staff helping the private firm approach resident owner's of vacant property. The intent here was to inform the residents and community about the nature of the project and to avoid the rumor mill distorting facts. This was rejected in favour of the realtor approaching the resident or non-resident owner on behalf of the house builders, using a holding company as a front to prevent speculation. The Institute

staff would inform the community of the purchases after the land was optioned to avoid price escalation. Available land was documented and its owners put into two categories. The first group would be approached and if all the necessary land was procured, the second group would not. The intent was to minimize offers in the area to keep prices down and leave the way open for other groups that might want land.

Each lot in a group was rated against a set of evaluation criteria. The intent of these criteria was to encourage the selection of a variety of sites in order to make the most of the experiment. These criteria were:

- (a) lot type, with or without a lane;
- (b) lot size;
- (c) lot location, in a good or poor area;
- (d) adjacent lot development, to allow for the possible creation of pockets of housing;
- (e) future development plans, such as bridges or roads;
- (f) development, in some cases of working relationships with resident owners of property.

Each group had lots exhibiting these criteria and they were arranged in order of priority, from highest to lowest. The agent would approach a resident owner, in order of priority, with an offer to option the property at a fixed price. The owner would be offered a \$100 retainer in cash as payment for the option, which would be defaulted if the option was not acted upon. The options were made conditional upon receipt of a building permit and for a period of 60 to 90 days. Once initial offers were made and option time limitations established, a tentative timetable was drawn up for the preliminary design and zoning stage of the project.

It soon became apparent that it was not a question of getting lots to fit the criteria, but simply getting lots at all. The cost of a single vacant lot was about \$3,000 and often the owner had an adjacent property with a house on it which he wished to sell as a package. Several of these properties were duplexes or triplexes, which made CMHC financing impossible under present rules for rental properties. The attitude generally of the vendors was one of speculation, waiting with assurance until the city would buy their land.

As land acquisition progressed, the Institute staff, with occasional assistance by the design chairman, began refining many of the design ideas proposed in the preliminary report. The concepts of developing units over cars at the rear of a lot or of putting units over one another were discarded as being, at this time, too expensive and complicated. The committee was committed to housing built on the ground, with attendant ownership, as opposed to a condominium or co-operative arrangement. The rationale behind this argument was that it had not really been tested in the Winnipeg market place and should be avoided until proved. It required more mutual responsibility, would result in higher legal costs, and would probably further confuse area residents. The approach was to develop a simple unit which would adapt to the various lot types and sizes in a variety of ways, instead of using different unit types for each situation. The preliminary design was taken from an earlier idea, with a simple rectangular unit backed up against an identical unit, or separated at the opposite end of the lot. A dimension was added in that the basement was pulled half out of the ground and made usable as extra bedroom or living area. The problem with the unit was its inflexibility, as only small, two-bedroom units were possible on a narrow site. The much larger, three-bedroom unit required a wide site.

Because of these and other problems, further study was done and a simple, 2½-storey, L-shaped unit was developed. This was a basic, three-bedroom unit whose size was determined simply by extending the wings of the L. The unit had one short wing and one large wing. On a narrow, deep lot, the unit was placed with its short wing across the lot. On a wide, shallow lot, the long wing went across the lot. In this way, the one unit adapted to both lot types and any size variation. The privacy of the unit, relative to other units on the lot and adjacent houses on the street, was enhanced because windows could, if required, be limited to the two inside faces of the L. The shape of the unit embraced the yard area, making it more private and providing many alternative siting possibilities. Thus, when building these units on scattered sites in a community, they could be placed in a variety of ways, avoiding repetition and box appearance. The interior of the unit worked well, giving two window walls rather than one. The revised design was presented to the committee in early February and accepted as a more viable approach.

It was apparent at this time that the members of the Mark VIII committee were giving spare time to this project and that Institute staff were acting in nearly a full-time, co-ordinating role. Without this help, it was questionable how far the project would have progressed on the basis of weekly luncheons. There was also great inconsistency of commitment by members - some spending much time, others hardly any at all. A full-time, paid co-ordinator would have been a great help, as the project moved in spurts of activity and then slackened.

It was necessary to establish a relationship with a resident advisory group when the preliminary design stage had been reached. Because of the swiftness of the project's development from December to January 1972,

there hadn't been time to work with a resident group. There was also the pressure of option time limitations dependent on zoning, which meant the unit design and siting had to be resolved in order to submit for zoning variation. It was anticipated this process could take up to two or three months, if not more. If land hadn't been optioned, the time limitations wouldn't have been nearly as severe, and a group of residents could have formed, worked with slowly and brought through the programming and preliminary design stage. But, word of the pending development would have leaked out and vacant land prices would have risen all the more. Ideally, a developer should be committed well in advance of land acquisition to allow a period of research and resident programming.

From December to January of 1972, it became evident that the proposal which the Self-Help Group had been awaiting approval of from the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, was severely distorted and not likely of quick approval. For these reasons, Institute staff contacted the group suggesting it become the "client" for the house builder's project with a view to having first option on the new units. As a result of these meetings, they agreed to act in an advisory role with no commitment, but wishes to continue to press the government for a decision as an alternative.

The Builders made a brief presentation to the Centennial Community Committee as information in mid-February. It was accepted as such with no discussion. In late February, prior to the application for zoning variation, a publicity and information meeting was held for councillors of the Centennial Community Committee and members of the City's Environment Committee. There was about 50% attendance and the reaction was generally favourable.

It was suggested at this time that possibly the simplest method of getting the project going would be to pass a by-law establishing specific sites to be developed in a specific manner, for experimental purposes. In this way, the numerous zoning and building by-law variations required could be avoided. The required zoning variations would have to be processed through standard channels.

This meant that a submission of detailed site plans, lot subdivision, elevations and sections of the proposed unit would have to be made to the City Planning Department. Here the report on the required variations would be prepared and submitted to The Environment Committee. The Environment Committee refers the application for zoning variations and the Planning Department's report to the Centennial Community Committee. The committee tables the application at a regular monthly meeting. A date for public hearing is established, usually within two weeks signs are posted on the property and the hearing is advertised. At the public hearing, any representation for or against the variations are heard. The community committee councillors then vote on the issue, defeating or passing it. If defeated, an appeal may be made to the Environment Committee and then to the city council. If passed, the required variations are permitted and building permit issued.

The total process can take upwards of two to three months.

The first sites submitted for zoning variations involved two properties: a single 33 by 78 foot lot with no lane on Pacific Avenue, just east of Sherbrook Street and a double 37 by 78 foot (74 by 78 foot) lot on Alexander Avenue, east of Isabel Street, again with no lane. The latter

property is considered to be in a poor area and the former in a fair area. After siting discussions were held with the Self-Help Housing Group, a different plan was devised for each lot. Each would be considered a single vacant property, rather than a single or double lot. The first preference was laid out on the fair site, as some members of the group could see living there. The second and third preferences were placed on the other sites because none of the group wanted to live in that part of the area. It was decided not to repeat a site and unit layout, but test a variety of types. The other lot type, with a lane, has not yet been submitted. In this case, three units on 132 foot deep sites would be developed or two units on 112 foot deep sites. The 132 foot deep lot has a substandard house located at the front. The new unit in rear would be built before the existing house was wrecked. In this way, construction of new housing units could proceed in stages, with the resident of the old house conceivably moving into the new, minimizing upheaval.

In discussion with the resident self-help group, there seemed to be several areas for experimentation within the unit. The bedroom wing upstairs could be used as one room, or two private bed-nooks with a common area to two-separate bedrooms. Each family had a different preference. Some through the basement could be used for bedrooms, while others suggested it be used for a storage area, or a rentable bed-sitting area.

From late January to mid-April, seven meetings were held with a Self-Help Housing Group to determine the unit design and draft a proposed agreement with the house builders. The group was presented with the first preliminary design and it was compared with the revised design. The group

preferred the revised design and continued, in subsequent meetings, to discuss it in detail. The president of the Winnipeg House Builder's Association and chairman of the Mark VIII Project, was invited to a meeting in late February to answer questions about the project. The majority of the questions hinged on the cost of the unit, how it would be purchased, the cash down payment or "sweat" equity. After this meeting, the group, with the help of Institute staff, drew up a tentative working agreement with the house builders. This was submitted and revised by the house builders and returned for further discussion. A basic element in the agreement was that the involvement and work undertaken by the Self Help Group would be considered as part of the equity.

Institute staff submitted a request for research funds for the Mark VIII project as the committee was preparing an application for a research grant from CMHC. The research would consist of: Assembling background information on the area and the basis for design decisions made; recording the reaction of the resident group to the design and alterations made; and, a user study of the new units when built and reaction of the community to the project.

The basic point made was that the experiment must be continued after construction to test hypotheses made earlier.

At this point, it would be valuable to mention the changing role of Institute staff. It became one of almost a cartilage between the house builders and the resident group, acting for both and being careful to avoid involvement. Most of the concern of the staff was with the integrity and rights of the resident group's involvement in the project. This liaison role

was possible because the project was beneficial to both sides. What was required was clarification and information distribution. In this way, the interests of both parties were retained and an understanding gained, although they seldom met.

To finance the extraordinary cost of the project above and beyond construction, the Mark VIII committee submitted a research grant application to CMHC for the sum of \$47,280. The financing of the unit construction would be 95% CMHC, under assorted home ownership provisions, with the house purchaser putting up the 5% equity. One of the requirements of this financing is an income of under \$6,000 and the interest rate charged depends on income and the number of children. The mortgage would be held by CMHC. Any extraordinary land costs incurred by the House Builders in purchasing non-vacant land would be covered by the research grant.

An interesting aspect of this projects was the problem of how to give title of ownership to two or three parties living on the same lot with one unit at the front and one at the rear. The typical unit siting has the units back-to-back, one facing the street, the other facing the rear of the lot. There are two parking spots at the front of the lot, where there is no lane, and a common access for both units along one side. The rear owner has title to the rear half of the lot and one parking spot. The front owner divides his ownership into two parcels, one parcel is that part of the lot occupied by his house, yard and car and the second portion is the common sidewalk. The front owner then gives the rear owner full easement and right of access over this strip. In this way, both occupants own all of the lot between them and the rear occupant is not land locked. This concept was approved in principle by the Winnipeg Land Titles Office.

An additional phase of the project is the innovative use of materials. Some of the ideas suggested include: a pre-cast basement, a wood basement, a chimneyless furnace, a furnace in the attic, steel studs of a minimum dimension, plastic plumbing, a 24 inch module construction system to minimize structural members and movable interior partitions.

The building component aspect of the experiment has not been stressed, but suggests some space savings and space modulation possible in a small, low-cost units.

An Institute staff member accompanied the co-chairman of the project to a meeting of the technical research committee of HUDAC in Toronto to present the design. It received encouragement and approval as a concept.

The Mark VIII project, then, offered insights into a variety of technical and procedural matters in dealing with new forms of urban development. Aside from the design aspects, the committee learned how to work with government, resident advisory groups, private interests and citizens, individually and collectively, of an inner city area.

These disparate groups, in turn, learned about the legalities of housing, financing and the complexities of acquiring or attempting to acquire, scattered parcels of land. Most important, however, was the experience of reconciling new design techniques with the already complex, even tortuous, process of urban rehabilitation under existing regulations. If there is to be a further application of in-fill housing or any form of housing innovation in the downtown area, then there will have to be a simpler procedure on the government side. The lag in time caused by existing procedures would defeat most efforts by individual developers. Thus, whatever other benefits will ultimately flow from this project, one lesson is already

clear - - if there is to be innovation, then government will have to eliminate many existing hurdles, and acquire a sense of experimentation themselves.

EXPERIMENTS IN COMMUNITY COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

Jocelyne O'Hara

Introduction

In this time of serious social and physical decline in our urban centers, it has become imperative that efficient and effective use be made of communication systems. Examination and experimentation apply particularly to the question of how to use advanced technologies to improve the ability of people to know and understand themselves and the city they live in. The existing media does not offer the opportunity to community groups and individuals of being fully informed about and more involved in the issues which interest and affect them and their neighbourhoods. And, the emergence of cable television (CATV), which provide new opportunities for improved information flow and community involvement, have not been fully explored.

In recent years, several factors have led to a favorable climate for experimenting with communication tools and systems. Government has leaned heavily on formats which permit citizen participation in policy initiation and implementation. Such involvement depends upon a good two-way information flow. Citizen groups have developed new models of their own to ensure a strong voice in dealing with government policy making. Neighbourhood development corporations, community renewal corporations, citizen committees constituted to deal with specific problems are being set up in all major cities. Research by various institutes, departments and agencies provided data on how poorly citizens were informed of decisions which affected them directly and which areas of the population were most

consistently neglected.¹

Community communication changes occurred due mainly to technological factors...the emergence of videotape equipment and cable television. In no way has the potential of these two factors been met in terms of their ability to improve a community's awareness of itself, its neighbour and the social, economic and political structures which affect it directly. These two factors are isolated from other rapidly evolving communication technology because of special characteristics.

Videotape equipment has been perfected over the last decade into a portable, half-inch design capable of being operated by anyone with a minimum of training. It is marketed at a cost within reach of most institutions and groups. It has become standard equipment in many audio-visual departments in universities, colleges, high schools and has been accepted as a training and therapeutic tool in hospitals, clinics, business and several social agencies. Since videotape equipment is now available in most communities, arrangements to borrow the equipment can be made.

The community television concept is presently seen as the prime means of giving citizens access to the media. CATV systems are mushrooming in communities across the continent. Community television is the public use of CATV systems.

Besides picking up, amplifying and distributing entire schedules of broadcasting stations, CATV systems also transmit directly over the cable system on one or more empty channels. This latter practice is community television.

1. See, Government of Manitoba; "Proposals for Urban Reorganization in the Greater Winnipeg Area", December, 1970, p. 10.

See also, Neighbourhood Satisfaction Survey and Demonstration Project, Institute of Urban Studies, 1970.

In early 1970, the Institute of Urban Studies became interested in videotape recording equipment as a method of furthering community development organizing. The use of VTR equipment in community development was well illustrated in the '60's by the National Film Board on Fogo Island in Newfoundland.

Most universities were procuring videotape equipment for their audio-visual departments in the late '60's and early '70's, but its use was primarily academic...taping lectures, special university events, theatre, recording films or television programs. Subsequent to a research program where needs were identified and documented in the largest urban renewal area in Winnipeg, the Institute adopted an action-research format for its involvement in the area. A development corporation, People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood Inc., was set up in the area with the help of IUS research and community development teams. The corporation's aim was to play an active role in the planning and supervision of urban renewal and rehabilitation in its area.

The University of Winnipeg, the NFB and other local institutions provided the citizens and Institute staff with VTR equipment to document an analysis of conditions in the area and to record any meetings held with local and provincial governments.

The use of VTR served as an extension of the community development process, helping the committee communicate with other groups of people in the area, airing a variety of ideas on redevelopment of the area and recording response. A videotape record of their bid for and success in

moving into urban renewal area two an apartment block scheduled for demolition, thus initiating the concept of neighbourhood ownership, has been extremely useful and informative. Videotape's unique capability of reviewing previous events in a matter of minutes proved invaluable in group dynamics as well as in instances when the group taped it's encounters with government officials and other people in the area. An edited tape of the People's Committee activities, interests and ideas has been viewed by the different levels of government and a variety of groups in the city.

Communication between groups in the Roosevelt Park area of urban renewal area two was greatly improved by the use of video tape. People became more aware of themselves, their community and their governments with the use of the equipment. The steps of the legislature, the meeting hall, the streets in Roosevelt Park all became television studios which the citizens managed. Several months later, another group in Lord Selkirk Park, a low cost housing development, began experimenting with videotape equipment provided by People's Opportunity Service and the University of Manitoba. Their initial purpose was to prepare a tape on the conditions of the park which were in need of improvement. Efforts continue to be made to establish a closed-circuit television system in the housing development.

Throughout the summer of 1970, experimentation with VTR and 16 m.m. film took place. Students, hired for the summer on a grant from the Winnipeg Foundation, made tapes and films on youth, the aged and the Main Street transient population. These visual aids became tools with which to involve a greater number of people in the discussion and elucidation of respective groups.

The two major 16 m.m. films, one on youth and the other on the aged, have been edited, sound scripted and are being distributed with the help of the National Film Board. The film on youth has won an award in Montreal.

This exercise has provided the Institute with valuable insight into the potential of film as a medium of community development and one which can be used at a reasonable cost by relatively inexperienced film makers.

During this same summer, the Institute was introduced to some residents of a middle class suburban community who had become alarmed at a number of community problems.

VTR equipment was loaned by the IUS to be used by the residents of Windsor Park as a community organizing tool. Its purposes were to gather information on the area, to help identify the needs and to stimulate participation in a social action process within the wider community context. IUS consultants suggested that the citizens invite people who were taped to view the film and thereby involve a greater number of people. Other than being extremely useful in collecting information, this capacity for showing a film almost immediately to those filmed is a primary reason that VTR is also a community organizing tool. It can enlist people by offering a two-directional flow of information which provides greater community cohesion and organization. On several occasions persons filmed were invited to view the tapes made, but, due to technical problems inherent in the equipment at the time, these meetings were not as successful as anticipated.

But, the tapes were instrumental in identifying and resolving some of the recreational problems. Due in large part to the discussions resulting from the viewing of tapes on swimming pool and local park conditions, effective changes were made the following summer to the satisfaction of the community at large.

The bilingual issues in the education system in St. Boniface, where Windsor Park is located, had been creating conflict among several groups. This was due chiefly to an inadequate exchange of information related to the implementation of provincial Bill 113 on French language instruction. The group in Windsor Park arranged to videotape a series of school board public seminars on the question, using both French and English film crews and ending up with one French and one English tape. Requests to view these tapes were overwhelming and indicated the community's response to the implementation of Bill 113.

As a result of the above experience and information gathered, the IUS approached the Winnipeg Foundation to obtain financial backing for a project intended to improve community communication through the medium of community television. The objectives of the project were to instruct community people in the use of VTR equipment and in the preparation of programs, to investigate the technical, financial and organizational requirements of a community television system, to explore the possibility of forming a community communication corporation or a charter board and to conduct a seminar and a series of workshops on community television.

During the initial six month stage of the project, IUS research staff compiled available information on the legal and financial implications of community television via cable. First hand information was obtained

from several cities in the country where experiments in community television were being attempted. On the technical side, further experimentation with various types of videotape recorders was made. Institutions, agencies and government were approached to assess the technical resources of the city. The information gathered was put in several forms, such as newspapers, reports, and tapes. Simultaneously, IUS staff met on several occasions with the cable companies outlining proposals, sharing information and discussing methods of using the channel designated by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission for community television. Position papers on cable television potential were prepared by the Institute for the provincial government at their request and a brief was sent to the CRTC for their hearings on the future of CATV in Canada.

A major conference on community television, held at the University of Winnipeg in May 1971, brought together, as hoped, a cross-section of the community and service groups, federal, provincial and municipal institutions, labour and business.

The main goal of the conference was to bring people to a level of awareness of community communication systems so that they might:

- (a) understand the dynamics of communication;
- (b) understand the implications of community television;
- (c) understand the legal, financial and program problems involved with cable;
- (d) become interested and participate in future smaller work groups dealing with community cable communications;

(e) begin thinking about an alternative to establishing a community communications corporation to make community television a self-sufficient, citizen run project.

The conference went a long way towards achieving the goals of the communications project as a whole. It brought together the representatives of many groups, kept them together for two days, submitted them to an almost overwhelming amount of information and then gave them direction, impetus and a chance to discuss among themselves the entire concept. The Institute of Urban Studies tied together the various goals on the second day, which was, in fact, the crux of the whole conference.

In the end, the delegates decided to set up an ad hoc committee which would answer specific questions posed by the conference, look into all facets of community TV and report back to another conference composed of those present plus others in the community who would be encouraged to come. Twenty-seven people volunteered to sit on the committee. Thus, it became evident that, provided certain controllable preconditions were present, groups wishing to get involved in the concept of community TV need not take several years to reach the level of awareness necessary to take action.

The conference was a success in that many people became interested in and began talking about community TV. And even more important, perhaps, is that the media operators became more responsive to the users and began seeking out the users of these systems rather than remaining passive.²

The ad hoc committee met at a minimum of once every two weeks from May to October. They were handed the broadest of mandates by the conference

2. See J. Cassidy and J. O'Hara, Report on the First Phase of the Communications Television Project, Institute of Urban Studies, July 22, 1971.

delegates, one of unlimited scope in investigating the fiscal, legal and social aspects of community television and its implications for Winnipeg.

While undertaking routine development work with people involved with or interested in community television, the cable companies with whom they met and exchanged ideas and members of the provincial and federal governments, the ad hoc committee gained further information on how community television could become a reality in Winnipeg. The membership of the committee was expanded during the course of its tenure and literature on community television and the workings of the ad hoc committee was distributed to an ever increasing number of people.

In some respects it can be said that the Ad Hoc Committee provided the bridge between the Institute of Urban Studies, under whose auspices it was created, and a more formal community.

This group of citizens from the community worked alongside the Institute in presenting information to the Winnipeg community and in securing a grant for an experimental project in community communication.

In mid-October, the Ad Hoc Committee prepared a second community television conference at which time a community communications council was formed and 11 persons were elected to its board.

While the Ad Hoc Committee was seeking answers to some of the questions on community television being raised across the country, the Institute continued experimenting with varied forms of equipment and usage. A series of tapes were made on zoning by-laws, urban planning renewal schemes, housing revitalization and recreation and groups were invited to borrow them.

Aided by a grant from the Opportunities for Youth Program, 12 students worked with videotape equipment under the supervision of IUS staff. They helped people from various parts of the city tape and edit some concern or interest they felt should be exposed. Besides the community work involved in producing such tapes, the students also undertook experiments in video theatre.

The workshops operated during the summer, training some 300 community people in the use and theory of videotape equipment.

From the outset of the Institute's interest in communication and especially in community television, talks were held with local cable operators. Technicians from the cable companies, the Institute and the National Film Board made tests on the reliability of half-inch and one-inch VTR on cable. And, through the efforts of the cable companies, Red River Community College and the Institute, segments of a summer street festival, Get Together '71, were videotaped and shown on the community cable channel.

During the summer, the Institute had also been involved in examining the new legislation which would amalgamate seven adjacent cities to the city of Winnipeg. It became evident through surveys, discussion and observation, that the unicity concept and its implications were not understood by many people.

At the end of the summer, the Institute had VTR equipment, 300 community people trained in its use, information on and an increased understanding of the unicity concept, a realization that the mass media was not capable of providing exposure to all candidates in the unicity

elections and, above all, a desire to experiment with community television to demonstrate to the citizens of Winnipeg that the concept was socially valid.

Following meetings with provincial government officials and their acceptance of a proposal for such an experiment, the Ad Hoc Committee and IUS received a grant of \$22,300 to undertake coverage of unicity elections.

To quote an article on community television and the unicity project by Heather Robertson in the January 1971 issue of MacLean's magazine:

"The most ambitious experiment (in Canada) has taken place in Winnipeg ... The program ran three hours a night on cable Channel 9 from September 15 to October 15 ... The program was, to say the least, extraordinary. All 150-odd candidates appeared, two and three at a time, sitting in a row in a dim studio, confronting an interviewer too amazed to ask questions. Some mumbled statements from bits of paper, showing us their bald spots; others lapsed into incoherence or total silence. One person read a statement in Italian for 25 minutes; someone else did the same in Ukrainian. Man-in-the street interviews were Groucho Marx things full of tilters, nonsense and shouted directions from the producer. If you could stand the boredom it was vintage 1954 CBC. The people who produced it are apologetic about it, promising to do better next time. This would be a mistake. In one evening of watching, I learned more about local politicians than I had in a lifetime of watching CBC."

The unicity project helped identify some community and local issues which are too often passed over for major election campaign issues. Simultaneously, the unicity experiment enabled a large number of people to become informed and aware of issues at the neighbourhood level. It became evident that various levels of government could make use of such a

communication system to communicate with citizens. On the other hand, citizens could react to issues that concerned them and indicate their concerns to candidates and government officials.

The project showed that people other than professionals could inexpensively produce programs for cable television, that production and planning could be handled by volunteers, that the concept of a community television system using portable videotape equipment can become a useful and exciting form of community involvement.³

Many questions, however, remain unanswered: the issue of cable television control and access; the question of availability and co-ordination of necessary equipment; the question of how to change television viewing habits in program target areas; and, above all, the question of financial resources. They all point to a further need to investigate and develop the community communication system concept and its implementation.

With the unicity project having generated an impetus for citizens to utilize communication networks, Winnipeg Community Communication Incorporated provided continuing information through a number of publications and training workshops on the use of communication media and videotape. It has made its skills and expertise available to such groups as Cultural Horizons, a group of artists and craftsmen touring Manitoba schools, the Health Action Committee and a number of Winnipeg's community committees. It is currently working on a series of 26 AM radio programs to be broadcast in the next year. Its membership is increasing every month and it promises to perform a valuable role in preparing the public to use the communication media, which has been monopolized for too long.

3. See J. Cassidy and J. O'Hara, Report On An Experiment In Community Communications, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972.

While gaining practical experience in the use of videotape and cable television systems, which it constantly evaluated, the Institute continued its research into the control, access and co-ordinated use of communication systems. Major papers were written on possible governmental policy for a public communication system. Field research was undertaken on the feasibility of creating an urban forum which would pool the range of communication tools to provide a government - citizen information exchange.



SECTION II



THE UNIVERSITY AS INNOVATOR IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY

Lloyd Axworthy

During the early years of prairie settlement in both Canada and the United States, the university played an important role in assisting farm communities to grow, prosper and deal effectively with the problems of rural life. The land grant universities in the United States and the agriculture college system in Canada were active in training, research and community service. They were closely tied to the farmer and were able to communicate his concerns to government, examine his difficulties, search for solutions and provide education in various aspects of farming, management and resource development. They translated basic research in the biological sciences into practical application and were able to help organize farm groups and protest movements. The university then, far from being insular, was an active agent in bringing about beneficial change.¹

The same opportunity for active community involvement exists in the new frontier of urban Canada. It is a different kind of frontier; more complex, more difficult to understand. But it too has many problems to be addressed and the university can play an important part in helping chart new directions for the urban community.

A demonstration of how the university can play a useful role in the urban community is the activity of the Institute of Urban Studies of

1. For a discussion of the role played by these institutions, as well as a broader discussion of the process of change and the institutional linkages necessary for innovation, see Ronald G. Havelock, Planning for Innovation, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971), particularly Chapter 7.

the University of Winnipeg. Though less than three years old, it has shown how a university based urban centre can search for answers to urban problems and provide a source of ideas, advice, support and guidance for the urban community.²

The Institute was established in the summer of 1969 on an initial grant from CMHC. It emerged from the urban character of the new University of Winnipeg, which had previously been United College, a downtown arts, science and theological faculty in the University of Manitoba system. The mandate for the Institute was simple and clear. It was to be a centre for applied problem solving.³

The Institute was assembled as a relatively autonomous unit within the university. It was responsible to a separate advisory board set up by the University Board of Regents. This board comprised of faculty, administration, students, board members, government representatives and representatives from the general community. The board was to advise on policy

-
2. Henry Steele Commager notes the proliferation of special semi-autonomous, problem oriented institutes as being the latest sign of creative evolution of the university as a social institution. They are designed to meet the program of controlling revolutionary change in a peaceful way. See Henry Steele Commager, "The University and the Community of Learning" in The University in the American Future, Thomas Stroup, ed., (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 82-83.
 3. Robert Weaver, former Secretary to the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the United States, points to the value of the downtown urban university or college as the place where students can be trained to understand urban life and where centers of research and action can develop partnerships between government, business, and the university. As he says, "Many of the medieval universities began as schools clustered about the cathedral which was the intellectual and cultural center of the medieval town. Today the university has become such a center for the modern city. As the cities gave birth to universities so the universities have spawned the ideas and the energies which have enriched the city. Robert Weaver, The Urban Complex, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), p.18.

and help establish guidelines and priorities for Institute projects. On matters of personnel and management, the Institute was responsible to the president of the university.

Unlike many university research centres, the Institute was not designed to be another clearing-house for academic research ventures. It was to have its own staff who could hold, though not necessarily, joint appointments in one of the university departments. This freed the Institute from the traditional constraints of academic research and enabled it to enlist the kind of staff not normally found on university faculties. Community organizers and journalists are a couple of examples.

As explained in other papers, the focus of the Institute was on action research projects in planning, housing and communications. These do not explain, however, the full range of Institute activities as it has become more involved in various aspects of the life of the city.

The kind of work undertaken by the Institute, though difficult to separate, may be categorized as follows:

Catalyst and Advocate: The Institute has been called upon to initiate programs of change. This can be done simply by presenting new ideas, helping groups synthesize their own thoughts, undertaking preliminary investigations to pinpoint possible strategies for improvement, helping organize groups, explaining project proposals to government or other funding agencies and helping draft proposals. This requires a source of multiple skills. The community worker must combine with the planner or housing expert and economist to help develop a proposal.

It also requires the university centre to take risks and become involved in advocate positions. It cannot be the detached observer, but must be an active participant. This is often not understood by or acceptable to many in the university as it can plunge the university into controversy. But the university cannot help change unless it is involved, nor can it seek to understand and analyze the process of change. To develop useful formulations of how to solve urban problems, the role of detached observer often won't work. Therefore, to provide prescriptions for change that can be applied by the community, the university research team can and should be part of innovative activity.⁴

Resource Base and Linkage: This involves supplying skills to various groups, organizing professionals to give assistance, identifying possible areas of support or connecting groups to government. This applies not just to groups with whom there is direct relationship, but with different organizations throughout the city. There is a serious need for better links between the users of service and the providers of services. Programs of government agencies, services of social agencies are often not used by different groups in the community either because the groups don't know they exist or how to make use of them. Thus, a third party organization such as a university centre can bring together users and suppliers.

4. For a fuller analysis of issues related to innovative research and the search for new methods of social research, see George W. Fairweather, Methods for Experimental Social Innovation, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967).

Program Management: This involves helping groups to actually put together programs, such as the housing program of The People's Committee. Staff sometimes takes on responsibilities of co-ordination and management and are under the supervision of the community groups.

Training: The Institute provides a place where professionals, community people and students can acquire skills and knowledge not available in other agencies. A professional planner can learn about social planning. Students can learn how to work with people with backgrounds and interests different from their own. Community people learn how to deal with government agencies and professionals.

One obvious need in the present urban situation is a different type of professional, coming out of a different kind of training. The urban centre provides the student, the practitioner, the neighbourhood worker with the place to develop new skills and an undertaking of the connections between different disciplines and professional skills.⁵

Policy Analysis and Evaluation: The Institute evaluates and monitors the different programs, seeks an analysis of the events and attempts to test basic propositions. Policy analyses are drawn from the findings. These are then written and communicated to other agencies or government departments

5. For a discussion of the need for training of new types of urban policy professionals, and practitioners, see Yehezkel Dror, "Urban Metro Policy and Urban Education" in Planning Urban Education, Dennis L. Roberts, ed., (Englewood-Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Publication, 1972).

through reports, papers, monthly newsletters or speeches and addresses.

In this way, the Institute acts as an alternative source of policy ideas and provides a counterweight to proposals and ideas generated by the civil service or lobby groups. One of the serious dangers in contemporary policy making is that a monopoly can be achieved by a small cluster of influential administrators and their associates in related private organizations. Thus, the university has a responsibility to provide competing, or at least different definitions of what constitutes problems and the solutions that might be employed.⁶

In addition to activities directly related to projects, the Institute also undertakes an educational role. It sponsors conferences and symposia, gives lectures to a variety of community groups, schools and universities, professional associations and conventions. It provides an outlet for students in the university to become involved in field work and provides research opportunities for faculty. It has also produced radio and television programs and experimented with film making.

This brief categorization of activity shows that the Institute is engaged in a diverse approach to solving urban problems. It seeks to experiment, organize, teach, evaluate and communicate. In addition to providing policy papers to government, it has sought to involve private business in urban issues. It has been able to do many things that other social agencies, private institutes, government departments and conventional university centres cannot.

6. For a discussion of these dangers, see Emmette Redford, Democracy in the Administrative State, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

And, Marcia Guttentage, "The Insolence of Office" in Journal of Social Issues, Summer 1970, Vol. XXVI.

Central to its functioning is its place in the university. It could not operate as well from any other context. From the university it can draw a range of resources -- faculty, students, library and computer. It can operate on little overhead because it shares in university maintenance, financial administration, personnel services. It acquires a legitimacy from its university base as well as a degree of independence.

There are, of course, several handicaps.

Finance: The Institute operation is financed on a yearly grant basis and on a project contract basis. This creates both uncertainty in planning and discontinuity in staff. Until this kind of work is accepted as a legitimate function of the university, equally useful as teaching sociology to freshmen or traditional academic research, then this kind of university - based centre will not be able to realize its full potential. If there is to be a useful university involvement in the community, then it must be on more than an ad hoc basis. Financing of these kinds of centres should be part of the general expenditure of the university.

Acceptability: For many, the community role of a university is unsettling. Many members of the academic profession find it threatening. It challenges conventional canons of research. It does not fit traditional patterns of university administration and it cuts across discipline lines. Thus, many treat it as an appendage, not as an integral part of the organization.

This tendency can change, however, as more members of the teaching profession see this kind of community contact as essential, providing many options in educational experience, and as many of the more traditional

methods of social research are shown to be outmoded in today's social temper.⁷ The existence of a multi-disciplined, problem-solving centre within the university, but working in the community, enriches the university. It brings into the university setting a new variety of people and concerns and presents the academic community with a new set of research interests.

For different reasons, government officials and political people find the university role in urban affairs threatening. It provides an alternative source of information and ideas, thus breaking the monopoly often enjoyed by government planners. There is also the traditional disdain of the "practical" doer towards the "idealistic" thinker. This can never be totally overcome. But it can be shown to be wrong through accomplishment.

There are other sources of opposition. Workers in social agencies sometimes resent someone other than a social worker dealing with low-income problems. There is the radical leftist who sees this kind of operation as a government-funded conspiracy to dupe the poor into accepting the system. There is the conservative who doesn't believe universities should be in the business of helping to create change.

Yet, with all the difficulties and the opposition, there still remains the central fact that the university can contribute something unique to the urban community.

7. For an examination of how conventional methods of research often distort findings and instill bias, see Elizabeth Herzog, "Social Stereotypes and Social Research", Journal of Social Issues, (Summer 1970, Vol. XXIV).

It can bring to the urban situation a sense of independence, a rich storehouse of resources and a tradition of thoughtful innovation and change. It is not tied down, as government bodies often are with administrative responsibilities or political constraints. It has research and advisory skills that social agencies can't provide. It can communicate and translate the ideas, concepts and proposals of different community groups that they may not be able to express. It is not bound by the profit motive as are private business and consultants.⁸

At the same time, it can work with many of the other institutions in the community, enlisting their co-operation and providing skills and services they lack. The university centre can supply research to social agencies, undertake projects for government, provide business with information and ideas and, most of all, serve neighbourhoods and communities.

The modern university, through a community research and service arm, can become a contributor in the search for ways to manage the city and bring a sense of humanism to those solutions.

Just as in the days of the early prairie pioneers, when the agricultural colleges acted as important elements in the rural community, the urban university can help those living in cities -- find improvements in their way of life.

8. To quote Commager, "(the university) is next to government itself the chief servant of society, the chief instrument of social change", Commager, op. cit., p. 79.

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES IN PARTICIPATION AND PLANNING

David Vincent

The Institute of Urban Studies is part of a much larger movement of social scientists who are concerned more with changing society than merely seeking to understand it. This movement reflects a departure from the more traditional perspective of the social scientist as outside observer examining a society in which he, as a researcher, is not involved. Using several disciplines and types of research organization, these social scientists inevitably accept the desirability of intervention and, in so doing, depart from the pattern of academic research.¹ In some instances, regrettably, there has been a rejection of one by the other, rather than an awareness of the interdependency of the two positions. The interventionist or action researcher can provide a "cutting edge" for the theories and methods of the more academic social scientists. The excitement and the challenge of the "field" notwithstanding, the former have intellectual, as well as a political (in the sense of creating positive change), responsibility to sustain. Acknowledging that a reciprocal, sharing relationship must exist between theory, methods and observations², the Institute will have to go beyond the initial organization of its data to actively test and/or create new theoretical schemes relevant to the empirical information opened to us for our involvement.

-
1. Herbert J. Gans, "Social Science for Social Policy", in The Use and Abuse of Social Science, Irving Louis Horwitz, ed. (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1971), pp. 13-33.
 2. Norman K. Denzin, "Politics and Promises: The Values of Social Science", in The Values of Social Science, ed. Norman K. Denzin, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 1-21.

For the moment, however, the Institute has concentrated upon an action program in Winnipeg's inner city and to some extent other districts and suburbs. As reported in this publication, an overriding theme has been that of testing methods for neighbourhood and community efforts at self-help and self-responsibility in development. This essay reports on three techniques used by the Institute in pursuing this objective: action research, analysis of urban communities and evaluative research.

The discussion of these three research perspectives which follow therefore is based upon an acknowledgement of two factors, viz., that:

- the Institute has pursued an interventionist role in Winnipeg's urban communities;
- this role has focussed upon methods for community efforts at self-help and self-responsibility for development.

I. Action Research

The perspective and techniques of the Institute have been organized for planned change, the planning, however, being the responsibility of citizen-based organizations and not exclusively that of planning experts. Thus, an earlier section of this report provided examples of community action which have initiated certain changes in the city. Action research is one technique which has made possible community problem solving and, in the short life-span of the Institute, this research methodology has received most attention. Action research aims not only to discover facts, but to help in altering certain conditions experienced by the community as unsatisfactory. Action research thus involves a level of action and a level of analysis.

The analytic understanding of the problem at hand involves a series of steps, including the analysis of all the facts, the study of any parallel programs elsewhere dealing with similar factors and an understanding of the emotional (social) climate one might expect at different levels of action. In the area of action, the practical preparation of a group of citizens is often involved. Besides training the group to function as a group, training in action research methods is also imperative. The group is also encouraged to involve other people directly in their own needs, based on their own points of view and grouped around their own leaders. "Action research is thus the framework within which a perpetual interchange takes place between theory and practice."³

Thus, the organization adopting action research strategy has to be aware of the inherent dilemmas, such as the tendency to over-emphasize either the service-practical or the research side of the agenda. A note of caution is also addressed to action research organizations in Richard Hauser's comment that action research as a method is meant especially for the ordinary citizen in his attempts to undertake constructive social change.

The main features of the action research model in use by the Institute are:⁴

- analysis;
- fact finding;

-
3. Richard Hauser, "Unpublished paper on Surveys", Centre for Group Studies, London, England.
 4. For a discussion of action research based on the Kurt Lewin model, see Nevitt Sanford, "Whatever Happened to Action Research". The Journal of Social Issues, Volume 26, no. 4, August 1970, pp. 3-23.

planning;
 execution;
 evaluation.

Stated in this fashion, the five steps appear to be both clearly defined and sequential and, thus, approximate the normally accepted process of problem solving. However, in actuality, the sequence of events in the field is often less clearly defined, as a result of several activities going on simultaneously and the requirement of the citizens' group to be able to react quickly to new opportunities and circumstances. Thus, for example, the People's Committee engaged in the planning of the apartment block relocation in response to a notice of governmental initiatives in their community.

It is possible, however, to examine three major components of this action-research model:

the community survey;
 the formation and support of citizen-based organizations;
 the analysis of the total process by the Institute.

1. The Community Survey:

In the four community surveys conducted with the assistance of the Institute - Roosevelt Park, Indian-Metis Urban Probe, Health and the Italian Social Action Committee - an important distinction can be made between the Roosevelt Park survey and the other three. The former was a community survey conducted by the Institute of Urban Studies with the assistance of technical experts and using university students as interviewers. In comparison, the other three surveys were more community self-surveys, with the population being studied providing both the interviewers and the liaison organization for the community and the Institute.

(a) Roosevelt Park: The Institute's initial involvement in Winnipeg took place in this neighbourhood. A lot of time and effort was expended in making contacts in the community and conducting the survey. Following the completion of the survey and the tabulation and analysis of the results, the field staff called a community meeting to discuss these findings with citizens and to determine what action citizens wished to take. In discussing this subject, Nevitt Sanford remarks that "research must...serve the purposes of its subjects. The subject is the client, and reporting to him is an action."⁵ As a result of this reporting action, the citizens of Roosevelt Park formed a steering committee "to co-ordinate the activities and involvement of the neighbourhood people with the resources (such as IUS) available to them."⁶ In this case, therefore, the community survey, conducted by the Institute, preceded the formation of the citizens' group in the project area.

(b) Indian-Metis Urban Probe: As reported earlier the Institute and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre jointly sponsored a survey of the problems faced by persons of Indian ancestry in Winnipeg. The Institute assisted with the design and supervision of the survey, while the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre provided the interviewing team. Thus the Indian-Metis Urban Probe differed from the Roosevelt Park survey in

5. Ibid., p. 14.

6. Ralph R. Kuropatwa, "The Roosevelt Park Project: Short-Form Evaluation". Institute of Urban Studies, March 1971, p. 10.

three respects:

The Institute did not conduct the research;

Community representatives carried out the interviewing;

For the most part, existing leadership in the Indian-Metis community formed the core of the citizen-based organization.

(c) Health: In this area of concern, the Institute has more nearly approximated the five features of the action research model outlined above. Considerable time was spent by the Institute on analysis before a small group of citizens concerned about health problems in central Winnipeg was contacted and trained as interviewers. The survey instrument was designed in consultation with the interviewing team and modified several times throughout the data collection phase. Thus, the Institute staff and the health interviewing team established the sort of reciprocity referred to by Goering and Cummins. In an article entitled "Intervention Research and the Survey Process", the authors refer to the desirability of reciprocity between researcher and interviewer as being "...an interaction with the reciprocal effect of sensitizing the interviewers to research strategies and the researchers to community problems and issues".⁷ In return, a personal style of organization evolves, developing an awareness on both sides, rather than simply efficiency of organization.

In the health survey, the interviewing team and citizens who had been contacted later formed the Health Action Committee to provide a community focus for subsequent survey and planning initiatives. In essence, therefore, the interviewing team became the core of the citizen-based organization concerned with health issues.

7. John M. Goering and Marvin Cummins, "Intervention Research and the Survey Process", Journal of Social Issues, Volume 26, No. 4, August 1970, pp. 49-55.

(d) Italian Social Action Committee: The survey conducted on the problems of immigrant adjustment to the urban environment was sponsored by this committee, which had been formed as a result of an Institute research project in south Winnipeg.⁸ The committee received a grant from the federal government, hired two Italian university students as summer research staff and, with a sub-committee which included two Institute staff, supervised the community survey. The Italian Social Action Committee has not as yet reacted to the survey findings. But, a group of young Italians, including members of the committee, set up an Italian Information and Referral Service to deal with some of the problems encountered during the survey.

The Institute, therefore, besides initiating community surveys of its own, also assists citizens' groups in the design and administration of surveys. In return, the Institute gains both data on the particular area or concern being investigated as well as first-hand observation and knowledge of the process of community self help.

2. The Formation and Support of Citizen-Based Organizations: As outlined in the preceding section, there is an important relationship between the community survey (or fact finding) and the development of a citizens' group to pursue the particular concerns and problems illuminated by the survey. The papers on the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood Incorporated and Kinew Housing Incorporated both explain the processes of group formation and the planning and execution of specific programs. The Health Action Committee has completed its interviewing concerning health

8. David Vincent, An Analysis of Four Social Planning Interventions in the Fort Rouge Area of Winnipeg. Institute of Urban Studies, June 1971.

problems in the community and, following a period of preliminary planning, has opened a store-front to provide information and referral services and to continue to work for improved health facilities in the area. The Italian Social Action Committee is apparently at a standstill, although the students' action program continues successfully.

The importance of the citizen planning organization has been dealt with in detail by Lloyd Axworthy earlier in the report. Therefore it is necessary at this point merely to note that Institute staff performed community organization, survey preparation, supervision of data collection and analysis and as resource persons for citizen groups.

3. Analysis of the Intervention Process: The previous two points refer more to the level of action than they do to the level of analysis. However, at this stage, it is possible to balance the two demands and the analysis of these action-research projects usually incorporates an assessment of the following points:

- the community problem being tackled;
- the citizens' group and community representation in planning issues;
- the programs and/or projects planned by the new citizen-based organizations;
- and the role of the Institute in the intervention process.

The Institute places a major emphasis on the assessment of the whole intervention process, from initial contacts in the community through the survey and its findings to the community organization phases and the programs and continuing life of the citizens' group. This assessment,

therefore, either by Institute staff or by a faculty member of the university, represents the evaluation of Nevitt Sanford's action research model.

Summary

Through the action research technique, therefore, in testing participation and planning in a variety of projects over a period of three years, some of the themes identified for more detailed analysis and research include:

The nature of the inner city area; the capacity of people to take responsibility for community problem solving; their readiness for change; techniques and style of organizing; forms of community structure, evaluation and assessment to be used; the role of professionals and outside agencies; and the nature of the relations between governments and community.

The model used has been that of action research, including in its methodology community surveys, analysis of recorded information, field and semiparticipant observations, the use of videotape replay equipment and case studies.

Action research, therefore, is as much research as the research of conventional disciplines and is designed for those who want to learn about change and innovation by actually initiating or being a part of change and observing and analyzing the process.

II. Analysis of Urban Communities

The second of the two research methods suited to citizen efforts at community planning goes under the general heading of "analysis of urban communities". This reflects the particular Institute purpose in this instance...

exploratory analysis of three urban neighbourhoods in order to assess both the urban process in older areas and the potential for community action by residents of these areas. Each of the three studies adopted a specific approach to the analysis of its community. The first was intensive field work in the neighbourhood, the second a community survey and the third involvement with citizens, special interest groups and social planning programs in the community. A brief description of each project follows:

(1) Urban Observatory: The term "urban observatory" has a specific meaning as developed by Robert C. Wood.⁹ However, in the context of the Institute, the term refers to the field study of a neighbourhood with the aim of conveying some idea of the character and needs of the community to the Institute for further assessment.

This investigation was carried out by Institute field staff, with the assistance of students from Environmental Studies, in a residential area of downtown Winnipeg. Using published data, field observations and interviews with knowledgeable community people, the Institute staff prepared a detailed description of a neighbourhood recommended previously for residential rehabilitation.

In profiling a neighbourhood, this work is important in gaining preliminary soundings of communities, including the potential for community action, and as a source of detailed information on the nature of central city residential areas.

9. Stephen B. Sweeney and James C. Charlesworth, eds., Governing Urban Society: New Scientific Approaches. Monograph 7 in a series sponsored by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Part V, "Developing an Urban Research Capability", pp. 209-250, Philadelphia, May 1967.

(2) Urban Neighbourhood Satisfactions:¹⁰ The area chosen for study was contiguous to the previous field study in west central Winnipeg. A major objective of this research was also to determine the climate for community action. However, the neighbourhood satisfaction study differed from the urban observatory in three main respects:

(a) the neighbourhood satisfactions survey was contracted out to a graduate student to conduct;

(b) the study had clear objectives and a precise research design;

(c) and a community agency - the Age and Opportunity Bureau - was concerned about the lack of senior citizens' response to social programs in the area, supported the idea of the study and provided volunteer interviewers.

The report states the major objectives of the study as follows:

to describe selected population characteristics of the area;

to determine the favourable and unfavourable attitudes of the residents towards selected environmental conditions;

to ascertain the extent to which population characteristics were associated with favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards selected environmental conditions;

to develop directions for community action in the area.¹¹

Both of these community studies provided the Institute with data on particular neighbourhoods and populations, the one by way of

10. Grace N. Parasuik, Final Report of Satisfactions in an Urban Neighbourhood, submitted to the Institute of Urban Studies, April, 1971.

11. Ibid., p. 3.

field observation and published data, the other by way of community survey. In addition, both studies indicated the degree to which citizens might be interested in involving themselves in community activity to improve neighbourhood conditions.

(3) Social Planning in Fort Rouge:¹² The research proposal submitted to the Institute had three objectives:

(a) to demonstrate techniques of developing community profiles that go beyond the analysis of demographic, socio-economic and land use data to include the analysis of the perceptions, concerns and possibly conflicting goals and objectives of the population and interest groups in Fort Rouge;

(b) to analyze the nature of the interventions that have occurred and their relationship to Fort Rouge;

(c) to assess the most effective means by which government and private resources can be made available to an urban neighbourhood.¹³

The research design was an ambitious undertaking for the limited resources of the contracted-out project. Seven population groups were identified, excluding a household population sample. Five planning interventions were also identified, the apartment developers and four social planning activities.

12. David Vincent, op. cit.

13. David Vincent, "A Research Proposal for an Explanatory Study of Social Planning, and Urban Change in the Fort Rouge Area of Metropolitan Winnipeg" Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, December 1970, p.3.

In the early stages of the research, considerable time was spent with mothers' allowance groups in the area and with a group of Italians, as a result of which the Italian Social Action Committee was formed. Throughout the study period, the two research staff acted as resource people to the four social planning interventions under study. A natural consequence of that involvement was a concentration upon the second objective -- to analyze the nature of the interventions that have occurred and their relationship to the Fort Rouge community. The importance of the apartment developments is under study at the present time.

Despite the action of participating as resource personnel to special interest groups and to social agencies, the study was not included under the previous section on action research, even though it spawned one of the four projects. As a research project, it had no involvement with a group of citizens who were representative of Fort Rouge as a community. The research staff was mainly involved with several special interest groups, although they had planned to call a community workshop where these issues could have been discussed.

The study, therefore, falls under the heading Analysis of Urban Communities because of its portrayal of Fort Rouge as a community, its knowledge of several important population groups and its detailed analysis of four major social planning contributions to a specific urban neighbourhood. Thus, these three analysis of urban communities, while somewhat more exploratory and even academic in nature, still reflect the Institute's primary interest in testing methods for neighbourhood and community self-help and self-responsibility for development, whether they be inner city areas, neighbourhoods in decline or communities in the process of growth and development.

III Evaluative Research

The word evaluation is very much in vogue today. Social agencies, private funding bodies and government departments require evaluative information that will assist them in decisions about how scarce resources for social planning can best be allocated. This demand for evaluation is particularly urgent in innovative programs whose directors are called upon to prove (often with public scrutiny¹⁴) the value or worth of their program and also the extent to which the objectives of the program were reached. Thus, two basic elements of evaluation are the definition of social value and the determination of its attainment. According to Suchman, these "constitute the basic conceptual and methodological components of evaluative research".¹⁵ Given these two aspects of evaluation, therefore, evaluative research "can range from a general, impressionistic appraisal of a program to a carefully designed experiment."¹⁶

Thus, in the conduct of evaluative research, great care must be exercised, not only in the clarity of program definition, but also in the procedures of fact-finding about the results of the planning activity.

The focus of evaluative research, for the most part, has been in program evaluation. The Institute, with its priority on action research, has initiated evaluations of some of its work. These include Roosevelt Park and the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood, Inc., the

-
14. Carol H. Weiss, "The Politicization of Evaluation Research," Journal of Social Issues, Volume 26, No. 4, 1970, pp. 57-68.
 15. Edward A. Suchman, "Principles and Practice of Evaluative Research", in John T. Doby, ed. An Introduction to Social Research, 2nd edition, Appleton, Century, Croft, New York, 1967, pp. 327-351.
 16. Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood. Social Research and Social Policy, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliff, N.J. 1970.

Indian-Metis Urban Probe and Knew Housing Incorporated, as well as evaluations of community programs designed by other planners (eg. Fort Rouge). These reports, while neither "impressionistic appraisals" or "carefully designed experiments" were based on detailed analysis of available data, interviews with participants and residents of the areas and observation of the planning activity during the often fairly lengthy period of evaluation.

Despite the importance of program evaluation and the opportunity it affords the Institute to develop criteria and methods for assessing the effectiveness of community programs, including the effectiveness of various aspects of citizen participation, the major focus of the Institute's evaluation research is ultimately with the principles of planned social action, particularly that undertaken by citizen-based organizations. This publication, therefore, with its initial analysis of citizen participation and planning in Winnipeg's inner city and its discussion of single stimulus attempts at citizen-based planning, is a first step toward this larger research goal.

Summary

This essay has briefly discussed three research techniques used by the Institute in testing citizen efforts at self-help and self-responsibility for development. Several reports have been produced on aspects of substantive policy areas, such as housing and health, as well as on the response of citizen-based planning to these areas. At best these reports highlight data and insights about people and problems in inner city areas. The challenge, therefore, facing the Institute is to build new theoretical schemes upon the data and insights afforded by the

participation of residents in both the research and planning phases of the work.

Two factors at the present time serve to make this challenge all the more interesting and exciting; the political structure of Winnipeg's urban neighbourhoods created by the new unicity legislation and the need to continually shape the interaction between theory, methods and observations acknowledged in the introduction of this paper.

"THE ROLE OF THE RESOURCE GROUP IN CITIZEN PLANNING"

David G. Henderson, M.ARCH, (cp), M.T.P.I.C.

A1. There are many arguments in favour of "self-help" groups doing their own thing. There is a considerable body of literature on the self-help movement, which has developed rapidly over the last decade. This material describes various efforts of people at a particular disadvantage coming together with others in similar circumstances.

The aim of such associations is to pool the experience and knowledge of members to develop methods of documenting the problem, to inform the government and community of the scope and nature of their problem and raise funds to operate corrective programs. The membership is motivated by the hope that such communal efforts will result in relief from and possibly elimination of their particular disadvantage.

The range and numbers of self-help causes appear to vary according to the characteristics of social and economic standards of a region. In Greater Winnipeg, there have always been chartered or incorporated fraternal or philanthropic organizations devoted to development of social outlets and a variety of social services for members or the community at large. Co-operatives and several non-profit or limited companies have also operated in the Winnipeg area for several years, primarily for the purpose of providing housing, health care and special educational facilities for people who can't ordinarily afford it. In general, however, the beneficiaries of such programs do not participate in the founding and operation of these organizations. The skills and dedication inherent in the creation and continuance of most of these organizations can generally be traced to community minded citizens

who represent a more articulate and advantaged sector of society.

Winnipeg has witnessed the development of the self-help movement in the last five years in particular. Here, self-help groups are organized by individuals or groups who are restricted by a number of factors: limited opportunity for formal education; limited skills and employment prospects; physical handicaps; substandard housing and living conditions; discrimination due to race; criminal records and marital status; age; and problems related to mental or physical disability suffered by members of their families.

The principle characteristic of such groups is involvement and participation of the disadvantaged in the founding, organizing, funding and operating of the organization related to their needs. They, or members of their families, personally benefit from the success and accomplishments of the organization's efforts. Elected officials tend to implement programs to reduce the specific problems when such organizations have successfully pricked the social conscience of the community. There is less inclination to deal with the causal factors, which are normally very complex and difficult for citizens and their elected representatives alike to understand.

The growth of the numerous self-help organizations in Winnipeg has been assisted in part by a relatively limited number of people with professional skills or specific expertise which they have volunteered willingly. The principle motivation of such individuals has been a sincere desire to assist persons who want to help themselves but lack knowledge of the system and the alternative courses of action open to them. The great majority of such volunteers, be they in private practice, employees in a firm, housewives, retired, students, civil servants or employees of social agencies, respond

to an invitation from the various self-help groups rather than intervene in the activities of the self-help group. Where such services are requested, the results usually prove beneficial and rewarding.

There have been instances when resource people engaged by community social service agencies or social activist and community participation organizations have virtually invited themselves under the guise of volunteering. Also, they have often identified a particular problem and have volunteered to organize those affected. The results have not always been good and often the best of intentions have produced inactivity and frustration for all concerned. Perhaps the motives of such organizations have been to carve out a domain and establish the reputation of the organization volunteering assistance. The self-help groups are normally astute enough to recognize the values, principles and motivations of those who volunteer and react accordingly.

Winnipeg has been fortunate in that volunteer professionals accept out-of-pocket expense when their aid is requested by a self-help group. While one might tend to refer to these people as a resource group, they are no such thing. They are individuals who respond to their own social conscience. To date, there have been no ad hoc or formal attempts at organization of such people on a community-wide basis. Any contact between them is as a result of involvement in a particular program at the same place or at the same time. A number of such people may serve a common program and are perhaps referred to as the resource group. But, they are essentially individuals associated with a program. In fact, these advisors have never been known to attempt to organize or meet as a separate group except socially. They

remain individuals with a common motivation and a mutual concern. They are by nature busy people, involved in many types of community activity and thus not inclined to lose the freedom and individuality necessary to volunteer activity within the self-help concept.

There is a growing awareness of the role of resource people in the self-help movement. Chiefly, this is due to certain self-help groups achieving notable success through effective use of knowledge and advice solicited from outsiders with skills and expertise not available within. Recent discussions concerning the conscious and formal organization of the resource group concept may or may not have merit. This paper, therefore, attempts to present observations, criteria, characteristics and a general philosophy which could be considered prior to any formal attempts to establish community resource groups.

2.(a) Experience in Greater Winnipeg, at least, indicates that there are many persons willing to volunteer services if given an opportunity and if reasonably assured that they can be effective. What is required is recognition of the fact that the disadvantaged know their problems and can formulate policies to correct them, if given half a chance. But, it must also be recognized that these same people are less equipped to implement and administer the programs necessary to realize their objectives. And, it's here where the person with special training is most useful.

2.(b) Specific examples of the experience referred to above have been documented. Of special significance is Kinew Housing Incorporated.

Kinew Housing Incorporated represents an experiment in the Greater Winnipeg area in which one sector of society, the Indian and Metis community, utilized the mechanism of the incorporated non-profit company to accomplish what was generally denied them as individuals. In June of 1970, it was abundantly clear to the Indian and Metis community that decent housing in satisfactory residential districts was largely denied people of Indian ancestry, whether they could afford it or not. There was need to find a process of overcoming the barriers created by landlords who discriminate against Indian or Metis families. There was also the desire to demonstrate that native people could, indeed, respond to a decent living environment, become good citizens in any community and cope with the problems of urban living if given the opportunity.

Kinew falls into the category of a self-help, non-profit company operating under by-laws adopted at its inaugural meeting. Its membership is open to Manitobans of Indian ancestry. The company has a directorship of 10 who are responsible for policy matters and general administration.

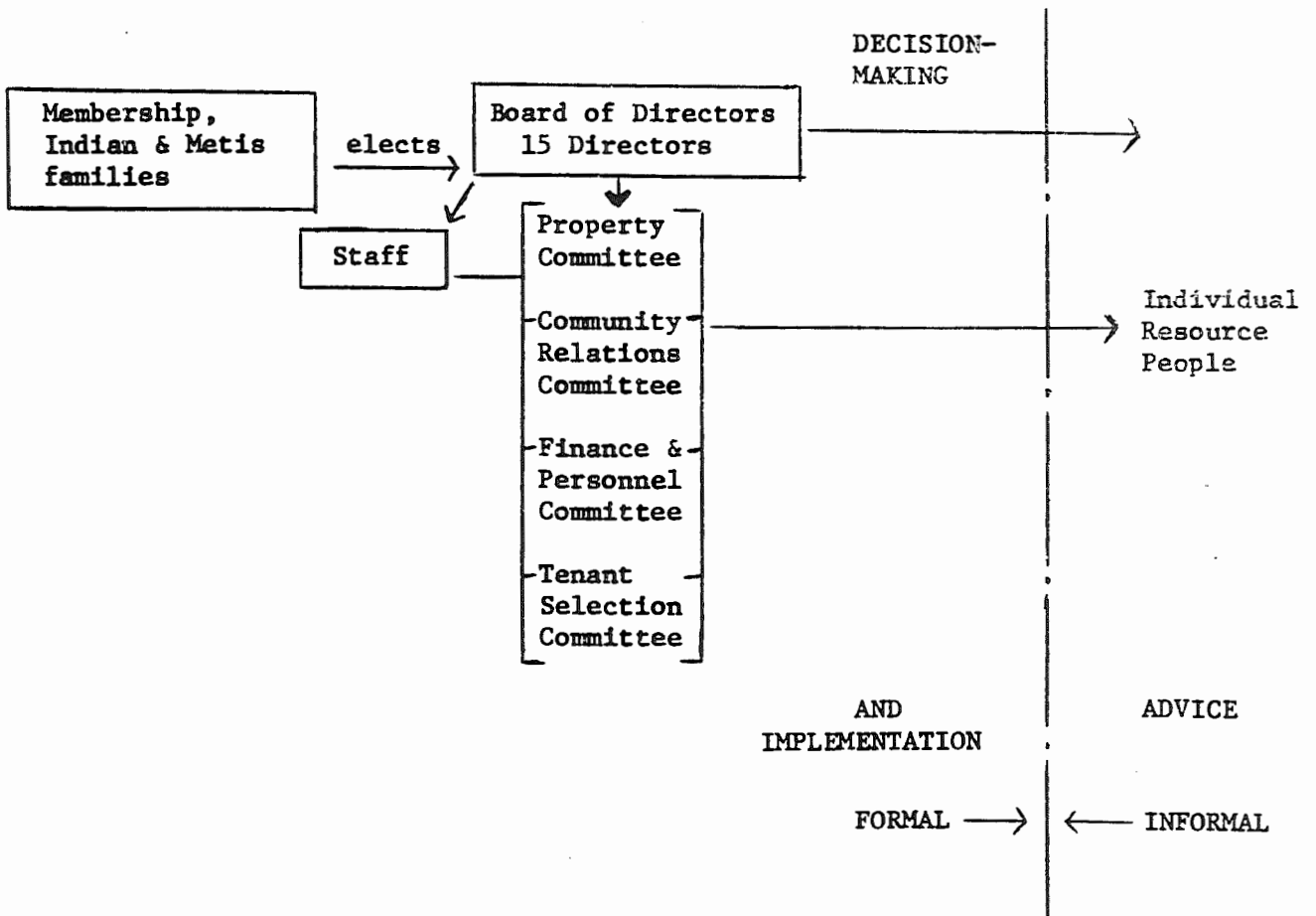
The structure of Kinew is not unlike that of any other private non-profit company. It has a membership, an elected board of directors and an administrative staff. It is the policy of the company to engage staff who are also Indian or Metis, a concept still rare in Canada. However, the area of innovation in the structure of the company is the role of a group of people not of Indian ancestry who perform a voluntary resource function.

The company directors, based on their experience prior to incorporation, recognized the importance of many individuals with specific professional experience and other expertise unavailable in the Indian and Metis community. Not only did the directors find that others were prepared

to volunteer their skills in a genuine effort to assist, but they also recognized the great learning potential for both themselves and their employees.

Due to the need to perform several integrated functions in acquiring, leasing and managing dwellings for people of Indian ancestry, the company created specific departments each to be the responsibility of a director working with one or two other directors.

The functions performed included finance, by-laws and legal documents; property acquisition; tenant selection and counselling; personnel and general management; and public relations. Therefore the structure under which the company operates is as follows:



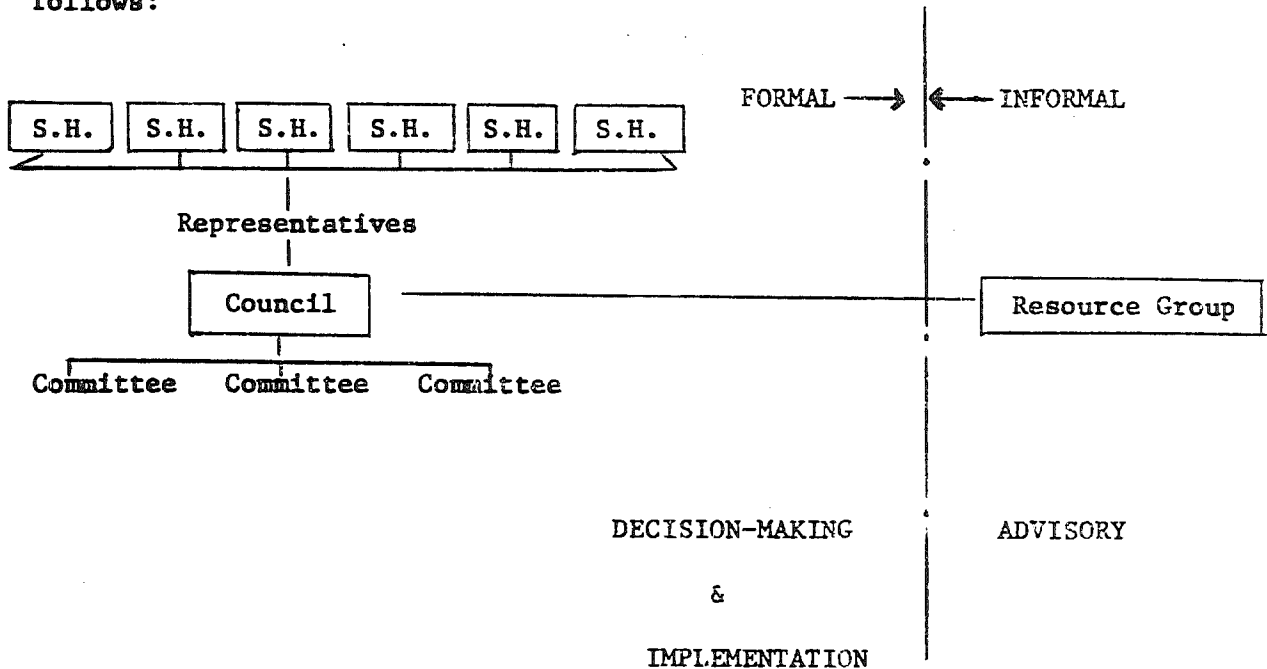
Because the resource arm has been so important to the capacity of the company to perform, the following observation has to be made. The directors were originally involved in the policy-making areas as well as the implementation and administration of its programs, but they lacked the background and experience required. Their efforts to learn and perform represented areas of inefficiency and delays not normally acceptable in a private company. However, this was minimized by education and guidance provided by resource people dedicated to the principle that self-help groups must be assured the capacity to be autonomous.

It could be argued that the self-help group can best articulate and formulate policies for its constituents. However, to accept additional responsibilities for which they are not adequately equipped and which can only make excessive demands on their time and energy might not only constitute a waste but, more harmful, a deterrent to developing the company.

The preceding organization chart, which is not dissimilar to that of other self-help groups in Winnipeg, places the resource role outside the formal organization and leaves both overall and detailed decision-making within the realm of the membership.

A similar observation is derived from experience with a group of some 20 self-help organizations which attempted to establish a form of federation and participate jointly in the development of a community housing council. The Institute of Urban Studies, CMHC and a number of social agencies were represented in the resource group component and attempted to assemble themselves as a resource group.

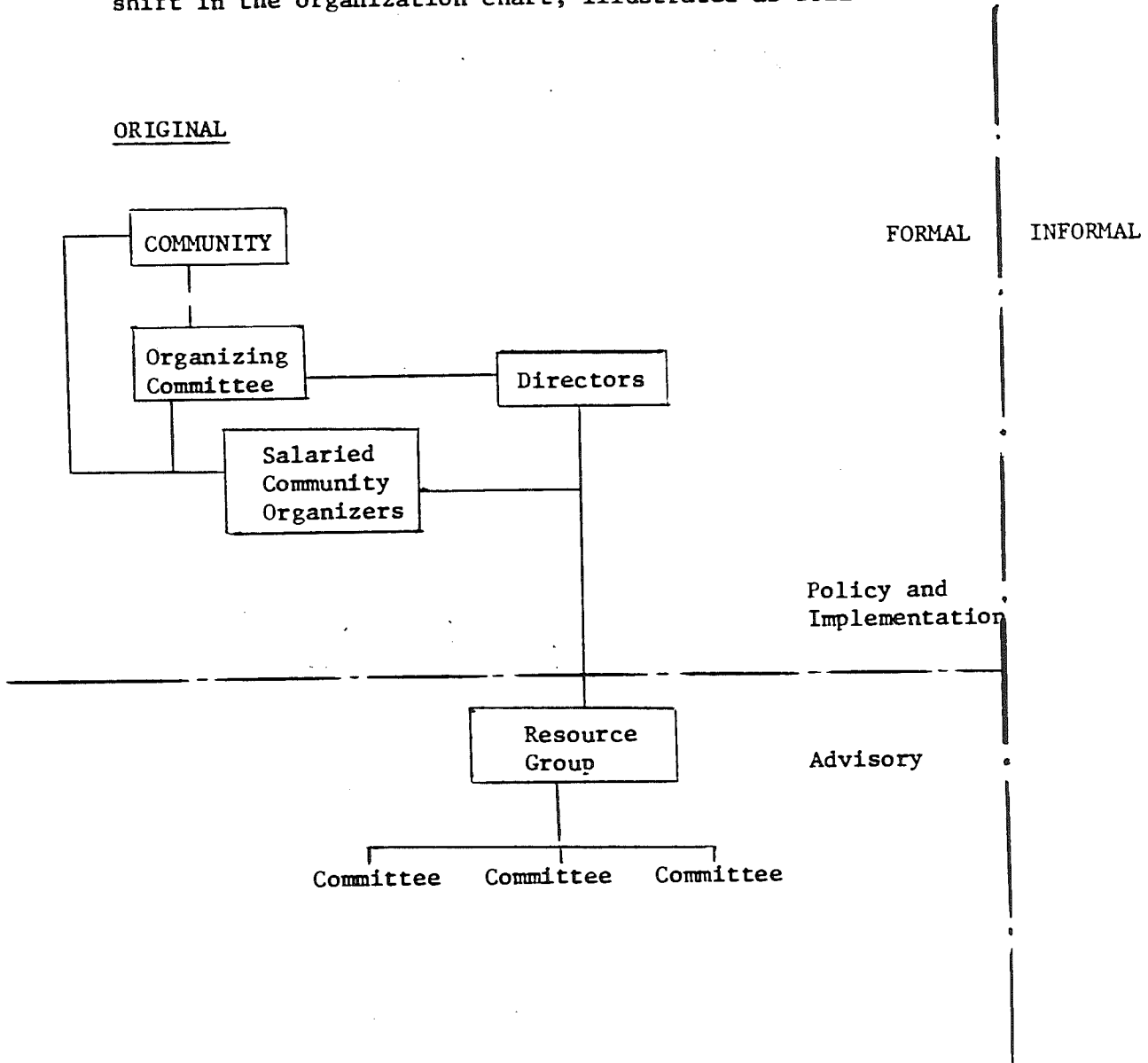
Essentially, the structure of the organization was as follows:

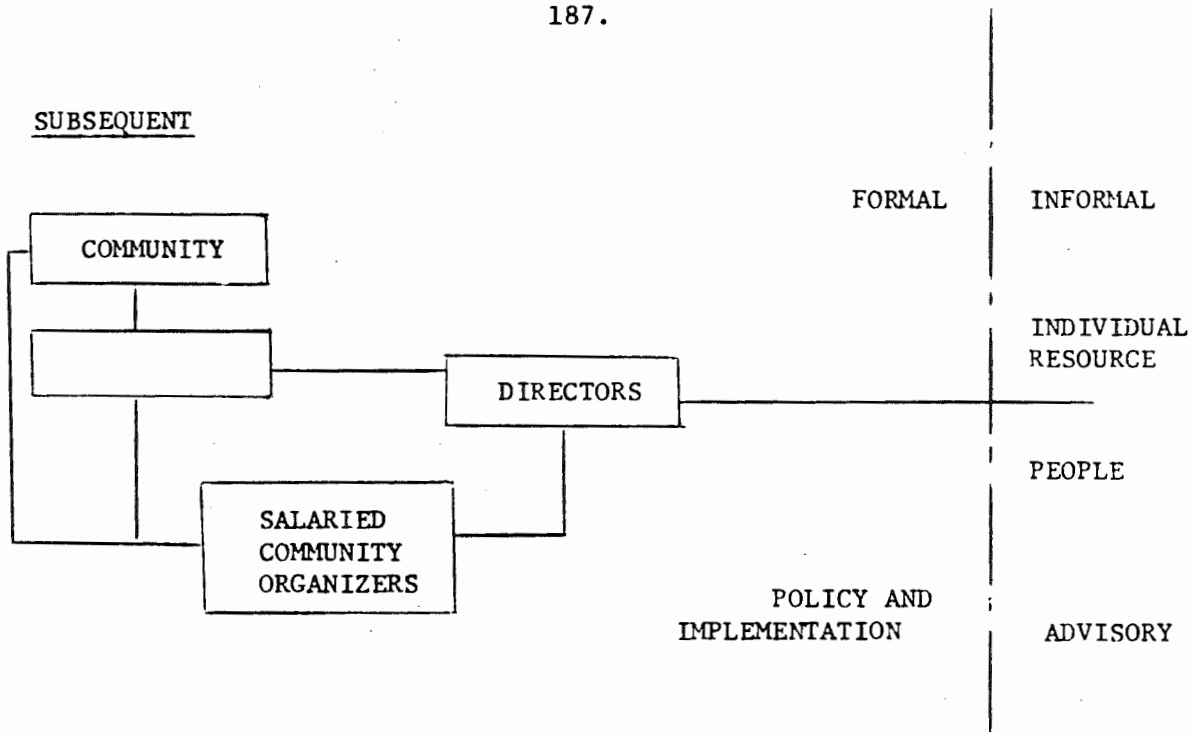


In this case, the resource groups were admittedly interlopers and it was clearly established that policy-making and implementation of programs should be conducted by the self-help groups. The resource groups were quickly placed in a periphery position, available to the council or committees as requested. There was great care taken by both the self-help membership and the resource groups to avoid any resource group controlling or unduly influencing the affairs of the council. Both the council members and the resource people were frustrated and lost interest because of the inability of self-help members to effectively capitalize on the skills of the resource group available to them.

The previous examples represent differing bases for self-help organization and participation. A further example, the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood Incorporated, involved a process which has been described as "community centred problem solving". This program tested the notion of "anticipatory planning". The Institute attempted to assist a particular community to organize itself to encourage residents to assume the initiatives in planning. An effort was made to concentrate all available resources, including a pool of volunteered expertise, to bring together all the relevant components considered essential for immediate, limited and tangible goals. In this regard, a number of willing and capable business people and academics were brought together within a rather formal structure known as the resource team. An attempt was made to co-ordinate the multi-discipline team and define specific study programs or functions within a sub-committee structure under a resource group chairman. Under this approach, the opportunity of the resource team to relate to and work with the community to be served was severely restricted. Thus, there was little mutual understanding. Those motivated by a personal desire to serve people were frustrated and left the project when it became apparent the resource group wouldn't function effectively. Subsequently the original resource pool concept was abandoned in favour of contact by the People's Committee with individual resource people as problems and needs arise.

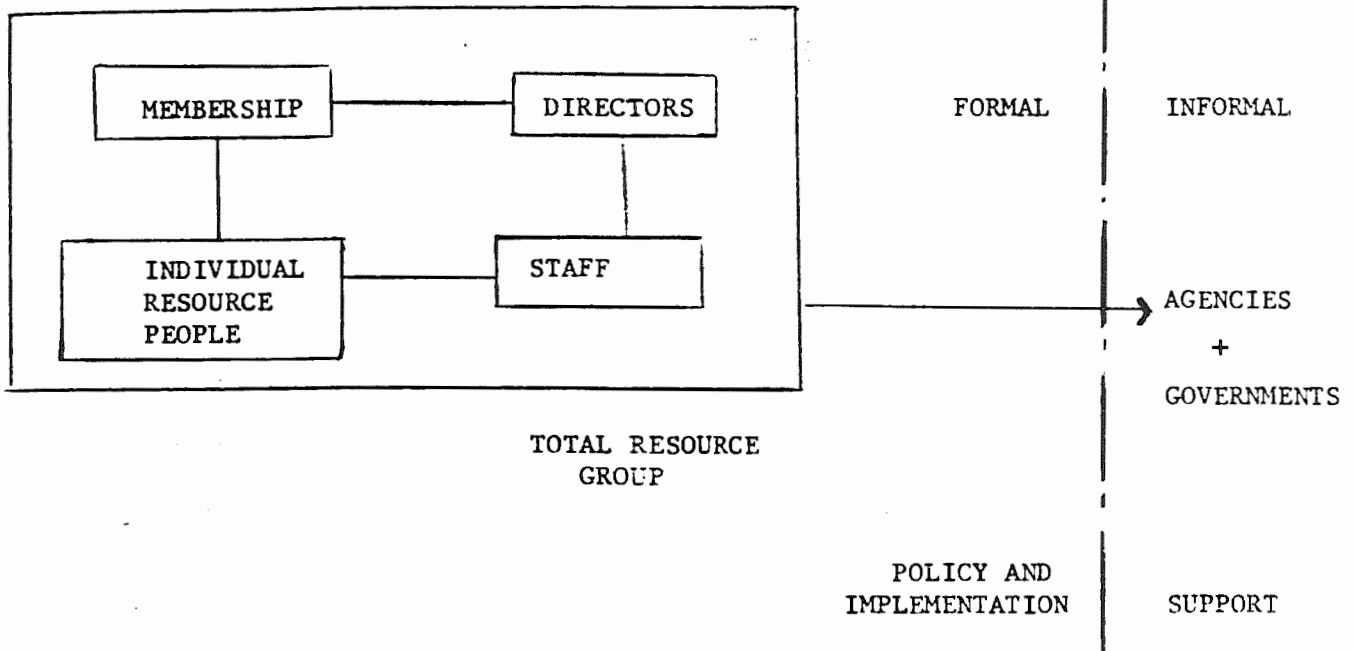
Therefore the People's Committee experience represented a shift in the organization chart, illustrated as follows:





On the other hand, the Institute of Urban Studies has been involved in a minor resource capacity with other groups, including a number of senior citizens who incorporated as a non-profit company to provide housing for the elderly. This group of senior citizens responded to the challenge to express their needs, rather than simply waiting for others to do it. The individuals involved represented a real cross-section of the community. Because of their years of accumulated experience, they could not be said to be typical of the self-help group. They had within their age group a great range of expertise, perhaps overlooked until pointed out by the resource group assisting them. It is apparent that the company they created will have the resource group built into its directorship, membership or staff, whether the advisors are drawn from the group or from volunteers in the community. The fear of employing resource people and involving them in the affairs of the company does not exist in this self-help group. It lacks the suspicion and prejudice towards non-members so prevalent in the more disadvantaged sectors of society.

The general organizational structure of such self-help groups is illustrated as follows:



2.(c) Because self-help groups are formed in recognition of a common need or existing inadequacies shared by a number of people, initial efforts are usually directed at identifying everyone in the community who might also be in the same circumstance. The founding group tends to feel that the effectiveness of any ultimate organization will be enhanced if it can represent a sector of society and act as a strong voice for that group. In a sense, there is early recognition of the potential for power and its use in influencing government and the community in creating programs to reduce inequalities suffered by that group.

Several self-help groups have foundered through mistrust and misuse of resource groups. The methods of implementing policies determined in the early stages were not adequately explored and developed.

Experience to date leads to the obvious conclusion that such organizations would benefit immeasurably if they were able to overcome basic suspicions and recognize the true value of the volunteer resource group in establishing programs. Not only would tasks be undertaken and completed in a more effective manner, but the founders of the self-help corporation could concentrate on matters more suited to them, such as policy-making and promotion of the objectives of the corporation.

This mistrust of volunteers stems from a general apprehension by self-help groups that they will lose control or become subservient to the upper-middle class if they allow outsiders to become too involved in their operations. As defined by a delegate at a 1970 conference of self-help groups in Winnipeg, the qualifications of resource people should experience in the conditions common to the group, a similar level of education and, above all, the same income and life style. A lawyer and veteran of volunteered services pointed out that there are people with a higher education, more experience, and better living standards who are concerned for others less fortunate. They are quite prepared, if asked, to volunteer to help less equipped people implement their own policies and achieve their own objectives in the most economical and efficient manner. He asked, "Why try and do in six months what a professional could do for you in six hours?"

Certain self-help groups have experienced unfortunate relations with professionals and volunteers. Naturally they then feel threatened by people better equipped than themselves. Volunteered services can be interpreted as an attempt by The Establishment to control their efforts. They appear to feel that, with rare exception, outsiders will employ positions

of trust to impose themselves on the self-help group movement. There are citizens within the Winnipeg community who have been able to properly perceive the self-help groups, bridge the barriers and prove to be genuine friends and allies. There are probably many more of equal calibre who, by nature, will not impose themselves upon a group and thus wait to be asked. As a result their talents are lost to worthwhile ventures.

There are others who, undoubtedly, are motivated by other reasons. Their contributions are not any less valuable, but are often related to development of personal status or recognition. Sometimes their own priorities tend to define their roles and this is unfortunate, particularly if two or more resource components with similar motives collide. In such circumstances, the possible benefits of their participation are wasted or harm the self-help group they would serve.

The list of barriers to effective use of resource people include other factors not related to motivation or ease in offering one's services. They are as follows:

- a) Failure of members or executive of a self-help group to recognize or admit their limitations in organization, finance, public relations, personnel supervision and conduct of a meeting;
- b) Failure by potential advisors to recognize or admit their limitation to communicate their knowledge, listen to discussion which to them seems trivial and irrelevant and to understand the limitations of those they would serve;
- c) Lack of a clear definition and understanding of the role of the resource person and the place of that role in the organization of the self-help group;

- d) The tendency of certain resource people to become other than professionally involved and, thus, lose objectivity and effectiveness;
- e) The reluctance of professionals to question the training and discipline of their profession when new methods and concepts are warranted or when the actions of individuals in their profession are clearly detrimental to the well-being and programs of the disadvantaged;
- f) A failure by resource people associated with a self-help group to participate in some form of research design, whether stated or merely in the mind of the resource participant;
- g) The tendency for communications between self-help groups and resource people to inadvertently break down due to failure to recognize when and what information should be exchanged.
- h) The tendency of resource people to be inordinately restrained to avoid appearing too involved in unduly influencing the discussions of self-help groups, relegating themselves to a detached or periphery role in the program.

3. The Effective Role of Resource Groups

3.(a) There is another component which constitutes a vital ingredient if a self-help organization or the concept of the self-help movement is to work. It is government.

Experience with self-help groups in the Greater Winnipeg area indicates that the will to bring about change and improvements for a specific sector of society, whether coupled with the assistance of resource people or not, is not sufficient. In all instances, the involvement of government

or its various agencies has been critical to the achievement of the proposed programs. This involvement is essential if the following are to be realized:

1. Development of liaison between the self-help group and the proper government departments and agencies so that the objectives and programs of each be understood and co-ordinated;

2. The provision of funds to equip the self-help group to operate through grants for office space, secretarial services, equipment or general operating costs;

3. The adoption of legislation required to deal with problems outlined by self-help groups;

4. The application of various government programs to those of self-help groups acting in the interests of people excluded from such programs individually.

Many self-help groups have lacked adequate financial resources for operating funds required to support public educational programs, production of briefs and general research of their program. Some groups, because they fear the involvement of governments in the policy-making and implementation of their projects, avoid asking government for organizational and operating funds. This reluctance may again stem from a fear of loss of self-determination or from some observation of government assistance experienced by other self-help groups. There may well be some basis for these fears. But, there is also no doubt that serious attempts must be made by all concerned to deal with all the factors in creating self-help

groups. And, government is one of those principal factors.

There must be a coalition of self-help leadership, private resource people and government if the self-help movement in Winnipeg is to produce benefits for its membership and the community. Despite the difficulties inherent in such a concept, it must be attempted. The initiative for any serious effort to combine the knowledge of the problem represented in the self-help membership, the expertise and guidance of the volunteer resource people and the capacity to facilitate change represented by government must come from the leaders of the self-help movement.

The failure of leaders in the various self-help groups to utilize the resources of volunteer professionals and government often results in a failure to produce the necessary capacity to realize the objectives and implement the programs developed by the self-help group. This in turn generates general disillusionment within the membership. The expectations developed in early meetings and discussions are left in the air. No visible signs of progress quickly dull the initial enthusiasm. Very often, the leadership of such a group continues to claim that it represents a particular sector of the community. But, in fact, it has long ago lost the interest and support of those it claims to represent. Governments have watched the coming and going of many self-help groups which have withered on the vine without sufficient human and financial resources.

On the other hand, certain self-help groups have been able to develop some understanding of the role and programs of government, have made effective use of volunteered expertise, have established goals within their capabilities and have acquired a responsible corporate identity.

The results of such efforts have proved effective for they, in turn, have been recognized by government and their proposals given serious attention.

It is interesting to note that in Winnipeg, those self-help groups which develop beyond the ad hoc stage with the effective use of resource people achieve a corporate identity and make the greatest gains and impact. Kinew Housing Company, Inc., the People's Committee, the Senior Citizens' Housing Corporation and others give weight to this observation.

Government departments, government agencies and volunteer resource people tend to respond to groups with the corporate status which indicates a degree of stability and accountability. In contrast, the ad hoc group without this "respectability" is often sympathized with. But when the commitment of funds or the dedication of personal time is involved, questions arise about whom it represents and for how long?

It is within the context of some form of community coalition that the volunteer resource person has the greatest potential for service, It carefully conceived such a coalition could provide:

The basis for co-ordination of resource group efforts; the education and development of individuals who might qualify for the resource person role; the allocation of and proper management of funds required to meet out of pocket expenses incurred by volunteers; the exchange of experience gained through use of various methods and techniques in working with self-help groups;

The training or better equipping of individuals inclined to accept a resource person role; the introduction of individuals involved in a

self-help cause to potential resource people; and the co-ordination of various governments and agencies which will be in contact with self-help groups.

Having briefly suggested that there is much to be gained by community acceptance of some form of coalition of government, resource people and self-help interests, it is obligatory to indicate what criteria should be employed.

B1. The Need for a Formal Organization of Resource Groups

During the last few years, a number of agencies have used their offices to recruit individual resource people in response to requests from self-help groups they serve. The result has been a clear demonstration of the importance of such resource people in the implementation of various programs. The number of resource people involved has been relatively small, with several serving more than one agency.

Recent events and trends indicate that the value of the resource people is generally recognized in the community. The result is an ever-increasing demand for their services because of the proliferation of self-help group activities.

This is intensified by three specific activities of governments which, by their nature, create further demands upon the community to produce volunteer resource services. Reference is made here to:

a) Various incentive programs of the federal government now provide funds to various groups to support programs and hire people previously unemployed. Considerable advice and guidance is required by groups employing

those programs for they lack experience in the organization, management, legal and financing aspects of such programs.

b) The City of Winnipeg Act has created a community committee structure with emphasis on citizen participation and the effective use of sub-committee and resident advisory groups to which citizens volunteer their skills.

c) Municipal and federal governments are creating task forces and testing concepts involving public discussion of issues which have been studied by individuals from various disciplines.

Therefore, the opportunities for involvement of resource people in almost any area of interest are growing. A simple projection of this trend indicates that there will be increasing attempts at assembling a variety of entities to assure efficient mobilization and utilization of relatively large concentrations of resource people. There is no doubt that governments will be obliged to provide funds, support services and possibly office or meeting space to these volunteer resource groups.

It's equally predictable that a great number of citizens with specific interests and expertise will agree to serve the committee structure of the various organizations created in response to government programs and incentives. They will perform their commitments within the time required of them as well as within the limitations of the structure. The motives of such people will prove to be betterment of the total community, although their involvement might, in some cases, be prompted by protection of the interests of their employer or the organization they represent.

It would appear, as well, that the mushrooming self-help movement must continue to have access to volunteer resource people who serve most effectively outside the context of a formal organization structure. The individual resource person must continue to operate with a sense of personal choice within only the restraints and commitments he alone establishes.

In order for these needs to be met, it is suggested that there ought to be some agreeable method of twinning self-help groups with resource people.

One method might be the establishment of community resource centres managed and operated by non-resource people. These centres might be located in various areas of the city and managed by salaried or volunteer secretarial and research personnel.

Their purpose would be to identify community residents who would be prepared to volunteer their services to citizens and various groups. This would include those who are known from past experience, but also those who are not inclined to step forward.

In addition, the community resource centres might conduct training and orientation programs for potential volunteers, possibly by issuing experienced resource people.

This identification, orientation and introduction of resource people to the self-help groups would, in effect, represent a central clearing house operation.

Similarly, potential and existing self-help groups could identify a location or centre where resource expertise can be acquired. The same

centres could also discipline the participants to the role of the resource person, describe potentially effective uses of resource people, define the nature of the services required by a specific group and introduce the group to appropriate individuals selected from the pool of resource people.

The community resource centres could provide meeting and counselling rooms, bases for survey and research work required, secretarial and reproduction facilities and distribution points for VTR, film, newsletter and other informational tools to be employed by the various groups in the area. Similarly, the resource centres could serve as points of contact for volunteers with a variety of expertise, thus opening discussion of programs and issues on a multi-discipline basis.

The opportunity would exist for co-ordination of store-front lawyers, doctors, planners, community organizers, accountants, engineers and others all operating with autonomy, but sharing common objectives.

In the past, several self-help groups have approached various funding sources for specific programs with little or limited success. There may be some basis for anticipating a greater degree of support for self-help group development if funds could be directed to an incorporated community resource centre. Such funds would facilitate organization and operating expenses not related to specific projects, which might be funded elsewhere. In other words, various groups, firms, professions, individuals and institutions might be encouraged to fund a community resource centre program which co-ordinates the distribution of operating funds within the total self-help movement.

Whether the concept of a community resource centre corporation is developed or the present self-help group and resource people method of combining is continued, there will always be the need for some form of outlet for professionals and others with specific expertise to work with people in need of assistance. While the many opportunities for citizen involvement in organized committees, councils and boards will grow in numbers and complexity, others will still benefit from participation in specific aspects of self-help movement problems. It represents an opportunity to provide personal service in a close relationship with different people.

No longer do individuals who work with groups on specific problems have to operate with an almost apologetic attitude. The term "do gooder" and all it implies does not apply to the individual resource person operating quietly and effectively in action programs for the benefit of others. The value of such people is recognized and respected.

There is some evidence that governments, while they might be bothered by the concept of self-help groups, do recognize the role, motives and values of individual resource people associated with a particular group. This recognition is due in no small measure to the fact that the briefs and proposals submitted to government by various self-help groups are articulate, practical, well-documented and represent, in part, feasible alternative approaches to a problem. They recognize that resource people can succeed in building a bridge over the wide gulf separating government from people who suffer many problems government has yet to define and resolve. Conversely, astute government officials look to certain self-help groups to describe a problem and a potential method of dealing with it.

something the officials may know should be attempted but which may be inappropriate for them to broach.

Creation of a community resource centre corporation in Winnipeg could well justify the support of government as well as business and private sectors.

Cl. The City of Winnipeg is at that point in time where interest in citizen involvement and citizen participation in community and self-help programs is at its highest and the potential is unlimited. There will be many discussions about how community resident advisory groups will be supplied with resources required for its effective operation. The same discussions may or may not take into consideration the problem of providing volunteer resource expertise to individual groups of citizens with problems not of community-wide concern. However, on the basis of limited experience to date, the highly structured community resident advisory group concept will require considerable volunteer efforts by many qualified individuals interested in the total community and its improvement. On the other hand, there is a growing need for the personal relationship of individual groups with specific and complex problems and volunteers.

Winnipeg has the opportunity to develop a community resource program which will accommodate two distinct types of voluntary service, one involving individuals prepared to volunteer their time and expertise to the community and the other involving individuals preferring to voluntarily assist groups needing their help.

THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL IN DEALING WITH RESIDENTS

Eric Barker

Introduction

Much is heard today about citizen participation. The focus for much of this discussion has been the issue of urban renewal. But this participation does not just happen, nor is it a simple issue. One of the components necessary to this process is the professional -- whether he be an architect, lawyer, financier or government official.

The following are notes of one such professional who has worked with citizens over a two year period in assisting them to give what they want, express themselves and participate.

Definition of Role and Background

Before beginning to discuss what part I have played in citizen planning, I'll briefly sketch in my background.

My training is as an architect, having graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1969 and moved directly into a local architectural firm for one year. I then helped organize and plan a street festival in downtown Winnipeg. Upon completing the festival, I was seeking employment. Through a local firm, I heard of a temporary job described cryptically as "helping some group of people move an apartment building and put it on a new foundation". With little sense of altruistic destiny, I found myself in a unique position for an architect. Over the past 1½ years since August of 1970,

I have been working as an advisor for a variety of citizens' groups and developers in Urban Renewal Area Two. This is an inner city, lower income residential area immediately south of the vast CPR yards and west of Main Street. My role has been to help people define what they want to do, how to go about it and what might be done. Through this experience we might be able to determine how people can plan for themselves or be involved in this process. And, more practically, what might be done physically in an inner city renewal area.

Context

As an architect, I was a member of an advisory team of the Institute of Urban Studies. The daily working group included myself and a community organizer. The role of the community organizer was to help form and strengthen a group, assisting it in any way possible. Others involved were planning and research people working out of the Institute and local professionals who would give advice and counsel. The working team would meet periodically to assess the various projects.

The context within which I have worked should be understood. My work has concentrated in the part of Urban Renewal Area Two known as Roosevelt Park -- an area bounded by William Avenue on the south, Tecumseh Avenue on the west, the CPR yards on the north and Princess Street on the east. I have gained what understanding I have of the area through poring over innumerable reports and, more importantly, through working in the community and knowing people there. Even with this experience, I can't claim to understand or know the community simply because I was not brought

up there. I do have an intellectual understanding of certain facts and I have subjective impressions and perhaps some feeling for the area. This inability to really know or have an instinct for what makes an area tick is important to recognize.

The following is a collage of characteristics which gives an impression of the area:

- about 2,500 people live there;
- no predominant ethnic groups, strong influx of Portuguese and native peoples, phenomenon of group ethnic movement;
- 33% to 40% of households resident-owned, these resident owners often are older couples having lived here for several years;
- 25% of household residents are single persons, generally elderly living in a room with a family, in a boarding house or apartment/hotel;
- area chosen for low rent and access to downtown;
- housing 60 to 80 years old, small two-storey frame houses on small lots;
- high incidence of large families unable to find other accommodation because of prohibitive rents and intolerance of landlords;
- 30% of households on some sort of government financial assistance;
- a staging area for immigrants, people from country, families in some sort of difficulty;
- much accommodation is shared.

Definition of Planning and Participation

1. What is the planning process?

The planning process itself must be understood before one can define some participation in this process. In principle, this process simply involves:

- (a) collecting data;
- (b) stating a problem;
- (c) stating goals or objectives in solving this problem;
- (d) collecting data on the limitations of the problem;
- (e) research on problem requirements;
- (f) postulating a solution and testing it against the goals and the prevailing limitations.

2. What is participation and how does it fit into this planning process?

Participation means simply that the people who will be affected by planning should have a say in what is planned. This involves working with the planner to collect data, state the problem, state the objectives and work out a solution. But the question is how?

People for centuries have left the responsibility for the development of the physical environment with the builder. But, today, people are generally more aware, there are many alternatives, convention is not nearly as strong and there are other variables to consider. What this really amounts to is that the planner and designer need help to plan environments. It is a matter of the designer learning to ask for help and the residents

learning to be able to help. Thus, if we relate participation to the planning process, the areas for involvement are evident:

- (a) data to isolate problem;
- (b) statement of problem;
- (c) data on how to solve problem and its limitations;
- (d) statement of goals and objectives;
- (e) development of ownership and management structure;
- (f) development of specific solution to problem within certain objectives.

In each of the above stages of development, the basic principle is to work with residents on these problems. Thus, it is not simply asking them what they think (although this is the first step), but trying to clarify the dynamics of the situation for them and working with them on these problems. It is a difficult process. Often the resident initially doesn't care or know enough to contribute. Have you ever been asked what you want or need? It is also a lot to ask of someone to come to meetings frequently to talk about large issues. It is easy to get people to express dissatisfaction over a specific issue like a new bridge, a road or house wrecking. But, this is a small part of the participation process. It is really a matter of developing a habit of discussion and organization not based on inflammatory issues, but based on developing their own issues -- taking an offensive rather than only a defensive stance.

The basis for studying resident participation in a lower income inner city renewal area is that we have made decisions for people unable to determine their own destiny in the market-place. Because of their

employment, income, ethnic origin, family situation or any other number of factors, they had no other choice. Thus, these people must be involved in future development in order to make it work as there is no safeguard of market acceptability. They cannot move out even if they don't like it.

There is a variety of participation norms which will give some idea of their range and where more work must be done. My relationship as part of an advisory team to these different norms have varied. I will try to explain what these were generally and what the intent was.

Relationship

(a) Daily

We began by working with a resident group, helping them move an apartment building onto a new foundation. This demanded that we work out of their office in the area on a daily basis. Through this experience, I was able to learn something about the community and group dynamics.

(b) Sporadic Advisory Role

In order to expand our scope, we then began to work out of a separate office on the fringe of the area. This allowed one to work with a number of different groups in the area on a request basis.

(c) Catalyst

This involves being a co-ordinator and information source to people on small issues. Perhaps it could be described as being the impetus to get things going.

Participation Norms

(a) General Interest Group

A group of residents formed and forged perhaps around one issue or project but with a continuity to allow it to embrace various issues in a community. This is the most difficult group to develop and assist as its focus becomes, by definition, divided.

(b) Specific Interest Group

A group of residents formed around one issue or project with its focus on that one subject and which disbands after completion. This group is much easier to work with as it has a specific goal and focus.

(c) Local Developers

This is an interesting group as they are residents and wish to put money back into the community to better it but who also wish to make a buck. It is a healthy sort of situation in which you know where everyone stands.

(d) Non-Local Developers

This is a case of developers, knowing nothing about the area, wishing to "help the poor people" and at the same time "make a buck".

The Degrees of Resident Involvement

Citizen participation can have many forms and achieve varying degrees of involvement. The following is a breakdown of some of these methods of involvement.

(a) Solutions shown to residents for "approval"

This is the least degree of participation. Beautiful, misrepresentative sketches are shown to an uninitiated group of people to see if they like them.

Since none of the people understand them, the reaction is not disapproving, therefore approval is assumed.

(b) Typical "Architect-Client" Relationship

This is a more intense form, with initial meetings held with residents to define the problem and its requirements. This is the most creative part of the process. After this point, the architect disappears and develops ideas which are shown to the group over a period of time. The problem here is that too little time is spent in the initial "problem definition" stage and a physical solution, not clearly understandable, is presented too quickly to the residents. The process here, again, is one of the residents reacting to material shown to them.

(c) Resident "Plug-in" Relationship

In this case, the architect examines a problem physically, quite separate from the group, while taking time to discuss the problem with the group, determine its requirements and collect data on the problem. The intent here is not to take the group too quickly into the physical discussion stage and, at the same time, to make yourself aware of the alternative solutions to and inherent difficulties in the problem. This allows the architect, when discussing the physical aspects, to foresee problems. The important point here, although the architect has worked through the problem, is to present information so that the group sees all possible alternatives in an unbiased way. The information must be presented simply and slowly to be understandable and, ideally, left with members of the group to mull over.

(d) Working Team Approach

This involves extensive initial discussion with a group of residents about the problem and its inherent requirements. The intent here is to make

the people aware of the extent of the problem to enable them to work fully with the architect. The individual is then involved by becoming a working member of the building committee. The architect must act as initiator in showing what is possible and as an interpreter of their ideas. The problem here is usually the time limitations of the development process.

(e) Resource Center Approach

The intent here is to educate the resident about what is possible, to expand their range of experience and to show them that there are ways of obtaining what they want. The resource center would act as a base for this educating process and would provide assistance and information of how to get what is wanted. Thus, an expression of need is simply one's willingness to become physically and financially committed to a process. This is based on the principle that people can't be helped unless they want to help themselves.

(f) Detailed Specific Situation Study

A situation in the public or private sector is isolated and studied over a period of time to identify a pattern of social behavior in a given physical context. The intent of this study is to define how the physical environment frames one's existence and if it is a positive or negative influence. This information is gained through subjective and objective sources of information and is discussed by the researcher and resident together. Thus, they define how the physical environment functions and how it could be made to function better.

Parameters of Group Work

In dealing with any group to any degree of involvement with a building or development process, there are certain limitations. These include:

- (a) establishing commitment or strength of group to carry out tasks;
- (b) establishing project feasibility by examining land, financing, zoning and other pertinent factors;
- (c) gathering data on the problem, defining the problem and its limitations and explaining the scope of development;
- (d) defining a building program;
- (e) discussing initial physical ideas and alternatives;
- (f) testing initial physical concept and program with government officials.
- (g) refining and finalizing physical design.

The important aspect here is not to spend too much time with the group and raise expectations before determining whether the project will work. Once this is certain, taking time to clarify the issues is necessary.

Relating Experience, Techniques and Methods to Different Group Relationships and Participants

- (1) Working with a general interest group on a daily basis -

The group was the People's Committee for a Better Neighbourhood Inc. in Urban Renewal Area Two over a period from September 1970 to March 1971.

The first step in the process was my introduction to the group as an architect and a member of the advisory team. My specific task was to help move an apartment building onto a new foundation and put two new suites in the basement. Problems developed quickly. My role and who I was responsible to were not clear because I had been introduced into a development process already started. The lack of clarity resulted in my working for the group rather than with them. The responsibility for carrying out tasks was not

well distributed. Working on specific tasks with a group is an excellent method for introducing a professional into a community project. By working out of an office in the area, I was able to meet people from the community and gain a sense of the community. I made the mistake of trying to talk about ideas too soon and attempting to probe their feeling for the neighbourhood. The approach should be one of listening, staying in the background, recording one's impressions and just becoming known in the area. Actually, there should be a period of reflection after several months of working in any area.

In working out of the office daily and attending every committee meeting, one is drawn into personal relationships and used as a pawn in power plays. I found people generally quite aware of my position as an architect. This awareness manifested itself in respectful formality, overt friendliness, or distrust and subsequent attempts to bring me to their level so they could deal with me. I attempted to become one of the group and minimize any barriers by dressing casually, not using "big words", and doing small tasks in order to help out. I also thought I would handle people as people and not worry about role definition. I found my position became precarious as I became involved in personalities. What I concluded is that you should attempt to minimize barriers to communication caused by status, but that a line must be drawn so you don't try to be one of the group or become involved in personal relationships. I found myself saying as time went on, "I don't want to get involved. It's none of my business." Often, I found myself stifling anger or laughter at situations just to avoid becoming involved or siding with any sub-group. Honesty is another prerequisite. You are being tested all the time by the sub-group to see if you are aligned with the other side.

The whole name of the game is communication. As I have mentioned, listening without coming on strong is the first key. The People's Committee had a specific project to work on, but was, at the same time, looking at the area with a view to what else might be done. At each meeting, or during the day in the office, we would talk about their concerns... housing, landlords, police, drugs, traffic. I felt they expected me to come up with ideas which would solve these problems. I made the mistake of responding too quickly. I began on the right foot by showing slides of other communities and developments which would widen their range of experience. This program should have been expanded with several meetings concentrating on looking at slides of their own community. In both cases their reactions should have been recorded systematically on tape rather than written a day later. I began to realize the importance of photographs and plastered one wall with pictures of housing, stores, parks, all with attendant descriptions. The reaction was positive as everyone had comments about them. When the apartment building was completed in early December, I set up a display in a suite which didn't show solutions, but, merely described the various sorts of housing, stores, parks, using simple diagrams and photographs. The idea was great, but there was too much information for people to take in and comment on. This problem of too much information was one we had in the meetings when the group had to deal with other issues. The limitations on a group of residents who voluntarily come to meetings at night to deal with many issues are severe. They can only discuss so much at one meeting.

When we all began to talk about the community itself on a larger scale, it was difficult for the group to comprehend what was being talked

about and really have a feeling for it. Discussing a smaller specific issue is obviously easier to handle. One member of the group made an interesting observation after a discussion. He said, "You should repeat what you talked about tonight next week again, because people find it hard to understand all in one meeting." Upon repeating the information, the response and discussion was better, but, again, talking about a large issue which they may not be interested in or understand at a long meeting is difficult. Ideas were presented a variety of ways - photographs, slides, diagrams, newsletters. But, the problem really was in not selecting one issue they were deeply interested in to discuss in detail. Housing was the priority, but again had many parts to it. The group, because of many pressures, was not able to concentrate on one issue and I presented too much information and confused the issue.

In summary then, there is a certain process involved in communicating to a resident group:

- (a) Show background information on their own community and other developments and record reactions;
- (b) Show information over a period of time and allow discussion to gradually form on important issues. Educate group on the dynamics of development with "game" techniques;
- (c) Isolate most important concerns and form a working committee separate from a general committee to study these in detail;
- (d) Select one problem to study in detail relative to its importance and the group's ability to carry it out;
- (e) Establish group commitment and project feasibility;
- (f) Repeat simple visual and verbal presentations over a period of time. The visual material should be diagrammatic and not

too good to avoid awe and limit discussion. Material should be left with members to take home and discuss;

- (g) Demand that the group draw their own ideas and do research work themselves. If the group falls into the role of feeling that you are working for them, any interchange of information is limited.

As time went on in dealing with the committee, little apparent progress was being made and we concentrated on clarifying their goals, what was involved in the development process and what commitment was required of them. This happened because my relationship with the group was changing from a daily one to a more consultant one. In that sense, the group had to be able to handle a project more independently and enabled the group to straighten out its problems itself. This solved the personality difficulties, but resulted in the group withdrawing and not knowing when to call for assistance. The group should have been subtly monitored and persuaded to meet when it was apparent it was confused. This withdrawal on both sides resulted in one member of the committee being thrust into a liaison job and thus in a strong position of power as the person with the information.

(3) St. Andrew's Church Redevelopment

In this case, a local institution wished to rebuild, involving both its congregation and the surrounding community in the development process from beginning to end.

When the Institute entered, the congregation simply didn't know how to start rebuilding and was fending off threats by presbytery that the church would be closed down. The United Church was re-evaluating

the administration of its ministry in the urban context and refused to allow the construction of just another church, especially one for a congregation which was dwindling and essentially non-resident. The full history of the church is found elsewhere in the report.¹ I intend to discuss this project only from the view of my role as part of an advisory team in the participatory process.

The first step was to identify a community based development process and conceptual form which would be more than just a church. The conceptual form agreed on in principle by the congregation was a "village square", or multipurpose neighbourhood center with the church, housing and other facilities. Certain misunderstandings and false expectations were created by my presenting a sketch and plans of what might be done. This presentation was positive in that it was an image of hope, but it was taken too literally. It was evident that my relationship with the group was a formal, professional relationship which didn't involve personalities. A problem did develop later in the process because, again, my role was not clearly established and understood. My work load initially consisted of establishing site and zoning limitations as well as preliminary design criteria.

A timetable was worked out and a development team of the church congregation, the Institute of Urban Studies and the Urban Church Council was established. The Institute and the council provided staff who initially carried the project. Meetings were held with this team to discuss organization, land, financing, timetable program.

1. See St. Andrew's Church Redevelopment Program.

In order to isolate citizens interested in the development corporation and get initial reaction and ideas about the project, a three-part, abbreviated community involvement process was devised. Before the community could be asked to react to an idea, the form of the idea was further refined into a development which would be composed of:

- (a) limited permanent church space and a multi-purpose area;
- (b) a space for other facilities such as a day nursery, a library and a laundromat;
- (c) and housing for families, the elderly or perhaps both.

Letters were sent to all local groups informing them of the project and asking for a meeting to discuss some ideas. Posters and leaflets were made up to inform the community about the project. These were distributed throughout the area and put up in the church. A congregation member was retained to stay in the church (a temporary building on the site of the old church) and record people's reaction to the idea. And, a rotating series of small group meetings over a number of days was scheduled and invitations dropped in specific sample areas.

My role as advisor in this process was to help devise the process itself, prepare leaflets and posters used, attend meetings held and ensure proper recording of what went on.

The results of this method of operation were generally disappointing. Only a small number of residents who displayed interest were isolated, and the reaction to the letters sent out was poor. The "listener" stationed in the church gleaned most of the valuable information. Reaction to the idea generally was favourable and we gained a sense of priorities about what should go in the project.

The factors which affected the impact of this process were:

Working in an area already saturated with issues, plans and surveys; difficulty obtaining candid reaction to a church project; lack of effective distribution of information; limited staff time available; the meetings were called in the dead of winter just before Christmas, about the worst time of year for weather.

Regarding my work in this program, I found the leaflet and poster I prepared again had too much information in it and looked too much like a sketch of a building, although I took pains to make it diagrammatic. In retrospect, I think a simple presentation of the fact that it was not going to be just a church would have been sufficient. Being a bit controversial, it might have caused more reaction.

During the meetings, I found the best approach was to try and listen and simply keep the discussion somewhat on topic. The discussion usually rambled into many areas, which is necessary up to a point, but which becomes wasteful. Another trick to use is show photographs. People talk around them easily. Care should be taken to ask people who aren't talking what they think. One of the difficulties was discussing a conceptual issue.

I think a small group of residents should have been formed to informally discuss the idea over a period of months at seminar sessions. The first meeting held is always fruitless and introductory. This program would have replaced the rotating series of meetings which offered little insight. This same group after a period of time could have become part of the building committee. This is evident when discussing the second phase of the project which ran from January '72 to March '72 and the meeting with the presbytery.

During this period of time the intent was to refine the program and the building, financial, legal and governmental parts of the concept for a presentation to presbytery for approval in principle and to reform the congregation and residents into a working building committee with outside legal and financial expertise.

My role in this process was to work with a representative of the Urban Church Council in an almost developer-organizer capacity. Time was spent clarifying what had been accomplished in the community involvement process and delegating members of the building committee to study the alternatives in detail. Much of my time was spent co-ordinating the project.

A problem began to develop later because the nature of a community based development process was not fully understood or accepted. The congregation had to accept it before entertaining any thoughts about re-development. Thus, an attitude of "well, you go and get your citizen, but they aren't going to have much power" developed. The main argument was that it was their church and they were ultimately responsible for their actions and the residents weren't. In other words, "we got the bucks and it's our building". Their conception of this community based process was to ask the residents for their advice, but no more. It was made clear that a community based process depended on a legally constituted body of 50% non-congregation members to be responsible for the design and management of the project. The ownership remained with the church.

Because of the project's complexity and the fact I was intending on leaving in several months, I suggested retaining another architect to assist and eventually handle the project. Again, the nature of my role was as confused with the congregation as it had been ill-defined. A mistake was made earlier by not considering the congregation as a group

which must be worked with like the community. Another factor was that the congregation had staff people to rely on to do much of the work. In this case, the staff took too much of the responsibility for the project. This resulted in the congregation losing touch with the project.

Frequent meetings with the building committee were held every week for a month and a half until the presbytery presentation. During this time, we worked at refining the basic concept and working with the group slowly at getting a feel for the project by proceeding in the following stages:

- (a) general discussion of the program and possible ingredients;
- (b) general discussion of the image of the complex, its scale, feeling and how some ingredients might fit together;
- (c) "playing" with a project model to give a sense of size;
- (d) discussion of financial aspects of program.

Devices used for communication during these meetings were:

- (a) sketching free-hand what we were talking about;
- (b) drawing on walls to clarify verbal presentation or discussion;
- (c) attempting to simplify project by breaking it into parts;
- (d) utilizing a model to "play" with;
- (e) letting discussion flow freely to enable the group to express their ideas on the project;
- (f) passing out literature for members to take home and read.

In the next stage of the process, the building committee was streamlined as it was too large to deal with the specific problems. A project co-ordinator was found as the staff, who had previously co-ordinated the process, was involved in a more specific detailed study.

The resident representation on the building committee was strengthened. Only a few residents had been brought onto the committee previously and were still ill-informed about the project.

(4) Winnipeg House Builder's Association Mark VIII Experimental
Housing Project

This project is an example of a non-local, private developer wanting to build in a community on which he had little information. The basic intent of this project was to develop and build eight to twelve experimental housing units in a lower income, inner city area available for home ownership.

Since this was not a resident group but an organization of uninitiated businessmen, the advisory role altered. The role essentially was one of familiarizing the developer with the dynamics of the area, acting as a liaison between the developer and the resident group and putting experience with the area to use in doing research on the design of solutions to anticipated problems.

Towards this end, the advisor initially acted as the advocate for the area to convince the developer to build in the area. This was necessary as there were several lower income, inner city areas which were better to build in than others. The next step was familiarizing the developer with the nature of the area and a possible approach to it. Here the combination of an architect with a working knowledge of a particular area was valuable. The developer not only had to be acquainted with the area's characteristics but had to realize the necessity of involving residents in the process. Several robust meetings were held, deflating the builder's image of the area as a complete slum and his role as a

savior. The developer's reticence to involve citizens stems from his belief that such a coalition is an interference and its results are questionable. The fear of loss of control is still another factor in this attitude, although community opinion isn't necessarily rejected. This is a human enough reaction. But, any effective citizen involvement only comes with the responsibility of decision-making power.

The advisory staff introduced the developer to residents and acted as an information exchange between the two. In the meantime, research was done on how new housing might be introduced into an existing community without having to disrupt its social fabric. This anticipated the time when the project was in the design stage and it would be necessary to guide the developer on a designated course.

Because of this anticipated development, the advisory staff formed a local resident's group with the specific intention of acquiring new housing. This group, to be discussed later in the report, met separately for several months to learn some of the dynamics involved in new housing. This group was to act as a "client" later in the project.

Before land was acquired, the advisory staff, based on its area experience and research, had to clarify with the developer the design of the project. The advisory staff urged the developer to build the new units on single vacant lots, rather than acquire and demolish existing housing to build on a large package of land. The idea of building six units on a large parcel in a better part of the area as a show piece was the developer's initial plan. The advisory staff was able to provide

information on available land in the area. An attempt was made to approach these lots in groups to minimize impact in the area in case others wanted land. Criteria for the lots were established in order to purchase representative types of lots in good and poor districts to test the impact of the new housing.

One of the difficulties encountered was clarifying the role of the advisor in the project. It was made clear in an agreement drawn up between the developer and the Institute that the advisory staff must have equal decision making power with members of the committee working on the project, equal publicity, as well as rights to publish an objective report. As such, the advisory staff became a working part of the design committee and head of the "sociological" committee. There is often the expectation within a development group that research and advisory skills can be expected free of charge with no commitment to this advice or research. This commitment should be gained at a time when the developer has need of your services to strengthen your bargaining position.

As the project proceeded into the preliminary design stage, our role changed to one of essentially producing the final design, establishing and working within a relationship with the resident advisory group. In that sense, my position was not advising, but becoming part of the working team. In that way, my experience in the area and the requirement to work with a resident group was firmly established. If I had not been in that position, I question what direction the project would have taken. As the involvement with the resident advisory group expanded, the advisor became a link between the two, being careful not to prejudice either position.

Surprisingly, this situation worked out well, with both parties acquiring an understanding of the other.

(5) Self-Help Housing Group

The Self-Help Housing Group comprises a number of families who banded together to obtain new housing for themselves in the inner city district they've lived in most of their lives.

One initial advisory role was to try and isolate with the group the various alternatives open and who in government they might contact. To this extent, advisory staff acted as a recorder of meetings to clarify what was asked and answered. Video tape equipment is quite effective as a device to record meetings held with government officials. The play back gives both parties a better understanding of what was said and in what context. Problems developed as government officials raised expectations and weren't able to produce. This points out that one must work with a group slowly to avoid creating false expectations. Basically, in an advisory role, one cannot afford to play with people's hopes and lives.

As an architect, I became involved with the group initially, showing them several ideas for new housing. In retrospect, I think this was a mistake. The ideas were introduced too soon. Initial discussion should have been kept to an informal talk about projects elsewhere, rather than touch on specific floor plans and sketches. On realizing this, the next meetings were limited to discussing land availability and financing. These meetings gave the group an idea of the dynamics of inner city residential development. This was important to their understanding of the limitations. The only land available for immediate purchase were single or double vacant lots. During the financial discussion, it was shown that

to build a single house on these lots, the monthly P.I.T. payments would be too high. If two or three units were placed on a lot, the P.I.T. payment becomes far more reasonable, lowering it to \$10 a month.

I originally intended to use the "plug-in" program with the group. This would have involved doing initial research of the problem before meeting with the group. While this separate study was being conducted, the issues of land, financing and group commitment would be clarified. Once the project was found to be feasible, meetings on program requirements would be held.

At this point, I intended to introduce a game device, which is fun and, at the same time, gives an idea of what is involved in building new housing. It is called simply "The House Game". It is based on the monopoly concept. A board is set up, with squares representing kitchen, bathroom, living room, etc. There are "problem" squares, such as strikes, bad weather, and "chance" squares which require one to pick cards and either receive or forfeit money. At the outset, each player is given an amount of money relating to the number of people in his or her family (it can be real or fictitious). The dice are rolled and the players move tokens around the board. Upon landing on a "kitchen square", the individual has choices of different kitchen areas for different prices. These are displayed on large cards with the price, a photo of the kitchen and a description. Moving around the board, the player gradually acquires his land, basement, kitchen, bedrooms, etc. The game is designed to give players enough money for an adequate house, but not enough for a lavish house. Hopefully, near the game's end, he would have to sacrifice a large area for a lesser area, thus giving an indication of the player's priorities.

The next step of this process is to develop quarter inch scale models of a variety of types of units, showing the interior of the unit and allowing the group to place them on available sites in a number of ways. Costs are calculated on each anticipated alternative in order to feed this information into the process. Through this discussion, an understanding of the limitations of units and sites is gained and the players would, over time, be able to house a particular configuration at a certain approximate cost. A criteria rating scale is established to clarify the positive and negative aspects of each unit and siting type. Thus the job of the advisor here is to:

- (a) do basic research on the problem;
- (b) feed program requirements into this process;
- (c) present these to the group in an unbiased way, clarifying differences;
- (f) and, record reactions of the group.

One of the important aspects of this program is to ensure the people's understanding of the unit inside and out and how it goes on a lot. One effective method is to use pull apart models with real windows so one can see outside in or inside out. This is a process which can't be rushed.

Because of a variety of factors, the game part of this process was not used. What was done was the development of scale take-apart models of a particular solution. This solution was compared with drawings of other ideas selected by the group and then the interior layout and siting were studied. The method used was simply to sit down with the group with pencil and paper and go over it.

One important ingredient of this process was the fact the members of the group were thinking of moving into these units. Thus the discussion was not general or abstract, but specific and personal. Other important factors were the sites of the meetings and the size of the group. They were held informally in member's homes, which allowed for easy discussion. The largest meeting size was four couples.

Another role of the architectural advisor was to meet as a representative of the group with the developer. This involved recording meetings, disseminating information to both parties and working with both to establish ground rules for development.

Acting as a Catalyst for a Specific Interest Group

The nature of the advisor's order in a local rehabilitation company organize a project, to offer advice and monitor it once underway. In short, it was acting as the catalytic agent.

Institute staff had worked in an inner city area for one and a half years and had developed some ideas towards rehabilitation of older houses. Initial discussions were held with persons in the area experienced in this type of work. The plan was to set up a local rehabilitation company utilizing local expertise and labor. The advisory staff had information about forthcoming winter works grants and proceeded to organize some men in the area and develop a proposal.

The initiation and organization of the project involved setting its goals and program, based on research done, and putting together a proposal with the men. Since it was vital that the men come from the area, it was important to have contacts there. Initially, the advisory staff

thought this to be no problem. But, even with the contacts, it was a difficult task to find the right people with the patience, ability and availability. The next step included dealing with government officials, paper work and a final submission.

Once this catalytic, entrepreneurial function was finished and the project approved, it was a matter of working with the men to get it off the ground and set up its monitoring and assessing aspects. The project was designed so that it could run itself with little outside help. The function of the advisor would be to offer help with any difficulties, meet twice weekly with the men to discuss problems, keep the project on its intended track and be responsible for the evaluating techniques.

The monitoring system made the co-ordinator of the project responsible for weekly reports, a recorder responsible for reports regarding on-the-job activity and three job supervisors responsible for specific job reports. With this material, plus photographs, a comprehensive record was kept. The advisor provided the perspective of the total project.

Summary

The role of an architectural advisor working in an inner city, lower income residential area is a varied one. He is called on not only to develop new ways of approaching old problems in a physical context, but also to develop an understanding of the residents of the area and techniques for working with them. As I have tried to point out, citizen participation comes in multiple shapes, sizes and degrees. One works with a variety of groups, in differing relationships, each in a unique way. What has been described is the first step towards giving a better under-

standing of the "how" of citizen participation. Only through working with people and making mistakes, correcting them and developing new approaches can we gain this understanding. On the other hand, there has to be some specific basis for an organization. All of the groups described have derived or will derive a result out of this process.

As a part of an advisory team, the professional of one discipline is required to work with others of a variety of disciplines. In working as a team, it is important to define one's limitations and role on the one hand, but it is equally important to accept other disciplines and work within some of their limitations. In this case, the architect became part organizer and the organizer became part architect.

The team approach is a difficult one to learn. At times, the requirements of one supercede and frustrate the rest. Both parties must compromise. This process of putting your discipline in the crucible of discussion with other professionals or residents is a sobering one. As an architect working among organizers and sociologists, one's position tends to be unique and apart. It is important that this separation is minimized.

The vehicle for this whole process, the Institute of Urban Studies, plays an important role. Not only does it provide some members of the multi-disciplinary team, but also a framework within which to work. As part of the University of Winnipeg, and funded by individual grants from the provincial government, CMHC and other public and private bodies, it's pledged to no one. If it were part of the government or a private firm required to make money, its position would be prejudiced. The ability to move in government and private circles with integrity is essential to serving the best interests of residents. Its connection with the university also offers academic expertise, access to extensive literature

and student assistance on projects. One of the problems is pressure by the faculty to do more "pure" research as opposed to working in the community. Another is the difficulty in providing services which compete with private industry.

The intent of this report was not to describe the projects, but the method of working within them. In this context, certain areas were covered:

- (a) the understanding of an area;
- (b) the definition of resource requirements;
- (c) the dynamics of working with people;
- (d) the use of communication devices and methods;
- (e) and education.

It is the responsibility of the professional to learn about dealing with people so new solutions reflect the people. The value of the process described is not only in the results achieved. It is also in opening a line of communication with the citizen. More and more designers are realizing that the subjective value judgements made in determining physical environment for people were faulty. The people must be asked and involved. But most professionals don't know how or haven't the time. This essay has been about the beginning of an understanding.

These processes and techniques of involving people must be built into the design and development timetable in order to understand the human limitations of a physical environment. Professionals must commit themselves to this approach and hire people to carry out such a program. Without this, what is designed for people will fall further away from people.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

David G. Henderson

The City of Winnipeg Act has established the basis for a new and exciting form of local government. The unicity plan calls for centralization of decision making and administration, but at the same time provides for community committees composed of the individual aldermen elected from a number of wards in a sector of the city. The primary purpose of community committees is to assure supervision of the delivery of local services and continuance of a sense of local government.

The provision for resident advisory groups within each community committee area is intended as a vehicle for liaison between citizens and their elected representatives. As well, it allows for meaningful participation of concerned residents in the development of programs relevant to the identified needs of the community committee area.

In essence, Winnipeg has the opportunity to develop a comprehensive and reliable program for economic, social and physical improvement which will reflect the various needs and views of each sector of the city. The evolution of a framework for integrated public policy decisions capable of accommodating the objectives of local areas is an anticipated result of the unicity concept.

The characteristics of the various community committees will be reflected in plans for action yet to be articulated. There is no doubt that the degree of participation and interest in community planning and development will vary from community to community. The areas identified for priority of attention and action will also vary from community to

community. Many of the priorities and plans developed at the community level will fall within the power of the city to implement.

However, there will be areas of priority and action for improving the social and physical development of sectors of the city which will only come about through the coordinated efforts of private interests and the city. It is quite possible that new techniques will be required in certain community committee areas to meet locally identified priorities and needs. Many areas are characterized by articulate and advantaged residents capable of initiating and supporting local community programs within the present economic and political system. On the other hand, some community committee areas lack the resources and capacity to achieve such objectives. The application of the neighborhood development corporation concept to the resident advisory group structure may represent one solution for a number of community committees which seek to initiate programs tailored to their area which the private or government sectors are not equipped or inclined to meet, save under some working relationship with community or citizen organizations.

The resident advisory groups are looked to by the councillors of the community committee for advice and recommendations on the delivery of services in the community and the establishment of public policies and programs designed to create a satisfactory urban living environment. While governments and their various agencies can assist the resident advisory group or the community committee to realize their objectives, there will be objectives and programs which will rely upon the initiative of the residents of the area.

Governments will hopefully create a framework and an environment within which locally conceived projects can be planned and developed in a rewarding way. The mechanism for specific programs of action, including the securing of funds, resource personnel and continuing administration, might very well be some form of neighborhood development corporation.

It is important that the preceding description of the new unicity plan for Winnipeg be understood, for its basic provisions for centralized administration and decision making preclude application of the basic objectives of the more familiar community development corporation concept. This community development corporation is essentially a political invention of recent years. It constitutes part of a broader movement towards decentralization and local neighbourhood control of social and governmental services and thus is not appropriate to the Winnipeg situation.

However, the related concept of a multi-purpose citizen controlled organization, managed by both property owners and tenants of a given geographic area for the purpose of developing programs to meet the needs of the area, may prove to be applicable in certain sectors of Winnipeg. This simply suggests extension of the concept of the incorporated, non-profit, self-help organizations described in Part I to the neighbourhood level. It also suggests that policy to supplement or complement programs of the city's community committee structure can be designed by residents of a given area who, in effect, are the members and shareholders of a company created for the purpose of meeting special community needs.

The formation of a corporate status by residents of an area can be accomplished by various methods and involve varying degrees of representa-

tion. In effect, any three residents of an area, be they members of a resident advisory group or citizens at large, can incorporate for specific educational, social, ethnic, philanthropic and other purposes. The possibility of proliferation of such incorporated neighbourhood groups is real. Unless the community, following adequate public discussion of its concept, its objectives and its funding, management and legal implications, should agree that a single neighbourhood corporation designed for a variety of projects is in the best interests of the community, it is not likely that any one such development corporation could claim sole support from the residents or the city.

The City of Winnipeg has witnessed the growth of incorporated, non-profit companies for citizens to create continuing and legally established organizations to implement worthwhile programs in education, housing, social improvement and so on. This trend is likely to continue. Special purpose corporations established under the provision of the Companies Act of the province are not denied freedom to operate simply because other corporations also operate within the same geographic area. A non-profit company can, on application for letters patent, define geographic limits for its operations. But it cannot carve out a specific territory for itself.

Therefore, while the concept of neighbourhood corporation to provide local services and programs could be developed and made a reality, the emergence of more than one such organization operating in a given area is a probability.

The community committees and the resident advisory groups, which are intended to develop and maintain the closest possible communication between the city and the residents about delivery of local services, existing and potential city policies, programs and budgets, is a built-in part of the political and administrative structure of the city. The application of the neighbourhood development corporation concept to any community in Winnipeg would be justified and more than likely supported by the general public if it is conceived as an instrument for not normally of high priority, in the city's overall plans for action.

Neighbourhood Development Corporations can be initiated in several ways. Generally speaking, governments do not start local or special interest development corporations which are intended to be managed and directed by residents of an area. Citizens themselves usually take the initiative for founding such organizations and experience and data suggest that they have been fairly successful in creating citizen involvement. In recent years, neighbourhood development corporations have been initiated and aided by university-based research and action centres. The latter usually have the following objectives:

- (a) to seek out local groups which have become interested in establishing development corporations;
- (b) to present their concept of the strategy and structure of such a corporation;
- (c) to serve as advisors on organizational design to those willing to grasp and implement the concept.

While the Winnipeg experience to date is limited to the efforts of citizen groups mainly in the self-help category, it would appear that the most successful corporations seem to be those set up by local initiative and then aided by co-operation from the levels of government and the private sector.

Any attempts to initiate neighbourhood development corporation activities in Winnipeg will likely incorporate the following process:

- (a) organization by leaders in a neighbourhood with a specific geographical area and specific ethnic community as a base;
- (b) incorporation as a non-profit company;
- (c) acceptance of a variety of economic and social objectives;
- (d) provision for considerable local participation in its management and ultimate control;
- (e) development and maintenance of a number of economic enterprises to offset the temporary and uncertain funding from government and foundation sources.

The private sector could become involved in various areas in which a neighbourhood development corporation might require their skills and facilities. It could:

- (a) train employees in vocational skills;
- (b) give loan preferences to community projects;
- (c) provide seed money for projects;
- (d) provide managerial tutorials for project managers;
- (e) provide wholesale buying of materials.

The list of possibilities is limited only by the size and resources of the firm and the needs and wants of the people. Through the neighbourhood development corporation, the skills and resources of small business, corporations and of professional people can be mobilized behind all of the aspects of community redevelopment.

The neighbourhood development corporations' possible functions could include housing, economic development, transportation, medical and legal services, education, communication and involvement of citizen and private sector interests in all aspects of community development.

There are several things that can be drawn from American and our own experience.

- (a) The NDC is a viable vehicle for the promotion of economic and social improvement in certain sectors of the city.
- (b) NDC's need to train and build their own competent staff but can do this best with the help of an outside resource group.
- (c) NDC's need initial outside financing for at least the first 5 years.
- (d) A high level of real participation is gained only at the expense of immediate and profitable economics.
- (e) NDC's need to be supplemented and reinforced by government sponsored programs.

It is particularly interesting to note that the neighbourhood development corporation concept, if applied in Winnipeg, could involve any combination of elements, many of which have already been described.

One can envision co-operation between government and private sectors in the support of the movement; university-based research institute involvement and leadership; volunteer efforts of resource people in the community; dedication and involvement of residents in the organization and operation of the corporation; use of the non-profit corporation technique; and application of innovative concepts and programs to specific situations and needs not normally taken care of by government or social agencies.

Perhaps the accumulation of experience within this community in social action research and self-help efforts can be employed to further advantage with the recent reorganization of the political and administrative structure of the community.

A PHYSICAL PLANNING APPROACH TO INNER CITY RENEWAL

Eric Barker

The intent of this report is to deal with some aspects of the physical planning of a specific inner city, lower income area based on two years of work in the district.

This report is divided into a conceptual overview, an area framework and housing.

1. A Conceptual Overview

Before one can discuss a physical planning approach, one must have a conceptual framework within which to design. Everything suggested or done must achieve an end.

For too long, people have looked on inner city, lower income areas as slums, cancers which must be cut out of the body of the city. It is my contention this is both naive and immoral.

In any agglomeration of people, however small, some are better able to function within the established system, for whatever reasons. Thus, we must expect that, within a city, there are some people better off than others. This will always be the case. This does not preclude providing assistance for such people. But, the acceptance of people in this circumstance as a reality of life is a prerequisite. The question is then how do we provide an acceptable living environment for people in difficulty. It is not a question of revitalizing the community, cleaning the area up or creating a stable neighbourhood. If this were to happen, as we have learned

over and over, people in transit, up or down the ladder, would be forced elsewhere and dispersed. In this way we avoid and aggravate the problem.

A slum is never captured in one paragraph of description or one photograph. It is generally a mixture of many types of people moving in many different directions. Some residents want to live in the area, some hate it and want to leave and others pass through on the way somewhere else. It is both a staging area for some and home for others. The problem is how to develop a living environment where both the stable and the transient can live together, each respecting each other's right to stay or move.

The short-term resident population of this district is many faced. It consists of single young men in temporary employment, elderly men living in rooms close to downtown, large families requiring cheap accommodation and tolerant landlords, mothers without husbands, men and women out of work and young families needing time to get on their feet. This is the population that cannot fit into a rejuvenated, stable community. It is a population that will always exist and presently occupies a poor living environment, with little choice, at a comparatively high cost. It is simply human nature for people in like circumstance to group in one area of the city. The inner city area where these people live functions now as a staging area and melting pot. The problem is that it functions poorly.

Thus, our conceptual approach to the physical development of an inner city area rests on dealing with the fact of the short-term resident living together with the long-term resident. One might go further, saying

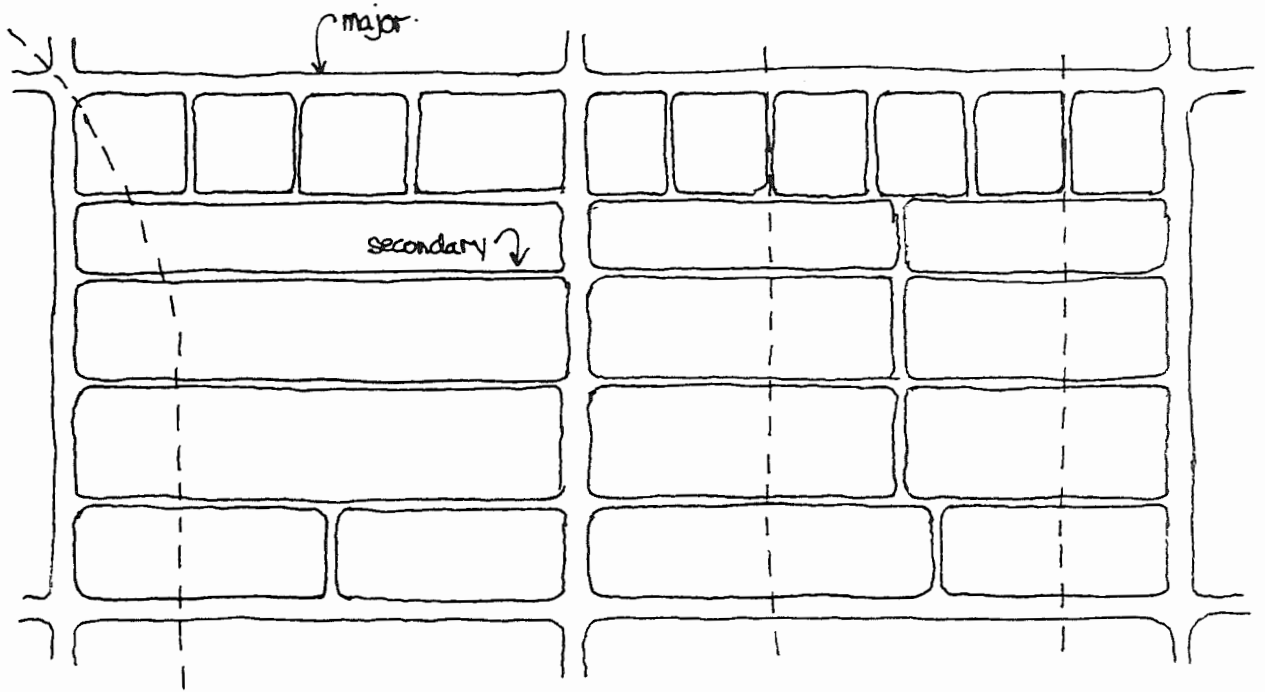
the quality of this environment is more critical than that of the middle and upper income stable population.

2. An Area Framework

The first step is to look at the problem from the community scale. The lack of a comprehensive development framework for this particular area has hindered movement for 14 years. The nature of this framework should establish the major parameters of development, but not determine in a detailed manner how or where it occurs. The function of this framework should be to determine the area's car, truck and bus traffic through and within, the underground and overhead services, such as sewer, water, gas, electricity, the pedestrian and open space system from the sidewalk to the large park and the school locations and expansion.

Within this fabric of service, many things can happen and should be allowed to happen. There are a variety of ways the pieces of the puzzle can fit together. Some of these relate to the co-ordination of large-scale developments, others to the study of pocket development. I question the ability of anyone to formulate a master plan. The framework should be established with certain principles guiding development.

Medium density population solutions should be developed. High density solutions, if developed, should be adjacent to high volume traffic arteries. The good, existing housing stock should be retained. And, the essential principle, human contact should be developed to its fullest. The privacy of the individual within the housing unit and without is most important. Commercial development should be small-scale and scattered.



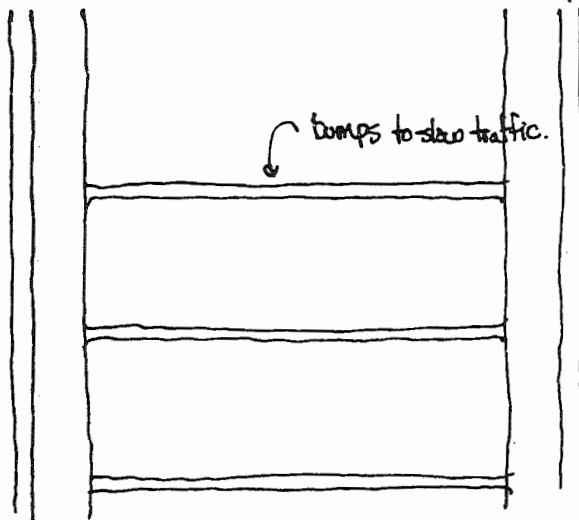
What form does the structuring framework take?

(a) Streets

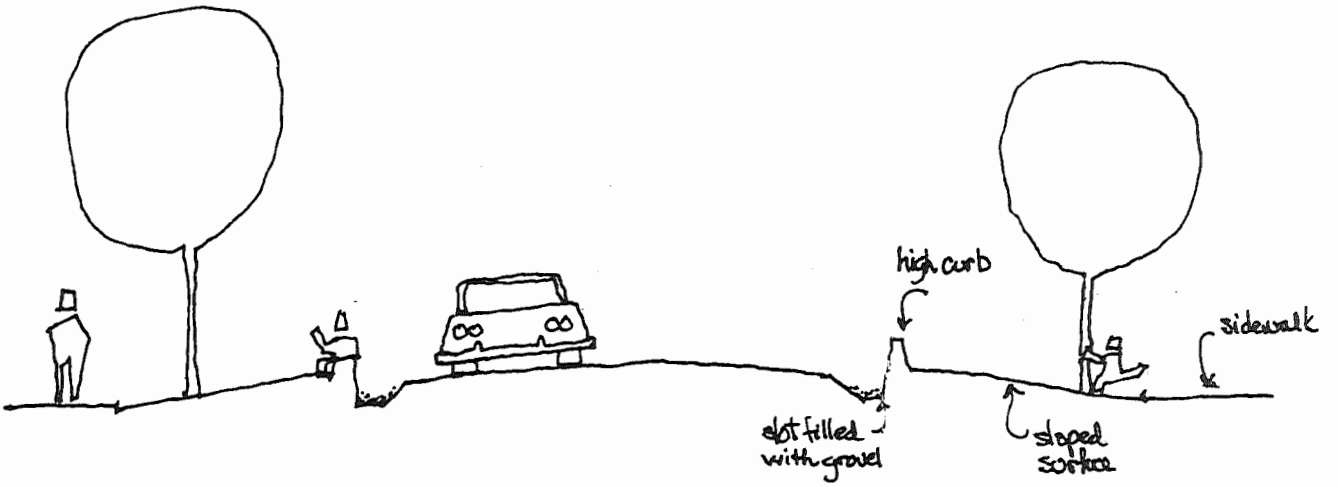
In looking at an inner city area, heavy traffic arteries surrounding and penetrating it are not uncommon. The first step would be to establish a road system limiting traffic to a few high volume routes rather than more lower volume arteries. In this way, the bisecting of an area close to the city core is minimized. The streets then can act as boundaries to the area and begin to give it a sense of place and identity.

Because the area has mixed industrial and residential use, the local street usage is by non-resident trucks and cars. The traffic pattern within the major arteries must be designed to discourage use by non-local vehicles. The solution to this problem is a combination of design and the elimination of those uses within the residential area which generate this traffic. It only makes sense to retain the existing street pattern as a basic limitation because of the services readily available beneath these streets.

Another important consideration regarding the secondary streets is that the local population should be able to move within their neighbourhoods by car without having to use the primary, high volume arteries. The number of secondary streets meeting high volume routes at right angles should be minimized if possible. These secondary streets should be designed for slow speeds to encourage easy pedestrian movement and to allow children to use the streets safely. There must be acceptance of the fact that children play on roads because of the hard surface, its use for games, their fascination with cars and movement and the generally interesting



Plan.



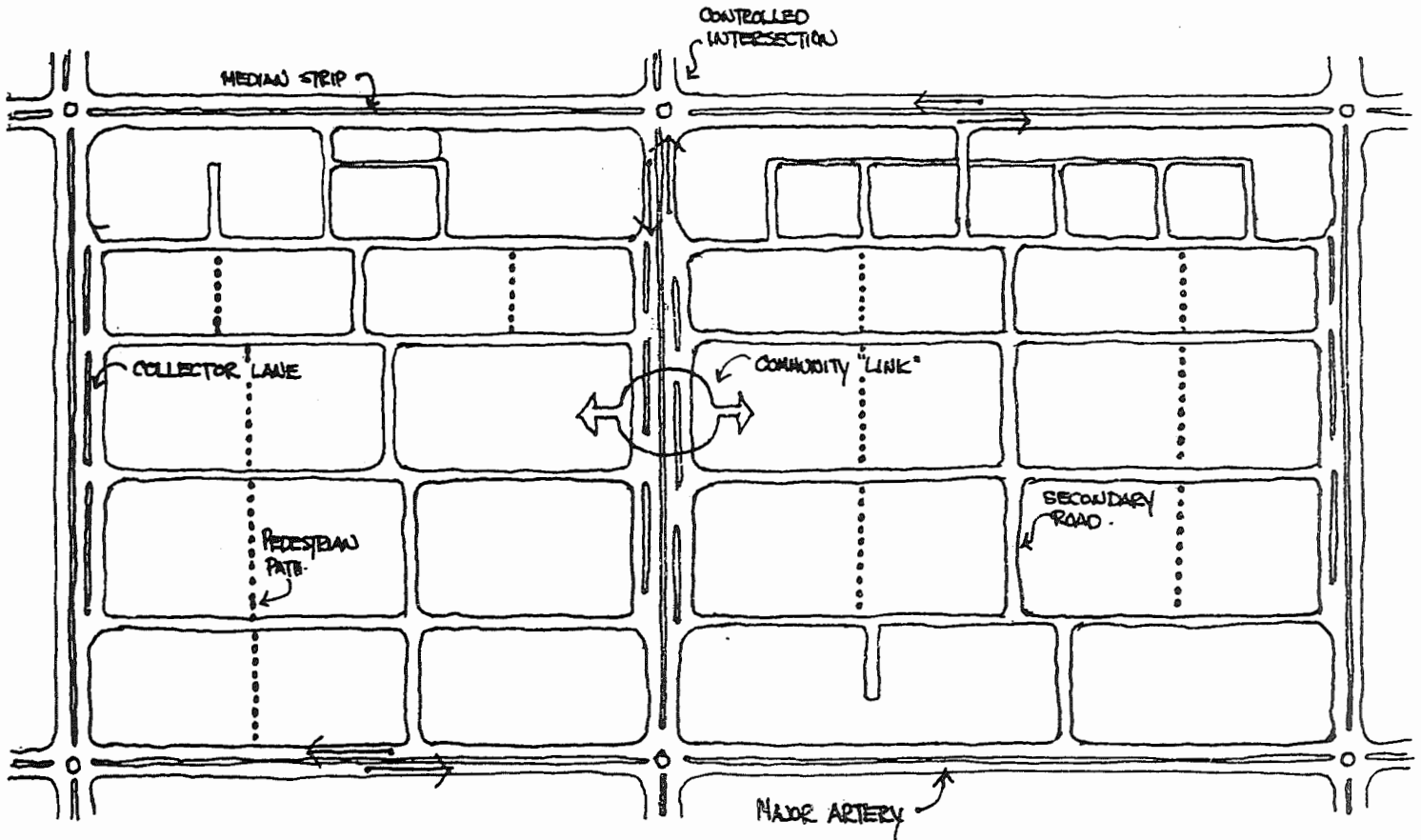
Section.

scene it presents. The problem is designing roads and adjacent areas with this as a limitation rather than eliminating the roads. Whether we like it or not, the car determines many living patterns and our pedestrian system goes where the road goes. The question is, how do they fit together.

The aforementioned considerations are not unique to the inner city area, but constitute good design and planning. A factor more significant to the inner city area is bus traffic. Many people living in these areas utilize the bus as a primary means of transportation, taking advantage of the area's central location. In a planning sense, the implications are the frequency and location of bus stops on the surrounding high volume arteries as they affect the community and its pedestrian system. Key bus stops can become focal points for commercial and community development. As well, buses passing an inner city area should offer a wide range of destinations and quick access to the downtown area.

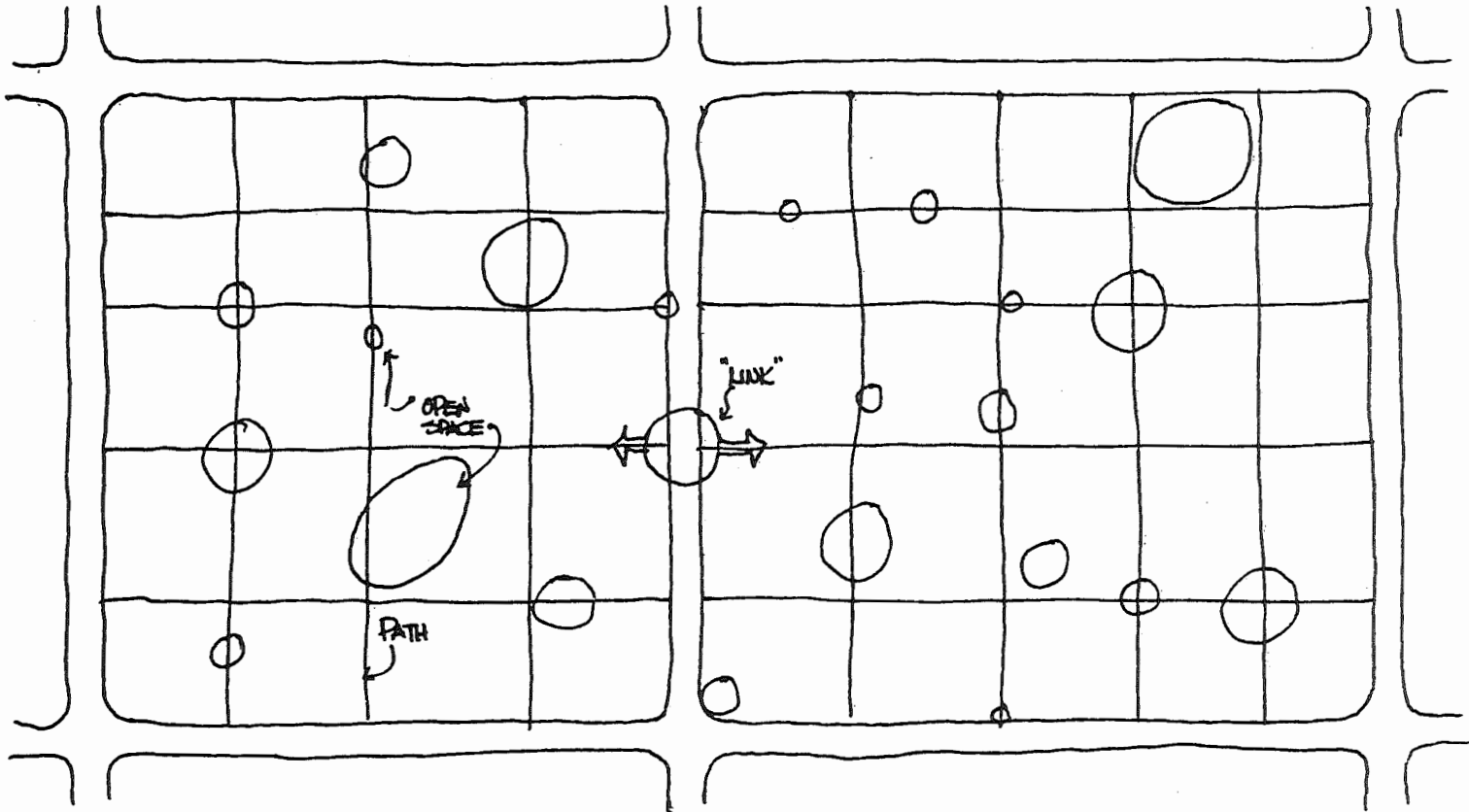
All these factors become apparent upon studying a central area in Winnipeg known as Roosevelt Park. It is the north-east corner of what is known as urban renewal area two. It is approximately five square blocks surrounded on four sides and bisected by high volume streets. It is sprinkled with industries and is adjacent to a warehouse district. Both of these factors, combined with the heavy traffic arteries, generate significant non-local use of the area's streets as short cuts. Future traffic plans indicate even more high speed streets, a pattern which would cut the area to pieces.

Because of the area's central location in a radial city, it must expect heavy traffic passing through. The problem is how to deal with this problem and retain a viable residential community.



The first step is to limit the high volume traffic arteries to the existing ones and enlarge their capacity, thus preventing possible construction of more. These high speed streets frame two equal sized residential areas, two squares side by side. The controlled intersections must be limited to these six corners and any other interference between these corners removed. The streets would be divided without break from corner to corner. Thus, effectively, there would be one-way lanes surrounding each residential section. This would minimize shortcutting as the lanes would simply lead around in circles. One of the problems though, is how to ease movement between the two sectors. The sectors would have to be linked overhead or beneath by a pedestrian path. Preferably, this would not just be a bridge or tunnel but perhaps a commercial or community corridor. Direct vehicle movement between sectors would not be possible.

As you can see on the diagram, only one street on each side of the sectors is allowed to meet the high speed streets to minimize interference. The other streets are blocked off and collected by a lane adjacent to the artery or by a lane a half block off the artery. In the west sector, the main street system is expanded, developing a north-south road to facilitate inner movement. The east sector already has this road. This road is jogged and controlled by stop signs preventing fast travel. An overhead link and major bus stop are developed at the mid-point of the road, bisecting the sectors. This point could develop into a community area, being central and accessible. Shortcutting is reduced because it's faster to use the major artery. The only rationale for non-local traffic to use the streets would be if a turn is missed.



CONCEPT of PEDESTRIAN SYSTEM.



The major arteries effectively act as a wall against industry to the north and east. The area to the south is already broken up by two major one way, east-west truck routes. The area to the west is another residential community separated by a major bridge system. Thus, an island has been created using streets as its shores.

(b) Open Space

The next problem is pedestrian movement within this island. The approach is to develop an open space system which offers easy pedestrian movement throughout the area. The tightly woven pedestrian fabric would then determine the possible location of a variety of sizes and types of open space, ranging from benches to a ball park. Open space must be where people are in order to be used. People don't move in straight lines or use a beautiful park set off from where the action is.

In studying this inner city area, three factors relative to this question of pedestrian space became evident. One factor was the physical block structure, which consisted of long, east-west blocks, blocking effective north-south movement. The second is that less people than the average own cars. The other factor was the nature of the population, a mixture of long-term, stable residents and short-term unstable residents. There are a number of physical ramifications to these factors.

3. Design Criteria Unique to Inner City Areas

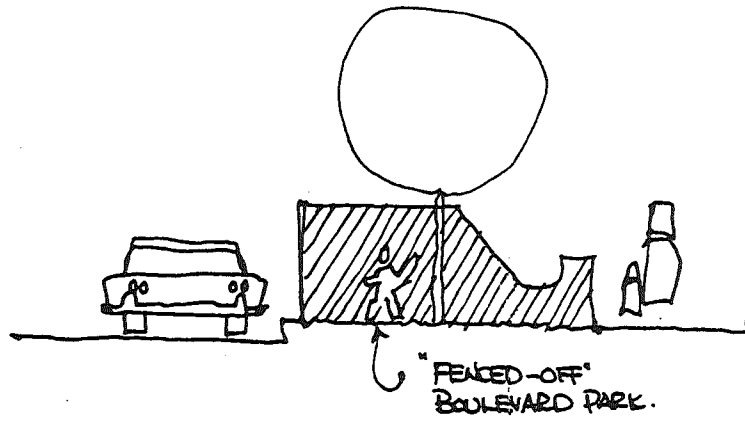
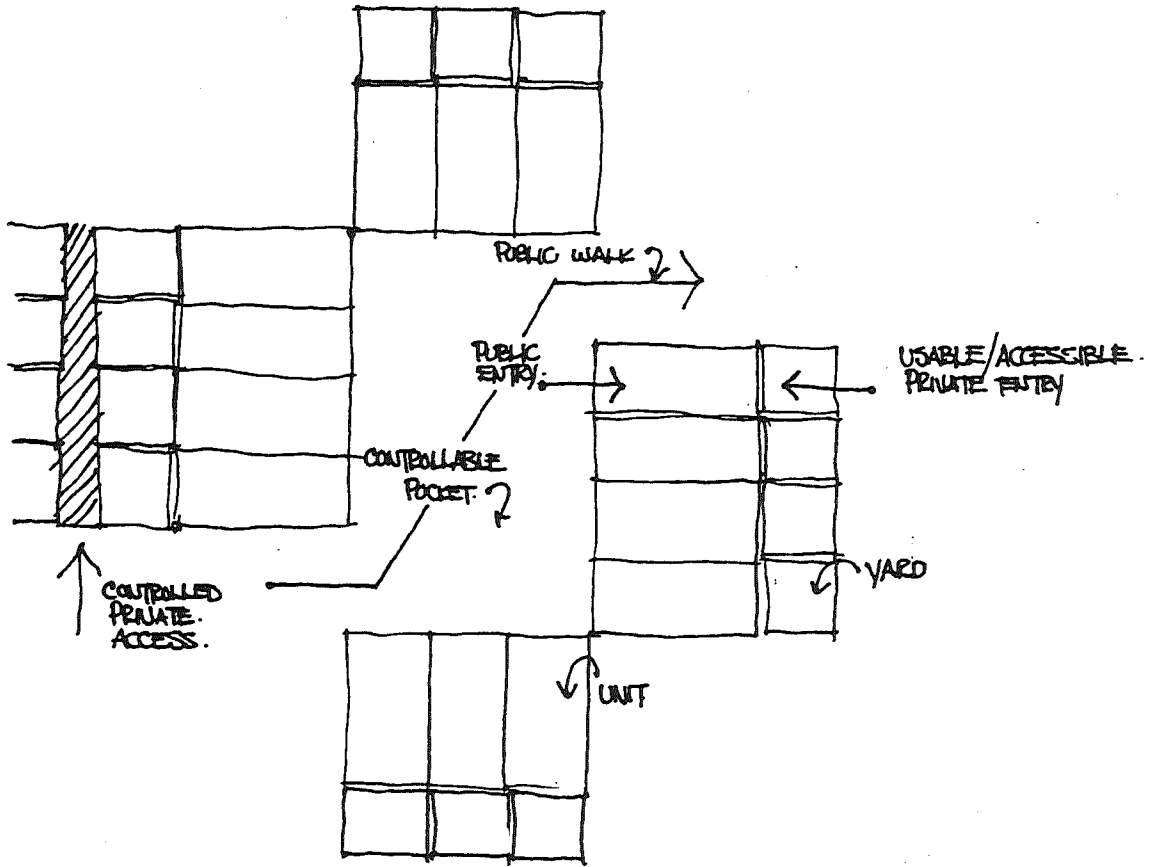
One important ingredient for this type of community is the need for a structure which offers more than the usual opportunity for contact.

Contact is important for a population partially made up of strangers and people under stress. One way of offering this chance is to develop a small-block system. This system would offer movement in many directions at a greater frequency. Thus paths running north-south through the long blocks at frequent intervals would create this small-block structure. The fact that fewer people own cars means that walking should be made easier. It is not only a matter of the number of paths, but the type and where they go. The major generators of movement must be determined and mapped out.

Other factors contributing to providing an opportunity for contact are small commercial outlets, coffee shops, pool halls, clubs, beer parlors, existing open spaces and population density.

Another requirement for a mixed population like this is control. If all the short-term residents lived in one part of the area and all the long-term residents in another, the stability of the community would be questionable. The two types must be mixed to give the area a sense of community and continuity. In order to accomplish this, small, controllable pockets of living units should be developed. Full control is a combination of many factors. But, in establishing a physical framework for control, we can think of creating small neighbourhoods, much like the bays in suburbia.

To do this, there must be definable clusters of houses with direct access to the street, a sufficient density of people to sustain use of open spaces, adequate lighting, places for men without homes to go for the night and places to sit adjacent to homes so that the houses become part of the street scene.



All this might suggest we're forcing people into contact whether they like it or not. On the contrary, one of the major design limitations in dealing with public space is to provide the chance to meet, but not to force people together. In fact, there should be a greater opportunity for anonymity than usual. Because the nature of part of the population is not predictable or particularly happy, difficulties can, and likely will, arise. Anonymity of access to the housing unit and privacy when within are important. This may mean having several routes to go home a public way, with one, perhaps, a quiet way. The more routes there are, the more chance to meet people at times and avoid them at others.

The question of open space is a matter solved by assessing existing facilities, defining the various types of space by the various types of people to use them and determining how they can be best linked by a pedestrian system. As mentioned earlier, the street is an important facet of the community and one which could function better. There are a number of needs peculiar to an inner city area. These are:

- . space for elderly pedestrians to sit, rest and watch;
- . gathering spots for European immigrants used to this sort of communal area;
- . space for the children of large families to play safely under supervision;
- . safe places for unsupervised children to play.

In locating these open spaces, much can be learned by looking at what is happening now. The children play in some areas and not in others.

People have developed short cut routes where possible. Old people sit and rest where they can. And, people gather where they can. These functioning areas should be made to work better and other spaces should be added. Small boulevard parks for children could be developed, streets designed to acknowledge that kids play there, existing short cuts and vacant lots expanded and benches installed at street corners for the elderly and people watchers. Housing could be built on parks not being used and the space located where it would be used.

Other specific design criteria for an area of this sort would be educational services for people wishing to learn a trade, relearn skills, for children to catch up time they may have lost and night school for adults. In this way, the area might be seen as a retraining, orientation and staging area for Winnipeg where people can find their feet and begin to take part in society. Attendant requirements for this sort of area would be food, clothing and entertainment outlets at reasonable prices.

4. Housing

It is difficult to divorce housing as an environmental unit from the total community. The public sector of the community and the private sanctum of the house are one together. The following is a study of the private sector of the community.

In considering the housing of an inner-city area there are two areas which must be approached simultaneously to establish a comprehensive program. These are;

- . the maintenance and full use of existing housing stock;
- . the integration of new housing into the existing community fabric.

There are certain general principles of development which encompass both areas of study. The first principle is to stabilize the existing population in the existing housing stock before introducing a great influx of "strangers". A variety of housing types should be available to provide choice for the bachelor, family man or elderly couple. There should be housing which can be bought or rented at reasonable prices for varying periods of time. In this way the short term resident can utilize the community.

Until recently, the private sector has provided accommodation for people with low incomes. In some cases it is good and cheap, but most often it is poor and expensive. The market for low-income housing is inflexible, not responding to the usual pressures of supply and demand. The low-income individual does not have the mobility and financial stability to choose. He must take what he can get. If he doesn't like it at the going price, he can go elsewhere, because the welfare department will fill a landlord's house at his price. The landlord, when renting to short-term, low-income people, faces certain risks. In order to justify his investment, he provides a poor house he has bought cheaply, which he will maintain as cheaply as possible while renting at an expensive price. The tenant, with little money and no choice, is simply the pawn of the landlord.

The private sector, without public assistance, cannot provide the physical environment necessary for integrating the long and short-term resident in the community. We could liken the situation to a recuperative centre for people with an illness. We build hospitals with scrupulous care and concern for the occupant. In a similar sense, we must build a

special environment for people under stress so they can prepare themselves for society's mainstream. The answer lies in financial assistance and profit control of the private sector as opposed to total government sponsorship.

(a) Existing Housing Stock

The retention of good housing stock and the elimination of poor housing is necessary when improving an older residential area. The conditions for maintaining housing stock should be both economic and qualitative. It is important that the original character of the area be retained and emphasized, but in an economic way.

From studying this problem, it is apparent that encouraging the present owners to repair their houses is an important ingredient. But there are many obstacles to this process. Home improvement loans are expensive. Rising taxes discourage repair and a lack of information on how to do the work is a problem. One of the major barriers to effective rehabilitation is the fact that many houses are owned by absentee landlords using the property as an investment. Thus, to increase profit, little maintenance work is done on the house. The selling price of such property is high, based on its income production rather than its true value.

By offering lower cost, longer term improvement loans and freezing the building assessment taxes, local handymen would be encouraged to expand neighbourhood rehabilitation, a process which already operates in the area.

A local repair company could offer advice to owners or tenants on home improvements they had neither the time nor money for. This company could be the focus for local building tradesmen and a source of cheap or used material. More importantly, if incorporated as a non-profit body, it could utilize local labor to do repair work cheaply.

Absentee landlords could be offered a limited amount of money per house at a low cost to encourage repairs. An attendant problem is the sale and resale of houses for speculative purposes, causing subsequent rent increases. In order to stabilize the market, speculation on the low income housing market should be controlled through minimum standards and inspection, as well as subsidizing purchase of these houses by local resident organizations. Institute staff have been working with such a resident group, which now has \$10,000 in equity to purchase houses from these landlords, putting ownership in the hands of a non-profit body. Thus, the rents can be stabilized as increases will be required only to cover costs.

The question of rehabilitation is complicated and many faceted. Total renovation is costly and questionable. A comprehensive program would have several parts to it.

There is the limited repair concept. Institute staff set up a non-profit corporation to do limited repair work, using a winter works grant to pay for operating and salary expenses. This body has been functioning for several months by providing the labour to any one wanting small repairs done who will pay the material cost. The project not only provides employment and job training, but also tests the practicality of the limited repair concept.

This concept is based on the theory that one's satisfaction with the living environment is more closely related to small, everyday nuisances in a house, poor floors, cracked walls, dirty walls, sticking doors, broken windows, restricted cupboard space, as opposed to problems critical to the life of a house, foundation, wiring, roof, etc. The approach is to apply time and money to many houses rather than larger portions to a few houses. By confining the effort in the houses to limited repair, houses of both owners and tenants can be done, regardless of condition.

Another facet of a rehabilitation program is the cost ceiling concept. Comprehensive repairs must be done in some houses, but with limitations. The limited repair program could be the first step of a comprehensive program to isolate properties in need of more significant repairs.

Once isolated, a repair estimate would be done, not on renovating the house completely, but repairing the factors critical to the life of the house...foundation, wiring, heating, roof. An estimate has been done of the average cost of repairs to these critical items and a figure of about \$6,500 established. If all these repairs were required, total renovation would not be worthwhile. It would cost more than it would to build a new house. The basis of this approach is that repairs to an older house are planned in phases, repairing the critical factors first, but within economic limits. Thus, a cost ceiling of \$3,500 can be established for these critical factors. If the repairs exceed this amount, the house does not justify expenditure of this time and money.

Again, repairs are done to the critical areas of a number of houses rather than totally renovating a few.

The last, least important, phase of a rehabilitation program would be repairs to the exterior of a house and yard.

The program would thus have three stages; limited repair work and survey of houses, repairs to critical factors within a cost ceiling and exterior repairs.

(b) Internal Reorganization and Exterior Additions

An important part of rehabilitation programs is the study of and experimentation with various methods of increasing the space in older houses. This involves planning and the utilization of materials especially suited to rehabilitation. With respect to materials and the construction approach to rehabilitation, much can be learned from work done in the United States, particularly from an urban rehabilitation program in Boston.

Existing houses can be turned into a two family duplex, a combination family-boarder unit, or an exclusively boarding unit. This range of accommodation provides housing for an equal range of residents in a community where this variety is lacking. There are a number of ways this can be done within the typical frame house found in inner-city areas. Up to this time, rehabilitation had been carried out in a somewhat haphazard, weekend fashion, where the goal was to limit cost. The program could be expanded if several houses were bought by the government and various planning and construction techniques used in each house.

(c) Moving Houses

Staff at the Institute of Urban Studies has learned a good deal through its experience moving a four suite apartment block and subsequent studies of other possible moves.

The idea of moving houses has been brought up as an example of saving good housing from demolition and putting it to use elsewhere. The initial price of a house available for moving decreases by about \$500 to \$1,000. But, as in the case of rehabilitation, moving must justify itself economically.

Through the relocating of the apartment house and other subsequent proposals, the staff has found that a house must be in good condition, not requiring internal reorganization. But the ultimate factor is the comparison of the cost of moving a house and setting it up with the cost of a comparable new unit. If the move even approaches the cost of a new unit, it is not warranted. In the case of a significant number of houses threatened by a development where there is adjacent available vacant land, a case could be made for simply shifting the houses, with the owners' consent, onto the vacant land. In this way a community is saved, a consideration surpassing the economic one.

There are a number of basic factors in moving houses. It's necessary to have available vacant land, the right size. The houses usually must be moved in a short time. Then there is the consideration of vandalism to houses while vacant. Distance is not critical, but the number of wires which must be lifted is an important factor. The final thing to evaluate is the work that must be done to the house once it's on a new foundation.

(d) Sub-Standard Housing Demolition

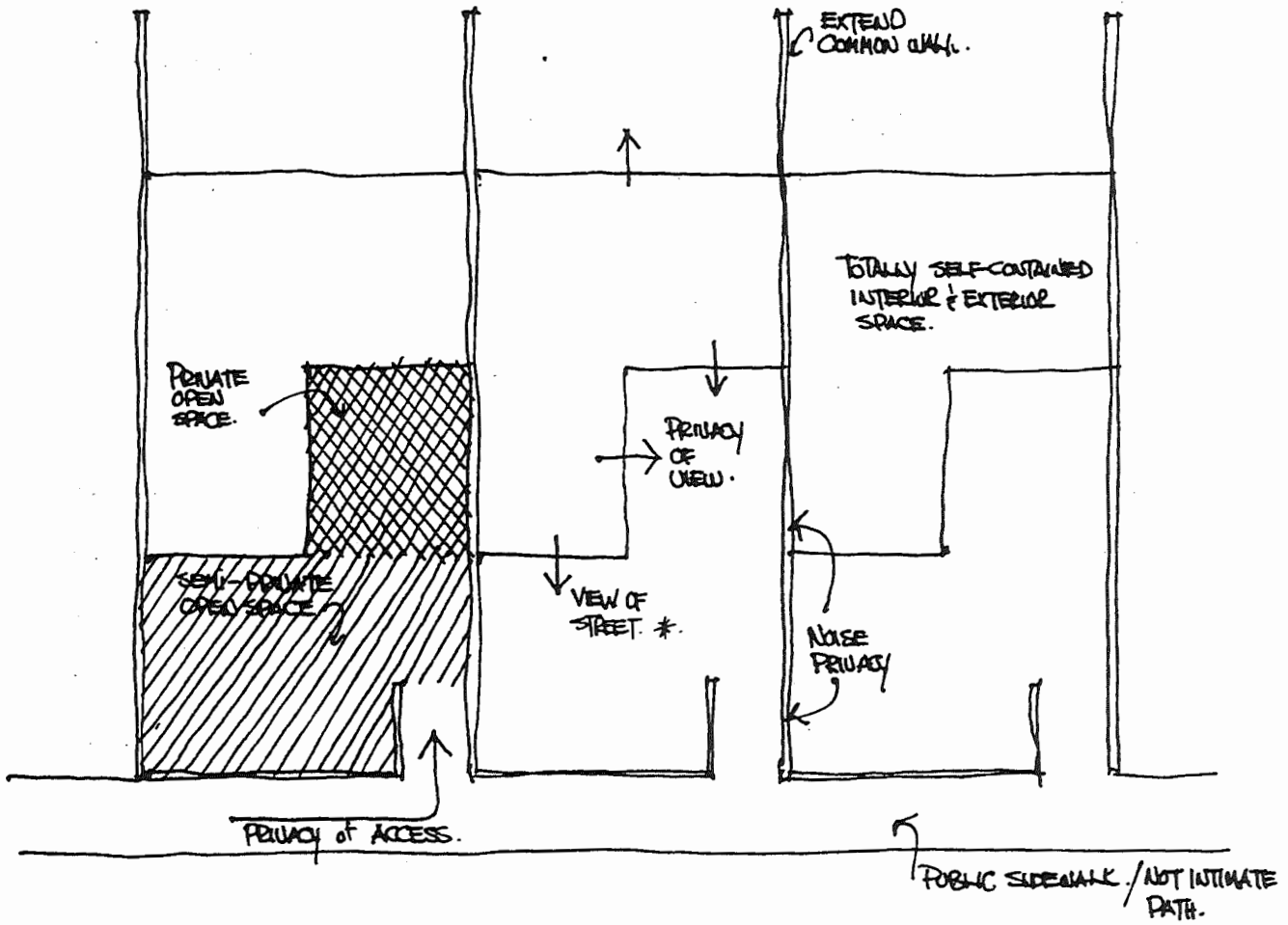
If good houses are to be repaired, the poor, non-functioning houses must be torn down once the families have been relocated in an area of their choice. If the family cannot be relocated, then stopgap, limited repairs should be done to make it temporarily liveable. There are a number of houses the health department could close down tomorrow, but families would be evicted. A bank of emergency housing, perhaps movable trailers, could be developed to provide a temporary alternative. Once a house is wrecked, the used material could be stockpiled as a source of cheap material for rehabilitation.

(e) Integration of New Housing in the Existing Community

Where do you build new housing in a community that is 70 years old and why?

Land is required and, generally, in older, inner city areas, there are two sources of land on which to build new housing. Because of a myriad of factors, houses have decayed and are demolished, leaving single or double vacant lots. Industries or commercial interests which once thrived, move out and leave vast acreage for development. Thus, this is a community in a state of transition, with new housing a part of the chemistry of change.

The intent of building new housing in inner city areas should be to make the community function more adequately as a staging area, to provide more of a variety of living spaces.

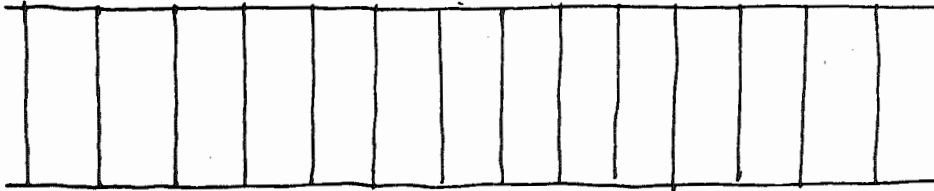
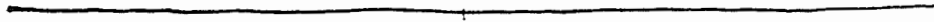


There are certain specialized requirements if this housing is to regard privacy and control. With the unpredictable, short-term population in a state of flux, they cannot be thrust together as a group or with the longer-term residents. Visual, auditory and inferred privacy of access, open space and unit is most important. Paradoxically, there should be many places to meet people, but on their own terms and by choice.

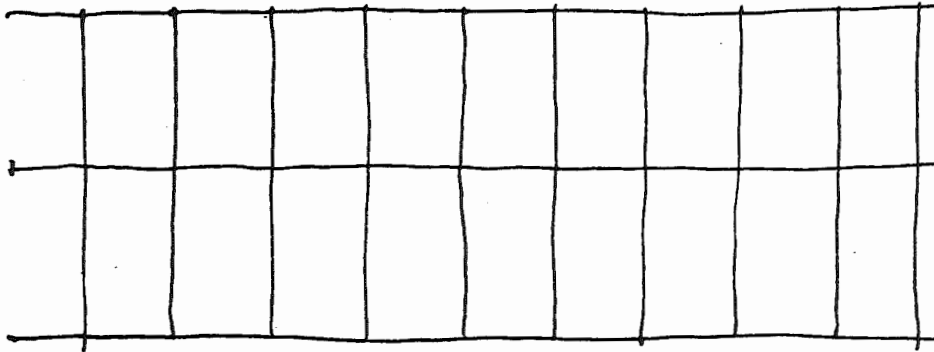
Control is an important factor when mixing different types of people. The short and long-term residents must be mixed so that each has privacy, but with the long-term resident acting as a "control". Control might be defined as continuity of living pattern; a presence of someone who has a stake in what happens. This requires specialized living units and unit clusters which facilitate control. These clusters should be intimate, small and easily controlled, without destroying the anonymity required. Thus, it is important that the units have a strong relationship to the street.

The variety of accommodation mentioned earlier is most important in such a staging area. Such areas presently existing do not distinguish between age or circumstance. Part of the attraction of these areas is the combination of anonymity and group identity.

In an area limited in available vacant land, a different sort of housing must be created...housing which makes best use of this land and redefines such terms as "house", "ownership", "open space". Everyone cannot have a house on a lot. There is not enough land and it is too expensive. The line between realizing potential and saturation must be found.



LOTS WITH LANE.



LOTS WITH NO LANE.



From working in the area, we learned that the requirements of the house unit itself are unique. The kitchen is the focus of the family life. Bedrooms are often regarded as simply places to sleep, rather than separate rooms. Some people would rather have minimal sleeping areas and the extra space in a common area. Strong interior zoning separations between living and sleeping areas and parents and children areas are requirements. Space for parents or perhaps a roomer is another requirement for family housing. The use of open space, by virtue of its physical environment, often divides itself between a front street area for sitting in and a private garden at the rear with its accumulation of family junk.

(f) Definition of Existing Housing Block Structure

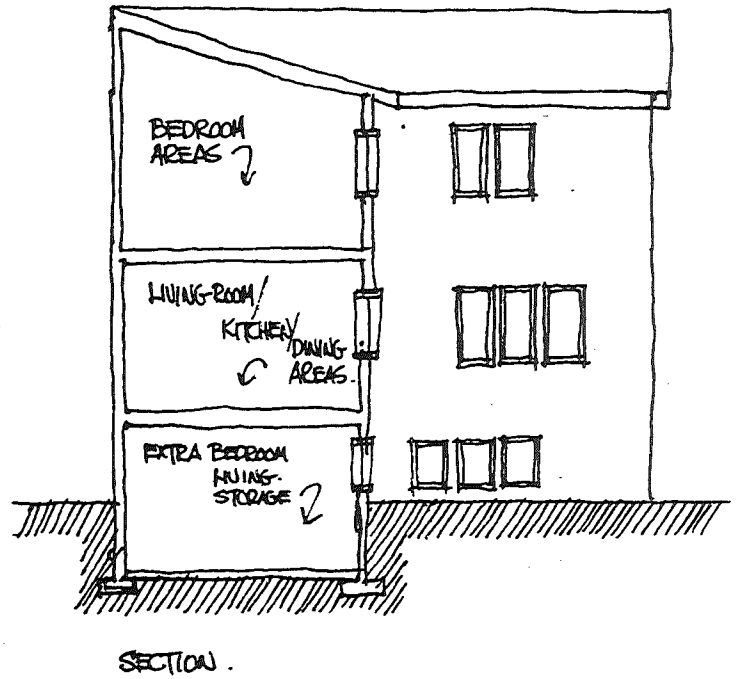
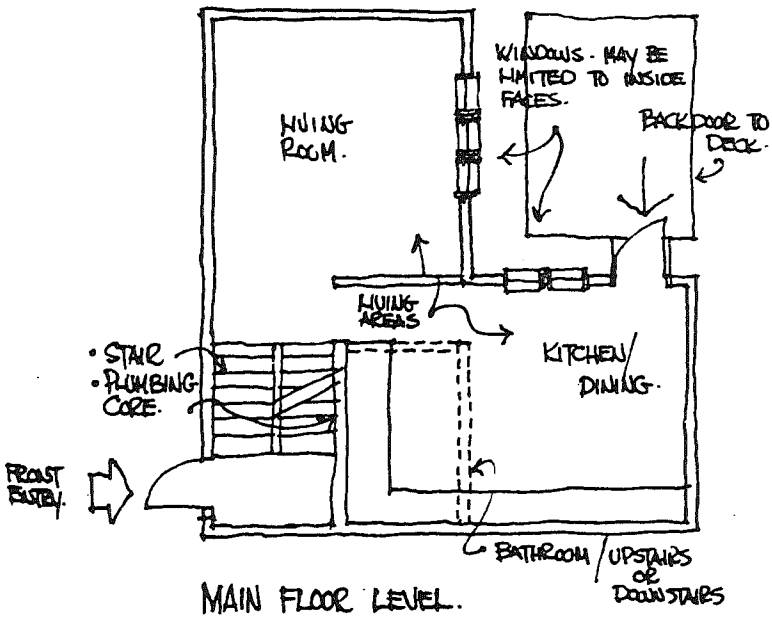
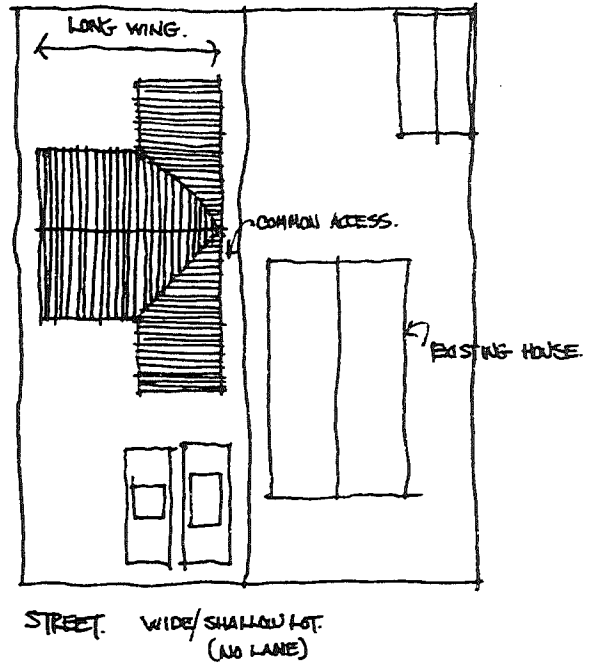
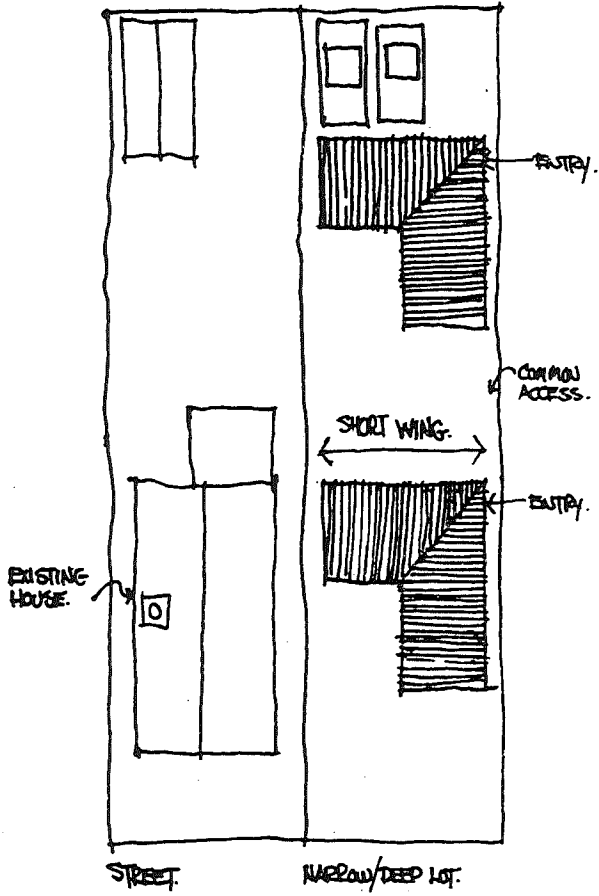
The first problem faced is the typical block of existing homes and the inevitable vacant lots. In working in urban renewal area two in Winnipeg, Institute staff found two basic block types, those with lanes and those without. The lots within these blocks are either narrow and deep in the blocks with a lane or wide and shallow in the laneless blocks.

(g) Infill Housing

The first problem is developing housing on single vacant lots often found in both types of blocks. The limitations on development are high and the cost of vacant land necessitates building more than one unit on a lot.

The intent of infill housing is to develop a flexible form of housing which will fit in a variety of ways on the variety of single vacant

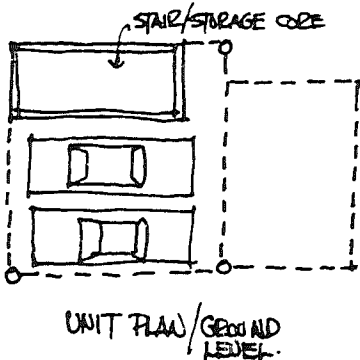
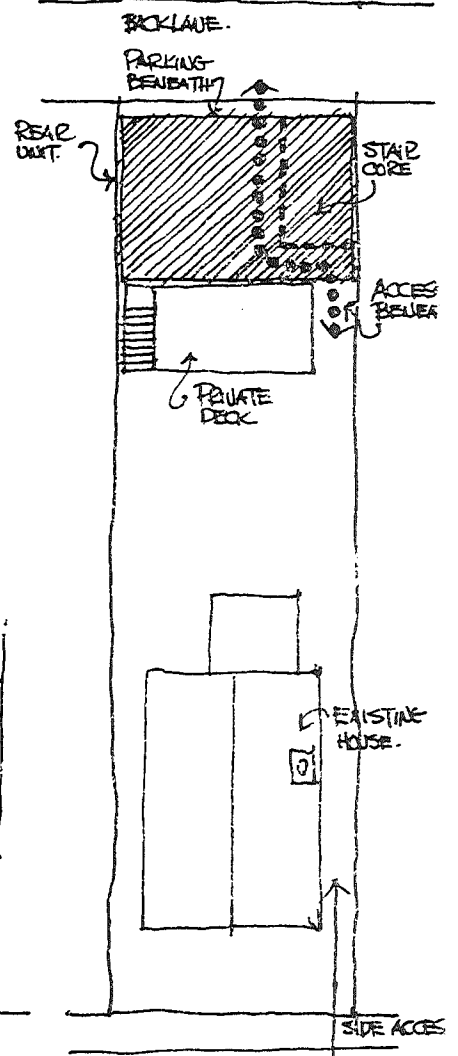
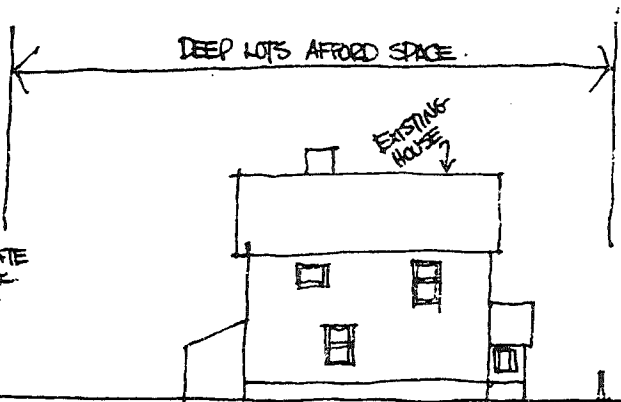
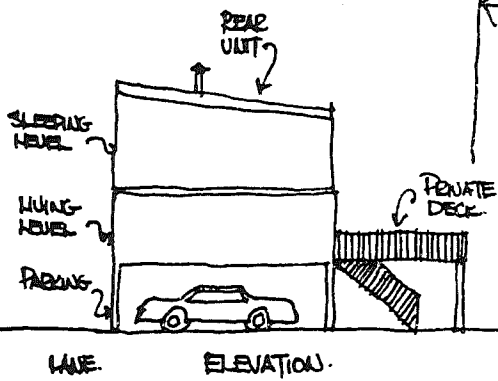
LANE.



lots. The new housing is combined with the existing housing. In this way, the acquisition of large parcels of land requiring the demolition of houses and social disruption is avoided.

Institute staff, for the past year, has worked with a local developer and resident group on the problem of developing units for single vacant lots. The narrow, deep lots are 25 by 28 feet wide and 112 by 132 feet deep. The wide, shallow lots are 33 feet wide and 78 feet deep. The goal of this project was to develop single family units for ownership.

In designing the unit, consideration of varying lot types and sizes, as well as privacy and proximity, were most important. After much preliminary work, it was decided to develop one basic unit for both lot conditions. It would vary in size according to width and depth variations. A basic L-shaped unit was designed. Circulation and plumbing were confined to the corner of the L, with living areas in the wings. In this way window area could be limited to the inside faces of the L embracing the yard and the other walls left blank. This offered privacy between new units, between existing houses and allowed the units to be placed close to the street without difficulty. The unit was one short wing, 20 by 22 feet, and one long wing, 26 by 29 feet. On the narrow lots, the short wing is placed across the lot. On the wide lots, the unit is flipped, with the long wing across the lot. The L shape and blank walls afford a great deal of flexibility in siting variations. Thus, the same units placed in different ways appear to be distinct and independent of one another. The unit is a two storey, bi-level with the basement half out of grade. This creates three potential living levels. The basement can be used to augment the basic three-bedroom unit as a space for bedrooms or a separate suite



FRONT STREET.

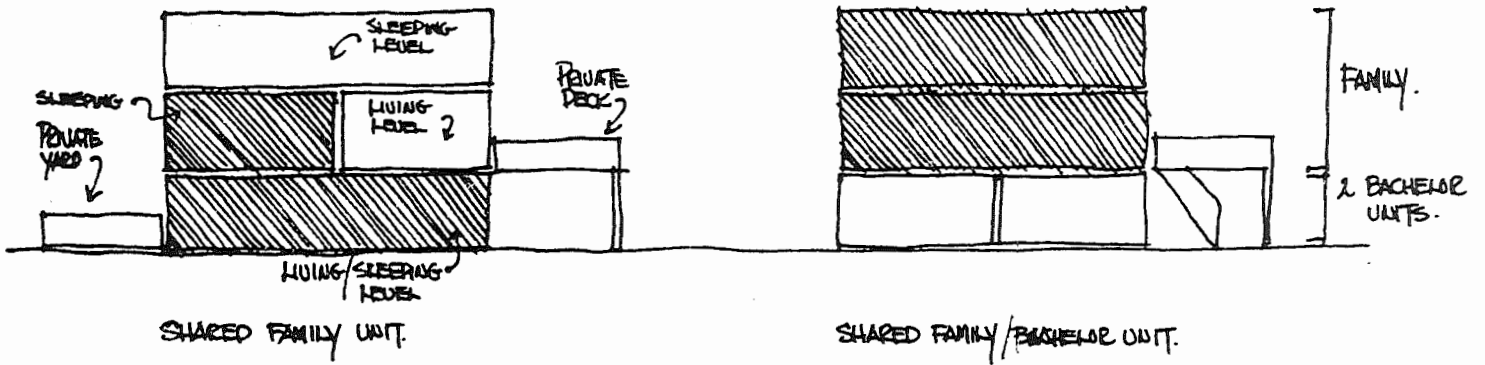
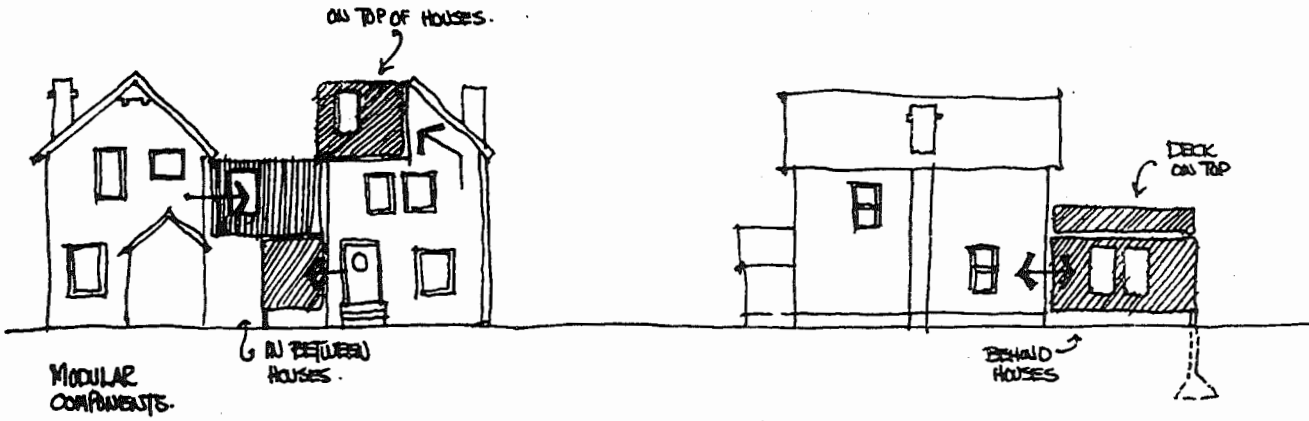
SITE PLAN.

for a boarder.

The new housing can be injected in stages. The relocation problems of occupants in sub-standard housing are solved by first building a unit on the rear of the lot. The resident then moves into the new house and the old one is demolished.

In studying the infill concept, another unit was developed to be built on stilts above car parking. In the case of the lots with lanes, the unit would be found at the rear of the lot above the parking area. A wooden deck would act as a porch or simply an open space. An access stair, with room for a furnace and some storage, would connect the unit with the ground. It would be built to the full width of the lot, facing the lane on one side and the existing house on the other. With this concept of development, living units can be built on non-vacant land. Property owners would be approached with the option of either building the unit for rent or selling the rear of the lot. The owners would lose little of their original lots because the rear of these lots are used for garages and storage. The covered car park remains. This unit is more expensive to build than the other but would make up for this loss in land-cost saving.

This concept also begins to restructure the typical block, turning the lane into another street and forcing connections between the lane and the street. In fact, the front street may be limited to service traffic and even utilized as a park, with the lane providing vehicle access to the housing.

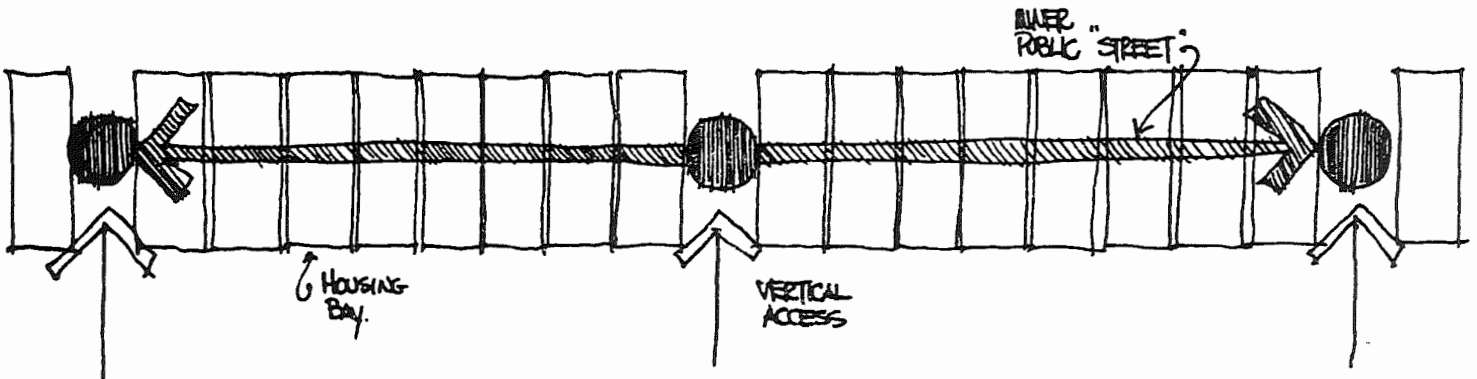
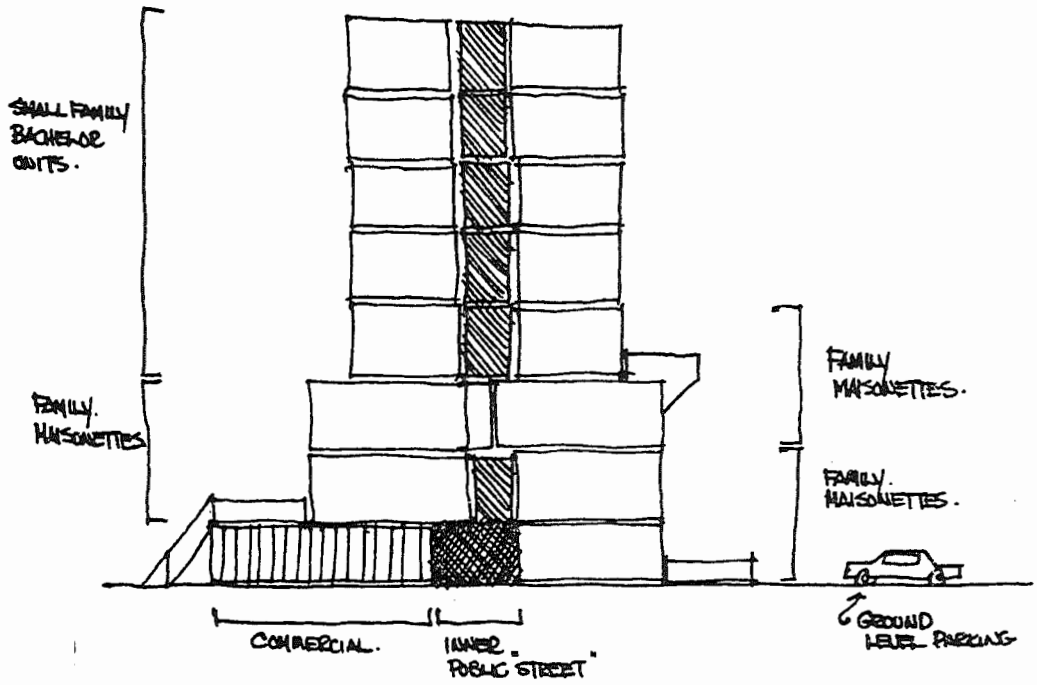


Another dimension to developing new housing within an existing block is the idea of modular housing components added to the existing houses. These space components could be added to the rear of houses, between houses, or even on top of houses. This idea is a response to the fact that the houses in some inner cities are small. Many families are forced to move for this reason even though the houses may be in good condition. Thus the utility and life of the housing is expanded.

These modular units would likely be only space containers and wouldn't function as kitchens or bathrooms. The units would be light, structurally independent and stackable. The unit would, on one side, use the existing foundation. Simple, spread-bare concrete piles would be used for support, exclusive of the house.

The idea of shared units has been mentioned as a way of integrating the long-term and short-term resident. The constant factor in all shared units is the owner-occupant, usually a family or older couple. The variable is with whom it is shared and to what degree. In some cases, the living units may be quite separate. While in others, there may be areas common to both the long and short-term resident. Units should be designed for bachelors (young and old), young families, large families and elderly couples. Sometimes, this may require construction of a large unit with an initial cash investment many people cannot afford. In this respect, the government could subsidize a prospective owner's down payment.

The shared unit not only uses all land space but also offers the control mentioned earlier. The sharing of units provides economic advantages



DIAGRAMMETIC PLAN.

required in an inner city area. These units present certain factors which must be confronted -- noise, privacy, visual privacy, nature of access and open space.

(h) Integration of New Housing in the Community on Large Vacant Lots

The first step in this process is to establish a community development inventory of roads, open space, pedestrian paths and commercial concentrations. The new housing must fit into this framework.

Often, new medium-density housing on open acreage has little privacy of yard, access or view. People are thrust together without choice. Again, this new housing would be for the long and short-term resident and must be sensitive to those factors mentioned earlier -- privacy, control and anonymity.

The problem seems to be developing controllable pockets of units which still offer anonymity and privacy. Thus, there must be an open space easily viewed. But, there must also be a way of entering the unit privately and retaining the sense of privacy and separation while in the unit. This may mean a public entry and separate private entry.

The surrounding community should be encouraged to move through the new development by using public pathways and open space.

There is also the question of how best to use high density development on large land areas. This kind of development should be adjacent to the peripheral, major traffic arteries to minimize disruptive traffic within the neighbourhood. But, rather than building high rise towers, a medium density linear system might be used, providing several levels of interior movement and open space important in a winter climate. This sort of spine

development generating out from the commercial centre could provide the opportunity for mixing various types of housing with commercial space.

The whole concept of creating new housing in an existing community without destroying that community is merely a question of the scale of integration. Whether at the vacant lot-block scale or the vacant block-community scale, the overriding principle is the development framework to define and clarify the limitation of construction.

If the framework is sufficiently thought out and each anticipated step and component of development examined for what it will eventually achieve, then neighbourhoods can be saved from within. If the framework doesn't provide an illustration of the final result of development, then the work will likely have the same effect as that of previous urban renewal schemes to revitalize central city districts. The quality and characteristics peculiar to the neighbourhood will be obliterated.

THE NECESSITY OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Jim Cassidy

Introduction

Government is the basis of civilization and communication is the basis of government. Democracy particularly depends upon a reciprocal flow of information between the government and the governed. In an age when the technology of communication and the technology and organization of government are becoming increasingly complicated, the need to ensure an open system of information is critical.

The problem of communication between people and government is not new. For centuries, censorship, freedom of speech, suppression of information have been debated and fought over. The tension between the right of the citizen to know and the presumed requirement of government to withhold certain facts and ideas is a standard condition of democracies. It must be constantly re-examined to see where the balance should lie. Governments have always had, and will always have, to face the problem of who should be able to say what, in which channels, to whom and for what purposes.

New methods of communication arrive so quickly and change with such speed that government often falls behind in adapting the technology to serve the society. As a result, government often uses the technology without completely understanding it or its consequences.

How does government presently use new communications technology? Normally, government simply grafts old practices onto the new machines. The first generation of communications machines (radio, television, telegraph, telephone, computers and broadband cables) were single purpose, designed to

increase efficiency. When business uses these machines to increase efficiency, business becomes more efficient also. But, when government business becomes more efficient, it tends to become less democratic.

Government has certain inherent communications problems. Some of its information is restricted to the highest levels of leadership for the purpose of preserving the hierarchial authority.¹ This is the level where there can be instantaneous communication between departments of government and between governments themselves. Any link in the communication system which purposely, or otherwise, withholds information here could lead to an instantaneous transmission of incorrect or incomplete information. If carried to the extreme, the rapid transmission of misinformation could initiate massive technological war.

Another question is whether the existence of improved means of communication just widens, not broadens the range of human contact. The senior civil servant may find it easier to converse with his contemporaries in other provincial capitals, or with representatives of powerful interest groups. But, does he use it to improve his contact with ordinary citizens? In fact, one consequence of improved transportation and communication has been the widening of contact between the senior government person and others of similar outlook and experience. But, the exigencies of time shrink the breadth and variety of contact and information exchanged with the general populace. The government official is so overloaded with information from his peers that very little else can be absorbed. He develops a kind of specialized sensory overload.

1. Ben H. Bagdikian, The Information Machines, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 1.

Yet, it is fundamental that the government official have better information about the needs and interests of people if he is to plan good programs and avoid costly mistakes. The history of poorly conceived and badly executed urban renewal projects across the country is testimony to the planning based on ill-informed appraisals of community needs and conditions.

Governments must base their operation on some perception of public demand for programs and satisfaction with progress. This, in turn, depends on the accuracy of communication flow from people. This flow tells government how policy is received and serves as an indicator of the success of future policies. However, there is a tendency for departments to hoard information and to block response because of a lingering instinct endemic to power. "We know best" and "the elections are three years away". What they see as apathy is, in a number of cases, simply a lack of information and lack of channels for reaction. They know that people will automatically elect governments in any case. So they tend to listen to the larger organized citizens' groups and respond by dexterous manipulation of means to reach the same end, or by diverting attention to one issue as opposed to another.

Information from citizens can come through political parties or interest groups. But this flow is narrowly channeled as these tend to be largely powerful, vocal and elitist groups.² The political elite enjoy decided advantages in the defining of political problems and the scheduling of alternatives because of the resources and attention they command. There seem to be reasonably effective channels of communication between political party

2. For a discussion of this, see Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government, (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

members and the government, but very little effective communication between political parties and people, other than in the public relations extravaganzas at election times.

There are many individuals in the community who are not part of any organized group, or who do not have the individual skills to operate effectively in the political system. For them, the possibility of influencing government is remote. Their influence on government is confined to an occasional vote, which may be decided on the basis of a quick handshake or a colourful pamphlet. They have limited information about the government policies or programs that may affect them. They are often confused about ways of reaching the public officials. In these cases, the mechanisms of communication exchange work very poorly.

The new technologies of communication have a relevance to this problem in two ways. First, they can be used to improve the performance of the citizen working within the conventional system of government. They can be used to give him more specific information on the performance of his elected officials, provide him with more information on government policy and improve his ability to deal with the administrator. They can also assist him to more effectively aggregate his interests with others of like mind.

Secondly, the new technologies of communication must form an integral part of new institutions for democratic participation. Within the last decade, there have been increasing demands for a share in decision making by numerous kinds of citizens' groups. This has led to experiments

with new institutions such as neighbourhood governments, community renewal corporations and citizen advisory councils. Such recent innovations as advocacy planning and community resource and information centres, which provide professional skills to citizens' groups, are gaining wider acceptance. They represent ways of strengthening the power of the poor and the disenfranchised in meeting with government. They present alternative plans and proposals and involve citizens in the process of decision making.

The requirement for participation will increase in proportion to the increasing involvement of government in people's lives. This will make it more difficult for existing institutions to encompass the variety of activity by citizens.³ New institutions involving a shared power of decision making will thus become more common. But, we are not sure how these institutions should work, what kind of resources they will require, what form they will take.

The mass media do not provide the kind of information required by the variety of linguistic, ethnic, neighbourhood and special interest communities that exist in large urban areas.

Yet, it is this kind of specialized information that is essential for maintaining and enhancing a sense of community and cohesion amongst people. If there is a way of enabling people of common interests to communicate together, even though they may geographically be separated in a metropolitan area, then they are better able to feel a part of a community. If individuals or groups can receive, when they desire, precise

3. See Sydney Verba, "Democratic Participation" in Social Intelligence for America's Future, Bertran M. Griss (ed.), (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969), pp. 126-159.

and detailed information on the discussions of government on issues that affect them directly, then their sense of alienation can be diminished. So there is a need for information that reflects the concerns of the variety of communities that compose modern society. The test of the new communications technology is whether the capacity for allowing this to happen exists.

There is another side to the question of how the technology can aid in participation. It is whether the new communications can provide a means for people to express their needs and concerns to government and other people. It is clear that government programs often fail because they are designed to fit the perceptions of problems as seen by the planner, administrator or politician, not the perception of the problem as seen by the people who experience the problems. This results in programs that do not fit real needs. In addition to the waste, this major flaw engenders resentments and reactions by the recipients of the programs.

There is an obvious need for ways of communicating the needs and concerns of the citizen back to the decision maker. For example, rather than receiving a civil servant's memorandum, which often analyzes a problem to the nth degree of distortion, or undertaking the odd venture into the streets to "press the flesh", or receiving a citizens' group in angry confrontation, the cabinet minister may find that a videotape of a citizens' group discussing their housing problem gives him a better insight into their concerns. The capacity of the new technologies must be tested in relation to the need for this kind of information.

A Public Communication System

Looking at how the technology can be used to improve communication between public and the government and stimulate increased involvement by citizens in public policy making, one can see several aspects of the new technology which make increased involvement and better communication possible.

To begin with, the media have been demystified. No longer need the facilities for transmitting information be controlled by a small elite of media owners, professional broadcasters, advertising executives and government information officers. With the new communications system of multiple channels and easily operated equipment, the ordinary citizen can participate in the production and dissemination of information through a communications network. The half-inch VTR camera is to information transportation what the Ford Model T was to automobile transportation. Thus, one result of the new technology is that accessibility to the media has increased.

Secondly, the new communication systems can deliver a wide range of service in a more efficient and rapid manner. The system connects different media in an interdependent fashion. The co-axial cable, tied into the computer, vastly increases the capacity to provide information services. It makes it possible for the information to be transmitted to a large number of people, thus breaking the monopoly of information.

Thirdly, there is now an effective and efficient system for the storage, dissemination and retrieval of all types of information. This allows people to be more selective and specialized in their choice of information and makes data, statistics and research available to the public.

Finally, the new technology can provide a form of two-way communication between people and groups that can develop community cohesion. There is an argument for direct human contact, but this is not always possible. In both large urban areas and isolated rural areas, there needs to be a medium of exchange. Many of the older institutions, such as the church, no longer are able to play that role. Electronic communication may provide the means.

The question is how to translate these opportunities afforded by new communications technology into operational services and facilities for the public interest. Like most new technologies, those in communication have a potential to be of great assistance or to be damaging and destructive. On the negative side, the power of this technology could be used to simply serve the commercial market or be used to give government officials more effective techniques to manipulate opinions and behaviour of the citizen. To counter this, there must be a basic decision to use the new technology to serve public interests by expanding the flow of information and giving access to the media.

The establishment of a public communication system is one way this can be achieved. A public communication system would mean that the government would set up the necessary institutions to ensure that the new modes of communication are made available for serving the needs of a more open, democratic process of government. It is a system that is designed not to sell products or provide entertainment and more effective shopping services. It is designed to provide information and to enable people to communicate better with each other and with people who are making decisions.

There are several essential elements that would form part of this public communication system. The first of these is a system of community broadcasting. This would be a broad-based system consisting of community radio, community newspapers, community television, using both cable and air transmission.

The community television concept is presently seen as the prime means of giving citizens access to the media and is now in a trial stage in many communities in North America.

Community television is basically people deciding what programs should be made on what subject. Ordinary citizens do the scripting, filming and editing, and are responsible for making sure that the program goes out. Community television is television about real people and real concerns. It is produced by the people with the concerns and not by professionals on their behalf.

Community television can ensure the citizen's right to be informed and give the citizen the right to inform. Communication and information exchange are built into the medium. Community television has become an important tool in the fight for a true participatory democracy.

This concept and its implication are a reality. Different kinds of experiments in community television have been introduced in Vancouver, Fredricton, Toronto. In Winnipeg, the Institute of Urban Studies and other groups have been engaged for the past two years in a community TV experiment and have shown that people can and want to have access to and control over a medium for self-expression. Last autumn, with the assistance of the Manitoba provincial government and the federal government, a community channel was set up on the cable system and used to explain the new form of urban

government to citizens, give over 160 candidates air time to discuss their positions and enable citizens to express their views. A preliminary evaluation of this experiment showed that the community channel helped to supply basic information on the election which otherwise would not have been available. It became a means of allowing many groups in the city to express their interests, ideas and concerns about the new city government.⁴

Community television need not be restricted to the cable systems. Rather, it can be done on regular broadcast television. At present, three stations in Montreal are giving air time and programming rights to various citizens' groups so that they may present their side of any issue.

A second important element is the community information centre. These centres show some similarity to the Information Canada concept but would be different in operation. The major differences would be the types of information disseminated and the methods through which it is collected and disseminated. The community information centre, located in different communities, would deal with relevant government policy information, information on demand and information through all types of media. There would have to be a two-way flow of information.

The Storefront in Toronto is a prototype of this kind of community information centre. The Storefront is presently providing over 75 groups with typing and duplicating services, meeting space, community workers, bookkeeping services and, perhaps most important, information on demand. It is also tied into the other information seeking and giving organizations and attempts to provide some sort of focus for information flow.

4. See J. Cassidy and J. O'Hara, Report on an Experiment in Community Communications, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972.

If government wants people to become involved in the processes of government and if it wants people to shape decisions according to their own goals, then it must make available to the people information necessary to realize those goals, instead of announcements of decisions already taken.

Government must also be willing to accept information from the people, information about what they want and how they think it could be achieved.

The community information centres would, through use of various media, let people compile their own information to be transmitted to government, let people tell government which information they want transmitted back to themselves and provide the storage, co-ordination and dissemination centre for information using all types of media. It would be complete with large computer data banks, video, audio and printed matter data banks, and video tape and printing equipment. The centres would be storehouses of equipment that people can use.

It could provide half-inch videotape equipment, newspaper printing facilities, tape recorders and the technical advice and training on how they should be used. People could collect their own information about government plans and policies by means of interviews and discussions; they could tape municipal and city council meetings and put pressure on government to allow provincial legislatures to be taped on VTR.

All of these tapes and printed material could then be catalogued and stored in the community information centres. Then a community group seeking information on a particular subject could look up the subject, say from a

council meeting, view a tape, read an article, run off a copy, edit it down to a desired length and show it locally at the centre, at a community club, in a church basement or over the cable system. Once they had finished with it, that tape could be erased and left for the next group to use.

These centres could be set up as parts of institutions which already have communications equipment. The community colleges, regional high schools and some universities might be the places to locate the centres. The centres would provide the wherewithal for people to communicate by means of community television or radio, community newsletters, or neighbourhood newspapers.

The community centres are, thus, very important communications elements as they provide the focal point for obtaining, co-ordinating and disseminating of information.

A third element to the network is the organization of the way government provides and receives information. Providing citizens with access to communication systems to collect, translate and disseminate government information to the public and to government must be accomplished simultaneously with government's use of these communication systems.

Audio-visual techniques (audio tape, VTR, cassette, film) could illustrate the services various departments perform. Research and special studies of government programs in urban renewal, housing innovations, zoning regulations, insurance schemes, health care, highway planning and allocations, in addition to the wide range of municipal services, can be made available the same way. The Institute of Urban Studies, for example, prepared twenty-four videotapes of officials from different government departments explaining

what they did and what programs were available to the citizen. They provided basic information about government that very few people have heard or seen before. This illustrates the fact that the packaging and presentation of government information can be enhanced through the use of new communication techniques and the distribution of such information greatly improved.

There is an important role for the conventional media to play in the operation of the public communication system and there should be co-operation between the community facilities and the existing media.

The existing mass media can provide facilities, training and advice. They can provide air time or newspaper space for community initiated programs or ideas. There can be a sharing of responsibilities for discussion of public topics. For example, the metropolitan dailies might print a series of articles on problems of housing. They could then be discussed over community radio and TV relayed to government through the community information centre.

The idea of a public communications system should not be seen as an exclusive, self-contained network of people and facilities. It is a system that would be integrated into what now exists, with the addition of such special structures as a community TV channel or an information centre to fill a need that is not presently met. There might be a different mix in different communities and a different degree of integration between new and existing facilities in different communities. The right blueprint for the system would have to be worked out through a series of tests and trial error experiments. The critical condition is that government see the need to create such a system and add those elements that are presently missing.

The System in Operation

How might such a system operate? Here is an illustration of how the systems would function in a specific instance.

The problem is river pollution. A small citizens' group has become concerned and wants to get more information, inform more people and have a say in shaping the policy of government on this question.

(a) The Information and Resource Centre

The group would go to the centre and borrow some half-inch portable VTR equipment. They would use the centre's information and data storage facilities to find research on similar pollution problems elsewhere, find transcripts or videotapes of federal, provincial and municipal government discussion on river pollution, find names of government members and civic leaders who are active in the fight for pollution control in the city and especially in the area and to find proposed government plans on the subject of river pollution.

Once their case has been totally prepared, the facilities of the centre would be used to send documents, videotapes and proposals to the proper government authorities.

(b) Half-Inch VTR Equipment

The equipment from the centre would be used to document the conditions on the river and to tape interviews with concerned residents. This would be done in English and in a regional ethnic minority language. VTR would also be used to prepare a community TV program from the research and government policy information already gathered. This would also be

done in the two languages. The two tapes would be put together to form a program which would be disseminated in two languages to the area residents. Following larger area involvement, meetings and policy decisions, a tape on pollution conditions, area feelings and proposals would be sent to the appropriate government authorities. The equipment could also be used in the community as a tool to organize active resident participation.

(c) Community Television and Radio

The VTR documentation and research tapes could be placed over community television in the two languages in an effort to mobilize as many people as possible.

The information and resource centre would be the mechanism through which people could respond to what they see on the community channel.

When the final tape of documentation and proposals was completed it would be played over community television to let people see what had been sent to the government.

Community television could also be used to show the large group discussions and meetings where proposals and policy were worked out as well as any discussions with government officials.

(d) Newspapers

The offices of the centre would be used to print in two languages, the same material being presented over community television.

This newspaper could present a more varied supply of opinions on the subject and solicit support by means of petitions.

People could be made aware of the range of issues on both sides
and could respond accordingly.

TECHNOLOGY AS PROCESS

Jim Cassidy

The existing processes of communication technology make it possible for everyone from an eight-year-old school child to an eighty-year-old pensioner to create and display an electronic or printed expression. Equally important, however, is another phenomenon which occurs when people use the technology -- the simple act of use creates a process which converts the technology itself and the information which it conveys into human terms.

The conventional media arrive with a camera, create a situation, store the information and leave the scene. Alternate media involving people let the object or subject become a participant in the production and return the information back to them immediately, thus giving them a two-fold involvement in the process and in the information flow.

This is especially true of portable, half-inch videotape equipment. The equipment is extremely simple to operate and consists of a hand held camera and a shoulder carried, battery powered recorder.

The recorder looks like and functions in the same manner as an ordinary audio tape recorder and both the image and the sound are recorded on a half-inch wide videotape, which looks identical to audio recording tape.

The camera has a zoom lens, a built-in microphone and can be operated at most light levels. Extra lighting is needed only in studios where this equipment would rarely, if ever, be used.



The potential and excitement of this equipment are its portability and its immediate playback. Up until now, only those few in control of the corporate media could decide who could appear on television and what they could say. But, with this equipment in the hands of ordinary citizens, people have a power and through this same equipment they can create an outlet for their power.

The difference between giving citizens access to an established media system and giving them the tools to create their own system is significant.

As Michael Shamberg¹ has pointed out, there seems to be a sort of Parkinson's Law of Media: "Information expands so as to fill the channels available for its dissemination."

1. Michael Shamberg, Guerilla Television, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1971).

It would seem, therefore, that opening existing systems to people would only tend to overload those systems with the same type of one-way, narrow-funnelled product information. However with citizen-created information systems (no matter how small they are), they can emphasize process information and can be used to involve on the one hand and inform on the other.

Being able to document something on television tape is very important to individual citizens and groups. It allows them to show their side, to edit as they see fit, to give "meaning" to their process. Equally as important is appearing on TV. Television has a great way of creating opinion leaders, heroes and personalities and a great way of legitimizing what it is those people say. Ordinary citizens seeing themselves on TV and seeing other people watching and listening to them begin to realize that perhaps what they have to say is equally as valid as what the elected official on the 6 o'clock news has to say.

When the technology has become the process then both the technology and the process have become valid.

SECTION III

NEIGHBOURHOOD RENEWAL - SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Lloyd Axworthy

Federal Proposals for Neighbourhood Improvement

The federal government has just introduced a series of amendments to The National Housing Act which will have a significant impact on the renewal of inner city areas. The chief elements of this new program are:

- 1) a system of 100% mortgage loans to non-profit housing corporations to acquire housing accompanied by a capital subsidy to be matched by the province;
- 2) assistance for low income home ownership through a 40-year loan at preferred interest rate and a capital subsidy to be matched by the province;
- 3) a program of loans and grants for the rehabilitation of older homes within designated improvement areas or held by non-profit companies;
- 4) a neighbourhood improvement program under which the federal government will pay 50% of cost for land and community facilities and 25% of cost of improvement of municipal services;
- 5) an extension of the land assembly provisions and
- 6) experimental money for community groups to start new risk ventures.

Undoubtedly these proposals will undergo several changes before they become law. But, it can be expected that the basic nature of the proposals will stand and will form the keystone of a new federal approach to urban development. In general, the amendments are welcome additions to the National Housing Act. The additional assistance to non-profit groups, the grants for rehabilitation and low-income home ownership offer a new range of options in supplying lower-income housing and hold out incentives for

new ventures by community groups. Missing still are programs that will provide even more options and more flexibility - such as rent supplements and some move towards a subsidy of interest rates. Also, the practice of using matching grants is questionable. This works against poorer cities or provinces. They do not always have the resources to match federal grants and therefore may have to forego participation.

The most serious questions, however, should be raised about the provisions dealing with neighbourhood improvement. When urban renewal programs were cancelled in 1969, it was expected that the interim would be used to develop programs based on very different principles of government involvement in renewing inner cities. The practice of direct government intervention in designated areas, using traditional methods of linear planning, emphasizing physical improvement, had been discredited. The hope was that they would be replaced with an approach that would see greater decision-making by residents and a system of planning that would incorporate concepts of evolutionary development of an area. The proposals presented by the federal government contain some elements of a new approach, but there is still the appearance of a government directed renewal program.

This may be a mistake in judgment. It is still too early to know the full details of the program or to see what regulations, in fact, will govern its implementation. The reality of our federal system must also be seen as a limiting factor on the new proposals. Obviously, the federal proposals would have to be acceptable to provincial and municipal governments, if they are to have any effect, and it would be highly unlikely at this stage that either of these levels of government would agree to programs that

give direct assistance to community renewal groups.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how, on the basis of the experience described in previous pages, the newly announced program might be utilized to achieve a better form of citizen based neighbourhood renewal. While the legislative proposals are not ideal, they do have the potential of promoting better development in our cities if they are used well and if an effective strategy of implementation is applied.

Some Basic Premises of Neighbourhood Renewal

First, the premises of what constitutes a neighbourhood improvement or renewal program should be stated. A reading of the papers in this collection suggests the following:

1. It is harmful to carve out a specific area of the city, designate it for renewal or improvement and prescribe a detailed plan of action. This has the effect of freezing an area, of ignoring the inter-relationships between the developments in different areas of the city and circumscribing the activity of a renewal area to the prescriptions of the official plan. If an initiative appears that was not foreseen by the planner, it can be stymied because it doesn't fit.

The alternative is for city government to adopt a policy for neighbourhood renewal that could be applied throughout the city. The policy would include basic criteria that, if met, would make any neighbourhood, a street or part of a street an "improvement area". Such conditions might be the lack of services such as lighting, recreation and open space, the decline in physical standards of certain housing or public properties, the need to improve certain social services, the initiative shown by local residents and the community resources available for renewal.

The criteria for initiating neighbourhood renewal or improvement should not limit improvement to depressed inner city areas. The criteria should be based on need, feasibility and community preparedness. Thus, renewal or improvement can be achieved in selected parts of the inner city, in portions of the outer ring of residential areas and even in middle-income suburbs where there is a dearth of social opportunities or gathering places. Each area has a different need, requires a different approach and can bring different levels of resources to bear on its own renewal.

2. The planning and implementing of the neighbourhood renewal program must be community based. This requires that different resident groups share in the decision of what is going to happen and share in the actual process of improvement. In each neighbourhood there are normally different objectives - some in education, some in housing, some in health services - and they should be encouraged. The growth of more community groups and the opportunities such groups offer for involvement is itself a form of neighbourhood improvement. A pluralism of such organizations should be encouraged and the federal government should take a stronger stand on this issue than merely wishing to be "advised" on citizen involvement as the legislation now reads.

For those who worry about the lack of order to such an approach, then the instrument of a neighbourhood development corporation can be introduced. This is a neighbourhood based planning mechanism that can provide a degree of co-ordination, offer resources to groups, have certain legal power for acquiring land and using money for the benefit of different

groups and, if so desired; can undertake its own acts of improvement. On the board can be representatives of the different community groups engaged in renewal programs, government officials (preferably the elected ones from the area involved) and perhaps certain other private citizens who might contribute skills.

Thus, the model for renewal in an area is one of multiple-action initiatives taken by groups co-ordinated through the mechanism of a neighbourhood development corporation which is accountable to local government.

What should be avoided is what occurred under old urban renewal and is likely to happen under the new scheme. A planning office of the city prepares its plans, perhaps with some cursory contact with local residents. Then, because of some pressure to "involve people", resident groups are invited to view the proposed plans. When these residents agree to the proposals, not knowing what alternatives there might be, the plans are then passed by council and the government moves in to renew.

This approach will end with the same desultory results of past urban renewal programs. The plan will be what the planners want, there will be no sense of community involvement and the neighbourhood improvement will be improvement only in physical terms, not human terms.

The real role of the planners and other professionals is to work with different community groups through some vehicle such as a neighbourhood development corporation to help them articulate their needs, understand potential development ideas, see the implications of different programs and examine the feasibility of different programs. It is a different kind of role for the city planner - more exhaustive, perhaps less ego-rewarding than seeing his personal version of Valhalla implemented - but it holds the potential of more genuine renewal taking place.

3. The range of private resources in a city must be tapped to make neighbourhood renewal work. Every city is rich with skills, many of them underused. At the same time, if non-profit housing groups, neighbourhood development corporations, self-help organizations are to be major carriers of new housing and neighbourhood improvement, they will require skilled advice, sound research, organizing assistance and administrative training. Government can provide some of these services. But equally important are the private resources - social workers in voluntary agencies, professionals in private firms and university faculties, business and management people, researchers, students and others.

Not all of the help need be volunteered. A neighbourhood development group, if it itself is properly funded, should pay for legal advice or perhaps hire a private firm as manager of a project.

What is missing in many cities is the mechanism for properly linking resource people to citizens' groups, for building teams of resource people of different skills that acquire an ability to act in a multi-discipline way.

Our experience in a university suggests that this is a good location for resource teams to be assembled. There are already many resources available in the university. It is a credible institution and can apply discipline of thought to its activities, can record its activities for research purposes and, hopefully, conduct itself with a sense of humanism.

4. The role of government in the act of neighbourhood improvement should be that of facilitator. This goes against the more accepted role of government as doer of things for people and implies that government provides the means for people to do for themselves.

Government facilitates by providing money, by setting basic policy guidelines and performance criteria, by setting up such necessary machinery as neighbourhood development corporations, by providing skills and planning assistance, by recruiting private resources, by evaluating results and insuring accountability of actions.

It is not excluded from doing things. Part of a neighbourhood improvement program might involve fixing streets, improving lighting, having the parks stay open longer, condemning worn out homes, effectively enforcing the health by-laws. It may also involve major legislative reforms by changing planning by-laws or setting new health standards.

The important point is that the day of government's role as a direct interventionist should come to an end. The decentralization of responsibility and the sharing of power with community groups should be the standard for the future. It will not come easily and there will be problems in working it out, but this should be the approach of government if it seeks to renew neighbourhoods in a human way.

Program Suggestions

Next is a series of suggestions on specific ways that might help the program to be carried out effectively.

1. Urban Development Bank

The trouble with the old urban renewal provisions and even the new proposals under the neighbourhood improvement scheme is that they set out specific forms of grants and loans for specific kinds of programs, usually requiring a matching contribution from the province or municipality. This sets a rigidity to the program, in the sense that the specific provisions in the National Housing Act may not cover the particular need

of a certain neighbourhood in a certain city. Granting even the maximum latitude of interpretation, the proposed 50% grant for community facilities in a neighbourhood improvement scheme may be of no use if what that neighbourhood requires are better systems of delivering health services or the establishment of community economic development corporations to provide jobs and bring income into the area.

Similarly, the system of conditional grants discriminates against provinces or cities that may have limited revenue. They cannot afford to match federal funds and, therefore, may forego needed programs of improvement.

An alternative funding scheme that would overcome these handicaps is an urban development bank. The federal government would retain its basic provision for loans to non-profit groups, assisted home ownership, the rehabilitation of older homes. But, instead of the neighbourhood improvement scheme, the federal government would capitalize an urban development bank which could offer a range of financial assistance with soft loans or grants to various cities, and neighbourhood development corporations. Such a bank would work on the same principle as international financial agencies. A specific country determines its priorities for development, assesses the resources it has available, negotiates with the World Bank for the kind of additional assistance required and at times uses the international officials to assist in the creation of the program. Cities would work out what their priorities would be, hopefully with full public debate and in co-operation with the province, and then work out with the urban development bank the kind of aid they would need. For example, Vancouver might want to redevelop its harbour area, Calgary provide more open space, Winnipeg improve community facilities and municipal services. Officials of the bank

could examine the feasibility of each proposal, work out the combination of loans and grants required and perhaps offer technical or planning assistance to those cities where professional help is in short supply.

The value of this approach is that it places the onus clearly on the city to establish what its priorities are, rather than requiring it to respond to federal programs. It makes the municipalities assess their own resources and engage their own citizens in a dialogue on what the city should be.

The urban development bank can, of course, set certain conditions, for the feasibility and degree of citizens involvement.

Obviously, this concept comes too late to be included in the present package of federal proposals. But it should be kept in mind as an alternative to the NIP scheme and be examined as a possible replacement in case NIP doesn't work.

2. New Government Institutions

(a) Federal

Even without the urban development bank, the federal government and CMHC are going to require a special unit to bring NIP into being. The implementation of the new proposals require and deserve new administrative arrangements. A neighbourhood improvement team, under strong leadership with responsibility for negotiating the individual programs in each city, should be established as a relatively autonomous unit within CMHC. It can and should be composed of a mixture of men and women of different skills and above all it should be decentralized. In other words, working members of the team should be located in the regional office.

These units should have power to make decisions in packaging different proposals for the city in question and have the capacity and willingness to deal with citizens' groups.

A second requirement is for co-ordination of the federal programs, such as those relating to health, job training, social services, citizen organization. Neighbourhood improvement is more than physical renewal. The introduction of social facilities and services, along with better housing, is essential to a process of renewal and this will necessitate some form of integration of federal and provincial services. There are several examples of joint committees in programs of regional expansion and the work activity program under the Canada Assistance Plan, so there are precedents that can be followed.

(b) Provincial

The provinces have two major tasks. The first is to establish co-ordinating groups in each province (or two or three co-ordinating groups in larger provinces). These would involve members of the three levels of government and different private and community groups. The task of each group would be to work out strategies of implementing neighbourhood renewal in response to the stimulus they receive from the different communities for change or improvement. Such a group could plan the best use of available human and financial resources and ensure that some set of priorities are established.

Secondly, each provincial government should work out the enabling legislation to set up neighbourhood development corporations. At present, non-profit groups can be established under the Companies Act of the respective provinces, but there is little examination of what is required in the way of membership, responsibilities, accountability and financial means.

Several American states have set up systems of community development and neighbourhood corporations. They normally have the status of quasi-public groups. The most advanced scheme was worked out for the state of New Jersey, which combined a state-wide Community Development Corporation with a network of neighbourhood corporations drawing upon the resources of the central body and such public powers as expropriation.

These different models should be looked at and similar devices introduced on the provincial level in Canada. They constitute a new kind of community instrument necessary for effective neighbourhood renewal and therefore deserve immediate enactment.

(c) Municipal

In many ways, the key to making a scheme of neighbourhood improvement work is the city itself. If city government is prepared to decentralize administration of services, share power of decision-making with citizens, instruct the administrators and planners to work as advisors to and partners with citizens' groups and try neighbourhood structures, then the possibility of developing a more effective form of renewal is good.

Unfortunately, many city administrators are not prepared to move in this direction. One reason is that administrators presently occupying senior posts are of a generation of civic officials who tend to measure progress in terms of public works and judge development solely by the amount of tax revenue it generates. There is a change occurring in city administration, a more open attitude is being slowly accepted, but there is a strong need for widening the horizons of professionals in city government.

Similarly, the current cast of municipal politicians, with some exceptions, is not men and women imbued with notions of greater citizen

involvement. They still view participation of the citizen as being limited to voting, writing angry letters or presenting briefs. Again, some cities are witnessing a change in the style of local politics with reform elements appearing, but the impact of these movements will take time.

One way to apply pressure for a change in attitude of both civic administration and politicians is through the influence of senior levels of government. Either through the act of persuasion or by setting conditions requiring participation on the financial assistance offered, they could induce city government to make a commitment to citizen involvement.

The other way, which is sounder in the long run, is to show through demonstration, accompanied by proper evaluation, the benefits of using a decentralized, citizen-based approach as opposed to a centralized form of government-directed intervention. When it can be shown that neighbourhood renewal involving the citizen, using community resources and facilitating acts of self improvement yields better results, then the basis for much of the present reluctance of local government officials can be overcome.

Winnipeg, with its new system of government, has an opportunity to make a serious effort at neighbourhood-based renewal. The structure of community committees and resident advisory groups provide a ready-made decentralized system. The need at this point is for the city government, along with the resident advisors, to see how these structures can be transformed into an effective vehicle of renewal. One way would be for the community committee resident advisors to sponsor the creation of a neighbourhood development corporation which would act as the organizational arm for renewal. Different groups in the community could appoint members to the

corporation, along with government people and any additional community resource people, and their various acts of renewal could take place in a co-ordinated fashion. In this way, Winnipeg might take the lead in redefining the role of local government in the field of renewal.

3. Private Institutions

To support the effort of community groups and government in neighbourhood activity, there needs to be an active enlistment of the private, non-governmental sector. This can happen in two ways.

(a) Resource Centres - Part of the funds devoted to neighbourhood improvement should go towards the creation of resource centres which supply advice, applied skills, research and, at times, management. This support would involve information and communication, that is, helping groups prepare neighbourhood newspapers, VTR tapes and handbills. It would involve providing certain research in terms of neighbourhood characteristics, planning alternatives, uses of legislation. It would involve technical skills in law, design, management. It would involve training in how to run a corporation, undertake a survey, organize a group. And, it would involve, at times, taking on specific tasks for the community group.

In our case, this kind of role was played by a university operation. And as previously pointed out, the university has many advantages for this kind of operation. Working on a different basis are such groups as the Parallel Institute in Montreal, the Metro Media Groups in Vancouver and the Calgary Institute. These are community-run organizations. Whatever the model used, the existence of this kind of centre can make the difference between neighbourhood improvement succeeding or failing. There are also secondary benefits. Out of such organizations can come information, ideas and policy proposals that can give government policy-makers a ground-level

view of what programs might be. And, such organizations provide a place where the education of a new breed of urban professional can take place. Without people who are able to use and develop their insights and skills, progress in urban matters will be difficult to achieve.

Thirdly, such centers can begin to undertake the critical task of evaluation. The development of effective neighbourhood renewal will require careful assessment of what works and what doesn't. The present methods of evaluation are not very good, too often because they are done by government officials with a self-fulfilling need to judge a project a success. Independent centers, especially those in universities, can and should become the evaluators of neighbourhood improvement programs and, by so doing, can begin exploring ways of developing better evaluative tools.

(b) Private Enterprise - It is not fashionable to attribute to private business the ability to contribute to purposeful social change. But they can play an important role. Individual companies can provide funds and management skills to community groups, making the groups less reliant on government support.

Another useful service, still unrealized, is to have different businesses take over as project managers for the community corporations wanting to build or develop housing. There is now a growing tendency in business to create integrated companies, combining skills in architecture, real estate development and mortgage management. They have the expertise needed by the community group and could provide badly-needed assistance.

To participate, however, business will have to overcome many of its present attitudes toward citizens' groups and adopt different working methods so that they don't subvert the process. If they can do this, then they will find a new kind of client requiring important services that the

private development group can offer.

4. Communication and Information

Critical to the emergence of good neighbourhood renewal is better information for planning and better communication between the involved participants. As our studies have shown, many city residents have little idea of what is happening in their communities because the mass media does not focus on local information. Furthermore, when a citizen group does try to undertake action on its own behalf, it is often hindered by the lack of good data about a problem, data often possessed by one or another of the levels of government. Conversely, government officials are often handicapped in their planning by a poor or distorted perception of what people want, what their concerns are and what their goals and ambitions might be.

Therefore, a system of public information and communication is required. This could work on a neighbourhood level utilizing neighbourhood newspapers and other existing forms of media. An added element to the system would be community radio and TV and the availability of equipment to enable citizens to use the system. Such a system must also have better access to government-stored information that could be translated to citizen groups and used to develop their own programs and plans.

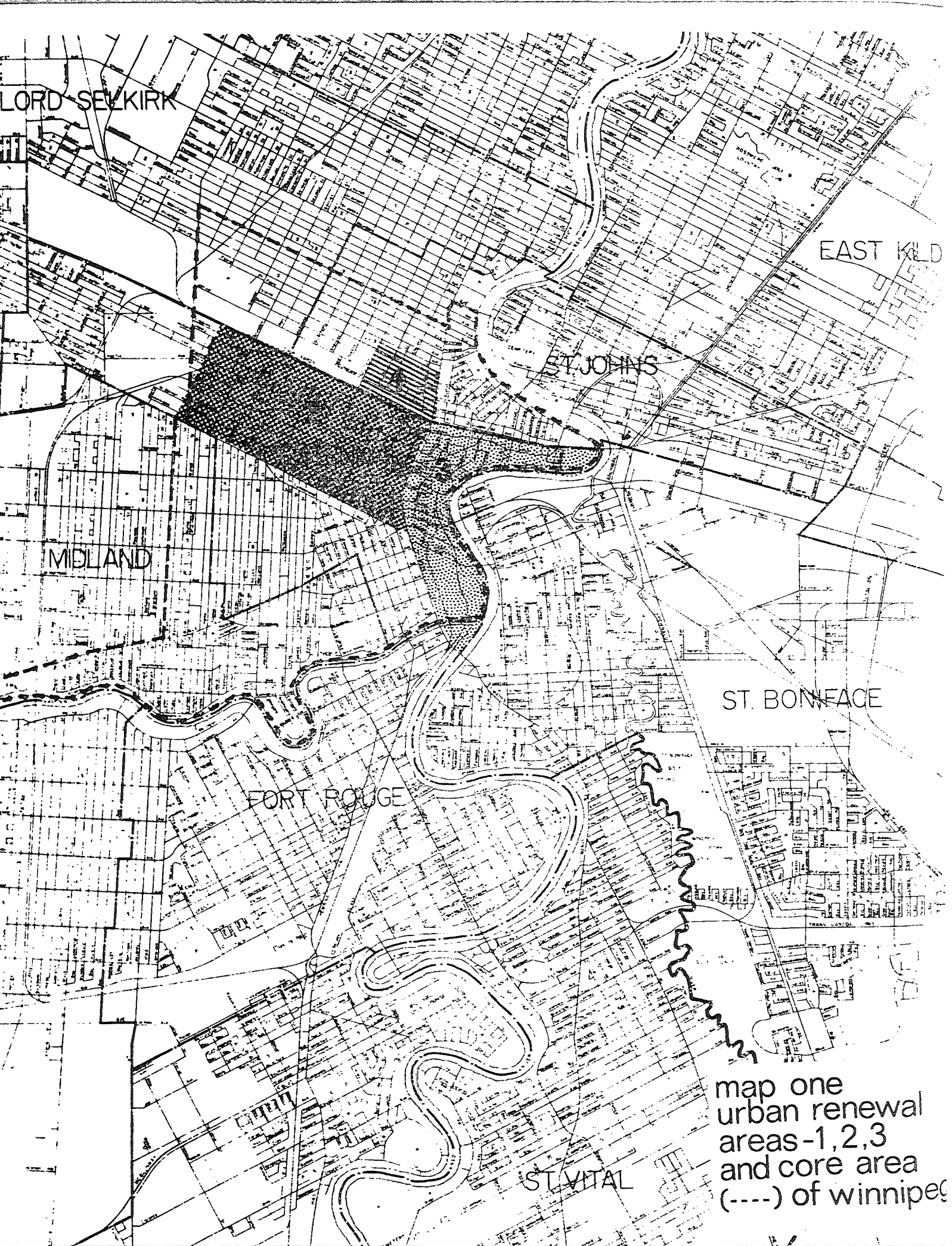
Conclusion

There are other recommendations that could be made and it should be recognized that the above proposals are only brief sketches of more elaborate ideas described in the other papers.

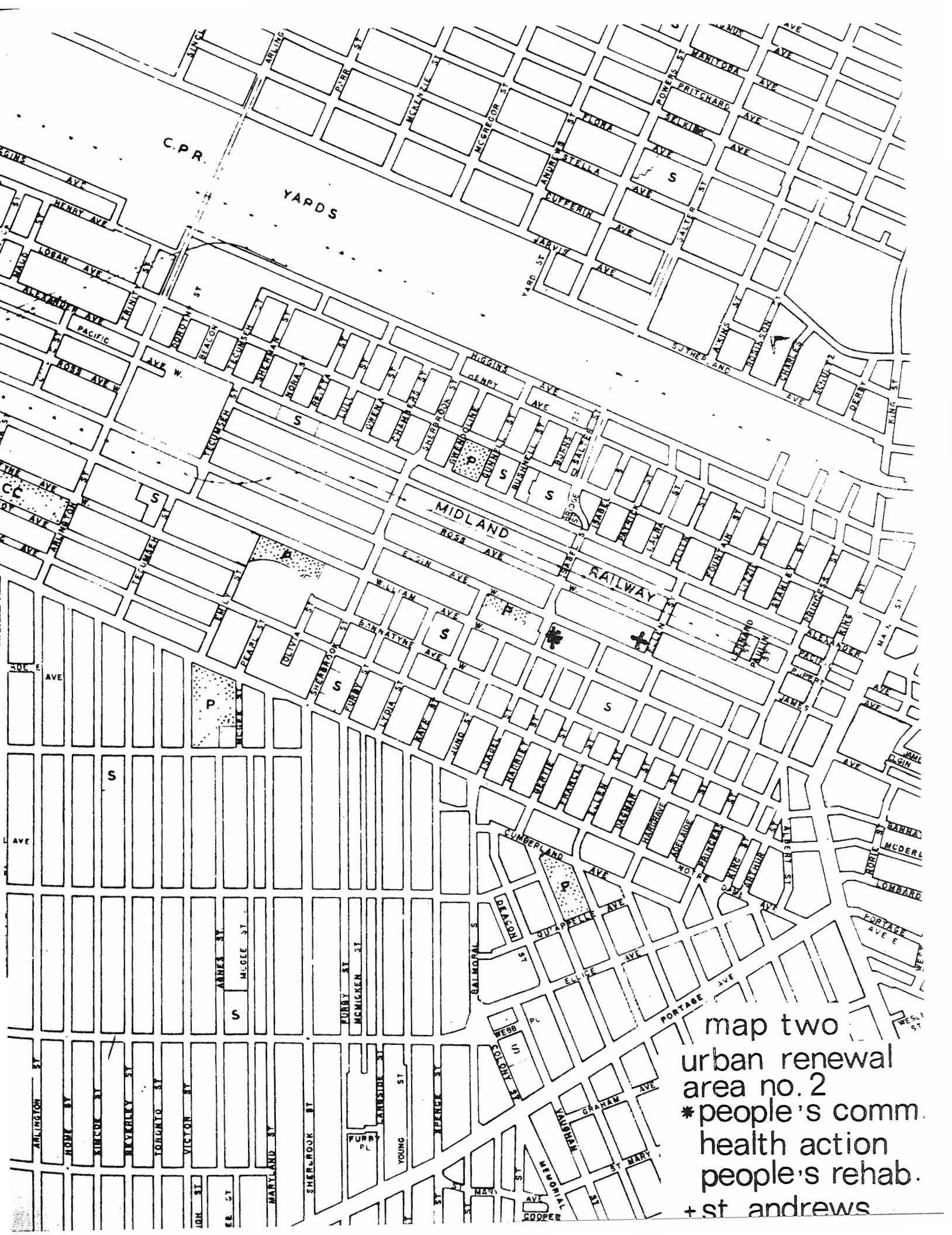
What these recommendations should highlight is that a new program of neighbourhood renewal or improvement will require more changes than are encompassed in the proposed amendments to The National Housing Act.

Legislation amendments are just the beginning. Following them must be careful, yet far-reaching changes in styles of administration and operation. There will have to be new institutions and, in many cases, new people to make the program operate.

SECTION IV



map one
urban renewal
areas-1,2,3
and core area
(----) of winnipeg



map two
 urban renewal
 area no. 2
 * people's comm.
 health action
 people's rehab.
 + st andrews

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The following are selected references on themes developed in this collection of papers.

URBAN RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

- Archibald, Kathleen A. The Utilization of Social Research and Policy Analysis. St. Louis : Washington University Press, 1968.
- Blumberg, Leonard, Irving Shandler and Thomas E. Shipley Jr. " The Philadelphia Skid-Row Project : An Action-Research Program ", in Arthur Shostak (ed.). Sociology in Action. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966.
- Bourne, Larry S. (ed.). Internal Structure of the City - Readings on Space and Environment. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Brooks, Michael P. " The Community Action Program as a Setting For Applied Research ", Journal of Social Issues, XXI (January, 1965).
- Campbell, Donald T. " Reforms as Experiments ", American Psychologist, XXIV (April, 1969).
- Caro, Francis. " Approaches To Evaluative Research ", Human Organization, XXVIII, No. II (Summer, 1969) , pp. 87-99.
- Denzin, Norman K. The Values of Social Science. New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1970.
- Doby, John T. (ed.). An Introduction to Social Research. New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1967.
- Fairweather, George W. Methods For Experimental Social Innovation. New York : John Wiley & Sons, 1967.
- Forcese, D.P. and S. Richer (eds.). Stages of Social Research - Contemporary Perspectives. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey : Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970.
- Forrester, Jay W. Urban Dynamics. Cambridge, Massachusetts : M.I.T. Press, 1969.
- Freeman, Howard E. and Clarence C. Sherwood. " Social Research and Social Policy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970.

- Freeman, Howard E. and Clarence C. Sherwood. " Research in Large-Scale Intervention Programs ", Journal of Social Issues, XXI (January, 1965).
- Goering, John M. and Marvin Cummins. " Intervention Research and the Survey Process ", Journal of Social Issues, XXVI (Summer, 1970).
- Gross, Bertram M. Social Intelligence For America's Future. Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1969.
- Gutman, Robert and David Popenoe. Neighbourhood, City and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader In Urban Sociology. New York: Random House Inc., 1970.
- Hauser, Robert. Unpublished paper on Surveys Centre for Group Studies, London, England.
- Hauser, Philip. Handbook For Social Research in Urban Areas. Paris: UNESCO, 1965.
- Herzog, Elizabeth. " Social Stereotypes and Social Research ", Journal of Social Issues, XXVI (Summer, 1970).
- Horwitz, Irving Louis (ed.). The Use and Abuse of Social Science, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1971.
- Keller, Suzanne. The Urban Neighbourhood: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House Inc., 1968.
- Kilbridge, Maurice. Urban Analysis. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Lee, Terence. " Urban Neighbourhood as a Socio-Spatial Scheme ", Human Relations, XXI (1968).
- Lithwick, N.H. Urban Canada - Problems and Prospects. Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1970. Research Monograph Series 1-6 :
1. Urban Poverty by N.H. Lithwick, 1971.
 2. Housing in Canada by L.B. Smith, 1971.
 3. The Urban Transport Problem by D.J. Reynolds, 1971.
 4. The Urban Public Economy by W. Irwin Gillespie, 1971.
 5. The Urban Future by A. Goracz, I. Lithwick and L.O. Stone, 1971.
 6. A Survey of Alternative Urban Policies by L.D. Feldman and Associates, 1971.
- Lowenthal, A. Environmental Perceptions and Behavior. University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 109, 1967.
- Meier, R.H. " Measuring Social and Cultural Change in Urban Regions ", Journal of American Institute of Planners, 1959.

- Michelson, William H. Man and His Environment - A Sociological Approach. Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1970.
- National Academy of Sciences. Long Range Planning For Urban Research and Development. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1969.
- National Academy of Sciences. A Strategic Approach to Urban Research and Development - Social and Behavioral Science Considerations. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1969.
- Pasoneau, Joseph R. "A Planning Inventory of the Metropolis", in Sam B. Warner Jr. (ed.), Planning For a Nation of Cities. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966.
- Rapaport, Robert N. "Three Dilemmas in Action Research", Human Relations, XXIII (1970).
- Robson, B.T. Urban Analysis: A Study of City Structure. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Rodwin, Lloyd. The Promise and Failure of Urban Research - An Evaluation of the Experience of the Joint Centre for Urban Studies. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Joint Centre For Urban Studies, M.I.T. Press, 1967.
- Sanford, Nevitt. "Whatever Happened To Action Research", Journal of Social Issues, XXVI (August, 1970).
- Schnore, Leo F. Social Science and the City. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969.
- Schnore, Les and Henry Fagin. Urban Research and Policy Planning, Vol. 1. Beverly Hill: Sage Publishers, Inc., 1967.
- Scriven, M. "The Methodology of Evaluation", in Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation. Chicago: Rand McNally Inc., 1967.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif. Interdisciplinary Relationships in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969.
- Shostak, Arthur. Sociology in Action. Homewood: Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966.
- Suchman, Edward Allan. Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs. New York: Russel Pope Foundation, 1967.
- Sweeney, Stephen B. and James C. Charlesworth (eds). Governing Urban Society: New Scientific Approaches. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1967.
- Timms, Duncan. The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Trist, Eric. " Types of Output Mix of Research Organizations and Their Complementary ". Presented to the Conference on Policy and Social Research, UNESCO, 1970.

Warner, Sam B. (ed.). Planning For a Nation of Cities. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1966.

Warren, R.L. The Community in America. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Warren, R.L. Studying Your Community. New York: Free Press, 1965.

Weiss, Carol H. " The Politicization of Evaluation Research ", Journal of Social Issues, XXVI (Summer, 1970).

PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION

Aleshire, Robert. " Costs and Benefits of Citizen Participation ", Urban Affairs Quarterly, V (June, 1970).

Altshuler, Alan. Community Control. New York: Western Press, 1970.

Axworthy, Lloyd. " An Experiment in Local Government ", Canadian Forum (May, 1970).

Bdan, Richard. " The Social Relations of the Planner ", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXVII, No. 6 (November, 1971).

Blecher, Earl M. Advocacy Planning For Urban Development. New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1971.

Cahn, Edgars and Passett Barry (eds.). Citizen Participation : Effecting Community Change. New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1971.

Clark, Kenneth and Jeanette Hopkins. A Relevant War Against Poverty. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Clinard, Marshall B. Slums and Community Development. Toronto: Collier Macmillan Co., 1966.

" Community Capitalism Under Fire ", City, (June/July, 1970).

Dahl, Robert. After the Revolution. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Model Cities Program - A Comparative Analysis of the Planning Process in Eleven Cities. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1970.

Dethick, Martha. " Defeat at Fort Lincoln ", The Public Interest, XX (Summer, 1970).

- Dyckman, John W. " Social Planning in the American Democracy ", in Ernest Erber, Urban Planning in Transition. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970.
- Ewald, William Jr. Environment and Policy. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1970.
- Fox Piven, Francis. Regulating the Poor. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971.
- Goodman, Robert. After the Planners. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1971.
- Greer, Scott. Urban Renewal and American Cities - The Dilemma of Democratic Intervention. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1965.
- Guttentage, Marcia. " The Insolence of Office ", Journal of Social Issues, XXVI (Summer, 1970).
- Kohl, Herbert. " Out Our Way ", New York Review of Books, XVIII (March 23, 1972).
- Lipsky, Michael. " Street Level Bureaucracy and the Analysis of Urban Reform, Urban Affairs Quarterly, VI (June, 1971).
- Marris, Peter and Martin Rein. Dilemmas of Social Reform - Poverty and Community Action in the United States. New York: Atherton Press, 1967.
- Monyihan, Daniel Patrick. Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding - Community Action in the War On Poverty. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Pateman, Carole. Participation and Democratic Theory. England: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Redford, Emmette S. Democracy in the Administrative State. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Robin, Arthur. " A Community CAP in the Housing Business ", Housing and Education. A Special Council On Education Report.
- Rabinovitz, Francine. City Politics and Planning. New York: Anthenton Press, 1970.
- Rondinelli, Dennis. " Adjunctive Planning and Development Policy ", Urban Affairs Quarterly, VII (September, 1971).
- Roscoe, Martin. Grass Roots. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1957.
- Rosenbloom, Richard and Robin Marris. Social Innovation in the City. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970.

- Spiegel, Hans B. (ed.). Citizen Participation in Urban Development. 2 Volumes. Washington: Centre For Community Affairs, NTL Institute For Applied Behavioral Science, 1968, 1969.
- Weissman, Harold. Community Councils and Community Control. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970.
- Wolf, Eleanor Paperno and Charles N. Lebcoux. Change and Renewal in an Urban Community. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969.

IDEAS ON URBAN INNOVATION

- Broadly, Maurice. Planning For People - Essays On the Social Context of Planning. London: Bedford Square Press, 1968.
- Cherry, Gordon E. Town Planning In It's Social Context. London: Leonard Hill, 1970.
- Dyckman, John W. " Social Planning, Social Planners, and Planned Societies ", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXII, No. 2 (March, 1966), pp. 67-68.
- Gans, Herbert. People and Plans. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Greer, Scott C. The Urban View. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Havelock, Ronald G. Planning For Innovation. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan Press, 1971.
- Intregation of Physical and Social Planning. Report No. 1: Report of a seminar held 13-14 April 1967 under the joint sponsorship of the Special Project on Low-Income Housing and the Community Funds and Councils Division of the Canadian Welfare Council. Report No. 2 : 27-28 March 1968.
- Kahn, Alfred J. Theory and Practice of Social Planning. New York: Russell Sage Foundations, 1969.
- Kahn, Alfred J. Studies in Social Policy and Planning. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.
- Kaitz, Edward M. and Herbert Hyman. Urban Planning For Social Welfare: A Model Cities Approach. New York: Praeger Publications, 1970.
- Mayer, Robert. Social Planning and Social Change. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972.
- Mayer, Robert. " Social System Models For Planners ", Journal of American Institute of Planners (May, 1972).

- Meltzer, Jack and Joyce Whitley. " Social and Physical Planning for the Urban Slum ".in Thomas D. Sherrard (ed.), Social Welfare and Urban Problems. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- Perloff, Harvey. " Social Planning in the Metropolis ", in Leonard J. Duhl (ed.), The Urban Condition : People and Policy in the Metropolis. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963, pp. 331-347.
- Rein, Martin. " Social Planning : The Search for Legitimacy", in Daniel Moynihan (ed.), Toward a National Urban Policy. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1970.
- Rein, Martin. Social Policy : Issues of Choice and Change. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Ryant, Joseph C. and Leonard B. Spearman. Social Planning in Metropolitan Winnipeg : A Model For Implementation. School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, September, 1970.
- Schorr, Alvin. Explorations in Social Policy. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Williams, Eddie. Delivery Systems For Model Cities. Chicago: Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago Press, 1971.

NEIGHBOURHOOD GOVERNMENT

- Kotler, Milton. Neighbourhood Government. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969.
- Powledge, Fred. Model City. New York: Simon Schuster, 1970.
- Thayer, Frederic. " Participation and Liberal Democratic Government ". Prepared for the Committee on Government Productivity, Government of Ontario
- Walsh, Anne Marie. The Urban Challenge To Government. New York: Praeger Publishers Inc., 1969.

URBAN HOUSING

- Adams, Joan. A Tenant Looks at Public Housing Projects. United Community Service of greater Vancouver, 1968.

- Canadian Welfare Council. A Sourcebook on Housing in Canada. A Summary of papers for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Housing, 1967.
- De Salvo, Joseph S. "A Methodology for Evaluating Housing Programs", Journal of Regional Science, II (1971).
- Hartman, Chester W. The Politics of Housing. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1967.
- Levin, Melvin R. (ed.). Innovation in Housing Rehabilitation. Boston, Massachusetts: Boston Institute, 1969.
- Muth, Richard F. Housing and Cities : The Spatial Pattern of Urban Residential Land Use. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Silver, I.R. Housing and the Poor. Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971.
- Smith, Wallace. Housing - The Social and Economic Elements. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Stegman, Michael (ed.). Housing and Economics - The American Dilemma. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- Welfeld, Irving. "That Housing Problem", Public Interest, XXVII (Spring, 1972).
- Welfeld, Irving. "Toward a New Housing Policy", The Public Interest, XIX (Spring, 1970).

INNER-CITY ISSUES

The Function of the Working Class Community

- Fried, Marc A. and Peggy Gleicher. "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXVII, No. 4 (November, 1971).
- Fried, Marc A. and Joan Levin. "Some Social Functions of the Urban Slum", in Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (eds.), Urban Planning and Social Policy. New York: Basic Books, 1968, pp. 60-83.
- Seeley, John R. "The Slum : Its Nature, Use and Users", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV, No. 1 (February, 1959).

Shostak, Arthur B. Blue Collar Life. New York : Random House, 1969.
(In particular, Chapter 7, Blue Collar Neighbourhoods, pp. 105-125).

Class and Community

Fried, Marc A. " Transitional Functions of Working Class Communities: Implications for Forced Relocation ", in Mildred S. Kantor (ed.), Mobility and Mental Health. Springfield, Illinois, 1965, pp. 123-165.

Gans, Herbert J. The Urban Villagers. Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

Jackson, Brian. Working Class Community. London: Routledge and Kegan Publishers, 1968.

Lorimer, James and M. Phillips. Working People: Life in a Downtown City Neighbourhood. Toronto: J. Lewis and Samuel, 1971.

Maimon, Zri. " The Inner-City Impact ", Urban Affairs Quarterly, VI, No. 2, (December, 1970), pp. 233-248.

Mann, W.E. " The Social System of a Slum in the Lower Ward of Toronto ", in S.D. Clark, Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society. Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Miller, S.M. " The American Lower Classes : A Topographical Approach ", in Arthur B. Shostak and William Gornberg (eds.), New Perspectives on Poverty. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965, pp. 22-39.

Suttles, Gerald. The Social Order of the Slum. Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner-City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Valentin, Charles A. Culture and Poverty. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1969. (In particular, Chapter 6, pp. 141-153).

Young, Michael and Peter Willmott. Family and Kinship in East London. London : Penguin Books, 1959.

Immigrant Settlement Areas

Handlin, Oscar. The Newcomers. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951.

- Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted. New York : Grosset and Dunlop, 1951.
- Lieberson, Stanley. Ethnic Patterns in American Cities. The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Ward, David. " The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettoes in American Cities : 1840-1920, in Bourne; op. cit., pp. 291-299.
- Warner, W. Lloyd (ed.). Yankee City. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963.
- Wirth, Louis. The Ghetto. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Inner-City Mobility

- Boyce, Ronald R. " Residential Mobility and Its Implications for Urban Spatial Change ". Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 1, 1969, pp. 22-26.
- Cooke, K.B. Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility : an Inventory of Findings. Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Government of Canada, 1965.
- Lansing, J.B. and E. Mueller. Residential Location and Urban Mobility. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan Press, 1964.
- Rossi, Peter H. Why Families Move : A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- Simmons, James W. " Changing Residence in the City : A Review of Intra-Urban Mobility ", Geographical Review, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 622-651.

Social Disorganization and Social Services in Core Neighbourhoods

- Adams, Ian, William Cameron, Brian Hill, Peter Penz. The Real Poverty Report. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971.
- Gans, Herbert J. " Planning for the Elimination of Urban Poverty ", in Friedan and Morris. loc. cit. pp. 42-51.

Fried, Marc A. " The Role of Work in a Mobile Society ", in Sam B. Warner (ed.), Planning for a Nation of Cities. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1966, pp. 81-104.

Friedan, Bernard J. and Robert Morris. Urban Planning and Social Policy. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968.

Northwood, Lawrence K. " Deterioration of the Inner-City ", in Nathan E. Cohen (ed.), Social Work and Social Problems. New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1964, pp. 201-269.

Rose, Albert. Welfare Services in the Metropolitan Areas. Centennial Study and Training Program on Metropolitan Problems. Toronto: Bureau of Municipal Research, March 1967.

Rose, Albert. " Co-ordination Between Physical and Social Planning in a Metropolitan Area ", Social Service Review, Vol. 32, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 374-386.

Rose, Albert. " The Social Services in the Modern Metropolis ", Social Service Review, Vol. 37, No. 4, December 1963, pp. 375-388.

Economic Council of Canada. Fifth Annual Review. The Challenge of Growth Change. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968. (In particular Chapter 6, 'The Problem of Poverty').

Planning and Delivery of Social Services. National League of Cities and Centre for Community Planning. Sponsored by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, April 1969.

Poverty In Canada. A Report of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971.

Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services (Seebohm Committee). London: Her Majesty's stationary Office, 1968.

Report of the Social Service Audit, sponsored by: The Manitoba Government, United Way of Greater Winnipeg, The Winnipeg Foundation, Community Welfare Planning Council. May 1969.

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Organizing Services in a Complex Urban Community. Toronto: The Kahn Institute, March 1967.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Services for People: Report of the Task Force on Organization of Social Services. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, October 1968.

Dynamics of Decline in Older Neighbourhoods

- Birch, David L. "Towards a Stage Theory of Urban Growth", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXVII (March, 1971), pp. 78-87.
- Frieden, Bernard J. The Future of Old Neighbourhoods: Rebuilding for a Changing Population. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1964.
- Frieden, Bernard J. "Housing and National Urban Goals: Old Policies and New Realities", in James Q. Wilson (ed.), The Metropolitan Enigma: Inquiries into the Nature and Dimensions of America's "Urban Crisis". Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968, pp. 159-202.
- Hartshorn, Truman A. "Inner City Residential Structure and Decline", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, I, No. 1, (March, 1971), pp. 72-96.
- Hoover, Edgar and R. Vernon. Anatomy of a Metropolis. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.
- Rothenberg, Jerome. "The Elimination of Blight and Slums", in Michael A. Stegman (ed.), Housing and Economics: The American Dilemma. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- Smith, Wallace. Filtering and Neighbourhood Change. Research Paper No. 24. Centre For Real Estate and Urban Economics, Institute of Urban and Regional Development. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Sternlieb, George. "New York's Housing: A Study in Immobilism", in Michael A. Stegman, op. cit., pp. 482-499.
- Winnipeg Council of Social Agencies. Housing in Winnipeg. Report of the Committee on Housing, 1943.
- Wolfe, H.B. "Models for Condition Aging of Residential Structures", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXIII, No. 3, (May, 1967), pp. 192-195.

Urban Renewal and Redevelopment of the Inner City

- Bourne, L.S. Private Redevelopment of the Central City. Spatial Processes of Structural Change in the City of Toronto. University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 112, 1967.

Gans, Herbert J. " The Failure of Urban Renewal: A Critique and Some Proposals ", Commentary, April 1965, pp. 29-37.

Gerson, Wolfgang. An Urban Renewal Study for the City of Winnipeg: The CPR - Notre Dame Area. Planning Research Centre, School of Architecture, University of Manitoba, 1957.

Greer, Scott. Urban Renewal and American Cities : the Dilemma of Democratic Intervention. New York: Bobs-Merrill Company Inc., 1965.

Jensen, Brigitte, Richard Mezoff and Anthony I. Richmond. Sociological Aspects of Urban Renewal in Toronto. York University, Institute for Behavioral Research, April 1970.

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. Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, January 1968.

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

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

Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, January 1969.

New Organizational Concepts for the Inner-City (See Urban Innovation)

Aleshire, Robert A. " Planning and Citizen Participation, Costs, Benefits and Approaches ", Urban Affairs Quarterly (June, 1970), pp. 370-393.

Dennis, Norman. People and Planning. London: Faber and Faber, 1970.

Hopkins, Willard G. " The Role of the Poor in the Community Power Structure". Working paper of the Centre for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell, 1967.

Journal of Social Issues, " The Poor: Impact on Research and Theory ". Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring, 1970).

Long, Norton. " The City as Reservation ", The Public Interest, XXI (Fall, 1971).

- Lowenstein, Edward R. " Citizen Participation and the Administrative Agency in Urban Development: Some Problems and Proposals ", The Social Service Review, Vol. 45, No. 3, (September, 1971), pp. 289-301.
- Marris, Peter and Martin Rein. Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty And Community Action in the United States. New York: Atherton Press, 1967.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Rosenbloom, Richard S. and Robin Morris (eds.). Social Innovation in the City: New Enterprises for Community Development. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Program on Technology and Society, Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Warren, Roland. " Model Cities First Round: Politics, Planning, and Participation ", Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXXV (July, 1969), pp. 245-252.

URBAN UNIVERSITY

- Meyerson, Martin et. al. The City and the University. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Ltd., 1969.
- Roberts, Dennis L. (ed.). Planning Urban Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, 1972.
- Stroup, Thomas (ed.). The University in the American Future. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- Weaver, Robert. The Urban Complex. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968.

COMMUNICATIONS

- Bagdikian, Ben H. The Information Machines. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Deutsch, Karl W. The Nerves of Government, New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- Feldman, N.E. Cable Television: Opportunities and Problems in Local Program Organization. Santo Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1970.

Greenberg, Bradley S. and Brenda Dorvu. Use of the Mass Media by the Urban Poor. New York: Fred Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Griss, Bertran M. (ed.). Social Intelligence For America's Future. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969.

Meier, Richard L. A Communication Theory of Urban Growth. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1962.

Public Policy Concern. Community Information Centres. A study prepared for the Government of Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

RELATED INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES REPORTS

Survey Results : Roosevelt Park Demonstration Project. An unpublished working paper. January 1970.

The Role of the Technical Advisory Group. Agnus Cranston. An unpublished working paper. 1970.

A Report on 610 Ross - An IUS Report on the Roosevelt Park Demonstration Area. Lawrie Cherniak and Eric Barker. March, 1971.

The Roosevelt Park Project: Short-Form Evaluation. Professor Ralph Kuropatwa. March, 1971.

An Experiment in Community Renewal : Observations and Proposals Arising From a Demonstration Project in Winnipeg. Professor Lloyd Axworthy and Professor Ralph Kuropatwa. Presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, St. John's, Newfoundland. June 9, 1971.

Final Report of Satisfactions in an Urban Neighbourhood. Grace Parasuik. April, 1971.

An Analysis of Four Social Planning Interventions in the Fort Rouge Area of Winnipeg. David Vincent. June, 1971.

The Indian-Metis Urban Probe. A study by the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies. January, 1971.

A Report on the Kiew Housing Incorporated Experiment. David Henderson. June - December 1970.

A Second Report on the Kiew Housing Incorporated Experiment. David Henderson. July 30, 1971.

An Evaluation of Kinew Housing Incorporated. Prepared for the Institute of Urban Studies by Professor Jim McNiven. September, 1971.

Report on the First Phase of the Community Television Project. James Cassidy and Jocelyne O'Hara. July, 1971.

Report on an Experiment in Community Communications - Subject: Unicity Elections. James Cassidy and Jocelyne O'Hara. May, 1972.

A Report on the Rehabilitation of Older **Houses** in a Lower-Income Inner City District. Eric Barker. June, 1971.

Design Feasibility Study for Injecting an Infill Housing System into an Older Residential District. Eric Barker. September, 1971.

Presentation to the Commission to Study the Rationalization of University Research. Lloyd Axworthy. November, 1971.

Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, (B.A., Manitoba, M.A., Ph.D., Princeton University), served as Special Assistant to the Hon. John Turner in 1967, assisting in the development of the new Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. In 1968 Dr. Axworthy was appointed Executive Assistant for Housing and Urban Development to the Hon. Paul Hellyer, and was involved with the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development. He has been Director of the Institute since 1969 and has written several papers and articles on urban problems and lectured widely in Canada, the United States and Europe.

Mr. Eric Barker, (B. Arch., 1969, University of Manitoba), worked for a local architectural firm for one year before becoming an advisor for a variety of citizens' groups and developers in Urban Renewal Area Two. He has worked for the Institute since 1971, and is presently a Research Associate in charge of planning and physical design.

Mr. Jim Cassidy (B.A., University of Winnipeg), Research Assistant with the Institute of Urban Studies. Mr. Cassidy has specialization in the field of community communications.

Mr. David G. Henderson, (M.Arch.(cp), University of Manitoba, MTPIC.), is a former Director of Planning for the Manitoba Department of Municipal Affairs, and was the Manager of the Planning Division for Reid Crowther and Partners at the time of his appointment to the Institute of Urban Studies

in 1970. He held the position of Research Associate in charge of planning until May 1972, when he was appointed Commissioner of the Environment for the City of Winnipeg.

Mrs. Jocelyne O'Hara, (B.A., University of Ottawa), Research Assistant with the Institute of Urban Studies, was involved previously in the field of urban communication. Mrs. O'Hara was formerly secretary to the Council of the Company of Young Canadians.

Mr. David Vincent, a graduate of Queen's University in Belfast, held the positions of Research Associate to the Community Welfare Planning Council, and Research Advisor with the School of Social Work at the University of Manitoba, before joining the Institute of Urban Studies in 1971. Mr. Vincent is presently a Research Associate in charge of social planning and research methodology.

Mr. Ted Allen, (B.A., University of Manitoba), was a journalist for many years with the Winnipeg Tribune. He was co-author of a study on the role of private business in social change and assisted with the editing of this publication.

Acknowledgements: Several other staff members of the Institute, both present and former, deserve a large part of the credit for the production of these papers. Mr. Wally Kubiski and Mr. Lawrie Cherniack, now a councillor in the City of Winnipeg, played a major role in the community organizing work involved in the project. Mrs. Bonnie Reid, Miss Maureen Grant and Miss Irene

Kahlian were of great assistance in the preparation of the papers.

Thanks are also due to members of the People's Committee, Kinew Housing Corporation, the Winnipeg House Builders Association, and St. Andrews Church, who reviewed and commented upon the enclosed papers.