

THE RELOCATION OF RESIDENTS DISPLACED FROM
THE ROSE-BLANSHARD RENEWAL SCHEME
IN VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

by

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ABSTRACT

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The relocation of eighty-two displaced households was investigated to determine some of the changes brought about by Victoria's Rose-Blanshard urban renewal scheme. The foci of concern were the subsequent pattern of relocation sites, the changes in housing characteristics, and the relationship of these site and housing changes to the socio-economic characteristics of the households. The city's pre-renewal welfare survey provided socio-economic data on all the project area residents, while post-relocation data consisted of the results of a survey of relocation housing conditions, as well as the responses to a questionnaire administered to the eighty-two households that were traced.

The pattern of relocation sites was strongly nodal and was centred on the project area. Of the displaced households seventy per cent relocated less than one and one-half miles from their former homes and only two households ventured a distance greater than six miles. (Correlation of the distances moved with socio-economic and housing characteristics indicated a tendency for those who moved farthest to acquire higher quality housing than those who moved only a short distance, but there was no significant relationship between distances moved and socio-economic characteristics. The nodal pattern of relocation sites was partially explained by several factors governing the relocation decisions of the displaced households; single location preferences, the status of the housing market, and the attractive force of the familiar territory surrounding the project area.

While most of the households indicated a preference for a location in the vicinity of the project area, a negative correlation between distances moved and degrees of satisfaction with the former home sites indicated that the less satisfied a household was with its former circumstances, the greater the distance it moved after displacement. While relatively few households altered their shopping, banking or recreation habits as a result of relocation, the majority experienced changes in housing characteristics.

Significant changes were found in housing preferences as well as in cost and quality of accommodation. Although more than three-quarters of the households preferred single family residences, twenty-five percent of these realized the limitations of a low income and also expressed a desire to move into the government low rent apartments. (Costs of rent averaged forty percent higher after relocation than before, yet, many households experienced a decrease in either housing quality or living space. It was also found that a considerable number of relocation sites were showing signs of rapid deterioration.) Correlation again indicated no significant relationships between changes in housing characteristics and socio-economic characteristics. It was concluded that the relative homogeneity of the group being studied prevented any strong correlation.

Although criticism of the Canadian urban renewal program was not a primary objective, this study points out several shortcomings of the program, particularly in the humanitarian aspects. (The Rose-Blanshard renewal scheme succeeded in eliminating a relatively small

area of blight but, in the process, caused a number of households to suffer considerable economic and social hardships without compensation.)

It was concluded that many of the problems encountered in Victoria would not have occurred had the renewal and welfare programs been better coordinated. In order to avoid the recurrence of such problems it was recommended that the process of renewal be changed from a quixotic attack on blight into an ongoing urban governmental function of property acquisition and rehabilitation.

Examiners:



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R. W. Robertson.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

There seems to be a conflict between the national, community, and individual levels of society regarding the means to achieve a common goal of "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing for everyone.¹ Part of this conflict arises from the dichotomous nature of our society, made up of the "rich" and the "poor", the "haves" and the "have nots". The nature and increasing polarity of these groups is most easily seen in our large urban centres where the juxtaposition of their accommodation reflects and emphasizes the dichotomy. Housing does not "trickle down" in sufficient quantity to fulfil the demands of the poor, nor are these demands met through the market mechanisms heavily relied upon in a capitalistic system.^{2,3} Through economic

¹Government of Canada, National Housing Act (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Consolidation of 1954 Act and Amendments, 1967), p. 36.

²For a detailed discussion of the "trickle" or "filtering down" concept in housing see William Grigsby, Housing Markets and Public Policy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), Chapt. 3; and Glen H. Beyer, Housing: A Factual Analysis (New York: MacMillan Co., 1958), pp. 44-46.

³Government of Canada, Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Paul Hellyer (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, January 1969), p. 15, and Michael Wheeler, The Housing Crisis and Public Policy (Montreal: Address given at the Annual Conference of Mayors and Municipalities, 24 July, 1969), p. 4.

circumstance the poor are forced to occupy obsolete and dilapidated dwellings, and as a result, the economically viable life of residential buildings, that otherwise would have long disappeared from the urban scene, is prolonged. The individual thus suffers from inadequate housing, the community from blight and all its intrinsic problems, and the national goal remains beyond reach.

One response to this problem has been the National Housing Act and in particular the urban renewal program begun in 1949. To be rid of slums was to be rid of crime, delinquency, disease, and a general social malaise that was costly to the city. Not only did police and fire protection cost many times more per capita in these areas than in other parts of the city, but often the tax returns from these areas could not cover the expenses incurred there. Furthermore, a multitude of reports had causally linked the social problems of the slum to the physical conditions experienced there.⁴ A humane

⁴Representative of these reports are: Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1892); S. P. Breckinridge, New Homes for Old (New York, Harper and Bros., 1921); James Ford, Slums and Housing, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936); Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, The Relationship Between Housing and Delinquency (Washington, D.C.: Research Bulletin No. 1, 1936). Reviews of works expounding similar ideas are found in: Irving Roscow, "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1961), pp. 127-133; Jay Rumney, "The Social Costs of Slums," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, No. 1 and 2 (1951); Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity: An Appraisal of the Effectiveness of Housing Policy in Helping to Eliminate Poverty in the U.S. (Washington, D.C., U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1963); and Daniel Wilner, Rosabelle Walkley and Matthew Toyback, The Housing Environment and Family Life: A Longitudinal Study of the Effects of Housing on Morbidity and Mental Health (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1962), Chapter 1.

justification was thereby provided for removing slum inhabitants from their homes, at the same time providing room for expansion of city activities and room for the development of new dwellings which might quell the flow of city residents escaping to the suburbs. Such were the types of argument that got the renewal program underway.

However, a response, such as an urban renewal program, often presents as many problems as it is designed to solve and its means often become as controversial as its goals. There is little argument over the necessity of removing housing which is a hazard to safety and health and is economically beyond rehabilitation. On the other hand, considerable conflict has arisen over the lack of other than verbal concern for the individuals or families whose economic circumstances force them to occupy such low quality dwellings. If housing quality and quantity are viewed as a continuum, new dwellings of high quality continually being added at the top, then supposedly these economically deprived persons would fill the vacuum left by the upward movement of those buying new houses, and would thereby be provided with a supply of older housing of relatively low quality suited to their financial capabilities. Unfortunately, the factors governing demand and the market mechanism are not so simple. Increasing size of population; movement up or down the ladder of socio-economic status; movement through the life cycle from being single, to being married, to becoming parents, to achieving retirement, all confuse the demand patterns. Whatever influence the consumer has on the supply of housing is experienced through the market-place, through his ability

to pay for the accommodation that appears best to meet his needs.⁵

The economically deprived thus suffer a great disadvantage, with the result that the bulk of investment in housing finds its way into the improvement of the housing standards of those already well housed.

(Dwelling units tend to be added to the top of the scale a few at a time, as the potential demand becomes actual demand through a financial commitment, while at the other end of the continuum renewal schemes have often removed hundreds of low quality dwelling units at a time. Although these units usually are meant to be replaced by new dwellings, there is generally a delay of from three to five years, and sometimes longer, between destruction and construction, and seldom does the number of new dwellings equal the number destroyed. The poor are thus forced into a situation of severely limited housing choice. Their specialized demands are generally beyond the capacity of the housing market to supply.)⁶

Whether the urban renewal program in fact creates social problems or simply acts as a catalyst in revealing social problems is an issue beyond the scope of this thesis.⁷ Nevertheless, forced relocation

⁵Wheeler, op. cit., p. 2.

⁶Malcolm McDonald Barrow, Federal Housing Policies and the Developing Urban Structure (University of British Columbia: Unpublished Master's Thesis, 1967), p. 48.

⁷Statements of both arguments can be found in: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, Urban Renewal Study: Urban Renewal and Social Programs (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, July, 1965), p. 4; and Robert C. Weaver, The Urban Complex (New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1960), p. 110.

may create serious problems for many of those people who are displaced. The result often is a compromise in living space or in the allocation of available financial resources. The relationship of these people to the community may be altered both by their shift in location and, more subtly, by their changed economic and housing status. The nature of these changes, unlike many other aspects of urban renewal, has been given relatively little research attention.

Related Research and Literature

The classic work of Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow,⁸ could be considered the forerunner of most modern writing on the subject of urban deterioration and renovation. The concepts presented by this philanthropist are reflected in the British New Towns and in such recent works as Perloff's New Towns in Town.⁹ It is surprising and unfortunate, however, that, despite modern technology and ample opportunity, we have not progressed very far beyond Howard's ideas, or even the conditions of his day, with regard to housing and renewal. In 1892 Jacob Riis in his book, How the Other Half Lives, wrote that he felt that better housing would both help the poor and contribute to the safety of the neighborhood as a whole, and that slum

⁸Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow (London: Faber and Faber, 1946; originally published, 1898).

⁹Harvey S. Perloff, "New Towns in Town," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1966).

clearance could be an instrument of social control based on the simple correlation between poor housing and vice, crime, and pauperism.¹⁰ Men like Riis and others such as Marcus T. Reynolds,¹¹ left a legacy of environmental determinism that has still not been erased. Causal linkages between slum housing and social malaise succeeded in focusing attention on the physical attributes of the home, and subsequently influenced legislation on housing codes and government housing programs for decades. Yet, even as far back as 1900, Riis realized that the slum was a way of life and not simply a problem of substandard housing.¹² Similarly, in 1937, George Orwell found that there was something more to a slum than decadent housing. "When you walk through the smoke dim slums of Manchester," he noted, "you think that nothing is needed except to tear down these abominations and build decent housing in their place. But the trouble is that in destroying the slum you destroy other things as well."¹³ Interesting is the fact that these sentiments of concern for the social character of a slum did not find a place in Canadian or United States legislation until the 1950's.

¹⁰Jacob Riis, op. cit.

¹¹Marcus T. Reynolds, "The Housing of the Poor in American Cities," American Economic Association Publication, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1893).

¹²Roy Lubove, "Housing and Planning in the Progressive Era," in Jewel Bellush and Murray Hausknecht, Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning (New York: Doubleday, 1968), p. 18.

¹³George Orwell, The Road to Wigan Pier (New York: Bukley Publishing Corporation, 1961; first published in 1937), p. 69.

Much of the research on the effects of renewal has been centred on the condition of individual dwellings and their presumed impact on the inhabitants. Most slum clearance and relocation studies have concerned themselves with the change in residential condition of the slum dweller, and have ignored the relationship between his dwelling and its environmental context. It has often been found that relocation resulted in an improvement in housing condition, not a startling discovery if one considers that the slum dwellers were presumably being displaced from the worst possible housing conditions, those that prompted the renewal scheme in the first place.¹⁴ Yet

¹⁴Representative of these studies are: Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, Research Division, The New Locations and Housing Characteristics of Families Displaced from Area 3-C (Baltimore: Urban Renewal and Housing Agency, March, 1961), and by the same agency, Ten Years of Relocation Experience in Baltimore, Maryland (June, 1961); Elinor G. Black, Manhattantown Two Years Later: A Second Look at Tenant Relocation (New York: Women's City Club of New York, 1956); Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority, Ellicott Relocation: Objectives, Experience and Appraisal (Buffalo: Municipal Housing Authority, 1961); Chicago Housing Authority, Relocation of Site Residents to Private Housing: The Characteristics and Quality of Dwellings Obtained in the Movement from Chicago Housing Authority Slum Clearance Sites, 1952-1954 (Chicago: Housing Authority, Nov., 1955), and by the same agency, Rehousing Residents Displaced from Public Housing Clearance Sites in Chicago, 1957-1958 (October, 1960); Nathaniel Lichfield, "Relocation: The Impact on Housing Welfare," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 3 (1961), pp. 199-203; U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, The Housing of Relocated Families: Bureau of the Census Survey of Families Recently Displaced from Renewal Sites (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1965). An excellent review of similar work is contained in Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1964), pp. 266-286.

these and similar results have often been used as proof of the social good of renewal. Implicit in the assumption that housing and social condition were causally related was a further notion that improvement in physical housing condition would automatically improve social condition.¹⁵ Acknowledging that such improvements in housing conditions do occur, studies of relocated slum residents in Glasgow have indicated that the effects are not easily predictable.¹⁶ In these cases there was a rise in the incidence of disease and very little general improvement in social condition.¹⁷

.... it would appear that in many respects the results that have been obtained from the rehousing of slum families have not been uniformly satisfactory, even among families that have been rehoused for most of a generation. There is still ample evidence of social immaturity, of failure to reflect improved environment; and this is nowhere more disappointing than in relation to adolescent delinquency, for it might have been hoped that the younger generation would have begun to move away ere now from the tradition of the slums.

Similarly, studies in North America have indicated that displaced

¹⁵Such studies as that of Stanley H. Pickett, Urban Renewal (Ottawa: Pamphlet No. 1, Community Planning Association of Canada, September, 1958), maintain such a presumption.

¹⁶Thomas Ferguson and Mary G. Pettigrew, "A Study of 718 Slum Families Rehoused for Upwards of 10 Years," Glasgow Medical Journal (Now Scottish Medical Journal), Vol. 35 (1954), pp. 183-201; Peter Morris concurs in "The Social Implications of Urban Redevelopment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1962), pp. 180-186.

¹⁷Ferguson and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 201.

persons who gain an improvement in housing quality often suffer a loss in available living space or a loss in disposable income available for necessities other than shelter.¹⁸

The environmental deterministic approach to renewal and housing was laid open for attack. Simple causal relationships apparently did not exist between housing and social condition. Improvement in physical surroundings did little to improve the social condition of the relocated residents and in some respects may have resulted in deterioration. Research by such sociologists as Gans, Fried, and Gliecher, revealed that the social implications of renewal, and in particular relocation, might be far more profound than had previously been realized. It was discovered that some residents experienced a deep sense of grief over the loss of their homes in the slum.¹⁹ It

¹⁸Jerome Rothenburg posed two relevant questions in this regard: "What if the low income families who inhabit slums want low quality housing as a part of a utility maximizing pattern of expenditure?" and "What if the continued existence of a stock of low quality housing is part of an overall optimal use of resources?" Jerome Rothenburg, Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), p. 36. Similar questions are posed in: Etta Elaine Fromson, The Little Mountain Low Rental Housing Project (University of British Columbia: Unpublished Master's Thesis, 1959), p. 12; Herbert Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1959), p. 16.

¹⁹Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," in Leonard J. Duhl, The Urban Condition (New York: Basic Books, 1963), Chapter 12. See also, Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1961), pp. 305-315; and, Lee Rainwater, "Fear and the House as Haven in the Lower Class," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 32, No. 1 (1966), pp. 23-31.

was also discovered that in the lives of these people the community played a role equally as important as the home.²⁰ In terms of social costs, destruction of the community may well have outweighed any benefits gained through improved housing. As Hartman pointed out:²¹

Programs of planned residential change, as embodied in decisions to demolish buildings and areas, de-house and rehouse their inhabitants, and create new residential areas . . . failed to look at sources of satisfaction and stability deriving from social and sentimental factors which may modify or make irrelevant the presumed undesirability of certain physical housing conditions and the presumed desirability of residential change.

As the renewal program matured in the United States, criticism of both economic and social aspects grew sharper. Anderson's book, The Federal Bulldozer, could be considered the epitome of this writing. He demanded the abolition of the program on the grounds that it was a dismal failure on all counts.²² Other authors tempered a

²⁰Chester W. Hartman, "Social Values and Housing Orientations," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 19 (April, 1963), pp. 113-131; Irving Rosow, "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1961), pp. 127-133; and, Marc Fried, "Functions of the Working Class Community in Modern Urban Society: Implications for Forced Relocation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1967), pp. 90-103.

²¹Chester W. Hartman, Social Determinants of Housing Choice and Housing Satisfaction (Harvard University: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1967), p. 2.

²²Martin Anderson, The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949-1962 (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964).

similar point of view with recommendations that the program be revised rather than abolished,²³ but all had similar arguments, most of which were applicable to the Canadian scene. (Renewal destroyed more homes than it built; destroyed predominantly low-rent and built predominantly high-rent accommodation; made housing condition worse for those whose condition was already bad; improved the housing condition of those who were already well housed; displaced rather than eliminated slums;²⁴ and caused severe social stresses²⁵ among those people who had to relocate.)

The mechanical process of relocation had changed from an inconvenient hurdle that must be negotiated in order to complete a

²³Examples are, Robert C. Weaver, "Current Trends in Urban Renewal," Land Economics, Vol. 34 (November, 1963), pp. 325-341, and The Urban Complex: Human Values in Urban Life (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964); and, James Q. Wilson (ed.), Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966). Herbert J. Gans reviews the criticisms of renewal in "The Failure of Urban Renewal," Commentary, Vol. 39 (April, 1965), pp. 29-37; Robert P. Groberg offers a good criticism of Anderson's Federal Bulldozer, in "Urban Renewal Realistically Reappraised," Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 30, Winter (1965), pp. 212-216.

²⁴Claude Gruen, "Urban Renewal's Role in the Genesis of Tomorrow's Slums," Land Economics, Vol. 39 (August, 1963), pp. 285-291.

²⁵Social stress defined as "any influence, whether it arises from the internal environment or the external environment, which interferes with the satisfaction of basic needs or which disturbs or threatens to disturb the stable equilibrium," Julian Wolpert, "Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 22, No. 4, (1966), p. 93.

renewal project²⁶ to a major step in a subtle process of social modification. Social problems which appeared as a result of renewal, causally or otherwise, brought about a spate of literature on control of the social environment.²⁷ According to Bellush and Hausknecht public policy concerned with the poor (renewal policy) was in reality directing its attention to the problems of social mobility.²⁸ Re-location can be conceived of as an opportunity for social mobility, as well as physical mobility, with the constraint that to be effective in social change the families displaced must be ready to change their life style.²⁹ (Dislocation from a familiar residential area has

²⁶Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1964), p. 266.

²⁷Representative of these works are: Herbert J. Gans, "Planning and Social Life," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (JAIP), Vol. 27, No. 4 (1961), pp. 134-140. Norman Pearson, "Planning a Social Unit," Plan Canada, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1962), pp. 78-86; Harvey S. Perloff, "New Directions in Social Planning," JAIP, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1965), pp. 297-304; John W. Dyckman, "Social Planning, Social Planners and Planned Societies," JAIP, Vol. 32, No. 1 (1966), pp. 66-76; Samuel J. Cullers, "Urban Renewal and Social Programs," Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal, Vol. 43, No. 6 (1966), pp. 60-62; and, Robert Perlman, "Social Welfare Planning and Physical Planning," JAIP, Vol. 32, No. 4 (1966), pp. 237-241.

²⁸Jewell Bellush and Murray Hausknecht, "Relocation and Managed Mobility," Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning, Bellush and Hausknecht eds. (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1968), p. 366.

²⁹Marc Fried, "Social Change and Working Class Orientations: The Case of Forced Relocation," Mobility and Mental Health, Mildred Kantor ed. (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), p. 147.

a significant effect in fragmenting the sense of social security, particularly among the working class, primarily because it disrupts the social stability derived from close contact with surrounding neighbors.) According to Hartman:³⁰

If we limit our conception of housing orientations solely to the activities and space of the apartment, [or house] we tend both to obscure connections to a larger physical environment and to confine our observations to physical criteria without regard to their place in a larger residential context which includes a diversity of social factors. Physical attributes are important, but their specific meaning and functional relevance are determined by social and personal values and life styles.

For instance, the surrounding neighborhood is a far more important component of the residential "life space" of the working class than of the middle class.³¹ In the case of the middle class, the dwelling is the primary centre of activity.³²

Research on the success with which physically different homes and neighborhoods accommodate different social groups has been accompanied by a related research interest in the concept of territoriality as it applies to urban citizens. Fried has said:³³

³⁰Hartman, "Social Values and Housing Orientations," p. 130.

³¹Hartman, Social Determinants of Housing Choice and Housing Satisfaction, p. 56.

³²Fried and Gliecher, op. cit., p. 312.

³³Fried, "Grieving For a Lost Home," Chapter 12.

... the crisis of loss of a residential area brings to the fore the importance of the local spatial region and alerts us to the greater generality of spatial conceptions as determinants of behaviour. In fact, we might say that a sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning. It represents a phenomenal or ideational integration of important experiences concerning environmental arrangements and contacts in relation to the individual's conception of his own body.

Studies of urban geography in the past have generally dealt with persons or households principally in terms of either their participation in the economic activities of the city or in terms of their contribution to the socio-economic characteristics of an area of the city. The result has often been a definition of urban spaces based primarily on various sets of trade or functional areas, which are usually delimited by the use of either a distance decay factor or a set of political, census, or enumeration boundaries. Recently the importance of the total activity space of various groups of individuals has been recognized as an important component in the definition of an urban system. Instead of defining an activity in terms of a group of individuals, such as, "these persons are the patrons of a particular business and define the trade area of that business", an attempt is being made to define various groups of individuals as they relate to a spectrum of urban activities; for example, "these urban functions fall within the usage of this particular group of individuals and define the urban activity space of this group". The concept of activity space is not new as, in some ways, it parallels the concept of neighborhood, while at the same time

it includes many aspects of what might be called a contemporary determinism or behaviourism. Studies such as Kevin Lynch's Image of the City reveal a shift in emphasis toward a behavioural approach to the urban sphere.³⁴

Although some attention has been given by behavioural scientists to the relationship between activity space and decisions to migrate,³⁵ and to the relationship between activity space and social groups,³⁶ in most cases it has been a peripheral topic to such things as intraurban mobility.³⁷ Little attention has been given to the effects of disrupting the established territories of various socio-economic groups or to the formation of an activity space. Saarinen, Horton and Reynolds, and Heyman have compiled lists of references concerning the topic, but again, the concept of activity space is

³⁴Kevin Lynch, The Image of the City (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960).

³⁵Wolpert, "Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress," pp. 92-103. Also see William Albig, "The Mobility of Urban Populations," Social Forces, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1963), pp. 351-367.

³⁶Julian Wolpert, "Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate," Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 15 (1965), pp. 159-169; and Irving Rosow, "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1961), pp. 127-133.

³⁷Such research is cited in: James W. Simmons, "Changing Residence in the City: A Review of Intraurban Mobility," Geographical Review, Vol. 58, No. 4 (1968), pp. 622-650.

generally peripheral to the main point of the works cited.^{38,39,40}

It is apparent that there are two major gaps in the literature dealing with the topic of forced relocation. The first is the lack of information on the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of a population and its activity space, and the second is the paucity of information on the various aspects of urban renewal in Canada, particularly on the social effects of renewal. It is noteworthy that many renewal projects have been completed in Canada since 1949, and that there are literally hundreds of pre-renewal or redevelopment reports, plans, and proposals bearing the names of Canadian cities of all sizes. Yet, only two theses have been written on the evolution of renewal and housing policy in Canada and a few on various aspects of low rental

³⁸Thomas F. Saarinen, Perception of Environment (Resource Paper No. 5, Commission on College Geography, May, 1969).

³⁹Frank F. Horton and David R. Reynolds, "An Investigation of Individual Action Spaces: A Progress Report," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 1 (1969), pp. 70-75.

⁴⁰Mark Heyman, "Space and Behaviour," Landscape, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1964), pp. 4-10.

housing.^{41,42} There have been few studies of housing conditions subsequent to relocation and no in-depth investigations into the social effects of renewal and relocation.^{43,44}

Although there are some differences between Canadian and American urban renewal legislation, many of the research results from studies of American urban renewal projects may be applicable to the Canadian scene. On the other hand, the research gaps on the

⁴¹Kevin James Cross, Urban Redevelopment in Canada (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York: unpublished Doctoral dissertation, 1958); and, Malcolm McDonald Barrow, Federal Housing Policies and the Developing Urban Structure (University of British Columbia, Vancouver: unpublished Master's thesis, 1967).

⁴²Michael Wheeler, Evaluating the Need for Low Rent Housing (University of British Columbia, Vancouver: unpublished Master's thesis, 1955); Etta Elaine Fromson, The Little Mountain Low Rental Housing Project (University of British Columbia, Vancouver: unpublished Master's thesis, 1959); Lionel D. Feldman, The Provision of Public Housing in Canada (Carleton University, Ottawa: unpublished Master's thesis, 1962); and, James Secord Brown, David Kogawa, and Raymond Edwin Peters, Public Housing and Welfare Services: A Comparative Review of Community Experiences, 1947-1963 (University of British Columbia, Vancouver: unpublished Master's thesis, 1963).

⁴³One notable exception is, Community Welfare Planning Council of Winnipeg, A Detailed Investigation of the Social Effects of Relocation upon Selected Families From a Renewal Area in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: mimeographed, November, 1967).

⁴⁴That some concern has been generated is indicated by a seminar sponsored by the Canadian Welfare Council. Seminar Report No. 1, Integration of Physical and Social Planning: With Special Reference to Public Housing and Urban Renewal (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, April, 1967). Although oriented toward the problems of housing rather than specifically toward renewal, the following also indicate social concern. Brian J. L. Berry and Robert A. Murdie, Socio-Economic Correlates of Housing Condition (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, August, 1965); and Marvin Lipman, "Housing and Environment," Habitat, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1969), pp. 2-6.

subject in Canada leave room for doubt and invite investigation.

Aims of the Study

The Rose-Blanshard urban renewal project in Victoria, with its consequent displacement of 157 households, provides a good opportunity to answer some basic questions concerning the social effects of Canadian urban renewal legislation. What problems, for instance, arise directly from the relocation process and how effective is a renewal scheme in relieving the city of blighted residential areas and in providing housing for low-income families? Are there any adverse effects of displacement and relocation on the residents of the project area, and if there are, how significant are these "social costs"?

Specifically, this study is concerned with:

- 1) the relocation pattern of the households displaced from the Rose-Blanshard area and the subsequent alterations in a selection of household activities, and
- 2) the changes in housing conditions experienced by these households.

A change in location would presumably necessitate some degree of adjustment to a new local environment and to a new perspective of the city. The degree to which the displaced households are satisfied or dissatisfied with their relocation circumstances would, in turn, be governed by their ability to make the required adjustment not only to their new location but, as well, to their new housing

conditions. It is expected that these adjustments and subsequent satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the relocation circumstances would vary with the socio-economic characteristics of the households. This study, therefore, attempts to describe and explain the changes brought about by the Rose-Blanshard renewal project in terms of the relationship of these changes with the socio-economic characteristics of the households involved. Finally, several recommendations are made concerning the nature of future urban renewal programs in Canada.

Method

The main categories of data on which the investigation was based were a welfare survey completed in March, 1966--one of the National Housing Act prerequisites to subsidization of a renewal project; a questionnaire recently administered to as many of the former residents of the project area as could be traced; and, surveys of the condition of both former and present residences of the traced households. It was felt that the distance each of these households moved within the context of the metropolitan area, and, corollary to this, the relative change in distance of each from the central business district, would also be information essential to this study. It was assumed that, except for the distance factor, all of the re-located families had equal access to their new sites, and that all of them formerly had, and now have, equal access to the central business district. This is not strictly correct as there are certain

topographic barriers which might make a slight difference in accessibility, and it is also true that main thoroughfares might provide a slight barrier to movement in some cases or an aid to movement in others. However, for the purpose of this study, straight line distances were felt to be adequate to develop a relative scale of distance and movement. Hence the distance from the original residence in the Rose-Blanshard area to the new residence, as well as the distances between both of these locations and a selected central point in the central business district (the intersection of Yates Street and Douglas Street) were measured for comparison with the socio-economic data received from the welfare survey and the questionnaire applied in this study.

The welfare survey of the Rose-Blanshard area was conducted during the late planning stages of the renewal project in 1966. (See Appendix A). Interviews were completed with 153 of the 157 families in the area, and of these it was possible to use 142 for this research, the remainder having long been lost from the files of Victoria's City Hall. The survey produced data on the age, sex, and income of all the members of each household, as well as information on property and housing, including amount spent on mortgage or rent per month, and information on the intentions and preferences of these residents regarding housing. Although the survey did not go beyond the minimum requirements of the National Housing Act, it provided enough information on the displaced group to allow measurement of the changes which took place between the time of the interview in 1966

and the present study. Finally, the survey also provided the names of all the heads of households in the Rose-Blanshard area and thereby facilitated the tracing of these persons to their present locations.

Using the Victoria telephone directories (dated December, 1968 and 1969), the list of electors compiled in April, 1968 for the June federal election,⁴⁵ and the change of school notices⁴⁶ obtained from Blanshard School, which replaced the obsolete North Ward School, it was possible to trace the new locations of eighty two (57.7 percent) of the 142 households for which 1966 information was available. Of the remaining sixty households, nine consisted of elderly single persons who had died between 1966 and the present, two were families who were "rent jumpers" and managed to stay one jump ahead of the interviewer, three were families who had moved to other cities, eleven were people who refused to be interviewed for this study, and thirty-five households could not be traced through the sources used. Diminishing marginal returns for time and financial resources expended on tracing the new locations of any further households limited the sample to its present size of eighty-two. A complete questionnaire was obtained from each of these households.

⁴⁵The list of electors was obtained from the Victoria Returns Officer, David R. Wilson. Although a year and one half out of date, it was useful in locating several of the families who moved from the project area during the early part of the renewal scheme.

⁴⁶Change of school notices often contain the new family address. These were available for the duration of the renewal scheme up to December of 1969.

The questionnaire (see Appendix B), administered to the head of the household where possible,^{47,48} included a series of both limited choice and open ended questions.⁴⁹ It was designed to elicit responses on such things as the degree of attachment to the former and to the present neighborhood environments and the present housing preferences, as well as to provide information about such things as present and former shopping locations, car ownership, rent or mortgage and food costs per month, and some personal data about the household. On the average, each interview lasted approximately thirty-five minutes and, in most cases, the respondents were very cooperative, often willing to volunteer far more than they were asked.

At the same time as the questionnaires were being administered, a survey was undertaken to discover the general condition of the newly

⁴⁷As the welfare survey of 1966 interviewed primarily heads of households, an effort was made to follow suit with the more recent questionnaire in order to maintain accuracy of comparisons.

⁴⁸One of the criticisms of this study lies in the fact that the response of the head of the household to some of the more subjective or evaluative questions may well be different from that of other members of the household. There are two justifications for the order of procedure followed in this study: (1) to attempt to interview each member of the family separately would be highly impractical, as often the housing conditions of these families were crowded, and, even if it was within reason, the time involved would have been prohibitive, and (2) of all of the members of the family, the opinion of the head of the household probably bears the most weight in a decision regarding the choice of residence and its location, therefore, the opinion of the head was deemed to be the most valuable for this study.

⁴⁹Pre-tests of the questionnaire on five of the households resulted in only minor revisions in the order of occurrence of several of the questions and in the wording of a few questions that appeared to confuse the respondents.

occupied residential structures, including their ages and a subjective evaluation of their condition based on the same criteria as were applied in the original renewal project survey done in 1966.⁵⁰ (See Appendix C). The surrounding neighborhoods were classified on a similar scale, as either good, fair, poor, or very poor, taking into account such things as density of housing, the public facilities available, including sidewalks and street lighting, the amount of open space or play area available, including yards, boulevards, sidewalks and parks, and the occurrence of conflicting land uses. Finally, note was made of any evidence of recent deterioration of the new property and/or residential structure, such as broken windows and doors, obvious poor lot maintenance, and any general wear and tear beyond that which would be expected from normal usage.⁵¹

The data collected by the means outlined above were subjected to various statistical analyses. The nature of the data and the limited size of the sample made obvious such choices as the use of Chi Square analysis and percentage comparisons. Relationships between variables also were found using Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations, recognizing the limitations imposed by dichotomous and

⁵⁰These are the same standards as were used in the Capital Region Planning Board's report entitled Urban Renewal Study for Victoria (Victoria, 1961). For an outline of these standards see Appendix C.

⁵¹Since displacement from the Rose-Blanshard area occurred over a period of two and one half years, recent deterioration refers to any deterioration of the newly occupied residence that obviously has occurred since the family moved in.

group data. Whether or not the sample used in the study could be considered representative of the universe, or total population of the Rose-Blanshard area, was tested using the Chi Square and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests where appropriate. Factor Analysis was employed to reduce some sets of variables into factors, the scores of which were subsequently correlated with other variables as an index. For example, rather than attempting to relate each of such variables as age, income, and family size to housing preference, they were combined into an index of socio-economic status. Where statistical techniques have been employed, the level of statistical significance or reliability of the result also is given. The product of these analyses appears in chapters three and four.

Chapter II

THE ROSE-BLANSHARD RENEWAL SCHEME

In order to realize the nature of the changes that took place as a result of the Rose-Blanshard renewal project, it is necessary to consider the legislation under which the changes were made and the character of the project area before the renewal scheme began. A brief description of the development of Canadian renewal legislation and a history of the Rose-Blanshard project suggest some of the shortcomings of the Canadian renewal program. The character of the Rose-Blanshard area before the project began is revealed in a description of its residents and their accommodation. A sample of this population is used to measure the changes brought about by the renewal project, and several statistical tests are used to indicate the degree to which the sample may be considered representative of the total Rose-Blanshard population.

Historical Background

The Rose-Blanshard renewal scheme would probably never have occurred without the federal subsidies available through renewal legislation. In order to receive the subsidy the city had to give up its decision-making role to follow, explicitly, the regulations of federal policy makers. An outline of this legislation and of the course of action taken by the city point out some of the more troublesome aspects of the renewal program.

Legislative Context

The National Housing Act governing the Rose-Blanshard Renewal Scheme in Victoria had its roots in the depression years when the Dominion Housing Act of 1935 permitted the Economic Council of Canada to study and report on housing conditions across the country.¹ The objectives of housing legislation during this period were to improve housing conditions and, as in similar American legislation, to boost the economy of the country by providing more employment opportunities.² The National Housing Act of 1938 fostered the preparation and distribution of plans for low cost housing, but it was not until the Act of 1944,³ based on the Curtis Subcommittee Report to the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction,⁴ that financial assistance was available to municipalities for acquiring and clearing land for low-cost or moderate-cost housing projects.

In 1945 Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation was established to administer the National Housing Act on behalf of the federal government. Three years later this corporation was given the power to

¹Government of Canada, Dominion Housing Act (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935). Government of Canada, Economic Council of Canada Act (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935).

²Government of Canada, National Housing Act (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938), p. 7.

³Government of Canada, National Housing Act (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944), p. 26.

⁴Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Subcommittee Report on Housing and Town Planning (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944).

make mortgage loans to home owners for the construction of houses, as well as loans for co-operative housing projects. The new federal housing legislation, including the public housing clauses and the 75-25 percent federal-provincial cost sharing agreement, came into effect at the end of 1949.⁵ Within the next five years, fifty-one combined land-assembly and low-rental housing projects were undertaken.⁶

In the revised National Housing Act of 1954 a separate section was devoted to urban renewal and a few additions were made.⁷ According to this Act, families dispossessed by redevelopment projects had to be offered alternative accommodation in the new housing projects at fair and reasonable rentals related to their incomes. It was also stipulated that a substantial part of the redevelopment area at the time of acquisition be in residential use and be so used after redevelopment. (A 1956 amendment made it possible for a municipality to clear blighted areas and re-use the land for other than publicly owned housing projects. This meant that a city could use renewal as a means of altering land use patterns, so long as the alterations were within the limits of an overall municipal

⁵Government of Canada, National Housing Act (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1949).

⁶Kevin James Cross, Urban Redevelopment in Canada (Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; unpublished Doctoral dissertation, 1958), p. 115.

⁷Government of Canada, National Housing Act (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1954).

plan. The federal subsidy in this type of renewal would be up to fifty percent of the costs. Also, if the city displaced households to make room for uses other than residential, the amendment made it necessary to provide an alternate site for a corresponding number of low-rental units.⁸)

With respect to residential renewal, the National Housing Act underwent few major changes between 1956 and 1968. In 1964, amendments made it possible to use the federal-provincial partnership arrangement to acquire and maintain existing housing, as well as to assist in the provision of new housing. Also included were provisions for loans to provinces or municipalities for the purpose of acquiring or building houses for low income families. Such loans were to be made available for up to ninety percent of the cost of a project at interest rates in line with the national borrowing rates, and with a term of up to fifty years. These amendments, further, allowed municipalities to include accommodation in their renewal projects for single persons, with a view to providing for the needs of old people.⁹ In both the low-income and the old-age type of project the 1964 legislation approved federal subsidies to cover fifty percent of the losses incurred in their operation.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., amendments, 1956.

⁹ National Housing Act, Consolidation to March, 1968, p. 26 and pp. 48-52.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

A scheme for the renewal of substandard or blighted areas of a municipality, according to the Act, had to include, "a plan designating the buildings and works in the area that [were] to be acquired and cleared by the municipality in connection with the scheme and [make] available to persons dispossessed of housing accommodation at rentals that, in the opinion of the Corporation, [were] fair and reasonable having regard for the incomes of the persons to be dispossessed".¹¹ The Act also required the municipality, "to assist owners of property affected by the urban renewal scheme to adjust to the implementation of the scheme", and, "to assist the relocation of persons dispossessed of housing accommodation by the implementation of the urban renewal scheme".¹²

Outwardly the legislation regulating renewal projects appears complete, yet, critics have discovered some serious flaws. Adamson, for instance, pointed out that the rehousing requirement was imposed explicitly only where residents were forced to move because of public acquisition and clearance of existing housing.¹³ If the displaced residents could not afford to raise their housing standards of their own accord, they probably could not afford the costs of occupying and maintaining improved accommodation at acceptable densities.) As a

¹¹Ibid., p. 36.

¹²Ibid., p. 37.

¹³R. T. Adamson, "Housing Policy and Urban Renewal", in Urban Studies: A Canadian Perspective, N. H. Lithwick and Gilles Paquet, eds. (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1968), p. 237.

result, they could be displaced by housing codes which include density standards. (Similarly, if improvement of an area by renewal generated increased property values in the surrounding neighborhoods, as has happened in some renewal areas,¹⁴ then the marginal income families in these surrounding areas could be forced, by increased costs in the form of taxes, to move or to forego expenditures for maintenance of their properties.) The Hellyer task force report of 1969¹⁵ recognized many of these problems, as well as others, and recommended the discontinuation of federal financial support for any further renewal schemes in Canada involving the destruction of older housing.¹⁶

Many of the social, economic, and administrative problems which have become apparent as a result of the renewal program have been external to the control of the renewal legislation. Financial assistance, therefore, has not been available under this legislation to solve welfare problems and other adverse spill-over effects that accrue from a renewal scheme. These external problems have usually received post facto attention, ranging from ignoring the problem altogether to finding generally inadequate ad hoc solutions. Condemnation of the renewal program can be based primarily on what it

¹⁴Jerome Rothenburg, Economic Evaluation of Urban Renewal (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967), pp. 138-143.

¹⁵Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Report, Paul Hellyer, Chairman (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, January, 1969).

¹⁶Ibid., p. 65.

allowed provincial and municipal governments to ignore, rather than on what it allowed them to do. The Rose-Blanshard renewal scheme was therefore built on an inadequate legislative foundation, as has recently been suggested by such groups as the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development. The Canadian urban renewal program has been discontinued until the problems revealed by the program have been more thoroughly studied and solutions have been provided.¹⁷

Evolution and Execution

Over the past century, the Rose-Blanshard area had changed in relative location from rural, to suburb, to central and had passed from agricultural, through residential, to impending commercial and industrial land uses. From the time of Victoria's incorporation as a city in 1862 until about 1900, the Rose-Blanshard area remained a relatively sparsely populated rural fringe. The turn of the century ushered in a boom period during which houses could be built for amounts between 1,000 and 1,500 dollars, and land speculation with attendant subdivision flourished.¹⁸ As a result, many subdivided

¹⁷Robert Andras, federal minister responsible for housing, in two recent statements mentions on-going research on Canadian urban problems and the need for a Canadian urban policy. Statement by the Honourable Robert Andras During a Debate in the House of Commons on Monday, December 8, 1969 (mimeographed form), and Remarks by the Honourable Robert Andras at 'Property Forum 69', a meeting of the Urban Development Institute and The Toronto Society of Financial Analysts, in Toronto, September 25, 1969 (mimeographed form).

¹⁸Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia, The Capital Region Takes Stock (Victoria: mimeographed form, October, 1954), p. 5.

areas lay undeveloped for more than thirty years, while lots within one mile from town were quickly sold and occupied. It was during this boom period that eighty percent of the buildings standing in the Rose-Blanshard area were constructed (FIGURES 1 and 2).

In the period between World War I and 1960, Victoria's development was subject to the same periods of boom and depression as other North American cities. By the end of World War I northward residential development had enveloped and passed well beyond the Rose-Blanshard area; broad bands of built up land extended along Gorge Road and Douglas Street. The depression of the 1930's brought an influx of population from the prairies and World War II renewed Victoria's importance as a strategic naval base. With an increased population and a buoyant economy, Victoria entered the post-war housing boom. Again, land speculation and subdivision expanded the urban area, until contiguous residential development had covered a large proportion of the southern part of Saanich municipality. In addition, urban sprawl had made a residential patchwork of much of the rest of the present metropolitan area, while the Rose-Blanshard area had become part of a belt of older homes girdling the core. In the post-depression years much of the housing in this belt had undergone a significant change, the poorer results of which were manifested in the Rose-Blanshard area. Many of the once well-appointed homes had been converted into apartment units, often illegally, and, by a cumulative process of neighborhood deterioration, the area had acquired many of the characteristics of a "slum".

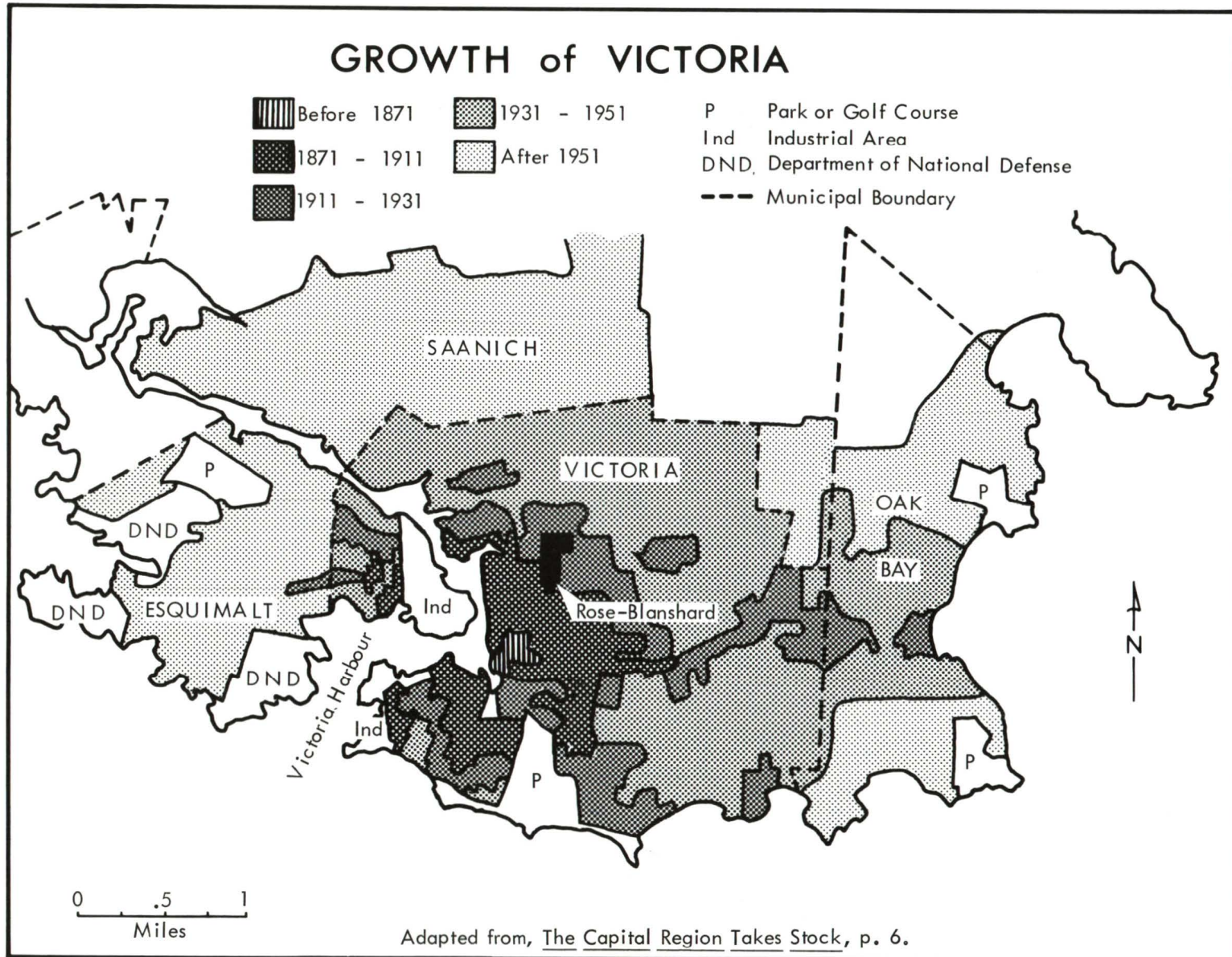
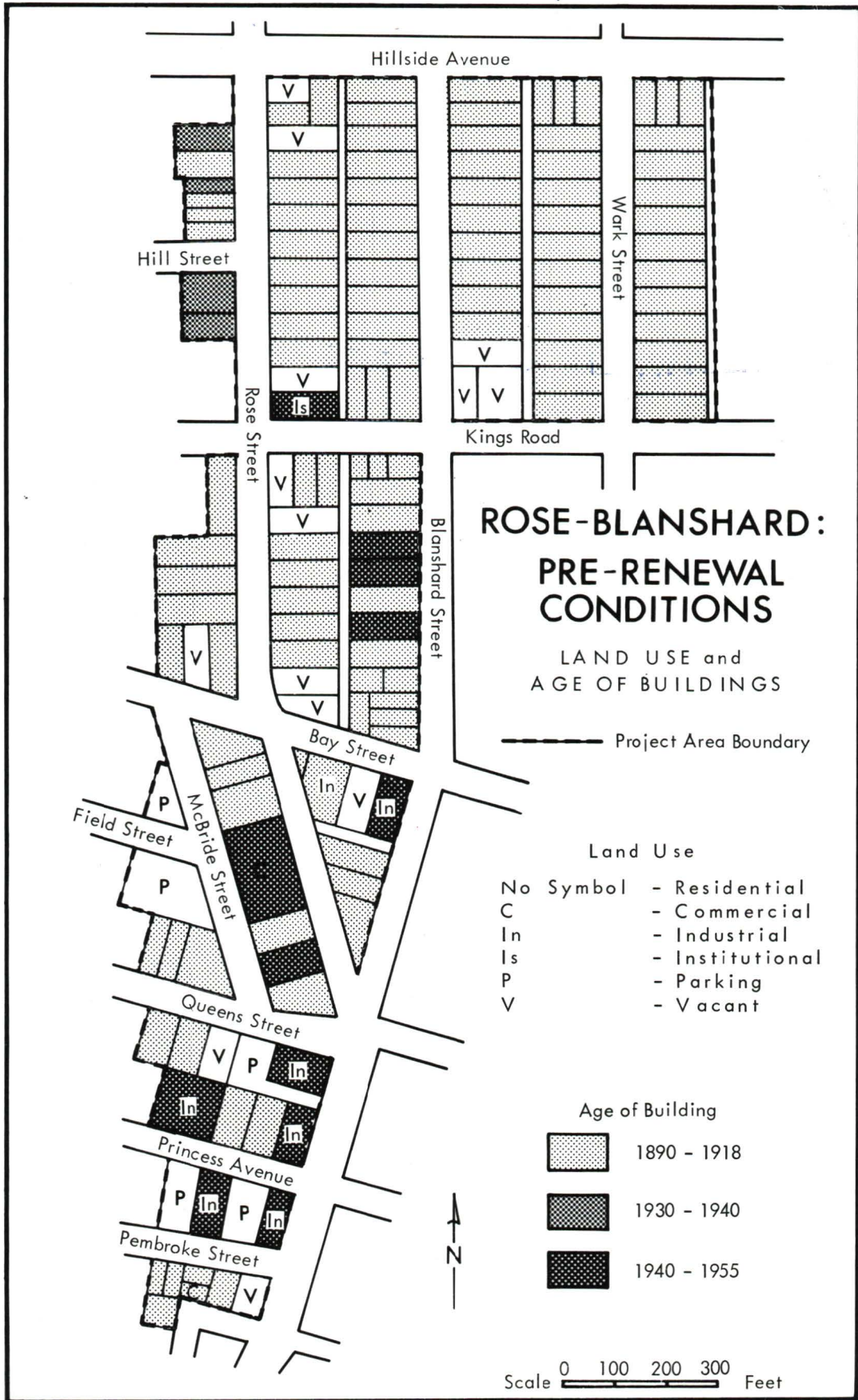


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2



There are several reasons why this area deteriorated more rapidly than others built up over a similar period. Unlike the Fairfield or the Fort-Pandora areas to the east of the city centre, the Rose-Blanshard area was not favoured with a large park nearby or a main route from downtown toward so-called "high class" or expensive residential development. Therefore, even in the early days of subdivision, land in the renewal area was relatively cheap and was occupied by buildings of low quality construction. Such houses were more easily the victim of poor maintenance and thus suffered earlier, more rapid deterioration. At the same time, increasing rates of taxation on real estate provided negative incentives to property improvement. As a corollary to this, many of the people living in the area were long term residents who had passed their peak incomes, had seen the city spread far beyond their former suburb, but could not afford to move or had no desire to uproot themselves and follow the outward movement. By the time the renewal scheme was proposed in 1960, many of these people were living on pensions and could not even afford the costs of basic maintenance. Finally, because of its proximity to industrial and commercial development along the lower Gorge and the access routes to the rest of Vancouver Island, the area became surrounded and infiltrated by non-residential land uses.

Land use problems were a growing topic of concern in the Capital Region. In 1954 the Capital Region Planning Board published a study entitled, The Capital Region Takes Stock, in which some of Victoria's emerging land use and housing problems were pointed out.

The recommendation of the report regarding residential land use was that, "adequate control over residential development must be exercised by all municipalities, through zoning, control of subdivision, and public works policies."¹⁹ Yet, the concern at this time was focused primarily on urban sprawl and its intrinsic problems. Similarly, when a more detailed study of the region was completed by the planning board in 1959, resulting in the official capital region plan,²⁰ concern was still centred on urban sprawl, with some consideration of apartment development in the city.²¹ Overall housing problems were referred to only indirectly in recommendations that "there be a strict enforcement of building standard in the conversion and remodelling of existing structures" and that "raw land be assembled and serviced by the municipalities for resale to private builders . . . through the Land Assembly Provision, Part 6, of the National Housing Act", in order to stimulate the construction of garden or low-density type apartments and terrace houses.²² Action had already been taken on the housing problems of the elderly by community service clubs, such as Kiwanis, but it was not until the Canadian urban renewal

¹⁹Ibid., p. 53.

²⁰Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia, A Plan For the Capital Region of British Columbia (Victoria: Morriss Printing Company, 1959).

²¹Ibid., pp. 20-21.

²²Ibid., p. 23.

program had been established for ten years that a renewal scheme was proposed for Victoria.

Under the provisions of the British Columbia Municipal Act²³ and the National Housing Act²⁴ the city council of Victoria commissioned the Capital Region Planning Board to do an urban renewal study of the city in 1960. The purpose of the study was to show the extent and seriousness of urban decay, blight, and obsolescence in the city; to determine whether any improvement in the condition of the blighted areas could be expected through the natural process of city growth; and to advise the city on the actions needed to renew the blighted areas.²⁵ Four preliminary technical reports were completed during 1960 and 1961, and on November 6, 1961, the final renewal study was published. A major recommendation was that, of several seriously blighted areas in the city, about twenty-eight acres of land on both sides of the north end of Blanshard Street was most urgently in need of renewal. The following reasons were given to

²³Province of British Columbia, Municipal Act, consolidated to July 1, 1968 (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1967), Part XXI, Division 6, Section 721.

²⁴National Housing Act, consolidation to March, 1968, Chapter 23, Part III, Section 23.

²⁵Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia, City of Victoria Urban Renewal Study: Preliminary Report No. 1, Purpose and Scope of the Study (Victoria: mimeographed form, June 1960), p. 2.

substantiate this recommendation:²⁶

- (1) It contains a high concentration of the worst quality houses which are beyond rehabilitation.
- (2) It would safeguard better quality housing to the south.
- (3) A major road, Blanshard extension, is required through the area.
- (4) It would be undesirable land use policy to have houses sandwiched between two major roads, Douglas and Blanshard.
- (5) North Ward School, built in 1894, needs replacing on a new site east of Blanshard.
- (6) Parts of this area were referred to in the 1959 Regional Plan as being ripe for redevelopment for motels.
- (7) No significant development has taken place in this area for the last five years, despite apartment zoning.
- (8) When Blanshard links with the Trans-Canada and Patricia Bay highways, a new demand for motor-hotel use will be created in this area. Small lot ownership would hamper private land assembly.
- (9) There is a need for low-rental housing.

Only the last of these hints, even indirectly, at the housing problems experienced by low income families. (A disproportionately high number of families in the renewal area could be considered to be living on critically low incomes, yet only a few sentences of the study were devoted to the problems that might arise through the displacement of these families and individuals.²⁷) In fact, it may have been due to the lack of attention in the initial stages of the project

²⁶Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia, Urban Renewal Study for Victoria (Victoria: Morriss Printing Company, November, 1961), p. 25.

²⁷According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, an income of 1,740 dollars or less per annum is considered poverty-level income for one person.

that displacement and relocation grew into serious problems during the execution of the scheme.

In the years between 1961 and 1966, when the final version of the renewal proposal was published,²⁸ the city was preoccupied by other projects. Cathedral Hill development, Centennial Square project, and the removal of overhead wiring were all carried to completion, along with a transportation study of the Capital Region and an overall plan for Victoria. Both of these reports included the Rose-Blanshard renewal scheme or parts thereof in their proposals.²⁹ In December 1966, an agreement was made between the City, Province, and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, to go ahead with the Blanshard scheme and, in accordance with the rules of procedure and requirements outlined by the housing corporation,³⁰ the city began to execute the renewal scheme.

One of the Corporation's requirements was a rehousing program in accordance with Chapter 23, Part III of the National Housing Act.

²⁸City of Victoria Planning Department, Proposed Urban Renewal Scheme: Blanshard Redevelopment (Victoria: mimeographed form, December, 1966).

²⁹Traffic Research Corporation, Capital Region of British Columbia Transportation Study (Toronto: mimeographed form, 1965), pp. 96, 98, 100, and 106. Capital Region Planning Board of British Columbia, Overall Plan for the City of Victoria (Victoria: Morriss Printing Company, 1965), pp. 62 and 63.

³⁰Victoria Planning Department, Proposed Urban Renewal, Appendix I, pp. 1-5.

This was to include:

- (1) data on the total number of persons and size of families to be rehoused;
- (2) rehousing proposals indicating the form and location of housing available or to be made available to the single persons and families in need of accommodation; and
- (3) a description of the Municipality's administrative arrangements for the handling of the rehousing program.³¹

In compliance, the city conducted a survey of the residents in the renewal area, established a temporary position of Information and Relocation Officer,³² and set up a Relocation Assistance Office in the renewal area. The Relocation Officer was expected to represent the city in negotiations for property acquisition and to keep the residents of the area informed about progress in the renewal program, insofar as it affected them. It was through this officer that the city was to become aware of some of the previously mentioned problems.

Purchasing of property began early in 1967 with price offers based on the 1966 assessed value of the real estate involved, but by September, 1967, negotiations had been made on only 70 of the 127

³¹ Ibid., Appendix I, p. 2.

³² This position was held by H. V. W. Groos for the duration of the period during which property acquisition was taking place.

properties, and only 46 of these had resulted in actual sales transactions. Of the remaining 24 most were listed as "holdouts", with comments on negotiations ranging from simply, "owner wishes to stay in area as long as possible" to, "exceptionally difficult owners",³³ As the program progressed, it became increasingly apparent that there were many households whose social and economic circumstances made it very difficult for them to give up their homes.

(For those among the retired who owned their homes, but who relied on old age assistance, sale of the home resulted in a bank balance exceeding the maximum allowed for these people to continue receiving such social assistance. At the same time, because their properties were often quite old and deteriorated, the prices they received severely restricted the range of choice of new property available to them, and made the process of hunting and acquisition a long one.) The list of properties available as of April, 1966, either did not represent the housing situation in 1967 when displacement began or was far too optimistic.³⁴ In most of such cases, the

³³These comments came from correspondence between the Relocation Officer and the City Hall in January of 1968. There were also several commercial and industrial establishments in the project area, all of which came to an agreement with the city during the early stages of property acquisition.

³⁴Lists were compiled by the Victoria Real Estate Board and the London Life Insurance Company. These lists were also Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation prerequisites to approval of the renewal project and appear in Victoria Planning Department, Proposed Urban Renewal, Project No. 1, pp. 18-19.

owners insisted that alternative accommodation similar to their own was the only acceptable payment for their property.

Problems of a similar nature affected the rest of the 102 welfare recipients in the renewal area when the program began.³⁵

(Limited incomes, as well as a social stigma attached to receiving welfare, limited the range of choice of rental accommodation for these people. Often, some portion of their allowance meant for food or clothing had to be spent on shelter, a serious predicament, especially for families with young children.³⁶)

Such relocation problems are clearly related in city correspondence with the Relocation Officer:³⁷

. . . there are many problem family units living in accommodation already purchased by the Urban Renewal Authority. When the time comes for redeveloping the land upon which their dwelling places stand, the matter of relocating these persons will present a most formidable difficulty. There is no prospect now that the people to be moved can be rehoused in privately owned accommodation, some of these residents . . . find it virtually impossible to rent from private owners of realty under any circumstances.

³⁵Not including old age assistance recipients, there were 52 families in the area receiving income supplements in the form of social assistance.

³⁶Correspondence from the Department of Social Welfare indicated that social assistance cases, because of their limited range of choice of housing, are often forced to pay relatively high rents for sub-marginal accommodation.

³⁷Correspondence between the Relocation Officer and the City Hall on September 18, 1967.

A number of ethnic nodes had developed in the Rose-Blanshard area and this part of the city attracted many of Victoria's share of new arrivals to Canada. The Italian group around the Italian Community Hall, and the East Indian group oriented toward the Sikh Temple just outside the renewal area formed the strongest of these nodes. For many in this category the city was not only trying to take away a better home than any they had ever had, but was also destroying their community. Confusion and pride made them very reluctant to give up their property.

The reluctance to move, combined with the incapability of the urban real estate market to absorb the sudden increase in rather specialized demands for housing, prolonged the process of relocation and subsequently led to another serious problem.³⁸

With regard to the holdout realty owners still on the site, the majority of these are occupants who will not sell until they are offered sufficient money to be able to purchase comparable accommodation elsewhere. They cannot do this with the sums of money I am authorized now to pay them. This group of owners are unlikely to be intimidated by any means the Urban Renewal Authority can employ, furthermore, the longer the time that elapses before a general confrontation with them, the higher the market value of their realty will be.

While the acquisition and relocation process crawled along, the value of urban real estate was climbing at a phenomenal rate.

³⁸ Correspondence between the Relocation Officer and the City Hall on October 17, 1967.

Within the city, sales prices per square foot of residential property rose an average of approximately twenty percent between 1965 and 1967.³⁹ Late in 1967 further correspondence from the Relocation Officer stated:⁴⁰

By far and away the most important reason for delays in acquiring the balance of the realty scheduled for redevelopment is the fact that because the maximum prices we can pay are based on March, 1966 valuations, these sums of money do not permit the owners to re-establish themselves elsewhere in a home of equal utility to them.

At the same time another problem had become apparent:⁴¹

. . . the belief which has grown up in the area among the "holdouts", and even among those who have sold (but not yet moved), [is] that there is no real sense of urgency in the Urban Renewal Partnership's efforts to acquire the realty. These people point out the fact that there is no plan yet for the public housing which is supposed to be the reason underlying the whole scheme. Even the school was at one time supposed to be completed by September, 1967, yet at the time of writing, nothing has been started on the site. When there is a true sense of urgency about getting the new housing underway, then this will tend to encourage the "holdout" owners to sell.

In 1968 Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation made an allowance for reassessment of the remaining properties. The subsequent increase in negotiating price, as well as construction of the

³⁹Victoria Real Estate Board, Survey of Land and Improvement Price Increases, done for City Hall in September, 1967, mimeographed form.

⁴⁰Correspondence between the Relocation Officer and the City Hall on November 9, 1967.

⁴¹Ibid.

new Blanshard School, resulted in more completed sales in 1968. By mid-1969 the city had obtained clear title to all of the properties in the renewal area, almost all of the area's 157 families had moved out, and construction of the low rent apartments had begun.

For the city, the story of the renewal area is now primarily one of construction still going on, roads being completed, and various municipal services being made operative. For the displaced persons the story is a more complicated one of individuals and families establishing a new set of bonds with a new environment or, in some cases, struggling to retain old bonds. In essence, the renewal project is complete and the alterations of the physical plant are obvious. What may be less obvious are the social alterations that went hand in hand with the project.

Characteristics of the Project Area and its Residents

(The Rose-Blanshard area before renewal was one of the "run down" parts of Victoria. It suffered from an intermixture of non-compatible land uses and its appearance was marred by a large number of poorly maintained houses. On the other hand, the general low level of housing quality in the area gave no indication of the diversity of population characteristics to be encountered there.)

Land Use

The Rose-Blanshard area, although primarily in residential use (17.21 acres), was being invaded by non-residential land uses.

Of the 137 buildings on the site six were devoted to industrial, four to commercial, and two to institutional uses, of which only the school could be considered compatible with residential development. As might be expected, most of this infiltration of conflicting uses was occurring in the southern end of the project area closest to the urban core. At the same time, however, pressure was being exerted from other directions, from the west by the Douglas Street industrial and commercial corridor, and from the northeast by commercial development at the intersection of Quadra Street and Hillside Avenue. Within the renewal area seven and one half acres of land were devoted to an obsolete street system which, according to the City of Victoria Planning Department, failed to give definition to land use zones or precincts and contributed to the intermixture of uses.⁴² In an attempt to stimulate new development, the city had zoned the area for apartment and commercial uses, the latter to include motels. It was expected that the Rose-Blanshard road extension through the project area would eventually be connected with the Patricia Bay Highway and funnel some of the traffic load from Douglas Street onto Blanshard Street.

With the exception of four houses on Rose Street and three on Blanshard, all of the residential structures in the project area were built before 1918 (FIGURE 2). The remaining structures, built between

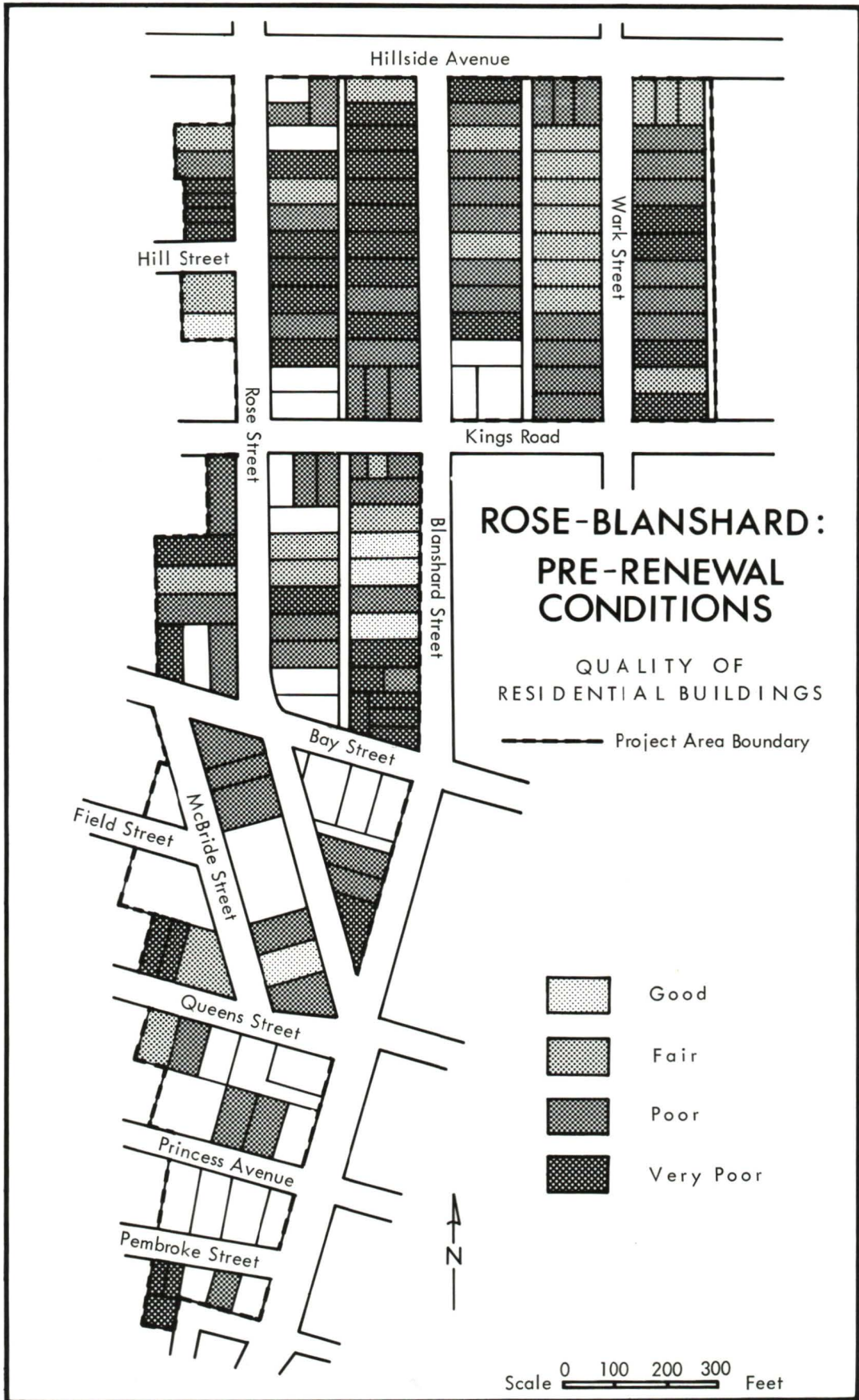
⁴²City of Victoria Planning Department, Proposed Urban Renewal Scheme Blanshard Redevelopment, Project No. 1, p. 2.

1940 and 1955, were occupied by commercial or industrial establishments seeking space on the fringe of the core area. It is noteworthy that, despite the zoning changes introduced earlier, no new construction took place in the project area from 1955 until the renewal housing was begun in 1968.

Housing

In 1966, all of the structures in the project area were rated good, fair, poor, or very poor on a scale designed by the Capital Region Planning Board. This classification indicated that over three quarters of the houses were in poor or very poor condition, while only five were rated as good. The distribution of these structures within the project area appeared to be non-random (FIGURE 3). The heavy traffic loads, particularly on Blanshard and Rose Streets, would partially explain the greater number of low quality dwellings along these routes. Yet, the relative location of different qualities of housing presented an anomaly. On the west side of Blanshard Street and the east side of Wark Street between Kings Road and Hillside Avenue there were rows of poor and very poor quality housing, while on the opposite sides of these same streets were rows of fair quality housing. Here the contagious nature of blight--or, from the opposite point of view, good property maintenance--was illustrated. Just as the width of a street appeared to inhibit the spread of blight, so the surrounding neighbors appeared to influence the standard of residential quality an owner or tenant chose to maintain.

FIGURE 3



The high proportion of poor and very poor quality residential structures (seventy-six percent), the lack of any recent development, and the intermixture of non-compatible land uses indicate that the Rose-Blanshard area was, indeed, physically "run down" or, in other words, suffering from "urban blight".⁴³ At the same time, it must be remembered that the term "urban blight" is a reference to physical condition and does not necessarily reflect the social character of the area.

Population

An area labeled "slum" is often thought to be occupied by a homogeneous group of people generally referred to collectively as "slum dwellers" or "poor people". The group occupying the Rose-Blanshard area was certainly not homogeneous, but there were many poor families. (Total family incomes ranged from less than 100 to more than 900 dollars per month, with a mean of 350 dollars, while per capita incomes ranged from less than 30 to more than 800 dollars

⁴³Informal interviews with several of the former residents of the Rose-Blanshard area, subsequent to the administration of the formal questionnaire, revealed a possible fault in the results of the pre-renewal survey of housing conditions. The consensus of opinion was that, although many houses in the area were of relatively low quality, much of the deterioration through poor maintenance occurred in the period between 1960, when the possibility of a renewal scheme was announced, and 1966, when the housing survey was conducted. Property owners lost all incentive to maintain or improve their dwellings. It was felt by these residents that the picture of serious blight and deterioration was artificial, an exaggeration of the true state of affairs created by the catalytic effect of the announcement.

per month, with a mean of approximately 125 dollars (TABLE 1). The graph of total incomes versus number of households indicates that the population was divided into two distinct groups on the basis of income (FIGURE 4). This would lead one to suspect that the two groups might have different reasons for living in the same area. (Those who had incomes below the mean may have been forced to live in the Rose-Blanshard area because of the cheap accommodation it offered. Those whose incomes were above the mean may have had a broader range of locations available but chose to live in the area.)

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

Income \$/month	Population	%	Sample	%
50-100	6	4.2	0	0.0
100-150	10	7.0	4	5.2
150-200	24	16.9	10	13.1
200-250	13	9.1	4	5.3
250-300	9	6.3	6	7.9
300-350	12	8.4	6	7.9
350-400	26	18.3	16	21.0
400-500	24	16.9	16	21.0
500-600	8	5.6	7	9.2
600-700	7	4.9	5	6.6
700-800	2	1.4	1	1.3
800 +	1	.7	1	1.3
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0
Mean Income	\$350.29		\$383.75	
Standard Deviation	191.32		158.87	

FIGURE 4
NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PER INCOME CATEGORY

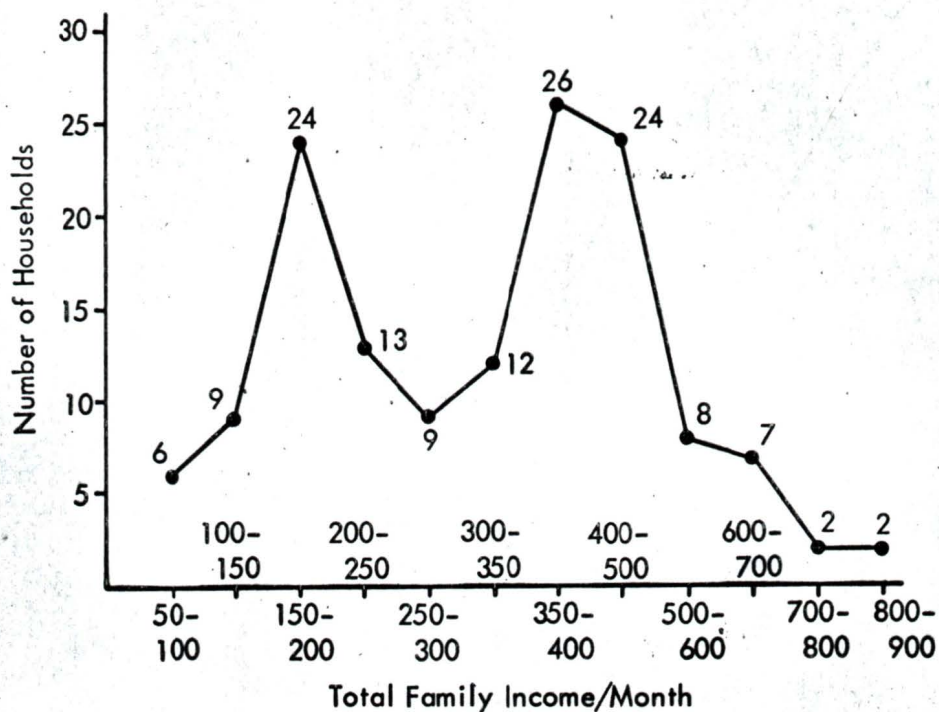


TABLE 2
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGE VERSUS INCOME

	Total Family Income Per Month						Total
	\$ 50-150	150-250	250-350	350-500	500-700	700-900	
65+	9	16	5	6	0	0	36(25%)
45-65	4	8	7	17	5	4	45(32%)
30-45	1	6	3	24	9	0	43(30%)
under 30	1	7	6	3	1	0	18(13%)
	15(11%)	37(26%)	21(14%)	50(35%)	15(11%)	4(3%)	142(100%)

A table showing the ages of the heads of households versus incomes, further defines these two income groups (TABLE 2). The lower income category contained a higher percentage of households whose heads were over sixty-five or under thirty than the higher income group, and a lower percentage whose heads were between thirty and sixty-five. Considering the low income group, those over sixty-five were, for the most part, supported by pensions and social assistance, while those under thirty would still not have reached their peak incomes. The former group contained a large number of single elderly folk living in "conversion type" apartments, as well as some long term residents of the area living in homes on which their only payment was the yearly municipal property taxes. The latter group contained a few young families whose heads were engaged in their first jobs, as well as many young single transients looking for cheap, temporary accommodation.

(The higher income group, less bound to the area by limited financial capabilities, consisted largely of households whose heads were between thirty and sixty-five years of age. It contained the best represented ethnic groups, such as the Italians, East Indians and Chinese, some long term residents who had a substantial financial stake in their homes, and those people who freely chose the location for its convenience with respect to shopping facilities or sources of employment. The availability of relatively cheap accommodation probably played a role in their decision to remain in the Rose-Blanshard area, but financial restrictions could not be considered

the single major factor contributing to the location decisions of this higher income group of people.)

Within the Rose-Blanshard area, forty-seven percent of the dwellings were owner-occupied and the remainder were occupied by tenants (TABLE 3). An interesting aspect of property tenure in the area is that, despite the high proportion of relatively low incomes, ninety-three percent of the owner-occupied dwellings were clear title properties, that is, owned outright. Yet, this may not be so surprising if one considers that forty-seven percent of the households had been in the area for more than six years, and thirty-two percent for more than eleven years (TABLE 4). This would present adequate time for many of the owners to have completed mortgage payments on what were, initially, low priced dwellings. For those making payments, either rent or mortgage, the average cost was fifty-three dollars per month, and the range was from twenty-five to ninety dollars. The distribution of the owner-occupied and rented dwellings within the project area appeared to be random, and, as one might expect, there was a significant relationship between property tenure and quality of dwelling (FIGURES 3 and 5, and TABLE 5).

TABLE 3
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY TENURE

Property Tenure	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Owned	68	47.2	51	66.1
Rented	74	52.8	25	33.9
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0
Numbers Making Rent or Mortgage Payments	84	59.2	34	44.7
Average Monthly Payment	\$53.42		\$58.56	

TABLE 4
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PERIOD OF OCCUPANCY

Years of Occupancy	Population	%	Actual Sample A(a)	%
1	51	35.9	13	17.1
2	10	7.0	4	5.2
3	7	4.9	3	3.9
4	7	4.9	5	6.6
5	1	0.7	1	1.3
6-10	21	14.8	8	23.7
11-15	16	11.3	12	15.8
16-20	10	7.0	8	10.5
21-30	6	4.2	4	5.3
31-40	6	4.2	5	6.6
41 +	7	4.9	3	3.9
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0
Mean	9.7		12.2	
Standard Deviation	12.6		12.3	

FIGURE 5

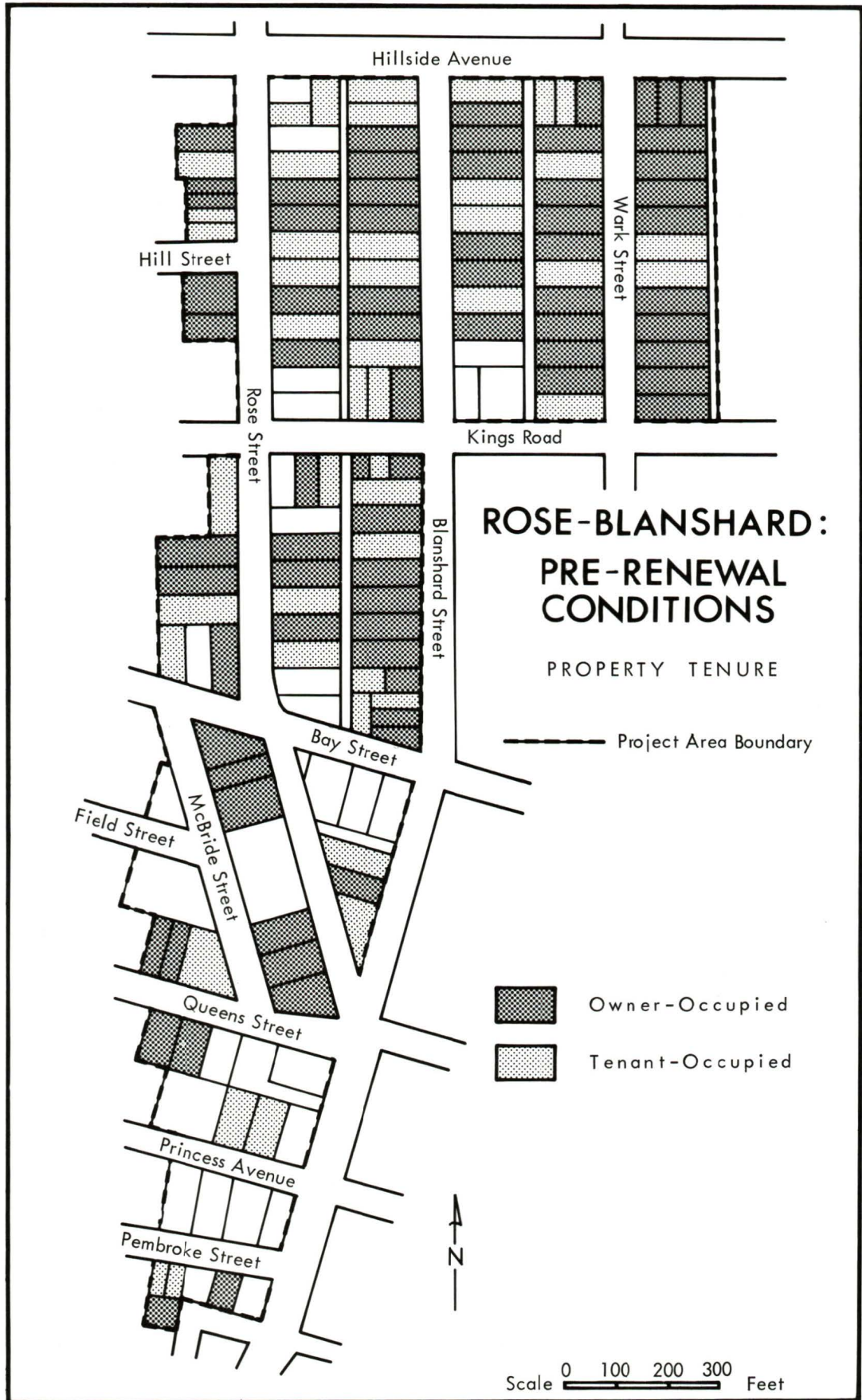


TABLE 5
 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLING QUALITY
 VERSUS PROPERTY TENURE

Dwelling Quality	Owned	Rented	Total
Good	21	11	32 (23%)
Fair	29	26	56 (39%)
Poor	14	29	43 (30%)
Very Poor	4	8	11 (8%)
Total	68 (48%)	74 (52%)	142 (100%)

Dwelling Quality and Property are: Related (H_0)
 Not Related (H_1)

Test = Chi Square

Calculated Chi = CC = 9.62

CC Chi Square at .05 level with 3 df therefore accept H_0

A few figures on general employment characteristics indicate some further anomalies in the Rose-Blanshard population (TABLE 6). (Of the heads of households, thirty percent were retired and dependent on pensions, social assistance, or investments for income, and nine percent were unemployed or on welfare, while the remainder were full time wage earners. Compared with the rest of the metropolitan area, the project area contained a disproportionately high percentage of households headed by persons who were either retired or on welfare. It is also worth noting that twenty-two percent of the heads of households were females, and half of these were supporting children of school age or younger. This latter group of households contributed

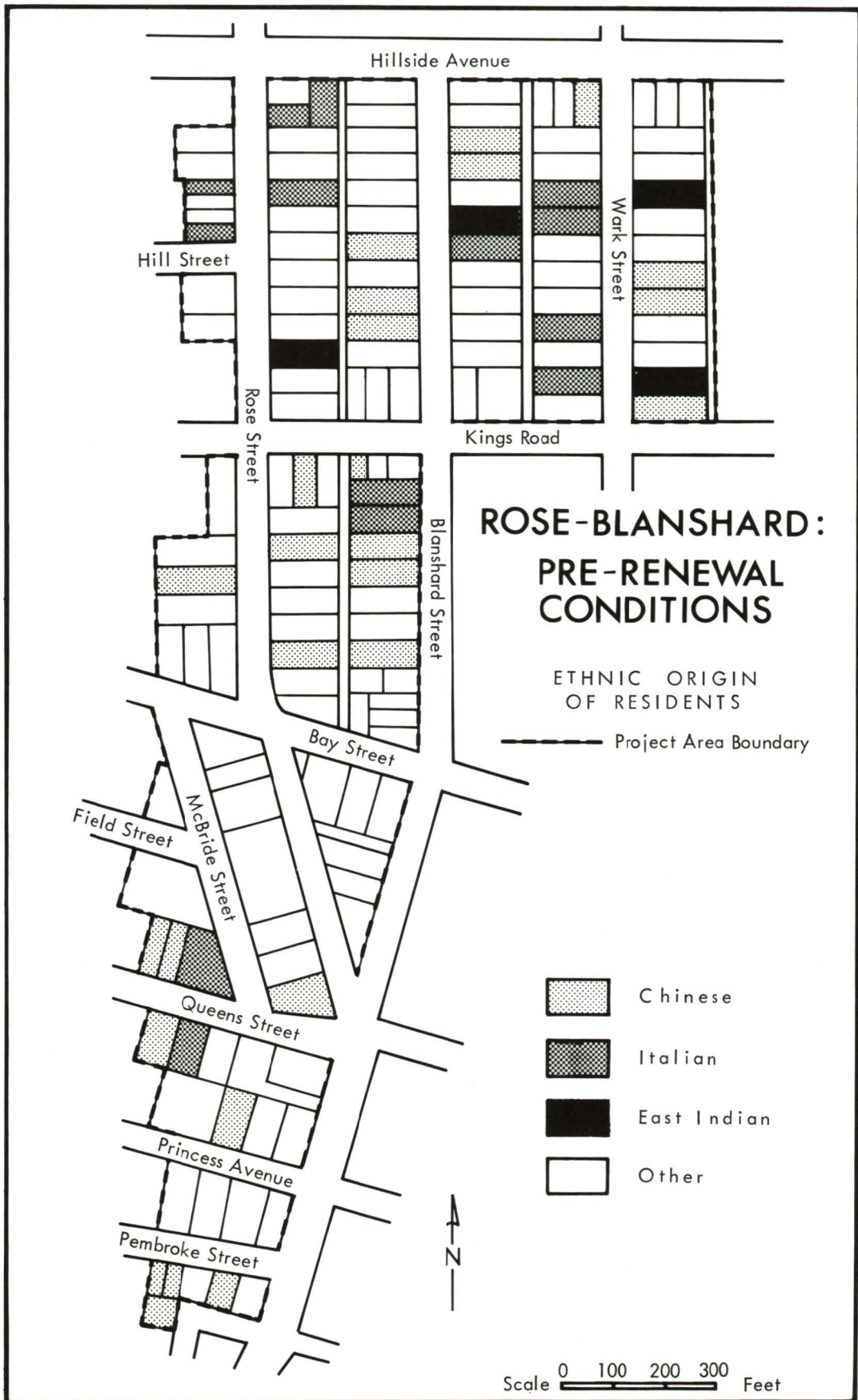
one half of the welfare cases in the project area in 1966.)

TABLE 6
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Status	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Employed	87	61.2	47	61.8
Retired	43	30.3	24	31.6
Unemployed	12	8.4	5	6.5
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

Three major ethnic groups were considered important to the social complexion of the Rose-Blanshard area; Italian, East Indian, and Chinese. Of these, only the Italian group had a cultural focus in the project area (FIGURE 6). This was the Italian Community Hall on the corner of Kings Road and Rose Street. Most of the Italian households were located in the north end of the area, not far from the community hall. As might be expected, the most vociferous complaints about the renewal project came from this group. The East Indian households, also in the northern end of the project area, represented the fringe of an ethnic node located to northeast and focused on the Sikh Temple. The distribution of the Chinese households was more random, except for a slight concentration in the southern end of the area, closer to downtown. The focus of activity for many of these households was the Chinatown section of the urban

FIGURE 6



core. A large proportion of each of these groups consisted of first generation immigrants, whom one would expect to settle in or near an area occupied by their fellow countrymen. One would also expect their choice of housing to be somewhat constrained by limited incomes.

Comparing the household characteristics of the Rose-Blanshard and the Victoria Metropolitan areas reveals the atypical nature of the project area (TABLE 7). Figures are also shown for census tracts four and five, as part of the project area occurs in each of these tracts. In general, based on the means, it can be said that the area was characterized by a high percentage of retired heads of households, an unemployment rate six percent above that of Greater Victoria, and a low average family income. Both the number of tenant households, and the number of households who had occupied their dwellings for less than one year were approximately twenty percent greater than the metropolitan average. The tenant households were paying twelve dollars a month less than the average metropolitan rate. In the light of these figures, and the previous description of the project area and its inhabitants, one could justifiably label the Rose-Blanshard area socially and culturally diverse, and economically and residentially unstable.

TABLE 7
 HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VICTORIA METROPOLITAN
 AND ROSE-BLANSHARD AREAS⁴⁴

Household Characteristics	Victoria Metro	Census Tracts		Rose-Blanshard
		4	5	
Age of Head of Household				
under 34	22.6%	23.9%	22.0%	23.2%
34-65	55.9%	55.5%	49.8%	50.0%
over 65	21.5%	20.6%	28.2%	26.8%
Head of Household Unemployed	2.52%	4.99%	8.09%	8.45%
Average Income per Family per Annum	\$5227	\$4755	\$4132	\$4200
Property Tenure				
owner-occupied	71.4%	64.2%	70.5%	47.2%
tenant-occupied	28.6%	35.8%	29.5%	52.8%
Average Monthly Rent	\$65	\$59	\$48	\$53
Period of Occupancy				
Less than 1 year	17.2%	19.3%	23.5%	35.2%
More than 10 years	24.8%	27.8%	29.5%	17.6%

⁴⁴ Figures were taken from the 1961 Census. Although there was a census taken in 1966, the time of the Rose-Blanshard figures, it did not include all of the above information. Therefore it should be kept in mind that there is a difference of five years between the metropolitan area and census tract data and the Rose-Blanshard data.

Sample

Out of the diverse groups described above, eighty-two households were traced and used in this study. The sample size depended entirely on the total number of households it was possible to find and interview. The problems involved in tracing these households, as well as the relatively small size of the population, obviated the use of random sampling techniques to get a representative group. However, the availability of data on the original Rose-Blanshard population allowed comparisons to be made between the sample and the population so that general conclusions could be drawn concerning the degree to which the sample could be relied upon as a predictor of the population.⁴⁵

Representativeness of the Sample

No method was found to produce a statistically reliable comparison of the sample and population data. However, Kolmogorov-Smirnov, Chi Square, and Z tests were used to indicate the relative degree of difference among a variety of variables (TABLE 8). Each variable was subjected to the test which appeared to be the most appropriate with regard to the data type and distribution. The resulting figures, as well as inspection of the frequency distributions, revealed that there was no significant difference between

⁴⁵In the tests, only seventy-six cases appear in the sample data, rather than eighty-two because the 1966 welfare survey information was not available for six of the traced households.

the sample and the population with regard to the sex, average age, or employment status of the heads of households nor with regard to ethnic composition, household size, dwelling condition, or desire to leave the Rose-Blanshard area (TABLES 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14).

TABLE 8

TESTS OF REPRESENTATIVENESS FOR SELECTED VARIABLES

Variable	Table No.	Test*	Calculated Chi**
Sex of the Heads of Household	9	Chi	.06
Desire to leave the Rose-Blanshard Area	10	K-S	.09
Ethnic Composition	11	K-S	.19
Dwelling Condition	12	K-S	.97
Average Age of Heads of Household	13	Z	1.66
Household Size	14	K-S	2.22
Employment Status of Heads of Household	6	K-S	2.22
Income	1	K-S	3.66
Housing Preference	15	K-S	5.92
Period of Occupancy	4	K-S	9.24
Property Tenure	3	Chi	16.6

*Chi Square = Chi Kolmogorov-Smirnov = K-S

**At the .05 level of significance with 2 degrees of freedom Chi equals 5.92, therefore, in a strict statistical sense, there is no significant difference between the sample and the population in terms of those variables with a calculated Chi of less than 5.92. However, as these tests are not particularly reliable, primarily because of the non-normality of the data tested, and, as inspection of the frequency distributions revealed several notable dissimilarities in the variables having a calculated Chi of 3.66 or greater, the sample and population were considered to be significantly different with respect to these variables.

On the other hand, the sample and population were found to be significantly different in terms of property tenure (TABLES 1, 3, 4, and 15).

TABLE 9
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE SEX OF
THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Sex	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Male	110	77.4	60	78.9
Female	32	22.6	16	21.1
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

TABLE 10
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DESIRE TO LEAVE
THE ROSE-BLANSHARD AREA

Desire to Leave	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Yes	68	47.9	38	50.0
No	49	34.5	27	35.5
Indifferent	25	17.6	11	14.5
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC COMPOSITION

Ethnic Group	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Canadian	101	71.1	53	69.7
Chinese	27	19.0	15	19.7
East Indian	4	2.8	1	1.3
Italian	10	7.0	7	9.2
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

TABLE 12
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLING CONDITION

Dwelling Condition	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Good	32	22.5	23	30.3
Fair	56	39.4	27	35.5
Poor	43	30.3	21	27.6
Very poor	11	7.7	5	6.6
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

TABLE 13
AVERAGE AGE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	Population	Sample
Average Age	51.17	53.51
Standard Deviation	18.71	19.96

TABLE 14
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Number in Household	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
1	22	15.5	7	9.2
2	38	26.8	18	23.7
3	26	18.3	13	17.1
4	20	14.1	13	17.1
5	10	7.0	8	10.5
6	9	6.3	6	7.9
7	6	4.3	3	3.9
8	5	3.5	4	5.2
9	1	0.7	1	1.3
10	3	2.1	3	3.9
11	2	1.4	0	0.0
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0
Mean Size	3.52		3.97	
Standard Deviation	2.30		2.32	

TABLE 15

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING PREFERENCE

Housing Preference	Population	%	Actual Sample S(a)	%
Single Family	85	59.8	58	76.3
Duplex	13	9.2	2	2.6
Apartments	25	17.6	7	9.2
Don't Know	19	13.4	9	11.8
Total	142	100.0	76	100.0

Significant Differences Between the Sample and Population

The differences found between the sample and population with regard to income, housing preference, period of occupancy, and property tenure can be explained in terms of the limitations imposed on the sampling procedure by the restricted size of the Rose-Blanshard population. In the case of the period of occupancy variable, a substantial difference occurred in the number of households who had lived in the Rose-Blanshard area for one year or less (TABLE 4). Of the population households, thirty-five percent had occupied their dwellings for one year or less, while this was the case with only seventeen percent of the sample households. The difference reflects the high degree of mobility of the short term resident group, and the limited resources available for tracing households. Of those short term Rose-Blanshard residents who were traced

several had moved two or three times in the four years since being displaced from the project area. Each move made them more difficult to trace, and thus, fewer of this particular group were captured in the sample.

A parallel explanation exists for the property tenure variable in which the sample registered twenty percent higher property ownership than the population. As indicated by TABLE 16, the majority of the long term residents were property owners. It is logical to expect that this group would re-establish themselves quickly after displacement from the project area, and therefore be easier to trace. Furthermore, as a higher proportion of home owners appeared in the sample than there was in the population, and, as home ownership generally indicates a higher income than does tenant-occupancy, it follows that the proportion of relatively high income households would be greater in the sample than in the population. Finally, the higher proportion of sample than of population households indicating a preference for single family dwellings is directly related to the high proportion of long term, high income, and property owning residents that appeared in the sample. The difference between the sample and population can be explained for all four variables, therefore, in terms of the greater difficulty of tracing apartment dwellers or tenants as compared with property owners, the latter group tending to be less mobile. Wherever these variables played an important role in the remainder of the analysis, their capacity to

encountered were found to be related to the social characteristics of the group being displaced.

A look at the project area and the households displaced by the scheme indicated that the area could be considered blighted and that it contained a group of people who differed considerably from the rest of metropolitan Victoria in terms of their socio-economic characteristics. Finally, it was found that limitations in the sampling procedure resulted in significant differences between the sample and the population with respect to four related variables.

CHAPTER III

RELOCATION OF THE DISPLACED HOUSEHOLDS

While a single element, renewal, was responsible for displacing the Rose-Blanshard residents, a variety of factors governed their relocation decisions and thereby influenced the relocation pattern. In seeking to understand this pattern and its formation, three questions were posed:

- 1) Where did the displaced households relocate?
- 2) If there were a choice, why did the households choose their present locations? and,
- 3) What effect did relocation have upon several basic household activities; shopping, banking and recreation?

The first of these questions was answered in terms of the present relocation sites and their relationship to the rest of the city and the distances moved by the households. These were correlated with the socio-economic characteristics of and the types and quality of housing occupied by the displaced households. The second was answered in terms of:

- 1) the direct influence of the housing market and of the relocation office,
- 2) the stated relocation preferences of the households, and,

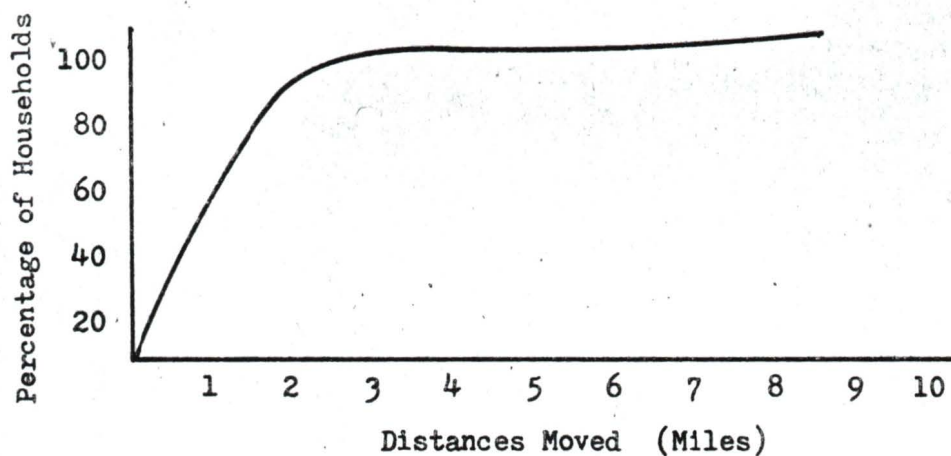
- 3) a simple model of the centripetal forces tending to draw the households to sites in the vicinity of the project area and centrifugal forces tending to cause dispersion.

Relocation Pattern

In many North American cities it has been observed that a high percentage of the households displaced by renewal projects relocate within a radius of one mile of their former residences.¹ This was also the case in Victoria (FIGURES 7 and 8). Of the

FIGURE 7

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS
BY DISTANCE MOVED FROM ROSE-BLANSHARD



¹A 1963 survey of urban renewal and public housing relocation in forty-one United States cities revealed that generally between eighty and ninety-five percent of displaced households relocate within one-half mile of their old addresses. Harry W. Reynolds Jr., "Population Displacement in Urban Renewal," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Vol. 22 (January, 1963), pp. 113-128.

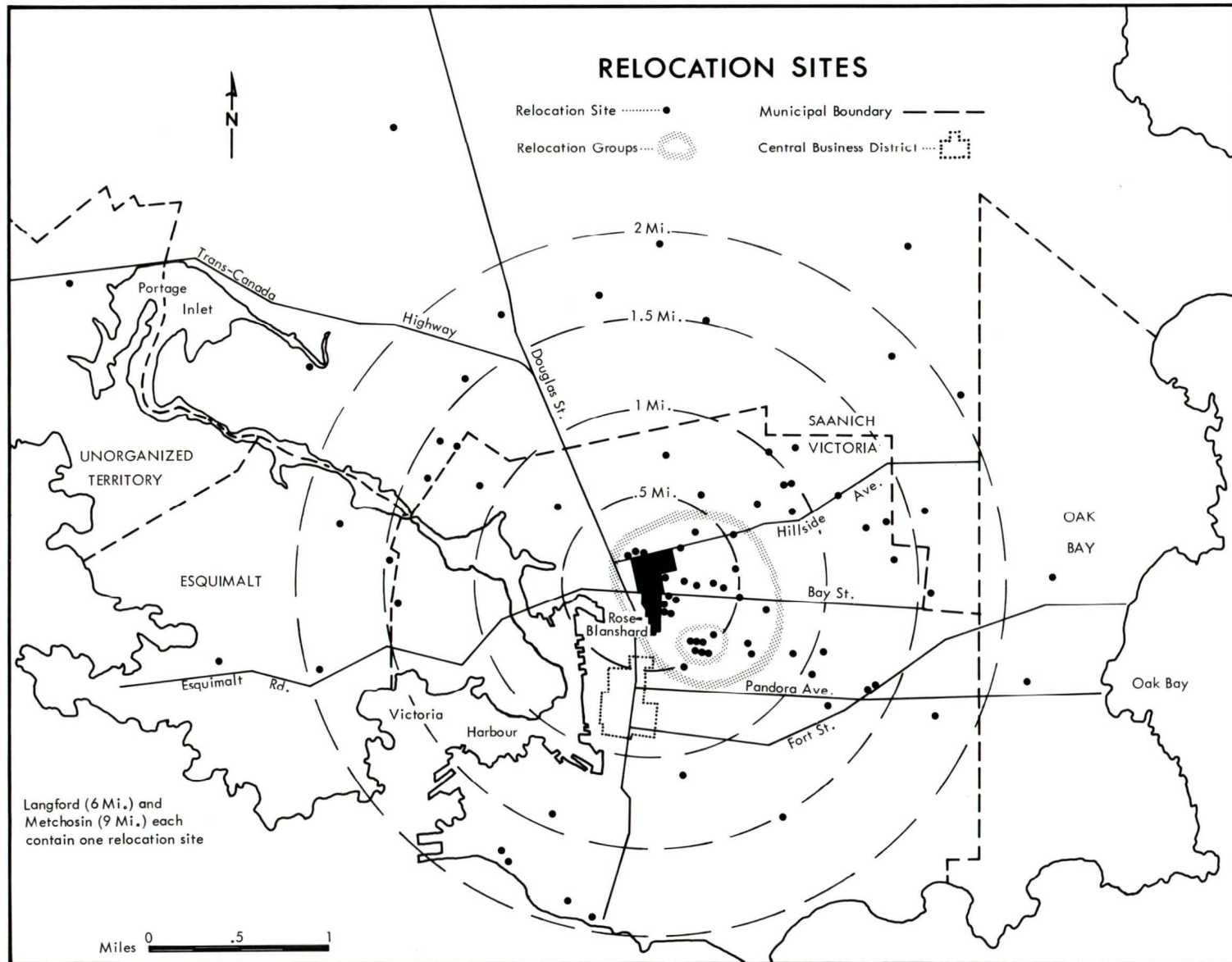


FIGURE 8

displaced households, seventy percent moved less than one and one-half miles, and only two ventured a distance greater than six miles. The result is that the majority of the Rose-Blanshard residents relocated within the city of Victoria despite their bitter complaints about the tactics employed by the city government in the renewal scheme. It was evident during the interviews that, had there been a wider choice of housing within their means, many more households would have relocated outside the city.

There are only two clusters of relocation sites, a small group of households to the southeast of the project area nested inside a larger, more loosely defined group extending eastward from Rose-Blanshard. The first of these resulted from the efforts of the city's Relocation Office. Seven former Rose-Blanshard households, all families with children, were relocated by that office in premises which the city had acquired to enable a park expansion program. When the properties are cleared for conversion to park use, these households will be forced to move again. (As a result, they have been more than two years without the security of permanent residence which, according to some sociologists, such as Rainwater, plays an important role in the life style of low income groups.² The indifference of these people toward their temporary quarters has led to neglect and

²Lee Rainwater, "Fear and the House as Haven in the Lower Class," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 32, No. 1 (May, 1961), pp. 23-31.

deterioration of the property. Even though shortlived, this situation could have a detrimental effect on the surrounding neighborhood. Should property values drop in the area around this group of relocated households, more evidence will exist for the claim of critics, such as Anderson, that renewal displaces rather than replaces "slums".) The second and broader grouping of relocation sites reflects Fried's proposition that people, once displaced, will seek the company of others whose socio-economic status is similar to their own. They do this in order to remain in a position which offers the least social discomfort and which will allow the most rapid acceptance into the new community.³ A map of average total family income for the greater Victoria census tracts reveals that the majority of households remained within the lowest income areas of the city (FIGURE 9). Although none of the households relocated in areas considered to be in need of redevelopment by the Capital Region Planning Board in 1961, fifteen households resettled in areas of the city designated as in need of rehabilitation.

As a result of the differences between the sample and the population referred to in Chapter two, the complete relocation pattern might be slightly different. Had more of the former tenants and short term residents been traced there probably would have been an

³Marc Fried, "Transitional Functions of Working-Class Communities: Implications for Forced Relocation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 33, No. 2 (March, 1967), pp. 90-103.

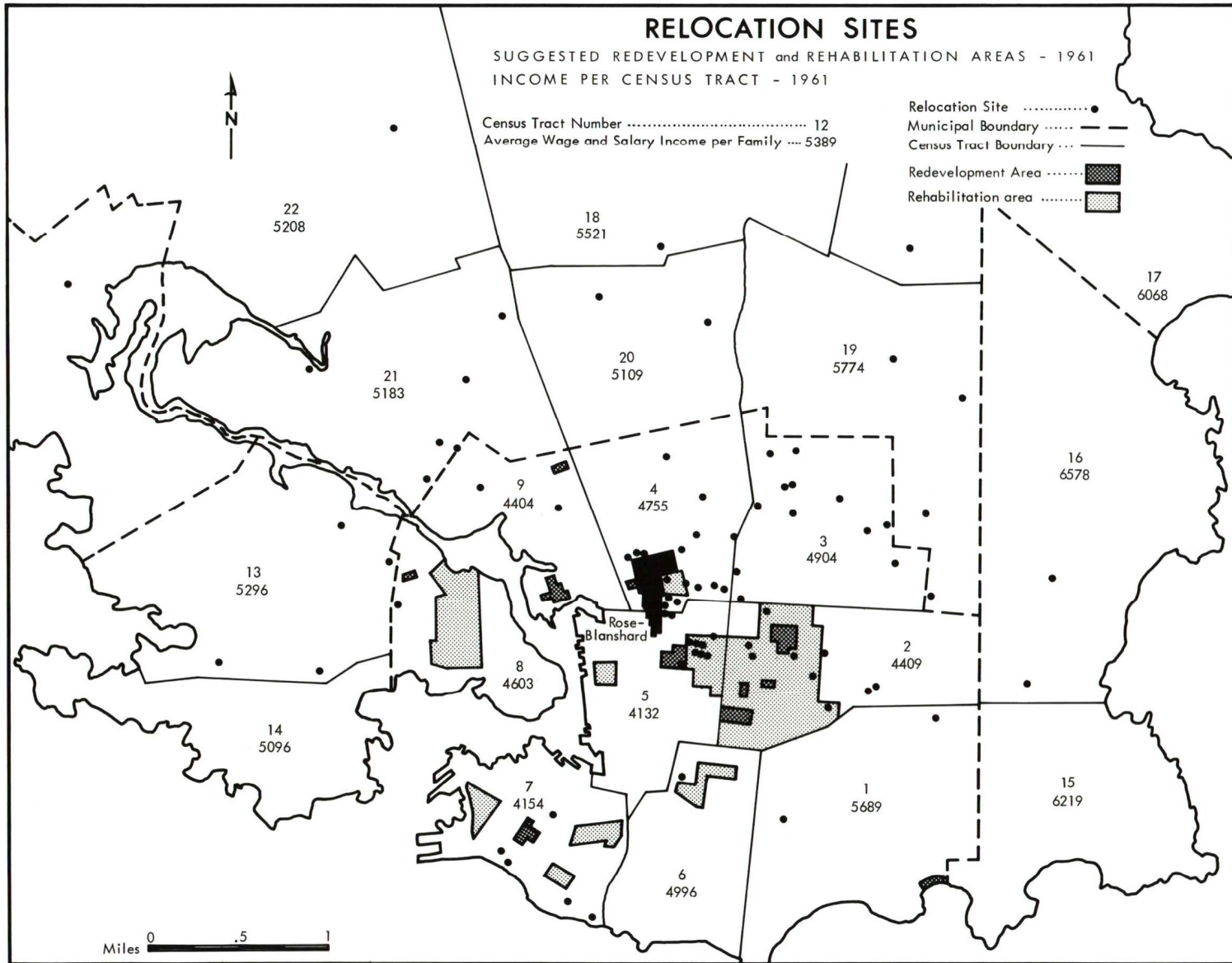


FIGURE 9

even greater concentration of relocation sites within the city boundary. Assuming that a large proportion of these missing households resettled in rental accommodation, likely in apartments, then one would have expected a greater number of relocation sites to have occurred in census tracts two, six and seven. These tracts contained a high proportion of the apartments for rent in Victoria.

Relationship of Distance Factors With
Socio-Economic and Housing Characteristics

The nodal relocation pattern indicates that distance does play a role in the choice of relocation sites. Using the distances moved by the displaced households and the distances of their new locations away from the central business district, it was possible to relate the relocation pattern with the socio-economic characteristics of the displaced group. Similarly, the relocation pattern was investigated in terms of the characteristics of the housing occupied by the displaced group.

In order to measure the first of these relationships a set of socio-economic indices was derived with the use of factor analysis. The analysis of thirteen variables concerning household characteristics yielded four factors which, together, explained seventy-five percent of the variance within these variables (TABLE 17). The scores of these factors then were correlated with the distance variables.

TABLE 17
SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Variables	Factors			
	Family Status	Age of Children	Property Status	Economic Welfare
Age of Head of Household	<u>0.6018</u>	-0.2040		-0.4627
Family Size	<u>-0.9056</u>	0.2366		0.2459
Number of Children at School or Younger	<u>-0.9241</u>			
Cost of Food per Month	<u>-0.6694</u>	0.2817	0.2147	<u>0.4344</u>
Age of Oldest Child	-0.4290	<u>0.8642</u>		
Age of Youngest Child		<u>0.9692</u>		
Average Age of Children	-0.2730	<u>0.9401</u>		
Property Tenure*	0.2335		<u>-0.7727</u>	
Rent or Mortgage per Month	-0.2109		<u>-0.6284</u>	0.3645
Sex of the Head of Household*	0.3343			<u>-0.7001</u>
Employment Status*			0.2218	<u>0.7901</u>
Total Family Income	-0.4857			<u>0.7407</u>
Number of Cars		0.2617		<u>0.6535</u>

*For coding of these variables see Appendix B.

.6018 - strongest factor loading over .5000 per variable

The resulting correlation coefficients indicated no strong relationships between the distances moved and the socio-economic characteristics of the displaced households (TABLE 18). The relationship between the economic welfare index and both the distance

moved and the distance of the new location from the central business district revealed a tendency for those households that had an employed male head, a relatively high total family income, and owned a car, to locate slightly farther away from the urban core. The lack of any strong relationships between the distance and socio-economic factors indicates that there is some housing within the means of low income families in almost all areas of the city. However, the decrease in the number of relocation sites with increased distance from the urban core suggests a similar decrease in the number of sites available to the low income group. It is noteworthy that, at the time the Rose-Blanshard residents were being displaced, average sized, empty lots in the suburbs were selling for more than the amount received by many of the displaced households for both lot and house.

TABLE 18
CORRELATION OF DISTANCE VARIABLES
WITH SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICES

	Social Welfare	Age of Children	Property Status	Economic Welfare
Pre-relocation Distance to Urban Core	0.1314*	-0.1241	-0.0270	-0.1420
Post-relocation Distance to Urban Core	-0.1694	0.0871	0.1310	0.2498
Distance Moved	-0.1000	0.0347	0.0789	0.2411

*In order to be significant at the 5% level, values of 'r' for 82 cases must be greater than .2070

The response to a question on a hypothetical non-renewal situation revealed another of the forces shaping the relocation pattern. The interviewed residents were asked if, in the light of their present experience, they would like to return to the Rose-Blanshard area had it not been changed. The correlation of $-.3938$ between the desire to return to the hypothetically unchanged project area and the distance moved suggests that the farther away from the project area a household relocated, the less likely it is that the household would want to return to its old home, even if no change had been made. The implication is that the more dissatisfied a household was with the project area, the farther away it moved.

Unlike the socio-economic characteristics, it was found that some of the characteristics of the property presently occupied by the displaced residents do bear moderately strong relationships with the distance factors (TABLE 19). The households that moved farthest from the project area obtained the greatest amount of lot and neighborhood open space. (Correlation figures also indicated that those who remained close to the project area or the central business district found themselves in more poorly kept neighborhoods and older dwellings than those that moved to the urban fringe. The relatively low incomes of many of the displaced households, however, militated against a general shift to the suburbs where prices are generally higher.) Those that did move to suburban properties naturally occupied higher quality and newer dwellings than those that relocated

closer to downtown, but they did so at a considerable sacrifice of their uncommitted disposable income.

TABLE 19
CORRELATION OF DISTANCE VARIABLES WITH HOUSING
AND NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY VARIABLES

Property and Neighborhood Variables*	Post-Relocation Distance to Urban Core	Distance Moved
Interior Condition of Dwelling	0.1174**	0.0957
Physical Condition of Dwelling	0.2661	0.2135
Deterioration of Dwelling	-0.3010	-0.2359
Age of Dwelling	-0.3865	-0.3611
Lot Size	0.6032	0.5375
Upkeep of Neighborhood	0.5489	0.4980
Amount of Open Space	0.3148	0.2653

*See Appendix C.

**In order to be significant at the 5% level, values of 'r' for 82 cases must be greater than .2070; at the 1% level 'r' must be greater than .2800

The proportion of relocation properties showing evidence of recent deterioration increases the closer one gets to the urban core.⁴ Deterioration usually indicates either a shortage of funds or a lack of willingness to maintain the property. In this case, both may apply. (Those households that relocated near the core tended to have the lowest incomes and tended to be tenant occupants

⁴See Appendix C.

($r = -.3102$). The relationship between property tenure and property deterioration ($r = 0.3476$) indicates that neglect is more prevalent in tenant-occupied than in owner-occupied houses.) This may not be entirely the fault of the tenants; some landlords may be blamed for seeking excessive profits by withholding investment for maintenance. Had more of the tenant-occupancy households been traced, the proportion of dwellings showing signs of recent deterioration may well have been greater.

Factors Governing the Choice of Relocation Sites

Although the relocation pattern may be partially explained by the socio-economic and property characteristics of the displaced residents, Victoria's relatively small size and its adequate transportation system preclude any strong relationships between distance and the variables so far discussed. The displaced households certainly were attracted by the lower costs of homes relatively close to the urban core, but areas other than the vicinity of Rose-Blanshard also offered low cost housing. The high concentration of households relocated within one mile of the Rose-Blanshard area indicates that some factors, other than those already discussed, play major roles in governing the relocation choice. Three of these factors are:

- 1) simple location preference--impulsive or reasoned,
- 2) emotional attachment to the Rose-Blanshard homesite, and

- 3) the influence of the housing market at the time of displacement and of the activities of the relocation office.

Stated Location Preferences

In 1966 the households were asked whether or not they would like to move and, at that time, thirty-seven percent of the households replied that they would not (TABLE 20).⁵ Of these, about four-fifths were owners and the remainder were tenants. The owners probably had a greater social, as well as financial, stake in the area than the tenants, and would therefore be more reluctant to leave. On the other hand, included in the forty-nine percent who wanted to move were seventy percent of the tenants and fifty percent of the owners. That such a high percentage of the owners wanted to move away may reflect the context of the question being asked. These households realized that they were being interviewed in preparation for the renewal scheme and many of them may have answered yes to place themselves in a favorable position in the eyes of the city. On the other hand, some probably realized that selling to the city might be the best opportunity to get rid of their dilapidated properties.

⁵See Appendix A.

TABLE 20

PROPERTY TENURE VERSUS DESIRE TO MOVE - 1966

	Property Tenure		Total
	Owner	Tenant	
Desire to Move Away from Rose-Blanshard	21	17	38 (49%)
Desire to Remain in Rose-Blanshard	21	6	27 (37%)
Indifferent	9	2	11 (14%)
Total	52 (69%)	24 (31%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .02

The households also were asked where they would prefer to live if they had to leave their houses.⁶ Of those who wanted to move, over thirty percent did not specify a location preference (TABLE 21). It is likely that they felt a desire to leave the area, but had not considered this a serious possibility and had not given much thought to a relocation site. Within the group that wanted to move fifty-five percent indicated a desire to relocate either in the

⁶The questionnaire (Appendix A) indicates that the question "Where?" was to be asked only of those who answered yes to the question about moving. In fact, all of the questions following were asked regardless of the initial answer. Whether this was a mistake on the part of the interviewers or a change in the questionnaire after the copies had been printed for use is not known.

same area or close to the urban core, while only fifteen percent preferred a location outside the city proper. Approximately one-half of those who did not wish to move and one-half of those who were indifferent to moving were undecided about relocation sites, while the other half, in both cases, would have chosen sites near the Rose-Blanshard area or close to the downtown area. During the administration of the post-renewal questionnaire, however, strong feelings were expressed against the city, and a large proportion of the households made it clear that they would prefer to be located outside of the city proper. At the same time, eighty-five percent of the households indicated that they would have stayed in the Rose-Blanshard area had it not been changed (TABLE 22). Judging by the number of relocation sites within the city, the feelings of hostility toward the city were outweighed by feelings of attachment to their former home sites.

TABLE 21

DESIRE TO MOVE VERSUS PREFERRED LOCATIONS

	Proximity to Project Area	Proximity to Urban Core	Suburban	Unknown	Total
Desire to Move Away from Rose-Blanshard	16	5	5	12	38 (50%)
Desire to Remain in Rose-Blanshard	12	2	0	13	27 (35%)
Indifferent	4	2	0	5	11 (14%)
	32 (42%)	9 (12%)	5 (7%)	30(39%)	76(100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .04

TABLE 22
 CHANGE IN PREFERENCES REGARDING DISPLACEMENT
 FROM ROSE-BLANSHARD

Pre-Relocation	Post-Relocation		Total
	Desire to leave	Desire to Stay	
Desire to Move Away from Rose-Blanshard	10	28	38 (50%)
Desire to Remain In Rose-Blanshard	2	25	27 (36%)
Indifferent	0	11	11 (24%)
Total	12 (16%)	64 (84%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

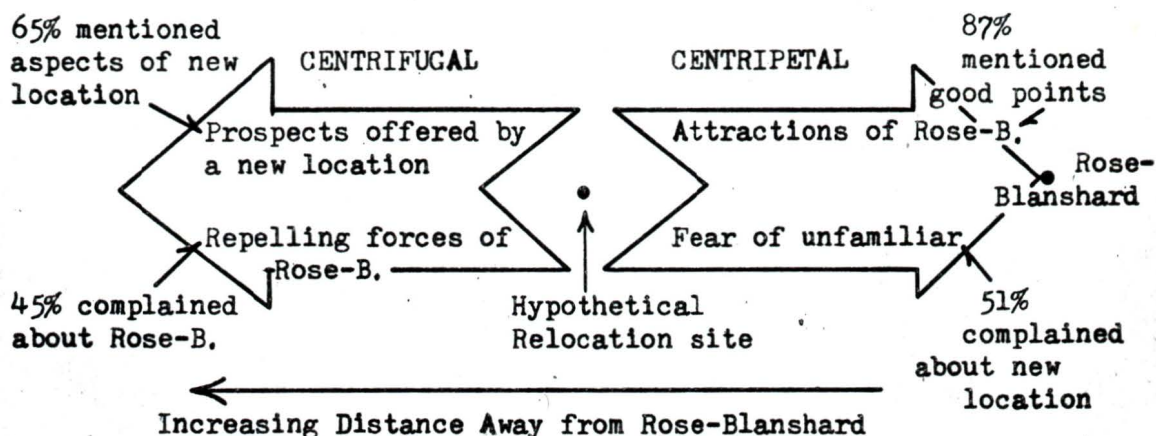
More than seventy percent of those who formerly said that they would like to move subsequently stated that they would have stayed in the project area had no changes been made (TABLE 22). These figures reveal a certain amount of discontent or possibly disillusionment with the new locations compared with those in the project area. They also may indicate that some families were, initially, expressing a general desire for better quality housing, rather than a specific desire to leave the Rose-Blanshard area. It is evident that many of the households may have had emotional ties to the former home sites that they were unaware of until after they had left. Emotional bonds with the familiar territory in the vicinity of the project area partially accounts for the nodal relocation pattern.

Attractions of Rose-Blanshard Versus Relocation Sites

Two opposing forces acted upon the displaced residents, centripetal and centrifugal. The first of these consisted of a composite of the attractive features of the Rose-Blanshard area and the fears of a new and unfamiliar location, while the second was composed of the repelling features of the project area and the attractions offered by other areas of the city. Measuring these forces in terms of the responses to a post-relocation questionnaire presents several problems. All of the responses were biased by the fact that the households were looking at the results of relocation from their newly occupied homes. Those that were satisfied often were biased against Rose-Blanshard, while those that were dissatisfied tended to emphasize the unfavourable aspects of their new locations and extol the pre-renewal virtues of Rose-Blanshard. Hypothetically, the relocation site of each household should have occurred where these two forces balanced. Although over-simplified, FIGURE 10 illustrates the nature of the forces acting upon the displaced households. In reality, the choice would be tempered by other factors, such as the availability of housing within the means of the displaced households and the direct influence of the relocation office.

FIGURE 10

CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL RELOCATION FORCES



The centripetal and centrifugal forces acting upon the households while they sought satisfactory relocation sites can be measured only in relative terms based on their post-relocation attitudes. When asked to recall the best features of the project area only thirteen percent felt that there was nothing good about the area. The remainder mentioned convenience (fifty-six percent), friendliness (eighteen percent), and their own homes (twelve percent). When asked to recall the worst features, forty-five percent mentioned either traffic noise or the generally dilapidated condition of the neighborhood (TABLE 23). These figures provide only one-half of the balance of relocation forces. To equalize the account the responses about unfavorable and favorable features of the new locations were used (FIGURE 10). The replies to a question on the desirable and undesirable aspects of the new locations

indicated a weaker polarization of attitude than was expressed concerning the Rose-Blanshard locations (TABLE 24). While almost two-thirds of the households found the new circumstances to their liking, one-fifth found nothing favorable. Only twenty-seven percent maintained that nothing displeased them about their present circumstances, while just over one-half of the households registered complaints. This hypothetical balance indicates that the centripetal forces, tending to pull the relocation sites toward Rose-Blanshard, were the stronger of the two for a majority of the households. The result is a concentration of relocation sites close to the project area, nevertheless, the centrifugal forces were powerful enough to result in some relocation sites occurring as far away as nine miles.

TABLE 23
RESPONSE ON FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE FEATURES OF
ROSE-BLANSHARD

Favorable Features	Unfavorable Features			Total
	None	Traffic & Noise	Dilapidation	
None	7	2	2	11 (14%)
Convenience	22	8	16	46 (56%)
Friendliness	12	2	1	15 (18%)
Home	4	3	3	10 (12%)
Total	45 (55%)	15 (18%)	22 (27%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .03

TABLE 24
 RESPONSE ON FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE FEATURES OF
 RELOCATION SITES

Favorable Features	Unfavorable Features			Total
	None	No Response	Unfavorable	
None	7	0	9	16 (19%)
No Response	0	9	4	13 (16%)
Favorable	15	9	29	53 (65%)
Total	22 (27%)	18 (22%)	42 (51%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .05

Status of Housing Market and Influence of Relocation Office

Both the housing market and the relocation office directly influenced the relocation decisions of a number of households. A question concerning the reasons why a household chose a particular location resulted in a wide variety of answers which reveal some interesting aspects of the relocation decision (TABLE 25).

As displacement and relocation occurred during a period of price inflation that increased property values by about twenty-five percent over five years, and, as most of the displaced homeowners received rather low prices for their Rose-Blanshard properties, they experienced great difficulty in obtaining new homes. In fact, thirty-seven percent of the displaced households indicated that they

had no choice of relocation site, rather, limited financial capabilities left them with but a single housing alternative. Despite the large number of houses apparently available, the prices being asked made even low quality, small houses prohibitively expensive. Similar problems were experienced by the renters. (There were many vacant apartments in Victoria at the time when most of the households were being displaced, owing to an apartment construction boom which started in the early 1960's. However, the cost of even the cheapest bachelor apartment was almost thirty dollars a month greater than most of the tenants had been paying for apartments or houses when they lived in the Rose-Blanshard area.)

TABLE 25
REASONS FOR RELOCATION SITE CHOICE VERSUS
PROPERTY TENURE

Property Tenure	Reasons					Total
	Had no choice by City	Placed Available within means	Only House Available within means	Cheapest Accommodation	Located out of City	
Owner	6	16	1	3	20	46 (56%)
Tenant	11	8	5	0	12	36 (44%)
Total	17 (21%)	24 (30%)	6 (7%)	3 (3%)	32 (39%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .15

The relocation office preempted the relocation decisions of some households and thereby directly governed the relocation pattern. Of the households, one-fifth indicated that they were given only one option by the city, an option which they were forced to accept because of their financial circumstances. One of the results already mentioned was the occurrence of a cluster of relocation sites in an area of housing slated to be torn down. When demolition occurs, some of these households may move into the new low rent apartments, but, as a result of the decisions of the relocation office, they are only temporary elements of the present relocation pattern. Should they resettle in the Rose-Blanshard apartments the nodality of the relocation pattern will be strengthened.

Changes in Patterns of Activity

Relocation brought about changes in the relative location of all of the households with respect to the commercial and public services they used. As a result, some of the households found it necessary to alter some of their activity patterns. For the majority that moved a relatively short distance away from their former locations, these changes involved little more than a shift in shopping locale, while for some of the remainder, relocation brought about major transformations of many of their patterns of activity. The intention of this section of the study is not to investigate all of the changes that might have occurred, but rather, to look at several of the basic household activities in order to discover the

general effect of displacement from Rose-Blanshard. The displaced households were asked questions concerning their shopping, banking, and recreation activities (TABLE 26).

TABLE 26

CHANGES IN LOCATION OF ACTIVITIES

N = No Change C = Change

	Grocery Shopping	General Shopping	Banking	Recreation	No. in Combination	Total
No Changes	N	N	N	N	25	25 (30%)
One Change	N	N	N	C	3	19 (23%)
	N	N	C	N	2	
	N	C	N	N	2	
	C	N	N	N	12	
Two Changes	N	N	C	C	3	27 (33%)
	N	C	C	N	5	
	C	C	N	N	3	
	N	C	N	C	1	
	C	N	C	N	5	
	C	N	N	C	10	
Three Changes	N	C	C	C	1	8 (10%)
	C	N	C	C	2	
	C	C	N	C	3	
	C	C	C	N	2	
Four Changes	C	C	C	C	3	3 (4%)
<hr/>						
Totals Changed	40 (49%)	20 (24%)	23 (28%)	26 (32%)	26 (32%)	82 (100%)
Unchanged	42 (51%)	62 (76%)	59 (72%)	59 (72%)	56 (68%)	

The majority of the Rose-Blanshard residents indicated that the friendliness of the people in the project area was one of the things that they missed most. The loss of close neighborhood friends was, therefore, considered one of the important changes brought about by relocation. The households were asked to indicate the number of close friends that they had in the Rose-Blanshard area, and the number of these relationships that they still maintained. It was expected that the changes would be related to the degree of satisfaction with the relocation site. The households were also asked to rate selected characteristics of a neighborhood according to their relative importance in making it a good place to live. The responses on neighborhood qualities, neighborhood friends, and activity patterns were then correlated with the socio-economic characteristics of the households.

Shopping, Banking, and Recreation

Convenience of location is a prime requisite for grocery shopping but of less importance for general goods shopping, banking, and recreation. It was found that forty-nine percent of the households shifted their patronage to a grocery store closer to their relocation site while only twenty-four percent realigned their general goods shopping activities, twenty-eight percent their banking, and thirty-two percent their recreation activities.

Most of the Rose-Blanshard households formerly shopped for groceries in the Safeway Store near the intersection of Hillside

Avenue and Quadra Street, and after relocation about half of the households still patronized this store. Undoubtedly, many of those households that relocated less than one mile from their former homes found the same establishment the most convenient. The fact that the store was converted to a discount-price food outlet during the period of relocation provided an additional incentive for the low-income families to shop there.

When shopping for general goods, customers usually like to compare prices, as well as to browse through a wide selection of goods as is offered in the major shopping centres or department stores. Although twenty percent fewer households patronized the downtown stores after relocation than before, the majority (sixty-two percent) still shopped for general goods in the urban core. It was not possible, however, to determine how many of these patronage shifts would have occurred in the normal course of events, as a result of changes in the retail structure of the city. Nevertheless, it was found that Victoria's three regional shopping centres gained most of those customers that deserted the downtown area, and of these three, the newest, Hillside Plaza, gained the most.

Changes in location were expected to have a minimal effect in altering the patronage of banks. The bank is not well frequented by those with low incomes, and the nuisance involved in moving an account would, in most cases, outweigh any inconvenience of location. Seventy of the eighty-two households sampled had bank accounts. Of

these, fifty-one (seventy-two percent) did not shift their accounts after relocation and the rest (twenty-eight percent) moved their accounts into local branches situated in the shopping centre they most often frequented.

In order to discover the effects of relocation on an activity other than those essential to running a household, the relocated residents were asked about their former and present recreational pursuits. As the aim was to investigate changes, no rigorous definition of recreation was necessary and the households responded according to their own ideas of what should be considered recreation activities. The majority of households, seventy percent, indicated that they did not change their recreation habits as a result of relocation. However, of the thirty percent that did change, many switched from some form of social activity, such as spending an evening with neighborhood friends to watching television, and almost two-thirds stated that they now do nothing. Obviously, this last group must indulge in some form of leisure time activity which technically could be called recreation, however, it is logical to assume that they were far more active before relocation than they are now. Most of the "inactive" households are in the retired age group and have strictly limited financial resources. Many of them were living in low quality, low cost accommodation in Rose-Blanshard in order to acquire social amenities that they could not otherwise have afforded.

Social Interaction

While there was considerable social interaction between the long term residents of the Rose-Blanshard area, where neighbors had become friends, a large segment of the displaced households (fifty-three percent) indicated that they had no friends within the area (TABLE 27). Many of these latter households consisted of short term, tenant-occupants who had not had time to develop any strong friendships within the area before being displaced. When asked to name the best features of Rose-Blanshard, eighteen percent of the households placed the friendliness of the people there at the top of their lists and a further thirty percent rated friendliness as second. It is also noteworthy that one-fifth of the households indicated that they are presently in contact with more of their former neighbors than when they were living in the project area. The renewal scheme may have separated many households in terms of distance, but, during and after the process of relocation, their common plight appears to have brought some households into contact with one another (TABLE 28).

TABLE 27
CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF ROSE-BLANSHARD FRIENDS

Present Number of Friends	Former Number of Friends			Total
	0	1-2	3+	
0	30	5	6	41 (50%)
1-2	12	13	2	27 (33%)
3+	1	2	11	14 (17%)
Total	43 (53%)	20 (24%)	19 (23%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .32

TABLE 28
CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF ROSE-BLANSHARD FRIENDS VERSUS
COMPARATIVE FRIENDLINESS OF PRESENT NEIGHBORS

Friendliness	Change in Number of Friends			Total
	Increased	Unchanged	Decreased	
More friendly	2	12	1	15 (18%)
Equally friendly	10	31	5	46 (56%)
Less friendly	3	11	7	21 (26%)
Total	15 (18%)	54 (66%)	13 (16%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .05

When asked to classify a series of neighborhood characteristics as to their importance in making an area livable, less than one quarter of the households felt that friendly neighbors were essential (TABLE 29). This is low compared to the ratings received by some of the more tangible characteristics, and yet, friendliness of neighbors is one of the few variables that bears a relatively strong relationship with the degree of satisfaction expressed by the households for their present locations (See Factor 6 in TABLE 45). It is noteworthy that more than one-half of those households that lost contact with former neighborhood friends felt that their present neighbors were less friendly than were their former. It is likely that the time elapsed since relocation was insufficient for relationships with their new neighbors to have reached the strength of the relationship they lost as a result of relocation.

TABLE 29

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Essential	Important	Unimportant	Total
Street Lighting	76%	13%	11%	100%
Convenient Public Transportation	70	20	10	100
Privacy from Neighbors	70	18	12	100
Good Roads and Sidewalks	68	28	4	100
Low Tax Assessment	63	30	7	100
Shopping Facilities within walking distance	55	21	24	100
Quietness	46	36	18	100
Friends Nearby	32	33	35	100
Parks	29	39	32	100
Friendly Neighbors	24	39	37	100

Summary

There is a concentration of relocation sites near the project area with the remainder spread over Greater Victoria inversely in proportion to the distance from Rose-Blanshard. It was found that the socio-economic characteristics of the households bore only a weak relationship with the relocation pattern. The relationship between the property characteristics and the relocation pattern was only slightly stronger. It was evident that some other factors were influencing the choice of relocation site. Investigation of the

location preferences and of the favorable and unfavorable aspects of both the former and present locations, according to the householders, revealed that the Rose-Blanshard area exerted a strong centripetal force on the majority of the displaced households. Probably made up of an emotional attachment to the Rose-Blanshard neighborhood and a subconscious attachment to familiar territory, this force likely restricted the search for new accommodation to areas within the familiar territory and indirectly contributed to the concentration of households. It was strong enough to hold a large proportion of the households within the city proper, despite hostile feelings toward the city government. The status of the housing market influenced the relocation choices, especially of those with the lowest incomes, to the extent that many households considered that all choice in the matter had been taken out of their hands. Similarly, the city's relocation office affected the relocation pattern by offering city-selected properties as alternative accommodation. Primarily because of the nodality of the relocation pattern, most of the households found it necessary to alter relatively few of their pre-renewal activity patterns. (The number of relocation sites which show evidence of recent deterioration, as well as the fact that fifteen households relocated in areas of the city that were in need of rehabilitation and seven were temporarily placed in premises soon to be demolished, casts doubt on the effectiveness of the renewal program in relieving the city of blighted conditions.)

CHAPTER IV
CHANGES IN HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF
DISPLACED HOUSEHOLDS

Not only did the Rose-Blanshard households change location in the city, but many of them also experienced a change in the type and quality of housing they occupied. Tenants became owners, owners tenants, and all were forced to adjust to new arrangements, types, and amounts of space that may or may not have matched their housing preferences. Changes in dwelling quality and associated adjustments in the amount spent on shelter, as well as changes in property tenure, all contributed to a general sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the new location. In turn, the disposition of the relocated residents toward their new homes partially governed the standard of housing quality they chose to maintain. As might be expected, dissatisfaction was accompanied by housing deterioration, the socio-economic characteristics of the displaced households were correlated with both the variations in housing characteristics and the degree of satisfaction expressed by the displaced households regarding their new circumstances, in order to determine whether or not there were any significant relationships.

Changes in Type of Accommodation

A wide variety of space and utility requirements, of economic circumstances, and of housing aspirations led to significant changes

in the tenure of property, and in the amounts and costs of space occupied by the displaced households.

Property Tenure

While the incidence of tenancy increased by eight percent, some of the former tenants actually became owners (TABLE 30). In view of the relatively low income level of the displaced group and the relatively low prices received by owners for their Rose-Blanshard homes, it is surprising that there was not a greater increase in the number of tenant households. What is even more surprising is that more than one-fifth of the former tenants chose the forced move as an opportunity to purchase and move into homes of their own. These households, for the most part, consisted of families with children of school age or younger and with total family incomes greater than 400 dollars per month. It is within this group that the pressures exerted by young children, for such things as rooms of their own and play-areas, would generate a need for more space. It is also likely that some of these households were staying in the cheap accommodation offered by Rose-Blanshard in order to save money for down payments on their own homes. In these cases, forced displacement may have triggered the execution of relocation plans already made. The owners who became tenants, on the other hand, were mostly retired and had incomes of less than 250 dollars per month. Most of this group were simply too old to start mortgage payments and property maintenance all over again.

TABLE 30
CHANGE IN PROPERTY TENURE

Former	Present		Total
	Owned	Rented	
Owned	39	12	51 (66%)
Rented	6	19	25 (34%)
Total	45 (59%)	31 (41%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .28

Costs of Housing

Displacement of a group of households from an area where housing costs were among the lowest in the city would inevitably result in an overall increase in the cost of housing occupied by these households. The difference would be even more apparent if the relocation process occurred during a period of real estate price inflation. These were the conditions faced by the households displaced from Rose-Blanshard. (The results were an increase of twenty-two dollars, or forty percent, in the average monthly payments for rent or mortgage (TABLE 31).) This may not appear to be a very large sum, but it would represent a substantial decrease in disposable income for many of the low income families, and especially for those on fixed incomes such as pensions or welfare.

TABLE 32
CHANGE IN COST OF HOUSING

Former Payment Per Month	Present Payment Per Month								Total
	\$	31- 50	51- 70	71- 90	91- 110	111- 130	131- 150	150+	
91+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
71-90	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	5
51-70	1	7	4	3	3	2	0	0	20
31-50	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	8
0	20	3	5	7	5	5	0	3	48
Total	22	15	11	11	10	8	1	4	82

Living Space

As there was no information available on the amount of interior space the relocated households had in their former dwellings, it was necessary to rely on an assessment, by the households, of whether they presently have more or less space than they had before. This information was compared with data on the number of rooms in their present homes (TABLE 33).

TABLE 33
CHANGE IN LIVING SPACE

Number of Rooms	Comparative Space Availability			Total
	Less	Equal	More	
More than 9	0	1	6	7 (9%)
5-8	23	12	15	50 (61%)
1-4	19	3	3	25 (30%)
Total	42 (51%)	16 (20%)	24 (29%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .08

While the majority of Households relocated in dwellings of between five and eight rooms, over half indicated that they now have less space than they had in the project area. As might be expected, the number of rooms obtained bears a moderately strong relationship with both family size and total family income ($r = .5133$ and $.5515$ respectively). Whether the family has more or less space than before is less strongly related to the number of rooms, bearing a positive correlation of only $.3065$. Considering the overall increase in costs of space, it is apparent that many families are now paying more money for less room.

The availability of space external to the dwelling was investigated, using a general classification of lot size and of the amount of open space in the surrounding neighborhood. It was found that there were no significantly strong relationships between either of these variables and the response on whether the households had more or less space than in the project area. However, the relationship between this response and the levels of satisfaction registered by the households ($.3450$), although relatively weak, indicated that those households that obtained more external space than they had in the project area were more satisfied with their present circumstances.

Housing Preferences

An expression of housing preference is also an expression of a variety of factors which influence the needs and desires of a household. For instance, preferences might be expected to change with the age of the head of household, the size of the household, and with

past property tenure experience.¹ In order to examine these preferences, as well as changes in preference, that may have occurred with changes in location, the households were asked several questions pertaining to housing desire.

Type of Housing

There was little difference between the pre and post-relocation preferences of housing type among the displaced households. Almost eighty percent opted for single family dwellings, both before and after relocation (TABLE 34). Although the majority expressed a desire for single family dwellings, the low incomes of many of these households would prevent a large number of them from realizing their preferences. That many of these households appreciated the implications of their economic circumstances with regard to housing is indicated by the number who stated that they would like to move into the low rent apartments, even though they would prefer single family dwellings (TABLE 35).

TABLE 34
CHANGE IN HOUSING TYPE PREFERENCE

Former	Present			Total
	Single Family	Duplex	Apartment	
Single Family	48	5	5	58 (76%)
Duplex	2	0	0	2 (3%)
Apartment	4	0	3	7 (9%)
Other	7	1	1	9 (12%)
Total	61 (80%)	6 (8%)	9 (12%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .0

¹James W. Simmons has isolated five stages in the life cycle which may give rise to a change in location within a city in, "Changing Residence in the City," The Geographical Review, Vol. 48, No. 4 (October, 1968), pp. 622-651.

TABLE 35
 PRESENT HOUSING PREFERENCE VERSUS DISPOSITION
 TOWARD LOW RENT HOUSING

Disposition	Housing Preference			Total
	Single Family	Duplex	Apartment	
Like	15	3	4	22 (27%)
Dislike	51	3	6	60 (37%)
Total	66 (81%)	6 (7%)	10 (12%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

Almost one-half of the households that originally stated that they would like to find accommodation in the government housing project and more than eighty percent of those that were originally undecided indicated that they now did not wish to locate in the low rent housing (TABLE 36). Various factors may have caused this change of mind. The advantages of subsidized cost accommodation may have been outweighed by the disadvantages of having to move and re-establish all over again. The new location may have offered advantages that were not foreseen when the original desire was expressed. Also, it is possible that, having seen the almost completed construction, expectations of the housing project were not fulfilled.²

²Most of the low rent apartments were completed when the questionnaire for this study was administered and most of the households would have had an opportunity to see them.

The result is that only twenty-five percent of the relocated households indicated a desire to move into the low rent housing, the housing which forced them to relocate in the first place. Whether or not all of these households would be eligible for subsidized rent is questionable, and without subsidization the cost per month of living in the project housing, more than twice the original average Rose-Blanshard rent, would be prohibitive to most. While approximately seventy-five percent of the households indicated they would not return to Rose-Blanshard to live in the housing project, seventy-five percent also indicated that they would go back to the Rose-Blanshard area if it had not been changed.

TABLE 36

CHANGE IN DISPOSITION TOWARD LOW RENT HOUSING

Former	Present		Total
	Like	Dislike	
Like	16	14	30 (39%)
Undecided	3	15	18 (24%)
Dislike	1	27	28 (37%)
Total	20 (26%)	56 (74%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .28

Choice Between Neighborhood and House

In a forced choice question, the households were asked to choose between a good house in an undesirable neighborhood and an undesirable house in a good neighborhood. Of the eighty-two households sampled, sixty-one percent preferred the latter choice (TABLE 37). Comparing these responses to property tenure reveals a significant division of the households. A higher percentage of tenants than owners preferred the high quality neighborhood over the high quality house. In some cases this may be a rationalization of property neglect which is more often apparent on tenant than on owner-occupied property. Some verification of this proposition is provided in TABLE 38. Recent deterioration was evident on only one-third of the properties occupied by households that indicated a preference for a high quality home, but on two-thirds of those occupied by households preferring neighborhood quality over housing quality.

TABLE 37

HOUSE OR NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCE VERSUS PROPERTY TENURE

Property Tenure	Preference		Total
	House	Neighborhood	
Tenant	12	24	36 (44%)
Owner	20	26	46 (56%)
Total	32 (39%)	50 (61%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

TABLE 38
HOUSE OR NEIGHBORHOOD PREFERENCE VERSUS
PROPERTY DETERIORATION

Deterioration	Preference		Total
	House	Neighborhood	
Evident	8	20	28 (34%)
Not Evident	24	30	54 (66%)
Total	32 (39%)	50 (61%)	83 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

Change in Quality of Accommodation

As the households were displaced from an area supposed to contain some of the lowest quality housing in the city, it is logical to assume that the majority would have relocated in improved quality housing. However, this was not the case. The dwellings in the Rose-Blanshard area varied considerably in quality according to the Capital Region Planning Board scale of standards. Because there were some good and many fair quality houses, it was therefore possible for households to move into dwellings of lower quality, and with less space, than they had before renewal. This occurred in some cases. It was expected that the degree of change experienced by the households would be related to their socio-economic characteristics, those with incomes above the mean likely obtaining better housing

than before and those with incomes below the mean acquiring similar or lower quality housing.

Former Residence Versus Present Residence

Relocation of the Rose-Blanshard households did little to alter the relative sizes of the housing quality categories, about one-third in each before and after relocation (TABLE 39). On the other hand, there were some significant changes within each category that resulted in an overall shuffle of households in terms of housing quality. Among those that formerly occupied poor quality housing more than fifty percent moved to either fair or good quality housing while more than fifty percent of those formerly in good quality housing moved into either fair or poor quality housing. Of the total households, twenty-six percent suffered a decrease in housing quality, forty-two percent experienced no change, and thirty-two percent obtained an improvement.

TABLE 39

CHANGE IN HOUSING QUALITY

Former	Present			Total
	Poor	Fair	Good	
Poor	12	8	6	26 (34%)
Fair	8	9	10	27 (36%)
Good	6	6	11	23 (30%)
Total	26 (34%)	23 (30%)	27 (36%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Predictability = .10

Changes in housing quality are related to the amounts of housing space obtained by the displaced households. It was found that more than half of the households that acquired either similar or worse quality housing ended with less dwelling space (TABLE 40). It is noteworthy that of the total households fifteen percent re-located in dwellings of a lower quality and smaller size than their Rose-Blanshard homes, while twenty-five percent obtained dwellings of similar quality, but in order to do so, forfeited some of their living space.

TABLE 40

CHANGE IN DWELLING SPACE VERSUS CHANGE IN HOUSING QUALITY

Housing Quality	Dwelling Space			Total
	More	Same	Less	
Better	9	5	10	24 (32%)
Similar	9	5	18	32 (42%)
Worse	4	5	11	20 (26%)
Total	22 (29%)	15 (20%)	39 (51%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

A comparison of changes in housing quality with the changes in property tenure that resulted from relocation reveals that the households that became property owners tended to gain better quality housing than those that became tenants (TABLE 41). Similarly, when the changes in housing are compared with present property tenure,

two-thirds of those households that gained an improvement in quality of housing are now owners and one-third are now tenants (TABLE 42). These figures complement the housing cost figures presented earlier. Many former clear-title property owners became mortgaged owners after relocation. This suggests that the purchased properties cost more in cash than the Rose-Blanshard properties and, presumably, were of higher quality.

TABLE 41

CHANGE IN PROPERTY TENURE VERSUS CHANGE IN HOUSING QUALITY

Housing Quality	Property Tenure			Total
	Renter to Owner	No Change	Owner to Renter	
Better	5	16	3	24 (32%)
Similar	4	26	2	32 (42%)
Worse	3	16	1	20 (26%)
Total	12 (16%)	58 (76%)	6 (8%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .04

TABLE 42

PRESENT PROPERTY TENURE VERSUS CHANGE IN HOUSING QUALITY

Housing Quality	Property Tenure		Total
	Owner	Tenant	
Better	16	8	24 (32%)
Similar	19	13	32 (42%)
Worse	10	10	20 (26%)
Total	45 (59%)	31 (41%)	76 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

Relationship of Housing Quality With Socio-Economic Characteristics

Were housing quality and socio-economic indices correlated using city-wide data it would be reasonable to expect a relatively high correlation. In this sample, however, the correlations are all less than .1500. A partial explanation lies in the fact that the majority of households displaced by the renewal project had relatively low incomes and, consequently, a strictly limited range of financially realistic housing alternatives. The limited variation obviates any strong relationships, but certain implications can be pointed out. If some of the "poor" households were forced, by a lack of other alternatives, to occupy higher quality housing than they could afford, they would have less disposable income for necessities such as food and clothing. This situation could create a new set of

TABLE 31
MONTHLY HOUSING PAYMENTS

	Number of Households Making Payments	Average Payment Per Month
Formerly	34	\$53
Presently	60	\$75

The number of households paying rents of over ninety dollars per month increased from one to twenty-three (two percent to thirty percent) (TABLE 32). Furthermore, there was a significant change in the numbers making either rent or mortgage payments each month. Forty-eight, or almost sixty percent of the households had no payments to make before relocation; these were the clear title owners. After relocation twenty-eight of these households were making monthly payments, in most cases on property for which the sums received from the sale of the Rose-Blanshard homes served only as down payments. Presumably, the twenty households that retained their status as clear title owners either purchased property of lower quality or less room than the former residences, or spent some of their savings to obtain accommodation of comparable quality. It is noteworthy that, while eleven households experienced a decrease in monthly costs of housing, a correlation of .4265 between change in cost and change in quality indicates that some of these households probably also experienced a decrease in quality of housing. Similarly, there was a correlation of .4841 between the change in monthly cost and the quality of the post-relocation dwelling.

marginally self-supporting households and produce serious problems for those whose incomes were already marginal before moving, for example, those living on fixed incomes. If this occurred, households would not have sufficient money to spend on the maintenance or repair of their homes. This appears to be the case because nearly one-third of the relocation dwellings are deteriorating at a faster rate than other housing in the surrounding neighborhood.

Deterioration at the Relocation Sites

The dwellings and properties occupied by the displaced households were classified according to whether or not they showed signs of recent deterioration. This evaluation was independent of the housing quality rating, which was based primarily on structural quality and age. Such things as broken windows and doors, junk piling up in yards, and a general appearance of dilapidation were considered to be aspects of deterioration caused by the present occupants. Major disrepair, such as broken gutters, loose shingles, and shaky porches were taken into account only in the quality evaluation, although it may well be that the present occupants are responsible for some of the major defects as well.

The relocation process took place over a period of approximately two years and the majority of households had been settled at their present sites for more than two years when the housing survey was done for this study. Despite this relatively short period of time, thirty-four percent of the newly occupied dwellings showed

evidence of disrepair and deterioration beyond that which one would expect with normal maintenance and usage. There is a strong negative relationship between deterioration and the age of the relocation dwelling (0.6506). (The oldest homes on the sale or rental market at the time of relocation were generally the cheapest. Many of the low income households could not afford anything better, but neither could they afford the extra costs of maintaining an older home. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that many of these older, and often lower quality dwellings, show signs of recent deterioration. In a few years the city may be faced with a whole new crop of blighted areas instead of the concentration that existed in the Rose-Blanshard area before renewal.)

Significant relationships also occurred between deterioration and two other variables, property tenure and change in general pattern of life. A far higher percentage of tenant occupied than of owner occupied dwellings showed evidence of recent deterioration (TABLE 43). Owners, obviously, have investments to protect and are more willing than tenants to devote the time and energy necessary toward maintaining their properties. The second of these relationships reflects the effect of the change of circumstances from those prevailing at Rose-Blanshard. Only fourteen percent of the households living in deteriorating property indicated that they had experienced major changes in life style, while sixty-eight percent felt that they had experienced almost no change since moving away from

Rose-Blanshard (TABLE 44). It may well be that many of these households consider deteriorating property as a normal part of their existence. As a corollary, those now living in well maintained premises may feel that the contrast with their previous experience is great enough to constitute a major change in their general life styles.

TABLE 43

PRESENT PROPERTY TENURE VERSUS PROPERTY DETERIORATION

Deterioration	Property Tenure		Total
	Owner	Tenant	
Yes	9	19	28 (34%)
No	37	17	54 (66%)
Total	46 (56%)	36 (44%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .19

TABLE 44

CHANGE IN GENERAL LIVING PATTERN VERSUS PROPERTY DETERIORATION

Deterioration	Degree of Change			Total
	Little	Moderate	Substantial	
Yes	19	5	4	28 (34%)
No	26	8	20	54 (66%)
Total	45 (55%)	13 (16%)	24 (29%)	82 (100%)

Guttman's Coefficient of Mutual Predictability = .0

Indices of Satisfaction

In order to measure relationships between the housing characteristics already mentioned and the level of satisfaction of the relocated households with their new circumstances, a set of indices was derived, employing the same technique as was used to provide the socio-economic indices. Factor analysis of twenty-one variables which were felt to have a bearing on satisfaction yielded seven factors, which, together, explained sixty-six percent of the variance within these variables (TABLE 45). The scores for these factors then were correlated with the housing variables.

It was found that none of the housing characteristics bore a strong relationship with the satisfaction factors. Nevertheless, several of the correlations are worthy of mention. The strongest are between the first satisfaction factor (satisfaction with change) and whether the household has more or less dwelling space now than before relocation ($r = -.3451$); the amount of open space in the immediate vicinity of the home ($r = -.3450$); and whether or not there is evidence of recent deterioration ($r = .3227$). Those households that acquired less dwelling space than they had in the project area tended to be less satisfied with their relocation circumstances than those who acquired more space. Similarly, if they relocated in an area with little open space the odds favour dissatisfaction. Finally, the weak but positive correlation between property deterioration and dissatisfaction reveals that, while most of the households occupying neglected

TABLE 45

GENERAL SATISFACTION FACTORS

Question Number	Factor Names Variables R-B=Rose-Blanshard W.S.=Welfare Survey 1966	Satisfaction with change 1	Social Contact 2	Period of R-B occu- pancy 3	Degree of Change 4	Satis- faction with R-B 5	Satisfaction with present situation 6	Relocation desires 7
8	Desire to remain in R-B	<u>.5879</u>		.3713		-.2689		.2365
10	Feelings about leaving R-B	<u>.5164</u>			.4444	-.2957		
12	Benefited from relocation	<u>-.7160</u>			-.2762			.2179
31	Desire to return to R-B	<u>.8291</u>						
32	Best things about R-B	<u>.5952</u>		.3287		.3961		
35	Present versus former situation	<u>-.7165</u>					-.3816	
49	Satisfied with change	<u>-.6931</u>						
63	Number of Disclosed Contacts		<u>-.5302</u>			.4541		
28	Number of social contacts in R-B		<u>-.8400</u>					
29	Number of retained contacts		<u>-.9197</u>					
1	Number of years in Victoria			<u>.8097</u>			.2436	
6	(W.S.) Period of R-B occupancy			<u>.8039</u>				-.2212
9	Change in life since R-B		-.2104	<u>.2034</u>				
51	Provision for other families				<u>.7227</u>			
33	Worst things about R-B	-.2270			<u>-.7762</u>			
8A	(W.S.) Desire to move			-.2285		<u>.6121</u>	-.3303	
30	Friendliness of neighbors					<u>.7507</u>		
37	Satisfied with present situation	-.4709	.2395		-.2309		<u>-.7976</u>	
8B	(W.S.) Desire to move where?						<u>-.5023</u>	
26	Relatives nearby in R-B		.3216	-.2327	.2690			<u>-.8616</u>
2	Number of moves before R-B		.3734		-.2561		.4190	<u>.4172</u>

.5870 - strongest factor loading over .5000 per variable

property did not experience a great deal of change in their lives as a result of relocation, they were not satisfied with their present circumstances. It is likely that the dissatisfied occupants of deteriorating accommodation are those who aspire toward better quality housing, knowing that they will never be able to afford it.

Summary

Relocation of the displaced residents resulted in significant changes in property tenure and in housing costs and quality. The number of tenant households increased only slightly, however, almost one-fifth of the former tenants became property owners. Displacement shifted some of the families with sufficiently high incomes into homes of their own and shifted some of the elderly singles and couples out of single family dwellings and into apartments. (The consequence of moving out of a low-quality, low-cost neighborhood was, for most households, a substantial increase in their costs of housing.) Before relocation only one household was paying more than ninety dollars per month compared to twenty-three (almost thirty percent) afterwards. (The average cost of accommodation was increased by about forty-two percent and many of the former clear-title owners were now making payments.) Despite the increase in cost, one-half of the households had less living space than before and one-fifth had an equal amount.

With respect to housing preferences, most of the households had a desire to live in single family dwellings, yet, some realized that this was not a financially feasible alternative and indicated

that they would be willing to move into the government low rent apartments which replaced their former homes. The number of households that stated that they would not like to live in the low rent housing increased from thirty-seven percent before relocation to seventy-four percent afterward. They may be loath to suffer a repetition of the inconvenience and problems of moving and resettling, even to gain the advantage of subsidized rent.

Although relocation did not result in significant changes in the total number of households occupying each class of housing quality, there was a considerable shift within each category. About half of those formerly in good quality housing had acquired dwellings of lower quality, while nearly one-half of those in poor quality housing had acquired accommodation of better quality. Overall, twenty-six percent of the households experienced a loss of housing quality. The relocation picture is darkened by the fact that some thirty percent of the relocation properties are already showing evidence of neglect and deterioration.

None of the housing characteristics is strongly related with any of the socio-economic or satisfaction factors. This may be partially explained by the relative lack of variability in the socio-economic status of the group of households being studied. The unifying factor is that most of the households fall within a relatively low income category. The lack of correlation may also indicate that housing characteristics play a minor role in governing

the degree to which a household is satisfied or dissatisfied with its relocation circumstances.

(Many of the households appear not to have suffered as a result of relocation, but neither did the majority improve their circumstances. If one of the objects of renewal was to relieve the city of blighted areas, then Victoria's renewal scheme was not entirely successful. In the short run, renewal quite successfully destroyed a concentration of low quality housing and it will provide accommodation for a number of low income families. However, as evidenced by the number of deteriorating relocation dwellings, it has also succeeded in dispersing some of the Rose-Blanshard blight into other parts of the city.)

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The examination of the relocation process, the resulting resettlement pattern of the displaced households, and the changes in housing characteristics experienced by these households revealed that the effect of Victoria's urban renewal program extended well beyond the boundaries of the renewal project area. The more obvious results of removing an area of blighted housing and improving the effectiveness of the road pattern by extending Rose Street were accompanied by significant changes in the lives of the displaced households. These changes went unnoticed after relocation because the households involved were no longer concentrated in Rose-Blanshard, but were dispersed throughout the city. However, when the experience of these households is brought into focus by dealing with them as a group once again, it is evident that renewal is a tool capable of causing changes in the urban sphere far more profound and complex than its parent legislation intended.

Summary

Investigation revealed that the city encountered many substantial problems in attempting to relocate the one hundred and fifty-seven households dwelling in the project area. Most of the difficulties were related to the relatively low incomes of many of the households. Although the city was obliged to conduct a survey

of housing for sale and for rent and to establish an administrative procedure to handle relocation before federal subsidies would be committed, these steps did not guarantee either the availability of housing, or that adequate relocation procedures would be followed.

(The city knew the whereabouts of less than twenty percent of the displaced households after relocation and, therefore, could not assure that the rest were rehoused in decent, safe, and sanitary accommodation at fair and reasonable rentals, as was required by the National Housing Act.) The 1966 real estate survey revealed an adequate supply of housing available at that time, however, most of the households did not move until late in 1967 and early 1968. During this period real estate price inflation created a "sellers market" in which the low income families suffered a distinct disadvantage in competition for housing. The availability of a relocation office did not alter the fact that Victoria's housing market was not capable of supplying the sudden increase in demand for low-cost housing. This, in combination with the fact that housing costs in the Rose-Blanshard area were relatively low, resulted in an increase of more than forty percent in average monthly costs of housing occupied by the displaced households. It is not surprising that the project area residents were reluctant to leave their homes for financial reasons alone.

When the Rose-Blanshard scheme began, neither the federal renewal legislation nor the provincial act governing expropriation

included a clause requiring compensation for emotional stress and inconvenience suffered as a result of relocation. The owners received compensation only for their property and the tenants received only notices to vacate. If a complete benefit-cost analysis of the renewal project were carried out the disruption suffered by the displaced households would appear as one of the costs. Although this cost is difficult to measure, by not recognizing it and compensating accordingly, the benefits of the project would be proportionately greater. By accident of location the displaced households were, in effect, forced to subsidize the project at their own expense.

Despite these problems all of the project area residents had relocated by the end of 1968. The pattern of relocation sites that resulted was nodal and was focussed on the project area. The majority of residents relocated less than one and one-half miles from their former homes and, for the most part, within the older residential areas of the city. Contrary to expectations, it was found that the socio-economic characteristics of the households bore only a weak relationship with the distance variables that were derived from the relocation pattern. It was evident that the district in which Rose-Blanshard was situated exerted a considerable attractive force on the households and that this force did not discriminate according to socio-economic status. The more satisfied a household was with circumstances in the Rose-Blanshard area the closer it

relocated. The relocation choices also were affected by such factors as the status of the housing market and the direct influence of the relocation office. Of the sampled households, eighteen percent relocated in areas of the city in need of rehabilitation, according to the Capital Region Planning Board, and seven households were temporarily placed in premises due to be demolished.

It was found that the majority of the displaced households made relatively few alterations in their patterns of shopping, banking and recreation activities, probably because the relocation distances were minimal. The greatest number of changes occurred in the patronage of stores for grocery shopping. Some fifty percent of the households began to shop for groceries at stores more convenient to their relocation sites, while the remainder continued to patronize the Safeway store near the project area. Only in the case of recreation did there appear to be some adverse effects. The increased costs of housing left the households less uncommitted disposable income and, as a result, a number of those living on low fixed incomes, such as pensions, were forced to curtail some of their recreation activities.

Changes in housing characteristics were by far the most significant changes experienced by the displaced households. In addition to substantially increased costs there were changes in property tenure, quality of housing, amount of dwelling space, and in attitudes toward the low rent housing. The number of tenant households

increased slightly, while one-fifth of the former tenants chose relocation as an opportunity to purchase their own homes. The total number of households in each quality category remained approximately the same, but changes occurred within each quality category. About one-half of those households formerly living in good quality housing acquired dwellings of lower quality, while one-half of those formerly in poor quality housing moved into dwellings of better quality than those they had occupied before relocation. Of the total households in the sample approximately twenty-five percent experienced a decrease in housing quality and fifteen percent remained in poor quality housing. It was evident that there was a trade-off between housing quality and dwelling space. In order to maintain or improve the level of quality, many households had to forfeit some dwelling space. On the other hand, households consisting of large families had to accept lower quality housing in order to obtain the same amount of space. Despite the increased costs and, in some cases, decreased quality and space, less than one quarter of the displaced households expressed a desire to return to the project area to take advantage of the low rent housing erected in the place of their former homes. As with the relocation pattern, it was found that the socio-economic characteristics of the households were not related to any of the changes that occurred in housing characteristics.

Conclusions

The major aim of this study, to describe and explain the relocation pattern that occurred and the housing changes experienced by the households displaced from Victoria's Rose-Blanshard renewal project, was accomplished. A further objective, but one which met with less success, was to explain the changes that occurred in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of the displaced households. The lack of any strong relationships between the socio-economic variables and any of the other variables in this study is primarily a result of the relative homogeneity of the displaced group. The unifying factor appears to be the relatively low incomes of most of the households.

Although it was not an objective of this study to condemn the urban renewal program, something already effectively accomplished by a federal task force on housing and renewal, the results of the analysis lead to several criticisms. (If the renewal program were meant to relieve the city of blighted residential housing and, as a corollary, to provide housing for low income families, then it was only marginally effective. Equally as many of the Rose-Blanshard households were living in substandard dwellings after renewal as before. Furthermore, over thirty percent of the relocation properties already show evidence of deterioration, and nineteen percent of the households relocated in areas of the city in need of rehabilitation. It should also be noted that some of the deteriorating

properties were situated outside the city. In effect, the renewal action of the city also spread blight into other municipalities.) On the other hand, the ninety new subsidized rent apartment units would likely absorb some of the low-income families from other municipalities, and, thereby, might even the balance. It should also be noted that those occupying the subsidized rent units will be those truly in need of social assistance. It is likely, however, that the city could have provided urban renewal benefits with fewer adverse effects, by following a different course of action. As guidelines for the future, several recommendations can be made, the first of which could have been implemented within the regulations outlined in the federal renewal legislation at the time of the Rose-Blanshard renewal project.

- 1) Instead of destroying all the houses in a relatively small area, the urban government should devote its attention to larger tracts, with the aim of purchasing and renovating dilapidated but structurally sound dwellings, and destroying only those buildings which are beyond redemption. These properties should not be resold but leased or rented. In this manner the local government could build up a land bank and exert more direct control over land uses as well as real estate speculation. These scattered properties also could be used in trade to acquire larger blocks or strips of property for the construction of such things as low rent

housing or road development. The process of renewal would be a continuous program of redevelopment rather than a series of disruptive attacks on blight, and, as a consequence, low income families displaced from sub-standard housing would not be forced to compete with one another for limited supplies of low-cost housing.

- 2) In conjunction with this program, income supplements, rather than rent subsidization, should be provided for low income families who are willing to vacate sub-standard housing and move into and maintain standard quality dwellings.¹ The substandard dwellings vacated should not be allowed to return into the housing market until they are renovated.
- 3) As poverty is a metropolitan problem and as blight does not respect municipal boundaries, the land bank, continuous renewal, and welfare programs should operate at the metropolitan level of government.

Further Research

If the goal of decent, safe and sanitary housing for everyone

¹Charles Abrams suggested income subsidization in 1956, pointing out, in particular, the "vast spiritual difference between paying the required rent and being on permanent dole." In The City is the Frontier (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 267. Eugene Smolensky points out the advantages of income supplements in "Public Housing or Income Supplements," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 34, No. 2, March, 1968, pp. 88-101.

is ever to be achieved, solutions must be found for the problems associated with renovating and maintaining the urban housing stock. The factors governing the demand for various types of housing and location preference within the metropolitan area must be investigated. This research should be aimed at developing predictive models which will allow planners to accurately anticipate housing demands. Several suggestions for research arising from this study are:

- 1) Data should be gathered and analysed on all types of relocation, forced or otherwise, to find out the various factors governing intraurban mobility.
- 2) A study should be undertaken of those households that moved into the Rose-Blanshard low rent housing, especially to find out what type of accommodation they abandoned and its subsequent disposition.
- 3) A re-survey of the households involved in this study should be carried out at intervals of about two years in order to determine the long term effects of the Rose-Blanshard project.

The ultimate objective of such research should be guidelines that will allow us to control, rather than simply predict and compensate for, the evolution of the urban environment.

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Correspondence with various city officials and with the Department of Social Welfare.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

URBAN RENEWAL HOUSEHOLD SURVEY Feb. 25, 1966

1. Name _____ Address _____ Tel. _____

2. TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

(family) (+ relatives) (+ boarders) (+ roomers)

3. HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

	Sex	Age	Income: Pension	Social Welfare	Other
Householder					
Family member					
" "					
" "					
" "					
" "					
Relative					
" "					
" "					
" "					
Boarder					
" "					
" "					
" "					
Roomer					
" "					
" "					
" "					

T O T A L _____

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME _____

4. OWNERSHIP/RENT

Is Property:

Owned _____ Rented _____ Leased _____

Taxes _____

Mortgage/month: \$ _____

Rent/month: \$ _____

Rent includes: Yes No

Heat _____

Electricity _____

Telephone _____

Water _____

Appendix A (cont'd.)

5. SERVICES:

	<u>Nil</u>	<u>Shared</u>
Hot Water	_____	_____
Sink	_____	_____
Stove	_____	_____
Fridge	_____	_____
Toilet	_____	_____
Bath, shower	_____	_____
Washbasin	_____	_____
Wash machine	_____	_____

6. OCCUPANCY: _____ yrs. _____ mos.7. CAR OWNERSHIP: 0 - 1 - 28. RESIDENCE INTENTIONS:

A. Would you like to move?

yes _____ no _____ indifferent _____

B. If yes where? _____

(1) Would you want to

build _____ buy _____ rent _____ undecided _____

(2) When buying or building -

What price range? \$ _____ to \$ _____

What down payment? \$ _____

What mortgage payment? \$ _____

(3) Monthly rent anticipated? \$ _____

(4) What type of housing do you prefer?

Single family residence _____

Duple _____

Semi-detached _____

Apartments _____

(5) Would you like to find accommodation in a Government sponsored low rental housing scheme?

Yes _____ no _____ temporarily _____ undecided _____

REMARKS: (Ethnic Group; Attitude; Places of Recreation & Shopping etc.)

APPENDIX B

CONFIDENTIALRELOCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

- Is Mr. (or Mrs.) _____ at home?
- I am from the University of Victoria (show I.D.) working on a research project on the way in which the city of Victoria managed the Rose-Blanshard Renewal scheme. I understand you used to live in the Blanshard area on _____ St.
I would like to get your advice on how well the city managed the project and how you felt about having to move.

(Be prepared to make an appointment for later time)

CALL NO.	DATE	TIME IN	TIME OUT

NAME _____ TEL. NO. _____

ADDRESS _____

- Incidentally, everything you tell me will be kept in strict confidence and nobody will be quoted or mentioned by name. This study is part of the work of a Geography student at the University and is not an official study of the city.
- (If needed for emphasis or reassurance)

I am trying to find out what happened to the people who had to move as a result of the Rose-Blanshard Renewal scheme, and to find out how they feel about housing in Victoria. As you were directly involved only recently, I feel you can best tell me how the process of renewal affected people in the renewal area. With your help I hope to get some idea of the effectiveness of the relocation program.

I.

1. How long have you and your family lived in Victoria? _____ (A) - (Absolute)
2. Since you have been in Victoria, how many times did you move before coming into the Rose-Blanshard area? _____ (A)
3. After leaving the Rose-Blanshard area, how many times did you move before coming to this house/apartment? 0 1 2 3 (A)
4. How long have you been living here? ___yrs. ___mo. (A)
5. What things made you decide to live here?

No choice - city moved us here	(1)	Out of City	(4)
House available at time and could afford it	(2)	Other	(5)
Cheap	(3)		
6. Do you plan to move away from this area to another part of Victoria? NO (1) YES (2)

IF YES Why do you plan to move?	(Not Coded)
IF YES To which part of Victoria would you like to move?	(Not Coded)
IF YES Why would you like to live there?	(Not Coded)
7. What things do you like or dislike about Victoria? (NOTE IN ORDER OF RESPONSE) (Not Coded)
8. Would you have stayed in the Rose-Blanshard area if the renewal scheme had not been planned? NO (1) YES (2)

9. Has your life in general changed since moving from the Rose-Blanshard area?

Would you say:

IN ALMOST EVERY WAY.. (4)
 IN MANY WAYS (3)
 IN A FEW WAYS (2)
 HARDLY AT ALL (1)

OR

IF 1, 2, or 3, ask for examples.

NO RESPONSE (0)
 PHYSICAL CHANGE ... (1)

FINANCIAL CHANGE (2)
 SOCIAL CHANGE (3)

10. How did you feel when you were told that you would have to move out of your place in the Rose-Blanshard area?

(RECORD comments on degree of anger, sadness, indifference or happiness at news.)

Happy (1)
 Indifferent (2)
 Sad (3)
 Angry (4)

11. What things made the move the hardest for you?

Nothing Difficult About Move (1) Attached to House ... (4)
 Financial Problems (2) Attached to Area (5)
 Finding Another House (3)

12. Would you say that you benefited from relocation

A GREAT DEAL (3)
 A LITTLE (2)
 NOT AT ALL (1)

OR

II.

13. Would you say it takes longer, about the same time, or less time to get to work now compared with when you lived in the Rose-Blanshard area?

LONGER (3)
 SAME (2)
 LESS (1)

14. Do you have to go farther, about the same distance, or a shorter distance to go shopping for everyday goods such as groceries?

FARTHER (3)
 SAME (2)
 SHORTER (1)

15. Where did you shop for food before? _____ No Change (1)
16. Where do you shop for food now? _____ Change .. (2)
17. Where did you do your other shopping (for general goods) when you lived in the Rose-Blanshard area? _____ No Change (1)
18. Where do you do your other shopping now? _____ Change .. (2)
19. How do you usually get to work or go shopping?
 CAR (1)
 BUS (2)
 WALK (3)
 OTHER (Specify) _____ (4)

FOR THESE NEXT TWO QUESTIONS, I JUST WANT TO KNOW THE GENERAL LOCATION, NOT THE SPECIFIC NAME.

20. Where did you do your banking when you lived in the Rose-Blanshard area? _____ No Change (1)
21. Where do you do your banking now? _____ Change .. (2)
22. Which of the major shopping centres do you use most?
 None (1) Town & Country (4)
 Downtown (2) Simpson Sears (5)
 Woodward (3)
- How Often? _____ (A)
23. Where did you go for recreation before? _____ No Change (1)
24. Where do you go for recreation now? _____ Change .. (2)

25. In general, would you say you find it more convenient to get around the city now than when you lived in your place in the Rose-Blanshard area?

MORE (3)
 SAME (2)
 LESS (1)

III.

26. Did you have any relatives living close to you, say within 2 or 3 blocks when you lived in the Rose-Blanshard area?

NO.. (1) YES (2)

IF YES What relations were they to you?

(Not Coded)

27. Do you have any relatives presently living near you?

NO.. (1) YES (2)

IF YES What relation are they to you?

(Not Coded)

28. How many of your former neighbors in the Rose-Blanshard area would you say you had close contact with? In other words, visited often, had coffee with, etc. _____

(A)

29. How many of your old neighbors do you still keep in touch with? _____

(A)

30. Would you say your present neighbors are more friendly, about the same, or less friendly than the old neighbors?

MORE (3)
 SAME (2)
 LESS (1)

31. If you were given the opportunity now, would you like to go back to live in the Rose-Blanshard area if it had not been changed?

NO.. (1) YES (2)

32. What were the best things about the Rose-Blanshard area? What do you miss the most?
- | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Nothing | (1) | Friendly People | (3) |
| Convenient | (2) | Home & Aesthetics .. | (4) |
33. What were the worst things about the old area?
- | | |
|----------------------|-----|
| Nothing | (1) |
| Traffic and Noise .. | (2) |
| Not Clean | |
| Crowded | |
| Bad People | |
| Slummy | (3) |
34. In general, how did you (your family) fit in with the Rose-Blanshard area? Did you have any serious problems there?
- | | |
|------------------|-----|
| No Problems..... | (1) |
| Problems | (2) |
35. In general, how does this area compare with the Rose-Blanshard area as a place to live? Would you say it is better, no different, or worse?
- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| BETTER | (3) |
| NO DIFFERENT | (2) |
| WORSE | (1) |
36. Would you give me a list of four or five things that you like about this area and four or five things that you dislike?
37. In general, would you say that you are satisfied, indifferent to, or dissatisfied with this neighborhood?
- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| SATISFIED | (3) |
| INDIFFERENT | (2) |
| DISSATISFIED | (1) |
-

38. Are there any children in the family or this household? NO..... (1) YES (2)
IF YES ASK THE FOLLOWING 4 QUESTIONS:
39. Do you think that the move was harmful to the children?
NO..... (1) YES (2)
IF YES In what ways? (Not Coded)
40. What do the children like or dislike about this area compared to the Rose-Blanshard area? (Not Coded)
41. Did the children have to change schools? NO..... (1) YES (2)
42. Do the children have a longer trip, about the same, or a shorter trip to school now than before?
LONGER... (3)
SAME (2)
SHORTER . (1)
-

IV.

43. If someone you meet elsewhere in Victoria asks where you live, what do you tell them?
IF NAME OF NEIGHBORHOOD GIVEN _____ (Coded as #44)
OTHER _____
IF STREET ADDRESS GIVEN, ASK:
44. Does this part of town have any particular name?
NO..... (1) YES (2)
IF YES What is it? _____ (Not Coded)
45. If you had to move next week and were forced to choose between these two possibilities, which would be most likely to satisfy you?
A good house in a less desirable neighborhood _____ (1)
A less desirable house in a good neighborhood _____ (2)

46. Which type of housing do you prefer?
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| | SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE | (1) |
| | DUPLEX | (2) |
| | APARTMENT | (3) |
| OTHER (Specify) _____ | | (4) |

47. Would you say that you have more room, the same, or less room than you had before?
- | | | |
|--|------------|-----|
| | MORE | (3) |
| | SAME | (2) |
| | LESS | (1) |

How many rooms are there in this house/apartment? _____ (A)

48. I am going to read you a few statements and ask you to tell me how important these things are in making a good place to live.
- (GIVE CARD, ESSENTIAL, SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT, NOT VERY IMPORTANT) E (3) SI (2) NVI (1)

- (a) shopping facilities within easy walking distance
- (b) a friendly neighborhood where people stop and talk on the street and visit one another often
- (c) plenty of parks
- (d) quietness
- (e) a neighborhood where you can be yourself and not worry about what other people think
- (f) good roads and sidewalks
- (g) convenient public transportation
- (h) friends close by
- (i) low tax assessment
- (j) good street lighting

49. Taking everything into account about the change from the Rose-Blanshard area, would you say that you are generally satisfied, dissatisfied or that it made no difference?
- | | | |
|--|--------------------|-----|
| | SATISFIED | (3) |
| | SAME | (2) |
| | DISSATISFIED | (1) |

50. Would you like to move into the new apartments being built now in the Rose-Blanshard area? NO (1) YES (2)
IF NO Why? (Not Coded)
51. Do you feel that the city made adequate provision for most of the families that had to be moved from the Renewal area? NO (1) DON'T KNOW (2)
YES (3)
-

V.

52. Do you think urban renewal is generally a good thing? NO (1) DON'T KNOW (2)
YES (3)
53. What do you suggest to improve on the way this redevelopment project was handled?
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| Don't Know | (1) | More Warning and Time | |
| Nothing | (2) | to Move | (4) |
| Better Financial Provisions | (3) | Don't Destroy Good Housing | (5) |
| | | Better Public Relations | (6) |
| | | Be More Humane | (7) |
54. Has the city of Victoria been in touch with you since you relocated? NO (1) YES (2)
IF YES In what way? (Not Coded)
55. Do you feel that the city made adequate provision for you and your family? NO (1)
CAN'T DECIDE (2)
YES (3)
-

VI.

IN order to better understand what the city did, I need to know a few things, such as: who all lives here with you now? Who is the head of this household? How old is he/she? What does he/she do? Where?

56. Household Members:

Family	Sex	Age	Employment
1			
2			
3			
4			
.			
.			
.			

Relatives

Boarders

Roomers

Family Member Interviewed	Head (1)	Other (2)
Sex of Head	M (1)	F (2)
Total in Family	_____ (A)	
Children at School or Younger	_____ (A)	
Employment Status		
	Unemployed	(1)
	Retired	(2)
	Employed	(3)
Age of Head	_____ (A)	
Age of Oldest Child	_____ (A)	
Age of Youngest Child	_____ (A)	
Average age of Children	_____ (A)	

I ALSO need to know a few things about income and living expenses. Would you just look at this card (GIVE CARD) and tell me the letter of the category that is closest to your present total monthly income.

(ONLY IF REASSURANCE NEEDED, remind them that the information will remain strictly confidential).

57. Income category

50-100 (1)	200-251 (4)	350-400 (7)	600-700 (10)
100-150 (2)	250-300 (5)	400-500 (8)	700-800 (11)
150-200 (3)	300-350 (6)	500-600 (9)	800-900 (12)

58. Do you own or rent this dwelling? OWN (1)
RENT (2)

59. How much is the rent/mortgage
payment per month? _____ (A)

60. Approximately how much would you
say you spend on food each month _____ (A)

61. Do you own a TV _____ Radio _____ Fridge _____
Sewing Machine _____ Washer _____ Dryer _____
Freezer _____ (Not Coded)

62. Do you own any cars? or other vehicles?
0 1 2 3 CARS
OTHERS _____ (A)

JUST ONE LAST THING:

In order for this research to be as complete as possible, I would like to see as many of the people who lived in the Rose-Blanshard area as I can find. Can you help me with the present names and addresses of anyone you know who lived in the area and would like to answer the same questions? (A)

(2) Condition (cont'd.)

<u>Indices of Condition</u>	<u>Range of Penalty Points</u>
Eaves, gutters and downspouts plugged, broken or missing	0 - 2 - 4
Walls loose, broken, built with cheap material, badly in need of paint	0 - 2 - 4
Porches loose, broken, without railing, rotten ..	0 - 2 - 4
Building out of plumb	0 - 2 - 4
Foundation non-masonry	0 - 2

Penalty points were added and buildings rated as follows:

<u>Rating</u>	<u>Points</u>
GOOD	1 - 4
FAIR	5 - 8
POOR	9 - 12
VERY POOR	13 (Poor and very poor were combined into a single category).

Source: City of Victoria Planning Dept., Proposed Urban Renewal Scheme - Blanshard Redevelopment, Appendix II, pp. 1-2.

APPENDIX C

Survey of Housing Condition

The following standards were used to assess the quality of housing in the 1961 "Urban Renewal Survey for Victoria", in the 1966 survey of housing in the Rose-Blanshard Project Area, and in the assessment of the present residences of those persons displaced from the project area.

(1) Age and Initial Construction

<u>Rating</u>	<u>General Description</u>
GOOD	Post-war best construction Post-1930 good construction 1910-1930 best construction
FAIR	Post-1930 fair construction 1910-1930 good construction
POOR	1910-1930 fair construction Pre-1910 good or best construction
VERY POOR	Pre-1930 poor construction 1910-1930 poor construction.

As allowances were made for major repairs, maintenance, and renovation on older dwellings, there is some degree of flexibility in these ratings.

(2) Condition

<u>Indices of Condition</u>	<u>Range of Penalty Points</u>
Chimney broken, leaning in need of paint	0 - 1 - 2
Roof shingles missing, loose or badly weathered	0 - 2 - 4

General Upkeep of the Interior

The interior of the dwellings was rated subjectively as either GOOD, FAIR, or POOR. Taken into account were such things as cleanliness of the rooms, orderliness of the furniture, condition of the furniture, and a general impression of the dwelling interior.

Recent Deterioration

A simple present or absent rating was used to note any recent deterioration of the dwelling. This was considered to be general wear and tear beyond that which one would expect from normal usage. It included more than structural damage, for example, torn screen doors, broken windows or fences, and junk piling up in the yard, were considered to be indications of a lack of ability or willingness to maintain the property.

Condition of the Surrounding Neighborhood

A rating of either, GOOD, FAIR, or POOR was assigned, based on upkeep, amount of space around buildings, lot size, and proximity of land uses that pose a nuisance to residences.

Surname: ROBERTSON

Given Names: ROBERT WAYNE

Place of Birth: BELLEVILLE, ONT.

Date of Birth: APRIL 15, 1944

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

University of Victoria 1962 to 1967

University of Victoria 1968 to 1970

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. 1967 University of Victoria

Honors and Awards:

Canadian Association of Geographers Award 1966-67

Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation Fellowship 1968/69 & 1969/70

University of Victoria Graduate Scholarship 1969/70

Publications:

Toward a Recreation Feasibility Assessment Model

with J. Ross, Geographical Studies, Department of Geography,

University of Victoria, June, 1969.

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