# STATE INTERVENTION, THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM IN JAMES BAY, VICTORIA

by

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## ABSTRACT

The 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence and development of an urban community movement in Canadian cities. This thesis examines this social phenomenon in James Bay, Victoria. It derives its theoretical guidance from the contributions of Marxist theory to urban studies in geography and the social sciences generally. The study investigates the struggles between classes and class fractions within the general dialectic between the state's quest for social control and the community movement's pressure for social change. More specifically, examination is given to property development, the restructuring of living conditions and the provision of collective consumption in James Bay focussing particularly on the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) as an act of state intervention. Consultation with various archival records and interviewing constituted the principal research methods employed.

The study shows that in the early 1970s, resistance grew in opposition to local state support for the redevelopment of James Bay in accordance with the 1967 plan. The actions of property developers resulted in a loss of single family dwellings and a general deterioration of living

conditions for the established residents. Under the ideological hegemony of environmentalism, a broad-based populist movement confronted the conservative local bourgeoisie. The James Bay community gained several reforms including downzoning and the establishment of NIP. This conjuncture (1974-1975) marked a critical phase in the development of the community movement. NIP was partly instrumental in determining whether or not there would be increased radicalization of the movement, or it would remain satisfied with the immediate reforms gained.

Conflict developed between the municipality and the James Bay NIP Committee over the content of the programme. The former advocated a public works, maintenance orientated programme, while the latter stressed the need for social facilities. Simultaneously, the conservative wing of the community movement advocating beautification schemes and aesthetic considerations was defeated. In the finalization of the plans, the core of the community's demands were acceded to, but the populist alliance had been broken. Tensions remained under the local state's initial domineering implementation of the programme especially over the community centre and land acquisition for low-income housing.

Despite bringing some significant gains to the neighbourhood, the NIP period was marked by an ambiguous reorganization of collective consumption. Contradictory housing policies impacted upon James Bay during 1975-76. New

stimulation for construction opposed the principles of NIP dedicated to the rehabilitation and stabilization of the neighbourhood. By its tacit support for redevelopment the local state did not assert the primacy of NIP. The reluctance of the community movement as a whole to deal with this contradiction created a cleavage between its moderate and radical fractions. This split became reflected on the NIP Committee.

The dominant moderate fraction treated NIP in an administrative manner rather than as a vehicle for furthering social change. The local state's turn towards an advocacy role resulted in the re-integration of the moderate fraction into the state's conception of the political process, while the radical wing became alienated and disaffected. The benefits and failures of the programme tended to be distributed accordingly.

The thesis thus uncovers the shifts in social relations within the community movement and the internalization of contradictions within the municipal state apparatus. It concludes with some comments that arise from the study pertaining to the urban reform movement and the social conditions at the time of writing.

EXAMINERS:

[redacted]

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The form of this thesis has developed markedly from its inception and narrow concern with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in James Bay. It became clear to me that an analysis of NIP could not be undertaken in isolation from the community movement in James Bay, and Victoria generally, nor from its relation to the process of capitalist urbanization in Canada generally. In pursuing this direction, one is struck by the virtual absence of any in-depth study of the political economy of the City of Victoria and its metropolitan environs. While I do not claim this to be a definitive statement on the subject, this study nevertheless contributes to the filling of this large void, and hopefully it may provide a basis for further research by others. In the study of urban Canada, Victoria remains a much neglected city.

In aiding the accomplishment of this thesis, I wish to extend my gratitude in several directions. Two people above all have been influential. For the initial encouragement given me in the perspective adopted, a great debt is owed to my good friend and contemporary, Anders Sandberg. His modest nature probably prevents him from realizing his true worth. In its subsequent development, much appreciation is owed to Dr. Rennie Warburton, whose influence as an external

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While their collective advice has been appreciated and noted, I wish to make it clear, however, that the responsibility for the final content is mine and mine alone. To anybody who may feel upon reading this that they have been miscast or misconstrued, I would like to apologize. Nevertheless, if there has been misinterpretation on the smaller details, I remain confident that the essence and thrust of the statements made herein are valid. If, in the last analysis, the study has not been as tightly pulled together as it might be, I nevertheless feel the attempt has been fruitful and worthwhile. The extent of the achievement remains for the reader to judge.

Additionally, I would like to thank those who spared me some of their time in order to be interviewed, Mary Pankowski for granting me access to the community's records of NIP, and Shiela Grigg and Charles Ball for loaning me back issues of the community newspapers. Lastly, I would like to

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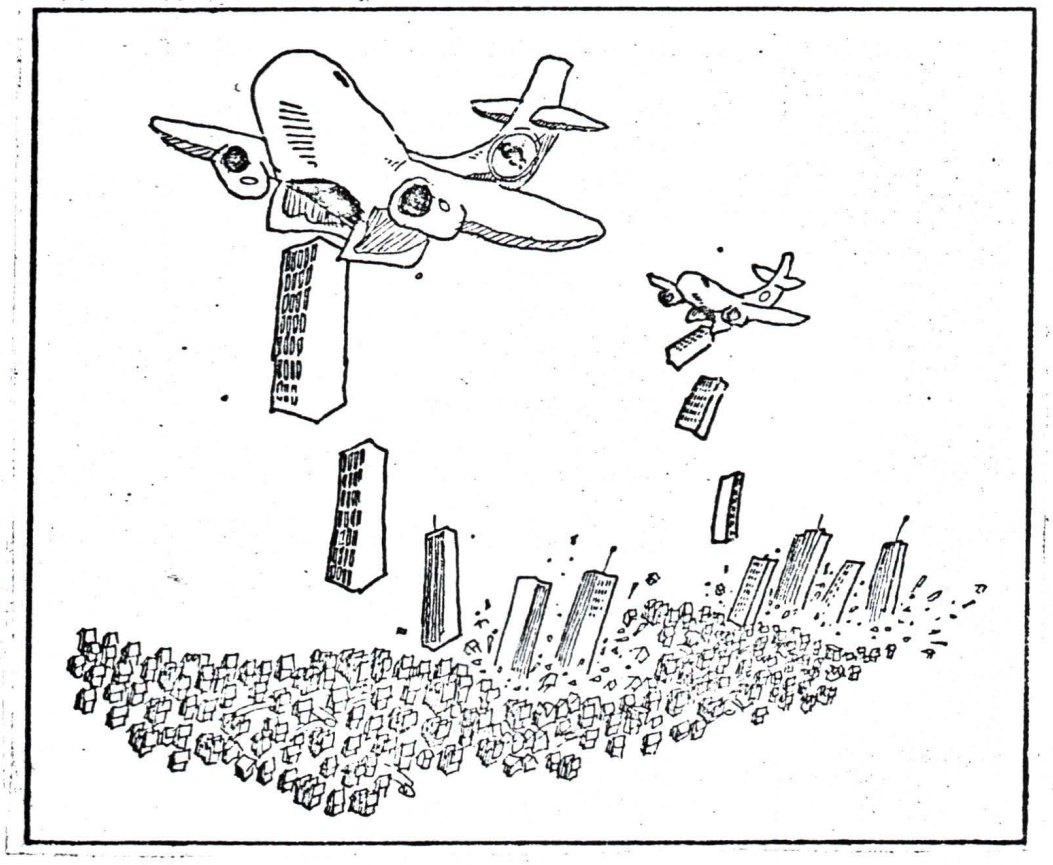
Strangers in our city
They come from God knows where
Despoiling every neighbourhood,
Indeed, why should they care
If our city was unique before they
came to town
And bought those lovely homes,
just to knock them down
What do they care if the have-nots
Have no place to dwell
They only care for property,
To demolish and build and sell.
Condominiums and apartments
That really cost a packet
While ordinary folks like you and I
Can't begin to hack it.

Where can one find a dwelling,
That permits a child or pet?
If we cannot stop them now,
We shall live to regret.
Alas, we know the game
That the Powers-that-be will play,
Too soon those familiar beauty
Spots will surely fade away.

Where is the people power,
That should be out in force?
Is everybody fishing,
Or out on some golf course?
Support your own community,
United we shall stand
And keep out the opportunists,
Who desecrate the land.

Phyllis E. Chamberlain

James Bay News, 4:4, October 1976, p. 6



Beckley Farm News, 1:1, July 1977, p. 10

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

> For a while in the late 1960s and early 1970s resident groups showed much fire and engaged the energies of many persons in what seemed then the redirecting of society. The quality of the environment was undoubtedly a major motivational force in their activity.
>
> Yet the bloom has faded. The institutionalization of part of the platform by a more sympathetic council, especially over questions of undesirable land developments, has sapped the strength of involvement; success, if partial, has spelled failure for extensive participation. Possibly the development of multiservice centers and recreational facilities in connection with local schools may generate greater interest. Yet resident associations have pressed for little beyond the protection of private property and a serene environment...[1]

JBCP

The development of the James Bay community movement has striking parallels to the general findings of other studies of community politics and the urban reform movement in Canada (Fraser and Hopkins 1978; Goldrick 1978; Lemon 1978; Freeman 1979; Harris 1980 a,b). Accordingly, this study takes its place in the growing body of research devoted to recording the history of community resistance to the restructuring of conditions for monopoly capitalism in the late 1960s and through the 1970s. Although the details of this struggle have varied from city to city, a common undercurrent is distinguishable. Lorimer (1978, p. 238) summarizes:

> Everywhere...it had the same key characteristics: it cut across social class lines; and its participants represented a wide range of basic political convictions but shared the view that at least some of the projects which were imposed on cities by city hall and the developers were undesirable and should be halted.

The movement's populism was noteworthy for its alliance of enlightened businessmen, middle class professionals, welfare tenants, environmentalists, counter-culture types and socialists. Like its form in Victoria, it was an amorphous collection of allies finding themselves with a common interest at particular conjunctures. When the immediate demands were met, the community movement began to wane and lose impetus. Its populist base which at one time was its strength, had now become its weakness, as the previously covert internal contradictions and tensions came to the fore. Fraser and Hopkins (1978, p. 54) write:

> ...the idealism that nurtured the belief that middle-class professionals and welfare tenants could join together to "save neighbourhoods" withered when inner-city houses began to sell for $80,000 and up.

Across Canada splits occurred in the community movement, e.g., the performance of TEAM in Vancouver (Gutstein 1975; Persky 1980), the limits of urban reform in Toronto (Goldrick 1978; Freeman 1979) and the changing fortunes of the Montreal Citizens Movement (MCM) (Raboy 1978,

Roussopoulos 1978; Schecter 1978; Milner 1979). Similar features hold for the James Bay community movement and the push for reform in Victoria.

As such this study of James Bay is a microcosmic analysis of a general trend in Canadian urban centres, particularly in the inner city neighbourhoods.

The plight of the inner city in advanced capitalist societies has received considerable attention in geography and other branches of the social sciences. The 'urban crisis' characterized by inner city degradation, high unemployment from the loss of manufacturing industries, urban renewal, the perpetuation of poverty, social service cutbacks and fiscal strain has been studied by scholars of varying persuasions. However, the persistence and aggravation of these problems flew in the face of conventional explanations and remedies. Such a disjunction between the material reality and the realm of ideas spurred a re-examination of theory. This has been integrally tied to the reassessment of the discipline of geography.

The inability of the barren quantitative revolution to say anything significant on the problems of the day (Smith 1971; Harvey 1973, pp. 128-9) provoked a debate on relevancy, social justice and the interests that geography was serving (Anderson 1973; Harvey 1974). Dialogue on the social role of the geographer unfolded in the pages of Area

in the early years of the 1970s, reflecting a variety of ideological persuasions (Chisholm 1971; Prince 1971; Berry 1972; Blowers 1972, 1974; Eyles 1973; Smith 1973). This debate expressed a crisis within geography that was also being felt in other disciplines (Gregory 1978, p. 53). In retrospect, the last decade has been a period of upheaval in geography that has witnessed the emergence of different directions.[2]

For many the most promising and insightful have been the development of more 'critical' and 'radical' approaches that recognize the necessity to seek explanation in the social structures of society (Hurst 1973; Eyles 1974; Gray 1975; Pahl 1975; Peet 1977). Increasingly this direction has drawn upon and further developed Marxist theory. Given impetus by the pioneering works of Harvey (1973) and Castells (1977a) these trends can be traced in the development of urban studies.

The study of the city and urban problems was initially rooted in the ecological approach formulated by Park and Burgess (1925). Since their initial conceptions, together with Wirth's (1938) Urbanism as a Way of Life, this approach has had remarkable endurance and longevity.[3] By the quantitative era it found its expression in factorial ecology and social area analysis, and was being subjected to the same criticisms of the day. For instance, Carney and Taylor (1974, pp. 230-1) remarked:

> Empirical social geography eagerly resorts to small area census information...Yet there is a great danger in accepting such information as being a definitive 'information universe'. Often official data is deliberately silent on the most crucial relationships in space economies. Moreover, social geographic empiricism tends to concentrate on isolated elements of urban and sub-regional space economies like housing markets, employment questions, retail organization and so on. This avoids looking at, for example, the structural features of class, ownership, power and control, which are at the core of questions - how do space economies 'hang together?'

For many, therefore, the need was to focus on power in the city and the social forces that exercise control over it. Stress was laid on the role of 'gatekeepers' in the city who influenced peoples' life chances in what became known as the 'managerialist thesis' (Rex and Moore 1967; Deakin and Ungerson 1973; Lambert and Weir 1975; Pahl 1975; Gray 1976; Duncan 1976; Williams 1976). Attention was focussed on bureaucrats, real estate officials, mortgage lending institutions, etc., which discriminated in their allocation of urban resources. A similar standpoint was adopted by proponents of a 'welfare geography' (Cox 1973, Smith 1977) who asked "who gets what, where and how?" As revealing as this approach was empirically, it was limited theoretically. The prime weakness of this neo-Weberian approach lay in its stress on the allocative mechanisms of resources and arguing, consequently, that urban conflicts and problems emanate from the distribution process. This

begged the question of how these resources were produced and the constraints thus imposed. The logical question raised by this paradigm was whether or not a fair allocation of material and symbolic rewards could be attained without any change in the existing relationships of production (Crompton and Gubbay 1977, p. 26), something clearly open to debate.

Additionally, the importance attached to 'gatekeepers' became a fetishism, a point which Pahl (1975, p. 267) himself came to acknowledge:

> The focus on urban managers or gatekeepers "allocating" indirect wages and controlling access to scarce urban resources and facilities in "an urban system" is useful, but too much should not be built upon it. Certainly the danger of reifying concepts such as "allocative structures" should be avoided...It is understandably very easy for the researcher to view the situation through the eyes of disadvantaged local populations and to attribute more control and responsibility to the local official than, say, local employers or the national government.

Urban managers, although playing a mediating role, are only middle-men to which full autonomy can never be granted. More appropriately, the 'gatekeepers' need to be located within the social structure, a point taken up and developed by Lambert, Paris and Blackaby (1978, pp. 18-19). The authors, having initially conceived of their study within the 'managerialist' perspective, became aware of the need to

place it in the context of a wider theory of the state. There was a denial that institutional arrangements per se produced shortages and inequalities, or indeed that they were inevitable, but rather an understanding that they were systematic to capitalist society - a position that only Marxist theory could explain.

If most of these developments within the discipline occurred in Europe and to a lesser extent in the United States, their impact within Canadian urban studies was slight. Although there has been a revitalization of Canadian political economy (Clement and Drache 1978), this too has had little impact on urban commentaries. Instead a more critical understanding of Canadian cities grew from direct social experience rather than from any fundamental shifts within Canadian academia. The work that was undertaken remained entrenched within liberal formulations, if not directly sponsored by the central government (Lithwick and Paquet 1968; Simmons and Simmons 1969; Lithwick 1970; Hartwick and Crowley 1972; Richardson 1972; Axworthy and Gillies 1973; Nader 1975, 1976; Gertler and Crowley 1977; Russwurm, Preston and Martin 1977).

The 'radicalization' occurred in Canada's major cities during the late 1960s and early 1970s when citizens began defending neighbourhoods against the onslaughts of developers (Granatstein 1971; Fraser 1972; Pasternak 1975). This movement gave impetus to what may be termed the "James

Lorimer School" (Lorimer 1972; Powell 1972; Gutstein 1975; Lorimer and Ross 1976, 1977; Aubin 1977) and in the founding of City Magazine. It too focussed on how power was exercised in cities, but from a very instrumentalist, and at times, conspiratorial perspective. The exposure of scandal and collusions received emphasis rather than the social context in which it occurred. Documentation became a substitute for theory, thus providing no more than a romanticization of neighbourhood struggles and the plight of those affected. This is not to say that muck-raking is not of significance as it produces empirical content, but the tendency to put it at the centre of study and thus ascribe to it causative power is to draw conclusions from surface appearances rather than seeing these events as expressions of underlying forces more fundamental to the running of society. This perspective inevitably arrives at the conclusion that if a different set of politicians were elected, then the problems of Canadian cities would soon disappear. Again, this position is clearly contestable and puts the 'school' into a similar camp to the neo-Weberians.

Both these approaches tend to accept the social structure as it exists. In contrast, Marxism opens to scrutiny society's social structure. It is one thing being critical of a social-economic system and entirely another to lay bare the foundations upon which that system sits. However, geographers have been traditionally loathe to adopt

a theory of society (at least in an explicit working capacity)[4] but if its claim to be a social science is to be upheld this is not only desirous but sine qua non. Sayer (1978 p. 39) explains:

> If all science must involve criticism of ideas and if ideas in the social world are inscribed in practice (including the practice of science) ...then social science must be critical of its object of study-society. (original emphasis)

Without this ingredient, geographical practice becomes no more than ideology, or what Gregory (1978, p. 63) calls "unexamined discourse". Adherents to this perspective criticize conventional geography for its "abstracted empiricism" (Slater 1977, p. 41), its "disjointed eclecticism" (ibid, p. 49) derived from an inter- disciplinary approach in an attempt to overcome the atomization of the social sciences, and its ideological effect of being a subject in servitude to the ruling classes of society (Anderson 1973; Harvey 1974; Peet 1977). Anderson (1980, p. 19) scathingly, but nevertheless penetratingly summarizes the chaos of conventional geography:

> For a discipline with traditional pretensions to be "the integrating science" it is ironic that Geography lacks a conceptual framework capable of integrating even its own concerns. It has traditionally had three main concerns - with Nature, Place and Space. But the conscious adoption of a positivist epistemology

> which was supposedly applicable to all areas of science in fact led to unprecedented fragmentation, into a plethora of separate sub-disciplines and incompatible approaches. Not surprisingly this eclectic mish-mash has defied attempts to find a coherent synthesis, whether through a common "scientific methodology", "general systems theory", "time-space geography", a focus on "policy issues", or other means .

In contradistinction, Marxism offers an approach that comes nearest to being integrated and holistic and at the same time internally logical and consistent within itself. Consequently it purports to being transdisciplinary (Simmie, in Lambert, Paris, and Blackaby 1978, p. vii) or non-disciplinary (Anderson 1980, p. 19), or, more controversially, aims for a de-definition of geography (Hurst 1979, p. 64).

If this appears contrary to much of conventional geographic practice, this is precisely because of theoretical difficulties encountered with the discipline's very own object of study, to which much of geography's ongoing crisis of identity and image can be traced. In claiming to be the "spatial analysts" or "locational scientists", "[t]he 'fetishism of space' is the geographer's particular conceit" (Anderson 1973, p. 3) and at the same time his/her largest burden (Eyre 1973). Traditionally the relationship between social groupings or classes has been presented as relations between areas, i.e., a 'natural' relationship rather than

one between people and classes, or as quantitative relations rather than social relations. It has failed to grasp that space is a material entity that is historically constituted by social practice, although it may in itself present constraints on that same practice. It follows from this that space is not given , but its meaning is a product and expression of social relations. To Harvey (1973, pp. 10-11),

> Spatial forms are...seen not as inanimate objects within which the social process unfolds, but as things which 'contain' social processes in the same manner that social processes <u>are</u> spatial. (original emphasis)

This means that there can be no theory of space <u>per se</u> (which conventional geography has at least implicitly been trying to construct), but rather one that is integral to a general theory of society. Space "is not a theoretical object, but a real object, since space is a material element and not a conceptual unit" (Castells 1976 b, p. 70). However, while acknowledging space as a real object, it is only this in an abstract sense. The implications of this are spelt out by Burgess (1980, p. 17):

> ...space exists in the abstract only in so far as it can be posited in the concrete (place). It follows from this that the uniqueness of place derives from its concrete quality, whilst the universality of space derives from its abstract nature - <u>place is space specified</u>, tout court. (original emphasis)

Further, while space cannot be theoretically considered apart from a general theory of society, place cannot be empirically studied apart from the specific historical development of social relations.

Transposing these conceptions into 'urban' terms, the crucial point that emerges is to distinguish between problems of the city (in either its spatial or cultural form) and problems in the city. The latter is a clearer appreciation of reality. In other words, they are not so much urban problems, but those of society at large with the city as both a product of, and an arena for their specific manifestation. Hence for Castells (1976 a,b; 1977 a,b) the city is an ideological subject of study and not a theoretical object of study. It can only be studied within the context of society as a whole.

With city life in Canada and elsewhere becoming increasingly politicized, and the state intervening more regularly in attempts to alleviate the worsening problems, this development needed to incorporate a coherent theory of the state. To one writer (Anderson 1978, p. 88), the state in "enabling economic growth, providing welfare services and ensuring political control, is seen as a key element in the social structuring of geographic space"; to another, "[t]he concern to revitalize the inner city is prompted primarily by a concern for social order, not a commitment to social justice" (Loney 1979, p. 150), while for Schecter

(1978, p. 35), "social control lies at the heart of the urban crisis". The message is clear: a Marxist theory of the state's mediation of capitalist social relations must be firmly embodied in the development of urban political economy.

## HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Marx's theory of history and social development, i.e., historical materialism, inverts the idealist premise that the world is a product of ideas. Instead the materialist conception begins with consideration of the material production for the support of life. Marx (1976, p. 47) explains:

> ...we must begin by stating the first premise of all human existence...[is]...that men must be in a position to live in order to be able to "make history". But life involves before everything else eating and drinking, housing, clothing and various other things. The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself. And indeed this is an historical act, a fundamental condition of all history, which today, as thousands of years ago, must daily and hourly be fulfilled merely in order to sustain human life.

In order to achieve this men must engage in social relationships that are both a product and characterization of a particular mode of production which thus expresses "a definite mode of life" (ibid., p. 37). In a classic passage, Marx (in McLellan 1977, p. 389) summarizes the principles of

the materialist conception:

> In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

Whilst this controversial passage has led to some branding Marx as an economic determinist, elsewhere Marx (1976, p. 61) makes it clear that there is "reciprocal action of these various sides on one another" and hence we find the favouring of the concept of 'relative autonomy' between different structural levels in some circles of contemporary Marxism. Rader (1979) develops this distinction by distinguishing between a mechanistic, reductionist base-superstructure model and an organic totality model. The latter retains the notion of hierarchy, but recognizes different degrees of subordination and domination for its parts. While acknowledging the causal primacy of the mode of production, it does not regard all social phenomena as a derivation of it in a reductionist sense. Within the concepts

of hierarchy, subordination and domination, the organic model of historical materialism conceives society to be a totality of its constituent parts in constant dialectical relation with one another, so that the whole is in a fluid state that determines its changing nature. Consequently, this enables seemingly isolated social phenomena to be reconciled within a structured totality. Hence for Gregory (1978, p. 67), "the critical sciences maintain that the object of their inquiry is a dialectical totality which cannot be reduced to a set of categorical constructs".

Marx saw the forces governing social development in terms of the mutual interaction between the productive forces and the relations of production. Central to this concept is the notion of contradiction, whereby the relationships between different 'parts' do not necessarily exist harmoniously, but rather antagonistically. The interests of one threaten the interests of the other, and so Marx and Engels (1973, p. 9) were able to conclude that:

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

In capitalist society the fundamental contradiction is that between capital and labour. The pursued interests of one undermines the interests of the other and vice versa, yet they cannot exist without one another. This struggle,

therefore, is crucial to the understanding of the dynamics of capitalist society.

## THE SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

In its broad context, this thesis has three underlying aspects. Firstly, the historical setting of the research topic lies within a period of crisis and social unrest in Canadian cities. Secondly, it aims to add to the revitalization of Canadian political economy (Clement and Drache 1978), and thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, it attempts to link a particular Canadian urban experience to the current developments in the discipline of geography at large. Thus the thesis derives its theoretical basis from the principles of Marxism, and the critique that it offers to conventional geography outlined above.[5]

More specifically, its scope examines the manner of state intervention in the historical development of James Bay, Victoria. In undertaking this, it also attempts to meet the demand laid down by Lambert, Paris and Blackaby (1978, p. 171):

> To concentrate on the special features of one city, however, is to fail to grasp the importance of locating general theories about our society in actual empirical examples.

In other words, it links the particular to the general, which necessitates moving from levels of abstraction to the historical form of concrete social conditions in James Bay. Prime attention is devoted to the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP), a state interventionist policy introduced to James Bay in 1974. However, it must be stressed, that NIP cannot be considered strictly within its own time span, i.e., its four year duration. For its full social meaning to be uncovered, its historical pre-conditions must be assessed, together with its legacy and aftermath to avoid historical abstraction. Similarly, NIP cannot be examined purely in a local context, but must be related to forces at a wider level of existence. Accordingly the thesis will deal with:

i) The social forces external to James Bay but which have impinged upon and changed its form;

ii) The internal structure of the neighbourhood that is subsequently constituted which in turn confronts the external social forces and affects its internal social development;

iii) The role played by the state in mediating between these various classes and class fractions which in the process produces its own modification.

In echoing the words of Cockburn (1977, p. 112), neighbourhood/community research that looks for hidden, underlying structures and class relationships illustrates the

means by which the state and capital can frequently "benefit from and exploit or disarm progressive ideas and progressive people". By forging links between social practice and social structure, the thrust of the thesis will demonstrate the shifts in urban politics and political power at a local level, and how struggles between classes become incorporated into the state.

Although NIP was also implemented in the neighbourhoods of Victoria West and Fernwood, the rationale for selecting James Bay for study is:

1. James Bay has undergone pronounced changes in the last decade;
2. The neighbourhood has been an area of controversy and conflict, with a high public profile;
3. It has a tradition of vigorous community activism;
4. The practicalities in undertaking the research prevent full consideration of the other programmes due to the amount of material to be consulted and the constraints of time.

For coverage of the necessary time span, the study period encompasses approximately 15 years beginning in the mid 1960s when the area began being redeveloped and concluding at the end of the 1970s.

METHODOLOGY

In undertaking the research, the reconstruction of historical events is done in such a way as to provide a strong interdependence between the theory and a chain of observations. The crucial level of analysis is in the identification of contradictions in both the social structure and social practice. In one form contradictions exist between different structural levels so that there is an interpenetration of opposing social forces that produce change in their respective forms. For example, contradictions are seen to exist between capital and labour, between the functions of the state and the aims of the community movement, and between the imperatives of capital accumulation and the reproduction of labour power.

In another form, contradictions are seen to exist within specific social organizations, e.g., within the state apparatus and the James Bay community movement themselves. That is to say, their very form is contradictory and characterized by internal antagonisms. In the latter case, the community movement is regarded as both a defensive body, e.g., resisting intrusions into the neighbourhood, and an offensive one in aiming to create a new social and political environment. That is not to say that they are equally prominent at any particular moment, however. The community movement is thus constituted as a unity of opposites, which depending upon the social circumstances may be complementary

or hostile. The dialectical relationship or reciprical interaction between these two aspects determines the development of the internal 'life' of the community movement. In fighting external threats, it brings changes within itself. The external threat mediates the development of the inner dialectic between its two aspects.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program can be conceived as a unity of opposites in a similar manner. What NIP is, is also what it is not. It therefore has a positive and negative dimension, which together constitutes its being or identity. One defines the other and does not exist apart from it in the same way that a master is defined by his slave and vice-versa. They are in essential relation with one another.

Consequently, to concentrate solely on the positive aspect would be a one-sided and partial appreciation of its form. To see it in its total dimension, the negative side of its unity must be equally considered. However, to treat these polar opposites as separate is false. Although the opposites are mutually exclusive, they encounter one another dialectically, producing change in each of their forms. Nevertheless, the difficulties of considering all sides in one breath and the need to control one's thoughts, means that some distinction must of necessity be drawn in order to give structure to the analysis, but not in a manner that ignores reference to its other dimensions. It cannot be

considered either totally within itself or totally outside of itself.

The manner in which these various contradictory forces develop explains the changing social conditions in James Bay. In addition, 'organizations' and actors are seen as the expression and articulation of contradictions and thus affect their resolution and development. Hence for Marx (1976, p. 62), "circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances", or put another way (Marx, in McLellan 1977, p. 300):

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past.

The point at issue here is not to treat actors as autonomous beings able to act without constraint as is implied in behavioural decision-making theory, but rather to see their actions limited by the surroundings they find themselves in. Hence Castells (1977 a, p. 262) uses the term "actor-supports". He (ibid, p. 251) explains:

> ...it is unthinkable to define them [actors] independently of the context of the social positions they occupy and, consequently, to analyze the processes that unfold between them as pure exchange, since this exchange will depend on the situation of the actors

> in the social structure and their 'message' as the information transmitted rather than on the code used.

The importance of this lies in the need to look behind the expressed statements of intent and motivation, and thus examine the 'objective implications' rather than the 'subjective intent'.

For the employment of this methodology, one would like to draw upon as much primary source material as possible. However, for this study past briefs or documents were not always available, while minutes of city council and James Bay NIP Committee meetings tend to record decisions but little of the debate on issues. Nonetheless, the minutes of the latter body are distinctly more informative in this regard. Consequently, primary sources have been consulted and used where possible, e.g., minutes of meetings, correspondence, historical documents, but increased stress has necessarily been put on secondary sources.

In this regard, information was derived from two principal sources. These two means do not coincide with the different stages of analysis that follow, but cover the whole. They should therefore be regarded as complementary to one another, although the second could not be undertaken until the first had been completed.

The first stage entailed an extensive review of articles in various daily, weekly and community newspapers

that covered events related to James Bay in the study period (see Appendix A). The articles consulted included reports, editorials, journalists' columns, special features and letters to the editor which were deemed pertinent to the study. For the Daily Colonist and Victoria Times these were found indexed in the B.C. Newspaper Index. For the other newspapers, a manual search was required.

Once this task was completed and an information base was established, a series of interviews were conducted with various key people that had been identified from the newspaper search. The interviews were undertaken to acquire further data on events that took place, glean additional explanation to those events, provide greater background material, confirm one way or another on matters that were not clear from newspaper reports and generally to fill in holes in the information that appeared from the newspaper search. The interviews were taped and were of a structured, non-standardized type. Questions were prepared before the interview providing a guide, although supplementary questions were often made during the interview for probing, clarifying and reinforcing purposes, depending on the responses offered by the interviewee. The non-standardized format was utilized because the interviewees were involved at different times and in different capacities, thus warranting a flexible approach. In other words not all the prepared questions were relevant to each interviewee. Additionally the required

flexibility made the use of questionnaires redundant.

The interviews served an additional role other than adding to accumulated data. It is recognized, that newspapers may be selective in their coverage of an issue, or may choose to ignore an event altogether, resulting in an inherent bias in their treatment or portrayal. Consultation of newspapers of different 'stripes' may compensate for this to some extent (at least as far as the publication dates allow), but the interviews were seen as a stronger measure to counteract this tendency, particularly as views were obtained from people involved in diverse capacities. Moreover, newspaper coverage may miss those with much power, but who 'participate' by reputation, covert influence or through intermediaries, and who are unlikely to surface in the public eye, i.e., the unaccountables.

Whilst the experience of interviewing is judged positively on the whole, some qualifying comments are in order. In some cases memories were found to be hazy or unreliable on the part of some interviewees, particularly in recounting events of a decade or so ago. In such cases, the material provided is treated circumspectly. The presence of a tape-recorder was not felt to be a hindrance to the interviewee's response (indeed, interviewees were quite willing to be recorded on tape), but there were occasions when responses were felt to be guarded or deliberately superficial. Yet, perhaps this is equally revealing!

Finally, figures and statistics were obtained from Victoria city hall on demolition permits and value of building permits. Other housing statistics were obtained from the local office of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Having outlined the approach to be adopted, the remainder of the thesis essentially falls into two parts. The first deals theoretically with the issues at hand; the second analyzes the case study set within this framework. The thesis moves therefore from the general to the particular and from the abstract to the concrete. In the first part, Chapter 2 outlines the general nature of capitalist society, including a consideration of class especially in relation to the reproduction of labour power. Chapter 3 develops the theory to look more specifically at the role of the state, planning, public participation and 'community development'. In the second part, Chapter 4 traces the development of James Bay from the mid 1960s to the introduction of NIP to James Bay. In Chapter 5, the NIP policy is considered within the context of Canadian urbanization and national housing policies, and is further appraised in terms of its assumptions, scope and intrinsic organization. The programme's particular designation and implementation in James Bay is examined in the following two chapters. Chapter 6 mainly analyzes NIP in itself, while Chapter 7 investigates other occurrences in the neighbourhood that have a direct bearing

upon NIP's implementation. The conclusions of the study are made in Chapter 8, and additional comments on some of the emergent points of the research are stated in an afterword.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Lemon, J.T. (1978), the Urban Community Movement: Moving Toward Public Households, in Ley, D. and Samuels, M.S. (ed), Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems, Chicago: Maaroufa, pp. 319-37.

2. As much as geography has developed through many changes of direction, Burgess (1980, p. 12-13) seems correct in remarking that geographers have been reluctant to undertake a thorough philosophical analysis of their discipline. Indeed, geography is conspicuous by its absence in Blackburn's (1972) collection. Nonetheless some notable works have been published. Harvey's (1969) Explanation in Geography stands as the classic treatise on positivism and the quantitative revolution. His latter book, Social Justice and the City (1973) portrays the shift from a liberal to a more radical basis. Buttimer (1974) extends the discussion of philosophical values, while a more recent wide-ranging appraisal is given by Gregory's (1978) Ideology, Science and Human Geography.

3. The critique of the ecological approach has been developed most thoroughly by Castells (1976 a,b; 1977 a).

4. Anderson (1980, p. 22) in citing the work of Carl Sauer, suggests that this has been as much deliberative as it is neglectful.

5. Although the perspective presented here is regarded as broadly Marxist, it makes no claim to follow any particular strain, whether it be Althusserian structuralism, the German Frankfurt School, the San Francisco Kapitalistate group, or any other. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that two works have been especially influential to this study, namely Manuel Castells' The Urban Question (1977 a) and Cynthia Cockburn's The Local State (1977). However, I do not fully embrace either; the former due to its fetishism of collective consumption and the rigidity of its structuralism, the latter due to its failure to explicitly recognize the degree of local

state autonomy from its national counterpart. If in not adhering strongly to any particular school, there is a resultant tendency for eclecticism and subsequent theoretical weakness, it is due to my limited investigation of some of the fundamental epistemological considerations of Marxist theory that would no doubt allow a qualitative improvement to this thesis.

# CHAPTER 2

## ASPECTS OF A THEORY OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

### THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

A comprehensive coverage of the nature of capitalist society can not be provided in a single chapter. Therefore, discussion is confined to aspects of it that pertain to this study. In a simplified sense, capitalist social formations consist of a bourgeoisie or capitalist class, and a proletariat or working class.[1] The former own the means of production, i.e., the factories, machinery and raw materials, while the latter owns nothing but its labour power which it sells in return for wages. Capitalist society, therefore, is characterized by the domination of labour by capital.

Under the capitalist mode of production goods and services are typically produced for sale and not for need, at least only as far as they have utility necessary for the realization of the former. These commodities are offered in the market for money which in turn is used to purchase other goods.

Thus, the capitalist purchases machinery, technology, raw materials and labour power for the manufacture of a commodity which he then sells in order to recoup the

money he laid out and make a profit. The consumption of commodities is necessary if the production process is to continue without impediment.

One aspect of this process is for the capitalist to buy, in the market place, labour or more accurately labour power, i.e., the ability to work.[2] As with any other commodity under capitalism, labour power has a use-value and value. Its use-value is the power to produce, while its value is the socially necessary labour time for its production, or rather reproduction.[3] Therefore, the wage the worker receives from the capitalist is equal to the value of the necessaries required to reproduce and maintain the labourer and his capacity to work. This is not just to meet his basic needs but also incorporates those of his family and hence the reproduction of the next generation of the working class. Besides food, shelter and clothing, therefore, it extends to cover the consumption of education, health, recreation and various other services.[4]

Consequently labour power has a value, not in a hard and fast sense, but 'flexible' reflecting established living standards, which themselves have been influenced by class struggle. Just as much as the capitalist must buy the worker's labour power, therefore, the worker has to sell it.

The worker is not coerced into this relationship, but enters it out of economic necessity. He must work in order to live, and in the process surrenders his creative

capacities to the capitalist's control.

However, what appears as a fair exchange of equivalents masks the reality of the relationship. The problem that presents itself is how can the capitalist pay a wage equal to the value of labour power which he then puts to work in the production of commodities, and yet upon selling those commodities he finishes with a profit. The answer lies in the ability of labour to produce a value greater than its own, or to put it another way, the value it produces is greater than that embodied in the goods the worker and his family consume for their own reproduction. It only takes part of the labour time to produce value enough for the worker's reproduction. The remainder is therefore termed surplus labour, as distinct from socially necessary labour, and the value that is produced in the former period is termed surplus value. "Surplus value is the difference between the value produced by the worker and the value of his own labour power" (Mandel 1970, p. 24). The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that the worker does not get paid for the full value that he produces, for the surplus value is extracted by the capitalist. It is within this process of appropriation of surplus value by the capitalist that labour is said to be exploited. Exploitation occurs, then, in the relations of production, not in the relations of exchange.

The existence of this process marks the relationship between the two classes as one of antagonism. As much as the working class struggles to gain an increasing share of the value it produces to improve or maintain its standard of living, so the capitalist is forced to resist this under the imperatives of accumulation to maintain his competitive edge in the market place. Marx (1977, p. 555) wrote:

> ...the development of capitalist production makes it constantly necessary to keep increasing the amount of the capital laid out in a given industrial undertaking, and competition makes the immanent laws of capitalist production to be felt by each individual capitalist, as external coercive laws. It compels him to keep constantly extending his capital, in order to preserve it, but extend it he cannot, except by means of progressive accumulation.

The extraction of surplus value is thus sine qua non for the renewed and continuous accumulation of capital. Despite this condition, however, the single-minded pursuit of profit can only occur at the expense of working class interests and thus promotes class conflict. Yet, on the other side of the coin the suppression of wages might lead to the inadequate reproduction of labour power. A constant tension therefore exists over the destination of respective shares of the value produced by the workers, but this is not the only contradiction that exists within the accumulation process.

As capitalist society is predicated on the continuous accumulation of capital, it must be able to reproduce the very conditions essential to its existence. Capitalism does not just exist in its present form as a massive and static reality, but is in a constant process of ever renewing the conditions for its continued existence in all its aspects. This necessitates the reproduction of stable social conditions in which accumulation can take place, the reproduction of the social relations of production, the reproduction of the means of production and the reproduction of labour power. Hence Harvey (1978 a, p. 113; 1978 b, p. 213) is able to refer to the process of capitalist urbanization as the continuous creation of a material physical infrastructure for production, circulation, exchange and consumption.

For this undertaking, different types of capital exist, namely industrial, commercial, financial, property and service. While they each have a certain degree of autonomy, they are necessarily interdependent which leads to antagonistic relations between them. Under such conditions, the landscape that capitalism creates is a constant locus of contradiction and tension which restricts the smooth functioning of the accumulation process (Harvey 1977 a, p. 274). This is not only due to the possibility of the existence of an unsatisfactory infrastructure, but because of the need to switch accumulated capital from the production process to complex use values in other spheres including fixed capital

for a built environment and social services. Crompton and Gubbay (1977, p. 178) take up this point:

> Between these different types of capital there are characteristic but shifting alliances, perhaps the most secure of which is that between finance and property. The most generally significant division among types of capital is that between those in productive and unproductive spheres, for, from the point of view of the former, the latter, however necessary they may be, are a drain on surplus product [value].

Harvey (1978 a) has extended the conception of the transfer of surplus value to other uses. This is illustrated in figure 1. The investment of fixed capital in the built environment does not produce any direct profits; it is only an aid albeit a necessary one, for the realization of profits. This inherent condition consistently results in a tendency on the part of the bourgeoisie to under-invest in the infrastructure, that has historically required financing by the state to make good. In this role, the state can be seen to regulate the contradiction between the socialized use of the infrastructure and the privatization of capital.

Continuous antagonisms exist, then, within the process of capitalist urbanization as it proceeds uneasily between preserving the values of past capital investment in the built environment and destroying them in order to create new opportunities for investment for the sustenance of capital

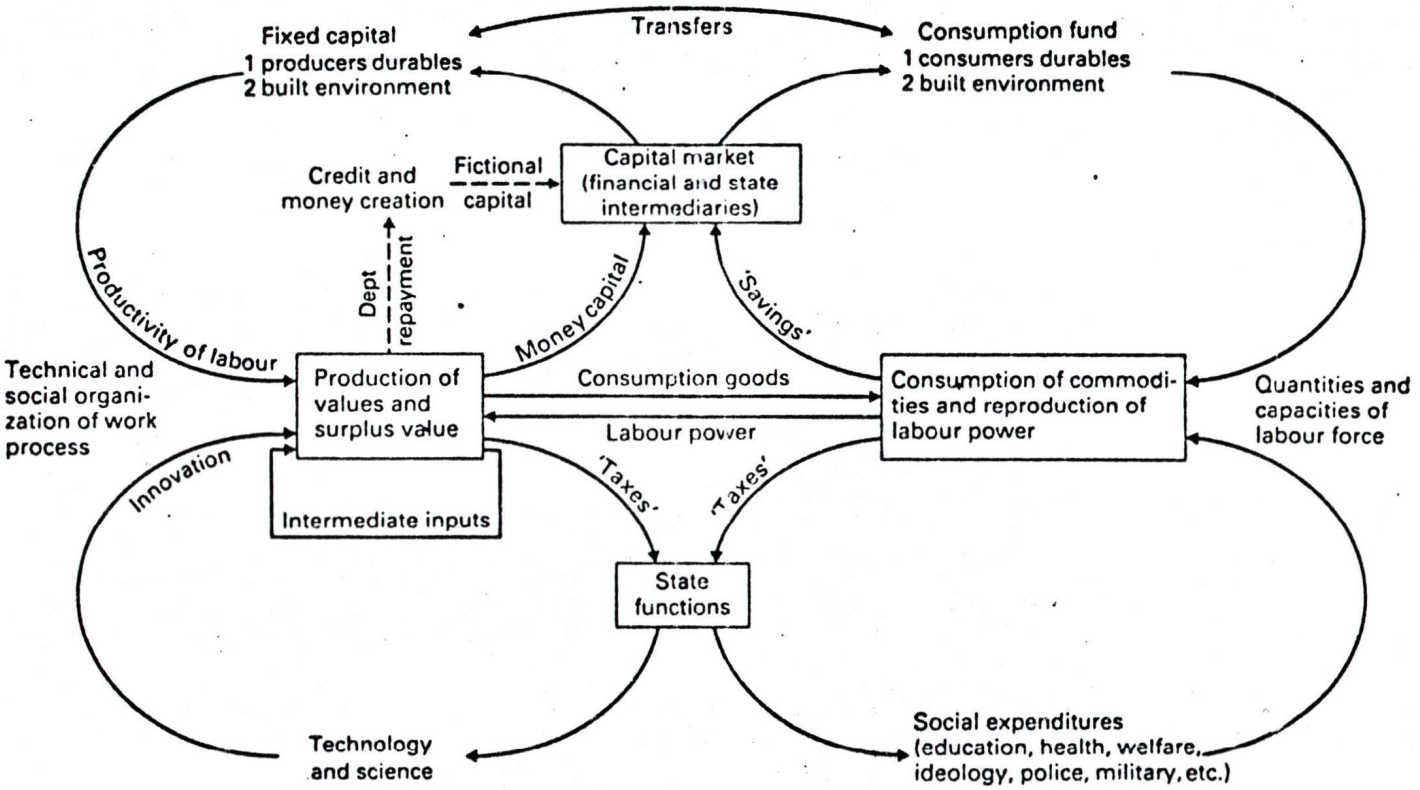



**Fig. 1: The Structure of Relations between the Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Circuits of Capital.**

Reprinted from Harvey (1978a)

accumulation (Harvey 1977 a, p. 273; 1978a, p. 124). Hence, Harvey (1977 b, p. 137) contends that 'planned obsolescence' of cities is a necessary evil in order to promote accumulation and growth. Constant friction exists in capital building a physical landscape appropriate to its requirements at one instance, only to destroy it in a crisis at a subsequent moment (Harvey 1977 a, p. 273; 1978 a, p. 124; 1978 b, p. 221).

The quest for productive outlets on the one hand may do much to undermine the very conditions necessary for accumulation in general, including impairing the reproduction of labour power. For example, urban redevelopment has invariably occurred at the expense of demolished working class housing and the worker's subsequent displacement. Intensified class struggle may result from the destruction of a neighbourhood or from a lack of social services and housing. Residents of such affected areas are unlikely to remain passive and the class struggle focusses on the formation of neighbourhood protest groups and the rise of community activism. This commonly concerns the collective means of consumption defined as "the totality of material supports of the activities devoted to the extended reproduction of labour power" (Lojkine 1976, p. 121) which includes commodities such as housing, side walks, sewers, schools, cultural amenities, etc. When contradictions articulate acutely, measures to promote social stability and calm discontent become

imperative. It is apparent that class struggle can provoke a switch in the trends of capital investment, the outcome of which can change the structure of investment flows to the advantage of the working class, impinging upon the interests of bourgeoisie in the short term (Harvey 1978 a, p. 129). Increased social expenditures for the reproduction of labour power and the containment of discontent within acceptable and manageable bounds conflicts with finding productive outlets for individual capitals, even though it is necessary to restore the social conditions suitable for renewed capital accumulation in general. In this manner, the working class may be able to exact reforms in the provision of collective consumption and improve the conditions in which its own reproduction occurs. Indeed, the sphere of collective consumption has become central to the conflicts of the contemporary city, expressing the politics of everyday life.

It is within this context, that this thesis derives its theoretical origins. It is clear, however, that such community activism is not necessarily a strictly working class phenomenon, but frequently involves a significant 'middle-class' element. Further, it has already been remarked that the division of society between two conflicting classes is a simplified and limiting notion, so it is now apposite to consider social class more thoroughly and outline possible ways in which different classes and fractions of classes might regard and affect 'community' struggles.

SOCIAL CLASS

The classical Marxist concept of a simple bourgeoisie/proletariat dichotomy (Marx and Engels 1973) does not meet with the reality of contemporary capitalist society, marked by its monopoly stage and accompanying increased state involvement. For example, it does not satisfactorily account for non-productive labour, i.e., wage-labourers who do not produce new value, those who oversee the labour process but do not own the means of production, or those who exist outside of capitalist social relations of production such as state employees or the petty bourgeoisie. In realization of this, Marxist consideration of class has increased in recent years (see Poulantzas 1975; Carchedi 1977; Crompton and Gubbay 1977; Hunt 1977; Wright 1976, 1978).[5]

Despite this resurgence of interest, differences in conceptions have occurred. For example Poulantzas (1975) sees class being determined by economic, political and ideological criteria, while Crompton and Gubbay (1977) define classes in terms of their location in the flows of surplus value. These differences, however, are not over the correct point of departure in the analysis. In criticism of Neo-Weberian conceptions of class, Crompton and Gubbay (1977, p. 17) remark:

> Production relations logically precede market relationships and therefore in order to understand the nature of class structures we must

> direct our attention in the first place to this underlying structure - the capitalist mode of production, and its associated relations of production.

Social class, then, can only be derived from an analysis of the social relations of production. An appraisal of all the differing theoretical conceptions of class is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the position held here regards the theories developed by Crompton and Gubbay (1977) and Wright (1978) as providing the most illuminating perspectives.

They contend that outside of the working class and bourgeoisie, certain groups or 'classes' exist, whose class location is less easily defined. Accordingly, Wright speaks of the 'contradictory location' of certain groups, whereas Crompton and Gubbay refer to the 'structural ambiguity' of class situations. Although they differ on specific points such as the precise boundaries between class locations, the correct class location of certain skills, occupations, etc., and therefore the respective sizes of these class locations, the crucial point is clear. Certain groups lie between capital and labour, but nevertheless can still be defined in respect to their functions with those same categories. More precisely, individuals within these class locations perform work that exhibits both aspects of the function of labour and of the function of capital. A foreman, for example,

who co-ordinates work-tasks on the one hand and on the other exerts control over the labour process clearly demonstrates the contradictory nature of this structural ambiguity.

Wright recognizes three different groupings of contradictory class locations within class relations as figure 2 illustrates. The most significant of these is the grouping that lies between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Crompton and Gubbay do not employ such a strict conception, instead, they assert (1977, p. 201):

> Many such class situations are encompassed in the rather loose amalgam that has come to be known as the 'middle-class' - new or otherwise. In this category we can include such occupations as middle to lower level management in all sectors, including foremen, many technicians and other 'experts', much of state and local government administration and others in state non-capitals such as health, education, etc.

This group is closely similar to what Poulantzas (1975) calls the 'new petty bourgeoisie', although he includes in it some of those occupations which Crompton and Gubbay assign to the working class such as the majority of "retail and sales workers, routine clerical or white-collar occupations, low-level civil servants and local government employees, and workers employed in state non-capitals" (1977, p. 202) that are often popularly termed 'middle-class'. Not only does this leave Poulantzas with a relatively small working class, but he treats the new petty bourgeoisie as a <u>class in</u>

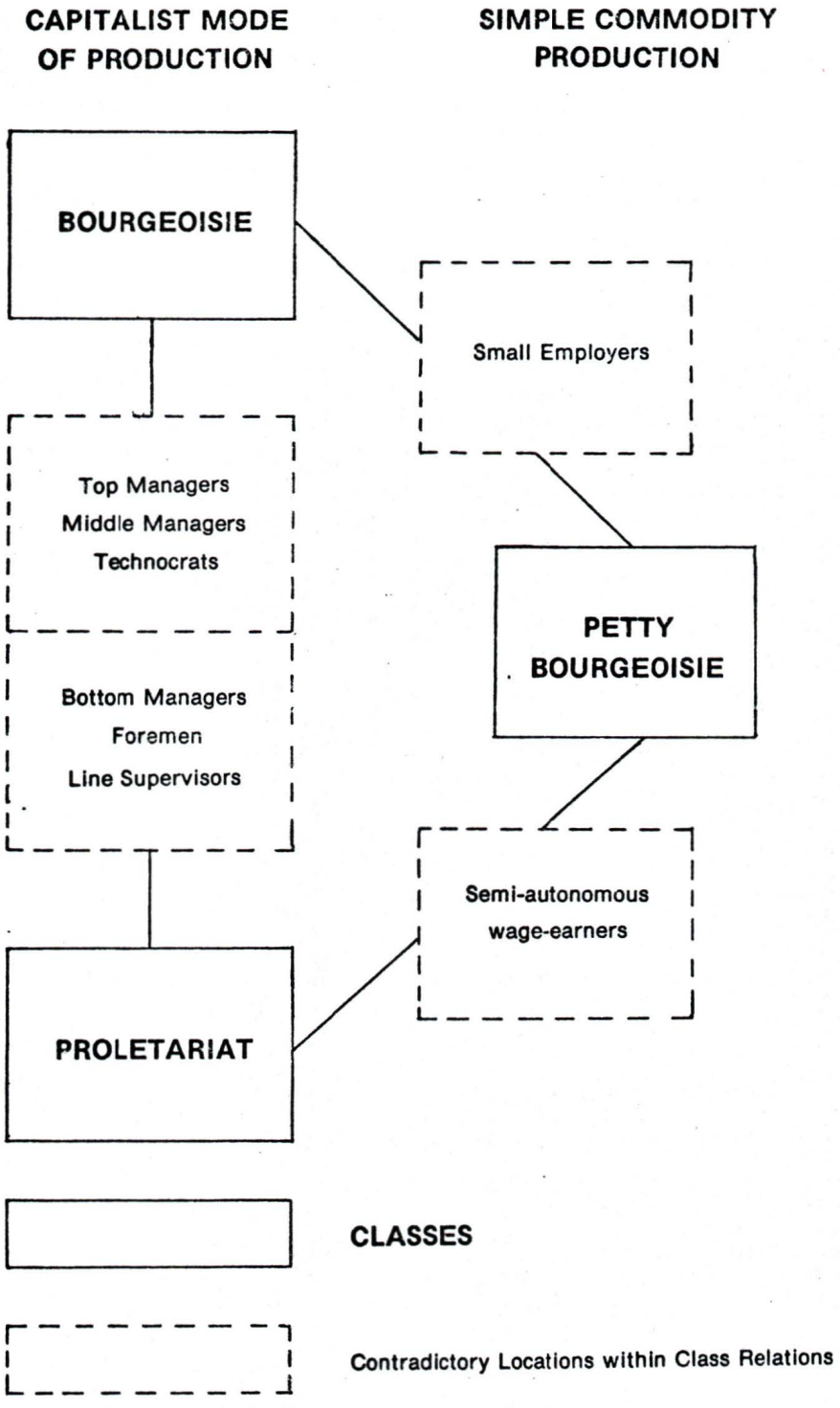



**Fig. 2: Wright's Conception of the Relationship of Contradictory Class Locations to Class Forces in Capitalist Society.**

itself, equating it with the traditional petty bourgeoisie. The approach that recognizes contradictory or ambiguous class locations clearly takes issue with this conception. They do not constitute a social class in themselves, but can still be located within the class structure of capitalist society. Again Crompton and Gubbay (1977, p. 202) comment:

> In a Marxist sense, such class situations lack a firmly defined class base. As they contain elements of both global capital and collective worker, control and co-ordinated labour, they may potentially associate with either function...

Nevertheless, the process of class struggle is important for these contradictory groupings, for at different times and over different issues they may ally themselves with either the interests of capital or the interests of labour, although not necessarily with that class as a whole, but with fractions of it. Further, at particular conjunctures some elements within these contradictory locations may align themselves with capital for example, while other elements may join with labour. The point to be made here is that they only become defined within the class structure in the course of struggle. The concrete expression of this ambiguity is ultimately an empirical question. Characteristic of this group, therefore, is the constant shifting of alliances both within its grouping and with the polarized class interests, as their contradictory class interests

become revealed in the course of class struggle. "[C]lass struggle plays a decisive role in determining how such positions are empirically organized or disorganized into classes" (Wright 1978, p. 107). With the increased ambiguity of their position, the role of secondary political and ideological factors becomes increasingly important in determining their class position, i.e., whether they find themselves more closely identified with capital or with labour. For Crompton and Gubbay (1977, pp. 97-98),

> ...the particular structure of the labour market, the dominant ideology and short-term historical circumstances will all tend to act as intervening variables in the description and explanation of objective location in the class structure and the consciousness, attitudes and behaviour of the groups so located.

## SOCIAL CLASS AND COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION

If in recent Marxist literature much attention has been given to the consideration of class, discussion has largely confined itself to its determination in the workplace or rather, the relations of production. While there is no disagreement with this point of departure, to the author's knowledge no systematic treatment has been given to its relationship with the sphere of consumption. Moreover, although class theory has given emphasis to contradictory class locations, or to the groupings that Poulantzas calls the 'new petty bourgeoisie', and in the process recognizing

that ideological and political factors are increasingly crucial in their determination, there has been little attempt to relate the actions and consciousness of these groups to how they regard their own reproduction and struggles over collective consumption. This remains relatively underdeveloped beyond a few scattered indications. These will now be brought together.

Castells (1978, pp. 34-36) perhaps goes furthest in providing a theoretical sketch on the role of class in the reproduction of labour power. He argues that at a "primary level" the positions occupied in the relations of production "strongly prescribe the level and style of collective consumption and their relationship to the urban system" (ibid, p. 34), but grants that the position in consumption has a degree of autonomy. He continues (p. 34-35):

> ..."inequalities" among social groups are not entirely autonomous of the class system since the logic of the latter determines the organization of consumption, but the positions defined in the specific structure of inequality do not correspond in a one-to-one fashion to the structure of class relationships. It is in this sense that there is specific production of new effects of social inequality.

The thrust of this argument sees 'problems' of collective consumption cutting across class divisions. For example, pollution, traffic congestion, inadequate sewage facilities are concerns that more easily transgress classes

and become 'problems' for a much greater proportion of the whole population. Consequently the contradictory class location of many individuals may lead to them identifying with capital in the workplace, but confronting it in the sphere of reproduction. At the same time, their ambiguity prevents them from adopting a fully radical critique of capitalism in respect to conflicts over collective consumption. This has definite consequences for Castells (1978, p. 35):

> This objective community of interests, this <u>partial</u> inter-class nature of the contradictions at the level of collective consumption, are the objective basis for the ideology of environmentalism, which tries to 'naturalize' the urban contradictions... (Castells' emphasis)

This ideology leads to a mystification of the objective interests at stake, although it does pinpoint <u>real</u> social issues resulting from the articulation of certain contradictions. Elsewhere, Castells (1977 a, p. 464) expounds upon the significance of this, which he sees as the tendencies of the new petty bourgeois revolt.[6]

> ...they question the consumption model and 'everyday life' more than the relations of production and political domination. Their opposition is based on a humanist critique of the totalitarian and global 'environment' that is well suited to the naturalist registers of the ideology of the environment, taking

> its bearings in the communal utopia of the past and of the future rather than a certain contradictory place in the structure of class relations.

Similarly, Parkin (1968, pp. 40-41) argues that radical movements with a middle class base tend to be more generally concerned with moral or humanitarian issues and less concerned with achieving economic or material rewards for their allies. Regarding 'mixed-class' neighbourhoods, Repo (1977, p. 51) expresses the same conceptions:

> Generally speaking, one could say that middle class people in these neighbourhoods are concerned with the aesthetics of their environment, while the working class element will by necessity be more concerned with mere survival and with keeping the cost of living down.

What these arguments appear to reinforce is the expression in practice of those located in contradictory class positions and the making and breaking of alliances. The implications of this go further. The struggles over collective consumption frequently take the form of neighbourhood or community activism. This "assumes a classless society at a local level, in which a mysterious 'people of all classes' work towards a common goal" (Repo 1977, p. 48). The tendency is for petty bourgeois ideology to dominate, but with the potential for tension breaking out within the class alliances. In their composition, these movements

embody contradictions which may explicitly reveal themselves. Wilkinson (1971, p. 119) explains:

> Beyond these commitments to generalized aims there is no common ideological consensus within the movements, either on the means by which such aims are to be realized, or upon a general programme of social and political reforms. In the case of the moral protest movements it is easier to tell what they are "against" than what they are "for". Moral crusades and protests tend, therefore, to be heterogeneous issue coalitions, enabling many groups, frequently in bitter rivalry with each other on other issues and on general principles, to combine temporarily under a specific campaign's organizational umbrella.

Related but along different lines, Repo (1977, p. 52) sees the radical middle class forever willing to talk and to attend meetings that tends towards the alienation of working class elements, who feel out of place at meetings and experience awkwardness in expressing demands. In her experience, where radical middle class elements were involved, the working class dropped out, thus preventing a grass roots working class mobilization (ibid, p. 53).

For those in ambiguously located class positions, there is not an overall ideology that has the potential ability to explain 'problems' in an integrated manner unlike the working class position. "Such problems are usually considered as social isolates each requiring a particular solution" (Parkin 1968, p. 41). They are "causes without

an ideology" (ibid, p. 56). Further (ibid, p. 54):

> The approach of the middle class radical movement, unlike its working-class counterpart, is to treat each evil sui generis, and not as reducible to some greater underlying malady which throws into question the legitimacy of the existing order.

Invariably, petty bourgeois mobilization over collective consumption conflicts tends to be single issue organizing that seeks "minor or partial adjustments within an existing framework" (Wilkinson 1974, p. 109). Poulantzas (1975) identifies three ideological features of the new petty bourgeoisie. Firstly, they have strong reformist illusions (p. 290) in aiming to readjust temporary malfunctions in society. Secondly, although they challenge political and ideological relations, they lean "strongly towards rearranging these relations by way of 'participation', rather than undermining them" (p. 291) and thirdly, they regard "the state as an inherently neutral force whose role is that of arbitrating between the various social classes" (p. 292). Consequently their classic strategies and actions tend to be the alerting of public opinion and various institutional approaches (Wilkinson 1971, p. 109; Castells 1977 a, p. 331).

The core of the argument pursued here is the two-sided nature of struggles revolving around collective consumption issues affecting the reproduction of labour power. The broader nature of consumption issues may forge class

alliancies and initiate social forces greater than interests in the work-place allow, but at the same time they remain prone to factionalism and splits developing which may be traced to the contradictory class locations of many involved in the struggle. Although consumption struggles may have a degree of autonomy, divisions arising from the relations of production cannot be eradicated easily and pervade collective consumption struggles. To overcome this, it becomes necessary to make connections between the struggles in the neighbourhood and those in the workplace. However, those in contradictory class locations can more easily identify with the working class at the level of consumption than in the sphere of production, where it does not have the same history of organization. According to Poulantzas (1975, p. 313) fractions of the new petty bourgeoisie,

> ...see their 'quality of life' constantly declining, at least in a relative or 'relational' sense. This is why class struggles in these sectors, and over issues that affect them (community struggles for example, the new petty bourgeoisie being like the working class massively concentrated in urban agglomerations), often take the form of class alliances between these fractions and the working class, something that is particularly clear-cut at the present time.

Moreover, the new petty bourgeoisie often instigates actions confronting the interests of capital. With these tendencies, there is resultantly a growing homogeneity of

interests among the classes and class fractions in consumption issues (Castells 1978, p. 61; Saunders 1979, pp. 112-3). The problem that presents itself, however, is under what conditions they become drawn into a class (i.e., the working class) as opposed to remaining between classes and challenge class power in a fundamental sense rather than in an immediate sense. This can only be discovered in the analysis of concrete historical conditions.

Before that can be done, however, the peripheral reference to the state and community/neighbourhood activism needs to be considered more fully.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Although this is an oversimplification of the class structure, it is sufficient to understand the material foundations of capitalist society. Class is considered more fully later in the chapter.

2. Marx (1977, p. 164) defines labour power as "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description".

3. Marx (ibid, p. 167) writes: "...the labour-time requisite for the production of labour-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer". Marx (ibid, p. 168) continues: "...the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilization of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free labourers has been formed". The value of labour power will reflect these cultural circumstances.

4. A distinction may be made here between those necessities he buys in the 'marketplace' and those which are provided by the state, which are bought either directly or indirectly through taxation. The role of the state is investigated in the next chapter.

5. A recent non-Marxist critique of these works is provided by Parkin (1979).

6. "New petty bourgeois" is not used here in reference to the social groupings that Poulantzas regards as a class in itself, but as an adjectival term relating to those

in contradictory class locations. It will continue to be used in the latter sense hereafter. The term "intermediary" will also be used to convey the same meaning.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE STATE, PLANNING, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It was noted in the previous chapter that capitalism must be able to reproduce the conditions essential for its continued existence. To this end, the history of capitalist society has seen an increase in the significance of the state. Concomitantly, it has been noted that capitalist society is characterized by the struggle between classes. Consequently, in undertaking the task of social reproduction the state cannot remain removed from this struggle. More truly, the state is at one and the same time both the arbitrator of class conflict and a reflection of it. To comprehend why and how this is so, development of a Marxist theory of the state has flourished in the last decade (Miliband 1969, 1972; Poulantzas 1972, 1973; O'Connor 1973; Roussopoulos 1973; Lindberg et al 1975; Cockburn 1977; Hill 1977; Mingione 1977; Panitch 1977; Holloway and Picciotto 1978; Crouch 1979; Gough 1979). Although this theory has tended to emerge in an individualistic and eclectic manner (see Gold, Lo and Wright 1975 a,b), several insightful conceptions have arisen during the course of the debate which are germane to this study.[1]

In acknowledging that the state mediates relations between capital and labour, it must do so in such a way that capital's domination over labour is ensured as the production of society's material wealth is dependent upon renewed accumulation. To this end, however, the social structure "depends on the support or at least on the acquiescence of those who are subjected to it. The subordinate...and 'intermediary classes'...have to be persuaded to accept the existing social order" (Miliband 1969, p. 159). Implicit here is the dual purpose of the state's activities reflected in O'Connor's oft cited twin state functions of legitimation and accumulation. These functions are mutually contradictory so that the relation and balance between them reflects the state of class struggle and is critical to its ongoing development. O'Connor (1973, p. 6) summarizes this ever present antagonism:

> ...the State must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However, the State must try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony. A capitalist State that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and undermines the basis of its loyalty and support.[2]

These twin functions should not lead to a rigid categorization of state policies but be seen as guiding tendencies to acts of state intervention. The gist here, is to

see the state form, not as a functional and mechanical response to capitalism's requirements, but the outcome of mediating contradictory forces.[3] The state's constantly changing form is testimony to it remaining responsive to the ongoing struggle between and within the dominant and dominated classes (Gough 1975, p. 56). Thus, in the course of mediation, short term interests of the bourgeoise (or at least certain fractions of it) may be impinged upon in order to check de-stabilizing conditions for the sake of capitalism's long term survival. The state's dilemma lies in having to constantly portray itself as being responsive to the populace as a whole in a neutral manner while at the same time upholding the right of some to extract surplus created by others (Clement 1977, p. 228). The state does not act upon the command of the capitalist class, but in its interests (Panitch 1977, p. 4). This has led Crouch (1979, p. 29) to remark:

> The state's relative autonomy from specific capitals in order to safeguard the long term conditions for capital as a whole...involves it making real concessions.

For the most part, then, the state undertakes the creation of the general material conditions of production as distinct from the particular material conditions of production of individual capitals. Hence, Hirsch (1978, p. 63) states:

> The attempt to derive from the development of the concept of capital analyzed by Marx in 'Capital', those social functions objectively necessary for reproduction which can only be performed collectively outside the sphere of individual capitals, is undoubtedly an important component of a materialistic theory of the state.

Many areas of life exist such as education, health care, housing which cannot be provided profitably, yet they are essential if capitalism is to survive (Schecter 1977; Swartz 1977). To differing degrees, therefore, the state provides them in order to support capitalism's reproduction. The creation of the 'welfare state' is to be understood in this manner, particularly in the large part it plays in the reproduction of labour power. In acquiring a 'social wage',

> ...the welfare state was a real gain for the working class. Nonetheless these services are not total gains, because to the state and capital they are not total losses. As the working class has an interest in receiving services, so capital has an interest in seeing them serviced. (Cockburn 1977, p. 55)

Even if such measures do not threaten the prevailing system of power and privilege in a fundamental sense, the contradictory interests of the working and capitalist classes are subsequently internalized within the functioning of the state resulting in an uneasy relationship between capital and labour that possesses the seeds for future conflict within the state apparatus itself.

By acknowledging that the specificity of the state form manifests in response to conflicting pressures, one is led to consider the abilities and adequacies of the state in performing its task of ensuring the satisfactory conditions for capitalist production (Blanke, Jürgens and Kastendiek 1978; Hirsch 1978). The ability to meet its demands is not presupposed, nor are its actions unbounded. Rather, the state is beset and constrained by the contradictions of capitalism itself that put limitations upon the directions of its interventions. The activities of the state require certain expenditures,[4] but "the revenues for meeting those needs are not always forthcoming, since the fruits of accumulation (greater profits) are not socialized" (Gold, Lo and Wright 1975 b, p. 41). The contradiction articulates in a fiscal crisis (O'Connor 1973, 1974 pp. 104-51). Distinct limitations are imposed on state intervention and expenditures as a result. The competing, often contradictory claims that exist cannot be accommodated. Strains remain between productive and unproductive expenditures that respectively affect the favouring of accumulation or legitimation policies. Clearly, the ability for the state to ever act adequately in the general interests of capital is problematic. The significance Castells (1977 a,c; 1978) attaches to struggles that focus on the organization of collective consumption can now be appreciated in this context.[5] Simply put, whilst the working and 'intermediary' classes aim to qualitatively

improve the conditions of their reproduction, the capitalist class through the medium of the state resists the allocation of unproductive expenditure. Yet it cannot disregard what it cannot provide profitably without running the risk of fermenting social unrest or impair the ability of workers to do a day's work.

The concept that the state can rarely intervene adequately in its mediated reaction to the contradictions of the accumulation process ensures that the state develops uneasily from one crisis to another. The specificity of a state form as a resolution to a particular crisis, merely creates the pre-conditions for its future development. Hirsch (1978, p. 65) remarks:

> The state's 'particularization' has continually to re-establish itself afresh and maintain itself in this process of conflict and collision of interests. Not least of the consequences of this is the imperfection, incompleteness and inconsistency of state activity...

The historical development of the state form, therefore, is subjected to the dynamics of class struggle within the accumulation process. The class struggle can only be regulated and contained, never fully eradicated.

Having reached this point, it is not enough to merely outline the different constraints that affect state intervention or to assert the imperfections of its chosen

policies. Options exist within the limits on its activity that leave the outcomes of struggles undetermined. In other words it says nothing of why these struggles develop as they do leading to the ever renewed specificity of the state form. Holloway and Picciotto (1978, p. 28) answer that it is not the form of the struggle that determines their outcome, but that they can only be explained by the "concrete contents of this struggle, the organization and strength of the various classes and class fractions, the manner in which the struggle is waged on the economic, political and ideological fronts, etc." or in Castells' (1977a) terms it is the level of social practices that are crucial. A constant dialectical interaction exists then between the form and content of the class struggle (Holloway and Picciotto 1978, p. 30), or between social practices and social structure (Castells 1977 a, p. 261). The importance of those intermediary groups in contradictory class locations can now be seen to take on great significance in affecting the resolutions of conflicts over the organization of collective consumption.

So far the state has been treated in the abstract as a monolithic body, but in concrete reality it is constituted by different levels with correspondingly different jurisdictional responsibilities. At this juncture, then, some comments are needed on the local or municipal state in particular.

Producing what may be regarded as 'gutter and sewer' politics, the local level of government is involved with all facets of property (Lorimer 1972, p. 4). Lorimer (ibid, pp. 4-5) sees two different aspects in this involvement:

> The first is servicing urban property, providing the necessary services and facilities that are required in order for a piece of land to be used for urban (sic) purposes...[T]he other main function...is regulating urban property, controlling (usually in minute detail) every aspect of the way every piece of land can be used; what sort of building can be erected, how big it can be, how it must be constructed, and how its occupants may use it.

Hence the run of the mill work of the local state is the introduction, implementation and enforcement of planning, zoning and by-law measures. It is therefore highly significant in creating the general material conditions of social reproduction, with much of it of a technical kind. This is not to simply give the local state a purely functional or administrative character, for this very task is beset by contradictions as previously noted. The increases in 'urban' protests in recent times testify to the difficulties the local state encounters. Class struggle is reflected in its day to day tasks, and is indeed moulded by it.

Additionally, it would be erroneous to regard the local state as a mere extension of the central state. The

local state adopts policies of its own making, that necessarily beg the questionning of its degree of autonomy. For Dearlove (1979, p. 244-245),

> ...the particular problem of local government centres on its relative autonomy from both the concerns of the central state and the impact of dominant classes. Related to this, local government is especially vulnerable to working class demands, pressures and even control.

Certainly local government is the most visible and accessible organ of the state, often being the target of demands and protests caused by the problems that capitalism produces. Thus the local state's dilemma is the concurrent tension between bureaucratic control and local accountability (Saunders 1979, p. 194). Friedland, Piven and Alford (1977, pp. 457-58) suggest that contradictory functions may be regulated by separating them between different agencies or levels of government. Bodies that are of economic significance may be organized to restrict access, while those that fulfill a legitimation and integrative purpose may be granted relatively easy access for the public. Saunders (1979, pp. 178-9) makes a similar argument, seeing the state's functions relating to production as independent from popular pressure in a corporate sector, while concerns of consumption are more open to influence by different classes or political forces in a pluralist sector. Although consumption issues

cannot be divorced from those of production, this does help explain why matters relating to the reproduction of labour power are more visible in the local civic arena.

The tensions prevalent here, however, ensure that local state officials "retain considerable, though uneven autonomy from central control" (ibid, p. 194). Again, the point must be made that how they manage and how the contradictions unfold is dependent on the dialectical relationship between the forms and the contents of the struggles waged. "The question of discretion and constraint is thus ultimately an empirical rather than a theoretical question" (ibid, p. 196) but some of the means available to the state can be theoretically analyzed further.

Part of the state's 'arsenal' in undertaking its tasks is the process of planning. Rather than being regarded as a reflection of a consensus reached between autonomous centres of interests in the decision making process, Marxist theory regards planning as the active reflection of class struggle; the intervention of the state in the economic system within the limits of the given society (Castells 1976 a, p. 82). Historically, urban planning expresses the mistrust in the spontaneity of social relations (Bookchin 1974, p. 100), a necessity for regulating and restoring order to spontaneous urbanization derived from the imperfections of the free market economy. Harvey (1978 b, p. 223) states:

> ...the planner's task is to contribute to the processes of social reproduction and that in so doing the planner is equipped with powers vis-a-vis the production, maintenance and management of the built environment which permit him or her to intervene in order to stabilize, to create the conditions for 'balanced growth', to contain civil strife and factional struggles by repression, cooptation or integration.

To achieve this planning is presented as a technical operation holding to the principles of rationality (ibid, p. 224). "There is the presumption that knowledge, information and experts can transcend ideology and interests" (Dearlove 1979, p.254). Its pragmatism attempts to fit 'solutions' into the existing social and spatial structures and is therefore choked by the futility of having to bring a semblance of sanity to a system whose very logic is irrational (Goodman 1972, Bookchin 1974, p. 101). However, it must deny this and maintain that the processes of social reproduction under capitalism are harmonious. "The commitment to the ideology of harmony within the capitalist social order remains the still point upon which the gyrations of planning ideology turn" (Harvey 1978 b, p. 231). It remains an illusory goal for the smooth functioning is continuously upset by the state having to ensure the domination of capital over labour in the re-organization of the urban system for capitalism's reproduction. It must constantly aim at reconciling the contradictory demands of legitimation and accumulation, which in itself must leave the planning

process relatively, but uneasily open.

The consequence of this has been the increasingly significant provision of public participation in urban planning. 'Participation' has become a vogue concept, a strategy employed by the state in attempting to resolve the crises of capitalism in the last two decades (Mayo 1975; Cockburn 1977, p. 134). In spite of the profusion of literature devoted to its study,[6] its treatment is beleagured with problems. It tends to be characterized by emotional rhetoric or demagoguery (Kasperson and Breitbart 1974; Wengert 1976) and tends to be atheoretical (Kasperson 1978, p. 135). Frequently studies are based on idealism and morality, but in doing so they fail to address why these 'optimal' states are never achieved. Discussion within vague concepts and notions of democracy (e.g. Sewell and O'Riordan 1976) become of limited analytical value. Consideration of public participation's structural position within the political economy is rarely addressed. In brief, public participation is regarded as being good in itself, while the contradiction between the philosophy of democracy and an undemocratic social order in which one class dominates and needs to continue to dominate another is passed over.

Indeed widespread participation is an impossible option for capitalist society (Crouch 1979, p. 51). While providing a means for channeling social opinion, the promotion of increased pluralism threatens bourgeois domination

and there is a limit to which the state can tolerate this at different conjunctures as it must uphold the right of the capitalist class to extract surplus value. The paradox is clear. The portrayal of pluralist society, with the state as a neutral arbitrator respecting diverse interests and opinions, is antithetical to its other claims of the "public interest", the nation or the "national interest". The latter notion of the common good restricts the viable conception of the former (Plant 1978, p. 104). Accordingly Loney (1977, p. 463) summarizes the limitations of public participation:

> What is clear is that certain kinds of behaviour by recipient groups [of privileges ] are intolerable. The government is prepared to fund only a certain kind of democratic participation,...a further step towards a carefully managed 'democracy'. In effect, the plethora of government funding becomes an instrument not for citizen control over government, but for government control over citizens.

Public participation is itself an ideology (Coit 1978, p. 299), giving the illusion that citizens may compete with the real estate agents, developers, planners, etc., on an equal footing. In reality, however, the opportunities for public participation are legitimizing strategies established by the state. They are a means of defusing conflict and achieving consensus, thus quelling discontent and regulating contradictions (Crouch 1979, p. 51), "a strictly

nuts-and-bolts management affair" (Cockburn 1977, p. 110). Therefore, as a response to various social movements that arise from capitalist development, the state intervenes to restore control and stability by integrating marginals into the mainstream of society to protect the established social order (Huston 1973; Kasperson and Breitbart 1974; Cockburn 1977; Loney 1977; Coit 1978). Its encouragement of co-operation and conciliation aims to refute the existence of structural contradictions and class struggle, and may lead to the co-optation of leaders of social movements. Beneath the surface appearance, however, public participation embodies the contradictions in its operation and process that provide new opportunities for furthering working class interests. The state's tactics and strategies are,

> corrective to the idea that the state's offers of participation and community development are gains in themselves for the working class. Rather, they are what the working class can make them. They lead class struggle one step onward and bring new dangers and new opportunities. (Cockburn 1979, p. 103)

The state, necessarily, maintains a fear of the potential subversiveness of a mass participatory political culture that is persuasive and efficient (Sewell and O'Riordan 1976, p. 17; Ward 1976; Poulantzas 1978, p. 79). This twin-sided character of participatory programmes was demonstrated in the history and eventual termination of the U.S.

Model Cities Program (Haar 1975), the Community Development Projects in Great Britain (Lawless 1979) and the Community Resources Boards in British Columbia (Persky 1979).

The inherent contradictions of public participation are repeated in notions of 'community development', itself an ambiguous and vague concept precisely because it is used by a wide variety of ideological persuasions (Plant 1978) and covers "a wide range of political objectives" (Leonard 1975, p. 14). Here, however, 'community development' is understood to mean the actions taken by the working classes that objectively further their interests in, and control over their own reproduction and means of collective consumption.[7] This having been said, neighbourhood is used to define the residential area where the social reproduction of labour power occurs, while community per se refers to the class composition of the population that lives there and the type of consciousness that derives from it.

Indeed, the tension between the claims of class and the claims of the local community have proved a major problem in social policy. At one extreme,

> ...the sense of community that exists within the working class is in conflict with the claims of class to the extent that these loyalties can become so exclusive as to cover up the ultimate reality of being working class. (Plant 1978, p. 95)

At the other extreme, to argue the futility of community based activism is to adopt a callousness towards the real struggles of everyday life, i.e., social reproduction, even though the struggles may entail a diversity of class interests and differences in consciousness and ideologies. Rather than promoting a consciousness of space at the expense of class (Harvey 1975; Short 1976) community consciousness may be regarded as an embryonic form of class consciousness (Evans 1980, p. 37) with its own educative function. Harvey (1978 a, p. 128) has recognized that "[t]he principle of community can then become a springboard for class action rather than an antidote to class struggle".

Furthermore, this is not to say it can be one or the other, for community consciousness may contain both at once, i.e., it is inherently contradictory. This may be especially true in mixed class neighbourhoods where struggles over housing, pollution, traffic, etc., are not class specific but transcend class identities (Castells 1978, pp. 34-36). Community consciousness is ambiguous in that it is both a form of progressive organization and a conservative parochial form, i.e., involving a common struggle against problems at the level of appearance. For some the problems and issues will be seen as being particular to their 'turf' with areal causation, for others their source will be in the economic and social structures at large. To put it another way, they will be perceived differently as either

problems of the neighbourhood or problems in the neighbourhood.

In affecting the outcome of these struggles the balance and organization of the different class forces is crucial. The development of the contradictions will reflect the extent to which conflicts occur within the community or the degree to which those caught in contradictory class locations remain in alliance with the working class elements in the resistance to the interests of capital. The consideration of reformism and tactical compromises then become of consequential importance. Certainly the ambiguity of community organization allows certain sectors to be bought off and institutionalized. Whether with purposeful intent by the state or not, the result is to divide the alliances formed, allowing the state to continue to govern in a quietier social climate. At the same time, it is likely to restore faith in the ability of the state to satisfy demands amongst the co-opted elements.

Alternatively, the state has often found it appropriate to its needs to officially initiate 'community development' to ensure the engagement of marginal elements in local affairs (Cockburn 1977, p. 111). In the history of capitalist society, Harvey (1978b,p. 227) remarks:

> ...we have a continuous thread of an argument which suggests that social stability can be restored in periods of social unrest by an active pursuit of "the principle of community" and all that this means in the way of community

> betterment and social improvement - and again, the planner typically acts as advocate, as catalyst in promoting the spirit of community improvement.

Harris (1979, p. 7) does not see it quite so clearly. In distinguishing between formal and historical analysis, he argues:

> ...it requires a much stronger type of argument to show that on the one hand, community consciousness necessarily obscures class relations, and on the other that the maintenance of the social relations of capitalism requires the development of community consciousness as opposed to any other form of territorially based, non-revolutionary class consciousness.

If there is conjecture here, nevertheless the benefits that can accrue to the state remain. Vancouver's planning department expressed the rationality succinctly:

> In the past, "citizen involvement" in the planning process has primarily occurred through confrontation responses to plans or development proposals rather than co-operation.
> The local area planning programme will involve individuals within the community from the first stages of plan preparation in an effort to work on a participatory, co-operative basis.
> ...The local area planning programme, by establishing a programme of citizen input, will formulate plans and proposals reflecting the optimum goals for the neighbourhood and the city.[8]
> (my emphasis)

A clearer expression of attempting to regulate contradictions by seeking consensus and a co-operative partnership is hard to imagine. The institutionalization of community groups in the planning process is a goal for the local state (Cockburn 1977, p. 100), a socially unifying mechanism, but one that also internalizes contradictions.

For the state and dominant classes, the potential benefits that can accrue from introducing local area planning schemes are again clearly set out by, i.e., Vancouver Planning Department:

> Local community identity is established or enhanced, stimulating community organization. The place in which most of the citizens' frustration with planning-related concerns are being experienced has also been used as the focal point of trying to resolve some of those problems. The local area, or neighbourhood, is where programs were initiated. This resulted in increased awareness by the citizens of the "place" where they lived, and provided more of a reason to get involved.[9]

They continue to say that it aims to "[encourage] and support Neighbourhood groups in their '<u>independent</u>' effort"[10] (my emphasis). The thrust beneath this appears to be a policy of self-containment and the prevention of struggles becoming co-ordinated. "It imposes blinkers which stop one working class group looking to another with similar problems as its natural ally and leads to a situation where groups in neighbourhood territories struggle in competition

for the limited resources offered them..." (Cockburn 1977, p. 161). The tendency is to obscure common class positions that areas might hold, together with a radical consciousness that might result. The strategy embodies the principles of divide and rule, and an attempt to foster the ideology of place at the expense of class.

In addition, an unstructured protest movement presents logistical difficulties for the state in dealing with its demands.[11] To ease this, the integration of local community groups into 'formal' bodies and the setting up of joint committees "can develop the level of information flows that amounts to 'governance'" (Cockburn 1977, p. 100-1). Formal terms of reference outlining roles and functions delineate what can and cannot be discussed, considered and undertaken.[12] The rules of the game are set out. Consequently such measures do not simply mean a benevolent opening up of city hall, because it does so precisely for the reason of putting restrictions on the level and scope of community activism and organization.

Faced with this integrating and legitimizing action, what do such endeavours mean for the subordinate classes. For Woolley (1977, p. 211), the problem posed is whether or not state intervention in this form "extend[s] the possibilities and alternatives in peoples' minds, or does it limit and contain them? Does the intervention increase the reliance on 'experts' and 'others' to solve their problems

for them, or does it decrease their passivity?" Freeman (1977, p. 22), Coit (1978) and Roussopoulos (1976) make the same point. As Coit (1978, p. 310) puts it:

> The ambiguity of local action is inevitable in that it seeks to do two things at the same time - obtain reforms and change political consciousness.

In other words, if the class struggle is to develop, the working classes have to go beyond simple reform and the politics of pragmatism and suggest alternatives. To succeed it is imperative to have alternative expressions in counter institutions built from the 'ground up' (Bookchin 1974; Morris and Hess 1975; Coit 1978; Roussopoulos 1976; Schecter 1978). Local action organized autonomously at the grass-roots level and in contradiction to state induced participation is not just a defensive mobilization, but projects an alternative vision of how the reproduction of labour power is organized (Coit 1978; Drover and Shragge 1979). This requires the avoidance of action orientated around single issues, for once the issue is resolved, the mobilization of the working class attained is unable to sustain itself. In criticism of Alinsky's (1969, 1971) single-issue organizing, Drover and Shragge (1979, pp. 68-69) conclude:

> The difficulty with the Alinsky method is the lack of longterm perspective. Its focus on the immediacy of winning each issue, and on

> political pragmatism is that it ultimately cannot lead any where except to one more issue...Can these struggles lead to alternative visions, and a serious challenge to capitalist hegemony, or will they be played out within the dominant framework of reform?

The implications for local area planning schemes is obvious. While they are imbued with internal contradictions, the way in which they develop is dependent upon how the working class mobilizes. To merely press claims through the participatory process will only bring reforms despite aggravating the regulating structure. Conversely, if independent grass-roots institutions are organized concomitantly with direct political struggle, then the potential exists to transform the urban system. As Castells' (cited in Pickvance 1976, p. 203) attests, for the challenging of institutionalized social domination, "it is urban social movements and not planning institutions which are the true source of change and innovation in the city".

To extend the discussion further, another philosophical current that finds its way into 'community development' is the notion of self-help, defined here as individuals combining to utilize their mutual and collective resources to attain their needs and objectives without dependence on formal bodies or agencies. For some it is seen as a panacea for constructing an alternative society, yet at times the state also finds it convenient to summon its principles of mutual aid. To comprehend this apparent paradox, one must

look at the social context in which it develops. The state finds it most useful during periods of fiscal strain and cutbacks in the welfare state (Cannan 1975). The call to self-help becomes a cheap way of doing its work as it reduces unproductive expenditures and relieves the state of its burden. The essence of self-help under these circumstances is captured by Woolley (1977, p. 217):

> It doesn't mean helping yourself to what an exploitive society owes you. It means the opposite, making do with what little society spares you...Self help tries to direct people away from protesting against injustice to make do with what little they have.

It entails, therefore, the fostering of a conservative ideology that supports initiative through volunteerism and charitable organizations. This type of community action becomes "a private solution to public problems, a conscience cleansing operation" (Binns 1977, p. 108) that allows the state to withhold responsibility for the poor and disadvantaged (Cannan 1975, p. 125; Eyles 1979, p. 238). Hence it has the obverse effect of questioning the structural and systematic priorities of society.

Nonetheless self-help organization is ambiguous in that it may ease fiscal difficulties, but it may also show people the potential of what may be done without reliance on official institutions and agencies. The requirement, then,

for furthering working class interests is not to accept self-help on the state's terms, but to turn it into principles for the creation and building of alternative modes of provision that challenge the dominant 'orthodoxies'. The collective actions that stem from the principles of mutual aid (Kropotkin 1972) are antithetical to the conservation of private volunteerism.

To summarize thus far, the tensions embodied in 'community development' reflect the struggles over the amount of control and over the levels of provision given to the consumers (Cockburn 1977, p. 55). Yet, "as the state seeks to incorporate more community organizing techniques, so the potential for backfiring increases" (Cowley et al 1977, p. 15). It is a two-edged sword. While it reduces risks and conflicts in one way, they increase in another. They remain potentially more disruptive to the 'orderly' functioning of the state (Cockburn 1977, p. 101; Eyles 1979, p. 238) and the logic of capital. In short, the state's action is a high risk reform.

The underlying current of the argument pursued to this point has revolved around the abilities and potentialities of the working and 'intermediary' classes to mount a conscious ideological challenge to the state and capital over the manner of their labour power's reproduction. In this context, distinctions should be drawn between the quest for immediate reforms that assume an integrating and

legitimizing role and those that challenge more fundamentally social relations and the exercising of power. Yet no matter how well struggles over control of collective consumption are waged, the relation of consumption to production and the whole accumulation process constrains, in the final analysis, the limits and extent of 'community development'. To put it another way, if the contradictions at the point of production and the point of labour power's reproduction are not linked, then it can only become reformist in its achievements, for the relations of production are left fundamentally unaltered. The relative isolation of community politics cannot be overcome from within. However, as Cowley et al (1979, p. 244) explain,

> There is no ceiling to the organizing that can take place in the sphere of consumption if it is related to, and co-ordinated with organizing at the point of production.

The separation of politics in the workplace and politics in the neighbourhood has to be reconciled if these constraints are to be transcended (Woolley 1977; Schecter 1978; Mayo 1979). The path to achieving this is not without real and formidable barriers, that have significant ramifications for 'community development'. Indulgence is taken here, in citing Mayo (1979, p. 143) at length because it forcefully exposes the dilemmas that emerge.

> ...these community organizations will themselves remain viable and strong only if they are able to take up and deal effectively with the range of immediate issues affecting the residents and the workforce as a whole. The improvement of a particular block of flats, planning proposals which would increase traffic on the adjoining road, the provision of more adequate premises for a mother-and-baby clinic - these types of issues are in a sense the bread and butter of community work. Without some successes on such issues, however small scale and intermittent, it is exceedingly hard to maintain active community interest and support - and without such support, of course, there is not a sufficient base for building the broader alliances on the wider issues. The community workers has, then, to attempt a balancing act between losing the community base on the one hand and losing sight of the issues with wider political impact on the other.

Again, the role of those groupings in contradictory class locations and their affinity for single issue mobilization is problematic. The articulation of contradictions and alliances are liable to shift in complex ways, that run the risk of co-optation, but similarly dangers arise through confrontation, if the community backing cannot be sufficiently maintained (Mayo 1979, p. 138). The problem seems forever present, so too frequently community groups are not revolutionary but as Corrigan and Leonard (1978, p. 148-9) conclude:

> [They] represent the trade-union consciousness or the consumer consciousness of the working class in the arena of non-workplace politics... they are for the most part interested in the improvement of their members' lifes within the bounds of capitalist society.

Whilst welfare reforms are not to be belittled they tend to sustain rather than undermine the established situation (Bailey and Brake 1975, p. 2). Williamson and Byrne (1979, p. 196) see the context of community struggles as follows:

> Radical reformism can indeed be crudely summarized as having the political objective of achieving socialism in reproduction through the agency of the state and without the transformation of the capitalist basis of production.

Or for Cowley (1977, p. 232),

> ...attempts to take power locally and creating islands of community power within capitalist society represents Utopian dreaming. 'Power to the People' within the present economic and social order is merely the populist rhetoric of an activism without theory.

On these terms, community action is susceptible to co-optation, but as the espoused theory has attempted to show the neighbourhood as a place of progressive mobilization beyond reformist concessions is an uneasy and difficult path to tread for communities that is prey to wide-ranging contradictory forces. The dialectic between community activism and state social control, or between urban social movements and urban planning (Castells 1977 a) constantly unfolds and shifts in relative advantage.

Beyond this little more can be said until the concrete, empirical study of historical events in James Bay and its Neighbourhood Improvement Program are uncovered.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. A detailed critique of the various approaches that have been adopted is not covered here. A good, recent appraisal is provided by Saunders (1979, pp. 137-97). Despite the internal debate, Marxist theorists are consistent in their rejection of a pluralist conception of power. Pluralism asserts that no single group holds the reigns of power embodied in the state, but instead power is fragmented and diffused accruing from the competitive struggles between various pressure groups. For those who refute the concept of a pluralist society, pluralism exists as an ideology that mystifies the real holding of power and class relations. An interesting comparison of the pluralist, the instrumental elite and class-dialectical models of power is provided by Whitt (1979).

2. A qualification should be made here, for as Gerstenberger (1978, p. 204, fn. 10) rightly points out, the loss of legitimacy might mean the end of a particular government, but not necessarily the collapsing of bourgeois society. Similarly, the acquisition of government power is not the same as the acquisition of state power (Panitch 1977, p. 7).

3. The term "state form" is used in the sense of denoting how it is constituted as it is at a given moment or conjuncture.

4. O'Connor (1973) divides state budgetary expenditures in the following way:

   Social investment is an aid to accumulation, either by contributing to the provision of an economic infrastructure, or by contributing to the production of labour power through education, job training schemes and scientific research. In their aid to private capital, social investment is indirectly rather than directly productive of surplus value.

   Social consumption expenses are necessary to the maintenance of social harmony and meet the social costs of the productive system. Firstly, there are various goods

and services which are collectively consumed. Secondly, there are costs emanating from economic insecurity (Social expenses) e.g., unemployment benefits, anti-poverty programmes. These expenditures do not contribute, even indirectly, to the production of surplus value, although they may reduce social costs and maintain stable conditions in which accumulation can proceed. Although these budgetary items are not categorically exclusive (O'Connor 1974, p. 119), they do provide a useful frame of reference for contradictions and social tension within the state budget.

5. In defining the 'urban' in terms of collective consumption, Castells adopts a fetishism of issues of collective consumption that leads to their isolated consideration from questions of production, and thus only partial treatment of the urban problematic. This artificial separation of production from consumption can be overcome if conflicts within each sphere are related.

6. For reviews of public participation from a liberal perspective, see Burton and Wildgoose (1977), Checkoway et al (1977), Sadler (1978, 1979) and Sewell et al (1979).

7. Closely analogous to this definition is Castells' concept of 'urban social movement'. Although his definition (1976 c, p. 155; 1977 a, p. 263) in strict terms is only applied to those movements of revolutionary or socialist perspectives, it can broadly be regarded as the organized opposition of oppressed groups that aim to reduce or eliminate domination in the restructuring of the 'urban system' (Harloe 1979, p. 124).

8. Vancouver Department of Planning and Civic Development, Local Area Planning, internal document to Standing Committee on Community Development, June 4, 1973, p. 3.

9. Vancouver City Planning Department, A Review of Local Area Planning, Report for Discussion, September 1977, p. 10.

10. ibid, p. 14.

11. The frequent cries of "who do you represent?" aimed at dissenting and protesting groups by local politicians and officials make this very point.

12. Again, the Vancouver City Planning Department makes this clear, op. cit., p. 15.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE REDEVELOPMENT OF JAMES BAY AND THE RISE OF THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

I represent a firm of gentlemen who recently purchased
this house and all the others in the road,
In the interests of humanity we've found a better place
for you to go-go-go. [1]

We had no plan. All we had was a mechanism for
the rape of James Bay.[2]

### HOUSING AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Following the Second World War, the Canadian economy and society moved increasingly towards the stage of monopoly capitalism. This development necessitated a restructuring of conditions to accommodate the process. Correspondingly, the continued percentage increase of the population living in metropolitan areas, as part of the sc called 'urbanization' trend, is more accurately an expression of the concentration and centralization of capital and labour, together with the associated services required by this new stage in capitalist development. This restructuring occurred concomitantly with the growth in relative power of the provincial state vis-a-vis its federal counterpart. The provinces have striven to increase their power in the economic sphere and "most of the growth [has been] in the costs of

functions related to capital accumulation such as hydo-electric power, transportation, industrial subsidies of various kinds, and, above all, education" (Stevenson 1977, p. 84).

In British Columbia this was encouraged by Social Credit's strong expansionist policies, primarily in the development of resource extraction industries, highway and railway construction, dams, superports, etc., in response to an international quest for raw materials (Bradbury 1978, p. 117). Within this general 'climate', Victoria was not to remain unaffected. As provincial capital, the growth of the provincial state apparatus together with marked improvements in the ferry links to the Mainland, provided the impetus for rapid growth in the Victoria metropolitan area. To provide the necessary infrastructure for capital accumulation, the complementary development of institutions and government structures took place in Victoria, resulting in the dominance of state employment in the region. The growth that Greater Victoria experienced was not to facilitate the productive capacities of monopoly capitalism per se, but to act in servitude to the urgencies of monopoly capitalism in its exploitation of the resource hinterland. In acknowledging that the Vancouver-Victoria metropolis dominates or is an accomplice in the domination of the B.C. hinterland, it also needs to be recognized that the workers in the Victoria region benefit from this same dominance (Marchak 1975).

These employees are the more privileged sectors of the working class, or more accurately constitute a new petty bourgeoisie that theoretically occupies contradictory class locations. Additionally and importantly, Victoria holds a unique role in the structure of Canadian capitalist urbanization as a much favoured retirement centre, especially among the wealthy.

Under these conditions, the urban and housing policies adopted in this period were a reflection and a means of accommodating capitalism's requirements, but in a manner that was in itself profitable. During the 1950s the financial capitalists favoured suburban sprawl, but in the early 1960s, the lending institutions became increasingly interested in high rise offices and apartments (Bettison 1975, p. 113). The 1964 National Housing Act amendments confirmed this shift. Bettison (1975, pp. 156-7) writes:

> The number of NHA supported single dwelling loans fell off markedly after 1964. The NHA was therefore, being used to support the multiple dwelling loan concurrently with the already established preference of conventional lenders. The rush to the suburbs that had been a feature of the previous decade was over. Lending institutions and the construction industry had swung their interests into urban renewal.

These general trends found their expression in the Victoria region. Initially, the outer municipalities were forced to contend with extensive suburban sprawl, but inevitably the

City of Victoria was affected by the changing investment patterns, impacting upon the municipality from 1960 onwards. However, the responses of the local state apparatus were rarely to confront the momentum of the growth. Rather, the City often went to great lengths to accommodate it and indeed, actively promoted it.

The onslaught of growth in the metropolitan area had occurred at such a pace that it put severe pressures on the ability of local state structures to cope with the rapidly changing character and environment of the region.[3] The strain on the City of Victoria in particular became increasingly evident in the 1960s. The local state form was proving to be anachronistic to the demands being placed upon it by capital. In 1965, this culminated when the chief city planner resigned alleging interference and personality differences with the city engineer.[4] The real significance was different. Tensions were being produced in the state structure arising from the dynamic of accumulation. The evidence suggests that the necessity for more comprehensive, rational planning reflected the diminishing capacity for engineering solutions to the pressures facing the city. One affected official stated that the problems of the previous three years could not be attributed to "such a vague concept of a personality problem" but were more due to "basic organizational deficiencies which were the real cause of friction between the previous planning officer and

the city engineer".[5] Further, he argued that the planning office was "not adequately used in respect to comprehensive land use planning" and called for a "complete re-evaluation of the function of planning in Victoria".[6] To accommodate the changes being thrust upon Victoria, the planning process required restructuring to meet the conditions. Consequently, the first steps were taken to form a fully fledged city planning department.[7] It was segregated from the engineer's department, and made responsible for economic, social and environmental planning, land use control, related administrative functions and approval of building permits.[8] As will be seen this re-organization met with the expressed approval of the developers.

At the same time as the pressures of monopoly capitalism were impacting on the City of Victoria, developers were looking at James Bay in particular as the neighbourhood which would take the brunt of residential re-development in the city. Through the procedures of issuing demolition and construction permits, the municipal state tacitly approved of this. An easily identified neighbourhood surrounded by water on its southern, western and northern perimeter and by Beacon Hill Park to the east, James Bay is the oldest residential area in Victoria (see figures 3 and 4). Consequently, it was earmarked as the first area for transition from older single family dwellings to higher density apartment development. It was later disclosed that between 1961-66, 1,420

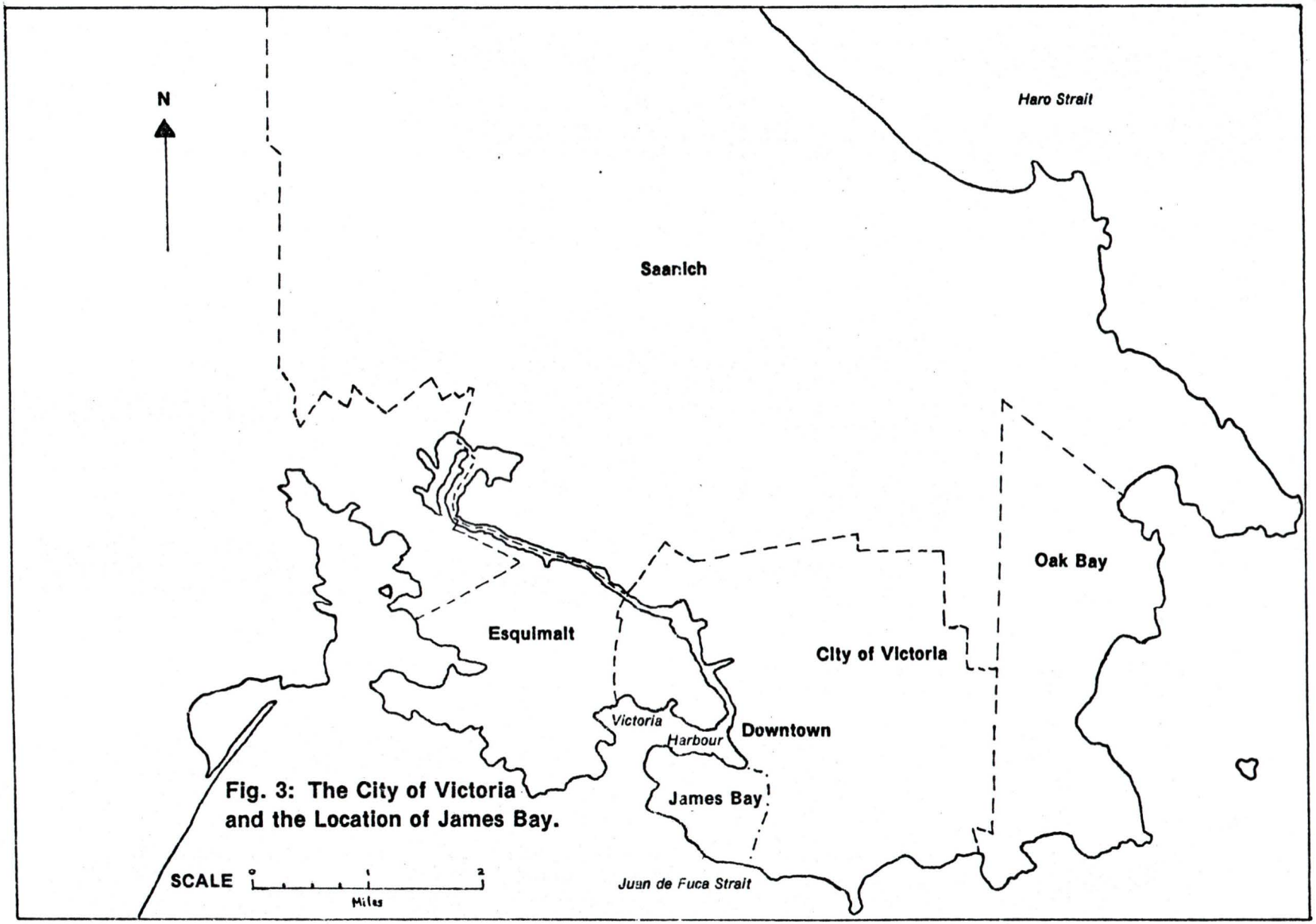



**Fig. 3: The City of Victoria and the Location of James Bay.**

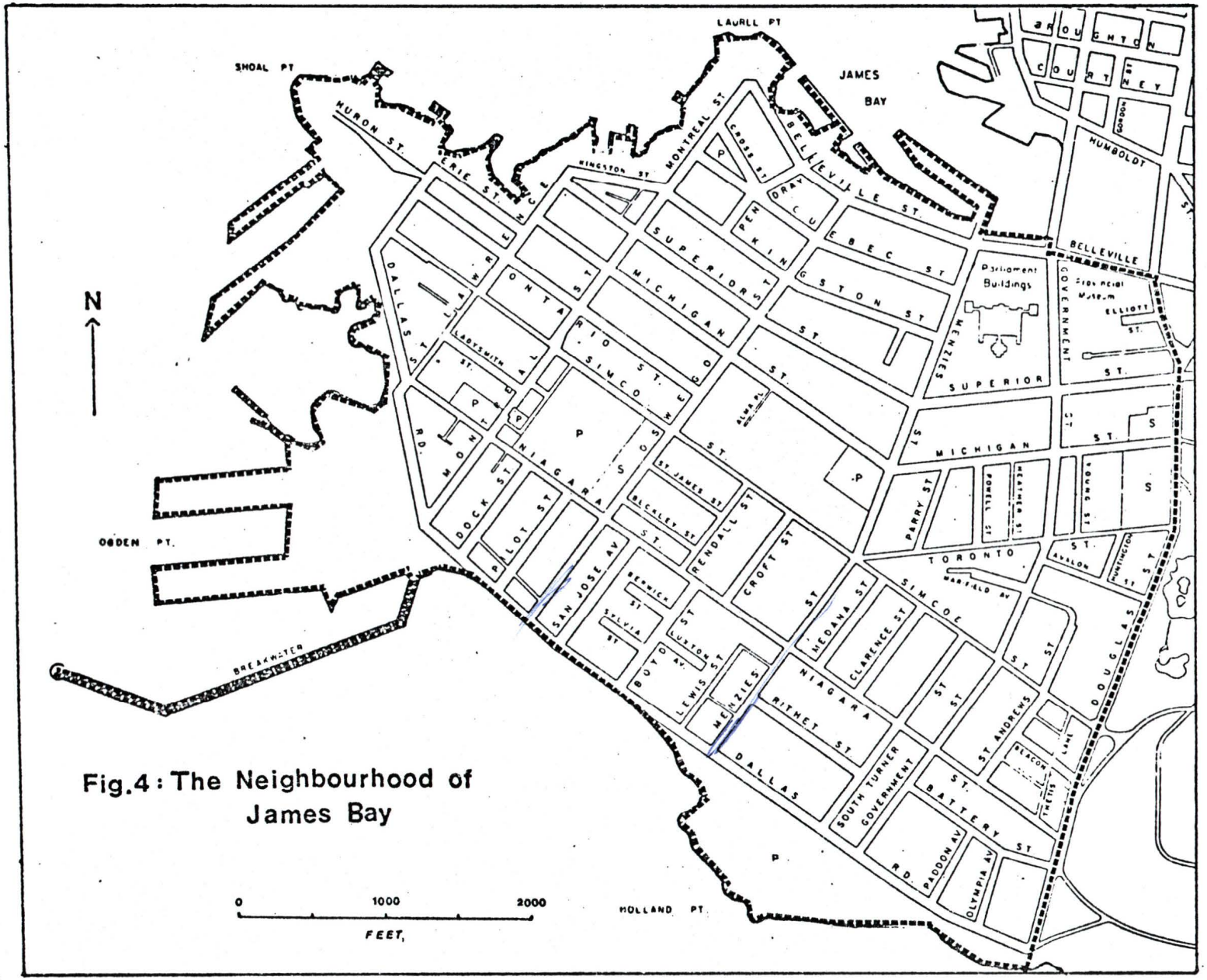



Fig.4: The Neighbourhood of James Bay

apartment and townhouse units were constructed in James Bay. This included 1,063 high-rise units in ten buildings.[9]

One journalist expressed the impact upon James Bay in the following words:

> The flood is already upon us. These days in the quiet residential streets of James Bay there's a developer behind every bush and options to purchase property are as thick as springtime daffodils in Beacon Hill.
> To attract high-rise development three years ago city council framed regulations which were attractive to developers. The stratagem worked and we now have established tall apartment blocks in three selected areas.[10]

As this developed apace, the expression of concern began and there was talk of the "progressive uglification" of James Bay.[11] Similarly, Capital Region Planning Board director, Anthony Roberts stated "we will have to decide what form it will take in the future."[12] The call was being made to prevent the despoliation of James Bay's aesthetic and heritage character, and in order to do so more stringent planning guidelines were being asked for.[13] There was no conflict with the interests of developers here, for they were pressing for very much the same thing, although the reasoning was not entirely similar. J.A. Mace, of Mace Investments Ltd. of Edmonton and the most prominent developer active in James Bay argued that the neighbourhood had the most potential of anywhere in western Canada, and requested landbanking for

subsequent reselling to private developers in order to remove the difficulties and costs in assembling land.[14] Appearing before city council, Mace stated:

> We have to know just exactly where we are going...This, of course means there must be a cohesive, integrated plan for the whole district...Without a complete plan, it appears that the major investors, namely the mortgage companies, feel it prudent to withdraw further funds from this area.
> Without mortgage financing, developers and subsequent owners will be obliged to look elsewhere. This would be a great pity because the James Bay area is ideal.[15]

The extent of development that had occurred to this point had reached a situation where the infrastructural supports could not meet the demands created by apartments. The property industry was calling upon the state to provide the conditions in which further development could proceed. An integrated plan to consider traffic management, open space, public areas, zoning, sewers and water was needed and was indeed already under preparation.[16] At this conjuncture, the municipal state was more than willing to underwrite the costs of accumulation.

During the preparation stage, development in James Bay remained in abeyance, reinforced by investment in the economy peaking in 1965-66 (Gonick 1975, p. 117) and subsequently followed by a more restrictive monetary policy (Wolfe 1977, p. 262). The impact of these conditions is

shown in figures 5 and 6.

The lull in development at this time provoked some concern amongst the local bourgeoisie. In early 1967, the executives of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce and the Victoria Real Estate Board met together for the first time and agreed to jointly promote civic growth. One participant, in accepting the increasing loss of industry from the region, remarked it is "better to pin our hopes on more retirement people. We could build a grand city here. I foresee the day when it reaches from James Bay to Swartz Bay."[17] Again support for such aims existed on city council. One alderman stated:

> Developers and builders can't go ahead with their plans until they have some idea of traffic patterns and what the city intends to do in this respect.
> This is an urgent matter and I think we should get on with it. It should be pursued. Council should not sit back and wait for such a plan to materialize. It should keep right after the departments involved.[18]

To alleviate the difficulties facing capital, the James Bay: Land Use and Transportation Plan arrived at the end of 1967. It explicitly encouraged the redevelopment of the older residential areas for apartments by private investment, the provision of incentives to stimulate development of high calibre apartments and road improvements to correspond to the transition towards higher density.[19] More

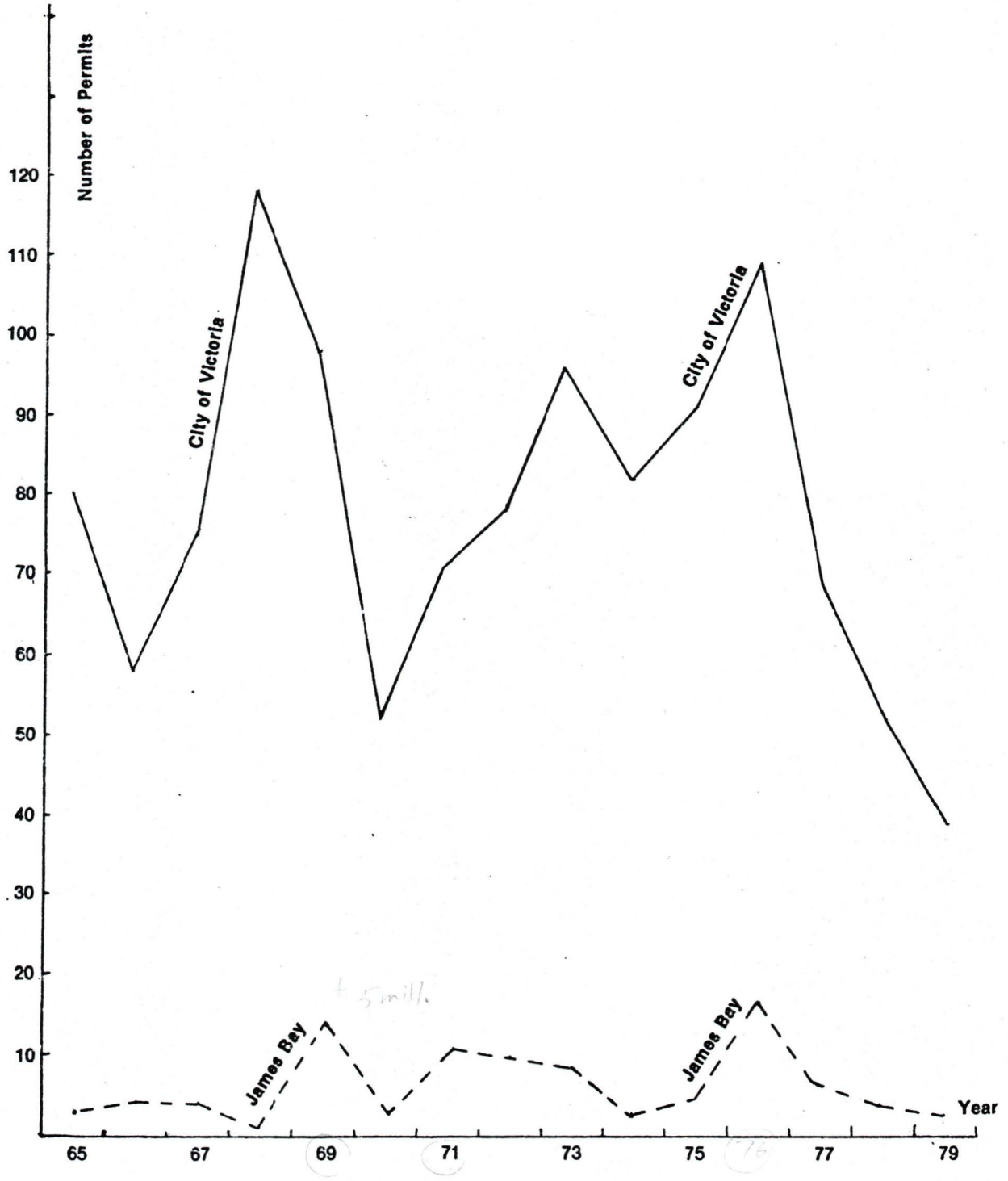



**Fig. 5: Number of Building Permits Issued by Year in the City of Victoria and James Bay.**

Source: Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

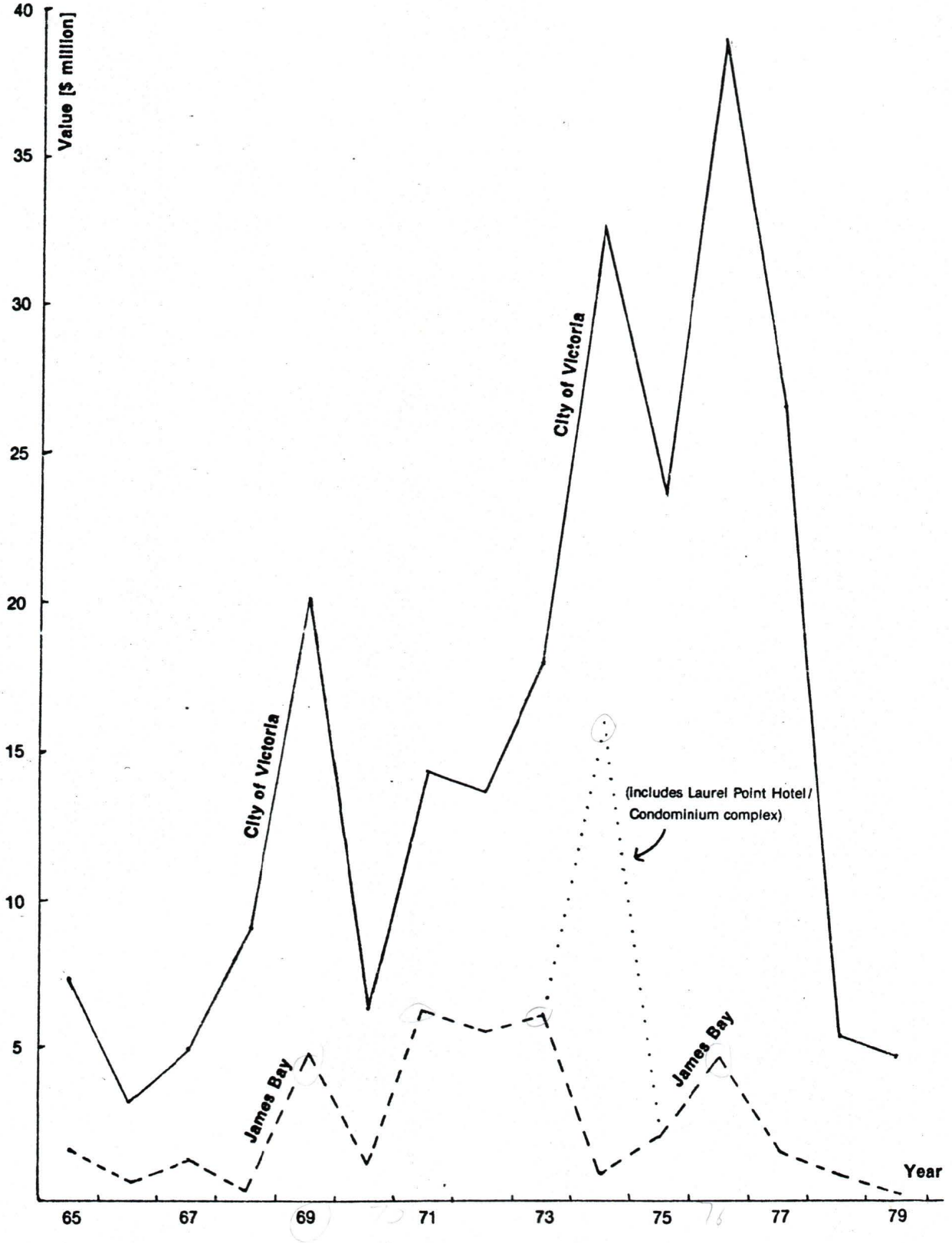



**Fig. 6: Value of Residential Building Permits Issued by Year in the City of Victoria and James Bay.**

Source: Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

specifically, the plan included a Bonus Apartment District (R3B) where a higher density would be permitted in return for provision of underground parking and open space. It would encompass 61 acres of which 45 acres were still not redeveloped with apartments. The R3B zoning would include undeveloped high density apartment land (R3H), 26.5 acres of previously zoned medium density apartment areas (R3) and 17 acres of duplex zoned land (R2).[20] The plan was endorsed by city council in March 1968.[21] Figure 7 illustrates the revised zoning plan for James Bay.

It is hard to imagine a more blatant accommodation of the wishes of property developers and the high-rise residential form which the lending institutions were happiest to finance. As one alderman remarked in an understating manner, "the hope was that private capital would take advantage of the opportunities offered."[22]

The worries expressed a few years earlier about the fate of James Bay were forgotten, whilst the era of participatory consultation had not yet arrived. The relative well-being of James Bay residents either living there then, or in the imminent future was to be subordinated to the profits of property developers. The massive redevelopment of James Bay was being imposed on the people whether they liked it or not. Mayor Hugh Stephen expressed this clearly:

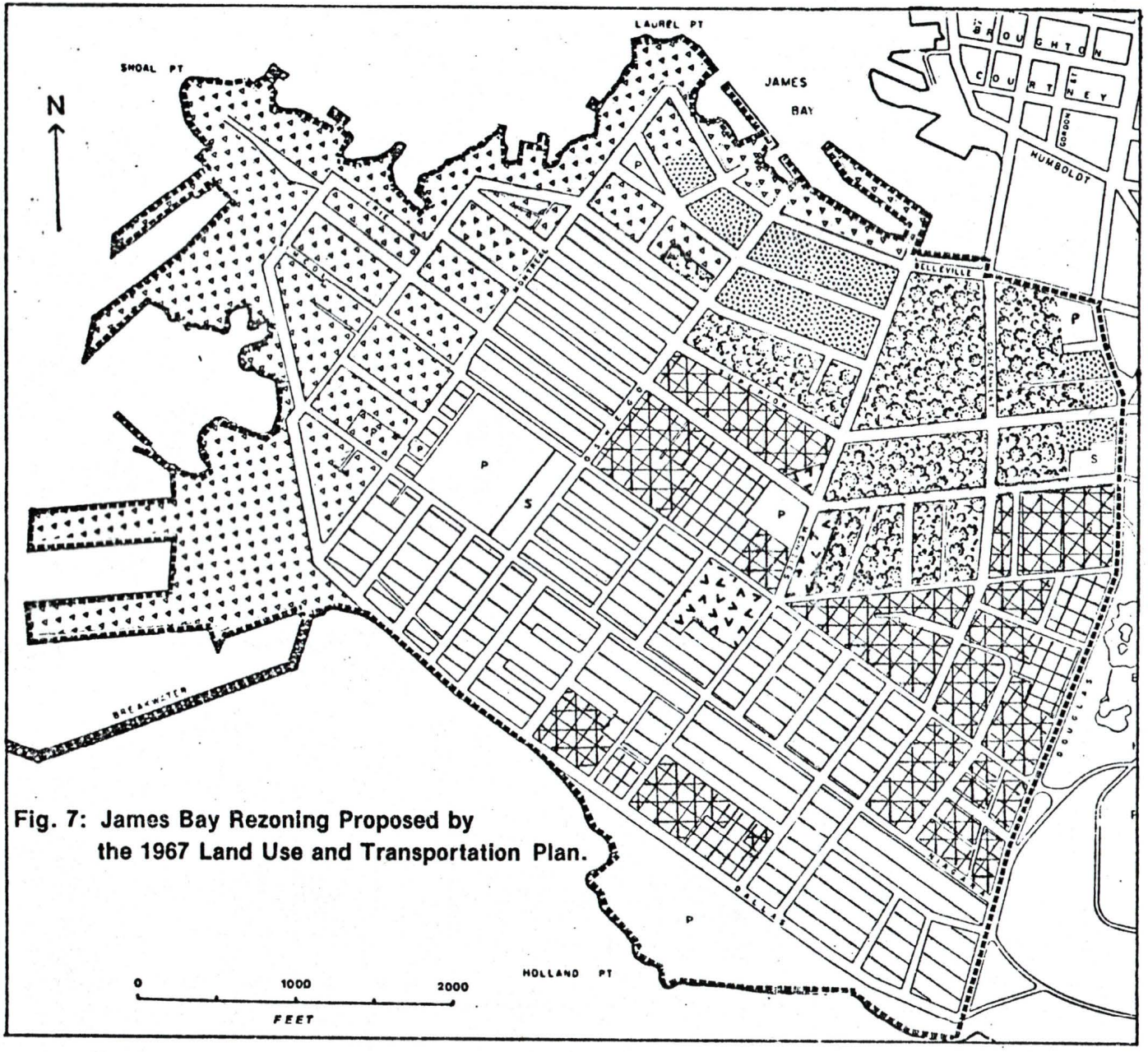



Fig. 7: James Bay Rezoning Proposed by the 1967 Land Use and Transportation Plan.

**LEGEND**

- R-3 Medium Density Multiple Dwelling
- R-3-H High Density Multiple Dwelling
- R-3-B Bonus Apartment District
- Transient Accommodation [Hotels]
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Parliamentary Precinct

P Park
S School

> Victorians were going to have to get used to the idea of high-rise development, as it meant the future prosperity of the community. There is nothing wrong with high-rises...and nothing wicked or unstable about living in them, as so many Victorians seem to feel.[23]

At the same time, the Federal Minister of Housing was saying the very same thing.[24] Living conditions and the reproduction of labour power were being fully subordinated to the interests of capital. The door was fully open to developers. "We welcome all they care to bring us."[25] Furthermore, the mayor created a Community Development Committee "charged with the responsibility...to search out the major sources of private investment in Canada and to awaken their interest in investment in the potential of Victoria".[26]

For the greater part of the long period of growth in the 1960s, capital was being suitably served in Victoria and more particularly in James Bay, where the 1967 plan merely institutionalized an unwritten policy of several years standing. However, the first hints of change came towards the end of the decade. The quality of the area's living conditions began to be questioned, as the consequences of the 'pro-growth' policies appeared. One social worker remarked at the time:

> It will be fine when we have some [housing] units, but what about people's social life?... There's not one community centre in Victoria, and not one neighbourhood house.[27]

The cavalier style by which the municipal state threw its weight behind the interests of capital was attracting criticism, together with a re-appraisal of what the future form of the city might be. Such was the concern, that the Victoria Times, expressed the circumstances in the following manner:

> There appears to be a crying need for overall planning for the city in this period of almost feverish stacking of storeys, a need for zoning regulations which will not be bent and amended to suit every new applicant, a need for the application of architectural standards with as much weight as plumbing or fire regulations, and a general assessment of what the city's appearance should be and how we want to achieve it. Super-buildings should have super-space around them: they should be located only after consideration of their effect on the neighbourhood for many blocks in every direction. Apart from a general permissiveness for the construction of high-rise apartments adjacent to parks or waterfront in James Bay, the public has little knowledge of any broad, long-term program for the city.[28]

While at this time there was not a well formulated resistance by the dominated classes, divisions began appearing in the ranks of local businessmen which began affecting the functioning of the municipal government. Yet, the Chamber of Commerce credo of 'growth at any cost' was still being pursued. One of its past presidents and then Mayor, Courtney Haddock conveyed the way in which council was still beholden to supporting this attitude. In a speech to the Victoria

Real Estate Board, his remarks were reported as follows:

> Haddock started to voice objections to the proposed multi-million, multi-storey high-rise tower to be built near the Bay.
> "Can you imagine a 38-storey building towering over the Bay?" he asked. "How many of you think that's a good idea. Come on. let's have a show of hands."
> The vote was about three tc one in favour of the tower.
> "Well," shrugged the Mayor, "I'll have to be guided by you people." [29]

However, other voices began speaking up more strongly. An erosion of Victoria's character was being increasingly seen as a dangerous threat. One developer, Sam Bawlf, who was involved in renovating old buildings and structures, expressed this sentiment in the following way:

> When you get involved with large developers, the type that are running most cities today, you get involved with large institutional investors like insurance companies, and in order to secure their mortgages they have to lease their ground-floor space to prime naticnal tenants like banks, very large faceless entities.[30]

There was clear recognition of the gradual replacement of small independent local shops by large institutional companies, retail corporations, banks and trust companies. Gregson (1970, p. 227) wrote:

> Still faltering and somewhat reluctant, they [council] have begun tc admit that the old chamber-of-commerce credo promoting growth at any cost, advocating the worship of the gross national product and placing monetary considerations above human values will invariably lead to doom.
> Throughout the year, there has been a growing awareness among aldermen that progress in the traditional sense doesn't necessarily make Victoria a better place to live in...[31]

If differences within the local bourgeoisie emerged in 1970, they were to accentuate in 1971 culminating in the municipal election at the year's end. At its beginning, Mayor Haddock removed Ald. Pollen as chairman of the city's Community Development Committee, reasoning that Pollen had "served his purpose very well in the planning end, but now we can't go on hitting developer's between the eyes".[32] Turning a blind eye to mounting criticism, it was "time to sit down with developers and have a friendly dialogue".[33] However, Pollen kept up his attacks on the planning process, or rather lack of it in the city, gathering support in the press for his endeavours.[34] As the mayoralty election neared, it was clear that it represented a debate over the future vision of the city, together with the conditions attached to development (Gregson 1970, p. 229-30). It marked a conjuncture of strong tensions within the local state apparatus. What had once been a body fully committed tc adopting an open door policy to development, was now split over the best way to create the conditions for continued capital accumulation.

The local business elite was divided into conservative and more liberally minded fractions. The former held to the line that what was good for developers was axiomatically good for Victoria and James Bay. The short term rewards on investment underlay their position. Critical of the prevailing view was an increasingly vocal, more liberal fraction that took a broader and more long term view of the development of the city, supported by some dissenting voices among social workers and residents. Their concern with the rapidly changing nature of the city put them in conflict with the ambitions of monopoly capital, as the thrust of their dissent was aimed at retaining the acclaimed uniqueness of Victoria's character.

It is contended here (and support for this view was found in some interviews), that the uniqueness of Victoria's character among North American cities, was seen by this liberal group to be an asset in a developing tourist industry. If the trend towards high-rises and tower blocks was left unabated so that Victoria came to resemble other cities, then the distinctiveness of Victoria as a tourist commodity would be lost. The preservation of the character, heritage, charm and architecture of the city was vital to sections of the local bourgeoisie who were conscious of the need to promote tourism to counteract the gradual decline of manufacturing in the region. Although they were critical of the development policies that had hitherto been pursued, they

were not opposed to development per se. Rather they favoured more rigorous planning controls and guidelines which developers were to submit to.

Even though the 1971 election saw Pollen defeat Haddock easily in the mayoralty contest, it was not a conclusive victory for the liberal fraction of the elite. Pollen inherited virtually the same conservative council, which forced him to make use of the media and mobilize public opinion in order to get council to support his reforms. Nevertheless, the election marked the beginning of a politically dramatic period for Victoria and more especially for James Bay.

The first major decision was the passing of a zoning by-law amendment that limited the height of commercial and residential buildings to 14 storeys and included reductions in the ratio between floor space and lot size. Despite lobbying by Victorian construction firms and developers, the amendment was approved by all council members except Ald. Percy Frampton.[35] He opposed, arguing that such action would discourage developers and hinder investment in the city.[36] Although the changes were regarded as unprecedented in North America, and Victoria was envisaged to be a tough place for big league developers, it was seen by the press as a compromise solution, a holding device until entire zoning by-laws were revised.[37] Certainly, as figure 8 demonstrates, there was no dramatic decline in demolitions. Indeed, Section 7C2-A of

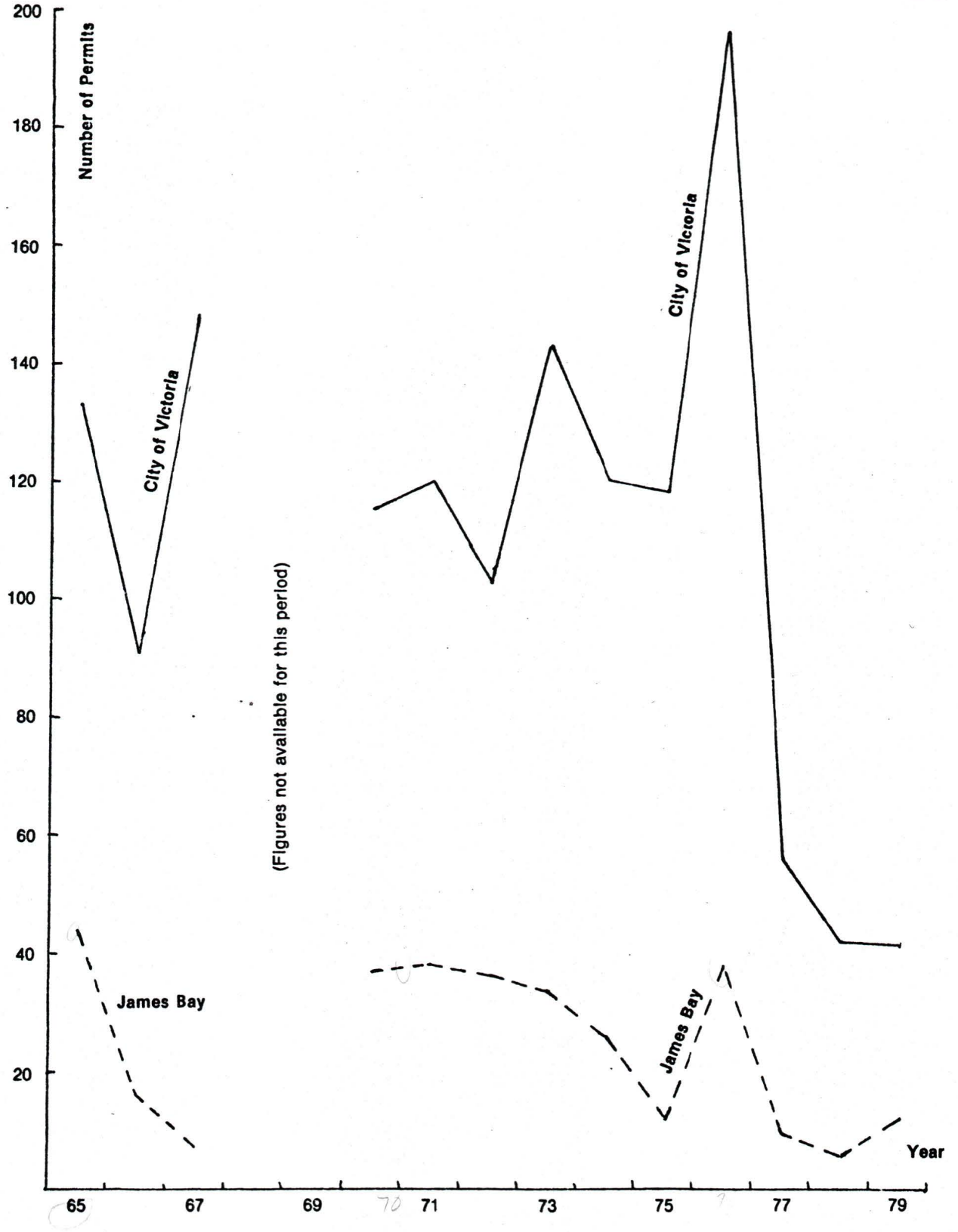



**Fig. 8: Number of Demolition Permits for Single Family Dwellings and Duplexes Issued by Year in the City of Victoria and James Bay.**

Source: Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

the Municipal Act enabled the circumvention of this amendment. Developers could avoid it by special land use contracts by which they had to comply with specific guidelines laid down by the municipality. The impact of the new regulations was much less than feared. Although a few largescale developments were scared away, no massive decline in the construction industry occurred (see figures 5 and 6).

By this time, social conditions had worsened in James Bay under the continuous transformation of the neighbourhood towards a high-density, apartment dominated residential area. This is indicated by the data for demolition permits on figure 8. Only a brief respite from this process occurred when the country went into economic recession at the turn of the decade. The impact is revealed in figures 5 and 6.

In its early existence, James Bay was predominantly a high class residential suburb of Victoria until the wealthy migrated to Rockland and Uplands. Subsequently, the area became much more a working class district, particularly in its western part where small scale industries were established. Much of the working class lived in small wartime housing. The more spacious homes east of Menzies Avenue and along the Dallas Road waterfront remained an area for the "middle to upper-middle classes". Additionally, the neighbourhood had a high proportion of elderly, near to one-third of the population (see Table I).

Following the endorsement for James Bay's trans-

| | YEAR | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1961 | 1966 | 1971 | 1976 |
| Population of the City of Victoria | 54,941 | 57,453 | 61,761 | 62,551 |
| Population aged 65 and over | 11,453 | 12,577 | 14,140 | 15,160 |
| Percentage | 20.85 | 21.89 | 22.38 | 24.24 |
| [Average Household Income] | $4,826 | --- | $7,129 | --- |
| Population of James Bay | 5,983 | 7,028 | 8,025 | 10,012 |
| Population aged 65 and over | 1,394 | 1,766 | 2,450 | 3,290 |
| Percentage | 23.30 | 25.13 | 30.53 | 32.86 |
| [Average Household Income] | $4,514 | --- | $6,832 | --- |

TABLE I. PROPORTION OF ELDERLY POPULATION RESIDENT IN VICTORIA AND JAMES BAY

Source: Census, Statistics Canada

formation, the destruction of the neighbourhood affected all fractions of the community, including the eastern portion as developers sought the advantages of building apartments overlooking Beacon Hill Park (see figure 9). In what had once been a stable neighbourhood, many residents were being pressured into selling out by the sustained adoption of classical blockbusting techniques. Reports of the day focussed on the circumstances facing longstanding residents of the neighbourhood. One lady commented, "We don't want to sell. We've been living here for 32 years."[38] Nevertheless, many succumbed. One resident recalls:

> ...there were those who were hoodwinked into thinking that the property values were going to fall. I can remember one of my neighbours, who owned two houses on the street I lived on and he was right in with the developers. They had him convinced that if we didn't allow all these apartments to develop here, the property values in the community were going to drop and he was going to lose. He wasn't really pro-development or even wanting to sell his houses to a development project, but he was afraid.[39]

Concomitantly, individuals were effectively prevented from moving into, and buying homes in James Bay, because in order to support the construction of apartments and new dwellings, few mortgages were granted by lending institutions on older homes during the 1960s, and this remained unchanged until 1972. These discriminatory lending policies fostered the deterioration of James Bay, resulting in the neighbourhood

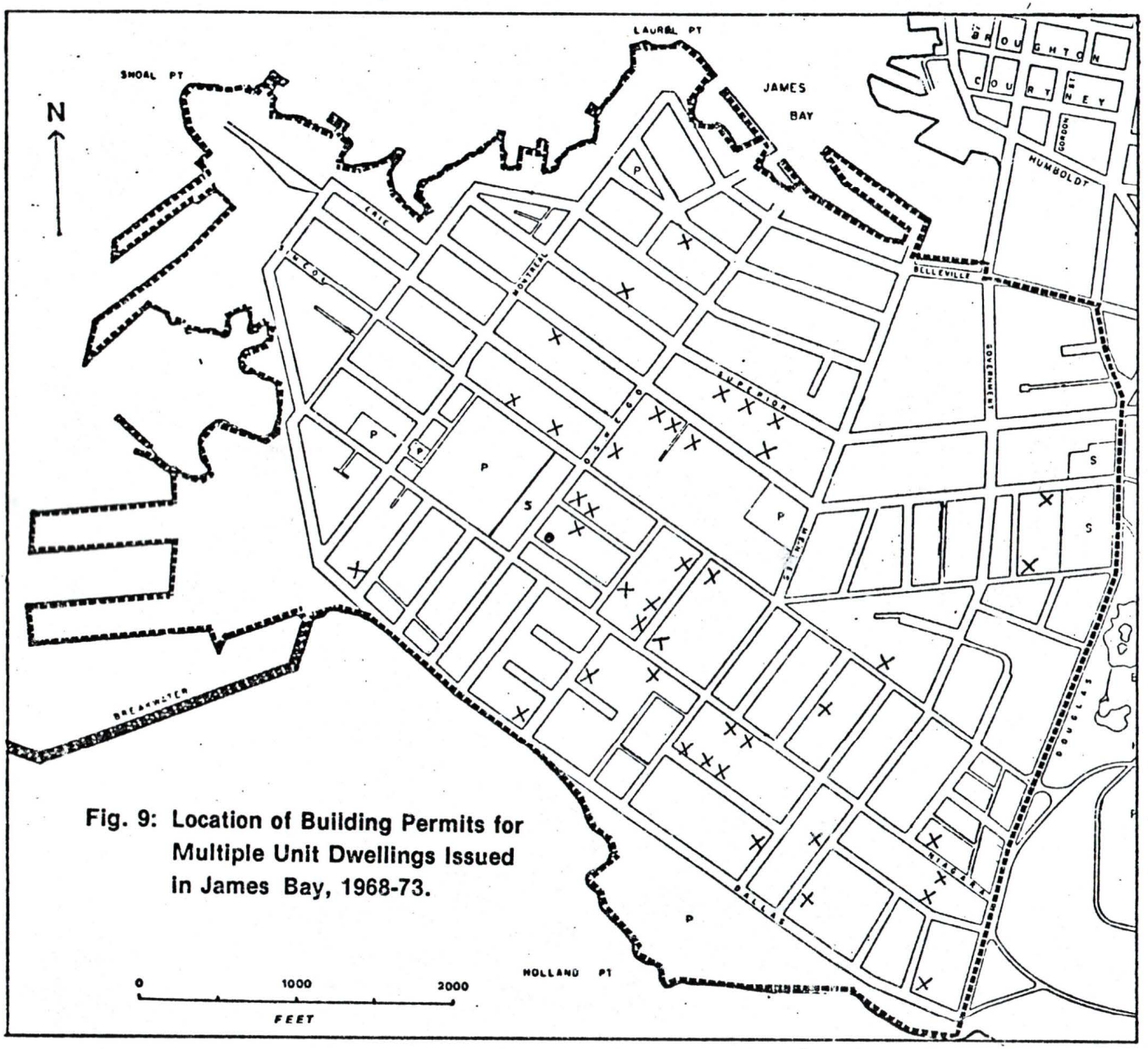



**Fig. 9: Location of Building Permits for Multiple Unit Dwellings Issued in James Bay, 1968-73.**

## LEGEND

**Location of Issued Permit:-**

- × **Apartments**
- ● **Condominiums**
- T **Townhouses**

- **P** **Park**
- **S** **School**

Source: Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

becoming a transient area that offered cheap rental accommodation, attracting those on social assistance. At the beginning of the 1970s a large proportion of James Bay residents were unemployed and receiving social assistance. Additionally many of the elderly were on low fixed incomes. Tenant-landlord relations were a major complaint in the area, while welfare was a big issue generally in the city.[40]

Nationally, rising unemployment and a declining economic picture were causing concern. The federal state under the Liberal government introduced two programmes in the winter of 1971 that were officially aimed at combating unemployment, namely Opportunities For Youth (OFY) and Local Initiative Projects (LIP). In December 1971, James Bay became a beneficiary of the latter programme. A grant of $14,976 was awarded to the Action Committee of James Bay United Church which hired six people to work towards "the fostering of a total caring community".[41] Once again, in a period of social disintegration, capitalism was summoning the 'principle of community betterment' as a defence against rising social unrest (see Harvey 1978 b, p. 227).

To understand the significance of the programme, a momentary digression to a more general level will prove instructive. Huston (1973) argues that the federal state's actions were more responsive to social instability than to an economic crisis, an element in a strategy of social control that sought "the integration of 'marginals' into the main-

stream of society" (p. 100). The target group was primarily the disaffected youth that was seen to constitute a threat to social stability. The state responded through the offering of projects that were felt to be 'meaningful'.

> These programmes are principally designed neither to reduce unemployment nor to help solve social problems; they are designed to impart a sense of involvement to marginal youth. ...what the participants do is not important, it is only what they <u>think</u> about what [they] are doing that is important. (Huston 1973, p. 103)

In Huston's view, the federal state regarded them as an end in themselves, an effective safety valve to channel discontent. However, should the proposed projects appear to challenge existing power relationships, the criteria for approving proposals were sufficiently ambiguous for discretion to be exercised by state officials (p. 104). Huston (p. 107) concludes:

> ...we can not say that no projects can ever mount a politically effective collective action. All we can say is that the odds are stacked high against it and that the occasional exception does nothing to undermine the arguments we have used here.

While concurring with Huston's analysis of the programmes, and recognizing that the effect of LIP's implementation in James Bay may have run counter to the general rule,

the case remains that in this instance the federal state's policy backfired. Rather than being an end in itself and quietly channeling discontent, it became an 'organization' around which collective mobilization ensued, creating a social awareness that would permanently affect the community of James Bay and the politics of Victoria generally.

The initial proposal no doubt appeared suitable to federal state officials, coming as it did from the James Bay United Church and aiming to involve a few 'hippies'.[42] However, the project soon took on a dimension beyond its initial stated purposes. Its objectives expanded to:

1. Foster a caring community spirit within James Bay;
2. Take steps towards improving the environment;
3. Provide services to the community which had been lacking.[43]

In concerning itself with the declining standard of living conditions in the neighbourhood, a survey was conducted to identify the needs of the community. Further, residents were asked if they would participate in group gatherings to discuss community issues, or if they would volunteer their services in some capacity towards bettering the community.[44]

Fundamentally, the survey assessed the quality of everyday life of all residents, whether they were working, retired or had not yet entered the labour force, and to assess the potential for acting towards its improvement. Although

the project sought the improvement of services to residents, a situation which Huston (1973, p. 104) saw as consistent with the federal state's policy, it was very apparent that the objective conditions of James Bay meant that this could not be achieved to any significant extent without offering a challenge to the dominant power relationships. Although the federal state via LIP had succeeded in stimulating "a newly-found pride" in the community among previously alienated, frustrated, uncertain residents, it could only do so at the cost of fermenting conflict at the local municipal level. In the face of deliberate 'ghettoization', attempts to improve residents' social conditions could only come through open struggle with property capitalists and their supporters. Subsequent to capital being confronted with an environment obsolete to contemporary needs, the conflict between the accumulation drive and the deterioration of living conditions resulted in the development of contradictions in state policy towards James Bay.

At the local level, the municipal state by virtue of the 1967 plan, had actively aided accumulation, while at the national level, federal state intervention aimed at maintaining social stability served towards arresting the declining quality of everyday life by fostering community spirit, self-help and volunteerism in James Bay, which was being sacrificed by the former's policy. The opportunity was taken by some residents to exploit the contradiction and resist the further

decline of their standard of living.

This reality presented itself to city council in March 1972, when members of the LIP project asked council for help, including land to store materials "for everything from painting homes to repairing fences".[45] Mayor Pollen pointed out to them that the project's aims were in opposition to the principles of the official city plan for the area.[46] What had been a federal attempt to dampen social unrest from one source, had only led to ignite it from another, but if a potential threat to the established order could be dissipated by deflecting and confining the unrest to the local state, this was an acceptable price to pay for preserving the long term interests of the capitalist class in general. This did, however, leave Victoria City Council to cope with the wrath of an increasingly vocal and protesting group of residents from James Bay.

The LIP project provided the impetus for the formation of the James Bay Community Association (JBCA), that would organize and present the demands of residents in James Bay. There was talk of the need for such a body in the community "during previous exploratory meetings, [when] residents expressed concern over the quality of development in James Bay".[47] About fifty residents attended the founding meeting at South Park School, at which Sam Bawlf was elected interim chairman. At the meeting the JBCA vowed to address the following four principles:

1. The rejection of the 1967 James Bay plan;
2. James Bay is not suited for high density development without careful planning;
3. Zoning amendments to encourage preservation of single family homes;
4. The need for a community centre and the provision of all year round facilities in a proposed new school.[48]

The association sought to prevent James Bay from becoming a repeat of the West End of Vancouver. The 1967 plan targeted a population for the area for 18,000, but reports in the press suggested that the full realization of the plan would result in a population of 30-35,000.[49]

The social base of the organization covered a wide spectrum of the social classes found in the neighbourhood, but were predominantly drawn from homeowners, rather than apartment tenants.[50] From its inception, the JBCA maintained steady lobbying, pressing its demands and offering alternatives for the development of James Bay with the ultimate aim of getting changes in municipal state policies towards the neighbourhood. Great use was made of the media. The observations of one community activist are revealing here in terms of the means by which the struggle was waged.

> I used to laugh a lot because the old term, "paper tiger" was used a lot in those days with China, but I used to say that the JBCA was a paper tiger because we had a good membership but they weren't an involved membership; you know, 450 members believed in what the goals, aims and objectives were. There was a handful of people that did most work and we just got a lot of press. Everytime we turned around there were headlines in the second section, "James Bay Community Association this and the James Bay Community Association that...", just lots of press and it was beautiful, you know, we were on open line shows and we were doing things and we were hollering and screaming but it was the same people doing the hollering and screaming and I used to laugh because Council would start getting a little afraid of all this. But basically we didn't have as much power as I think they felt that we had but somehow we managed to get a lot of headlines. The power that we had was that we got the message out to the people.[51]

The bulk of the criticism was directed at the 1967 plan, its tacit approval of land assembly, and the general process of planning.[52] Several remedial suggestions were made to city council. Most pressing was the repudiation of the 1967 plan, while other demands asked for the involvement of residents in the planning process, the withholding of demolition/building permits pending a new plan for the neighbourhood, support for a separate community centre, financing of needed recreational facilities, an improved sewage system, downzoning of some areas from multi-family dwelling to single family dwellings, provision of adequate housing for displaced low-income families, subsidies for repair and maintenance of existing housing, guarantees of no further street widening

and concomitant loss of trees, and initiation of a CMHC funded study to determine the needs of residents.[53]

This met with favourable support in several quarters. Mayor Pollen called the situation in James Bay the "ultimate in absurdity" and "one of the prime responsibilities and urgencies in the city".[54] The Victoria Times regarded the attempt to stop "destruction of one of the most beautifully situated districts in Greater Victoria" as coming not a moment too soon.[55]

As this conjuncture a coalition of classes and fractions of classes occurred. The reform-minded local state officials led by the mayor found themselves in alliance with the JBCA. This organization led initially by another reform minded capitalist, Sam Bawlf, consisted of a diverse group of residents encompassing business persons, the new petty bourgeoisie and the working class. Those who normally found their interests represented by capital, now found themselves confronting it in these circumstances as the declining standard of living impacted upon all residents. The stakes were extensive enough to mount a defensive action against the loss of homes, the domination of high-rises and the collective loss of James Bay's environmental character. This coincided with the interests of the liberal fraction of the local business elite. The basis of the alliance rested upon the cause of 'environmental concern'.

The ideology of the conservative elite supportive of unrestrained development had lost its legitimacy among the residents of James Bay and in Victoria generally. Simultaneously, the ideology of environmentalism enabled the liberal fraction of the elite, headed by Mayor Pollen, to establish hegemony over the dominated masses for the realization of its interests. It was an antagonistic ideology confronting the traditional power holding block of the conservative elite, a populist movement serving the interests of the suppressed fraction of the local businessmen. In other words, environmentalism provided a basis for sufficient mobilization serving the liberal elite, that would not at the same time permit the opportunity for a challenge to the raison d'etre of the local bourgeoisie itself.

Despite expressed support for the demands of the JBCA, council remained reluctant to adopt any strong remedial action. Ambiguously, the chairman of the City Planning Committee, Ald. Mike Young, stated: "The city won't encourage development but to halt development is impractical."[56] Indeed at a later date a building permit for an apartment building was approved after a two week delay and complaints of particular developments going ahead together with continuing land assembly (often without council's knowledge) were voiced by the JBCA.[57] Additionally the JBCA complained of not being given the courtesy of a reply to several letters and two briefs presented to council.[58] The Victoria Times

also continued its attack on the City's planning process.[59]

Clearly the populist alliance was strained, as tension continued to run high over the continued destruction of James Bay. Yet, the protests remained largely directed through conventional and institutional channels. The problems were seen to stem from a lack of consultation between the municipality and the residents. Planning had been undertaken without consideration of the latter's viewpoint. The role of the Advisory Planning Commission (APC) was heavily criticized. For many years the appointees were largely those holding pro-growth, pro-development philosophies which had accommodated the penetration of monopoly capitalism in Victoria. With architects, engineers, developers and financiers figuring prominently in its composition, the "unequal structure of representation" (Mahon 1977) of the APC had served the conservative local bourgeoisie for many years. In early 1973, eight out of fifteen commissioners were connected with the property industry, and two others were businessmen.[60] Another commentator on the APC wrote: "it rarely happens that the city commission's advice is ignored by council". Moreover, it was "accountable to no one for its decisions, holding its meetings behind closed doors and withholding minutes of those meetings from public scrutiny".[61] For all Mayor Pollen's rhetoric, little substantial change in the APC has occurred. The fundamental interests of the local

bourgeoisie were still being preserved.

To rectify the "structural bias" of the planning process, the JBCA perceived the solution to lie in the provision of dialogue. Not surprisingly, given the bourgeois leaning leadership of the JBCA, problems were not seen as emanating from the imperatives of capital and the ambitions of developers, but from the inadequate and faulty structures of the planning process. Faith in the ability of local government to remedy the situation remained. At one point, Bawlf remarked that leadership for drastic change must come from city council.[62] The quest for neighbourhood control was never a consideration. The JBCA recommended the establishment of 'local area planning commissions' representing identifiable local areas to work in conjunction with the municipal state's APC. Planning matters were to be referred to both bodies. They would then report to council, which would "balance the neighbourhood's view with the concerns of the whole community".[63] Seemingly, formal public participation was seen as a panacea by which the 'common good' could be arrived at. There was an implicit rejection of the existence of fundamental, unresolvable conflicts. In addition to this idealism, it was suggested that the seven commission members were to be <u>appointed</u> by the mayor and council and should consist of residents from the area including businessmen, students, housewives, pensioners and representatives of local citizens' and ratepayers' groups.[64] Clearly if these

suggestions were adopted, city council would still be able to stack these local area commissions with sympathetic voices, with the likelihood of the working class still struggling to be heard within a populist body. While in one breath attempting to increase the power of James Bay residents in the planning process, the bourgeois leadership of the JBCA were making sure that in the final analysis their fundamental interests could be protected. It amounted to little more than an elaborate way of maintaining the status quo with the appearance of allowing the voicing of diverging opinions. The scheme stopped short of advocating structures which would allow the expression of truly radical opinion. Nevertheless the proposals were met with a mixed reception on council and eventually disappeared quietly from discussion.[65]

Despite the ongoing struggle to extract reforms from the state over collective consumption, it remained confined to conventional means.

> The association works on the preparation of briefs, contacts the government and gets feedback from the community and wants a part in planning for the area. We're not against development but we want development with planning. The process is slow but it's good that it's slow.[66]

Another member of the JBCA stated:

> We are not going to become radical, but it would be nice to get 2000 people to attend

> a council meeting and have the meeting moved to Memorial arena.[67]

Since its founding the association had grown ten-fold and was reported to have a membership of over 500 by the end of 1972.[68] In its growth, the association gained an increasing number of apartment tenants who were "scared to death" that apartments may be converted to condominiums. It was reported that apartment owners were telling tenants, especially the elderly to buy their individual suites or move out.[69] Although this process appeared to be legally permissable without a change in zoning by-laws, it prompted council to establish a Victoria Landlord and Tenant Advisory Bureau to ease the concerns.[70]

This new issue, along with frustration from continued council inaction and a sizeable community association in spite of its professed moderateness, heightened tension towards the end of the year. It was later to be remarked:

> While the mayor's views draw attention across the country for being far out and radical, his applied measures at home draw criticism for being too moderate and short-sighted.[71]

Strong criticism was given at public hearings on a proposed extension of a townhouse development[72] and a compromise proposal on J.A. Mace's controversial Bay Village development,[73] while a JBCA brief to the Ministry of Municipal

Affairs of the Provincial Government criticized the impact of the concentration of civil servants working in James Bay and offered alternative policies.[74] In the case of the Bay Village proposal, a letter by the JBCA to city council expressed the growing frustrations and anger:

> Thirty storeys or 24 - what is the difference. We are tired of arguing about the size and shape of these bandaids while the disease rages unchecked... The action of council in entering into a land-use contract with Bay Village Shopping Centre Ltd. under the threat of legal action smacks of "the ground-jacking" of James Bay with a licence supplied by the city... The James Bay Community Association is in principle opposed to the Bay Village project as it is opposed to all developments in James Bay that continue to increase the population density and pressure with no adequate planning reference.[75]

The social unrest could no longer be accommodated or sidetracked, but had to be met square on, especially because of the vociferousness of 'respectable' people. Bettison (1975, p. 164) summarizes the contradictions confronting the local state, that had been and were now being similarly felt across Canada:

> Though real estate developers, backed by lending institutions were ready for large-scale construction, the city councils were by no means so happy. Urban renewal generated a great deal of public concern and personal objection. Those directly affected, and involved in eviction and compensation proceedings, as well as those threatened by the growing

> institutional ownership of whole city blocks, raised sufficient political concern for elected officials to take heed...The public (sic) advantages of greater concentration were largely in terms of more efficient economic use of urban land and a moderness of appearance. The costs were political opposition and social unrest.

Mayor Pollen was only too well aware of the challenge that the degree of unrest presented. In late 1972, he stated: "Hopefully the days of ramming things down the throats of our citizens are over." Public participation was "not only desirable, but an absolute requirement". [76] As much as the JBCA pressed for the provision of public participation, the local state apparatus was only too willing to grant it in order to appease the dissenting residents of James Bay. The resolution of the contradictions lay in part in the provisions for involvement in the process of making decisions on planning issues, although it stopped short of implementing specific structures within the state apparatus such as the proposals for local area planning commissions. It remained to be seen whether such measures would provide a peaceful resolution, or would merely provide a new locus for the expression of contradictions?

The first test arose immediately, when a report and discussion plan for James Bay was presented at the end of 1972.[77] It embodied many of the suggestions made in the preceding year, and was referred for further discussion to the

APC and the JBCA.[78] Its main principles were a commitment to fewer high-rises, more recreational facilities, a lower population density and the preservation and rehabilitation of existing single family homes. Despite its anti-high-rise thrust, Mayor Pollen felt that the plan should go beyond downzoning to duplex, by rezoning to single family homes.[79] The new plan was in large measure a watered down version of the 1967 plan.

Over the following months the facilitation of public input into the draft plan sharpened the lines between opposing forces rather than permitting the derivation of a commonly held position on the fate of James Bay. The stakes were high. Capital wanted to retain control over the neighbourhood, even if it meant a further deterioration in the living conditions there, while the community strove to gain reforms that would give increased protection to the environment of James Bay.

Initially, the JBCA gave qualified support to the draft plan,[80] but it later adopted a more critical position. In a brief to council, the JBCA argued that the proposal "deals with the physical state of the community only, ... [leaving]...human and social needs on a very low priority listing".[81] In addition, criticism was made of the lack of provision for the retention of homes in good condition which remained in areas still zoned for apartments. The JBCA presented alternative recommendations to overcome the plan's

weaknesses:

1. Retention of existing housing stock and the provision of lower cost housing;
2. Property tax incentives and co-operative ownership schemes that would discourage absentee ownership;
3. Encouragement of a social mix, including 'family courts' or low rise apartments with central play-grounds, planned corner stores or groups of stores, conservation areas, and sensible development of light industry;
4. A temporary halt to all development as 'breathing' time;
5. Protection of official plan for five or ten year period.[82]

While the JBCA was enunciating its position on the draft plan, another organization formed in James Bay and entered the zoning battle. Called the James Bay Ratepayers' Association (JBRA), they at first remained anonymous. In an unsigned letter sent to James Bay residents, they praised the 1967 plan for its "desirable high density area, complete with widened streets, parks, shopping centres and beautification spots".[83] At their first meeting it was revealed that developer J.A. Mace, and alderman Percy Frampton were behind the group's foundation, whose membership was to be confined to property owners.[84] The JBRA aimed to delay the proposed

rezoning and create a 'united front' in opposition to the draft plan.[86] Frampton wanted to see more apartment buildings up to seven storeys in James Bay.[87] His argument that the draft plan would lessen the selling possibilities of single family homes through the discouragement of apartments was challenged by those who held that their homes were for living in and not for money making opportunities.[88]

In the course of opposing each other in the neighbourhood, JBRA attempted to discredit the JBCA.[89] With markedly greater support, the JBCA drew from all social classes in its quest for downzoning the neighbourhood. Housing, as a commodity, was regarded primarily for its use value as a place to live. In contrast, the minority group, the JBRA, was a front for the interests of developers, and those property owners who regarded their homes for their exchange values, some of which were hood-winked by the developers' rhetoric. In the contradictory character of housing as a commodity, lay the split between property owners in James Bay.[90]

In May 1973, a revised report and plan for James Bay was presented.[91] The new plan went beyond the recommendations of the earlier draft plan. There was complete elimination of all high-rise zoning along with further reductions in three and four storey frame apartment building zones. In the east of James Bay there was a greater increase in duplex zoning in the area, while in the western part due to declining industry, a large area was zoned low density multiple dwelling,

mainly townhouses for family housing. The centre area of the neighbourhood was already mostly apartments and was to be retained as a development area including the Bay Village shopping centre project.[92] The study also acknowledged the introduction of federal grants for renovating old houses under the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), and promised to investigate transit improvements, parking problems, street improvements, beautification and retention of corner stores.

As a policy document, the revised plan displayed a conservationist thrust, but despite its anti-high-rise stamp, it still allowed for the provision of new housing stock, particularly for families. In this form, the plan marked the gaining of the upper-hand by the community movement in James Bay, although it was by no means a complete victory. As much as the JBCA's basic demands had been met, it was not a total concession from the state. Rather, to ease the social unrest and instability, it was only too willing to replan James Bay.

Indeed, by extracting reforms exceeding those contained in the 1972 draft plan, capital mobilized more strongly than ever before. Following the revisions to the plan, the stakes were now eminently higher. The Victoria Downtown Business Association (VDBA) made a report on the new plan, which it regarded as a "retrograde step" leading James Bay to "become a depressed area with an unworkable, dispersed

community".[93] More fully the report stated:

> The future of the James Bay peninsula is a major factor in determining the future of downtown Victoria. All plans for the area must be continually reviewed in order to evaluate the effect on the economy of downtown.
> ...Any plan to restrict normal (sic) population growth in James Bay will seriously affect the future economy of downtown Victoria. It is vital, therefore that...the plan of 1967 continue to be the approved plan for the area.
> ...James Bay...should be permitted to continue its present trend of complete redevelopment and not to be forced through rezoning to provide an unnatural (sic) mixed community of apartments and single family houses.
> ...There is always a nostalgic desire to restore older homes and properties, but more practical economic use of valuable land over-rides such sentimentality.[94]

Underneath this plea, lay an awareness on the part of the merchants of the increasing challenge being posed to them by the suburban shopping centres.[95] The prospect of a large population in James Bay close to downtown, including a high proportion of elderly who were unlikely to add greatly to traffic congestion was understandably appealing to them, for it would provide them with an expanded market that would enable them to compete with the suburban outlets.[96] Not only was this report rejected by the JBCA, [97] but the VDBA was ridiculed by the Victoria Times, remarking that "their kind of imperious attitude went out with feudalism".[98] Zoning committee chairman Ald. Mike Young also poured scorn on the VDBA report.[99]

Concomitantly, the conservative fraction of the local bourgeoisie was screaming that investment capital was being driven away from Victoria and hurting the local economy. In the words of VDBA's Tom Denny, "the word across Canada (among developers and major commercial interests) seems to be 'Victoria-forget it!'"[100] J.A. Mace re-iterated the fears, claiming that continued council anti-development policies could only lead to "the abandonment of Victoria by financiers".[101] Figures 5 and 6 indicate, however, that these fears were greatly exaggerated. No marked decline in construction is discernable. Indeed some major projects were begun in 1973.[102]

It seems conceivable that there might have been a temporary 'wait and see' period of uncertainty on the part of financiers weighing up their investment options. However, it was probably soon apparent that the new regulations would require modifications in the designs of projects, but they were certainly not totally impinging. More correctly, such changes would create a more stable climate for investment.[103]

Nevertheless, the interests of capital were not going to succumb easily and the JBCA had to remain vigilant. Demolitions continued at a high level (see figure 8) and continued property buying was reported. This led to fears that the community plan would be undermined before it was even approved.[104] Although the Municipal Act did not allow a blanket freeze on development, the JBCA pressed for the

rejection of development proposals that conflicted with the zoning policies that were tentatively drawn up.[105]

When city council finally began taking decisions in the late summer of 1973, the battle lines had been clearly drawn. Bitterly opposed to the reforms were the JBRA, VDCA, financiers and property developers, together with background support from the Chamber of Commerce and Victoria Real Estate Board. Seemingly intent on pursuing the accumulation drive irrespective of the consequences, the conservative elite had marshalled its forces, joined in the process by a few home-owners in James Bay.

Their opponents were a complex alliance of classes and class fractions which encompassed the majority of council and the James Bay community movement under the umbrella of the JBCA. At this conjuncture, the strained populist movement which objectively sought to replace the conservative elite's hold on power with the liberal fraction of the local bourgeoisie, had regained its hegemony. A need to contain the level of discontent required the granting of reforms. Although the municipal state's policy exhibited strong legitimizing tendencies, it can be argued in the same breath that the policy, by preserving the unique character of James Bay and Victoria, helped provide the conditions for developing the tourist industry, at the expense of the interests of financial and property capital. Both tendencies were able to be catered for under the umbrella of environmentalism.

In August 1973, council finally approved in principle the elimination of all high-rises (R3H) by rezoning to mainly medium density (R3). This marked phase 1 in the overall downzoning process of James Bay.[106] Also approved was the drawing up of a more controversial by-law for phase 2 that aimed to eliminate much of the medium density zones (R3) by rezoning to duplex (R2). Only Ald. Frampton opposed the changes.[107] This set in motion a complex and vast amount of rezoning that required negotiating in five manageable phases, such was the magnitude of the undertaking.[108] In addition to the support of the JBCA, the Victoria Times also complimented council on its actions.[109]

At public meetings for the rezoning proposals, much of the previous debate was re-iterated.[110] The stormiest hearing occurred over phase 2, when the VDBA, JBRA, speculators, developers and the construction Association of Victoria repeated warnings that property values would plummet, construction costs would rise, urban sprawl would be stimulated, downtown would be adversely affected, a reduction of potential tax revenues would occur and slum conditions would be fostered.[111] Proponents of the downzoning, favoured the preservation of the neighbourhood, the encouragement of rehabilitation and a healthy mix of housing, arguing that federal funds for NIP and RRAP would soon be available.[112] It was time to listen to residents, whether tenants or not, rather than absentee landlords who constituted much of the opposition.[113]

When council passed the phase 2 proposals with only Aldermen Frampton and Savage opposed, Mayor Pollen called it "one of the most responsible and wise policies of urban legislation in Victoria's history".[114] Again, the Victoria Times welcomed the decision and the change towards a more coherent planning policy, a cause it had championed for many years.[115]

If phases 1 and 2 exposed most clearly the fundamental interests at stake, and for that reason were the most controversial and bitterly contested, the scale of the whole proceedings compounded by legal actions, meant that the downzoning was not completed until August 1975, by which time the heat had dropped out of the controversy.[116] The zoning in James Bay before and after the downzoning actions is shown in figures 10 and 11 respectively.

What then was the significance of the achieved reforms gained by the James Bay 1973 plan and the downzoning measures? Certainly it met the most basic demands of the community movement, expressed through the JBCA, and it met with the interests of the reform minded fraction of the local bourgeoisie. However, it was a victory of the moment and not attainment of power per se. The 1973 plan was objectively an attempt to regulate the contradiction between the accumulation drive of property capital and the deteriorating living standards of the residents of the neighbourhood, who struggled to resist the erosion of the quality of their everyday life.[117] The open conflict that transpired did not articulate along

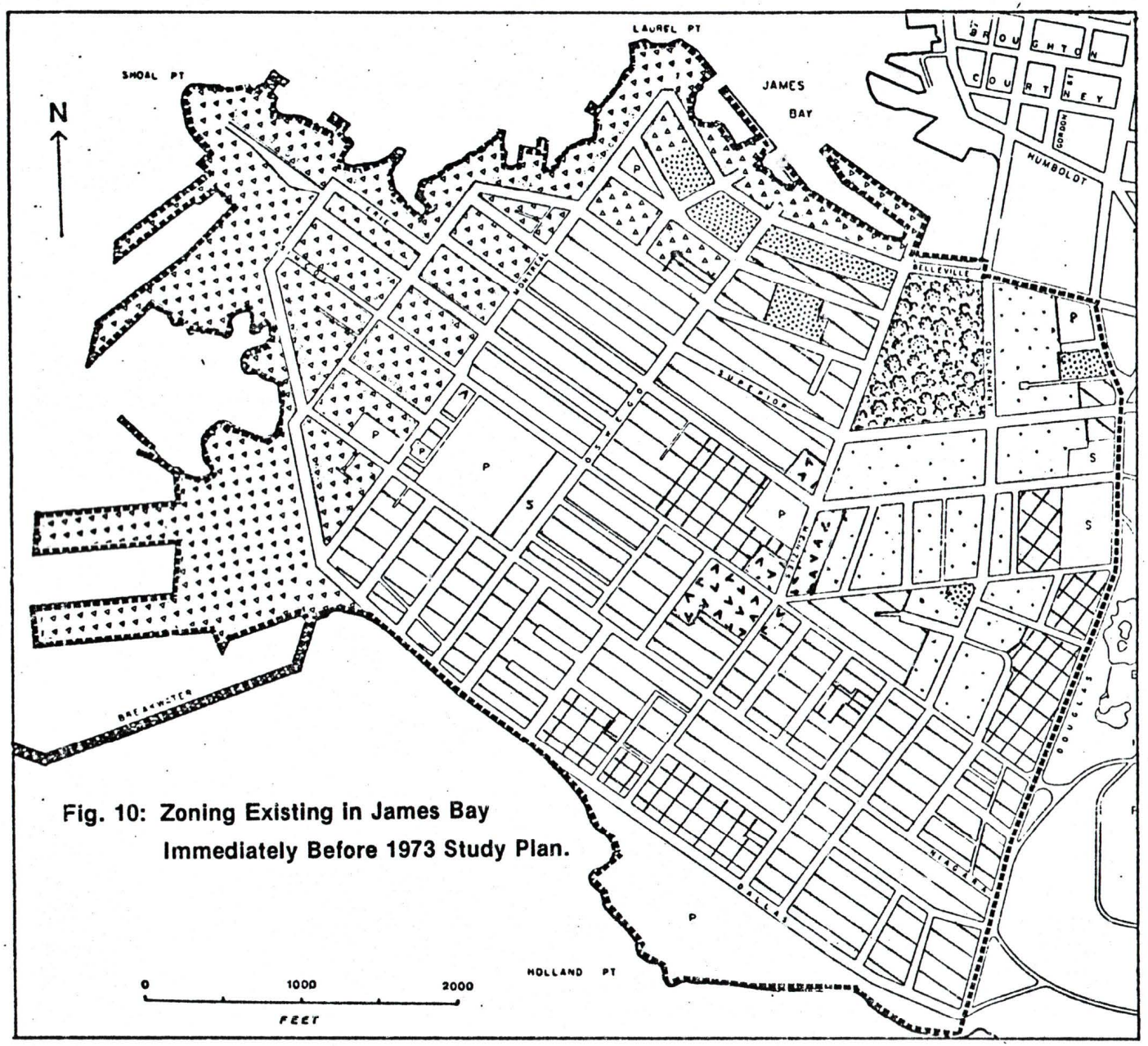



Fig. 10: Zoning Existing in James Bay Immediately Before 1973 Study Plan.

**LEGEND**

- R-2 Duplex
- R-3 Medium Density Multiple Dwelling
- R-3-H High Density Multiple Dwelling
- Transient Accommodation [Hotels]
- Commercial
- Industrial [Heavy and Light]
- Parliamentary Precinct

P Park
S School

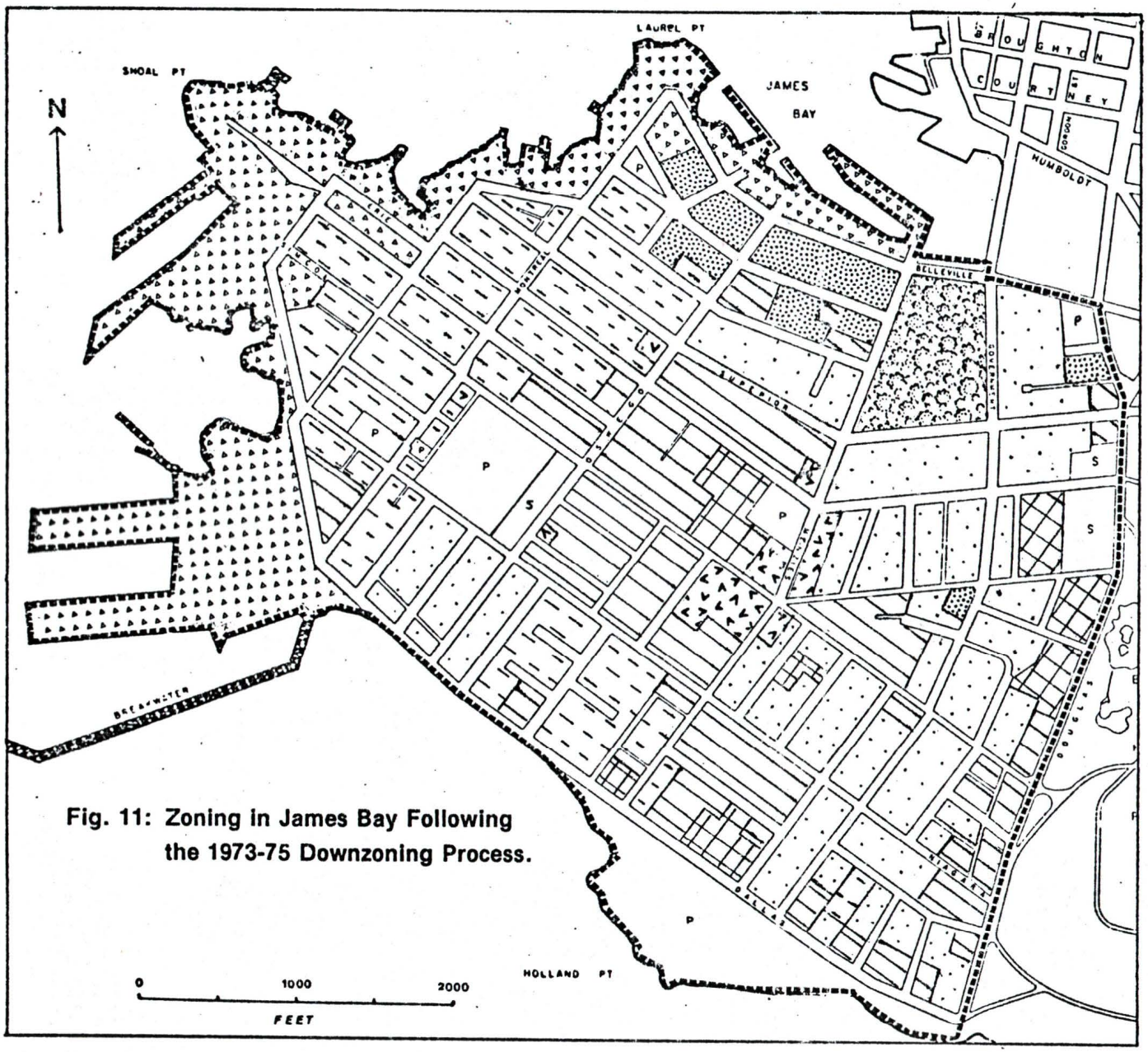



Fig. 11: Zoning in James Bay Following the 1973-75 Downzoning Process.

## LEGEND

- R-2 Duplex
- R-3-L Low Density Multiple Dwelling
- R-3 Medium Density Multiple Dwelling
- R-3-H High Density Multiple Dwelling
- Transient Accommodation [Hotels]
- Commercial
- Industrial [Heavy and Light]
- Parliamentary Precinct
- P Park
- S School

strict class lines, but led to a coalition of populist forces following a split in the ranks of the local bourgeoisie. The plan represented a victory for the reform minded bourgeoisie at the expense of the short term interests of the conservative wing of the same class. Although power in the local state apparatus had swung to the former fraction, the right wing was still represented but muted under a strong, charismatic mayor. They were reluctantly pressured into going along with the reforms.

For example Ald. Young at one time expressed some reservations about the 1973 plan.[118] The split between the advocatory and reluctant reformers surfaced again when Mayor Pollen wanted the James Bay plan registered with the provincial government so that it could only then be changed by cabinet order, thus safeguarding it from abuse and changes by later councils.[119] Young criticized this for its inflexibility, or in other words wanted to prevent the further erosion of the ability of developers to act in the neighbourhood.

Fundamentally, the contradictions that articulated in James Bay became reflected and internalized within the local state. Not only did the 1973 plan embody this as state policy, but the contradiction existed within the composition of the elected council. With power accruing to the reform-minded members of council, the split within the Victorian bourgeoisie was starkly revealed by the end of 1973. This

conjuncture marked the ending of the sympathetic hearing that the conservative wing of the local elite had long been receiving from City Hall. Mayor Pollen's caricature of the Chamber of Commerce at this time as the "flat earth society" symbolized this split and the failure of this class fraction to come to terms with the social consequences of its past policies. In reply, Tom Denny of the VDBA called council a "civic dictatorship".[120]

Soon after becoming mayor, Pollen had set up a Central Business District Advisory Committee (CBDAC) to provide communication between downtown merchants and city council. Meeting in October 1973, the merchants expressed three main points:[121]

1. Their recommendations and proposals over the previous 20 months had been consistently ignored by council;
2. Council had pre-determined minds on rezoning in James Bay, calling the public meetings a waste of time;
3. Pollen and other aldermen were opposed to builders, architects, developers and business interests.

A then prominent Chamber of Commerce member argues Pollen "wasn't really informed of what the Chamber was doing. If he had been, we would have perhaps got out and supported a lot more of the activities that he was trying to promote, because really we did have <u>some common ground</u>".[123]

The conservative fraction of the local elite had become disaffected, yet Pollen was not totally ill-disposed

to business. Rather than trying to wield influence in the background, Pollen wanted them to come into the open and become accountable. Seemingly, he was highly conscious of their loss of credibility in the eyes of the general population. Their attitudes needed to change if they were to meet the changing social reality and retain control of the municipal state apparatus. In a speech to the Chamber of Commerce prior to the 1973 municipal elections, Pollen bemoaned the scarcity of candidates:

> Without question the most dynamic, vital and experienced element of the community is no longer participating in the most important function of our society: government. There are hardly any businessmen in government anymore (sic).[123]

Similarly, the James Bay community movement embodied a contradictory character. Initially the objective conditions encountered in James Bay led to a broad coalition of residents to arrest the deterioration of their physical and social environment. The perceived need to preserve the houses, environment, character and heritage of the neighbourhood transcended class divisions. The stake was substantial enough for collective activism to occur.

Despite representation of differing social and ideological perspectives in the membership and to a lesser extent on the executive, the JBCA was dominated by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois members who found themselves confronting

capital in the sphere of collective consumption at this particular conjuncture. Local developer, Sam Bawlf was the JBCA's first chairman, later to be succeeded by Ken and Kay Lines, who were also closely tied to the development industry. Another prominent executive of the JBCA, Blayney Scott, owner of a plastics manufacturing company in James Bay. Although the working class constituted a significant share of the membership it was not very active.

Why the crisis in James Bay assumed the proportions it did, can be explained in part by the very effect it had on the petty bourgeoisie. If it had only impacted on the working class it is debateable whether such reforms would have been obtained. One community activist recounts the influence of some of the retired population in the movement to illustrate this point.

> They are people who have held top federal positions. I could name some of them who were assistant or executive ministers in the federal government in Ottawa and all that type of thing...These were people who we started to become involved with very early on and what we finally realized politically was that it was in our best interests to take two step backwards and when we went to City Hall, instead of me with my long hair in those days and my beard going up and being that shit disturber from James Bay, I would step back and say very little. I would introduce maybe Harald Stephenson, who at the time was 70 or 71 years old, who was incredibly articulate, who was a retired executive with Eatons. Harald would stand up and say things - you know things changed. All of a sudden these people couldn't just write him off as a crank.[124]

It was perhaps not accidental, that while the western, more working class district of James Bay was only downzoned to medium density (R3), the eastern, more 'upper middle class' district was downzoned to duplex (R2). The downzoning embodied a class bias. The social split in James Bay is alluded to in figure 12.

As a result of its particular class composition, the JBCA inevitably exhibited a strong reformist stance, which did little to contest the fundamental interests represented by the municipal state. Its reality was ultimately little more than a desire to defend single family housing and to put a human, aesthetic appearance on the actions of property capital. The JBCA was not a radical organization. Rather, if it gave that appearance it was only because of the extent to which the whole neighbourhood was threatened (giving rise to its 600 strong membership), and that it saw the realization of its interests through the defeat of the conservative fraction of the local elite by its liberal counterpart. Not surprisingly, the JBCA executive was not adverse to negotiating compromises with developers, as revelations at the end of 1973 showed.[125] With these reformist postures, it led the JBCA leadership to hold that if developers were only a little more considerate, acceptable solutions could be found! Capitalist urbanization could proceed with an aesthetic face.

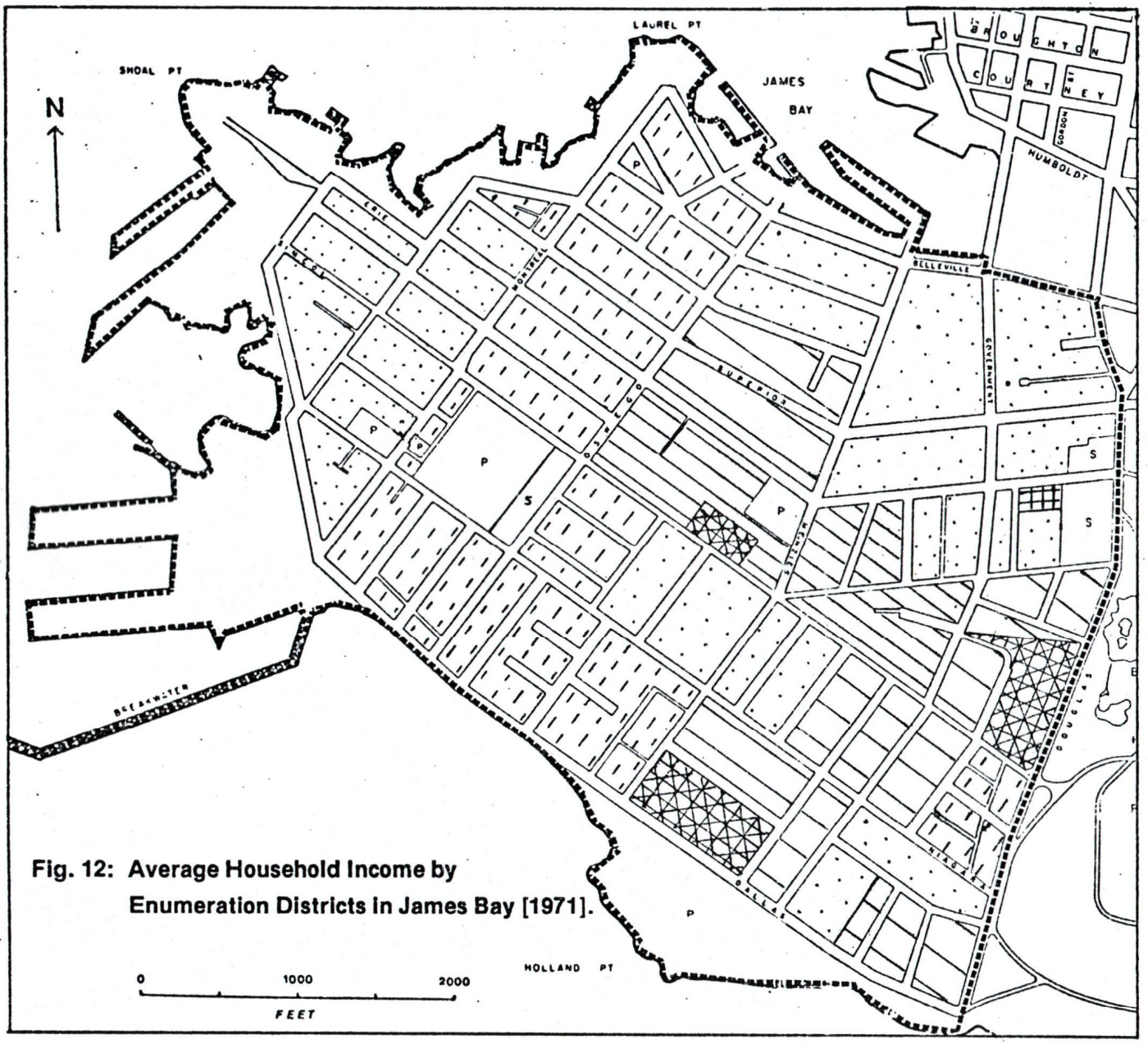



**Fig. 12: Average Household Income by Enumeration Districts in James Bay [1971].**

## LEGEND

**Average Household Income:-**

- $5,500 - 5,999
- $6,000 - 6,499
- $6,500 - 6,999
- $7,000 - 7,499
- $7,500 - 7,999
- $8,000 - 8,499

P Park
S School

Source: Census, 1971.

This petty bourgeois ideology had come to control the direction of the Association. After a general meeting in May 1973, the next meeting was not held until December 1973. In spite of largescale attendences at downzoning hearings, the JBCA executive had effectively operated arbitrarily, aloof from its membership during this period. While demanding participation in city planning, the leadership acted to minimize it in its own organization, thereby effectively curtailing working class input. In response to criticism of this tendency, Ken Lines stipulated he would work for a larger community input, indicating that he did not wish to see the JBCA becoming a 'front' organization.[126]

The 1973 plan was a reflection of this petty bourgeois ideology, but following the downzoning there were dissensions within the community.[127] The JBCA saw "the problems of rezoning beginning to fade", and it was felt that attention "should turn to other equally positive projects".[128] Other residents felt that the measures did not go far enough. The intensification of the contradictions in James Bay gave birth to a broad movement, but their resolution did not meet with everybody's satisfaction. Even though the reformist ideology of those finding themselves in a contradictory class locations was dominant, the internal contradiction of the community movement was beginning to surface. This point will be returned to later.

From the inception of the community movement in the early 1970s, the residents of James Bay struggled to improve and increase their control over the quality of their environment and amenities. Mobilization and activism occurred not just in regard to the destruction of the physical and environmental aspects of the neighbourhood, but also organized around other aspects of collective consumption. The provision of health, welfare and social services entailed the setting up of the James Bay Community Project, the founding of the Community School encompassed education and recreational facilities, and the establishment of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was pursued. Before detailed attention can be given to the last named, brief consideration must be given to the other spheres mentioned, as they became intricately linked with the development of NIP.

## THE JAMES BAY COMMUNITY PROJECT

Concern for health and social services in the widest sense was also an outgrowth of the initial 1971 LIP project. In June 1973, an offshoot of the JBCA, the James Bay Neighbourhood Services Committee (NSC) was formed and pursued the integration of health, social, recreational and community education services.[129] Community activists approached the NDP provincial government and were told to put their ideas on paper.[130] At the same time the provincial government was considering the establishment of a pilot project in

an urban area in conjunction with similar projects in rural areas. The James Bay proposal received support from three cabinet ministers in October 1973, and Lorne de Girolamo was appointed as a community development worker.[131] He saw his role as follows:

> I am interested in fostering Community concern and involvement of residents. I am really excited about the development of an integrated Community where residents work together to help fill each other's needs.[132]

Attempts to integrate the various services began in earnest.[133] Initially existing as an autonomous body, the NSC became a committee of the JECA in the spring of 1974, but soon after gave greater control to the Community School Council and to a committee charged with establishing a Health and Human Resources Centre.[134] The latter development occurred when the provincial government announced in July 1974 that James Bay would pioneer the first neighbourhood integration of social, health and community education services under the joint administration of the Ministries of Health and Human Resources.[135] Through co-ordination and operation under one roof, the project aimed to overcome the previously existing disjointed provision of such services that often had social workers practising in isolation.

If this appeared to be little more than a traditional state response of improved co-ordination and institutional

re-arrangement, more progressively the project was to be run by a Community Resources Board (CRB), composed of James Bay residents elected by the neighbourhood population. The CRB would have responsibility for devising a budget for the needs of James Bay residents, negotiate with the provincial government for money and set policy. Such a decentralized move towards local community control over such services was extremely progressive for Canadian legislation, even if in the last analysis the provincial state could exercise its power to restrict or suppress certain courses of action it might take. One activist commented: "Never before have people at the community level been able to make decisions on service they themselves will receive".[136]

Upon the announcement, the JBCA accepted the concept and received funds to hire social workers for the community office and community school "working for and under the direction of the association".[137] There followed a period when, in conjunction with provincial government representatives, efforts were geared to getting the project established. Such efforts included the identification of needs and priorities in the neighbourhood, finding premises for the project's centre, the hiring of staff, and organizing the elections to the board, held in May 1975.[138] Not surprisingly this process led to conflicts with the established provincial state bureaucracy, but these became circumscribed when Ministers gave community workers direct access to their offices.[139]

The project's underlying philosophy was the concept of self-help and the utilization of the community's own resources.[140] The JBCA wanted to establish volunteerism as a driving force in the area as a possible solution to many community problems.[141] The scope of services provided by the project became wideranging entering virtually every facet of everyday life.[142]

Soon after the CRB was elected,[143] five committees were set up to broaden input into the board, namely (1) the School Council, (2) health and human resources, (3) community and special events, (4) communications and (5) environment and community planning. These committees were autonomous and not under the strict direction of the CRB. They were to be comprised mainly of interested volunteer residents, one CRB representative and possibly professional workers in the community.[144] These 'grass root committees' were formed as advisory organs to the CRB. "It was at this level that residents can become actively involved in community affairs".[145]

This organizational process encompassed several contradictory forces. From one standpoint, given the deteriorated social conditions in James Bay, the provincial state was intervening into nearly all aspects of everyday life. From another viewpoint, the community movement had gained significant reforms in the field of health and welfare, made all the more significant by its ability to direct and control how their needs would be met. As much as the state's policy

in displaying its concern had a legitimizing affect, the self-help emphasis opened up potentialities in the direction of self-management and direct democracy. Lorne de Girolamo comments:

> I made a trip to China in 1971 and I was really inspired by a whole lot of what I saw in China, like the organization. We even set up a block committee here at one point. Every block was organized and we were going to develop block captains for each. This is the type of thing they have in China so that people are communicating. We never got that off the ground. The volunteerism that was happening in China where people would come home from work and go down and work together on community things that were for each person's benefit within the community excited me and was really motivating a lot of what we were trying to do.[146]

The composition of the first elected board reflected the ideology of the social class base in the neighbourhood. According to Bob Dill, the project's co-ordinator, the board was divided between those who wanted to eradicate red tape and saw it as a "model for the demolition of society" and those who saw it as a new institutional structure for providing services. The same split occurred within the staff. The underlying philosophical/ideological split cut across both the elected board and staff. Essentially the split was between senior citizens and civil servant types, and those of the counterculture advocating alternative lifestyles.[147] Senior citizens were particularly interested in the Project

and gained one third of the seats on the board, as many of the services had a direct bearing on the conditions of their retirement.

In an editorial, the Daily Colonist hinted at the inherent contradiction of the CRB:

> They are supposed to bring participatory democracy to the improvement of social conditions in their neighbourhoods, and they are responsible for recommending to the government what proposed community services should be funded by the province... On the other hand we could have here a fifth level of government, in effect; growing in power and functions - and staff...[148]

This pinpointed the high risk nature of the NDP's reform. As a means of arresting the declining and inadequate level of services in James Bay, it opened up through its strong allowance for participation the possibility of greater radicalization of its residents, which would necessarily confront the traditional role of the state.

## THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

The concept of a community school for James Bay arose from the Greater Victoria School Board's idea to merge the three elementary schools in James Bay into one at MacDonald Park. The residents were initially divided on the issue. A group led by Sam Bawlf wanted to establish it at South Park School, while others wanted to establish facilities in a more

central location. Both sides were agreed on the need to retain and renovate the building. After initially endorsing the concept of a community school at South Park,[149] the JBCA revised its position wanting South Park and Beacon Hill Schools kept open for adult educational and community purposes, while MacDonald Park be expanded for general public use. In these matters, the JBCA wanted consultation in the planning.[150] Both city council and the Greater Victoria School Board supported community education in principle, even though it potentially meant that the residents would assume an increased voice in the provision of education.[151] However, a protracted struggle began with different state bodies to get a community school established, that became intertwined with the establishment of health, social and welfare services. A great reluctance existed to fund community education programmes with permanent guarantees. Reasons included an unfair preferential treatment received by James Bay and the School Board's fear of setting a precedent for paying for adult education.[152] The continuation of these programmes remained uncertain in the light of temporary or stop-gap funding. The lack of real commitment to keep community education alive in James Bay and to allow its development at other schools in the city led to community activists forming an autonomous organization in mid 1975 to fight for the programme's expansion.[153]

Besides the financial strain that the costs of community education entailed, the very concept was threatening to the School Board. The James Bay Community School at MacDonald Park was opened in October 1974.[154] Its principal, David Allan defined community education in the following terms:

> Community education is a philosophical concept which serves the entire community by providing for all of the educational needs of all its community members. It uses the local community school as a catalyst for bringing community resources to bear on community problems in an effort to develop a positive sense of community, improve community living and develop the community process towards self-actualization.

Despite expressing a pronounced internalization of remedial measures, the potential for progressive development registered fears among some of the School Board Trustees. The principal's assistant recognized this:

> They're the conservative element and what frightens them is the giving away, on the surface at least, the powers that David Allan has given me.
> That makes them nervous. They ask "what the hell are you guys doing down there"?[156]

Furthermore, a Community School Council (CSC) was established in September 1974, composed of representatives of parents, teachers, community school staff and the community at large, for overseeing the role of the school in the

neighbourhood.[157] Moves towards increased grassroots control over the direction of education in James Bay, and its key role in the community movement potentially challenged the status quo. The implications were spelled out clearly:

> The very success of James Bay Community School, however, raises the largest problem of all. That school is a time bomb, ticking away inside the educational establishment. And when it goes off, it could signal the beginning of a long and difficult, political war - a war on how public education should be administered.[158]

## CONCLUSIONS

The time around late 1974, early 1975 was a conjuncture with a threshold quality. Up to this time the James Bay community had struggled to arrest the 'ghettoization' of the neighbourhood. It had achieved significant reforms in different spheres of collective consumption, in part due to an alliance with the liberal fraction of the local business elite. Each sphere was seen in some quarters of the community movement as the beginnings of progressive change that would (even if it was not explicitly recognized in these terms) restrict the dominating influence of capital. There was a strong consciousness on the part of some, that the possibility existed for radically re-organizing the provision of collective consumption, and that the residents of the community could move towards control and self-determination of their own living conditions at the neighbourhood level.

In short the attained reforms were regarded as the seeds for more radical change.

Many activists in the community movement, however, felt the battles had been won. With the downzoning drive successfully negotiated and the CRB elected, the petty-bourgeois dominated JBCA turned over its interim authority to the James Bay Community Project "in order that the CRB have an opportunity to develop".[159] It thus 'de-activated' itself. It appeared that the JBCA had overseen the integration of the community movement into the state apparatus. To this fraction, the pressures of development had been halted, and the CRB and CSC would be able to reinforce the reforms achieved.

A striking difference therefore existed within the contradictory character of the community movement between those who were satisfied with the gains already won, and those who were aware that it was only a particular stage in the struggle for real change. The latter were aware of the dangers of inaction and the likelihood of the gains being eroded away by the state serving the interests of capital. Such fears were expressed by 'several concerned citizens' who bemoaned the quietness of the JBCA at the beginning of 1974:

> ...has this community reached the stage that all can sit back smugly and say "it is done"? Once stability has been achieved there comes the job of bringing people together, reaching out to the

> sick, lonely, the aged, cultivating a concern in each of us for our neighbourhood. This is a task which carries on long after the heat of initial battle. Without constant care and attention, concern for one's fellow surely would not grow and flourish in an urban setting such as this.[160]

Another letter recognized that although downzoning had occurred, city council despite its conflicting interests, was still influenced by developers. Council was under no obligation to take heed of arguments presented at rezoning hearings, and residents had no right of appeal. James Bay could still see "a proliferation of badly built cookie boxes".[151]

The dangers of complacency and inaction were keenly felt in some quarters, although it was unclear whether it was an advocacy for stronger reforms or real radical change that had a fundamental bearing on power relations. Nevertheless, many held high hopes. For example, the much sought after NIP was seen as a vehicle that could go some way towards restructuring social relations in James Bay and creating an 'alternative community' that would break capital's domination of community life. An article in the James Bay News stated:

> James Bay has the potential to be one of the most pleasant and unique neighbourhoods in Canada. Not only geographically but socially. There is good potential here for a renovation society or co-op, where tools and expertise may be shared. This may develop along with NIP and rehab programmes.[162]

Whether such expectations were to be realized or prove naive lay in the future. The James Bay community movement was at a threshold point, with its contradictions momentarily shrouded but awaiting to explode. It remained to be seen whether the more radical wing of the community movement would succeed in acquiring more progressive changes or whether the moderate fraction would hold back and contain the possibilities that existed. The arrival of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program occurred right at this conjuncture, and its implementation would be influenced by the contradictory character of the community movement.

One community activist puts it clearly:

> I don't think you can divorce the NIP programme and what was developed in it from (a) the Community Association as it was originally, and (b) the Community Resources Board as it has become because the same people essentially were involved in all three.
> Certainly individuals have changed but the same social-political groupings of people have permeated the structure of all three...[163]

Having established the conditions existing in James Bay at the time of NIP's introduction, the federal legislation and the character of the NIP programme in general must be addressed before looking in detail at its implementation.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Genesis, "Get 'em out by Friday," from the album Foxtrot (1972, CAS 1058).

2. Mayor Peter Pollen, cited in Victoria Times, June 21, 1973, p. 6.

3. It was apparent that not only were the local state structures unable to cope, but were proving to be obsolete. As early as 1951, the provincial government was forced to intervene in the dramatic expansion of the region by creating the Capital Regional District Planning Board to meet "the urgent need for a co-ordinated approach to the development and improvement of the region and for the conservation of its fine qualities" (Capital Region Planning Board, 1959, foreward). However, its lack of formal powers required the voluntary acceptance of its plans, so that in practice the fragmented municipal structure of the region resulted in it being a largely de facto advisory body.

   Such was its ineffectiveness and inability to control the development, that the local capitalist class was still clamouring for effective planning twelve years later. E.E. Pearlman, president of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce remarked: "It is my hope that the Victoria Chamber of Commerce will give leadership to a campaign which will put an end to this crazy-quilt patchwork of disorganized and unco-ordinated planning and preserve, before it is too late, what we now call, and with justifiable pride, the finest living area in the world." (Daily Colonist, September 12, 1963, p. 19). The need to order the explosive capitalist urbanization in Greater Victoria was a top priority with local businessmen, with faith continuing to be put in better planning meansures. The Social Credit government responded to this need in 1965 by creating the Capital Regional District (CRD). In spite of the intentions, in reality the provincial government was moving uneasily between the requirements of capital and the entrenched interests of the municipalities, wishing to offend neither. The CRD enabled the government to side-step the problems of a fragmented municipal structure without imposing a metropolitan government that would likely produce political repercussions in terms of lost support.

4. Daily Colonist, July 3, 1965, p. 21.

5. Letter from Mr. A.J. van Zyll de Jong (assistant town planner working in the engineer's department) to city council, cited in Victoria Times, July 10, 1965, p. 26.

6. Letter from Mr. A.J. van Zyll de Jong to city council, cited in Daily Colonist July 10, 1965, p. 17.

7. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, July 23, 1965.

8. Victoria Times, July 10, 1965, p. 26.

9. City of Victoria (1967), James Bay: Land Use and Transportation Plan, p. 3.

10. Ian Street, Daily Colonist, May 17, 1964, p. 5.

11. Victoria Times, March 14, 1964, p. 17.

12. Victoria Times, March 16, 1964, p. 11.

13. Victoria Times, March 14, 1964, p. 17.

14. It was reported that Mace's company had 1/3 of the estimated $20 million invested in James Bay apartments and commercial developments between 1960-1965. Daily Colonist, March 17, 1965, p. 17; Victoria Times, March 17, 1965, p. 14.

15. Daily Colonist, March 17, 1965, p. 17.

16. ibid.

17. Les Pope, realtor, cited in Victoria Times, February 11, 1967, p. 10.

18. Ald. Ian Stewart, cited in Daily Colonist, June 23, 1967, p. 19.

19. City of Victoria (1967), James Bay: Land Use and Transportation Plan, p. 12.

20. ibid., p. 9.

21. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, March 28, 1968.

22. Ald. Ian Stewart, cited in Daily Colonist, March 29, 1968, p. 13.

23. Cited ibid.

24. House of Commons Debates, 1967, Volume 13, p. 14377.

25. Mayor Hugh Stephen, cited in Victoria Times, January 5, 1968, p. 9.

26. Cited in Victoria Times, January 9, 1968, p. 6.

27. Ken Levitt, cited in Daily Colonist, February 9, 1968, p. 19.

28. Editorial, Victoria Times, January 26, 1970, p. 4.

29. Victoria Times, February 26, 1970, p. 23.

30. Cited in Victoria Times, September 8, 1970, p. 21.

31. Daily Colonist, December 27, 1970, p. 5.

32. Cited in Daily Colonist, January 8, 1971, p. 7.

33. ibid.

34. Editorial, Victoria Times, August 20, 1971, p. 4.

35. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, March 23, 1972.

36. Daily Colonist, March 28, 1972, p. 21; Victoria Times, March 28, 1972, p. 25.

37. Daily Colonist, February 27, 1972, p. 23.

38. Daily Colonist, May 14, 1972, p. 1.

39. Lorne de Girolamo, interview, May 1980.

40. Victoria Times, July 19, 1972, p. 25.

41. Cited in Victoria Times, April 28, 1972, p. 21.

42. This term was used by one community worker to describe the youth that were employed by the project. Interview May 1980.

43. Cited in Daily Colonist, December 31, 1971, p. 11.

44. ibid.

45. Daily Colonist, March 15, 1972, p. 17.

46. ibid.

47. Daily Colonist, February 27, 1972, p. 23.

48. Daily Colonist, February 29, 1972, p. 17; Victoria Times, February 29, 1972, p. 6.

49. Daily Colonist, December 12, 1972, p. 23; December 16, 1972, p. 26.

50. One report at the time suggested that tenants were left untouched by the controversy. Tenants liked living in James Bay for the view and downtown access, "but none said they like James Bay for its particular flavor or atmosphere". Some tenants said they did not object to high-rises as such, but would not want one to go up if it spoilt their view. Daily Colonist, May 16, 1972, p. 1, 7.

51. Interview, May 1980.

52. See for example, Victoria Times, April 18, 1972, p. 17; Daily Colonist, April 19, 1972, p. 17.

    In the brief reported on here, the JBCA stated: "The existing plan...is not based upon the wishes and concerns of the area's residents, and leads to gross deterioration of the quality of environment, disruption of neighbourhood ties, disadvantageous displacement of the area's existing residents, reinforcement of the dependence of many on social assistance, and increased costs to the city's individual taxpayers." The method of blockbusting was described in the following way: "The fears of owners, that they may, by hanging on, be squeezed between the overwhelming, faceless new developments are subtly played upon first. Then the owners are offered big money - or so it seems to one who has not bought a home in years - which when accepted turns out to be well below average prices paid for comparable spacious accommodation elsewhere in Greater Victoria." Cited in Victoria Times, ibid.

53. Cited in Daily Colonist, June 9, 1972, p. 39.

54. Cited in Victoria Times, April 18, 1972, p. 17.

55. Editorial, Victoria Times, April 19, 1972, p. 4.

56. Daily Colonist, May 12, 1972, p. 13.

57. Daily Colonist, June 9, 1972, p. 39; August 13, 1972, p. 13; September 29, 1972, p. 27.

58. Daily Colonist, August 13, 1972, p. 13.

59. Editorial, Victoria Times, June 29, 1972, p. 4; editorial, Victoria Times, July 3, 1972, p. 4.

60. Victoria Times, March 24, 1973, p. 15. This article revealed the pervasive character of the unequal structure of representation on the six inter-connected political bodies within the local state apparatus. It noted three critical factors. Firstly, there was a bias towards those directly or indirectly dependent on the property development industry, comprising 49% of all appointees and elected members. Secondly, these members were almost exclusively homeowners, with half living outside the city, while 62% of accommodation in Victoria had become apartments. Lastly, virtually all were male. The investigation concluded: "The general picture is of a privileged section of society overwhelmingly dominating city government, with minimal representation from the middle area of salary and wage-earners, let alone from the ranks of the less and underprivileged."

61. Victoria Times, January 4, 1973, p. 17. This was the first of a three part series on the role and function of the APC by Paul Moss. The other two parts were in Victoria Times, January 5, 1973, p. 17 and January 6, 1973, p. 21.

62. Daily Colonist, May 14, 1972, p. 1 and 9.

63. Daily Colonist, June 13, 1972, p. 19; Victoria Times, June 13, 1972, p. 19.

64. ibid. It was also recommended that the proceedings of APC meetings be open to the public. This would not in fact occur until after Mayor Bill Tindall's election in November 1979 (Daily Colonist, January 4, 1980, p. 9) and then with certain conditions attached.

Additionally the brief recommended the expansion of the terms of reference to the APC to allow "an architectural review board, providing council with advice as to the esthetic worth of projects as well as technical advice". It became established in January 1973. The Advisory Design Panel, with no power to accept or reject proposals, was to consist of the appointment of three architects, one engineer and two landscape architects or design consultants. It was authorized to meet with owners, builders, developers and engineers, but significantly not with community groups. Under such conditions

and representation, it was little wonder that developer J.A. Mace welcomed its establishment (Daily Colonist, January 26, 1973, p. 7). In his own words, it "would make it much easier for developers to build in accordance with city council's ground rules". (Daily Colonist June 27, 1973, p. 9). One critic remarked; "this panel is remarkable for being deliberately drawn from the property industry as a matter of policy rather than being selected according to the convention of 'lay' citizens." (Victoria Times, March 24, 1973, p. 15).

65. Victoria Times, June 13, 1972, p. 19.

66. Marilyn Woods, Co-ordinator of JBCA and Minister's wife of James Bay United Church, cited in Victoria Times, October 24, 1972, p. 27.

67. R.S. Pankowski, cited in Daily Colonist, November 8, 1972, p. 10.

68. Victoria Times, November 6, 1972, p. 6.

69. Daily Colonist, November 8, 1972, p. 10.

70. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, November 27, 1972. It was not until nearly a year later, however, before council came out in principle against the "conversion of rental multiple residential accommodation to condominiums". Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, September 7, 1973.

71. Victoria Times, April 18, 1973, p. 38.

72. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, November 23, 1972.

73. Daily Colonist, November 28, 1972, p. 11. The Bay Village proposal had been the most controversial development in James Bay that raged over ten years. Initially the scheme was for a 29 storey high-rise apartment block with an adjoining shopping centre at Simcoe Street and Menzies Avenue. At this particular meeting a compromise of 24 storeys was considered, and debate surrounded the legalities of a land use contract.

74. Daily Colonist, December 22, 1972, p. 7; Victoria Times, December 23, 1972, p. 33.

75. Letter cited in Daily Colonist, November 28, 1972, p. 11.

76. Daily Colonist, December 12, 1972, p. 23.

77. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, December 14, 1972.

78. The views of James Bay residents were to be made at one public meeting. For just elected alderman, Sam Bawlf, this was not sufficient. He saw the requirement for a regular channel of information, which the draft plan did not make possible. While it may be argued that Sam Bawlf was making 'political capital' out of the situation, it nevertheless reveals that the municipal state wanted to maintain discretionary control over the terms of input. Daily Colonist, December 16, 1972, p. 26.

79. Daily Colonist, December 15, 1972, p. 13; Victoria Times, December 15, 1972, p. 13.

80. Daily Colonist, December 12, 1972, p. 26.

81. Victoria Times, March 27, 1973, p. 13; Daily Colonist, March 28, 1973, p. 7.

82. ibid.

83. Daily Colonist, February 1, 1973, p. 13; Victoria Times, February 1, 1973, p. 19.

84. Daily Colonist, February 6, 1973, p. 17; Victoria Times, February 6, 1973, p. 17.

85. Daily Colonist, ibid.

86. ibid.

87. Victoria Times, March 22, 1973, p. 2.

88. Editorial, Victoria Times, February 7, 1973, p. 4.

89. Daily Colonist, March 22, 1973, p. 17; Victoria Times, March 22, 1973, p. 2.

90. This was implicitly recognized by Lorne de Girolamo, Victoria Times, February 6, 1973, p. 17.

91. City of Victoria (1973), James Bay, Department of Community Development.

92. This too was to become reduced in scale. Frustrated by the opposition shown by council to his proposal, Mace sold his Bay Village site to Standard Life Assurance Company who proposed instead an 8 storey residential/

shopping complex. Earlier in the year, Mace had opposed council in their support for a small shopping centre across the road from the Bay Village site, which had been endorsed by the JBCA. (Vancouver Sun, March 9, 1973, p. 30). Here was proof of the JBCA's contention that they were not against development per se, but only insensitive development.

93. Cited in Victoria Times, June 7, 1973, p. 21.

94. ibid.

95. At this time, Mayor Pollen pointed out that while the VDBA supported high-rises in James Bay for the well-being of downtown, they were not contesting the proposed Broadmead Shopping Centre in Saanich which threatened serious competition. Victoria Times, September 18, 1973, p. 9. This contradiction between the preservation of downtown interests and the active encouragement of suburban shopping centres, particularly by Saanich, arose as the outer municipalities sought to strengthen their tax base to finance the reproduction of labour power within their boundaries. The contradictions arise from the fragmented structure of the local state in the metropolitan area (Tozer 1979). This contradiction has never satisfactorily been resolved, illustrated by the conflict between Saanich and the Capital Regional District at the time of writing. It is ironic that in 1972-73, Sam Bawlf opposed the interests of the downtown merchants, but is presently championing their cause!

96. Ald. Mike Young accused the merchants of "primarily looking for a resource pool of individuals to stimulate downtown". Victoria Times, June 12, 1973, p. 17. The same point was succintly made in a letter by P. James to the Victoria Times, June 15, 1973, p. 4: "The DBA's motives for supporting increased high-rise development appear to be an attempt to guarantee a clientele for their various business interests in the downtown area."

97. Daily Colonist, June 8, 1973, p. 21; Victoria Times, June 8, 1973, p. 21.

98. Editorial, Victoria Times, June 11, 1973, p. 4.

99. Victoria Times, June 7, 1973, p. 21.

100. Victoria Times, May 15, 1973, p. 35.

101. Daily Colonist, June 27, 1973, p. 9; Victoria Times, June 27, 1973, p. 10.

102. A report cited the start of three largescale development projects. These were the Laurel Point hotel/condominium complex, the Standard Life Assurance Company's residential/shopping complex on the Bay Village site and the Harbour Square development, Daily Colonist, August 3, 1973, p. 17.

103. See footnote 64 above.

104. Victoria Times, June 8, 1973, p. 21.

105. ibid.

106. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, July 26, 1973.

107. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, August 9, 1973.

108. For example, the Municipal Act required affected property occupiers, as well as owners to be personally notified of rezoning proposals. Consequently Phase 1 required 1,553 letters to be sent and Phase 2 over 2000 letters. Victoria Times, September 29, 1973, p. 11.

109. "What we are at last seeing is the proper use of zoning regulations as a tool to achieve an overall plan, and not in a hit-or-miss manner as an end in themselves." Editorial, Victoria Times, August 13, 1973, p. 4.

110. Minutes of Special Meetings of City of Victoria Council, September 26, 1973; October 10 and 17, 1973.

Further details of the downzoning public meetings can be found in the following reports:

Phase 1: Victoria Times, September 26, 1973, p. 15; September 27, 1973, p. 18; October 18, 1973, p. 11; Daily Colonist, letter from Mrs. G. Pearman, October 11, 1973, p. 4; October 18, 1973, p. 25; James Bay News, 1:4, October 1973, pp. 1, 2; 4, 6.

Phase 2: Victoria Times, October 11, 1973, p. 11; October 12, 1973, p. 23. Daily Colonist, October 11, 1973, p. 15; October 12, 1973, p. 13; James Bay News, 1:4, October 1973, pp. 1, 2; 4, 6.

Coverage of later parts of the downzoning process is unavailable due to a newspaper strike between the end of 1973 and June 1974. The end of the downzoning process is covered in Victoria Times, August 15, 1975, p. 3; James Bay News, 3:3, September 1975, p. 4.

111. Victoria Times, October 11, 1973, p. 11.

112. ibid.

113. Daily Colonist, October 11, 1973, p. 15.

114. Cited in Victoria Times, October 12, 1973, p. 23.

115. Editorial, Victoria Times, ibid., p. 4.

116. "James Bay's massive rezoning saga, which started with a roar of protest from the property industry nearly two years ago, ended with little more than a whimper Thursday when city council downzoned several blocks in the western sector of James Bay." Victoria Times, August 15, 1975, p. 3.

117. It would be scientifically incorrect to talk strictly of the reproduction of labour power here, given the high proportion of retired persons living in the neighbourhood. Obviously it is not their labour power that is being serviced. Nonetheless, this segment of the population will still be interested in improving the conditions of the reproduction of their retirement, and thus seek a satisfactory level of collective consumption to that end. Similarly the state can not remain immune from such demands even though their working days are over, for fearing of appearing callous and in the process losing its legitimacy. This notwithstanding, it remains a general tendency under capitalism to restrict unproductive expenditures for the elderly, for they are not even indirectly an aid to accumulation. The constant struggle over the level of state pensions is illustrative. It can be added, that the retired population retain the ideology derived from their position in the social relations of production during their working lives (Wright 1978), so that discriminatory treatment of the retired population by the state will reflect the need to reproduce ideology. Clearly it would be risky for the state to erode the quality of retirement of those who give ideological support to the state's role and function.

118. Victoria Times, June 7, 1973, p. 21.

119. Victoria Times, September 27, 1973, p. 18.

120. Victoria Times, October 16, 1973, p. 15.

121. ibid.

122. Interview, May 1980.

123. Cited in Victoria Times, October 25, 1973, p. 13.

124. Interview, May 1980.

125. J.A. Mace exposed that Ken Lines (who had become president of JBCA in July 1973) had offered his services in a public relations capacity in December 1972 to help solve the problems facing the Bay Village project. (Daily Colonist, October 24, 1973, p. 1; Victoria Times, October 24, 1973, p. 17.) According to Mace, Lines suggested that with his expertise he could cool the antagonisms of residents, obtain long range commitments from City Hall, make the image of developer a positive one, obtain maximum favourable publicity for major developments and arrange better channels of communication between developers, consumers and City Hall (Daily Colonist, ibid.). After Mace rejected the offer and sold the project, Lines made a similar offer to Standard Life Assurance Company (ibid.). In a similar vain, Kay Lines stated the JBCA accepted that the Bay Village project was a fait accompli, but wanted Mace to lower the height and make it more attractive. (Letter from Kay Lines to Victoria Times, October 29, 1973, p. 4).

126. James Bay News, 1:6, December 1973, p. 3.

127. This was brought out during interviews with members of the James Bay community.

128. James Bay News, ibid.

129. Victoria Times, October 31, 1973, p. 22; James Bay News, 2:17, November 1974, pp. 2, 8.

130. Lorne de Girolamo, interview, May 1980.

131. Victoria Times, ibid.; James Bay News, ibid.

132. James Bay News, 1:4, October 1973, pp. 1.

133. See especially, James Bay News, 1:7, January 1974, p. 1, 5-7.

134. James Bay News, 2:17, November 1974, pp. 2, 3.

135. Daily Colonist, July 11, 1974, p. 11.

136. Lew Madley, cited in Victoria Times, January 23, 1975, p. 3.

137. James Bay News, 2:14, August 1974, p. 8.

138. In the quest for premises first consideration was given to Moffit House (later to become Chandler House) at 512 Simcoe Street. The opportunity arose for the JBCA to acquire the property cheaply at around $16,000, but in its hesitancy Bill McKechnie went ahead and bought it himself. Then while negotiations went on with the provincial state, Bill McKechnie renovated it and then sought a price over four times what he paid for it. City council gave a cool reception to his proposed "model NIP project," that included a senior citizens centre and offices for the Community Project (Victoria Times, June 28, 1974, p. 9). Later the provincial government backed out of the negotiations. The dithering on the part of the JBCA in not coming up with funds, led to this opportunism and eventual bad feelings. Finally, premises were obtained in the mall at the former Bay Village development site. They were occupied in December 1975, although not officially until May 1976. Many services were already being provided out of a temporary home at Cathedral School before the permanent premises were occupied.

139. Lorne de Girolamo, interview, May 1980.

140. An exposition of this in the delivery of health care was set out in James Bay News, 2:16, October 1974, pp. 3, 8. See also Victoria Times, October 29, 1975, p. 56.

141. Victoria Times, December 12, 1974, p. 3.

142. Such services included for example nutrition courses, dental hygiene, family life skills course, child care especially for problem children, teenage drop in centre, public health and home care nursing, preventative medicine, probation services, volunteer bureau, homemaker services, family and marriage counselling, and administration of various social benefits.

143. 15 representatives were elected from 20 candidates, with a 12-13% voter turnout, that included a high

proportion of elderly. Victoria Times, May 26, 1975, p. 9; Daily Colonist, May 28, 1975, p. 11.

144. James Bay News, 3:4, October 1975, supplementary sheet.

145. ibid.

146. Interview, May 1980.

147. Robert Dill, personal communication, May 1980. Embodying the contradictions fully, was elected member Lew Madley. A top provincial civil servant and ardent Social Credit supporter, he was sacked by the NDP on coming to power. Despite his dislike of the NDP, he was one of the more prominent community activists at this time, expending much energy setting up the project. Seemingly, community concerns were above ideology!

148. Editorial, Daily Colonist, May 31, 1975, p. 4.

149. Daily Colonist, April 22, 1972, p. 11.

150. Daily Colonist, April 28, 1972, p. 7.

151. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, March 22, 1973.

152. Victoria Times, October 1, 1974, p. 15; October 17, 1974, p. 19; Daily Colonist, October 18, 1974, p. 11.

153. James Bay News, 3:2, August 1975, pp. 1, 7; Victoria Times, August 21, 1975, p. 15.

154. Daily Colonist, October 25, 1974, p. 12.

155. Cited in Monday, 1:10, September 8 - 14, 1975, p. 10.

156. Victoria Times, October 24, 1974, p. 9.

157. ibid.; James Bay News, 2 :17, November 1974, p. 8.

158. David Allan, cited in Monday, op. cit.

159. James Bay News, 3:9, March 1976, p. 10.

160. Letter to James Bay News, 1:7, January 1974, p. 4.

161. Letter to James Bay News, 2:22, April 1975, p. 5, 7.

162. James Bay News, 1:12, June 1974, p. 6.

163. Lewis Madley, interview, May 1980.

# CHAPTER 5

## THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM IN GENERAL

> It is clear that both programs [NIP and RRAP] are window dressing, and their real purpose is to defuse public hostility to the lack of real government action in preserving and maintaining the existing residential neighbourhoods...[1]

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An analysis of the development of the NIP policy reveals that the programme represented a significant shift in post-war Canadian housing policy. This shift was not the product of a completely new philosophy towards the provision of shelter for Canadians, but was born out of the social consequences of traditional federal policies. NIP, with its underlying philosophy of conservation and rehabilitation and professed sensitivity to consumers contrasted starkly with the producer orientated character of previous policy making. Dennis and Fish (1972, p. 293), writing immediately preceding the programme's introduction, comment:

> The federal government in general and CMHC in particular have exhibited little concern for the condition of existing housing stock. Far more interest has been shown in increments to the stock, in the number of units started in any given year, and in the effect of that production on that employment and the overall economy, than in steps to conserve and upgrade the housing which presently exists.

Another commentator regards federal state housing policy as a matter of blind faith in "the idea that as long as large volumes of housing are produced each year, the filtering theory will work to ensure that most people are well housed, and that the quality of stock will improve" (Sharpe 1977, p. 16). For Bettison (1975, p. 294) two main themes have permeated state policies: "the reliance on and pandering to the needs and wishes of lending institutions; and the use of urban construction in particular and urban affairs in general as instruments to meet demands for employment and other considerations". The evidence shows that the interests of the producers of housing and ultimately the financial capitalists have primacy over the interests of consumers. As Oberlander (1976, p. 3) expresses it, "Federal announcements still worship at the altar of 'housing starts' for the good life here and hereafter."

It has previously been noted that by the early 1960s, the policies of lending institutions became increasingly geared towards investing in office and apartment blocks, a trend reinforced by the 1964 National Housing Act. Urban renewal had become the fashionable policy transforming the city centres and the inner city neighbourhoods.[2] The process of restructuring conditions for monopoly capitalism produced spiralling land costs arising from the pressure of urban concentration on land usage. The ramifications were obvious:

> The growth of metropolitan centres makes vertical construction of residential accommodation more economically feasible and profitable than horizontal growth. Since the majority of existing stock in need of rehabilitation was single family housing, the imperatives of capital concentration made demolition necessary to pave the way for high-rise. (Barker, Penney and Seccombe 1973, pp. 113-4)

The conditions that had been suitable for reproducing labour power in one era were now a barrier and had to be destroyed, for capital was forced to restructure the conditions of labour's reproduction in order to facilitate the concentration of the labour force. Single family dwellings were being sacrificed in order for apartments to become the dominant mode of shelter for achieving this concentration.[3] Inevitably, there was no passive acceptance of this process as consumer resistance broke out in the cities across Canada. Residents of affected areas resisted the changes that were not seen to be to their benefit.

A crisis resulted from the social upheavals and instability that arose in the cities, disturbing enough for the state to intervene by convening a Task Force in August 1968 to assess the situation. The Hellyer Task Force on Housing and Urban Development reported at the beginning of the following year.[4]

Among its principal observations, the Task Force recognized the problems and unrest caused by extensive urban renewal projects. In this light, it recommended the

abandonment of these policies in favour of putting greater stress on the renovation and preservation of existing housing stock. Termination of these programmes was duly carried out, except for the odd exception and in 1970, CMHC set up trial rehabilitation projects (Canadian Council on Social Development 1977, p. 137).[5]

The Task Force's findings blamed the 'urban crisis' on two principal factors. Firstly, it bemoaned the lack of an urban policy per se, but as Bettison (1975, pp. 25; 258) points out, the conscious choice of not formulating one, which characterized post-war housing legislation, was in itself a policy. Secondly, there was perceived to be a knowledge crisis, a dearth of information on Canadian urban problems. Policy formulation had been largely exercised in the dark. The remedies, therefore, were seen to lie in better co-ordination and institutional re-arrangements for joint planning endeavours in the former instance,[6] and the undertaking of research in the latter case.[7]

This conjuncture marked an abrupt change in Canadian urban policy. In the interests of quelling discontent in the inner-city, the federal state intervened and restricted the operations of finance capital. A reform had been conceded to consumers, but at the same time the federal government was probably not totally reluctant to grant it, as the economy had moved into recession accompanied by a tightening of the money supply (Gonick 1975, p. 119; Wolfe 1977, p. 269).

In the formulation of a new Housing Act, the interests of consumers appeared to be receiving more weight. The Minister at the time, Ron Basford, remarked:

> It is aimed at restoring substandard existing housing to acceptable standards, and thus reducing the need for production of new replacement housing and the disruption of housing patterns.[8]

Concomitantly, in view of the widespread protest that had arisen, the reform conscious Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) urged for the inclusion of participatory measures in urban policies and programmes (Audain 1972).[9]

Finally in 1972, the amendments to the National Housing Act were first presented in the House of Commons, but its passage was suspended due to the federal election in the same year. In the meantime, the Canadian Council on Social Development Housing Committee was giving cautious praise for the proposed legislation, welcoming the "shift in federal housing responsibilities from a pre-occupation with new dwelling starts to involvement in such socially sensitive tasks as neighbourhood improvement, housing rehabilitation and new community building".[10] Nevertheless, it remained critical of NIP, demanding a clearer definition of terms and a revision of federal financial contributions. More specifically the committee remained

> ...convinced that the Neighbourhood Improvement Program is still principally dedicated to physical improvement, and does not give sufficient recognition of the need for social and economic change in the inner city. In this connection, the Committee recommends that the legislation should be brcadened to specifically provide for federal cost sharing in schemes of citizen animation and social services improvement that might begin before the actual designation of a community as a neighbourhood improvement area.[11]

In 1973, the legislation was revised and finally passed at the end of the same year, but nothing of substance was amended in relation to NIP.[12]

THE LEGISLATION

In bland terms the intent of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was stated as follows:

> For the purposes of improving the amenities of neighbourhoods and the housing and living conditions of the residents of such neighbourhoods.[13]

Its reformist safeguard of the reproduction of labour power following the undesirable effects of urban renewal policies was acknowledged elsewhere.[14] In contrast NIP was to place

> ...considerable emphasis on a more sensitive and fine-tuned approach to physical improvement which complements the social fabric of

> the neighbourhood. The program is not designed to be used for wholesale demolition of deteriorated buildings and the subsequent construction of massive new building projects. The intent is rather to conserve and rehabilitate the housing stock (through the companion Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program); to add or rehabilitate required social and recreational amenities or municipal services, to remove blighting land use, and to promote the maintenance of the neighbourhood after the NIP project is terminated.[15]

In short, its thrust was to provide better facilities in the sphere of collective consumption, leading to improvements in the reproduction of labour power. The Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), the sister programme of NIP, focussed on the individual consumption of housing and has been administered directly by CMHC without reference to the municipal state. As such it is treated only peripherally in this thesis, although it has been of obvious significance to the residents of James Bay.

By contrast, NIP was to be funded and administered jointly by the three different levels of the state. The federal state via CMHC was to provide 50% of the expenditure with the remainder split equally between the provincial and municipal states in a cost sharing format. In its operation, CMHC was to have control and oversee the general running of the programme through a series of agreements and approval procedures, while the municipalities were to undertake the day to day administration.

> The program will be operated on the basis of an annual agreement with each province. Each agreement will contain a provincial allocation of commitment funds for re-allocation amongst the municipalities selected by the province and accepted by the Corporation. In turn, each municipality will select one or more neighbourhoods for participation in the program and set a ceiling amount for each neighbourhood within its allocation.[16]
>
> In general terms the main precept of the program is that clear agreement between the municipality and the residents of the Neighbourhood Improvement Area should not be subject to pressure from other levels of government providing original criteria are met.[17]

CMHC was not to be represented on any municipal/resident decision making committee, but was to function in a resource and evaluation role. In this way the programme aimed to be responsive to local needs, and indeed was prepared to go a long way to ensure this was carried out. To quote the official position again:

> The program requires that the province or municipality deliberately plan for [the] involvement [of residents] so as to provide a focus for interaction between neighbourhood residents and the municipality which will lead to and reward common agreement. If the program is to achieve any degree of self motivation and spontaneous initiative residents must be provided with an opportunity to relate to what is happening to their environment and develop a measure of control in what happens to their community. Associated with this and related to the program objective of action as a catalyst for a wider range of programs is the hope that there will develop as part of the neighbourhood plan an approach to the integrated and local delivery of social, educational and recreation services including possibly

such services as legal aid, health care, welfare, manpower and family counselling activities.[18]

Public participation, therefore, was to be a mandatory and integral facet of the programme's operation, although there was no clearly defined formula for its provision. This would be subject to local discretion.

NIP was to be operated on the basis of three stages, for which the local CMHC manager had to issue a Certificate of Eligibility guaranteeing maximum commitment for grant funds. These stages (with durations) are as follows:

1. The selection of neighbourhoods (6 months);
2. Neighbourhood Planning (6 months);
3. Implementation (3 years).

For eligibility, neighbourhoods generally had to display the following characteristics:[19]

1. Be predominantly residential;
2. A significant proportion of housing must be in need of rehabilitation;
3. Other elements of the physical environment be in need of rehabilitation;
4. Contain residents of mainly low or moderate income;
5. Be deficient in amenities such as playgrounds, community centres, etc.;
6. Exhibit stability in terms of land use and densities.

The second stage essentially entailed the preparation of a financial and physical plan for the neighbourhood which in the interests of flexibility was not to be binding. Consequently the implementation stage had to proceed within known and pre-defined resources, which required a selection of priorities in achieving the goals of the programme agreed upon by the residents and municipality.

Given the official intent and structure of the programme, how can NIP be understood? NIP, officially seen as a solution to some of society's problems, must be considered on the basis of the assumptions of the policy and the internal structure of the policy itself.

## THEORETICAL APPRAISAL OF NIP

In this regard, a study of the literature on NIP is not overly instructive although a few promising insights are offered. Indeed, any comprehensive and systematic analysis of NIP is conspicuous by its virtual absence, although often mentioned *en passant* in studies dealing with other subjects (e.g., Gertler and Crowley 1977; Patterson 1977, Whittle, Milgram and Barber 1977). What has been published is skimpy, far less has it been of a critical perspective. Several studies have been written by people involved in the programme, either in institutional positions or as active residents (Baxter et al 1974, Chan 1974, Green 1976, Darling 1977, Hoy and Yamashita 1977, Larsson 1977).

Fewer have been by 'independent' authors (Kuroyama 1976, Canadian Council on Social Development 1977, Fyfe 1977, Sheppard 1980). Some studies have been general overviews of the programme (Chan 1974, Kuroyama 1976, Canadian Council on Social Development 1977, pp. 148-152; Darling 1977, Larsson 1977) while others have been descriptive case studies with varying lengths of treatment (Baxter et al 1974, Gutstein 1975, p. 118; Groen 1976, Kuroyama 1976, Fyfe 1977, Hoy and Yamashita 1977, Johnson 1977, Sheppard 1980). Additional studies include an evaluation design for the programme's impact (Sproule-Jones 1973) and an evaluation of CMHC's evaluation of the programme (Detomasi 1979). With these limitations, guidance is mainly sought outside this body of literature.

Pertinent here are the critiques of 'positive area discrimination policies'. This term has been given to programmes adopted in other capitalist countries in the 1960s and 1970s (especially in Great Britain and the USA) to which NIP bears a strong resemblance.[20] These programmes have been characterized by an injection of funds into delineated areas for the alleviation of problems that were seen to exist there. It is from the understanding of their experiences that critical insights may be gleamed for appraising the NIP policy, and at the same time placing it in the Canadian context.

The granting of extra resources to areas with special or acute needs (Glennerster and Hatch 1974, p. 1) gives a temporary advantage to certain areas in the belief that within a given time period all will be put right and stay that way (Green 1974, p. 18). This distinctly spatial approach has been based on the premise that problem areas can be identified, so they therefore clearly exist and they exist because of localized effects. The areas are seen as both the source of problems and the focus for their cure (Lawless 1979). 'Deprivation' could be ascribed to community, family or individual inadequacies or pathologies derived from misconceived concepts like 'multiple deprivation', 'life cycle of poverty', 'cumulative disadvantage', or 'transmitted deprivation'. This in large measure was seen to stem from unresponsiveness or inefficiency in the provision of services to the area, implying that problems arose in officialdom. Derivatively, faith is put in a better co-ordination of collective consumption, improved management efficiency and increased accountability via participatory means (Carney and Taylor 1974, Eyles 1979, Lawless 1979). In other words, solutions lay in greater paternalism and state intervention. Moreover, it assumes that improved management takes place within structurally defined limitations of available resources. There is no consideration of whether or not the policy is worth co-ordinating in the first place (Lawless 1979, p. 49).

> It could be suggested in fact that improved management is specifically encouraged because neither central nor local government is prepared to implement radical changes in policy ...it is not that improved management is seen as a minor and overemphasized addition to the scene, but rather that it is directly stage-managed to remove the focus of attention from policy to a phase beyond: the re-organization of that policy. (Lawless 1979, p. 185)

An additional assumption is that the recipient 'community' is a unified social entity with a homogenous interest in working with the state to see that the latter's objectives are met. The premise is that a consensus of objectives is obtainable. The Canadian Council on Social Development (1977, p. 150) makes a similar point:

> NIP assumes that there is or can be a community consensus and that this consensus is a workable and pragmatic alternative to technocratic planning by professional planners at 'city hall'.

Taking these assumptions together, the main features of "area based policies are experimentation and low funding, participation and self-help, co-ordination and corporation, and an emphasis on the easily assailable and outward manifestations of deprivation" (Eyles 1979, p. 239).

The premise is that by such acts of state intervention capitalism can be adjusted to an equilibrium state. This is indeed questionable, and the experience of such programmes outside of Canada lends to a refutation of that

claim.

In Great Britain this was dramatically exposed by the Community Development Projects that had only limited impact (see Lawless 1979, pp. 105-132). In the course of their existence, it became increasingly realized that it was external rather than internal forces that lay at the root of the problems. The stress on psychological motivation was at the expense of the acknowledgement of structural constraints in the wider fabric of society. The problems were not confined to particular communities, and without the necessary structural change, area discrimination policies only amounted to tokenism (Glennerster and Hatch 1974, p. 2; Carney and Taylor 1974, p. 231). Structural causation of inequalities remained untouched, doing little for the redistribution of wealth. Furthermore, positive discrimination of selected areas ignored the poor outside of these areas (Barnes 1974, p. 11). The creation of inequities between those in and out of NIP areas has similarly been noted (Canadian Council on Social Development 1977, p. 138; Darling 1977, p. 18).

The fundamental basis for the failure of area discrimination policies lies in their attack on the symptoms and not the causes of the problems. They are piecemeal, ad hoc policies (Glennerster and Hatch 1974, p. 2) typical of reformist formulations which are centrally devised but administered on a decentralized basis (Kotler 1969, p. 95).

In response to the 'social ills' that appear, liberal governments oblige with a panoply of fragmented programmes, each designed to ameliorate a specific problem as though it were unrelated to other problems or to the social system at large (Tabb and Sawers 1978, p. 5). The state's actions are commiserative at best. Carney and Taylor (1974, p. 231) have expressed most clearly the position that has become known as 'gilding the ghetto'.

> If they are not leading towards the abolition of poverty then, sadly, they must be regarded at best as minor palliatives at worst as experiments in regulating the poor.

Lawless (1979, p. 150) remarks that the policy form is intellectually bankrupt. In light of these failings, what is to be made of the material reality of these programmes? For minimal expenditure they seek major political impact (Lawless 1979, p. 15). The intervention is immediately visible, symptomatic of a show of concern and of something being done (Cannan 1975, p. 115; Meacher 1974, p. 7; Lawless 1979, Loney 1979, p. 150). They have considerable propaganda value in maintaining faith in the established social order (Meacher 1974). This has been alluded to by some NIP commentators. The Canadian Council on Social Development (1977, p. 151) regarded the limitation on the programme's existence too short for "sound planning for comprehensive urban

revitalization".[21] Coupled with this, the allocated capital was too small to have a serious effect (Gutstein 1975, p. 118 ; Canadian Council on Social Development 1977, p. 151). Introduced at the time of economic and fiscal crisis in the early 1970s, when both the state's legitimation and accumulation functions were being undermined at the same time (Whitaker 1977, p. 62; Wolfe 1977, pp. 269-70), parliament established a statutory limitation of $300 million in grants and loans for the programme, specifically designed to restrict state expenditures (Patterson 1977, p. 141). As the economy was emerging from recession, the federal state budgets in 1972 and 1973 were expansionary, but the high unemployment and social unrest that had arisen with the recession still had to be dealt with. As much as the federal state saw the need to placate housing consumers, its priorities were in making productive expenditures. The contradiction is reflected in the limited funds made available for NIP, which were indeed tightened up in later years (Patterson 1977, p. 142).

Despite the rhetoric at the time, when seen within the context of the complete National Housing Act, the policy and constraints of NIP were essentially giving lip-service and a negative commitment to the philosophy of rehabilitation and conservation in a total package that remained committed to the production of new housing stock. Lorimer (1972, p. 86) recognized this in the beginning:

> At the margin...the federal government institutes programs which mitigate to a small extent the worst effects of the actions of private industry, ...These programs are not large enough to have any great effect on the private market, except to insulate it somewhat from pressure for largescale reforms. In addition, they are usually designed to provide new ways for the property industry to make money, so that while some 'social' demands are being met, the industry's profits are being enhanced.

The final passing of the Act did nothing to alter this situation. NIP was not a genuine attempt to stabilize neighbourhoods, but a means of social control. Consumers still had to make something of it, in order to reap a truly beneficial reform. Metaphorically, it was akin to parents giving their irritable child enough money to buy an ice cream in order to keep him/her quiet. Patterson (1977, p. 143) notes:

> ...those municipalities in which those neighbourhoods were designated were quite anxious that those be the areas and they weren't about to choose any others. Those were also the areas in which there had been a great deal of citizen activity to bring about an end to the old style of urban renewal. There was no way that applications for such areas could be turned down.

Revealingly, Larsson (1977, p. 133) asserts that the vagueness and flexibility of NIP legislation were desired features to meet local criteria. As a measure of the importance of this mode of state intervention for social control

in the sphere of collective consumption, it is also noteworthy that Draper (1978) regards NIP as one of the benchmarks in Canadian citizen participation.

The allocation of capital to a neighbourhood and allowing its inhabitants to voice their opinions on how it is spent, may appear to give rise to the possibility of radical demands. However, their power to do so is structurally limited, for in the last analysis, municipal councils retain effective veto power (Gutstein 1975, p. 118), that enables the programme to be kept within acceptable confines. The bestowers maintain a hold on purse strings. Hence, any demands that dangerously threaten changes in power relationships could be resisted. To the extent that NIP seeks consensus, the two parties do not engage as equals. The state does not abrogate its position of domination with the programme.

The argument made here is for NIP to be theoretically treated as a legitimation policy which aims to raise the level of collective consumption in selected city areas. The demands of community groups in this general regard were strongly felt in some quarters to infringe upon the rights of capital. For example, Brian Magee, Chairman of A.E. LaPage Ltd. and then President of the Canadian Real Estate Association, alluded to this especially in respect to those groups that force development into the suburbs while resisting the provision of adequate transportation to the central city.

> It is the people who having moved into a community a couple of years ago, believe that all others should be kept out to preserve the stability of 'their' neighbourhood...If we believe all these activities are not in Canada's public interest...then I would suggest a counter-attack on these negative elements in our society may be in order.[22]

Although the interests of developers may have been seen to be hurt by the creation of a few selected 'no-go areas' in the cities, it was also the intention to quell discontent and promote social harmony together with the co-optation of community activists for the long term benefits of stabilizing the social order and hence continued capital accumulation. Similar to unions gaining representation on boards of directors and collective bargaining rights in the sphere of production, a parallel development was occurring with collective consumption. NIP became part of the social wage within the 'welfare state'.

Without taking away from this, however, NIP has the appearance of being a high risk reform on two accounts. Firstly, if the limitations of the programme were clearly revealed, the anger of neighbourhood groups might increase, rather than be calmed. As Meacher (1974, p. 7) suggests, an illuminated contradiction would exist between "activists who want to redistribute power and opportunity, and governments, who want to show maximum concern at minimum costs in ways that cannot fundamentally alter society".

Secondly, as much as the provision of public participation is a strategy for the management of neighbourhood groups, it also grants them a legitimate forum for the expression of their demands, which if resisted reveals the reality behind the rhetoric of the state's intervention. Put another way, it might lead to an increased radicalization of consciousness rather than restoring the illusion of pluralism.

The stage has now been reached where the analysis and conception of NIP in general can be related to the particular social conditions and ensemble of classes and class fractions that existed in James Bay at the time of the programme's introduction. The conjuncture was marked by a threshold quality that had either the potential for increased radicalization of the community movement, or its retreat into passive acceptance of the content of the state's reformist intervention and ultimate reintegration with the state's conception of the organization of collective consumption. The development of NIP would be interwoven with the direction of the community movement, whichever path it took.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Gutstein (1975, p. 118).

2. In Victoria, the only major urban renewal project was the controversial Rose-Blanshard Housing Project. See Robertson (1973).

3. The necessity of making Canadians apartment dwellers, obliged Canadian capitalism to accept an increasing number of tenants vis-a-vis owner occupiers and mortgage payers. The necessity and profitability of apartment construction was in contradiction to the capitalist ideology of the right to individual appropriation of wealth which home ownership provided. "CMHC figures reveal that in 1961, 29% of the population rented and 71% owned. In 1971, 39% rented and 61% owned. In 1976, 42% rented and 58% owned." (Victoria Real Estate, 3:44, November 1-7, 1979, p. 1.) See also Barber, Penney and Seccombe (1973, p. 3). Just as a trend towards proletarianization exists in the sphere of production with the advent of monopoly capitalism, a similar process concomitantly occurred in the sphere of consumption. The socialization of the production process was met by a corresponding socialization of consumption. The actions taken by the Progressive Conservative government in 1979 to promote home ownership acquires great significance in this light.

4. Bettison (1975, p. 316-7) regards the end of the 1960s as "a time of fundamental political crisis with urban affairs as its centre. No longer was it a problem only of housing. The relation of all three levels of government to each other and to the urban in general was at stake." The key passages of the Task Force's Report are reprinted in Boydell, Grindstaff and Whitehead (ed), 1971, pp. 185-213. The Report is most extensively analyzed by Bettison (1975).

5. This included the Strathcona Rehabilitation Project in Vancouver that may have been "instrumental in the formation of an alternative federally supported programme of urban rehabilitation,...the Neighbourhood Improvement Program." (Wong 1978, p. 268)

6. According to Bettison's thesis, better co-ordination and improved institutional structures had recurrently been seen as a panacea for problem solving in post-war housing policy. The actions adopted subsequent to the reporting

of the Task Force, now took this clichéd response a step further with the setting up of a Ministry of State for Urban Affairs in July 1971 with a mandate to oversee the co-ordination of urban policies. An abortive attempt to create a National Urban Council failed due to differences over constitutional jurisdiction between the different levels of state.

7. A series of internal task forces were set up on an information gathering exercise. Perhaps the most influential was the Lithwick Report, tabled in the House of Commons in March 1971. However, it tended to assume "the inevitability of the vast proportion of Canadians living in major metropolitan centres" (Bettison 1975, p. 27). It was, therefore, little more than an apologist for the tendencies of concentration and centralization under monopoly capitalism. Policy guidelines were therefore to fit into, control and ease that process, i.e., the logic of capital was not to be unduly upset. Its pleas for avoiding a piecemeal approach to urban problems in favour of a coherent urban policy were merely utterances for the rationalization of this process. Significantly, Dennis and Fish's (1972) more critical review of low-income housing policies was suppressed, but was later to be published independently. The type of knowledge wanted had been clearly revealed!

8. Cited in Daily Colonist, June 21, 1972, p. 5.

9. See also "CPAC speaks to the Federal Government," Community Planning Review, 1971, 21:2, pp. 24-26.

   At the turn of the decade, the Liberal Government appeared to be championing public participation, e.g., the OFY and LIP programmes. Indeed, in the 1968 election campaign, Trudeau appealed for a "participatory democracy". Public participation appears to have been an undefined state strategy for easing the restructuring of Canadian capitalism. See Loney (1977). In this way, dissent and criticism of the social order could be channelled into manageable and integrative proportions.

10. Cited in Housing and People (1973) 4:1, p. 2, Canadian Council on Social Development.

11. ibid, p. 3.

12. It had taken over four years since the 1969 Task Force report for new legislation to be passed. The process had been slowed by the 'knowledge crisis', constitutional wrangles and the 1972 federal election.

13. National Housing Act, 1973, Chap. N-10, Part III-1, Section 27.1(1).

14. NIP Operator's Handbook, n.d., p. A-1.

15. ibid. pp. A-1 - A-2.

16. Federal Guidelines, July 10, 1973, p. 2 (N.B. Although these guidelines were published prior to the passing of the legislation, they remained effective).

17. ibid. p. 7.

18. ibid. p. 2.

19. ibid. p. 3.

20. This leads one to suggest that 'positive area discrimination policies' have been a common and general response in advanced capitalist societies to the contradictions thrown up by the restructing of global capitalism in the post-war phase of its development. Much of the literature on these policies is scattered. The best comprehensive review of a series of such programmes introduced in Great Britain is provided by Lawless (1979), which serves as a basis for the following passage.

21. At one level, the NIP legislation states: "No application for a contribution or loan may be approved...after the 31st day of March, 1978." National Housing Act 1973, Chap. N-10, Part III-1, Section 27.7. At the level of operation each individual programme was to have a four-year duration.

22. Victoria Times, November 5, 1973, p. 6.

# CHAPTER 6

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

> ...council holds the money. So we find that citizen groups who really want to build housing, or buy land for housing, or parks end up spending their money on trees and daffodil bulbs. I am not damning the program, the citizens, or the planners, and I've got nothing against daffodils, but the fact is that it has been very difficult to spend these dollars on other things.[1]

### THE DESIGNATION STAGE

When the imminence of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program legislation was first learned, animosity towards the course of development of James Bay was running high. In the midst of JBCA's mobilization to combat this, the designation of NIP was seen as a means for reinforcing the restrictions put on development in the rezoning. In April 1972 a brief by the JBCA to city council urged the improvement of community activity facilities with government financial assistance and incentives. Later, the JBCA submitted a brief to the Minister of State for Urban Affairs expressing interest in the programme.[2] NIP was seen by the community as an expedient vehicle for reversing the deteriorating living conditions in James Bay.

From the federal position, in view of the controversy and unrest surrounding the neighbourhood, James Bay appeared to be a place where attention was needed. The manager of CMHC's Victoria office put it very plainly:

> I think James Bay would be the ideal district to take advantage of the new proposals. It fits the bill in every way.[3]

Such was the concern over events in James Bay, that even before the NHA was passed more than a year later, it was earmarked to be one of the very first sites for the programme's deployment. The CMHC manager also remarked that even though it would take time for the proposals to be enacted by parliament, there was nothing to stop city council or the residents planning for that time then.[4] For approximately two years residents met with representatives of CMHC and levels of government.[5] This included a visit from Ron Basford, the Minister for Housing in 1973.[6] It is argued that the encouragement of pre-emptive action attempted to "NIP" in the bud the growing pressure from the community movement. City council "picked up on the NIP program as soon as it came in and identified it with areas where we did have active community involvement".[7] Furthermore, with the programme 75% funded by higher levels of the state, city council was reluctant to pass up the opportunity for extra funds.

Due to the delay in passing the legislation, it was not until a year after the first musings that action was taken when the city planning department asked the Transportation and Land Use Planning Committee to recommend that the city apply for formal designation of both James Bay and Victoria West as NIP areas to the provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs.[8] Despite the delay, events were still ahead of the rest of Canada. At a CMHC conference on Housing Rehabilitation at the end of 1973, delegates were "astounded to learn that Victoria had already designated James Bay an improvement area".[9] At this stage, the city planning department mainly wanted to be eligible for RRAP and a NIP application was the only means to achieve that.[10] A difference of attitude towards the programme existed within the state as city council had other ambitions for NIP which were revealed later.

At the end of 1973, the provincial government invited the City to submit an 'appreciation' of the NIP programme and how it would affect the community and the City made the submission in January 1974.[11] In March, the Provincial Government announced that Victoria would be among the first cities to receive NIP funds, and had until June 1974 to select the eligible neighbourhoods.[12] Even so, there was still further delay, until finally the community was being pressured by time constraints for presenting its proposals. It was not until June that James Bay and Victoria

West were officially informed that NIP money was available.[13] They were given a deadline of the end of August to submit their final plans. Within this short period, residents had to form a NIP committee, conduct a survey to identify needs, formulate a plan and present a budget.

THE PLANNING STAGE

At a public meeting convened by the JBCA on June 26, 1974, residents were elected to form the James Bay NIP Committee. Shortly after Kay Lines was nominated interim chairwoman.[14] Greatly significant in this process was the involvement of senior citizens in the neighbourhood who foresaw the programme as a means of acquiring a long desired activity centre for themselves, and proceeded to get representation on the committee. The municipal state made no efforts to influence the committee's formation.

Due to the pressures of meeting the deadlines, the NIP Committee decided to hire a full-time co-ordinator for the duration of the survey.[15] Ken Lines suggested his wife, Kay, be appointed but it was agreed to advertise publicly.[16] Although she applied, Lewis Madley was hired in late July to conduct the survey on how the allocated $1 million should be spent. He was assisted by a social worker with the James Bay Branch of the Department of Human Resources.[17]

It was decided to solicit the views of the neighbourhood from a door to door survey of residents and from

organizations and community groups active in James Bay. The City Planning Department wanted to include a list of sample projects in the survey to gauge public opinion, but "it was felt that this list may prejudice the issue and various courses of action debated".[18] The proposal was thus rejected and the survey (shown in Appendix B) was drawn up solely by the committee. (Although no formal collaboration with the James Bay Community Project occurred during the existence of the programme, Lew Madley did contact the Community Project Development Committee to ensure nothing on the survey list conflicted with their plans.[19])

For the survey's undertaking, the initial deadline was unrealistic and was put back to September 10.[20] Additionally the survey was hindered by apartment managers refusing to let interviewers into the buildings, so the response rate was limited to c.30-35%.[21] Nevertheless, some tenants went to the JBCA office to express their opinions and so the survey was not solely a reflection of homeowners.[22] The frustrations arising from this exercise were keenly felt and seemed to indicate a lack of co-operation on the part of municipal state officials. Kay Lines was critical of the handicaps under which the NIP Committee was working:

> We need more time and more technical advice. A year to consider and discuss this would have been reasonable.
> ....It takes any planning department several years to come up with what we're asked to do

> in two or three weeks.
> ....There's no one associated with the project who doesn't think it [the time limit] is absolutely mad.
> This is a tremendous opportunity for all of us and we want to do it well, but they're making it harder.[23]

From the ambiguity of her class position, it was understandable for her to think that if a little more reasonableness and consideration had been demonstrated, the problems could have been avoided. A more convincing argument, however, is that these pressures were placed on the community by the municipal state with certain intentions in mind. It is suggested that the initial delay in informing the neighbourhood of its designation followed by a hasty survey were not mere unfortunate occurrences, but rather a way by which the state could assert its own interests. The city had already informed the James Bay NIP Committee that it was drawing up its own list of potential projects.[24] The reasons for this were to appear during the finalization of the physical and financial plans.

In working for agreement on the content of NIP, conflict broke out on different concerns at two levels; between the NIP Committee and the state, and within the NIP committee itself.

## Relations with the Municipal State

The antagonisms experienced with the local state

were undoubtedly compounded by Ald. Frampton being chairman of the Neighbourhood, Housing and Community Services Committee. In that capacity at a public hearing for the presentation for the neighbourhood's demands, attended by almost 300 people, he made two inflammatory remarks. Firstly, that council would only consider specific areas within the neighbourhood as NIP areas rather than establishing an area-wide designation. Frampton claimed that selective designation of areas was necessary for making the best use of the funds by avoiding the money being too thinly spread.[25] The NIP Committee was totally opposed to this idea.[26] They wanted the whole neighbourhood to be designated, because many potential qualifying residents would be deprived of low-interest loans for the rehabilitation of their homes under RRAP.[27] RRAP funds could only be granted to homes within NIP areas. Additionally, there were also fears of cutbacks in federal state expenditures as the economy moved into another recession. The NIP Committee's position was to forego any possible future funding in order for RRAP to be taken advantage of immediately.[28] Fears also existed that inter-faction squabbling might develop:

> They (City of Victoria) will start setting group against group if they adopt an itsy-bitsy approach to this question of neighbourhood designation.[29]

Consequently, the community remained adamant in its desires, and council eventually agreed to designate the whole of both James Bay and Victoria West as NIP areas.[30]

The second contentious issue raised by Frampton was his stress on city council having the final say in making the decisions. To him, community participation was necessary only to qualify for the federal programme.[31] Its input would be treated as advice only, allowing council to decide on the final spending of funds using their "own good judgement".[32] Again, the community saw the danger of their interests being threatened.

> If they are going to have the last say the whole thing becomes a farce.[33]

With city council having its own ambitions on how the NIP funds would be utilized, the assertion of their right to veto at this point was understandable. The municipality's 'shopping list' was distinctly different from the community's advocating expenditures on projects that it could not accomplish from within its own budget (see Tables II and III). Like 'manna from heaven', NIP was an opportunity not to be missed for the realization of <u>its</u> policies. Although the City's list of 17 items generally came under the rubric of collective consumption, a major proportion of projects were of a physical and maintenance kind such as improving street

| | % Support | Degree (%) Of Importance | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Important | Not Important |
| Recreation and Community Facilities | 32.9 | 87 | 13 |
| Acquiring Land for Housing | 28.6 | 80 | 20 |
| Clearing Unsightly Properties | 16.8 | 74 | 26 |
| Acquiring Land for Open Space | 13.1 | 68 | 32 |
| Improving Municipal Services | 6.3 | 59 | 41 |
| No Answer | 2.0 | -- | -- |

TABLE II: RESULTS AND PRIORITIES OF JAMES BAY NIP SURVEY

N.B. The detailed results of the survey are given in Appendix C.

Source: City of Victoria, Department of Community Development.

| COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND PARKS | APPROVED | REJECTED |
|---|---|---|
| Moffit House and grounds | | 1 |
| Cathedral School and grounds | 1 | |
| South Park Recreation Facilities | 1 | |
| Immigration Gaol | 1 | |
| Purchase and Landscape Firehall | 1 | |
| Scout Hall | | 1 |
| Fisherman's Wharf Park Facilities | | 1 |
| MacDonald Park Improvements | 1 | |
| St. Andrews Park | | 1 |
| Play Area | 1 | |
| Passive Park | | 2 |
| Tot Lot | 2 | 1 |
| Street Malls | 2 | 1 |
| Parking Lot Improvements | 1 | |
| Bus Shelters | 5+ | 1 |
| Benches | | 1 |
| Fountain | | 1 |
| Wading Pool | 1 | |
| Beach Fire Facilities | | 1 |
| Breakwater Safety Equipment | | 1 |
| Scenic Easement through Tank Farm | | 1 |
| **RESIDENTIAL LAND** | | |
| Purchase Land/Site Clearance | 11 lots | |
| **MUNICIPAL SERVICES AND PUBLIC UTILITIES** | | |
| Street Repairs | 2 | 4(+1 previously completed) |
| Street Closure | 1 | |
| Road Connection/Traffic Easement | 1 | |
| Curb Extensions | 8 | |
| School Parking Bays | | 1 |
| Storm Drain | | 5 |
| Storm Sewers | | 1 |
| Sanitary Sewers | | 5 |
| Underground Wiring | 1 | |
| Boulevard Trees | 6 projects | |
| Ornamental Street Lamps | | 15 |

TABLE III: CITY OF VICTORIA'S PROPOSED NIP PROJECTS WITH JAMES BAY NIP COMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATIONS.

Source: Department of Community Development, City of Victoria

N.B. The list of projects was initially devised in January 1974, but the James Bay NIP Committee did not consider it until October 1974. The list was devised in relation to 12 sub-areas, namely Avalon Square, the Breakwater, Fisherman's Wharf Park, Lewis, MacDonald Park, Menzies Square, Niagara, Redfern Park, Rithet, South Park, Superior Boulevard and West Simcoe. The City of Victoria's share of the costs were 25% for Community Facilities and Parks, and Residential Land; 62.5% for Municipal Services and Public Utilities.

lighting, road resurfacing, etc. One item on the City's list attempted to charge to NIP work previously completed on street paving on Simcoe Street.[34] This was in contradistinction to the more socially orientated facilities that were of prime concern to the community, where a general community centre, senior citizen activity centre and low cost housing were the major demands expressed through the survey.

The NIP Committee was asked to go through the City's list and indicate which were the most desirable from the community's standpoint.[35] Later it became known that all projects on the City Hall list would be done with municipal funds in any case although the funds were not immediately available.[36] Even so a NIP Committee motion to prevent the expenditure of NIP funds on projects normally covered by municipal funding was defeated.[37] This reflected a split between those members willing to compromise with city council and those who wanted to adopt a more independent line and programme. The revised recommendations were then submitted by letter to City Hall (see Table IV).[38]

Relations Within the James Bay NIP Committee

At an early stage in the programme's proceedings the municipal state had exposed the NIP Committee's embodiment of the internal contradictions in the James Bay community movement. Although Kay Lines was outspoken in her criticisms of city council's attitude, she raised the ire of most of the

| PROJECT | BUDGET | |
|---|---|---|
| Community Centre (attached to Community School) | | $ 342,000 |
| Cathedral School (for New Horizons) | | 83,600 |
| Residential Land Assembly | | |
| - Immigration Building | $ 257,000 | |
| - Tally-Ho Site on Dallas Road | 490,000 | |
| - 319 St. Lawrence Street | 68,100 | |
| - 322 Montreal Street | 68,100 | |
| - 528-38 Simcoe Street and 535 Toronto Street | 163,000 | |
| | $1,046,200 | $1,046,200 |
| Bus Shelters | | 60,000 |
| Street Improvements | | |
| - Avalon Road | $ 31,000 | |
| - Montreal Street | 30,000 | |
| - Superior Street | 30,000 | |
| - Rithet Street | 10,000 | |
| - Kingston Street | 3,000 | |
| - St. Lawrence Street | 5,000 | |
| | $ 109,000 | $ 109,000 |
| MacDonald Park Improvements | | 53,000 |
| Lewis and Niagara Street project | | 45,000 |
| Fisherman's Wharf Park | | 70,000 |
| TOTAL | | $1,808,800 |

TABLE IV: REVISED RECOMMENDATIONS WITH COSTING FOR JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM.

Source: Enclosure with Letter from Ald. P. Frampton to James Bay NIP Committee, October 25, 1974.

committee in favouring the money to be spent on beautification rather than social activity centres.

> I would like to have seen more beautification of the James Bay area - sidewalks upgraded, trees planted, turn the shopping centre into an attractive little village...[39]

Consequently, the majority of the committee opposed to this direction decided to establish a permanent chairperson, whereupon Kay Lines was defeated.[40] Although the minutes of the meeting report the event and the subsequent re-organization of the committee in a formal manner, there are strong indications that these changes did not occur in an altogether harmonious manner.[41] The re-constitution of the committee, was not achieved at a meeting for the neighbourhood at large, but amounted to a coup which marked a significant split in the community movement. The conservative reformist wing represented by Kay Lines was defeated, signalling the weakening of the ideological hegemony of environmentalism. In the new arrangements it was agreed to have formal procedures for calling and recording meetings, with advance publicity of meetings and encouragement of residents at large to attend.[42]

Finalization of Plans

The circumstantial evidence suggests that the rushed

survey by the NIP Committee was encouraged by the municipal state in the anticipation that the community's demands would not be well prepared, thus granting council the opportunity to exercise its veto and implement projects of its own choosing. According to Lew Madley, the City did not make money for the survey readily available: "The Committee was loath to start spending funds until they had them in their possession; until they were in the fund that was set up and they were actually assigned by the City to that particular function."[43] As noted, confrontation arose over the allocation of funds. Despite the internal split, the dominant thrust of the NIP Committee's position was for a project orientated programme, rather than a maintenance oriented program.

In order to secure their demands, a vigorous battle had to be waged. One community activist recounts:

> We took it upon ourselves to say, "hey, this is our community, it's our money, we're going to make some decisions". We got to the point where we said to them through our Committee, "either we influence the decisions within the community or take your money and go to some other community, we don't even want it". That was sort of political talk - we meant it, we would have pushed it to the end so what happened was that they allowed us to influence the decisions to a great degree but in the final analysis, they did have the last say.[44]

The most contentious issue surrounded the proposed community centre, the top priority on the survey. Initially,

Kay Lines urged council to buy and renovate the old Immigration Building for a social and recreational centre,[45] but the $1 million asking price was too high.[46] Consequently, a new building was desired and the NIP Committee approved in principle an extension to the community school.[47] The concept of a community centre was being met with a great deal of resistance, however.

Mayor Pollen emphasized that council could not permit taxpayers money for the operating costs of a community centre on an ongoing basis. It was also noted that assistance from other levels of state was unlikely.[48] Assurance was needed that funding for operations would not dry up after the centre was constructed. Ald. Sam Bawlf suggested a special tax assessment for the operating costs applied on an area user basis.[49] NIP Committee members thought this would be acceptable to the community if this was the only way the centres could be maintained. The stakes in the issue were high. Pollen warned that if additional tax assessment was rejected by residents, "then unfortunately, we must reconsider the priorities".[50] This posed its own problem, though, as council could not be sure of how to assess community willingness adequately.[51] As it happened, authority for special area assessments had been deleted from the Municipal Act, but council remained "petrified of the ongoing expenses".[52]

From the NIP Committee's viewpoint, the potentialities of the programme were like a carrot dangling before

them, but just as they were about to take a bite, it was being pulled away from them! After three months of continuous haggling, the final decisions on the content of the programme were made. In submitting the final detailed recommendations in mid November,[53] the NIP Committee had kept up a continuous promotion of the priorities produced by the survey in the face of city council's strong criticism and resistance, and advocacy of their own ambitions. In the end, the gist of the demands of the Committee were met on the disposal of NIP funds at an informal council meeting "with remarkably little debate or argument" according to the press.[54] No final decision was made on how the operating costs of the community centre were to be covered, but a condition was attached, whereby city taxpayers at large would be absolved from the responsibility.[55] These proposals were to receive official council endorsement two days later, but a new twist was to appear.

According to a newspaper report the aldermen and city manager met again after the informal meeting when all city planning officials and journalists had left.[56] They proceeded to initiate a change in the spending arrangements for both the James Bay and Victoria West programmes, which then became confirmed later at the full council meeting.[57] Council had elected to cut back on funds allocated for community and recreational facilities, and put it towards land acquisition. Although council wanted to be in a position to

recall that money when required to meet the demands of other projects, in the eyes of the James Bay community it appeared that the state was attempting to win back some of the ground it had previously conceded.

The costing of the initial revised proposals exceeded $1.8 million (see Table IV). In view of the previously allocated limit of $1 million for the James Bay programme, this amounted to a deliberate overrun. Council's justification was that the major costs would go on the acquisition of land in six separate areas projected for low cost housing. The assembled land could then be resold for its development. The City would subsequently recoup the money which would then be used to finance the other projects in the programme. The NIP Committee was suspicious of possible profit-making motives with NIP funds, besides recognizing the dangers of the plan backfiring. Their position was reflected in the agreement to allocate only 25% of the funds on land acquisition at the informal meeting.[58]

Inevitably great anger and resentment occurred within the James Bay Community when the secretive switch became known. After a seemingly amicable agreement had been reached, a new rift between City Hall and the neighbourhood had been created. Elected officials and staff received numerous irate, complaint telephone calls from residents.[59]

Denials of a concerted conspiracy were made by Mayor Pollen, while Ald. Bill Tindall accused the community

representatives of "dirty pool" in imputing ulterior motives for the eleventh hour decision and refuted the "devious intent" of using NIP funds for other city improvement projects already approved or for earlier designated property acquisitions.[60] Astoundingly, Ald. Frampton was the only alderman opposed to the change. He argued that the neighbourhoods hadn't been consulted following the changes made subsequent to the earlier public meeting. Almost as if he had undergone a conversion, he saw the participatory process breaking down, thus accusing his fellow aldermen of destroying the good faith that had gradually been accomplished with the NIP Committees.[61]

At this moment in the programme's development, it was revealed that as much as NIP was instituted as an aid in containing contradictions in James Bay, it had become beset by contradictions of its own. This largely reflected the internalization of the contradictions it was meant to resolve. Rather than consensus existing on the aims and priorities of NIP, two conflicting positions were held. This signified a cleavage in the already tenuous alliances of the populist movement. The subordinate fraction of this movement <u>in James Bay</u> was renouncing the ideological hegemony that was being imposed by its conservative wing <u>in general</u>. The demands made by the NIP Committee went beyond any simple environmental and beautification concepts. To the extent that both sides were concerned with the provision of col-

lective consumption, marked differences existed on the nature and mode of its provision. Despite the approved downzoning measures, resistance to the neighbourhood taking increased control over its own environment was encountered. The municipal state was left with a choice of either taking repressive actions and asserting its veto privilege, or acquiescing to the NIP Committee and saving further erosion of its credibility. Ald. Mike Young comments: "Council was not altogether in favour of those recommendations, but the council decided they would be better advised to accept them."[62] In the main, numerous concessions were achieved by the NIP Committee in the final package that met its principal demands. Nevertheless, the circumstances surrounding the final plans left a revealing note. The programme had got off to an inauspicious start.

The James Bay NIP Committee decided against challenging the revised budget.[63] The final endorsed financial and physical plan was submitted to the provincial and federal levels of state as shown in Table V. The locations of NIP projects are shown in figure 13. Approval followed in due course, but council regarded the plan as flexible to allow changes should future conditions warrant it, and similarly it left issues open to continued debate and conflict that marked the implementation stage.

| PROJECT | BUDGET |
|---|---|
| Community Centre | $ 240,000 |
| Senior Citizen Centre | 100,000 |
| Land Acquisition | 350,000 |
| Bus Shelters | 40,000 |
| Street Improvements | 50,000 |
| - Avalon<br>- Montreal Street<br>- Lewis Street | |
| Park Improvements | 240,000 |
| - MacDonald Park<br>- Lewis Street Playground<br>- Angler's Pier<br>- Fisherman's Wharf Park | |
| Area Selection and Planning* | 30,000 |
| | $1,050,000 |

TABLE V: JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM BUDGET APPROVED BY CITY COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 1974.

* The payment for administration costs from within NIP funds caused some bitterness as the James Bay NIP Committee felt that the budget should be spent for the direct benefit of the neighbourhood.

Source: City of Victoria, Department of Community Development.

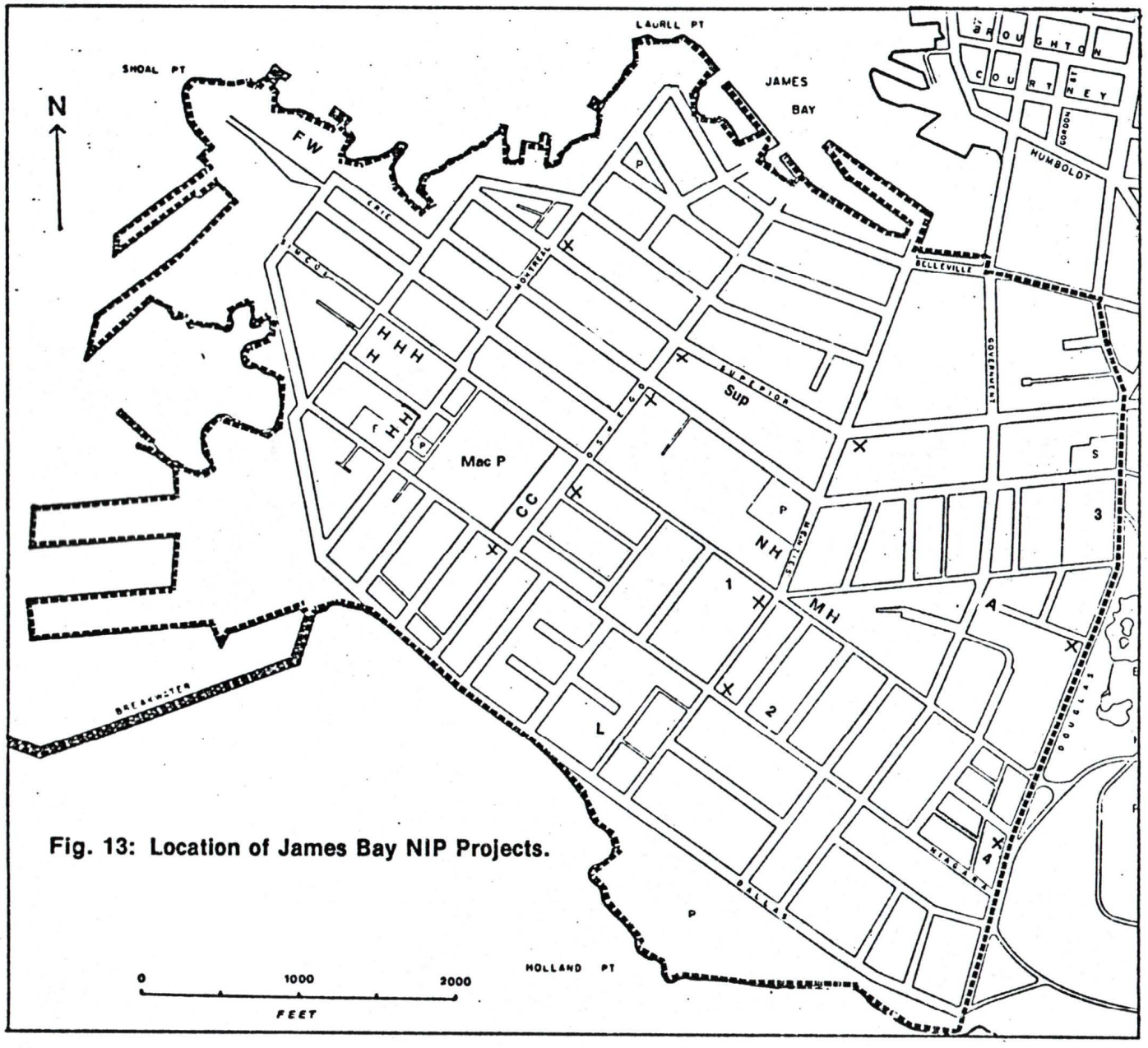



Fig. 13: Location of James Bay NIP Projects.

## LEGEND

| | |
|---|---|
| N H | New Horizons Centre |
| C C | Community Centre |
| M H | Moffit House |
| H | Land Acquisition for Housing |
| x | Bus Shelters |
| Mac P | MacDonald Park |
| F W | Fisherman's Wharf Park |
| A | Avalon Street Improvements |
| L | Lewis Street Improvements |
| Sup | Superior Street Improvements |
| 1 | James Bay Community Project Office |
| 2 | Cathedral School |
| 3 | South Park School |
| 4 | Beacon Hill School |
| P | Park |
| S | School |

## NIP'S IMPLEMENTATION

The remainder of this chapter looks primarily at the programme in itself and its main projects. The negative side of NIP's, 'identity' or 'being' is reserved for the following chapter, when other simultaneous events in the neighbourhood which had a bearing on the programme's development are analyzed. It is only at the end of this procedure that the material reality of NIP in James Bay can be exposed, and its place in the reorganization of collective consumption in the neighbourhood be ascertained.

### New Horizons Senior Citizen Activity Centre

James Bay has always had a greater than average share of Victoria's elderly and retired residents, which neared one third of the neighbourhood's population in the 1970s (see Table I). After initially forming the New Horizons Society, they proceeded to become a significant political fraction within the community. The impetus to organize themselves grew out of the general deterioration of the neighbourhood, and the realization on the part of some of the elderly that they were living isolated, lonely and alienated lives, and that by coming together, they could collectively harness a new spirit and improve the conditions of their retirement. From a formative meeting of 10 participants, New Horizons quickly grew. After only existing for six months, they were awarded a federal grant of $40,000 in June 1973.[64]

They had been meeting at the United Church, but in part the grant was to fund a survey for finding a permanent home.[65]

Both within the community and by council it was suggested that James Bay should have a multi-use facility, but with membership rising to over 600 by mid 1974,[66] New Horizons solicited for a separate senior citizen activity centre. It felt that a multi-use recreational centre would be too impersonal for older people.[67] There was discussion on whether or not New Horizons should have a separate facility. A minority opinion felt that the community ought to be integrated, rather than segregated, but in part due to their strong representation on the NIP Committee, the request was acceded to with little dissent. In view of their membership they were seen to have a legitimate claim. Furthermore, a position of mutual support was established. In return for backing their proposal, the New Horizons' representatives would support the rest of the community's demand for a community centre.

New Horizons wanted a central location for their facility that offered easy walking access for the elderly, and it was recommended that Cathedral School was suitable and should be bought with NIP funds.[68] Although it was occupied by the James Bay office of the Human Resources Department at the time, they were soon vacating it when the Community Project Office was opened. For a while, council held to the view that Cathedral School should be both a New

Horizons Centre and a general community centre.[69] Soon after Ald. Sam Bawlf inquired if the James Bay boundary could be extended to include the Crystal Gardens as an alternative for the New Horizons.[70] Although acceptance of a separate centre became recognized, the matter was not fully resolved when the physical and financial planning was submitted in November 1974, but by spring 1975, it was decided to begin negotiations for the purchase of Cathedral School for the New Horizons Centre.[71] The asking price of the Anglican Church proved too high. In the ensuing reconsideration of the problem, new conflicts developed.

First, there was a revival of the idea to renovate the Crystal Gardens, but the New Horizons Society was "appalled" by the notion.[72] It was then suggested by Murray Glazier (the new City NIP Chairman) that $120,000 be allocated for a centre and that a corner of the park at Menzies and Michigan be used for the site.[73] This had the initial approval of the senior citizens and the parks superindendent.[74] The loss of parkland, however, did not please all New Horizons members, and others who foresaw the ruin of valuable open space.[75] Similarly, Mayor Pollen remarked: "We really must have a sacrosanct attitude towards our parks."[76] The Beacon Hill Park Association also opposed the proposal on essentially romantic grounds, regarding the park as a "village green", able to take pressure off Beacon Hill Park.[77]

The proposal was defended on the grounds that the corner of the park in question was underused and involved no loss of trees or active play area. Moreover, following the failure to acquire Cathedral School, it met the requirements of being centrally located and near a bus stop.[78] Also it was argued only 4% of parkland would be lost, and as a full-time recreation centre its use was not incompatible and could blend in aesthetically.[79]

The need for a senior citizen's centre had quickly become a controversy over the erosion of the city's parkland, and consequently council decided to assess other potential sites in view of the intensity of the debate.[80] The attempt to find alternatives was unsuccessful, and in the meantime the NIP Committee had endorsed acquisition of the park site by 11 votes to 1.[81] Council was forced to make a decision despite offending certain groups. It finally agreed to grant New Horizons the park site.[82] In the end, however, the debate proved superfluous, as the asking price on a piece of property adjacent to the park, that had previously been considered too high was substantially lowered from $100,000 to $80,000, and the City was able to conclude successfully its purchase.[83] The money would in part be found by taking from the low priority projects of Angler's Pier and Fisherman's Wharf Parks.[84]

The centre was first designed for 3,200 sq. ft., but it was soon apparent to New Horizons that with a continually

growing membership the facility would be too confining and so an extension was needed. The NIP Committee supported the extension and the required further reallocation of funds from lesser projects.[85] The City approved the addition to the centre, thus giving 5000 sq. ft. in total.[86]

The first part of the centre was opened at the end of 1976, but by this time, New Horizons had become a thriving organization with membership surpassing one thousand.[87] An additional grant was received from the Federal Department of Health and Welfare for $19,408 towards the expansion and continuation of its activities and resources.[88] Immediately, New Horizons found that their facilities were still inadequate, and so requested a further extension of another 600 sq. ft.[89] This was duly approved, although some dissent had previously come from representatives of the James Bay Residents League (JBRL).[90] Additionally, city council gave a sympathetic hearing to a delegation from New Horizons seeking to improve the park facilities adjacent to the centre.[91]

During the course of these events, the senior citizens of James Bay had marshalled themselves into a strong, powerful lobby in the local political arena. Not only had their success in getting their own centre proved that in James Bay, but elected municipal officials complied willingly to the extension requests. As New Horizons President Harald Stephenson pointed out, with a membership growing to over a thousand, and nearly all making a point of voting in the

elections, aldermen were not about to ignore or neglect their voice.[92] At the same time, council could embrace their proposals in full confidence that they were not seeding further conflict, because New Horizons was a major part of the moderate fraction of the James Bay community movement, and was seen in council's eyes as 'responsible', particularly because of the background of some of its most prominent members. They were not going to rock the boat providing their immediate demands were met.

The Community Centre

As the residents' top priority project, the community centre was perhaps the most controversial and antagonistic. It was noted earlier that city council was extremely cautious about it and was particularly concerned about how the operating costs would be met. Opposition to the centre continued.

In early 1975, an 8,500 sq. ft. extension to the community school was proposed by the James Bay NIP Committee to serve as the community centre. This was opposed by Ald. Sam Bawlf who declared there was no justification for a costly centre in the programme that served only 9,000 people. For him, the facility should be available to the city population at large, and should only be supported by NIP funds to the extent it served James Bay residents.

> It must have the capability of serving a greater population. We can only afford maybe three such centres in the entire city over the long haul.[93]

Bawlf, therefore, wanted the site to be elsewhere in James Bay, unattached to the community school. From initially championing the cause of James Bay residents, Sam Bawlf was now in conflict with their demands. This dispute highlights some of the problems inherent in positive discrimination policies. In one aspect it questions the justice in allocating extra capital to a selectively privileged area, and subsequently raises the issue that if one area is deserving, why not ony others. This would inevitably place greater demands on state expenditure that is not a direct aid to capital accumulation, thus raising fears among conservative elements who aim to restrict such budgeting. Bawlf's position demonstrates these contradictions. Not surprisingly, his words provoked strong criticisms from the community.[94] The municipal state's NIP Committee Chairman, Ald. Murray Glazier, would not support Bawlf's stand, as it went against the community's expectations.[95] The issue was sensitive enough to internalize the contradiction between legitimation policies and the perceived need to limit unproductive expenditures within the functioning of the local state.

At a special meeting of council to discuss NIP concerns, other objections were raised.[96] Mayor Pollen wondered if priorities were right in view of the perceived 'housing crisis' that had arisen. Several council members were worried that City Hall might get entangled with the James Bay Community Project 'experiment'. Mayor Pollen admitted he had "a very, very strong bias" against the Community Resources Board having a connection with the operation of the centre, arguing dubiously that the body had no defined objectives and lacked a mandate from the community, other than self-proclaimed.[97] This drew sharp reaction from the Community Project.[98]

Nevertheless, general agreement existed on the James Bay NIP Committee that the eventual aim was for the CRB to look after the Community Centre.[99] Indeed it was felt by the Committee that the CRB should have responsibility of supervising community input into the School and Community Centre.[100] The concerns of council later led Ald. Glazier to assert at a James Bay NIP Committee meeting that it would be "politically dangerous for the CRB to take over functions of the James Bay NIP Committee".[101] Despite the possibilities of repression, it was suggested by Lorne de Girolamo that it might be beneficial in future for the NIP Committee to become a committee of the CRB, but in the meantime they should remain separate.[102]

This friction between the NIP Committee and the municipal state revealed a very real fear that power and control over collective consumption might pass out of the hands of the state into those of the residents themselves. The spectre of the CRB becoming a form of neighbourhood government loomed large. To many on council, it appeared that the NDP Provincial government was undermining the role and function of the municipal state. Ald. Mike Young comments:

> ...it would be a pretty simple thing for the province to detract or through the backdoor relieve municipalities of power by turning the real power, the dollar power, over to local associations. ...when you talk in terms of jurisdictions, authority and budgets, then there would be a concern and I think it's an ongoing concern.[103]

The "demonstration of competence" of the still 'adolescent' CRB, was unclear to city council at this conjuncture, so the municipal state was prepared to resist treading into the unknown. The decision on the community centre was put on hold.[104] The James Bay NIP Committee was required to come up with more specific proposals on size, nature and operation of the centre, and it was agreed that a consultant be made available under supervision of the City's planning staff.[105]

Largely because of the cautious attitude adopted by council and the unwillingness of the James Bay NIP Committee to drop the idea, progress remained in limbo. In late 1975, renewed efforts were summoned to overcome the frustrations. Two of the more conservative members of council, Mayor Young and Ald. Ron McKenzie, appeared to be prepared to grant approval if the management of the centre was assumed on an on-going basis by "reputable and well-funded organizations" such as the YMCA or the Boy's and Girl's Club.[106] This would grant assurance to council that the project would not fall into the hands of irresponsible or undesirable people, who in their eyes could not be 'trusted'. With reluctance, the NIP Committee looked into the matter, and initially the local chapter of the Lions Club agreed to accept the responsibility,[107] but shortly afterwards changed its mind.

Finally, in April 1976, council gave tentative support for extending the community school for the centre.[108] A $200,000 limit was put on funds for a centre that was less ambitious (6,000 sq. ft.) than initially proposed. The city also agreed to a maximum of $5,000 for annual maintenance expenses, although this was dependent on a commitment by the School Board to participate in funding. The community would have to find ways of funding the operational costs of the centre.[109] This arrangement was still not satisfactory to all of council. Some conservative members argued that the

City should not involve itself in such uncertain financial propositions as the community centre.[110] However, because it was to be an addition to the school, the School Board was involved and "that gave the project an air of legitimacy. It wasn't going to be a bunch of freaks running this thing".[111] In other words, council was re-assured that control was not passing to anybody that was potentially non-conforming. An agreement between the City and the School Board was tentatively agreed to in mid 1976.[112] The details, however, remained plagued with problems.

At the beginning of 1977, the NIP Committee agreed to re-allocate funds for the community centre to a total maximum of $475,000.[113] Council later restricted this to $400,000, although the size of the centre was increased to 7,900 sq. ft.[114] The process of designing and planning the community centre was a complex affair. In the words of one of the participants,

> The design of the Community Centre developed through a series of meetings between the Architect, Gerry Sager, of Sager and Marshall, and the Community School Council, through their Building Committee, in liason with the NIP Committee. This was a lengthy and in depth process, including meeting with School District Administrators, City Officials, Aldermen, many varied resource people and a public meeting.[115]

Due to the imposed limit of $400,000, the architect made deletions, to the point where the Building Committee was

not prepared to compromise its demands any further. Even so, when the plans went to tender in September 1977, "the Committee was not totally in support" of them.[116] This dissent reflected the constraints imposed on the scope of the programme due to NIP's limited budget. This was aggravated by inflation devaluing the capital available for it. Fortune smiled on the community, however, when the tenders came in and the lowest and accepted tender for construction was only $305,000. The James Bay NIP Committee successfully pressed for the remaining money to be spent on items that had been previously omitted. In December 1977, a Community Centre Management Team (CCMT) was established.[117] At the turn of the year, construction on the Centre began.

In late September 1978, the Community Centre was officially opened. The Centre and Community School were established as a combined and complementary organization. It had earlier arisen that the City could not enter into the agreement for $5,000 costs with James Bay residents as the Centre was on School Board property, and therefore the agreement should be with the School Board.[118] Although the City built it on School Board property, the latter would supply the maintenance, and the Community School Council would provide the administration.[119] The Community Centre received grants from the CRB, but otherwise operational costs were borne by programme fees, rental fees and fund-raising methods. Subsequently, the School Council has succeeded in having the

$5,000 per annum operating costs taken over by the municipal state.

Although, through a protracted struggle, James Bay residents were finally able to achieve their principal priority, they had done so only in a way that met with the satisfaction of the local state officials. It appeared, however, that the state was still to some extent conscious of the possibility of too much control passing to the residents themselves through the self-management of social and recreational life. Even though, perhaps, it was not the sole motivation, under the initiative of one of the more reform minded alderman, the City of Victoria created a Community Program Co-ordinator in the Department of Recreation and Community Services.

> It is the intent of the Recreation Department to become more actively involved with the development and implementation of community recreation programs for the City of Victoria residents.[120]

At a later date, Ald. John Hayes set up a Community Centre's Advisory Committee with the purpose of maintaining co-operation and liason with the community groups.[121] The state was ensuring that resident's control over this aspect of their everyday life was not going to go too far. As a strategy of integration into the municipal state apparatus, it was merely an extension of 'participation as management'.

Land Assembly and Low-Cost Housing

It is probably fair to say that this aspect of the NIP programme was the most clumsy and poorly handled. The initial purpose was to assemble land with the aim of developing medium density low-cost housing. After being sold upon development, the recovered capital would be allocated to other projects. However, recurrent aggravation existed throughout the course of the programme in this sphere, as suspicion surrounded the use of capital, the mode of development and the eventual sale of properties.

The project began in a heavy-handed manner, as the municipality assembled properties in the west end of the neighbourhood without the expressed approval of the James Bay NIP Committee. The arbitrary action led to charges of blockbusting.[122] These were denied, on the grounds that the City made offers to the residents, but no pressure was applied.[123] In any case it arose that nobody was displaced, but rather they paid rent to the City.

Further to this uneasy beginning, suspicions continued to hang over the revolving land bank fund. Previously, the NIP Committee sought official confirmation that the money in land acquisition funds would be re-used in James Bay NIP projects.[124] Even though this concept had been expressed by council, Ald. Glazier "said that Council did not feel an undertaking existed and that they could not commit either themselves or future councils".[125] Later the James

Bay NIP Committee was under the impression that the municipality would recycle funds into "a general NIP housing fund for all NIP areas in Victoria".[126] Resentment and mistrust remained over the tight control maintained by the City NIP Committee over the destination of capital temporarily tied up in land holdings, but under further pressure, it was confirmed a year later that the money would be put back into James Bay funds.[127]

As attempts to develop the housing project struggled to get underway, thoughts began to be given to abandoning the concept. This aspect of the NIP programme had its own internal dialectic mediated by the shifting state of the housing market and construction industry. At the outset, Frank Byrne, (the City NIP Co-ordinator) made four suggestions on how the housing might be developed:

1. Allow individuals to rebuild the acquired properties;
2. Invite the NDP bought Dunhill Development Corporation (who were not interested at the time);
3. Grant private sector development;
4. City make use of new federal incentives in the Assistant Home Ownership Plan (AHOP) scheme, and then release to individuals.[128]

Later the possibility of rented land being turned over to a non-profit housing organization (perhaps the James Bay Housing Co-operative), to create mixed income housing was

accepted.[129] In the meantime, second thoughts on the viability of developing housing, led to a suggestion for recycling the capital tied up in the bought houses and put it to other projects to guard against its loss.[130]

In an effort to revive the project, discussions took place between CRB members and city planning officials on developing the held properties. Due to its ability to hold land and obtain mortgages it was resolved that:

> The James Bay Community Resources Board be appointed to administer the development of this rental housing project, that it forthwith establish a housing administration committee responsible to the CRB, and that this new committee include representatives of the CRB, the NIP Committee and other agencies as may be necessary and appropriate.[131]

City council refused the request that the CRB administer the development of NIP land.[132] Further, it was stipulated that council was not willing to arrange for the transfer of land from the City and the NIP programme to the CRB, whose functional life was in question following the change in provincial government.[133] The earlier adverse attitude towards the CRB may still have been present. Such answers did not satisfy the NIP Committee. The following extract from the minutes further reveals the domineering attitude that Ald. Glazier maintained:

> Lorne de Girolamo quoted minutes of meeting with City Planning which indicated the City wished to be relieved of any involvement with housing development on these lands and asked what other legal body was there besides CRB. Glazier replied the City is a legal body and to leave it to them to bring in Co-operative or Non-profit low cost rental group.
> Question by de Girolamo re a James Bay group forming such a group. Would it be acceptable? Answer...City wants NIP to find such a group but not to be that group.
> Question...Would city wide neighbourhood communities housing be acceptable? Answer...It is advisable that housing needed in the communities be developed but not necessarily that communities develop housing.
> Matter tabled for present although Glazier stated other proposals would be welcomed by City.[134]

The project was set back further at the beginning of 1977, when the cost of acquiring properties adjacent to some of those already held was too high. Expansion was therefore not feasible and it was decided to sell the properties in question.[135] However, all hope was not lost as a proposal for co-op housing was submitted by the more radical members of the NIP Committee, Lorne de Girolamo, Jim Hennebury, Charles Ball and Bob Hornsby. The proposal for the Columbia Advisory Housing Association to undertake a feasibility study was agreed to,[136] but it proved not to be financially viable. By now it was clear that the housing project was not going to succeed, and the only option was to sell off the properties in order to regain the invested capital. However, because of a glut of housing on the market depressing prices, this was going to prove difficult without

incurring a loss.

The selling of properties brought new dilemmas for the NIP Committee. The Committee had previously indicated that it wanted input into any land sales, but Ald. Glazier had advised that the criteria for selling would be worked out by the Department of Community Development.[137] Concerns were being expressed over who got the resale, fearing that the municipality might allow developers to acquire them and put a land parcel together.[138] The NIP Committee pressed for the properties to be downzoned to R2 before being sold, with which city council complied with.

By the fall of 1977, four parcels of land were still left unsold, a situation that left other projects in abeyance until the funds were recovered, even though the money was already designated.[139] After having the properties assessed,[140] the City wanted to sell some of the properties at a profit. In one case, a former owner of a property wanted to buy it back from the City. The City initially paid $43,500 for it, but now wanted $53,000. The former owners offered $41,300, claiming it needed $2-3,000 repairs to restore it to its former condition.[141] The City was accused of land speculation. Elsewhere it was asserted that, "City Hall now consults with realty firms in the city before accepting bids on their properties".[142] The James Bay Residents League supported the resident, arguing that the city should not make a profit, but sell it back at the original price.[143]

This was recommended to the NIP Committee, which went on record demanding that the NIP Committee be consulted prior to acceptance of any land sales.[144] The dispute was finally resolved when the City backed down from its position. In the final outcome, the City showed an overall deficit on the sale of its acquired properties.

The whole history of the effort to develop low-cost housing was continually plagued by suspicion over City intentions for the properties it had required. This was especially so, when Ald. Glazier was City NIP Committee chairman. Great reluctance existed on the municipal state's part to let the James Bay NIP Committee have a strong voice over the control of property. Although no solid proof was forthcoming, fears existed that the project might be arranged to benefit developers. It was on these matters that communication and co-operation was most strained within the context of the programme.

The inability to develop low-cost housing must be seen in relation to changes in the housing market. Simultaneous to the above events, new federal incentives encouraged rapid development of townhouses in west James Bay, which culminated in a glut of medium to low-cost housing, which then made it difficult in the re-selling stage. A fuller explanation of the impact of this new wave of construction is reserved for the next chapter. In short, this aspect of the NIP programme can safely be regarded as a failure.

Termination of the NIP Programme

Of the other, lesser projects undertaken by NIP, the improvements to MacDonald Park were carried out early in the programme without difficulties. Improvements and beautification to Avalon Road and Lewis Street were also undertaken, but these are more appropriately considered at a later stage, as are the conflicts surrounding the construction of bus shelters.

Generally, due to the difficulties and delays in getting NIP fully implemented, it was realized towards the end of 1976 that it was impossible to have the programme completed by the deadline of December 1977,[145] but it was not until October 1977 that a request was made for the extension of both the James Bay and Victoria West NIP programmes. Two options existed: either a six month extension to June 1978 or a twelve month extension to December 1978.[146] Council approved application for a one year extension to December 31, 1978 to allow for the disposal of properties and completion of properties, which was granted.[147]

The NIP Committee was faced with residual funds which had to be reallocated. Suggestions for projects were drawn up by members of the Committee and neighbourhood residents, and then scored by the NIP Committee according to priority (see Table VI). Following a special meeting in February 1978 and eventual approval by city council, it was agreed to fund an outdoor activity playground behind the

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Outdoor Activity Centre | 291 | $27,000 |
| 2. | Asphalt Playground, McDonald Park | 203 | 12,000 |
| 3. | Landscaping, Fisherman's Wharf Park | 172 | 20,000 |
| 4. | Street beautification, Superior Street | 171 | 14,000 |
| 5. | Picnic tables, Fisherman's Wharf Park | 171 | 2,500 |
| 6. | Hand/Racquet ball courts | 146 | 45,000 |
| 7. | Play equipment, Fisherman's Wharf Park | 140 | 10,000 |
| 8. | Storage, Community Centre | 130 | 12,000 |
| 9. | Basketball half court | 120 | 7,000 each |
| 10. | Tennis Court, Fisherman's Wharf Park | 115 | 37,500 for three |
| 11. | Waterlines, Fisherman's Wharf Park | 115 | 8,125 |
| 12. | Lockers, Community Centre | 96 | 2,000 |
| 13. | Fisherman's Wharf Park | 72 | 58,125 |
| 14. | Sauna/Whirlpool, Community Centre | 67 | 14,000 |
| 15. | Community Centre shell | 60 | 120,000 |
| 16. | Sauna/Exercise room, Community Centre | 49 | 6,000 |
| 17. | Holland Park benches | 49 | 250 each |
| 18. | Exercise room, Community Centre | 47 | 3,000 |
| 19. | Shuffleboard | 34 | 3,000 each |
| 20. | Rollerskating rink surface | 19 | 20,000 |

N.B. Projects finally selected and given approval by city council were:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Outdoor Activity Centre | $37,000 |
| 2. | Street beautification, Superior Street | 14,000 |
| 3. | Community Centre additions | 14,000 |
| 4. | Fisherman's Wharf Park | 40,500 |

TABLE VI: NIP COMMITTEE SUGGESTIONS FOR UNALLOCATED NIP FUNDS IN ORDER OF PRIORITY BY VOTE.

Source: James Bay NIP Committee Records.

Community School, Fisherman's Wharf Park, Superior Street beautification and additions to the Community Centre.[148] The final breakdown of projects and capital allocation is provided in Table VII.

The last NIP Committee meeting was held at the end of 1978, although completion of Fisherman's Wharf Park elapsed into 1979. Final payment from CMHC was made in March 1979, the official termination date.[149] A special meeting was called in November 1979 to terminate business and deal with the petty cash. It was decided to donate it to New Horizons in return for the use of their building for meetings.[150]

## CONCLUSIONS

In the analysis so far, focus has largely been devoted to the NIP programme in itself. In spite of the difficulties and struggles involved in the implementation some very real gains were made, especially with the two community centres. As important as they are, the case is made here that they dealt with relatively superficial and non-controversial concerns. Furthermore, the history of the programme revealed that $1 million was insufficient to meet all the identified needs. Consequently, the capital tended to be put into visible projects, which though perhaps meaningful in themselves, nevertheless avoided the worst of the problems affecting the neighbourhood. The very nature of the programme forced a pragmatic approach upon the community. It

| PROJECTS | EXPENDITURE | RECEIPTS |
|---|---|---|
| Community Centre | $ 417,603.88 | $ |
| New Horizons Centre | 278,803.00 | |
| Land Acquisition: | | |
| - 34 Lewis Street | 25,745.50 | |
| - 234 Menzies Street | 80,000.00 | [ 880.00] |
| - 129 Simcoe Street | 89,850.00 | [ 57,000.00] |
| - 150 Montreal Street | 43,500.00 | [ 43,500.00] |
| - 137 Simcoe Street | 33,060.29 | [ 35,000.00] |
| - 143 Simcoe Street | 43,608.77 | [ 42,500.00] |
| - 128 Montreal Street | 53,500.00 | [ 43,100.00] |
| - 112 Ladysmith Street | 23,000.00 | [ 28,505.00] |
| Bus Shelters | 18,810.00 | |
| MacDonald Park | 33,029.36 | |
| Lewis Street Parkette | 9,736.63 | |
| Fisherman's Wharf Park | 32,000.00 | |
| Outdoor Activity Area | 64,283.66 | |
| Avalon Road Beautification | 22,000.00 | |
| Lewis Street Beautification | 20,000.00 | |
| Superior Street Beautification | 14,000.00 | |
| Administration | 79,924.11 | |
| | $1,382,455.20 | |

SOURCE OF RECEIPTS

| | |
|---|---|
| CMHC | $ 522,499.57 |
| Provincial Government | 261.249.78 |
| City of Victoria | 261,250.65 |
| Recreation and Conservation Grant | 37,250.00 |
| Property Rentals net | 30,720.20 |
| Other (sale of properties) | 269,485.00 |
| | $1,382,455.20 |

TABLE VII: FINAL REPORTS OF THE JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM.

Source: Letter from Alan Kuroyama, City NIP Co-ordinator, to the James Bay NIP Committee, April 3, 1979.

was no more than a partial solution, limited in what it could achieve. When seen in relation to such questions as absentee landownership, control of property and development, it materializes that NIP dealt with less contentious issues. From Peter Pollen's perspective, NIP was,

> a rather superficial thing rather than a fundamental response to urban problems. Nothing has been done in my opinion for a decade in the province of British Columbia, to really come to grips with urban problems, urban planning, urban transportation, urban land use, urban industrial policy. In the context of all that, the Neighbourhood Improvement Programs were more a palliative than a comprehensive solution.[151]

By directing attention away from such issues, it works to restrain community activism from questions of more fundamental changes. Such effects are expressed at length by reform alderman, Robin Blencoe:

> Certainly a lot of energy went into it. People were interested in bus shelters, interested in road improvements. It affects them on a daily basis. Trying to get people into thinking about long term protection - its really hard; its very esoteric, and very abstract sometimes...or a philosophical goal - that's hard. Bus shelters? They're going to get some protection from the wind when they go downtown. People can relate to that. People find there is an end product, something they can see, but community work, community association was very much philosophical stuff, and participation and affecting council, but whereas very often no end product to it. Sometimes it was put aside because a lot of people were the same people involved and so the energies went into neighbourhood improvement.[152]

The NIP programme revealed the difficulties and contradictions encountered in dealing with reformist programmes and continuing the struggle simultaneously. Even though NIP is a distinct policy in a legislative sense, it cannot be isolated from the general social, political and ideological influences affecting James Bay during its existence. In view of its limited scope, it has to be seen in relation to other developments in the community.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Darlene Marzari, City of Vancouver alderwoman, cited in Daily Colonist, March 26, 1977, p. 21.

2. The Planning Committee of the James Bay Community Project, James Bay Community Project, Report Two: Developing Co-operation - A Perspective, brief presented to the Minister of Human Resources, The Minister of Health and The Minister of Education for the Province of British Columbia, June 28, 1974, p. 15.

3. Daily Colonist, June 21, 1972, p. 5.

4. ibid.

5. The Planning Committee of the James Bay Community Project, op. cit.

6. James Bay News, 5:12, June 1978, p. 5.

7. Mike Young, interview, May 1980.

8. Victoria Times, August 31, 1973, p. 11. This was approved by city council, Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, September 7, 1973.

9. James Bay News, 1:6, December 1973, p. 3.

10. Peter Crisp, City of Victoria planner, personal communication.

11. Minutes of City of Victoria Committee 'B' Meeting, January 22, 1974.

12. Vancouver Sun, March 13, 1974, p. 24. Later confirmed in Minutes of City of Victoria Committee 'B' meeting, April 30, 1974.

13. Victoria Times, August 15, 1974, p. 21.

14. Minutes of James Bay NIP Steering Committee meeting, July 10, 1974.

15. Minutes of James Bay NIP Steering Committee meeting, July 15, 1974.

16. ibid.

17. The assistant, Pat Vince, was a student from the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, placed by the Department in James Bay for three months in order to study and take part in community development work in Canada. Daily Colonist, July 26, 1974, p. 25; Victoria Times, July 27, 1974, p. 24.

18. Minutes of James Bay NIP Steering Committee meeting, August 1, 1974.

19. Minutes of James Bay NIP Steering Committee meeting, August 19, 1974.

20. Daily Colonist, August 31, 1974, p. 19.

21. Victoria Times, August 31, 1974, p. 9. It is not clear whether this was due to a concerted effort by apartment owners to undermine the community's efforts, or the managers were simply reluctant to ease entry policies.

22. ibid.

23. Victoria Times, August 15, 1974, p. 21.

24. Letter from Janice Leung, City NIP Co-ordinator to the James Bay NIP Committee, August 12, 1974.

25. Victoria Times, September 9, 1974, p. 3.

26. Designation of the whole area was agreed to at meeting of the James Bay NIP Steering Committee, September 4, 1974. See minutes.

27. It was reported that 101 out of 228 respondents were interested in RRAP loans. Minutes of James Bay NIP Steering Committee meeting, September 7, 1974.

28. Victoria Times, October 11, 1974, p. 19. See also the enclosure (prepared by the Department of Community Development) with the letter from Ald. P. Frampton to the James Bay NIP Committee, October 25, 1974.

29. Victoria Times, September 9, 1974, p. 3. This remains speculative, but another reason behind Ald. Frampton's position may have been an attempt to save some areas from being precluded for redevelopment. Certainly, if housing was allowed to decline further in standard, renewed pressure for development was likely.

30. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, October 10, 1974.

31. Daily Colonist, September 8, 1974, p. 17.

32. ibid.

33. Kay Lines, cited in Victoria Times, September 9, 1974, p. 3.

34. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee Meeting, October 4, 1974; Letter from Kay Lines to Daily Colonist, March 26, 1975, p. 5.

35. Minutes of Joint Meeting at City Hall, September 23, 1974.

36. "J. Johnston and L. DeGirolamo reported that Malcolm Anderson [city alderman] had said that all of these projects would be done from municipal funds in any case. J. Leung [city NIP Co-ordinator] said that they were all on the books but that the allocation of funds for them might take some time." Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, October 4, 1974.

37. ibid.

38. Letter from Kay Lines, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman to City Council, October 7, 1974.

39. Kay Lines, Interview, May 1980.

40. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee Meeting, November 12, 1974.

41. This point was expressed during interviews.

42. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, November 12, 1974. Over time, the extensive publicizing petered out under the time constraints of having to get things done. As the Committee took on a more administrative character, there was seen to be no room or need for mass participatory meetings.

43. Lew Madley, interview, May 1980.

44. Lorne de Girolamo, interview, May 1980.

45. Victoria Times, September 26, 1974, p. 11. Although members of James Bay NIP Committee favoured saving the Immigration Building, several felt it was unsuitable for a community centre because of its out-of-the-way location. This difference also contributed to the defeat of Kay Lines' bid for chairwoman.

46. James Bay News, 5:4, October 1977, p. 3.

47. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, October 4, 1974.

48. Daily Colonist, November 21, 1974, p. 25; Victoria Times, November 21, 1974, p. 7.

49. Victoria Times, November 21, 1974, p. 7.

50. Daily Colonist, November 21, 1974, p. 25.

51. Daily Colonist, November 27, 1974, p. 19.

52. Mike Young, interview, May 1980.

53. Letter from Sharon Hume, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman, to City Council, November 12, 1974.

54. Victoria Times, November 27, 1974, p. 37.

55. ibid.

56. Victoria Times, November 29, 1974, p. 1.

57. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, November 28, 1974.

58. Victoria Times, November 27, 1974, p. 37.

59. Victoria Times, November 29, 1974, p. 1. Protest came from the residents of James Bay and Victoria West alike.

60. ibid.

61. ibid.

62. Mike Young, interview, May 1980.

63. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, December 3, 1974.

64. Victoria Times, June 22, 1973, p. 19.

65. ibid.

66. Victoria Times, August 7, 1974, p. 11; August 8, 1974, p. 4; Daily Colonist, August 8, 1974, p. 19.

67. Kay Ransom, New Horizons spokeswoman, cited in Victoria Times, September 14, 1974, p. 2.

68. Daily Colonist, September 25, 1974, p. 15; Victoria Times, September 25, 1974, p. 20. The purchase of Cathedral School for New Horizons was approved in principle by the James Bay NIP Committee, October 4, 1974, see minutes.

69. Victoria Times, October 31, 1974, p. 21.

70. Daily Colonist, November 27, 1974, p. 19. The renovation of the Crystal Gardens, remained a 'pet project' of Sam Bawlf that saw realization when he became a cabinet minister in the Social Credit government. Similar to his stance on South Park School, his attitude at this point perhaps reflects his acumen and opportunism as a developer of old structures, that inevitably alienated him from the James Bay Community movement. As such it marks a further split in the initial broad based movement.

71. Victoria Times, April 30, 1975, p. 2.

72. Daily Colonist, June 5, 1975, p. 10.

73. Daily Colonist, June 25, 1975, p. 9.

74. ibid.

75. Letter from Joyce Malloch, to Daily Colonist, July 6, 1975; letter from G.H. Parsons to Daily Colonist, July 1, 1975, p. 5.

76. Cited in Victoria Times, July 5, 1975, p. 28.

77. Letter from John Newberry, President of Beacon Hill Park Association to Daily Colonist, July 10, 1975, p. 5.

78. Letter from Harald Stephenson, President of James Bay New Horizons Society, Daily Colonist, July 10, 1975, p. 5.

79. Letter from George H. Foures, Daily Colonist, July 17, 1975, p. 5.

80. Victoria Times, July 5, 1975, p. 28.

81. Letter from Sharon Hume, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman to City Council, July 20, 1975.

82. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, September 25, 1975. According to a report of the meeting Ald.

Sam Bawlf re-iterated his proposal to use the Crystal Garden, arguing that all other senior citizens in the city warranted as much as the James Bay New Horizons Society and by this action council was obligating itself to build similar facilities around the city for senior citizens. Yet in the end, he voted in favour of the part site!! Only Ald. Ellis opposed, Daily Colonist, September 26, 1975, p. 38.

83. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, November 13, 1975.

84. Daily Colonist, November 14, 1975, p. 15; Victoria Times, November 14, 1975, p. 22.

85. In December 1976, New Horizons received a grant from the Provincial Ministry of Recreation and Conservation for $37,500 towards the new centre. This allowed the same sum to be reallocated. Letter from F. Byrne, City NIP Co-ordinator by Gladys Forbes, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman, December 13, 1976.

86. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, November 9, 1976.

87. Daily Colonist, October 17, 1976, p. 15; Victoria Times, October 18, 1976, p. 17.

88. ibid.

89. Letter from New Horizons to Acting City Clerk, January 21, 1977.

90. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, February 10, 1977. The James Bay Residents League represents the more radical wing of the community movement, having split from the more moderate fraction in the fall of 1976. This will be covered more fully later at the appropriate point.

91. Victoria Times, November 18, 1977, p. 25.

92. Harold Stephenson, interview, May 1980.

93. Sam Bawlf, cited in Victoria Times, April 30, 1975, p. 2.

94. Daily Colonist, May 1, 1975, p. 13; May 2, 1975, p. 17.

95. Daily Colonist, May 1, 1975, p. 13.

96. See Victoria Times, May 14, 1975, p. 13.

97. ibid. The fact that the CRB was about to be elected by the neighbourhood at large seemed to be conveniently forgotten. Elections in one context were legitimate, but elections in another were not!!

98. Letter from David Ridley, to Victoria Times, May 21, 1975, p. 4.

99. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, May 27, 1975.

100. Letter from Sharon Hume, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman to City Council, May 22, 1975.

101. ibid. In October 1975 this discussion was revived again. One consideration was the amalgamation of the NIP Committee with the Environment and Community Planning Committee of the CRB. The latter agreed to liason but did not want formal merger. Harald Stephenson also suggested that the NIP Committee might become a separate committee of the CRB, but was unsure of what the political consequences would be. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, October 7, 1975. Despite these oft mentioned proposals, the NIP Committee remained an autonomous body for the length of its existence.

103. Mike Young, interview, May 1980.

104. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, May 22, 1975. Approval was given to other projects at this meeting.

105. Daily Colonist, May 14, 1975, p. 21.

106. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, February 2, 1976.

107. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, March 16, 1976.

108. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, April 22, 1976.

109. Victoria Times, March 15, 1976, p. 13.

110. ibid.

111. John Hayes, (who suceeded Ald. Glazier as City NIP Committee chairman), interview, May 1980.

112. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, June 10, 1976; Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, August 3, 1976.

113. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, February 3, 1977.

114. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, April 14, 1977.

115. Letter from Bev Blackburn, President of the James Bay Community School Council Society to the Mayor and Council, November 1977.

116. Minutes of the James Bay NIP Committee meeting, September 1977.

117. Minutes of the James Bay NIP Committee meeting, December 1, 1977.

118. Beckley Farm News, 1:9, May 1978, pp. 9, 12.

119. Daily Colonist, October 3, 1978, p. 24; Victoria Times, October 6, 1978, p. 21; Monday, 4:40, September 29 - October 5, 1978, p. 5.

120. James Bay News, 6:4, October 1978, p. 4.

121. John Hayes, interview, May 1980.

122. Daily Colonist, September 19, 1975, p. 21; James Bay News, 3:4, October 1975, supplementary sheet.

123. James Bay News, 3:4, October 1975, p. 5.

124. Letter from Sharon Hume, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman to City Council, December 9, 1974. This request for a clarification on the allocation of funds was filed by City of Victoria Committee 'B', Minutes, January 7, 1975.

125. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, January 7, 1975.

126. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, August 5, 1975.

127. Letter from J.H. Bramley, Municipal Manager to Neil Webster, James Bay NIP Committee Chairman, August 5, 1976.

128. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, September 2, 1975.

129. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, April 6, 1976.

130. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, October 7, 1975 and December 9, 1975.

131. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting; October 10, 1976.

132. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, November 4, 1976.

133. ibid.

134. ibid.

135. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, February 3, 1977.

136. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, March 3, 1977.

137. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, August 3, 1976.

138. Letter from JBCA to James Bay NIP Committee, March 1, 1977.

139. Letter from A. Kuroyama (city NIP Co-ordinator) to J.H. Bramley (Municipal Manager), October 17, 1977.

140. Letter from Assistant Municipal Manager to J. Hayes, October 21, 1977.

141. Letter from T.A. Lomas, of 150 Montreal Street, to Mr. K.R. Wilkins, Land Commissioner, City of Victoria.

142. Beckley Farm News, 1:9, May 1978, p. 9.

143. Beckley Farm News, 1:7, March 1978, p. 3.

144. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee Meeting, April 6, 1978.

145. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, November 4, 1976.

146. Letter from Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing Regional Office, Coastal Region to A. Kuroyama, City NIP Co-ordinator, November 18, 1977.

147. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, December 22, 1977: Letter from Provincial Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, to A. Kuroyama, January 10, 1978.

148. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meetings, April 27, 1978 and May 25, 1978. It was ironic that Fisherman's Wharf Park was finally completed. Early in the programme, the NIP Committee was upset at its inclusion: "We feel very strongly that NIP funds should be used to complete projects that had already been earmarked for development before the NIP program came into existence," (Letter from Sharon Hume, James Bay NIP Committee Chairwoman to Ald. M. Glazier, October 15, 1975). At one point it was formally deleted from the initial NIP plan (Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, December 5, 1977) but was re-introduced into the suggestion list for residual funds.

149. Mr. L. Roberts, Local CMHC official, interview, May 1980.

150. Mrs. Mary Pankowski, personal communication, June 1980.

151. Interview, May 1980.

152. Interview, May 1980. Beginning with his involvement in the Fernwood NIP programme, he became one of the more vocal and prominent community activists. He was one of the first 'community' candidates to be elected alderman in November 1977.

# CHAPTER 7

## THE ENTRENCHMENT OF THE STATE

> I think NIP became just a component of something that community groups were working on.[1]

### BLOCKBUSTING, THE COMMUNITY PLAN AND THE EMERGENCE OF CONTRADICTIONS

One of the declared aims of NIP was the stabilization of environmental and social conditions in adversely affected neighbourhoods. In the Federal Guidelines, it was stated:

> ...it is expected that appropriate zoning controls will evolve to insure the preservation of the character of the neighbourhood on a long-term basis following improvements.[2]

If the downzoning measures being passed at the time of NIP's introduction were regarded as the guarantee of this, reality would soon dispel that illusion. It has already been suggested that the 1973 plan was a compromise document, and that mixed feelings existed over the substance of its content within the James Bay community movement. As much as it was a resolution of contradictions, it was not long before it bred its own thus concomitantly proving correct the fears of the sceptical and critical section of the community.

Following the stiff resistance mounted against the high-rise developments, old and newer residents began rehabilitating some of the remaining housing stock. According to one practitioner:

> Before we did this type of thing, the only people fixing up houses in James Bay were those who put in wallboard partitions and as many kitchens as they could and rent them out. We have tried instead to restore them to the grand old houses they once were.[3]

Yet at the same time as this activity was occurring, encouraged by the availability of RRAP and attracting new people to a neighbourhood that was quickly becoming the vogue place to live, demolition of other housing began anew as blockbusting resurfaced. The first indications came at the end of 1974 and reached a peak in 1976 (see figure 8).[4] Even at the time of the November 1975 civic elections the trend has not been recognized. One commentator remarked: "The issues aren't the burning ones of past elections." When the seriousness of the situation was realized, the community newspaper commented as follows:

> Although rezoning did not go as far as many residents had hoped, it was a significant move. It was certainly to appease the loud voices in the community and all fell silent.... During the lull, some development has occurred in James Bay, primarily east (sic) of Menzies Street. Although these buildings adhere to present zoning, some of them leave a lot to be

> desired aesthetically.
> ...The last few months has given rise to more aggressive action on the part of speculators in seeking James Bay properties for development.[6]

The 1973 plan and its accompanying downzoning meant that the preservation of single family dwellings could take place alongside renewed blockbusting in the western, more working class area of the neighbourhood. Further, it revealed that the downzoning was not sufficient to meet the objectives of the NIP programme, by failing to ensure the area's stability (cp. figures 11 and 14). However, to say that the compromise plan allowed renewed developer activity to occur is not enough. Here, one must turn attention to the general state of housing policies.

By mid-1974, recession had hit the Canadian economy. Concomitantly, construction of new housing had declined (see Table VIII) and cries of a 'housing crisis' were heard again in the face of a mounting shortage. This had been caused by a tightened money supply, a condition that results in residential construction being first hit (Barker, Penney, and Seccombe 1973, p. 25). Unlike the rest of the advanced capitalist world, the federal state chose to spend its way out of the crisis via successive expansionary budgets in 1974 and 1975. The real thrust of the 1974 budget "was to put large sums of money into the hands of investors to encourage them to increase Canada's productive capacity "(Gonick 1975,

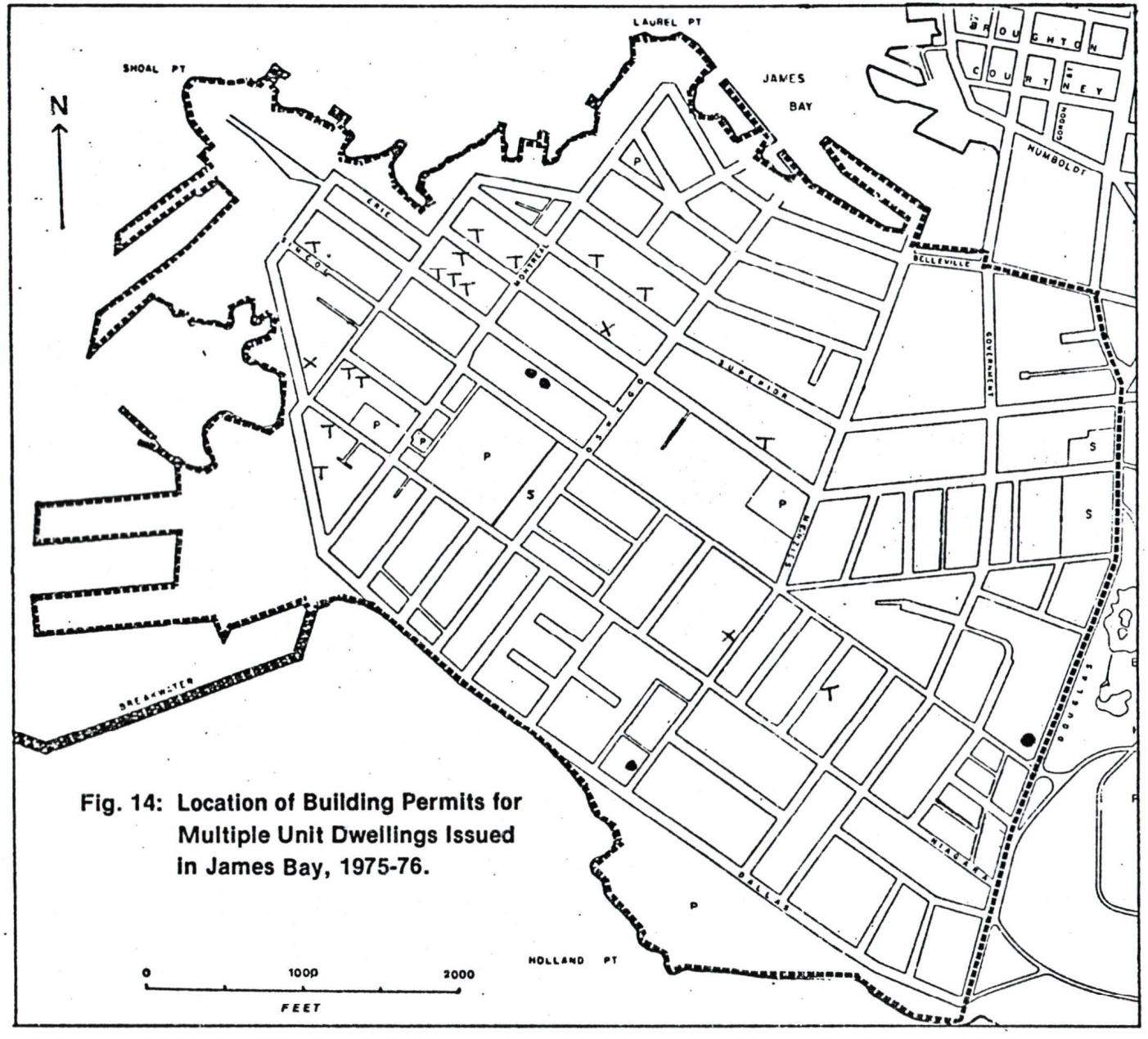



**Fig. 14: Location of Building Permits for Multiple Unit Dwellings Issued in James Bay, 1975-76.**

## LEGEND

**Location of Issued Permit :-**

- X — Apartments
- ● — Condominiums
- T — Townhouses
- P — Park
- S — School

Source: Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

| | CANADA | VICTORIA METROPOLITAN AREA | | | | | CITY OF VICTORIA | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Single Detached | Duplex | Row | Apts | Total | Single Detached | Duplex | Row | Apts | Total |
| 1960 | 108,858 | 650 | 66 | - | 249 | 965 | | | | | |
| 1961 | 125,577 | 676 | 56 | 6 | 541 | 1279 | | | | | |
| 1962 | 130,095 | 814 | 32 | 48 | 707 | 1601 | | | | | |
| 1963 | 148,624 | 1018 | 30 | - | 800 | 1648 | | | | | |
| 1964 | 165,658 | 896 | 40 | - | 1738 | 2674 | | | | | |
| 1965 | 166,565 | 819 | 40 | - | 751 | 1610 | | | | | |
| 1966 | 134,474 | 714 | 28 | 8 | 863 | 1613 | | | | | |
| 1967 | 164,123 | 831 | 58 | - | 575 | 1464 | | | | | |
| 1968 | 196,878 | 1024 | 126 | - | 1366 | 2516 | | | | | |
| 1969 | 210,415 | 1009 | 278 | 226 | 2231 | 3744 | | | | | |
| 1970 | 190,528 | 743 | 68 | 89 | 1659 | 2559 | | | | | |
| 1971 | 233,653 | 998 | 36 | 113 | 1955 | 3102 | | | | | |
| 1972 | 249,914 | 1241 | 52 | 138 | 2761 | 4192 | | | | | |
| 1973 | 268,529 | 1427 | 46 | 119 | 2421 | 4013 | | | | | |
| 1974 | 222,123 | 1270 | 54 | 59 | 1247 | 2630 | | | | | |
| 1975 | 231,456 | 1481 | 92 | 334 | 2073 | 3980 | | | | | |
| 1976 | 273,203 | 1178 | 160 | 233 | 2868 | 4439 | 31 | 4 | 106 | 1734 | 1875 |
| 1977 | 245,724 | 699 | 246 | 61 | 2160 | 3166 | 32 | 10 | 12 | 1654 | 1708 |
| 1978 | 227,667 | 1191 | 160 | 49 | 516 | 1916 | 33 | 14 | 15 | 192 | 254 |
| 1979 | 197,049 | 1344 | 46 | 34 | 313 | 1737 | 34 | - | 7 | 48 | 102 |

TABLE VIII: DWELLING STARTS BY TYPE, 1960-79

N.B. Statistics for City of Victoria before 1976 are unavailable.

Source: Canadian Housing Statistics CMHC Victoria Office.

p. 147). In conjunction, federal housing policies were once again being used in their traditional manner of stimulating the economy. The construction boom occurred in direct response to the incentives offered.

Among the programmes introduced in this period were the Assisted Home Ownership Plan (AHOP), Assisted Rental Program (ARP), Multiple Unit Residential Building Program (MURB) and the Registered Home Ownership Savings Plan (RHOSP). These programmes in their own ways offered incentives to developers, and subsidies and incentives to boost consumer demands, especially among those on lower to middle incomes. The federal state encouraged home ownership among many who would face mortgage payments while existing in relative financial insecurity, in order to bolster the production of new housing. In general, the re-orientation of the housing policies was primarily to spur construction.

In James Bay, no ARP projects were implemented, while two AHOP developments were constructed in 1976, one of 12 units, the other of 55 units. Although these two programmes did not impact greatly on the neighbourhood in comparison to other parts of the Metropolitan Area, the easier availability of capital funding provoked the new wave of development in James Bay and other neighbourhoods.

The renewed concern shown for the production side of housing, again calls into question the lack of commitment towards the preservation of housing stock on the part of the

federal state. Under these circumstances, NIP had assumed a low-order priority within the context of federal housing legislation.

The contradictions within the National Housing Act nakedly manifested themselves in James Bay. Within the neighbourhood, one set of policies were being implemented which stressed rehabilitation and conservation, while simultaneously the area was coming under renewed pressure from policies that were pushing for its continued transformation. The problem was compounded. The community newspaper reported that out of approximately 6000 residences in James Bay, less than 750 were houses, and of those more than 400 were owned by absentee landlords, including 105 by holding or investment companies.[8] This situation would make resistance difficult.

With the JBCA inactive at this time, it was not until the spring of 1976 that any sign of protest occurred. The James Bay NIP Committee did not pursue the matter, for as one member put it, "zoning was not part of our mandate".[9] These circumstances reflect clearly the piecemeal and insubstantial power of the NIP legislation as well as the moderate line of the NIP Committee.

It became evident to many residents that some action needed to be taken. The area primarily affected was the R3L zoned, more working class district west of Oswego Street which allowed for medium density townhouses (cp. fig. 11 and 14). Open community meetings were first held in April,

and again in July, but little action was taken beyond expressing consent that means must be found to allow residents a say in all aspects of land development.[10] The meetings were not organized by any particular group in James Bay, although it was suggested that it might be backed by the popularly elected CRB.[11] Even though the CRB had an Environment and Community Planning Committee, it felt threatened by the re-election of a Social Credit government and were reticent about becoming involved.[12] With the possibility of disbandment looming, the Board had elected to be 'non-political' and so shied away from dealing with such a controversial issue.

In the early part of the summer of 1976, a state of inertia existed within the James Bay community movement, with neither the NIP Committee nor the CRB willing to wage the struggle. Nevertheless, the concerns felt by some individuals on these bodies led to them becoming active in a different way. The renewed destruction of James Bay was not confined to that area alone, but similar events were occurring widely in the city, especially in the other inner-city neighbourhoods. From January to August 1976, 145 demolition permits were issued by the City of Victoria including 32 in James Bay.[13] The housing destroyed was predominantly medium to low-cost homes often in structurally sound condition. In recognition of the widespread nature of the 'problem', residents of the different neighbourhoods began meeting in June 1976 to consider

appropriate action, including some from James Bay. Communities United for Action (CUFA) was formed representing an alliance between the five neighbourhood groups of Blanshard Court, Fairfield, Fernwood, James Bay and Victoria West. This marked the first time a broad front was presented in resisting and attacking indiscriminate development and undesirable council policies. Additionally, it intended to mitigate the possibility of one neighbourhood being played off against another.

In terms of its social base, the inner city neighbourhoods exhibited a diverse class structure, characterized by "transient young people, new condominium home-owners, tenants and the white painters".[14] Although CUFA attracted representation from this amorphous population including students, the working class and those in contradictory class locations, it especially attracted the more radically orientated wing of the community movement. Particularly prominent were the more idealistically motivated such as Lorne de Girolamo and Charles Ball from James Bay. Another James Bay representative, the retired Max Hopper, was more moderate.

Some parochial suspicion was held towards this attempt to broaden the fight against developers. One woman in James Bay felt "that although people from those areas had met regularly for about six weeks, they may not represent all their neighbors".[15] The feeling arose that individuals had acted unilaterally without a mandate from the James Bay community movement per se, but it was precisely because the

community movement would not act, that some had seen the need to wage the struggle at a broader level.

In late August 1976, the community movement finally overcame its indecision on organizing a body that, in the absence of effective action by the NIP Committee or the CRB, would tackle the mounting concerns and further deterioration of residents' living conditions. The James Bay Home and Space Association was formed, but debate continued over whether it should be a committee related to the CRB or an autonomous association distinct from the CRB.[16] Lorne de Girolamo favoured the former course, while Charles Ball and Bob Hornsby advocated the latter, not wanting to be tied to what was seen as an ineffective Board. The debate, appearing as a battle of personalities between the more prominent proponents, more accurately reflected political differences over the key issues, tactics, methods of operation, organizational structure and long-range goals.[17]

In the face of disagreement, Lorne de Girolamo suggested the reactivation of the JBCA and its already established constitution, which had support among the moderates. It was formally re-activated on September 20, 1976.[18] The radical, more working class fraction of the community movement formed a new organization out of "frustration", the James Bay Residents' League (JBRL). With this split, Lorne de Girolamo had removed himself from any strong identity with the radical wing. The JBRL justified their course of action

in their community paper, the Beckley Farm News, as follows:

> The JBCA membership at the time of reactivation represented the more conservative elements and the politically motivated [opportunistic?] The James Bay Residents' League was and is composed of the more active elements in our community. These people were frustrated by the lack of action being taken on the issues.[19]

Objectively, the working class elements which included several whose family backgrounds were rooted in James Bay, were emphatic in not wanting to be tied to an arm of the state apparatus.[20]

The condition of the community movement had become complicated. At the same time as it was engaged in combating the new wave of development, it had produced and was beset by splits and divisions within itself, both in CUFA and the James Bay movement. Following the positions adopted by Kay and Ken Lines, Sam Bawlf and the end of Pollen's mayoralty, the conservative wing had already become outcasts from the movement. At this conjuncture, the movement was split open further with the divisions between the more moderate and liberal fraction, and those more radically inclined. With the movement largely in disarray, the populist ideology of enviromentalism collapsed as the conflicts developed. The liberal local bourgeoisie had lost its support in the neighbourhoods. The implications for the success of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program were ominous.

Despite the widely acknowledged crisis, city council appeared reluctant to adopt any strong measures against developers. In the summer of 1976 council had passed an emergency resolution proposed by new liberal alderman, John Hayes, to prevent demolition of selected potential heritage housing.[21] However, under the B.C. Municipal Act city council claimed it did not have the power to refuse demolition permits for housing generally, even though the landowner did not require a proposal for new land use. Ald. Bill Tindall urged residents to lobby their MLAs in order to get the Act changed so that the municipal state could have greater power.[22] The chances of succeeding seemed unlikely with a Social Credit government in power.

Class and intra-class conflict heightened as the urgent action demanded by the community associations was met by stalling and ineffectiveness on council's part.[23] The tensions manifested when CUFA presented proposals to a council caucus meeting.[24] Two principal proposals were made. The first called for a total moratorium on housing demolition, and the second advocated further downzoning that would alleviate the pressures for development, followed by a joint preparation of the maximum zoning permissable in each neighbourhood between the local state and the communities. Developers could then request upzoning to that agreed limit, which would be considered at a public hearing. Not surprisingly the proposals were given a cool reception.

Local businessman, Ald. Ron McKenzie, argued that the city would be courting economic disaster if it refused demolition permits. Blanket downzoning would mean no land for development, which would effectively halt construction and create unemployment.[25] The threat to the construction industry was clear, while some still held to the view that any investment was good investment for Victoria.[26] Mayor Young said he was concerned by the loss of habitable homes, but was reluctant to take immediate steps as were proposed.[27] It was further argued, that because the state was in the process of preparing a city plan to include some rezoning, a moratorium was not feasible.[28] It was countered that precedents existed elsewhere in Canada when largescale rezoning occurred while development plans were being drawn up which thereby blocked demolitions.[29] CUFA insisted that the proposals were not aimed at stopping demolitions per se, but at formulating new zoning by-laws.

At this conjuncture, the local state was caught up in a well-defined contradiction. On the one hand, the loss of homes was impairing the stable reproduction of labour power in contradistinction to the objectives of NIP, a paradox that challenged the legitimacy and rationality of council's policy directions, while on the other hand, council was trying to preserve the conditions in which property developers could profit. At the same time as it was trying to accommodate the impetus given to the construction industry, city council was

put in a position of showing that it was not going to renege on the reforms and concessions that the neighbourhoods, and James Bay in particular had achieved. At this conjuncture, however, council was clearly less disposed to the latter commitment. Since Peter Pollen's departure from office, city council was moving back towards the right.[30] The reforms that were seen to be appropriate to capitalist urbanization in Victoria only a few years earlier, were now regarded as expendable, while the spirit of NIP was undermined.

The formal rejection of CUFA's brief claimed that "blanket downzoning would create 'bureaucratic chaos', while the moratorium on demolition permits would create a 'hiatus' in the construction industry at a time when development is needed to reduce unemployment".[31] CUFA formally rejected council's reasons for dismissing its proposals. Council's lip service towards the protection of existing housing stock was seen as just that in the face of further destruction, as it "failed to offer any real alternatives in stopping what [had] become an emergency situation".[32] To Mayor Young, CUFA was immersed in philosophy at the expense of realistic implementations of its objectives.[33] His essential pragmatism meant that decisions could only be made within the given conditions. The parameters thus set could not be challenged. CUFA felt they should be.

The conflict was highly visible. These events marked a new development in local politics in Victoria, as

never before had such a broad-based challenge confronted the municipal state apparatus. It was not just one neighbourhood speaking, but several, and their demands aimed for a greater control and say over the conditions in which their residents must live. Rather than being planned for, they wanted to do some of the planning themselves.[34] The conditions under which labour power was being reproduced was being disputed in a way that challenged the power of the municipal state.

The focus of the conflict shifted to the preparation of Victoria's Community Plan which had to be submitted by November 1976. It was initially intended that the Plan would include a supplement specifically dealing with neighbourhoods, but upon the advice of the APC, city council decided to delete it at the beginning of September.[35] It was argued that it dealt with many areas for which detailed plans were in progress, and in any case the principles were stated within the actual draft. The underlying reason, however, was that the Advisory Planning Commission (still dominated by business and developer interests) was afraid of land use becoming fixed. A vague statement of principles rather than specifics would allow loopholes to remain, thus keeping future development options open. City council willingly supported this, but again, CUFA regarded this decision as hypocritical in view of the state's previously declared support for the retention of existing housing stock.[36] Furthermore it highlighted the limitations being put on the facilitation of public participa-

tion. Although a public meeting was due on the draft Community Plan, it would be presented as a virtual fait accompli. One of CUFA's representatives regarded the public meeting after months of state advisory panel deliberations as the "last barricade before approval" of the drafted recommendations.[37] The whole planning procedure was heavily criticized.

The 'crisis' met with a mixed reception in the press. Hubert Beyer, normally sympathetic to community concerns, was heavily critical of CUFA's anti-establishment attitude.[38] The Victoria Times was highly supportive of CUFA's position. It criticized the lack of time given to consideration of the plan by neighbourhood groups, and with regard to the draft proposals themselves, it stated:

> With this kind of pre-ordained verbal latitude, council could zone James Bay heavy industrial without a blink or wink. It is obvious that communities have no protection from amendments or even changes in direction if council so desires, given this fuzzy language of motherhood.[39]

Residents, either individually or collectively as associations, attacked the secrecy and lack of participation in the Plan's preparation. A brief from CUFA stated:

> ...how can community residents see this process other than one that has negated real participation and replaced it by the traditional rubber stamping of professionally conceived and professionally developed plans produced in the back rooms of City Hall?[40]

The omission of the supplementary neighbourhood plans and the claimed 'flexibility' did not commit the municipality to any entrenched policy. Although registration with the provincial government, would have meant that the Plan could only then be changed with cabinet's approval, thus entailing the abandonment of city council's powers to a more senior level of government, more significant reasons existed beneath council's intransigence. By leaving the door ajar, development remained possible. In its proposed form, the Plan helped the property industry and would encourage a bigger clientele for downtown businesses. The interests of capital in general were to retain prime importance at the expense of reducing pressures on the inner-city neighbourhoods. In the same breath the intent of NIP to stabilize neighbourhoods was sacrificed.

Even though the public hearing witnessed the adoption of hardline positions,[41] the first indications of attempting to mollify the contradiction became evident. Ald. Glazier stated that if "the hearing [had] concerned itself with changes in the Plan, amendments could have been made", but the opponents wanted deferment.[42] The municipal state was no longer able to just pay lip-service to the demands for preserving quality housing stock. The vehemence of the community movement's demands could not remain unacknowledged for much longer, as council's legitimacy was increasingly threatened. A shift from the hardline approach was necessary,

but in doing so it would exploit the divisions in the community movement, whose coalition of moderates and radicals was already straining.

City council began taking a more critical view of the indiscriminate demolition of good housing by developers, but its resolution to pressure the provincial government for changes in the Municipal Act appeared little more than a token gesture.[43] Nevertheless, this did portray a change in attitude. In a marked shift in policy, council recognized the need for some downzoning, while Mayor Young stated that neighbourhoods should be included in the formulation of neighbourhood development plans. The need to re-integrate the community movement was seemingly recognized, but CUFA was still eager for recognition on its own terms. Two basic principles were asked for:[44]

1. That council initiate neighbourhood workshops at the community meeting level, so that local residents may make their contribution to the restructuring of the official Community Plan. This would strengthen the concept of neighbourhood plans as being well-designed policy statements for future development.

2. That council give further serious thought to the idea that the Official Community Plan should include the detailed recommendations of the neighbourhood plans (e.g., land use maps), thereby providing specific guidelines for all those who may be involved in the planning and development of Victoria's communities.

It was at this time, however, that the apparent united front of the community movement, which CUFA represented, began cracking. Firstly, Kay Woods of Victoria West Community Development Association officially denied that her organization was part of the alliance, and refused to endorse CUFA policies, accusing CUFA representatives of negative attitudes and unnecessary militancy. Her more moderate line was expressed in the following:

> I think its about time some people in this city - they're a small minority but they know how to get ink - stopped running down City Hall and its staff. I think its terrible that the city planning department has had to take the kind of abuse it has received.[45]

Soon after, Max Hopper, president of JBCA, expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Ald. Glazier, apologizing on behalf of the JBCA "for being part of the abuse which you and council received from members of CUFA".[46] The more conservative elements on council took the opportunity to exploit the divisions and relieve the pressures being placed upon it.

> The real right wingers saw them as a threat to the power structure, in that, "My God, if they could all get together..." they saw a conspiracy of the left there.[47]

In Mayor Young's view, "they didn't really have any structured organization and they were comprised of dissidents

to the community associations by and large, rather than the executive".[48] With almost classical 'divide and rule' motivation, Ald. Glazier stated: "We now have two community groups disassociating themselves from the organization [CUFA]. One must wonder for which groups CUFA is really speaking."[49] In addition, CUFA could not agree on candidates to run in the 1977 municipal elections, amidst charges of NDP interference.[50] Just when CUFA looked as if it might present a big challenge to state power, it broke apart through its internal contradictions, accentuated by some city officials. The broad composition that initially gave CUFA its apparent strength, finally proved to be its undoing, which similarly aggravated the split between the JBCA and JBRL. CUFA had made some impact and generally raised awareness, but power relations remained relatively untouched.[51] The destabilization of the neighbourhoods, which NIP sought to prevent was not arrested.

At the beginning of his second term in office, Mayor Young vowed to resist further undesirous developments in favour of smaller scale projects.

> In my opinion this certainly makes more sense than to destruction and displacement of existing relatively low cost family housing through the construction of massive apartments and condominium developments.[52]

The pronouncements merely resembled closing the stable door after the horse had bolted. Only two weeks

previously, continued demolition of housing in Fernwood led the Victoria Times to comment: "What actually happened is a travesty of the NIP program's aims."[53] The same remark was equally appropriate for the changes that had occurred in James Bay.

The significance of these events revealed the inability of NIP to guarantee improvements in collective consumption by itself. It proved to be ineffectual in preventing development in the area. The contradictions within federal housing policies were nakedly exhibited, in the course of which city council did not assert the primacy of NIP. Faced with housing and monetary policies that worked to the detriment of the objectives of NIP, the James Bay community movement needed to be prepared to defend its interests on other fronts. A constant vigilance was required, but having been lulled into a false sense of security following the downzoning measures in 1973-74, the moderate fraction of the community prevented the mobilization against renewed speculation by developers until it was effectively too late. The ideological split within the James Bay community had proved decisive. Despite all the rhetoric and publicity of CUFA, it was unable to achieve much in the way of concrete reforms, and it too became plagued by ideological divisions.

When the municipal state did begin to make conciliatory overtures, it was really too little too late. While it can be argued that the pressures from the communities finally

forced council's hand, it also occurred at a time, when the housing market went soft through over-construction (see Table IX). The residential construction boom ended in 1977 (see figures 5 and 6). The particular case of James Bay was commented on elsewhere:

> The townhouse boom has been a mixed blessing. Because of the earlier public demand for low-cost family housing (sic), the federal and provincial governments provided tax incentives for developers to build them. Almost overnight, during 1976, townhouse complexes popped up everywhere in James Bay, especially west of Menzies. It was overkill. Some of the townhouses have been sitting there empty since they were constructed more than a year ago.[54]

Finally, at this late stage, council went on record requesting stronger incentives to retain and rehabilitate existing housing.[55] Additionally the James Bay community was encouraged to begin a block by block downzoning drive.[56] With the construction industry in a slump due to overproduction, downzoning was not offending the development industry at this instant. The state was not prepared to offend capital during the boom period, but when conducive conditions no longer existed for developers, the state was only then willing to grant reforms. The area mainly affected was the R3L zone west of Menzies, that had suffered development of three and four storey apartments and townhouse complexes.

The intention was to downzone everything to duplex (R2). In a joint effort by the JBCA and JBRL, the Downzoning

| | | VICTORIA METROPOLITAN AREA | CITY OF VICTORIA | JAMES BAY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | June | 5.3 | | |
| | Dec. | --- | | |
| 1971 | June | 4.1 | | |
| | Dec. | --- | | |
| 1972 | June | 3.2 | | |
| | Dec. | 0.8 | | |
| 1973 | June | 1.4 | | |
| | Dec. | 0.3 | | |
| 1974 | June | 0.5 | | |
| | Dec. | 0.1 | | |
| 1975 | April | 0.3 | | |
| | Oct. | 0.1 | | |
| 1976 | April | 0.3 | | |
| | Oct. | 0.6 | | |
| 1977 | April | 3.1 | | |
| | Oct. | 2.5 | | |
| 1978 | April | 4.4 | 4.4 | 2.0 |
| | Oct. | 1.1 | 1.2 | 0.6 |
| 1979 | April | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.3 |
| | Oct. | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| 1980 | April | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| | Oct. | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |

TABLE IX: % VACANCY RATES IN APARTMENT STRUCTURES OF SIX UNITS AND OVER, PRIVATELY INITIATED, 1970 - 1980.

N.B. Statistics specifically for the City of Victoria and James Bay before 1978 are unavailable.

Source: CMHC Victoria Office.

Committee canvassed support from homeowners.[57] The downzoning requests were largely successful except for a few pockets where new zoning categories were devised (RJ and RK) that permitted slightly higher densities.[58]

The very undertaking of this second downzoning drive underscored the weakness of the 1973 'compromise' plan to provide a 'stable' neighbourhood consistent with the intent of NIP. For the duration of the programme, further erosion of existing housing stock occurred, particularly in the more working class sector of the neighbourhood, which the municipality was loathe to resist until the construction boom began to subside. By this time the objectives and philosophy of NIP had been demonstratively undermined.

In the course of this chapter, attention was drawn to the reluctance of the 'moderate' fraction of the James Bay community movement to struggle against the renewed pressures of development, and in particular the role of the CRB in avoiding controversial issues. Consideration is now given to why this was the case, and the implications it had for the community movement.

## THE REGRESSION OF THE COMMUNITY RESOURCES BOARD

After the defeat of the NDP provincial government in December 1975, fears arose in the neighbourhood that the new Social Credit government would axe the Board. In subjecting the Community Resources Boards in the province to an

extensive review, Social Credit found itself in contradictory circumstances. The boards were praised for providing services not previously existing, but were regarded as threatening to the erosion of municipal government powers (Persky 1979, pp. 168-9). Consequently, the powers of the boards were diminished, with elected boards turned into an advisory role to the provincial government and a return to volunteerism.[59] Due to the special status of the James Bay Project, it was allowed to continue with an elected body for 12 months, when its future would be further reviewed.[60] It was later made known that "the future of the project would to a great degree, be dependent upon the continued success and growth of the volunteer services".[61] This was expressing the Social Credit wish for limiting unproductive expenditures.

Although the Project was seen as a threat to some degree by the Capital Regional District and more particularly the B.C. Medical Association, the independent evaluation committee presented a glowing report.[62] It was judged to be cost-effective due to its emphasis on preventative programmes and large use of volunteers, responsiveness to community needs and enjoyed widespread community support.[63] According to Robert Dill, the project's co-ordinator, the provincial government did want changes including the abolition of community control.[64] However, the evaluation was so positive that it was difficult for the Minister of Human Resources, Bill Vander Zalm, to scrap it when it was operating in

accordance to his own philosophy and principles. In specific regard to James Bay, the report stated: "The tremendous volume of volunteer services is a direct and indirect saving to the Province."[65] Also, the elected Board was retained because it had adopted a 'non-political' stance in contrast to the fated Vancouver Resources Board.[66] This was seen as an expedient way of surviving. It aimed to build a high quality of services, that would be difficult to take away without largescale ramifications. It was in this context that it remained mute on the blockbusting that was antithetical to the NIP programme.

The radically motivated members of the Board had not come to dominate its operation, and so the previously expressed fears of it being politically challenging never materialized. To Mayor Young it was a case of "the more life changes, the more it remains the same".[67] This, together with the findings of the report was the type of self-help community activism the Social Credit government could withstand or approve in contradistinction to the radicalizing effects of the Vancouver Resources Board. The government agreed to make the James Bay Community Project permanent along with the elected Board, but aimed to reassess its status after five years.[68]

As indicated by the extent to which 'community involvement', volunteerism and a 'caring community' had been stressed, James Bay had closely come to reflect a conservative

vision of community. This tends to express self-condolence whereby private or community 'solutions' are sought in the face of social costs stemming from problems in society at large. Community development became a vehicle for the internalization of its problems, rather than launching a critique of the logic of capitalist society. The radical element failed to develop the contradictions in a more progressive manner. Under the strong influence of the conservative senior citizens, the 'establishment' system came to dominate the Board's operation. Simultaneously, there was an inability of the radical and counter-culture elements to sustain momentum. They tended to be less permanently involved, preferring to be in specific programmes rather than on the Board.[69]

Although the successes of the project should not be denigrated, the fact remains that a regressive ideology was fostered. The problems were seen as being of the neighbourhood, rather than in the neighbourhood, a distinction that embodied community self-pity. The CRB was unable and unwilling to exist on two fronts; acceptance of the reform in the provision of new and better services, and the challenge to the prevailing system of power. It remained content with the former and as such reflected the control of the conservative and moderate wing of the community movement. In the process, it has created its own bureaucracy,[70] and attracted strong criticism from the radical fraction of the community movement,[71] who feel it would be no great loss if the Project

in its present form was disbanded.

If renewed development and the threat to the CRB can be identified as the two main issues that occurred in James Bay during the course of the NIP programme and had a bearing on its achievements, other concerns arose in the same period. The occurrence of struggles on these other issues further refute any notion that NIP was able to achieve an overall consensus between the James Bay community and the municipal state. The struggles dealt with briefly below met with mixed fortunes.

TRAFFIC AND TRUCK RE-ROUTING

In the course of residential redevelopment impinging upon James Bay, the ability of the neighbourhood to cope with increased traffic was regularly called into question. In 1975, the NIP Committee had a long discussion about traffic problems and planning, and approved a motion minimizing the use of residential streets for heavy truck traffic using Ogden Point Docks in favour of a route circumscribing the neighbourhood.[72]

The JBRL were influential in improving the intersection in the centre of James Bay, improving safety and easing congestion,[73] but complaints continued over heavy truck use of Montreal and St. Lawrence Streets. The traffic was causing unreasonable noise, vibrations, property damage and danger to children's safety.[74] Despite lobbying council,[75] inaction remained until a trial re-routing was imposed in spring 1978,

but resistance came from the companies who claimed it was "uneconomical".[76] Some residents in the working class area considered blocking the street,[77] but after further delegations to council, another trial re-routing was more forcefully enacted.[78] This remains in effect. Success was eventually gained on this matter, but hope remains that barging will replace trucking in accordance with the 1973 James Bay Plan.[79]

SCHOOL CLOSURES

In 1977, it was learned that Beacon Hill School would be closed and that city council had earmarked it for conversion into apartments.[80] The JBCA and JBRL were opposed, demanding that it should be put to community use. A request for a public hearing was refused but time was given for the formulation of alternative proposals.[81] The split between the JBCA and JBRL hindered this process, and the City finally sold it for development.[82]

A more successful action followed the announcement of the imminent closing of South Park School by the School Board in March 1978.[83] A threat was posed to the alternative education programme existing there. Considerable community opposition was voiced at two public meetings,[84] and the School Board relented on its proposed closure. City Council designated the school a heritage building.[85] It now functions as an alternative school.

## COMMUNITY POLICING

In 1977, concern was expressed in James Bay over crime and vandalism, but conflicting views existed on whether or not the situation was worsening.[86] A proposal to introduce police foot patrols, initiated by local NDP MLA, Charles Barber with the endorsement of the JBCA and JBRL and later pursued by reform and 'community' alderman, Robin Blencoe, met with firm resistance from the Victoria Police Board.[87] Indeed, at one point Mayor Young suggested a curfew for youth as a solution. The community movement was divided. The JBCA supported it for a trial period, while the JBRL opposed it.[88] It was never implemented.

Although the support for community/team policing remains, so does resistance. The James Bay ccmmunity had been unable to achieve, in the face of strong state intransigence, a more sensitive mode of policing entailing a switch from curative to preventative methods.[89]

## PESTICIDE AND HERBICIDE SPRAYING

The regular use of chemical pesticides and herbicides by the municipality raised concerns in the neighbourhood in early 1978. Reform alderman, Robin Blencoe attempted to get use of herbicide 2,4-D suspended, but it was re-approved the following year.[90] In August 1979, the James Bay News reported its continued use in the neighbourhood.[91] However, new support for its banning, led by doctors at the James Bay

Community Health Centre on the basis of its threat to health,[92] protests to council and pressure from Ald. Blencoe, finally led to its ban for at least a three year period.[93]

GENERAL SUMMARY

The dominant line of analysis in this chapter argues that NIP's attempt to improve the living conditions and environment was partial and piecemeal. The genuineness of the municipal state's support for its principles was tenuous. At the same time as the NIP Committee worked on achieving reforms, the community movement was having to struggle to prevent losses and further deterioration of other aspects of everyday life. The reluctance of the community movement as a whole to deal with this contradiction produced a cleavage between the moderate and more radical fractions. The latter found themselves continuing to resist and oppose state policies, while the moderate group was less enthusiastic in giving their support to the struggle.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Robin Blencoe, interview, May 1980.

2. Federal Guidelines, July 10, 1973, p. 1.

3. Bill McKechnie, cited in Victoria Times, April 23, 1975, p. 11.

4. James Bay News, 2:16, October 1974, p. 3; 3:10, April 1976, p. 1; Victoria Times, April 23, 1975, p. 11; July 22, 1976, p. 9; Daily Colonist, July 22, 1976, p. 11.

5. Monday, 1:18, November 3 - 9, 1975, p. 10.

6. James Bay News, 3:10, April 1976, p. 1.

7. CMHC Victoria Office.

8. James Bay News, 4:1, July 1976, pp. 5, 8.

9. Harald Stephenson, interview, May 1980.

10. James Bay News, 3:11, May 1976, pp. 1, 6; Daily Colonist, July 22, 1976, p. 11; Victoria Times, July 22, 1976, p. 9.

11. James Bay News, 3:11, May 1976, p. 6; Daily Colonist, ibid.

12. Robert Dill, James Bay Community Project Co-ordinator, personal communication.

13. Inspection Division, Department of Public Works, City of Victoria.

14. Monday, 2:26, August 29 - September 5, 1976, pp. 3, 22-23.

15. Cited in Daily Colonist, July 22, 1976, p. 11.

16. James Bay News, 4:12, June 1977, p. 6.

17. Beckley Farm News, 1:3, September 1977, pp. 3, 9.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. During the course of being interviewed, Charles Ball remarked: "My background is working class and my parents were working class initially; in fact, I can't think of

one member of our executive, for example, that did not originate in working class roots." Interview, May 1980.

21. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meetings, July 15, 1976 and September 9, 1976. The heritage crusade arose directly from the contradiction between the loss of old homes and the pressures of development. Heritage became a weapon to combat development. "In James Bay and Fairfield, pleas for the preservation of community identity invariably come to rest on the preservation of the architecture." However, the consequences were far reaching as "communities like James Bay, fighting to maintain this identity, may become exclusive enclaves of high-priced housing". The heritage movement tended to work for the advantage of the new petty bourgeoisie, rather than the working class. The creation of a few 'museum pieces', still leaves other housing at the mercy of speculators. Monday, 2:26, August 29 - September 5, 1976, pp. 7-9.

22. Cited in Victoria Times, July 22, 1976, p. 9.

23. An exception to this was a successful attempt by the James Bay community to resist the upzoning of property at Dallas Road and South Turner Street, see James Bay News, 4:12, June 1977, p. 6; Beckley Farm News, 1:3, September 1977, p. 3. It can be noted here that council granted a request pertaining to the more salubrious part of the neighbourhood, but was reticent to take action on the redevelopment of the working class area! For example, a seven storey building was approved with a land-use contract on the waterfront in west James Bay, Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, April 28, 1977.

24. Victoria Times, August 18, 1976, p. 13.

25. Monday, 2:26, August 29 - September 5, 1976, pp. 3, 22-23.

26. Victoria Times, August 18, 1976, p. 13.

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

29. Comment by CUFA lawyer, Bob Milne, cited ibid.

30. In mid 1975, one commentary stated: "'The Pollen Years', in terms of their effects on the consciousness of this city, are vastly overrated. Pollen himself and his

mythologizers have failed to single out his charisma and character as the main force for change. Even though specific accomplishments of his administration will benefit the city in a continuing way, his tenure has been mainly a grasshopper act, a political circus. Good show, but when the show's over, people go home." Publisher's Comment, Monday, 1:12, September 22-28, 1975, p. 3.

31. Letter from Mayor Young to Max Hopper, cited in Victoria Times, August 25, 1976, p. 15.

32. Extract of letter from Russell Shillington, CUFA member, to City Council, cited in Victoria Times, September 4, 1976, p. 11.

33. Cited in Daily Colonist, September 5, 1976, p. 11; Interview, May 1980.

34. Letter from Robin Blencoe to Daily Colonist, September 14, 1976, p. 5.

35. Daily Colonist, September 1, 1976, p. 21.

36. Victoria Times, September 4, 1976, p. 11.

37. Syd Langhelt, of Fairfield, cited in Victoria Times, September 10, 1976, p. 21. The communities had only gained copies of the plan, when one alderman agreed to 'run off' copies, which left CUFA with no more than six weeks to prepare a response for the public meeting.

38. Daily Colonist, September 26, 1976, p. 5.

39. Editorial, Victoria Times, September 15, 1976, p. 4.

40. Cited in Victoria Times, October 13, 1976, p. 15.

41. One resident said the JBCA did not offer anything constructive, only protest. James Bay News, 4:5, November 1976, p. 1, 6-7.

42. ibid.

43. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meetings, September 29, 1976 and October 28, 1976. At that time the maximum penalty for unauthorized demolitions was $25!! The situation remained largely unchanged in the late 1970s. Daily Colonist, October 13, 1976, p. 17.

44. Letter from Robin Blencoe to Daily Colonist, November 3, 1976, p. 5.

45. Kay Woods, cited in Victoria Times, November 12, 1976, p. 25.

46. Cited in Daily Colonist, November 19, 1976, p. 11.

47. John Hayes, interview, May 1980. In Lorne de Girolamo's opinion, CUFA was another paper tiger - the name was mightier than its true support. Interview, May 1980.

48. Interview, May 1980.

49. Cited in Daily Colonist, November 19, 1976, p. 11. The organization of CUFA caused problems for city council. CUFA was composed of two delegates nominated by the individual community associations, with each neighbourhood having veto power on policy. It also employed a rotating chairperson. If CUFA's organizational form stressed decentralization, it was seen in a converse way by council. The purposely federative structure of CUFA, appeared to be an organization in disarray. It did not have the 'respectable' voices that were influential in the 1973 James Bay downzoning fight. CUFA would have been treated with more respect if it had been the combining of neighbourhood association executives. (Mike Young, interview, May 1980).

50. See Beckley Farm News, 2:9, March 1979, pp. 1, 3, 9; Letter from Anne Fletcher to Victoria Times, November 18, 1977, p. 4. This point will be returned to in a later chapter.

51. Mayor Young did appoint Syd Langhelt of Fairfield Community Association to a three year term on the APC, the first recognition given to the more radical wing of the community movement, but a developer was also added! (Victoria Times, January 5, 1977, p. 13). This signified the further integration of the community movement into the local state apparatus. The mayor's appointments did not (and still do not) go through the community associations, but are claimed by the state to represent that area. One critic remarks; "They would find the people who best suited their political intentions and yet say that must be the opinion of that area." Robin Blencoe, interview, May 1980.

52. Cited in Victoria Times, January 5, 1977, p. 13.

53. Editorial, Victoria Times, December 17, 1976, p. 4.

54. Monday, 3:7, February 13-19, 1978, pp. 6-8.

55. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, July 14, 1977.

56. Beckley Farm News, 1:3, September 1977, p. 1.

57. In the block bounded by Dallas/Boyd/Niagara and San Jose, 95% of affected residents were in favour. James Bay News, 6:5, November 1978, p. 1. Similar positive support came from other affected areas. Beckley Farm News, 2:8, February 1979, p. 1.

58. James Bay News, 6:5, November 1978, p. 8; 6:6, December 1978, p. 1; Daily Colonist, November 23, 1978, p. 17; January 25, 1979, p. 13.
The new zoning category R.J. sparked a new controversy in which the JBCA and JBRL combined to protest a proposed project by Daon Development Corporation of 23 units. In a complex and protracted course of events, the lobbying of the right wing Building Trades Council, at a time of high unemployment in the construction industry, was decisive. This revealed the lack of links between the place of consumption and production, and between community groups and trade unions. The details of the conflict can be found in Daily Colonist, October 13, 1978, p. 13; October 24, 1978, p. 9; October 25, 1978, p. 13; October 31, 1978, p. 9; November 2, 1978, p. 5; November 10, 1978, p. 21; November 21, 1978, p. 9; November 24, 1978, p. 13: Monday, 4:48; November 24-30, 1978, p. 5: James Bay News, 6:5, November 1978, p. 1; 6:6, December 78, p. 1: Beckley Farm News, 2:4, October 1978, p. 8; 2:6, December 1978, p. 3.

The JBRL elected to take the case to court, but were defeated on a technicality. Daily Colonist, November 9, 1978, p. 11; February 23, 1979, p. 11; April 5, 1979, p. 37: Victoria Times, February 23, 1979, p. 21; April 5, 1979, p. 14; August 23, 1979, p. 41: Beckley Farm News, 2:8, February 1979, p. 1; 2:10, April 1979, p. 1; 2:12, June 1979, p. 4; 3:2, August 1979, p. 3.

59. Monday, 2:3, March 22-28, 1976, p. 5. See also Persky (1979).

60. Daily Colonist, February 24, 1976, p. 15; Victoria Times, February 24, 1976, p. 3.

61. Comment by Bob McClelland, Minister of Health, at the official opening of the James Bay Community Project, James Bay News, 3:12, June 1976, p. 5.

62. Report of the Audit Committee on Community Human Resources and Health Centres in British Columbia, submitted to the Deputy Minister of Health and Human Resources, February 28, 1977. Under the chairmanship of a University of British Columbia professor in Social Work, the committee had a representative from each of the Ministry of Human Resources, Ministry of Health, B.C. Medical Association, B.C. Association of Social Workers and the Registered Nurses Association of B.C.

63. ibid. p. 79.

64. Robert Dill, personal communication.

65. Report of the Audit Committee, op. cit., p. 25.

66. This point was regularly made during interviews. For details of the fate of the Vancouver Resources Board, see Persky (1979, pp. 168-186).

67. Mike Young, interview, May 1980.

68. Vancouver Sun, July 23, 1977, p. 27.

69. Robert Dill, personal communication, May 1980.

70. Letter from Phil Rogers to James Bay News, 6:11, May 1979, p. 9.

71. Beckley Farm News, 2:4, October 1978, p. 1; 2:5, October 1978, p. 1.

72. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, September 2, 1975.

73. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, May 26, 1977.

74. Beckley Farm News, 2:2, August 1978, p. 1.

75. Beckley Farm News, 1:1, July 1977, p. 5.

76. Beckley Farm News, 2:2, August 1978, p. 1.

77. ibid.

78. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, September 7, 1978.

79. Beckley Farm News, 2:3, September 1978, p. 1.

80. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, April 28, 1977.

81. ibid.

82. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, September 8, 1977.

83. Beckley Farm News, 1:7, March 1978, p. 1; James Bay News, 5:9, March 1978, p. 1.

84. Beckley Farm News, 1:8, April 1978, p. 6; James Bay News, 5:10, April 1978, p. 1.

85. Minutes of City of Victoria Council Meeting, September 28, 1978.

86. The different opinions were reviewed in Beckley Farm News, 1:4, October 1977, p. 1.

87. The issue was reviewed in Monday, 3:35, August 29 - September 4, 1977, p. 10.

88. Letter from Max Hopper to Daily Colonist, March 8, 1978, p. 5; James Bay News, 5:9, March 1978, p. 1; Victoria Times, February 24, 1978, p. 51; Beckley Farm News, 1:7, March 1978, p. 2.

89. When Police Chief, Jack Gregory, retired and was succeeded by the more liberal Bill Snowdon, prospects for community policing appeared brighter, but to date little action has been taken.

90. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, March 22, 1979.

91. James Bay News, 7:2, August 1979, p. 5.

92. Letter to Victoria Times, July 31, 1979, p. 4.

93. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, September 27, 1979.

# CHAPTER 8

## CONCLUSIONS

> The NIP neighbourhood committees changed council's attitudes on quite a lot of things.[1]

As a mode of state intervention, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program developed within the general context of a dialectical process existing between the state and community activism. The state striving for social control over the restructuring of conditions suitable for capital, in the face of resistance to this through community activism by residents seeking to improve and attain greater control over the quality and conditions of their everyday life. NIP was one aspect of the James Bay community struggle that had an important and significant impact upon the conditions and forms of social consciousness through which both labour power and retirement were reproduced.

### CHANGE AND RE-ORGANIZATION IN THE PROVISION OF COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION

The 1970s began with a great outcry over the ghettoization and deteriorating living conditions in James Bay, but following the establishment of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, it is widely regarded that from among the projects that the programme undertook, two of the most pressing

needs in the community were satisfied; namely the provision of amenities for the senior citizens and children. The New Horizons centre is perhaps the biggest success story, while the Community Centre has become more and more a focal point despite taking a little time to get established. Although NIP could not fund social programmes or activities, it produced the physical infrastructure in which they might develop. However, this only came following the NIP Committee's constant insistence that these facilities be provided. If they had not kept up their demands, the programme would have become dominated by maintenance projects which the municipal state had failed to undertake from within its normal budget. Lew Madley (who conducted the initial NIP survey) stipulates:

> I think that's the fundamental difference between there having been community input, and the money having been given to the city albeit under a Neighbourhood Improvement Program, but with them having the sole choice.[2]

In spite of these very real gains, NIP was only part of the struggle to raise the level of collective consumption. It has been shown that this struggle occurred in a paradoxical manner, for while the NIP Committee pursued these benefits, the general quality of life was being eroded in other aspects. If the amenities and living conditions were being improved in one direction, they were under attack elsewhere. Gains and losses were occurring simultaneously. In this contradictory

process, the concept of NIP being dedicated to the stabilization of the neighbourhood, was challenged if not undermined.

The contradictions in federal housing policy found their expression in James Bay. While RRAP was widely utilized (see Table X), the new wave of residential redevelopment contradicted the whole notion of rehabilitation in James Bay. NIP was distinctly of secondary importance in the field of housing policies. The official claims of a shift to conservation and rehabilitation were subordinated to the need to bolster the production of new housing. The municipal state was only prepared to stabilize the neighbourhood, once overproduction had destroyed the conditions for further development. The impact of this paradoxical process was not equally shared. For some, conditions were improving, for others they were declining. With most of the redevelopment occurring in the western part of James Bay, (see figure 14), it tended to be more detrimental to the working class fraction of the neighbourhood's population.

In the face of this contradictory process determining the re-organization of collective consumption, the James Bay NIP Committee was rarely prepared to struggle beyond the contents of the programme itself. To apprehend those events that detracted from the general thrust of the policy towards James Bay, it was unwilling, or did not see the need to move beyond its self-imposed restrictions. NIP was treated primarily in itself, not in terms of its relation to the

| YEAR | SINGLE DWELLINGS | RENTAL UNITS | TOTAL UNITS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1974 | -- | -- | -- |
| 1975 | 65 | 28 | 93 |
| 1976 | 44 | 133 | 177 |
| 1977 | 30 | 133 | 163 |
| 1978 | 150 | 307 | 457 |
| 1979 | 8 | | 8 |
| TOTAL | 297 | 601 | 898 |

TABLE X: NUMBER OF RRAP GRANTS APPROVED IN JAMES BAY

Source: Victoria CMHC Office

general conditions prevailing in the neighbourhood.

Some members of the NIP Committee acted individually to deal with the contradiction, but despite the efforts of CUFA, it was only resolved when the construction boom ended in 1977. The reluctance of James Bay organizations and residents to adopt this course of action, enabled the state to treat the events as seemingly separate issues. NIP was one issue, the demolition of sound quality housing another, while the fight to preserve the CRB appeared separate from the efforts to guarantee community education. Many in the community movement only sensed the integrated nature of the provision of collective consumption, they did not apply it to the course of struggle. The struggle remained essentially piecemeal, an exercise in 'ad hocery'. The James Bay community movement failed to solidify its fragmented structure. While some protested, others sat back quietly. Under the threat of state reprisals, proposals to link the various organizations were discouraged, particularly by the moderate wing. They were afraid of the dangers that intensified confrontation might bring. What might have happened if the CRB, as a pre-figurative form of neighbourhood government, had brought greater co-ordination to the struggle, remains speculation. In search of a 'caring community', the struggle progressed issue by issue, rather than as part of an overall political, ideological strategy for change. In practice, NIP was implemented in isolation from the other concerns of the residents.

While it is recognized that the re-organization of the conditions of the production of labour power and retirement followed an ambiguous path, it must be made similarly clear that although some were adversely affected in this period, for the most part the living conditions improved, especially after the second downzoning drive. The general upgrading of the neighbourhood, of which NIP was a part, has created a sense of permanence. James Bay has become a fashionable and desirable place to live, accompanied by dramatic increases in property values. Consequently, the improvements to the neighbourhood have tended to benefit the noveau riche, the new petty bourgeoisie, as the low income groups are effectively precluded from moving into the area. Although James Bay retains its diverse class structure, there have been indications of a distinct 'upward shift' in the last decade. Most recently there has been a proposal to replace two apartment blocks with luxury condominiums on the Dallas Road waterfront.[3]

## CONTROL OVER COLLECTIVE CONSUMPTION

While NIP was instrumental in bringing some gains to the community, the local state remained careful and wary of not allowing control of collective consumption to slip irretrievably from its domain. In contrast to the trustworthiness of the New Horizons, the state was anxious over the operation of the Community Centre. Further, the closely guarded actions surrounding the land assembly and property

transactions resisted collective determination over the use of property. The programme was only allowed to develop within demarcated limits. In the last analysis, the state was intent upon limiting actions that might be seen to endanger the interests of capital and prevailing social relations.

Although the vociferousness of the opposition to the 1973 James Bay Plan glaringly revealed that the type of community NIP envisaged was contrary to the interests of the conservative wing of the local bourgeoisie,[4] developers never totally gave up on the neighbourhood in the 1970s. Despite hindrances, they were regularly looking to exploit new opportunities. NIP did little to prevent this due to the municipal state's discriminatory preference within the contradictory federal housing policies. The quest for profit could not be unduly impeded, thus limiting the reforms it was prepared to grant.

It is in this sense that one local realtor acknowledged there had been no real outcry against NIP.[5] Indeed, he was enthusiastic that the community should have input into the allocation of funds. Presumably this was fine providing their use remained non-controversial and non-threatening to the operation of the real estate market. Under these circumstances, capital could happily live with the programme. As a local construction firm owner remarked, it promoted pride and care in the community,[6] while RRAP simultaneously reinforced bourgeois values of property and home ownership.

While recognizing that much of the process of social reproduction occurs outside the direct control of capital through a variety of informal activities, the implications of NIP posed little danger as long as it encouraged the community to care for itself in the face of capitalist oppression without challenging the logic of the social order and the fundamental political structure. A few adjustments and alterations were tolerable. Seen from the viewpoint of the capitalist, NIP was merely contributing to a more satisfactory production of labour power, whereby residents would go to work with fewer worries on their minds.

## THE MODE OF SOCIAL CONTROL

### The Tripartite Structure

Although NIP was a multi-level form of state intervention, once the designation and planning approvals were made, the local state was left largely to its own devices in the implementation stage. Higher levels of state "let the City carry it, and it got easier as we went on".[7] The overseeing role of CMHC allowed it to intervene if the programme got out of hand, but it was gradually proven that the James Bay NIP programme was not going to produce any threatening challenges or disruptions. The programme itself was relatively smooth running.

This is not to say, however, that NIP succeeded in eradicating discontent in James Bay. Precisely due to its

partial treatment of the provision of collective consumption social unrest remained in the neighbourhood. However, the dissipated character of the community struggle enabled this to be kept within manageable bounds. Despite the attempts by CUFA, the local state was not faced with a concerted, unified movement. In essence, while NIP displayed an increasingly harmonious relationship, generally relations between the state and community movement remained defined by discord or friction.

During the actual operation of the programme, the general feeling among the various participants was that few problems arose with bureaucratic procedures. When CMHC was called upon, it was to clarify guidelines on funding and technical details. Such was the case of the street improvement to Avalon Road, where dispute centred on whether it be classified as a municipal engineering project or a social amenity.[8]

## The Participatory Process

Social control and management is not merely repressive or coercive, but is also a mixture of toleration, flexibility, philanthropy, participation and opportunity (Lambert, Paris and Blackaby, 1978, p. 161, 170). Depending on the circumstances, some strategies prove more effective than others. The state's problem is to decide upon the appropriate measures at different conjunctures. The experience of the

James Bay NIP programme revealed a change from authoritarianism to advocacy.

Before Peter Pollen's administration, the municipal state functioned in a very authoritarian manner. Thereafter, its operation uneasily opened up. The arrival of NIP was critical to this process. It was a new 'game' to council. It was one thing listening to protest, or being advised, but it was quite another to actively work in conjunction with community organizations.

> Council didn't know what it was getting into when it applied for NIP...Council really didn't understand NIP. You might say it has been a learning process for everyone in true democracy.[9]

In the beginning, the legacy of the authoritarian approach hindered co-operative participation. Much mistrust was created "because the communities felt they were not having enough input into the proposals for their neighbourhoods".[10] In the case of James Bay, this was reflected in the debate over the physical and financial planning, the buying of properties without the expressed approval of the NIP Committee and council's cautious attitude towards the community centre. For approximately the first half of the programme's duration, progress was hindered by poor communication. To overcome this, Lorne de Girolamo at one point suggested the formation of an ongoing NIP ad hoc committee within City Hall composed

of representatives of both parties.[11] At this time, the sincerity of the state's intentions was in question. If the aim of the programme was to restore legitimacy and faith in government, at this stage it was succeeding very little.

The heavy-handed manner in which Ald. Glazier and his assistant, Frank Byrne handled their responsibility for the programme, supported in the main by council, eventually led to Mayor Young removing him from the portfolio in favour of the more liberal and tactful Ald. John Hayes in early 1977. This marked a changed in state strategy towards managing the programme in a domineering manner to one of accommodation. With the change from a Glazier-Byrne to a Hayes-Kuroyama partnership relations between City Hall and the NIP Committee shifted from mistrust and suspicion to constructive co-operation. At one point Ald. Hayes remarked that NIP was "going like a dream, and co-operation between city hall and the neighbourhood has improved a hundredfold in the past year".[12]

With the change in the mode of state management, the participatory process was made a lot easier, but in a way that created a new contradiction. Ald. Hayes adopted an advocacy role. In this respect he was at the same time both an advocate of the interests of the NIP Committee and an official of the municipality. In his own words: "I was basically in the position of selling the projects to council but I had to be convinced first."[13] In orchestrating proposals through council, his liason role put both himself in

a contradiction and created one within the state apparatus. Again, his words speak for themselves: "I had to do it in such a way that I remained a credible member of council, that was the fine line, very delicate because I came in for a lot of criticism from council members."[14]

His ambiguous position was dramatically illustrated with regard to the provision of bus shelters. Council was extremely cautious of neighbourhood residents participating to the extent of actually building things.

> That was a big one for the City to swallow. I mean it seems incredible now that the City should worry about it....The only way I could get Council to go along with it was to build a prototype; so this group in James Bay built the prototype and costed it out and took it to Council and said, "look, here it is, isn't it great. It's rustic, it's not one of these tin things that we buy from Ontario at $3,000 a shot."[15]

The manner in which Ald. Hayes and his assistant co-ordinator Alan Kuroyama approached the running of NIP gained the trust of the James Bay NIP Committee. They were seen to act conscientiously and in good faith, attending every meeting and working very closely with them. It became a 'labour of love'.

Through the undoubted good intentions on the part of the City NIP representatives, greater toleration and flexibility in the state's modus operandi enabled it to regain its lost legitimacy. In this way, the James Bay NIP Committee

was integrated into the state apparatus, becoming a de facto extension of it.

However, the manner in which this occurred led to preferential consideration of a particular fraction of the Committee. Some members did not feel part of the whole process, as it was felt that information passed between City Hall and selected groups on the NIP Committee. John Hayes remarks:

> I told them exactly what I would be doing and we sat down and had orchestration meetings. We perhaps agreed to do a certain thing. Then we'd have another meeting, perhaps a smaller group of the NIP Committee to plot how we were going to get it through Committee B...[16]

This worked to the advantage of the politically astute moderate fraction and those who merely sought a smoothly run programme and were willing to trust the city officials. It worked against the smaller, radical groups, especially the representatives of the JBRL who were more prone to contest actions being contemplated. One affected member did not regard it as a conscious divide and rule tactic, but "because bureaucrats and politicians like to work with select protected people they know, they trust, who they can take into their confidence".[17] It also tended to reflect the use of particular skills or attributes that some committee members had.

The change in the state's method of managing NIP brought with it new contradictions. On the one hand it tended

to create strains between the state officials directly responsible for the programme and some of the other elected officials; on the other hand it revealed the ambiguous nature of the James Bay Community movement. While the adoption of an advocacy role by Ald. Hayes served to integrate the moderate fraction, especially those related to New Horizons and the CRB, it tended to alienate the more critical voices on the Committee. However, the state could bear this, as the latter group remained in the minority.

It has previously been noted that NIP was a critical factor in the changing methods of governing the City. Public participation as a management strategy has become part of the state's procedural operations, but one that allows a greater expression of dissenting viewpoints. NIP was thus instrumental in altering the relationship of the state to the neighbourhood communities. From being aloof and authoritarian, the doors were opened to a degree.

> ...for the first time you didn't have people from the community being appointed by the mayor to come to City Hall; you had a committee established in the neighbourhoods where politicians came as one individual, as the City representative, in essence came and sat down with the neighbourhood.[18]

It was a far more subtle way of attaining social control. Once the early difficulties and suspicions were overcome, the remoteness of government was gradually eroded.

The process could be seen to be working for the interests that the NIP Committee represented, and the benefits and achievements that the process produced demonstrated its effectiveness. The NIP programme contributed to the restoration of faith in the ability of the local state to govern in a responsive way. The large measure of co-operation that was achieved worked to diminish the gap between the governors and the governed.

> All of a sudden, people who hadn't dealt with City Hall before realized that they weren't a bunch of idiots, a bunch of bureaucrats trying to stop everything and the people in City Hall suddenly saw these people in the neighbourhood for what they really were, intelligent, co-operative, enthusiastic people and probably that's the most lasting benefit of the programme.[19]

By establishing mutual respect, the process of governing was made easier. The opening up of City Hall which this entailed, made a profound impact on the city's political life. Reform alderman, Robin Blencoe puts it plainly:

> Citizens speaking out, the whole thing of getting into City Hall, wanting information, having a right to talk, to make and influence decisions between elections. Democracy doesn't stop. I think generally that's the biggest thing, the effect on this council.[20]

The question remains how far can the door be opened before there are attempts to close it again. To restore legitimacy, a more open form of governing is fine until the expression

allowed confronts the power relationships. If the community struggle had been more cohesive in its attempts to influence the quality of living standards, the relative success of the state's strategy might have been far more difficult to achieve. This discussion inevitably leads to consideration of how power is exercised in the final analysis.

Control by Veto

Although the very structure of NIP encouraged proposals from the community, the final word remained with the state. Once the planning stage was complete, the municipal state made no counter proposals. Thereafter, the recommendations came from the James Bay NIP Committee thus placing council in the position of either approving or rejecting them. Despite state power to veto the community's demands, the NIP Committee was rarely conscious of it hanging over their heads on a day to day basis as it were, but as Harald Stephenson remarks, there was "always that threat if we went off on a tangent".[21] The Committee was aware of the structure of the programme, but under the moderating influence of the New Horizons group expecially, NIP never generated any unsettling challenges to warrant the state to bring its weight to bear. Any initial fears of what the programme might unleash proved exaggerated. Although proposals were scrutinized carefully, council denials were mainly confined to technical matters rather than on the substance of them. For example, at one

point council rejected the expenditure of NIP funds on street improvements to Avalon Road, until residents living on the road agreed to contribute towards the costs.[22]

Having been introduced at a time when there were strong indications that the James Bay community movement might have followed a more radical path, NIP provided little impetus for that direction. Although city politicians were forced to pay more heed to the demands by the community, the James Bay NIP programme proved to be no great benchmark in the contestation of political power, despite bring some obvious benefits to the neighbourhood in the realm of collective consumption.

Control Over Capital

The state's control of the programme's funds had an effect in two ways. Firstly, the limited budget put constraints upon the achievements that NIP could produce. It forced the NIP Committee to select its priorities from the list of identified needs in the neighbourhood. The same procedure was required in allocating the residual funds. In this way, NIP could only partially satisfy the needs of James Bay. The restricted budget thus prevented the acquisition of certain properties and imposed initially curtailments in the design of the community centre. The scarcity of capital enforced a pragmatic approach upon the NIP Committee. It mitigated any serious consideration of alternative ways of

organizing collective consumption.

Secondly, the funds were not handed over to the community, for them to do as they pleased. Rather they were held in trust by the state, which in itself exercised a restraining influence on the development of the programme. In the interests of 'fiscal responsibility', council claimed the right to keep control of the funds, in order to prevent the money from getting into the hands of those who were regarded as 'undesirable'. The debate over the operation of the community centre reflected these concerns.[23] Ultimately, the NIP Committee had to relate to the municipal state on the latter's terms.

Control Through 'Expertism'

For the most part the NIP Committee was only in the position of formulating proposals for projects. It played only a subordinate role in bringing them to fruition. This responsibility was assumed by the state through their choice of architects and builders. The reliance upon experts and professionals was most explicitly expressed by Ald. Glazier in regard to the design of the one time proposed New Horizons building on the part site.

> I have asked the City Manager to follow the customary procedure in appointing an architect. The experience of our Park Administrator, our City Planner, and other department heads is drawn on for a selection, and the choice of the man to

> do the building is predicated on the very considerable experience of the City with working with local architects.[24]

The NIP Committee was largely in a position to review and appraise the finalized designs. It did not undertake the designs per se. Community self-design was not a notion that was entertained. The situation loosened under Ald. Hayes' advocacy approach. The state remained hesitant and cautious about James Bay residents actually constructing projects, but the community succeeded in designing and building the bus shelters themselves.

Summary

The intrinsic structure of NIP granted residents the opportunity to make demands upon the state, but by a variety of responses and methods, it was able to contain these, preventing any possibility of a more defiant orientation emerging. The domination of moderates on the James Bay NIP Committee in aiding this process should not be underestimated. If the tendency towards advocacy of the NIP Committee's interests and the opening up of City Hall brought new dangers to this mode of management and government, the power of the municipal state in the last instance to make the final decision and to hold the funds in trust along with it favouring of experts, ensured the prevention of any course of action that might have been undesirable.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS

A sense of identity has been enhanced in each of the NIP areas. In James Bay, this community consciousness was not generated by NIP. As a clearly identifiable geographical area together with the impact of the anti high-rise struggle, this was already well established by 1974. Thus a basic distinction can be drawn between the NIP programme re James Bay and its counterparts in the other two neighbourhoods. In Victoria West and Fernwood, the state was actively attempting to upgrade living conditions. Although the same was true for James Bay, the NIP programme had a dual purpose in that it was employed as a means of social control. James Bay was the only one of the three neighbourhoods where social unrest and discontent existed at the time of its introduction.

Nevertheless, in each case, NIP tended to foster the identity of place and neighbourhood as the source of the low quality of residents' living conditions, rather than expose its roots in the social structure and the particular path of capitalist urbanization. Notwithstanding the well intentioned motivations of community participants in the NIP programme, they were in one sense cleaning up the unpleasantries of capitalist development. They were working on what were largely regarded as the problems of James Bay, not problems in James Bay. Seemingly a solution lay with a quick inoculation of capital that would restore a satisfactory provision of collective consumption.

In accepting such assumptions the ideology and the consciousness of place and neighbourhood were re-inforced. This was fine for the state as long as changing material conditions did not begin to challenge and undermine this form of consciousness. Clearly, the ideology of place began to crack under the impact of the mid 1970s construction boom, when a degree of commonality in the causes of the social conditions of inner-city neighbourhoods were dramatically exposed. The formation of CUFA exhibited a change from a parochial community consciousness to a inter-community consciousness on the part of some of the more progressive community activists. However, the divisions within the community movement hindered its further development.

By uniting different class and sectional interests, the James Bay NIP Committee showed that positive achievements could be made through collective endeavours and solidarity. However, the internal dialectic of the community movement, made it unclear whether it was producing a condition of consolation or a basis for more progressive activism and thus contributing to the transcendence of the ideology of place for a more progressive form of community consciousness. Again, one must note that the domination of the moderate voice on the NIP Committee retarded the latter development.

## THE INTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE JAMES BAY NIP COMMITTEE

So far, mention has been made of the differences

existing within the James Bay NIP Committee and the community movement in general. At this point it is appropriate to trace more closely their development and how these conflicts expressed themselves.

At the beginning of the programme in the planning stage, the NIP Committee was beset by internal conflict, arising from the attempt by Kay Lines to dominate the programme. Her subsequent defeat marked the rejection of the most conservative wing of the populist movement in the involvement of NIP. Thereafter, the NIP Committee took on a more cohesive character displaying a unity of purpose. It unified the counter culture activists and senior citizens on one committee. Harald Stephenson asserts that NIP "was the one committee that brought all the various groups in the community together, and aside from a few instances, we worked amicably together with very little hassling".[25]

In late 1976, the NIP Committee was restructured to allow the full complement of representatives from all groups. There were to be no more than two voting members or delegates from each community organization interested. They comprised the Angler's Club, the United Church, New Horizons, Lions Club, Community School, the JBCA, the CRB and soon after the JBRL In addition, provision was made for six voting residents at large who attended on a regular basis. Others could observe but had no voting privilege. Despite being set up in this way to prevent any group having power through sheer weight of

numbers, the overall composition of the Committee was structurally biased in favour of those who found themselves making demands on the state for the satisfaction of immediate needs, but not in the sense of posing an ideological challenge to the power relations. One alderman comments:

> I don't think the majority of the NIP Committee saw an attempt to achieve decentralization and public participation as a goal. I don't think they perceived it as that at all. I think it was a job they had to do, they had a million dollars, how do we do it? Let's get on with it. They didn't see any ideals there, I don't think.[26]

These members very much represented the strong petty bourgeois fraction of the community movement. Particularly influential were the senior citizens from the CRB and New Horizons. The Committee was captured and controlled by this moderate bloc. They found themselves in a contradictory position for they were challenging the state for the attainment of their immediate interests, but had no desire to attack the municipal state's fundamental authority and legitimacy. Obtaining piecemeal reforms left them contented. This petty bourgeois dominance was emphasized by the presence of representatives from 'heritage' Avalon Road and Lewis Street, primarily concerned with achieving street improvements and beautification of their roads. This dominant element treated NIP as an administration of a programme providing certain benefits to the neighbourhood, rather than as a vehicle for

real social change towards a mass based community democracy. Their reluctance to resist renewed block-busting revealed this distinction.

The representation of the more radical wing of the community movement was a distinct minority on the Committee. If it had not been, the loss of sound, low-income housing might not have been so easily ignored. The interests of the working class were effectively silenced. They had to be raised outside of the NIP Committee, particularly through CUFA.

When the James Bay Home and Space divided into the JBCA and JBRL, reflecting the two main currents of the James Bay community movement, the ideological split became more evident on the NIP Committee. It did not affect the operation of the committee to the extent that it irreparably created a schism "but you could feel the tension very frequently".[27] Although Charles Ball and the JBRL questioned and scrutinized everything, which led to frustrations for the rest of the Committee, they remained in a minority and were regularly outvoted. The conduct of the bus shelter construction project was the only time conflict reached the surface. It was perhaps the only strong disagreement in the implementation of the programme.

After city council approved the NIP Committee's support for the New Society of James Bay People to construct the wooden bus shelters as a community workshop project, the JBRL complained that individuals were lining their own pockets

with NIP funds, that other tenders were not considered and that the quality of construction was poor.[28] At one point in the bus shelter debate, the minutes record:

> Discussion on this motion followed and Chair decided to recess for ten minutes while order was restored.[29]

Although no firm commitment to take remedial action was made, the dissenters accepted the verdict and the project was eventually completed with better scrutiny and control.

By the time NIP reached a close, the radical wing of the community movement had grown disenchanted with the direction the programme had taken. Specifically, it was disapproving of the lack of action taken over redevelopment, the granting of the New Horizons extension and the handling of the bus shelter project. More generally it was critical of the structure of the NIP Committee that precluded open participation, the lack of publicity given to the meetings and the changing of priorities without the full opportunity for neighbourhood participation.

> You don't start off with a survey of what people want and then have a small group of people sit down and decide, in essence in some cases change their mind as to what those priorities would be.[30]

Even though several of the improvements and benefits that the programme brought, cut across ideological and class

divisions, NIP generally served and satisfied the interests of the petty bourgeois fraction. By virtue of the advocacy role that was adopted, the state reintegrated this grouping into its conception of the political process and mode of government. Simultaneously, the radical, more working class fraction became alienated and disaffected. The control of the NIP Committee by the moderates resulted in the suppression and diversion of working class demands. Nevertheless, the struggle continues:

> ...we're not any less demanding. We want fundamental control of the environment in this neighbourhood.[31]

The development of the internal dialectic of the community movement prevented the state from co-opting it in its entirety. While the legitimacy of the municipal state was restored in the eyes of the moderates, the acquiescence of the radical wing represented by the JBRL remained tenuous at best. The court action taken by the JBRL over the state's handling of the Daon development proposals is illustrative.[32]

The class content of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program within the context of developments affecting James Bay since the mid 1960s is schematically shown in figure 15.

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

As a positive area discrimination policy, the federal

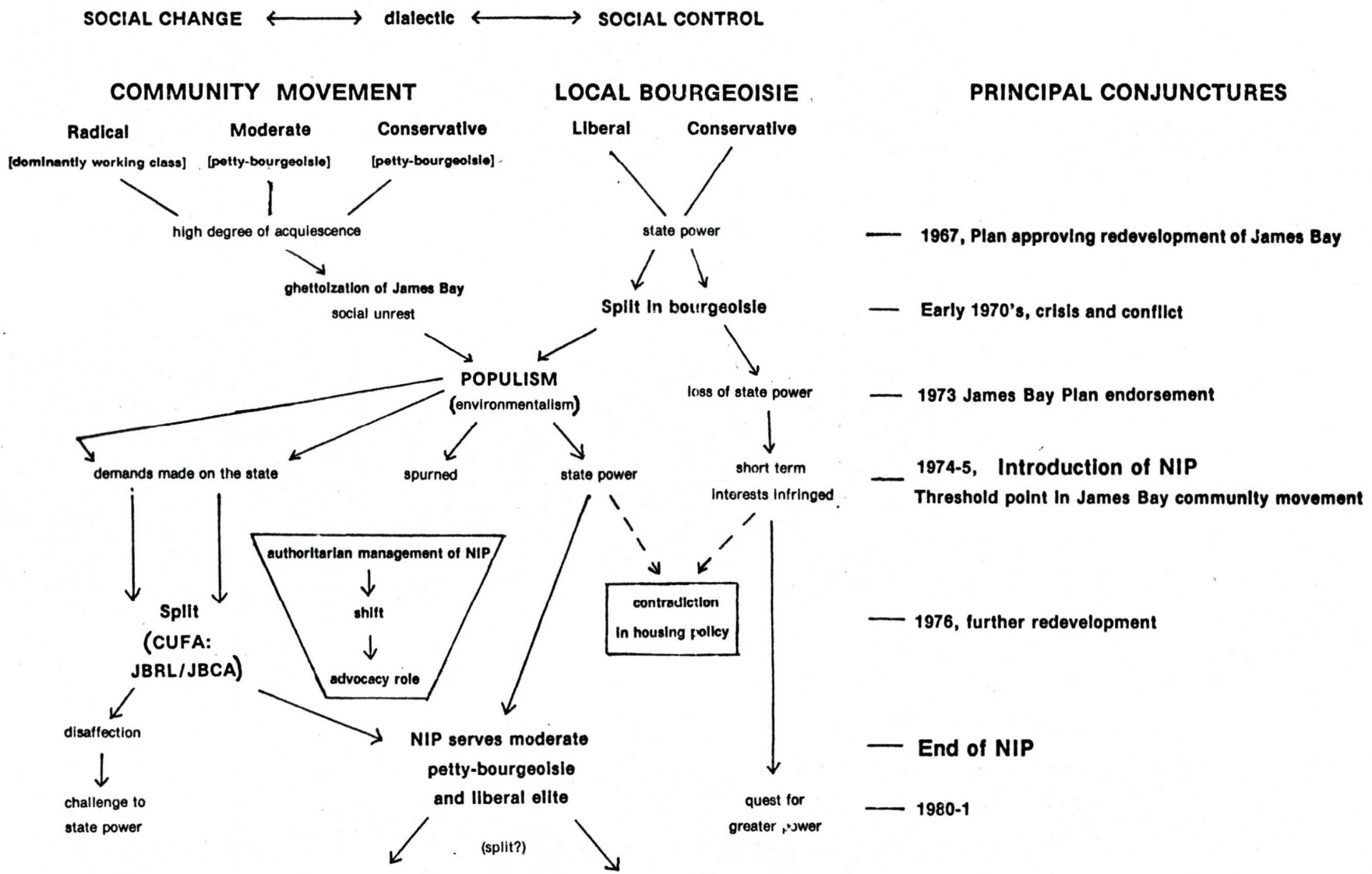



**Fig. 15: Social Relations of Community Movement and NIP in James Bay.**

state officially regards its interventionist Neighbourhood Improvement Program as a success (CMHC 1979, p. 6; Detomasi 1979, p. 65), although Sheppard (1980) suggests some dissenting opinion exists in Ontario.

> ...the program seems to be having immediate positive social and physical impacts on most NIP areas. Furthermore, the feedback from provincial and municipal officials as well as neighbourhood residents is that the Neighbourhood Improvement Program is one of the most popular and successful programs initiated by CMHC and funded by the three levels of government. (CMHC, 1979, p. 52)

As a policy of legitimation and social control, its aims had been generally realized. CMHC (1979, p. 51) has noted the "improved local confidence in governmental intervention at the neighbourhood level", and elsewhere it is acknowledged "that program returns were maximized where the social, political and bureaucratic 'distance' between citizen, staff and council, was minimized".[33] NIP had fulfilled its function.[34]

In late 1978, the federal state, suffering under its large deficit and intensifying fiscal crisis, cut back on cost sharing programmes which included the termination of further NIP grants.[35] It was claimed that NIP was being merged with two other municipal aid programmes that together would become Community Services Grants.[36] Significantly, the new programme had no provision for public participation. It appears clear that this characteristic of NIP had achieved its

intention of quelling much of the social discontent in Canadian cities. As a short term, legitimation tool, NIP had proven to be effective for the state's interests.

From the empirical case of James Bay, this thesis finds the gist of the official evaluation to be well-founded, although some qualifications are in order. The general experience was similar to that of positive area discrimination policies elsewhere. It was a superficial response to the manifestation of problems arising from the restructuring of conditions under monopoly capitalism. In the midst of an ambiguous and paradoxical reorganization of collective consumption, it gave the appearance of something being done. Its stress on visible improvements ignored problems of landownership, absentee landlords, the flow of capital from the neighbourhood, and possible property tax inequities which might be more germane to the improvement of living conditions in James Bay.

The principal conclusions derived from this study can be listed as follows:

1. The populism that had brought the local liberal bourgeoisie to power around 1972/73 was breached by the municipal state's initial authoritarian conduct of NIP;
2. In order to restore the alliance, the municipal state's management of the programme shifted from authoritarianism to an advocacy role;

3. The shift produced a more flexible attitude, but the municipality was not prepared to see the control of collective consumption getting too far removed from its grasp. The state allowed flexibility within structurally imposed limits;
4. The advocacy strategy increased co-operation and consensus between the municipality and the James Bay NIP Committee;
5. As a legitimation policy, NIP eventually reintegrated the moderate petty bourgeoisie into the social order, but left the radical wing discontented;
6. NIP satisfied some needs, especially social facilities, but was limited in its impact. The community movement was forced to continue its struggle over living conditions;
7. NIP did not eradicate social unrest in James Bay due to the contradictory expression of federal housing policies, but it tended to restrict its development;
8. NIP was partly responsible for exposing the ideological differences in the James Bay community movement;
9. The moderate new petty bourgeoisie tended to benefit more than the working class;
10. Introduced at a time when there was potentiality for the James Bay community movement to become more radically orientated, NIP was party to the restriction of its development. It did not become a vehicle for more far-reaching social change;

11. Despite some discord, NIP demonstrated the potential fruitfulness of co-operative endeavours;
12. In this respect, it opened up the possibilities of what participatory neighbourhood democracy could be like among those with a more progressive rather than consolatory community consciousness. It existed as a quasi pre-figurative form of neighbourhood government. Despite other criticisms, Charles Ball makes this final point:

> Specifically, still the lingering awareness that it's possible to get together all the elements in the community in one body and deal with issues even though we may have violent discord; still it's a viable concept and I think that this is why you see the resurgence of the attempt over a regular period to establish something like that, there's still the feeling there for that and I think that's been a positive attribute of the NIP program.[37]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. Ald. John Hayes, City NIP Committee chairman, cited in Monday, 3:51, December 21-28, 1977, pp. 12-17.

2. Lew Madley, interview, May 1980.

3. Times-Colonist, Jamuary 16, 1981, p. 1; January 21, 1981, p. 8.

4. Claims that NIP inconvenienced the property industry certainly existed. One sarcastic remark comments that the B.C. Ministry of Housing, "with all good intentions and very few desirable results, also got involved in the NIP and ARP (Assisted Rental Program). With their good buddies from Ottawa CMHC they managed to mess up what was quite a steady little supply and demand market." Real Estate Victoria, 2:39, November 30 - December 6, 1978, p. 1-2.

5. Interview, May 1980.

6. Interview, May 1980.

7. John Hayes, interview, May 1980.

8. After initial refusal, CMHC decided to increase its contribution to the street improvement. "The rationale is that street landscaping does not serve a utilitarian or service function but rather is a form of open space (or park) to beautify the streetscape or for public enjoyment and hence, a social and/or recreational facility." Letter from V. Virak, Program Co-ordinator at B.C. Regional Office, November 1, 1977.

9. Ald. John Hayes, cited in Monday, 3:51, December 21-28, 1977, pp. 12-17.

10. ibid.

11. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, May 27, 1975.

12. Ald. John Hayes, cited in Monday, 3:46, November 14-20 1977, pp. 16-17.

13. John Hayes, interview, May 1980.

14. ibid.

15. ibid.

16. ibid.

17. Charles Ball, interview, May 1980.

18. ibid.

19. John Hayes, interview, May 1980.

20. Robin Blencoe, interview, May 1980.

21. Harald Stephenson, interview, May 1980.

22. Minutes of City of Victoria Council meeting, February 10, 1977. For revision of funding and introduction of Local Improvement by-law, see Minutes of City of Victoria Council meetings, April 14, 1977; October 13, 1977.

23. This means of control was more evident in the Fernwood programme, where city council was blatantly open about resisting the attempts by a strong radical component to obtain the funds. See especially, Victoria Times, March 9, 1976, p. 15; March 17, 1976, p. 13; July 21, 1976, p. 50. Daily Colonist, March 10, 1976,p. 11; July 21, 1976, p. 11. Peter Pollen recounts the discriminatory process that derived from the state's control of the purse: "You'd really have to go to some of these meetings in the basements of half-completed houses and talk to some of these wierd and wonderful people. I went to one one time, I can't remember what district it was in, and some guy was stoned in the back on pot and doing a lot of jabbering incoherently. I'm not suggesting this was in any way typical of the groups, but there were outcropings of lunatics in some of these groups and council had to say, ' Hey , now just a minute. There's so much money and we're the custodians of it and this is the general direction you've got to go and now let's have some positive response'." (Interview, May 1980)

24. Letter from Ald. Murray Glazier, to JB NIP Committee, October 7, 1975.

25. Harald Stephenson, interview, May 1980.

26. Robin Blencoe, interview, May 1980.

27. Harald Stephenson, interview, May 1980.

28. The JBRL's case is found in Beckley Farm News, 1:8, April 1978, p. 1.

29. Minutes of James Bay NIP Committee meeting, May 4, 1978.

30. Charles Ball, interview, May 1980.

31. ibid.

32. See Chapter 7, fn. 58 above.

33. Evaluation of the NIP Delivery System in British Columbia; Part V Research Study carried out for CMHC by the Community Planning Association (B.C.) and Ptarmigan Planning Associates. NIP Evaluation, Vol. 6, 1978(?), p. 6.

34. Further indications of the federal state's success in regulating the social crisis that occurred in the late 1960s, early 1970s came when the Ministry of Urban Affairs was abolished. Its Minister, Andre Ouellet remarked that urban affairs were a provincial matter. Daily Colonist, November 25, 1978, p. 1.

35. In Victoria, the municipal state had become enthused by NIP, especially Ald. John Hayes. He had ambitions to utilize the programme to renovate the Old Town and View Street areas. From being used to upgrade collective consumption, it was now being desired to underwrite accumulation and strengthen the viability of downtown. NIP funds would be seed money for the attraction of private investment "that could snowball beyond our wildest imagination. The sky's the limit" (Ald. Hayes, cited in Monday, 3:51, December 21-28, 1977, pp. 12-17). The federal state's action killed Victoria's application for a further $3 million grant. Daily Colonist, November 5, 1978, p. 17; November 7, 1978, p. 11.

36. Daily Colonist, December 1, 1978, p. 46; December 13, 1978, p. 2. See also, Address by the Hon. Andre Ouellet, Minister of State for Urban Affairs, to The Association of Ontario Housing Authorities, 26th Annual Convention, Ottawa, September 12, 1978. Press release. In housing policies generally, the federal state was reducing its interventionist role and encouraging private enterprise to increase its role, which the latter was wanting to do.

37. Charles Ball, interview, 1980.

# AFTERWORD

As much as this thesis has documented and analyzed the place of NIP in the dialectic between community activism and state control in James Bay, several points emerge which warrant further comment. The point of arrival becomes a point of departure as it were.

In Victoria, the threatened attainment of power by the neighbourhood associations has yet to be achieved although there has been the election of some reformers to the City Council. In 1976, optimism existed in some quarters that CUFA would produce municipal candidates representing the inner-city neighbourhoods. One commentary stated:

> ...the inner-city neighbourhoods have the largest block of voters, and the eventual passage of city council into their hands is inevitable - if they can politicize, organize and mobilize enough voters.[1]

The history shows that this has not occurred, while CUFA fell apart through internal squabbling. Nonetheless, the state has not been able to ignore the growth of the community movement. Indeed, at election time, it has almost become customary to pay lip-service to the protection of neighbourhoods. This was first noted before the 1977 municipal elections:

> "Neighbourhoods" is becoming a latter day motherhood issue, an apple-pie catchword, charged with some kind of indisputable, semi-mystical aura similar to the words "whale" or "environment".[2]

In essence the appearance of CUFA and the demands of the community movement for inclusion in the political process could not go unanswered. In the same period, there was general support among right wing and liberal incumbent aldermen for Neighbourhood Advisory Councils. Ald. Glazier expressed most clearly the concept that would not divest municipal control:

> I believe that we would be better off if we had an Advisory Committee at the neighbourhood level, and all the applications in that area could be referred to council for comment. Appointments would be made by the Mayor in Council.[3]

Although such statements are part of electoral rhetoric, they also reflect the need for the state to have some formal channel of information to aid council in its management of the city. The quest for consensus and the regulation of conflict were priorities. It would be better to deal with the concerns of the neighbourhoods within the state structure rather than be confronted with angry delegations with their protests and demands. By formally giving expression to their grievances, the state was internalizing the contradictions. It stood the chance of them breaking out anew

within the state appartus and thus making government difficult, but the ultimate control of council would impose restrictions on their development. Ald. Hayes emphasized that the experience of NIP had shown this type of management to be effective, while on the same basis, Ald. Bob Wright remarked that "communication at the present time and for the first time is excellent".[4]

Even though this concept was not implemented after the election, the state continued its policy of appointing moderate, 'respectable' members of neighbourhood associations to its different advisory committees. Nevertheless, the potential danger of such practices was demonstrated when Max Hopper of the JBCA resigned from the Advisory Planning Committee, charging the APC of having conflicts of interests by being disproportionately constituted in favour of the voice of development.[5] The espoused concern for hearing the community 'voice' appeared to be a token gesture.

The argument pursued here is that the municipal state has made conscious attempts to integrate the community movement into the mainstream of the political process during the latter half of the 1970s. At the same time as its actions have given the concerns of the neighbourhood residents an air of legitimacy, it also represents an ongoing attempt to keep social discontent within manageable bounds. The development of the dialectic between social control and social change hinges on this contradiction.

Another impingement on the community movement has been the role of the New Democratic Party (NDP). It has been charged that the NDP undermined CUFA and sabotaged a slate of community candidates in favour of NDP endorsed candidates in the 1977 municipal elections.[6]

> ...the upper echelons of Victoria's NDP have a systematic, though unstated, policy of taking control of community groups or, when that isn't possible, destroying their credibility...the results of such a policy have been that a number of NDP members, who have worked hard for their communities but who are not at the top of the NDP power structure, have grown disenchanted because they are being ignored. Also, many people who have been actively involved in community projects but whose political ideology is not necessarily that of the NDP, have become frustrated by these heavy-handed NDP tactics and have dropped out of community affairs completely.[7]

Although a deliberate attempt to take over the community movement cannot be confirmed or refuted here, the evidence does suggest that the NDP has come to assume leadership of the community/urban reform movement. It would be misleading and incorrect to say that some of the neighbourhood associations in Victoria are a front for the NDP, but they have nevertheless attracted a number of NDP activists, bringing gains to the party from the neighbourhood movement. Whether the NDP has co-opted the community movement or not is unclear, but certainly the relationship between the two is ambiguous. In the 1979 municipal elections, the NDP backed

a slate of six candidates, of which four were elected. Simultaneously, Charles Ball of the JBRL was left to run as an independent.

Despite the short-lived existence of CUFA, the community movement has been unable to mobilize and sustain itself into a viable autonomous political organization, similar to COPE in Vancouver and the Montreal Citizens Movement, independent of the mainstream political parties. It has put itself in danger of being integrated into the predominantly two party system that dominates provincial politics in British Columbia.

Notwithstanding the internal conflicts of the community movement, two 'representatives' were elected in 1977, but their terms in office have demonstrated the difficulties of exacting change from within the state.[8] The most outspoken alderman, Robin Blencoe, has struggled to get chemical herbicides and pesticides banned, encountered intransigence over the introduction of community policing, and at one point was stripped of half his responsibility upon making Parks and Recreation a high profile portfolio.[9] Following his 'radical' days as part of CUFA, he admits to having mellowed in office, regarding it as a "natural co-optation that happens in the system".[10] Indeed, he has received criticism from some quarters of the community movement on particular issues. For instance, the JBRL was critical of him not supporting their legal action against the city over the Daon

development proposal. The perceived tendency of Ald. Blencoe to "pick and choose based on political expedience",[11] hints strongly at the contradictory forces he finds himself up against inside the local state.

In overview, the community movement has lapsed into reformism rather than realizing the more radical threats and expectations that existed at one point. Indeed for some city officials, the James Bay community with the exception of the JBRL, has shown itself to be "responsible" and "trustworthy". In its resistance to monopoly capitalism, the community movement in James Bay has not created 'socialism in one neighbourhood', although the radical wing is attempting to move in that direction. Instead the increased awareness and politicization has tended to emphasize the need for propriety and fair play.[12] Decisions have to be seen to be made in an open, more accountable and legitimate way, rather than by authoritarian means or in back rooms. The reforms have aimed at and partially succeeded in changing the process of decision making, but not at changing the fundamental interests to which those decisions are related. Greater interest has been shown in 'collective bargaining' and political influence rather than challenging authority. The case can be made that the failure to radicalize the community movement has led to a degree of institutionalization.[13] As much as this has been directed by deliberate state action, the dominant reformist fraction of the movement has been an accomplice to this.

Gentrification and the influx of more affluent residents has further re-inforced the process. Consequently, the indications are that the James Bay community movement is at a low-ebb at the turn of the decade,[14] although there is the feeling that it is simmering, awaiting to be re-ignited when the next controvery arises.

While the need to deal with the growth of the community movement necessitated accommodating policies on the part of the state in an attempt to maintain support and ensure social stability, the local bourgeoisie have grown agitated over the increasing prominence of neighbourhood groups in the municipal political arena. Even though the community movement has subsided, there have been very visible signs of a concerted effort to resist further reforms.

Following the 1977 municipal election, Cedric Steele of the local Chamber of Commerce argued that council was giving into neighbourhood groups and advocated the direct participation by business as a political party. "I think it's time for the real estate and business community to involve itself in municipal politics".[15] It amounted to a proposition to run or back candidates. The Chamber of Commerce formally rejected the notion, preferring to remain working behind the scenes.[16] Still, in early 1979, John Ansell, outgoing president of the Chamber of Commerce, complained of "creeping socialism" entering municipal politics.[17] With two community orientated aldermen on council, the neighbourhood

groups were seen to be getting too much representation. Subsequently, the November 1979 elections were seen as the year in which the 'left' could take control of city council. Frightened of this prospect, the Chamber of Commerce organized to get the business vote out, particularly that of corporations and absentee landowners.[18]

Simultaneously, the Victoria Real Estate Board were concerned about the increased influence of neighbourhood groups to stop or hinder development proposals. In September 1978, it proposed an open zoning policy, similar to that in Houston, which would have entailed the abolition of zoning by-laws in favour of "broad brushing" areas for land use. Decisions on the suitability of projects would be decided upon by a commission and not an elected body.[19] The thrust of the proposal was to undercut public input and to allow the city to develop according to the whims of the market place. The proposals never got any serious consideration.

There were other reactions to the influence of neighbourhood groups. The Economic Development Commissioner of Victoria was upset by the hold-up of several construction projects in the city (including the Daon proposal) that were "either shot down or stalled due to anti-development groups, environmentalists and bureaucratic red tape".[20] The press also grew critical of the influence of community groups. The conservative Daily Colonist spoke of the "selfishness" of neighbourhood groups, while the generally sympathetic Hubert

Beyer wrote, after the opposition to the Daon development proposal, that "the pendulum had swung too far the other way".[21]

Had the community movement gained so much control that the local business elite had lost its influence? The indications are that this was not the case. In reflecting upon the role of the Chamber of Commerce, its president stated:

> ...we try and bring forward plans and ideas that would help governments plan for the community. It's amazing how often they bring us in voluntarily.[22]

At a later date, Hubert Beyer remarked:

> The business community, which had been stripped of its influence for a brief period is back in control and city council is fast becoming an advisory committee to the new rulers.[23]

Essentially, despite state measures that allow community participation in its functioning, business has never lost fundamental control of the municipal state. Its efforts to resist further reform are more a reflection of an attempt to bolster accumulation in the face of downtown decline, rather than a pure reconquest of state power.[24] To achieve this, the conservative fraction of the business elite are only too well aware that the community groups impede the realization of their interests. One of its members commented:

> It is my impression the seeds were sown when community groups were encouraged to provide input. Too quickly they began to usurp the function of professional planners at city hall and became dominated by a few ambitious professional objectors.[25]

The state's form appropriate to the conditions of capital at one conjuncture now presents itself as a barrier to the furthering of capital's interests. Following the need to regulate contradictions in the process of capitalist urbanization, the facilitation of public participation and programmes such as NIP have set precedents which will be difficult to restrict or suppress without running the risk of fermenting social unrest and discontent. Once again the state functions of legitimation and accumulation appear opposed to one another, as conflict becomes firmly embodied and internalized within the modus operandi of the state apparatus.

The circumstantial evidence suggests strongly that the forthcoming period will be one of heightened class conflict as the local bourgeoisie renew their efforts to bolster accumulation. Despite internal dissent, the present council is acting to accommodate the business interests.

Support for business is also coming from other directions. The Social Credit provincial government has amended municipal voting regulations. Now, in addition to non-resident property owners being able to vote, the privilege has been extended to businessmen who rent premises in a

municipality while maintaining their right to vote in the municipality of their residence. This has therefore given certain businessmen the right to vote twice in different municipalities.[26] In part, the reinforcement of the business vote in this way, attempts to ensure the control of the City of Victoria for the interests of capital. Needless to say, these measures were enthusiastically greeted by the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, the Victoria Downtown Business Association and other members of the local elite.[27]

Additionally, Bill Vander Zalm, Minister for Municipal Affairs is aiming to revise the planning process. The intent is to streamline the procedure, by limiting the time required for processing development proposals. Behind the rhetoric of cutting red tape, lies a conscious effort to minimize the role of public participation and public hearings.[28] Further, with the fall 1980 federal budget restoring incentives to developers to alleviate the renewed housing shortage, a new period of redevelopment appears imminent.

Already the controversy and 'scandal' surrounding the convention centre, the demands for adequate sewage treatment facilities, and the occurrence of a new 'housing crisis' all reveal the start of the next stage in the community struggle over the form of the city. The present conjuncture thus appears critical in the face of a concerted effort to create conditions for a new accumulation drive.

Following a decade where those in contradictory class locations have oscillated in their alliances between capital and labour, they are once again confronted by class conflict. Whether they will revive a protest based around single issues and the ideology of environmentalism or develop into a more working class based movement that begins to examine how power is held and exercised in the city, remains speculative at this point. The next stage of the community struggle thus poses new questions for the fate and development of the community/reform movement in Victoria.

In the course of the study undertaken, several issues and questions emerge or are implicit which require consideration in acting for progressive social change in Victoria. In many ways they reflect several of the traditional dilemmas that have confronted the left which have recently received new and important assessment by Rowbotham, Segal and Wainwright (1979). Given the current critical conjuncture, their implications for the development of the community movement now assume greater significance.

In terms of specific goals, the following appear to be germane to the development of the struggle to a greater or lesser extent:

1. The establishment of a ward system based on the identifiable neighbourhoods rather than the current at large system;

2. A residency requirement for municipal candidates;
3. The abolition of special voting privileges accorded to business and property owners;

Each of these would help restrict suburban-resident businessmen from using state power to control downtown and the inner-city.

4. A sufficient salary for alderpersons that would allow the ordinary working person to run for office;
5. The control of election expenses to restrict the expensive campaigns for business candidates;
6. Decentralization of the planning process to allow community participation at the outset of the process, rather than in a reactive manner.

At the level of organizing and strategies, the following considerations need to be addressed in building the community movement:

1. The status of autonomous neighbourhood associations and the form of an alliance of community groups similar to that attempted by CUFA or COPE in Vancouver. Whether such an alliance should be a federation of community groups or a more centralized form of organization?
2. The development of an autonomous community movement as a political organization and its relationship to the NDP. This must give consideration to divided loyalties. Some

community activists who are supportive of the NDP federally and provincially are uneasy about the role of the party at the local level;

3. The establishment of community councils and their relationship to the municipal state;
4. Developing links with the trade unions and municipal state employees. To date this has been very underdeveloped. The attitude of the building trade unions on the Daon development proposal illustrate the difficulties in linking the sphere of consumption with the workplace. One community activist comments:

> I believe very fundamentally in the union movement and find it incomprehensible that they are so far removed from the places where they live, that they see these neighbourhoods as places to bulldoze down and put up developments.[29]

5. The emphasis on electorialism vis-a-vis building a mass based community movement;
6. When to accept or reject state reforms;
7. Whether to work within the state apparatus or remain outside of it;
8. When to make or break alliances;
9. Establishing a strong tenants movement which is currently conspicuous by its virtual absence in Victoria;
10. The role and development of the feminist movement;

11. Development of a community press rather than attempting to gain influence through the establishment media.

For a programme of radical change, a clear need exists to transform the community movement from its tendency to be issue reactive to one that has a wider focus and is more strongly working class based. The community movement to date has been primarily defensive, warding off unwelcome and undesirable intrusions in the neighbourhoods. In this respect, the community movement has tended to ebb and flow with the changing tides of the economic situation. Its rear-guard struggle has been hindered by its tendency to meet the state on its own terms, i.e., abiding by the ground rules laid down by the state, and as has been the case in James Bay, by its fractured character rather than being co-ordinated in its vigilance and control of the conditions in which labour power and retirement are reproduced. For more progressive change, the need is to go beyond putting faith in more accountable, responsive and sympathetic representation on city council for the realization of demands, in favour of changing the structure of how power is exercised, so that ultimate control resides in the neighbourhoods. As Mayo (1979, p. 137) puts it:

> The problem is no longer simply seen as how to resist government and particular government policies, but how to do so as part of a longer term strategy to engage in the battle of ideas

> which has been historically waged within the organizations and structures of the working class and its allies.

This new challenge is fully recognized by some in James Bay. One activist expresses the problematic in the following terms:

> ...our prime goal is to educate and to involve people to the fullest extent in the decision making process in all decisions that affect their lives. Some have a fundamental goal of change in mind in terms of the relationship of this neighbourhood to whatever institution may be involved.[30]

In James Bay some tentative ideas in this direction emerged at the end of 1979, when consideration was given to forming a community council.[31] It was initiated out of the desire to re-organize the structure of the James Bay Community School Society and its relation to the running of the community centre. The aim was to establish a Community Centre Council autonomous of the School Society apart from budget approval. Whereas other centres in the city are run by 'establishment' bodies, e.g., the YMCA in Victoria West, it represents a further attempt by the community movement to take increased control of collective consumption.

The desire arose in part out of the need to bring some co-ordination to the twenty or so organizations in James Bay where little or none existed before. In general terms

the suggested concept was for a forum to discuss general problems affecting the community, a clearing house for issues. With the structure of the NIP Committee in mind, it was envisaged that different groups in the neighbourhood would send delegates to the council. The organization favoured was a loose federation of 'societies' rather than a rigidly structured, centralized body.

However participants in the discussion differed on the precise role and function of the council. Some regarded it as an organization that would deal with relatively mundane matters such as preventing double booking of the community centre, avoiding clashes of community events and being a general information body. Others saw it as a form of neighbourhood government that would have various committees dealing with the issues affecting James Bay, e.g., zoning, traffic, community centre, finances and funding. In this way, the need for organizations like the JBCA and JBRL would be superseded.

The latter concept raised fears that autonomous organizations would be subsumed by the council. Such feelings expressed a jealous protection of the individual organizations and independent financial management, and a resistance to the possible loss of executive power. Such groups were largely concerned with their own interests, rather than having those of the whole neighbourhood in mind. The council was regarded in terms of helping specific societies, rather than

as an agent of political organizing towards control and self-determination of the neighbourhood. The internal ideological differences in the community movement had resurfaced. Morris and Hess (1975, p. 113-4) have portrayed the difficulties that a community faces in attempting to formulate its own organizations:

> It is in the debates about neighbourhood government and the extension of democracy into all areas of life that the neighbourhood will undergo its most decisive phase, exploring questions of self-reliance and local control in a way not previously done. The debates will be bitter and forceful, for the citizens are in fact discussing the foundation blocks for a new society, a new form of government arising parallel to the old forms. All the latent fears about the ability of people to control their own lives, the need for outside experts, the need for bigness, for those monthly social security checks from nameless bureaucrats, will rise to the surface. We have become so used to dependency that even the idea of local government gives many the chills.

The debate did not achieve more than the pragmatics of running the community centre, but the problematic of organizing the community remains. Any moves to establish a community council that would oversee the conditions of social reproduction in the neighbourhood must fundamentally come to terms with the relations between the various groups and societies and the community council/neighbourhood government.

The implications of such a direction raise further questions. How would the municipal state react to such a body?

Would grants to the community get cut? Would the council send delegates to municipal advisory committees or to a federative body of neighbourhoods? How would a community council relate to a ward system and its aldermanic representative?

Such questions remain part of the community movement project if it is to progress along a more radical, socialistic course, with the aim of asserting control over the whole range of collectively consumed services and amenities by residents in James Bay. In developing alternative structures in organizing everyday life, the road will no doubt be long and rocky, but it remains a necessity for <u>real</u> social change in James Bay and the city at large.

## FOOTNOTES TO THE AFTERWORD

1. Monday, 2:26, August 29-September 5, 1976, pp. 3, 22-23.
2. Monday, 3:46, November 14-20, 1977, p. 16-17.
3. Cited in Beckley Farm News, 1:5, November 1977, p. 9.
4. Cited ibid.
5. Daily Colonist, December 1, 1978, p. 17; James Bay News, 6:6, December 1978, p. 7.
6. Letter from Anne Fletcher to Victoria Times, November 18, 1977, p. 4; Beckley Farm News, 2:9, March 1979, p. 1.
7. Beckley Farm News, ibid.
8. This refers to the election of Bill McElroy from Fairfield, and Robin Blencoe from Fernwood. It is indicative of the ambiguous nature of the community movement, that at the time of writing, they find themselves confronting one another on council.
9. Daily Colonist, December 5, 1978, p. 9.
10. Interview, May 1980.
11. Beckley Farm News, 2:10, April 1979, p. 2.
12. Hubert Beyer wrote: "There isn't an issue under the sun that would draw 250 people to a meeting in any other part of town with the possible exception of Fernwood." Daily Colonist, January 22, 1978, p. 5.
13. With regard to the James Bay Community Project, there is a feeling among some that the erosion of its strong, initial autonomy was of the community's own doing. Despite having an elected board, the administration of services has come to rest upon staff initiatives to the extent that it is more a government project than a form of neighbourhood self-government.
13. In the summer of 1979, the JBCA claimed 60 members and the JBRL, 250, Monday, 5:35, August 31-September 6, 1979, p. 4. In November 1979, the CRB was filled by acclamation for the first time, the number of members having dropped from 15 to 12. Daily Colonist, November 23, 1979, p. 29; James Bay News, 7:6, December 1979, p. 8.

15. Cited in editorial, Daily Colonist, February 26, 1978, p. 4.

16. Daily Colonist, March 16, 1978, p. 21.

17. Daily Colonist, January 18, 1979, p. 5.

18. Hubert Beyer, Daily Colonist, September 20, 1979, p. 5. When Social Credit was returned to power in 1975, it re-introduced provisions for landowners to vote municipally whether resident or not. The previous NDP government had abolished the privilege.

19. Hubert Beyer, Daily Colonist, September 28, 1978, p. 5.

20. Cited in Daily Colonist, July 13, 1979, p. 18.

21. Daily Colonist, October 15, 1978, p. 5; editorial, November 10, 1978, p. 4.

22. Mel Cooper, cited in Real Estate Victoria, 3:29, July 19-25, 1979, p. 1.

23. Sunday Colonist, April 6, 1980, p. 5.

24. The Urban Conference, held in October 1980, embodied this very concern.

25. Letter from Dr. A.H. Lane to Daily Colonist, August 12, 1980, p. 5.

26. Victoria Times, August 13, 1980, p. 5; Daily Colonist, August 22, 1980, p. 25; August 23, 1980, p. 8.

27. Daily Colonist, August 14, 1980, p. 11; Letter from R.J. Wheaton to Daily Colonist, August 20, 1980, p. 5; Letter from P.D.P. Holmes to Daily Colonist, August 26, 1980, p. 5. In somewhat convoluted logic they argue that business tenants should have the same right to vote as residential tenants, but ignore the claims of workers having the right to vote in the municipality in which they work. One imagines they utilize municipal facilities as much as business does!!

28. Beckley Farm News, 2:9, March 1979, p. 1; Monday, 6:46, November 14-20, 1980, p. 5.

29. Interview, May 1980.

30. ibid.

31. The following comments are largely based on attendence and observation at two meetings at the end of 1979 when these proposals were debated.

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## APPENDIX A: NEWSPAPERS CONSULTED WITH DATES OF PUBLICATION

### DAILY

Daily Colonist - published six days a week

Victoria Times - published six days a week

(N.B.: The above newspapers merged to form the Times-Colonist in the fall of 1980.)

### WEEKLY

Monday - published since July 1975

### COMMUNITY

James Bay News - published monthly since July 1973

Beckley Farm News - published monthly between July 1977 and January 1980

# APPENDIX B: JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM SURVEY

I am here on behalf of the City of Victoria and the James Bay Neighbourhood Improvement Program Committee to see if you would like to give your views on how James Bay Neighbourhood should spend its share of the $2 million of neighbourhood improvement funds.

Perhaps you know something about the Neighbourhood Improvement Program already. If not, N.I.P. is a federal program designed to improve certain aspects of your neighbourhood. Generally speaking, there are six major categories in which the money can be spent (the last category i.e. improvement of commercial enterprises, will be asked only of the proprietors of businesses in the area). These categories are:

(a) Buying land for open space parks and recreational purposes and/or improvements.

(b) Building or renovating a community social and recreational centre.

(c) Buying land that will later be used for housing.

(d) Buying or clearing land that is not being used for a purpose consistent with the general character of the neighbourhood.

(e) Improving municipal and public utility services in the neighbourhood.

(f) Making loans for the physical improvement of commercial enterprises in the neighbourhood.

Because there isn't enough money to do all of these things, we would like to know what you think is most important and so on. In this way, we can determine how most of the residents in James Bay would like to see this money spent.

When we finish discussing this, perhaps you would also like to know something about the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, which goes hand-in-hand with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. This is a program designed to give low-interest loans to eligible home owners and landlords who want to do certain repairs and renovations to their homes.

Before we begin, we would like to stress that co-operation in this survey is voluntary. Every household in James Bay will be contacted and asked the same questions. When all the information is in, we'll let you know the results by newspaper and radio and call a public meeting to discuss the results.

Now, before we start, do you have any questions ?

NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM SURVEY

The first category we shall look at will be (a) buying or clearing of land for the purposes of providing open space or social and recreational land in the neighbourhood.

1. How important do you feel it is to spend Neighbourhood Improvement funds on the purchase of land for open space or social and recreational facilities in James Bay ?

   0 - Very Important
   1 - Important
   2 - Not Important
   3 - Opposed
   X - No Answer

2. If this category was ranked as a priority by most people which two of the following suggestions would you favour ( in order of preference )

   0 - Buying small parcels of land for development as local playground or picnic areas.
   1 - Buying large portions of land for development as a new park.
   2 - Buying property next to existing parks in order to enlarge them.
   3 - Other (specify)
   X - No Answer

3. Indicate on map two locations in James Bay that would be suitable for your first choice in Question 2 (in order of preference)

4. What two types of improvements do you feel would be most beneficial to open space areas in James Bay (in order of preference)

   0 - More equipment ( e.g. benches, horseshoe pits, drinking fountains, etc)
   1 - Safer access and parking
   2 - Landscaping
   3 - Change rooms
   4 - Other (specify)
   X - No Answer

5. Which two types of outdoor recreational facilities do you feel would be most beneficial to James Bay (in order of preference) ?

0 - Tennis courts
1 - Lawn bowling green
2 - Children's wading pool
3 - All purpose sports field
4 - Facilities for anglers
5 - Other (specify)
X - No answer

The second category we shall look at will be (b) the building of neighbourhood recreational and social centres or the buying and renovating of existing buildings for that purpose.

6. How important do you feel it is to spend Neighbourhood Improvement funds on the acquiring of a recreational and social centre.

0 - Very important
1 - Important
2 - Not important
3 - Opposed
X - No answer.

7. If this category was determined as a priority by most people which two of the following suggestions would you favour (in order of preference) ?

0 - Construction of a new recreational and social centre.
1 - Buying and converting an existing building for use as a recreational and social centre.
2 - Other (specify)
X - No answer.

8. Indicate on map two locations in James Bay that would be suitable for your first choice on Question 7 (in order of preference).

9. Which two types of indoor recreational facilities do you feel would be most beneficial to James Bay ? (in order of preference).

0 - multi-purpose recreational centre
1 - Several smaller buildings in various locations for use of specific groups (e.g. senior citizens, clubs etc)
2 - One single-purpose recreation facility (e g swimming pool, skating rink etc)
3 - Other (specify)
X - No answer

The third category we shall look at will be (c) the buying and/or clearing of land to be used for housing individuals or families of low or moderate income.

10. How important do you feel it is to spend Neighbourhood Improvement funds on the purchase of land in James Bay to house individuals and families of low or moderate income ?

0 - Very important
1 - Important
2 - Not important
3 - Opposed
x - No answer

11. If this category was ranked as a priority by most people, which two types of housing would you like to see built (in order of preference)

0 - Single family dwellings
1 - Duplex
2 - Townhouses
3 - Low rise (up to four stories)
4 - High rise
5 - Other (specify)
X - No answer

12. If this category was ranked as a priority by most people which of the following types of development would you favour for such housing ?

0 - Clusters of 4-6 dwelling units in various parts of the neighbourhood
1 - A large development, concentrated in one section of the neighbourhood
2 - Other (specify)
X - No answer

13. Indicate on map two locations in James Bay that would be suitable for your first choice on question 11.

The fourth category we shall look at will be (d) the buying and/or clearing of land or buildings that tend to downgrade the appearance of the surrounding neighbourhood.

14. How important do you feel it is to spend Neighbourhood Improvement funds on the purchase of property which is unsightly or unused ?

0 - Very Important
1 - Important
2 - Not important
3 - Opposed
X - no answer

15. If you have a particular property in mind for Question 14 please specify, then indicate location on map.

16. Which one of the following suggestions would you prefer for the use of the property specified in Question 15.

0 - Open Space or Park Area
1 - Housing
2 - Shopping Mall
3 - Other (specify)
X - No Answer

The fifth category we shall look at will be (e) improving municipal and public utility services in the neighbourhood.

17. How important do you feel it is to spend Neighbourhood Improvement funds on the improvements of municipal and public utility services in James Bay ?

0 - Very Important
1 - Important
2 - Not Important
3 - Opposed
X - No Answer

18. If this category was determined as a priority by most people which two types of improvements would you consider most important ? (in order of preference)

0 - Improvements to roads, sidewalks, curb and gutters, boulevards, street lights.
1 - Improvements to traffic signals, traffic flow and cross walks.
2 - Improvements to sewers and water systems.
3 - Establishment of local police and fire protection facilities.
4 - Increase in number of bus shelters.
5 - Other (specify)
X - No Answer

19. Indicate on map two locations in James Bay that have the greatest need for your first choice in Question 18.

20. Now that you have had a chance to think about each of the categories in the whole survey would you please rank the entire list in order of preference.

0 - Land for Open Space
1 - Construction of recreational and social facilities.
2 - Land for Housing
3 - Clearing of unsightly or unused property
4 - Improvement of municipal services

21. What is your own personal suggestion for a Neighbourhood Improvement project that you would most like to see in James Bay.

## SECTION 2

## RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

In this section of the survey, we are interested in finding out how many residents might be interested in a low interest loan of up to $5,000 to improve and renovate their homes. These loans would be from the federal corporation, Central Mortgage and Housing, under the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program i.e. R.R.A.P.

In order to qualify for these loans, certain things about your home, dependents and income must be determined. Therefore, the following questions will help determine the number of people in James Bay who would be eligible for these loans. This is important to know so that sufficient money for R.R.A.P. can be estimated and allocated to our neighbourhood.

Again we remind you that answering any, or all, of these questions is strictly voluntary and is for research purposes only.

22. Do you:

0 - Rent
1 - Own
X - No Answer

IF YOU RENT PLEASE IGNORE QUESTIONS 23-30 INCLUSIVE

23. In which category does your total gross annual income fall (both husbands and wives earnings) ?

0 - 0 to $6,000
1 - $6,000 to $11,000
2 - $11,001 to $14,000
3 - Over $14,000
X - No Answer

24. How many dependent children do you have ?

(State Answer)
X - No Answer

25. Are you interest in R.R.A.P. ? Whatever you say is not a committment.

0 - Yes
1 - No
X - No Answer

26. Do you feel the house is worth repairing if repairs are needed ?

0 - Yes
1 - No
X - No Answer

27. What type of repairs would you be interest in ?

0 - Structural
1 - Electrical
2 - Plumbing
3 - Heating
4 - Two or more of above
X - No Answer

28. About how much do you think it would cost for needed repairs?

0 - Less than $500.00
1 - $500.00 to $1,000.00
2 - $1,000.00 to $3,000.00
3 - $3,000.00 to $5,000.00
4 - Over $5,000.00
X - No Answer

29. Are there other improvements needed such as - painting, fencing, etc.

0 - Yes
1 - No
2 - No Answer

## SECTION 3

## COMMUNITY SERVICES

This section of the survey is not related to Neighbourhood Improvement Program funds. It is an attempt to assess the needs of individuals for services which may be provided within the community.

30. List your three most pressing unmet needs.

Here is a list of services identified as needed by the community. Please consider each of these items and state whether it is important to you personally.

31. Emergency Health visits
32. Homemaker services
33. Nutritionally Prepared meals
34. Social visits
35. Housecleaning assistance
36. Handyman services
37. Financial assistance information
38. Legal Aid Information
39. Employment Services Counselling
40. Foot care
41. Dentist
42. Door to door transport
43. High School Bus Service
44. Pre/after school day care
45. All day day care
46. Evening and night care for children
47. Other specify.

0 - Yes 1 - No 2 - No Answer

(Interviewer enters appropriate response for each item on Answer Sheet)

Please read through the next seven questions. If any apply to you, it would be useful to have your name and address. You may give this information to the interviewer if you wish.

48. Do you have any particular skill or interest you would like to share with others ?

49. Are you a retired person ?

50 If yes would you be interested in meeting with other retired persons ?

51 Are you aware that there is a community office ?

52. Would you be interested in knowing the services provided through this office ?

53. Would you volunteer to help others and/or in community projects.

54. Are you interested in being a member of a community association ?

0 - Yes
1 - No
2 - No Answer

(Interviewer enters appropriate response for each item on Answer Sheet)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

## APPENDIX C: JAMES BAY NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM SURVEY RESULTS

There were four separate methods of obtaining input to the decision making process up to the community committee level.

They were:

(1) Residence to residence survey questionnaire
(2) Receipt of project proposals from organized groups
(3) Receipt of project proposals from individual residents
(4) Receipt of solicited letters of interest from community businesses in relation to commercial loans.

The residential survey questionnaire was the most comprehensive of the four methods and is worthy of description.

Within the NIP section, questions were required to fall within the framework of the following five categories:

(a) Buying of land for open space, parks and recreational purposes and or improvements

(b) Building or renovating a community social and recreational centre

(c) Buying land that will be later used for housing

(d) Buying, or clearing of, land that is not being used for a purpose consistent with the general character of the neighbourhood

(e) Improving municipal and public utility services in the neighbourhood

A sixth category - making loans for the physical improvement of commercial enterprises in the neighbourhood was addressed directly to the owners and occupants of commercial properties in a separate communication.

In relation to the questionnaire, the methods of determining response were as follows:

1. Respondents were asked to list in order of preference the five categories as described in question 20 of the questionnaire.

2. Respondents were asked to signify the degree of importance attached to each individual category.
Reference questions 1-6-10-14-17

3. Respondents were asked to nominate a specific area of need within each category, for which they desired money to be spent.
Reference questions 2-4-5-7-9-11-12-16-18

4. A direct question "What is your own personal suggestion for a Neighbourhood Improvement Project".

To arrive at an analysis of the survey let us look at each of the above.

1. List in order of preference the five categories, which are:
   (1) - 0 Land for open space
   (6) - 1 Construction of recreational & social facilities.
   (10)- 2 Land for housing
   (14)- 3 Clearing at unsightly or unused property
   (17)- 4 Improvement of municipal services.

Question 20 No. of times each category was indicated as a first choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 207 | 521 | 452 | 267 | 101 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first or second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 446 | 931 | 822 | 617 | 254 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first, second, or third choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 771 | 1233 | 1101 | 985 | 481 |

In each of these categories 1 & 2 are indicated more frequently than the others (category 3 being the third most frequent choice).

The order according to this count is:
1 : 2 : 3 : 0 : 4

20. On the permutation count of 1st choice combined with second choice these are the highest permutations of any two categories.

| 1st | 2nd | No. |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | 207 |
| 1 | 2 | 199 |
| 1 | 3 | 139 |
| 2 | 3 | 136 |
| 1 | 0 | 116 |
| 0 | 1 | 98 |

Again categories 1 & 2 are more prevalent in the rating.

20. No. of times each category was indicated as a first choice in area A.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | 41 | 28 | 21 | 12 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first or second choice in area A.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36 | 64 | 67 | 45 | 26 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first, second or third choice in area A.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | 85 | 86 | 78 | 48 |

Again categories 1 & 2 are more frequently chosen.

20. No. of times each category was indicated as a first choice in Area B.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 65 | 191 | 136 | 72 | 39 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first, second choice in Area B.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 143 | 303 | 261 | 198 | 97 |

No. of times each category was indicated as first, second or third choice in area B.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 234 | 399 | 349 | 332 | 179 |

Again categories 1 & 2 are more frequently chosen.

20. No. of times each category was indicated as a first choice in area C.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 60 | 147 | 169 | 89 | 29 |

No. of times each category was indicated as a first or second choice in area C.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 135 | 314 | 281 | 183 | 69 |

No. of times each category was indicated as first, second or third choice in area C.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 260 | 419 | 360 | 291 | 135 |

Again categories 1 & 2 are most frequently chosen.

20. No. of times each category was chosen as a first choice in area D.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 63 | 142 | 119 | 85 | 21 |

No. of times each category was chosen as a first and second choice in Area D.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 132 | 250 | 213 | 191 | 62 |

No. of times each category was chosen as a first, second or third choice in area D.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 218 | 330 | 306 | 284 | 119 |

Again categories 1 & 2 are most frequently chosen.

2. Degree of importance attatched to each individual category.

It should be noted here that while the categories in question 20 are listed: 0-1-2-3-4-:, in the general questionaire the categories are questions numbers: 1-6-10-14-17-.

No. who rated each category as very important over total area.

| Question 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 466 | 770 | 678 | 649 | 370 |

No. who rated each category as important or very important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1037 | 1336 | 1117 | 1206 | 864 |

No. who rated each category as not important

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 423 | 172 | 202 | 221 | 333 |

No. who rated each category as opposed.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 62 | 27 | 185 | 82 | 276 |

Category 6 shows as top priority
with 10 & 14 alternating as second priority.

Area A. No. of respondents who rated each category as very important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40 | 77 | 57 | 64 | 46 |

No. of respondents who rated each category as important or very important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66 | 101 | 87 | 95 | 72 |

No. of respondents who rated each category as not important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51 | 18 | 17 | 21 | 26 |

No. of respondents who rated each category as opposed.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 15 |

Area B. No. of respondents who chose each category as very important

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 128 | 260 | 198 | 202 | 126 |

No. who chose each category as very important or important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 314 | 432 | 354 | 400 | 301 |

No. who rated each category as not important

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 170 | 59 | 81 | 70 | 126 |

No. who rated each category as opposed.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 4 | 55 | 13 | 55 |

Area C. No. of respondents who chose each category as very important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 175 | 241 | 251 | 209 | 109 |

No. who rated each category as very important and important

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 362 | 436 | 375 | 369 | 263 |

No. who rated each category as not important

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 93 | 46 | 47 | 83 | 69 |

No. who rated each category as opposed.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | 12 | 66 | 33 | 139 |

Area D. No. of respondents who indicated each category as very important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 123 | 192 | 172 | 174 | 89 |

No. who rated each category as important or very important.

| 1 | 5 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 295 | 367 | 301 | 342 | 228 |

No. who rated each category as not important.

| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 109 | 49 | 57 | 47 | 112 |

No. of respondents who rated each category as opposed.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 17 |
| 17 | 9 | 49 | 30 | 67 |

3. The answers here designate a specific need within the category irrespective of the placement of the category in order of preference.

Question 2 No. of respondents who selected each need as a first preference.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 635 | 167 | 197 | 75 | 507 |

No. of respondents who selected each need as a second preference.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 121 | 150 | 222 | 37 | 1017 |

Question 4 No of respondents who selected each need as a first preference

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 602 | 246 | 215 | 55 | 144 | 319 |

No. of respondents who selected each need as a second preference

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 197 | 193 | 297 | 87 | 111 | 669 |

Question 5 No. of respondents who selected each need as a first choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 385 | 272 | 299 | 224 | 75 | 87 | 239 |

No. of respondents who selected each need as a second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 200 | 195 | 276 | 212 | 101 | 101 | 483 |

Question 7 No. of respondents who chose each need as a first preference.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | X |
|---|---|---|---|
| 663 | 709 | 24 | 182 |

No. of respondents who chose each need as a second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | X |
|---|---|---|---|
| 309 | 327 | 41 | 867 |

Question 9 No. of respondents who chose each need as a first preference.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 763 | 306 | 328 | 44 | 138 |

No. of respondents who chose each category as a second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 227 | 300 | 284 | 37 | 691 |

Question 11 No. of respondents who chose each need as a first choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 498 | 274 | 253 | 224 | 51 | 33 | 249 |

No. of respondents who chose each need as a second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 117 | 448 | 273 | 206 | 41 | 20 | 458 |

Question 12 No. of respondents who chose each need

| 0 | 1 | 2 | X |
|---|---|---|---|
| 935 | 163 | 116 | 367 |

Question 16 No. of respondents who chose each need

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 249 | 578 | 86 | 142 | 489 |

Question 18 No. of respondents who chose each need as a first choice

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 509 | 172 | 92 | 65 | 182 | 139 | 423 |

No. of respondents who chose each need as a second choice.

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 155 | 256 | 88 | 130 | 188 | 66 | 652 |

4. This is Question #21 which was an open question in that it asked the respondent to nominate one specific project as their choice for a Neighbourhood Improvement Project. The response to this question was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 266 | Recreation centre ( some including swimming pool ) |
| 10 | Recreation for children |
| 58 | Centre for elderly |
| 61 | Swimming pool/skating |
| 35 | Neighbourhood pub |
| 12 | Arts Centre/movies, concert hall etc. |
| 5 | Bowling green |
| 5 | Tennis Courts |
| 5 | Marina/anglers facilities |
| 5 | Programs for teenagers |
| 3 | shuffle board court |
| 1 | Golf course |
| 1 | Singles club |
| 2 | Pin bowling |
| 1 | Archery |
| 2 | Bingo |
| 1 | Croquet field |
| | total 470 |
| 40 | Open space - more parks; extension to park; developing waterfront |
| 12 | More playgrounds; supervision in playgrounds |
| 29 | Clearing land & property |
| 9 | Landscaping; trees; equipment |
| 6 | Allotments; community gardens |
| 1 | Open air beer garden |
| 1 | Exhibition grounds |
| 1 | Clean up parks |
| | total 99 |
| 63 | Garbage cans; cleaning up; sewer improvements |
| 21 | Traffic control; crossing |
| 56 | Improvements to roads and sidewalks; bicycle paths |
| 15 | Bus shelters; routing, benches |
| 2 | Shopping mall |
| 4 | Breakwater improvements |
| 11 | 1 way streets; closures |
| 2 | Police facilities |
| 4 | Parking improvements |
| 15 | Telephone poles; underground wiring; mailboxes; lighting, etc. |
| | total 193 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 48 | General housing improvements and development |
| 26 | Senior citizens housing |
| 36 | Low income housing |
| 3 | Co-op housing |

Total 113

The second method of information input, namely, specific project proposals presented by organized groups brought the following response:

1. New Horizons — A centre for senior citizens

2. James Bay Anglers — Waterfront Park with facilities for anglers.

3. Avalon Residents — Closure and improvement of Avalon Road.

The above proposals are contained in comprehensive presentations and may be examined in detail if and when required.

The third method of information input, namely individual representation was achieved by the receiving of individual proposals at the community office. The proposals are distinct and separate from the survey input. It also includes some 70 suggestions forwarded from a question box at New Horizons. In summary, the information is as follows:

Individual suggestions (incl. N.H.) N.B. This list does not include
(1) New Horizons
(2) Avalon group } Group projects
(3) Anglers Club

Open Space

4 - Open space
5 - Tennis Courts
1 - Lawn bowling
1 - trees

Municipal

12 - Litter, garbage cans, clearing beach, sewers
10 - Bus shelters & service
2 - Bridge to James Bay
8 - 1 way streets and closures
7 - road improvement
10 - Underground wiring
8 - Traffic control (Bicycles) & lights
1 - dogs

Housing

7 - Housing

Social & recreational

20 - Social & recreational centre
2 - Bowling alley
55 - Seniors centre
1 - Marina
1 - Pitch & putt golf

The fourth method of information input related to commercial loans. A letter describing the program as it related to commercial loans was sent to each commercial enterprise inJames Bay, of which there are a total of 84, according to the postal walk sheet.

Four replies indicating interest in the program were received. They were from :

| | |
|---|---|
| Daniels Electronics Ltd. | - St. Lawrence St. |
| Net Loft Dining Room | - Montreal St. |
| Land of Little People | - Bellville St. |
| Medana Quest Home (REST) | - Medana St. |

The above responses are on file and may be examined as and when required.

# VITAE

Surname: TOZER Given Names: David John

Place of Birth: Sutton, England Date of Birth: Jan. 14, 1955

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sutton Manor High School, England | 1966 | to | 1973 |
| Cambridgeshire College of Art and Technology, England | 1973 | to | 1976 |
| University of Victoria, B.C., Canada | 1977 | to | 1981 |

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

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Honors and Awards:

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University of Victoria Supplement, 1978-1979

University of Victoria Teaching Assistantship, 1977-1980

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STATE INTERVENTION, THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM IN JAMES BAY, VICTORIA

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March 2nd, 1981
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