

CITIZEN ACTION GROUPS: A Study of Citizen
Participation in the
Urban Community

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BY

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Abstract

My thesis focuses on Citizen Action Groups. Such groups are defined as being self-initiated in a local community, by citizens for the purpose of taking action to change or maintain their immediate situation. For instance, demanding redevelopment of a neighborhood or opposing the construction of a highway through a community. The STOP SPADINA group in Toronto is a well-known example of the latter.

My objectives were to analyze the citizen action group as a unique and significant form of social participation and to collate a body of information for use in further study.

This analysis was concerned with the social relevance and implications of the citizen action group as an untapped source of power for creating change in community structure and attitudes.

In addition, the analysis addressed the relationship between citizen action groups and theories on social participation, class and power. Based on a review of the classical and current literature dealing with participation and integration, the citizen action group was analyzed as a secondary group which expresses the interests and needs of individuals and provides them with a means of interaction and participation, thereby helping to integrate them into the social life of the urban community.

This analysis also included a study of two types of participation - Community Organization Agencies and Social Movements because they have certain characteristics which are applicable to citizen action groups.

Finally, from the review of participation literature - two facts became evident, one, the importance of social power - in Bierstedt's terms of numbers, organization and resources in the nature, operations and success of the citizen action group and secondly, the affect which social class has upon this power and inevitably upon the outcome of the group's activities. From this relationship, a MODEL emerged in which social class is classified as an independent variable affecting the intervening variable of power, which in turn determines the dependent variable - which is, the degree to which a group achieves its goals.

From this review of the literature a collection of information applicable to Citizen Action Groups was derived and formulated into a Conceptual Framework which was then used to study and compare two existing citizen action groups in Hamilton - the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive. These groups represent different socio-economic backgrounds but both were organized to stop change in their respective neighborhoods.

As a result of the analysis of these groups, several conclusions could be drawn:

1- The study of the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive, provided evidence to support the belief that the social class background of a group determines the amount of power it possesses and consequently, the degree to which it achieves success. This became evident because class accounted for the differences between the groups in their numbers, their access to resources and the type and quality of their organization - in short, the groups' social power and the final outcome of their activities.

On the basis of social class, the groups were also found to differ in the degree to which they fulfilled functions, as a secondary group, at the individual and community levels of society.

In addition, the study of these groups demonstrated the utility of the Conceptual Framework as an analytic tool in examining the citizen action group as a form of social participation.

On the basis of these conclusions, it was felt that the objectives of this paper had been fulfilled. However, as a result of this thesis, several observations were drawn concerning the implications of the emergence of citizen action groups.

Beyond the success or failure of any specific citizen action group in any one community, the concept of "citizen action in the urban community" can be evaluated as to its potential power. As a source of energy and ability

that have largely been untapped, the citizen action group has the potential to change attitudes and values, thereby promoting social responsibility in the use of property and co-operation instead of conflict between powerful vested interests (government and citizens) which can act as a control to check and balance the power of government.

The emergence of citizen action groups also has the potential to create structural changes such as establishing communication channels and participation avenues which give citizens access to decision-making processes and to information which is in itself a course of control.

It has been stated that : If the power to resolve urban problems lies in the hands of those who make decisions; it is equally true that power also lies in the hands of those who define the alternatives upon which decisions are made.

A final implication emerging from the analysis of citizen action groups, is the fact, that the citizen action group, is a form of social participation, which has the potential power to define the alternatives upon which decisions concerning urban life are made. As such they can perform an essential role in planning and controlling the urban environment and in relating the individual to his community.

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CHAPTER I

CITIZEN ACTION GROUPS: AN INTRODUCTION

A - Introduction

This thesis is devoted to an examination of the Citizen Action Group, a type of social participation which indicates the desire of citizens to exercise social choice in the urban environment.

From the earliest analysis of society, sociologists have been concerned with the question of the individual's relation to the social system. Many sociological writings have dealt with the subject of human interaction and the ways in which the individual becomes integrated in the social life of his community, as society evolves from a simple to a complex state. (Durkheim, 1933; Weber, 1947; Wilensky, 1965; Wirth, 1964; Greer, 1962; Gans, 1962) In addition, the increasing complexity and accelerated pace of urban living have motivated studies dealing with the types and extent of the individual's participation in an urbanized society. These studies have traced the progression of participation from involvement in formal secondary associations (work, religious) through to the proliferation of informal groups, such as the recently emerging citizen action group. Although the research and theory on social participation is both lengthy and broad in

scope, the appearance of citizen action groups has received only minor attention. In cities across Canada, various groups of citizens are demanding participation in community planning and are protesting the decisions and actions made by those in authority. Despite this activity, and the success of citizens' groups such as the Stop Spadina and Don Vale groups in Toronto, there are relatively few sociological studies dealing with the citizen action group. As a result of the lack of theory explaining the emergence, operations and consequences of citizen action groups and because sociologists, social planners, and professionals involved in community action consider these groups to be a unique way in which individuals interact and participate in the urban community, it is therefore, the purpose of this thesis, to present an analysis of the self-initiated citizen action group, not merely as a new social phenomenon, but as a unique and significant form of social participation.

In presenting the citizen action group as an important type of social participation we will attempt in this thesis to show the relevance of citizen action groups to our knowledge of social participation, specifically the relation of citizens' groups to classical theories concerning integration and participation as well as the similarity between the social functions of a citizen action group and the roles performed by other secondary groups. Firstly, various aspects from the literature on social participation will be discussed, thereby providing

evidence to support the belief that citizen action groups, in a sociological context, must be placed within the realm of social participation. The material reviewed here will also introduce factors which indicate relationships between citizen action groups and various recognized forms of social participation and which suggest that sociologically, citizen action groups share generic characteristics found in other forms of social participation.

From the review of participation literature and from the findings of social participation studies, it is evident that the concept of social class is an important element in relation to social participation. Applying these facts to a study of citizen action groups it is suggested that social class strongly affects many factors of a group's nature which determine the outcome of a group's activities. Accordingly, we will attempt to examine the relationship between citizen action groups and social class. In an effort to substantiate the belief that class has a determining effect on citizen action groups and to indicate the relationship of participation theories to actual citizens' groups, for analysis two citizen action groups have been selected from different socio-economic neighborhoods in Hamilton - the York Opposition Union from the working class area and the Durand Neighborhood Executive from a middle class neighborhood. It is important to emphasize that these two case studies are not intended to be a conclusive

test of the theories as they are too limited, but they have been selected in order to relate the literature on social participation to existing local situations.

Furthermore, our analysis of the citizen action group as a form of social participation is intended to provide an organization of facts on citizen action groups and to outline a theoretical approach - a conceptual framework which may be used in future analysis of citizen action groups. Finally, an attempt will be made to further an understanding of the social consequences of this rapidly developing form of social participation.

The Relevance of Citizen Action Groups in Society:

Before proceeding to a review of the classical and current literature on social participation in order that the citizen action group may be seen, sociologically, in the context of social participation, we will first turn to a discussion of the relevance of citizen action groups in society thereby demonstrating why an examination of these groups is considered to be a worthwhile endeavour.

The citizen action group is defined as a group that is self-initiated in a local community, by citizens, for the purpose of taking action to change or maintain their immediate situation. The emergence of citizen action groups is relatively recent and thus long-term studies examining the consequences of these groups are not available. Although valid judgements

cannot be made as to the role these groups play in society, a few observations can be made as to their significance as an emerging phenomenon in the urban community.

As a result of complex technology and the expansion of bureaucracy in business, government, education and other urban structures, the ordinary citizen is far removed from those who control and govern society. Questions are being raised as to how citizens can influence their environment and what part they have in exercising control over decisions which affect them. Thus it appears that the urban situation has a direct connection to citizens' participation and to the definition of the citizens' role in present society. This point has been suggested by several writers. Spiegel, for example, states that (1971:288):

probably no other issue is as vital to the success of solving America's urban crisis than the viable participation of urban residents in planning the neighborhoods and cities in which they live and the social programs which directly affect them.

The appearance of citizen action groups in Canada and the United States demonstrates an expression of citizen's desire to become involved in those issues which directly affect them. Regardless of the type of action group or its measure of success, the fact that groups are emerging indicates that they represent a relevant and traceable connection to the problems and possible solution of the urban situation.

Another importance of citizen action groups is related to the concept of democracy. The Minister of the Department

of National Health and Welfare has stated (1971:17) that:

The democratic system, to succeed requires more than just one vote per person every three or four years, it requires on-going contact and exchange between government and their constituents.

Speaking of community action groups he is quoted as saying (1971:17):

This is the crucial role of citizens' groups to organize and mobilize their people into a political force, so that their views can be heard in their own right, not filtered through a massive super-structure of agencies and committees and officials.

Most citizen groups are based on the assumption that, despite socio-economic status, an organized action group can release "major sources of energy and ability" (Head, 1971:21) that have been untapped. Thus, these groups and those to come, represent potential forces of power in society. As yet, no structural changes have resulted from such groups and it is obvious that massive social problems cannot be solved by them. However, action groups represent a beginning to greater citizen participation and in addition, according to Wilson Head: (1971:27)

There is some evidence that citizens' groups may begin the task of relating the individual to his society through community action because through community action he is beginning to break through the impersonal bureaucracy of big business, big government, big education systems, big health bureaucracies and other structures that dominate his life at every level.

There are several trends now emerging which represent how community action helps individual to relate to society,

thereby emphasizing this important function of action groups. The first of these trends is the transference of control of low-income community agencies and institutions from exclusive middle-class direction to the inclusion of people from the local area. The decision-making process of many government agencies could also be decentralized, thus involving community participation and insuring that the government is responsive to local needs and aspirations.

In some cases the problem of citizens versus urban planners has been alleviated by involving groups in the planning process from the initial stages. In this way the goals of the planner - urban renewal, expansion et cetera can be co-ordinated with the concerns of the community - protection of property, residential zoning, provision of green spaces. To accomplish this, the role of the planner requires redefinition and the groups need expert help to assume the task of formulating plans and resolving the differences among neighborhood interests.

Further evidence of the importance of community action groups is found in the 1969 Federal Task Force on Government Information (1971:35) which summed up the problem this way:

Since governments are inevitably increasing their efforts on the day-to-day lives of citizens, it follows that the citizens should be able to increase their say in what governments do.

Clague goes on to say that: (1971:35)

Participation avenues need to be designed to give the citizen direct, on-going access to the formal decision-making processes of government when the citizens' interests are involved, for example, in urban renewal or redevelopment.

Citizen action groups are participation avenues but the degree to which they allow citizens access to the decision-making processes is affected by the specific group in question and the government to which it is attempting to relate. Many groups block these two-way communication channels because of inadequate leadership, empty ideologies, poor management or by using tactics which antagonize officials. At the same time, those in authority may be unwilling to see the importance of allowing citizens to participate in such matters.

Finally, the existence of citizen action groups is not an end in itself. It should be evaluated on several levels. Firstly, citizen action, regardless of whether it succeeds or not, represents a change in society away from apathy, alienation and powerlessness towards involvement in community issues. Therefore, this change indicates an alteration of values and attitudes and this should be considered in the realm of social change. The citizen action group, taken beyond simple protest, can be seen as a means of uniting people in the solution of urban problems because the citizen action group is essentially a human process, and as such, has the potential to deal with people's anxiety, uncertainty and partial ignorance of each other and of many technical areas.

Secondly, citizen action groups bring into focus both the individual and the public sector - the government. On one hand, the action group represents the individual joining with others of similar interest, as Wirth suggested, into groups organized to obtain his ends; and on the other hand, the emergence of the action group questions the role of the government as it contemplates urban legislation.

This interaction between individuals and government focuses on the ultimate question:

To what extent should individual freedom and flexibility be sacrificed on the altar of the common good.

(Report of the Ontario Economic Council, 1971:v)

Urban society seeks an answer to this question, but no easy answer exists just as there is no easy consensus in respect of the goals - social, political, economic, cultural, and ethical - which collectively provide the criteria for defining "common good". Citizen action groups provide an opportunity for citizen participation in the goal-setting process, an opportunity for both government and citizens to feel that each is needed in the building of society and a very real opportunity for co-operative contribution commensurate with each one's ability.

B - Theoretical Review:

The brief consideration of the works of Durkheim, Weber, Wilensky and Wirth undertaken in this section demonstrates the importance of integration and participation thereby providing

a context for the examination of citizen action groups which follows.

Sociologists have long been concerned with the question of how the individual is integrated into society in both its simple and complex states. A number of sociological writings focus upon the changes that occur in the way in which individuals participate and interact in the evolving social order. Historically, in the primitive or simple society, industry was exclusively agricultural and the economic activity was self-contained in the family and village. Little or no exchange was needed and thus for the individual, integration in the social system was achieved within the familial circle. However, once trades developed, it was necessary to go outside the family to find customers and to establish relations with competitors. Trades demanded cities and the subsequent recruitment of immigrants to populate them. This brought about the rise of urbanization and the problem of man's relation to the urban environment in an evolving complex society, a subject of concern for many sociologists. Both Durkheim and Weber addressed themselves to this concern and produced theories which explain how the individual participates in a complex urban society.

In Durkheim's view, the problem of social solidarity in a complex society and hence the individual's relation to the changing social order is solved by the division of labor in the complex economic activity because while the division of labor

produces specialization and individualism, it creates the need for co-operation and interdependence, factors which tend to unify society. Cohesion is due to dependence on society, on the parts of which it is composed. As labor is more divided, each person depends on society to a greater extent. "The activity of each is as much more personal as it is more specialized, each one depends as much more strictly on society as labor is divided." (Durkheim, 1965:208-213) This economic activity of the complex society assumes a significant place in the social system because it takes the individual outside the family, occupies the largest segment of an individual's life and becomes steadily more important than the administrative, military, and religious functions. Consequently, the economic activity cannot remain in an unruly state. In order to become organized and replace the old familial form of activity in which the individual experienced solidarity and cohesion in a more primitive society, a new form of regulating activity has to be created in the complex society. "It was necessary for a secondary group of a new kind to be formed." (Durkheim, 1933:17) This is the origin of the corporation, the occupational group which, in Durkheim's analysis was responsible for integrating the individual in society because the corporation fulfilled the needs of the people and substituted for the family in the exercise of a function which had first been domestic, but which could no longer retain this character.

Other secondary groups for example, political, educational, and religious associations also developed to replace the family's role of integrating the individual. Similarly, in this capacity as a secondary group are citizen action groups which seek to satisfy needs and perform the function of relating the individual of the present urban society to the social system of his community.

To summarize, Durkheim claimed that in any society, when the old social structure is weakened, some new structure arises to replace it thus bringing about the emergence of specific group forms of participation whereby the individual could relate to the developing social system.

Closely related to Durkheim's view, Weber postulated (1958:55) that:

any community, including an urban community, is not an unstructured congeries of activities but a distinct and limited pattern of human life. It represents a total system of life forces brought into some kind of equilibrium. It is self-maintaining, restoring its order in the face of disturbances.

Thus like Durkheim, Weber believed that new social structures arise to replace old ones as society becomes more complex. Pertinent to our interest in participation and related to Durkheim's view that the development of groups provides a means of integration for the individual, is Weber's recognition that in the city there is an "absence of psychological homogeneity - such that the intelligentsia, middle class, political

reformers, standpatters and go-getters all pull apart to such an extent that city-dwellers can only think effectively in groups." (Weber, 1958:52) Weber was concerned with the social actions and social relations which exist in the city for he believed that these have meanings for the parties involved and allow individuals the opportunity to interact with each other and participate in the social life of the urban environment. In fact, much of Weber's concern with the system of life forces which emerge, become structured, and maintain the equilibrium of human life in the city may be seen in terms of these concepts of social actions and social relationships. Many of these actions and relationships take place outside the familial circle because as Durkheim suggested, (1933:17) "It was necessary for a secondary group to be formed . . . a new form of regulating activity had to be created in the complex society."

Thus the corporation or occupational group represents one type of social action and social relationship. The citizen action group may also be seen as a social action, a type of inter-human behaviour which has meanings for the parties involved. In addition, the citizen action group allows one to experience a social relationship because each member takes into account the actions of other group members as well as being oriented to the actions of other people in the community, including the municipal leaders.

With reference to Weber's distinction of social relationships into the categories of communal or associative; open or closed; the citizen action group may be classified as an open, associative relationship - that is, as "a voluntary association based on self-interest, a case of agreement as to a long-run course of action oriented purely to the promotion of specific ulterior interests, economic or other, of its members." (Weber, 1947:136) The citizen action group is open to outsiders insofar as "participation in the mutually oriented social action relevant to the subjective meaning is not denied to anyone who wishes to participate." (Weber, 1947:139)

On the basis of these characteristics, together with Weber's theory that sociology should be concerned with the study of social behaviourism, the analysis of the citizen action group as a social relationship may thus be viewed as one method of explaining human conduct in the modern urban community and studying the causal interpretation of a specific form of social action. In addition, the citizen action group denotes one way in which human life interacts and becomes structured.

Thus the emergence of the citizen action group represents a segment of the total system of life forces which emerge in the city under certain conditions and which seek to regulate, pattern and maintain the equilibrium of human life.

As with Durkheim and Weber, Wirth was concerned with the question of man's participation in the social system as a result of urban living.

Increased size, density and social heterogeneity of population were the concepts Wirth designated as responsible for the transitory, segmental and utilitarian relationships that are so prevalent in modern cities.

On the basis of these three variables, numbers, density of population and degree of heterogeneity, Wirth described urbanism as a way of life in which the individual is highly mobile, affiliated with many groups, none of which has his undivided allegiance, and subjected to the services of mass production. In order to counteract the depersonalization and alienation of the urban way of life the individual responds by joining groups and organizations that meet his particular needs and interests. As Wirth stated (1964:77-82):

If the individual would participate at all in the social, political and economic life of the city he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure immerse himself in mass movements. . . . Reduced to a stage of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar interest into groups organized to obtain his ends. This results in the enormous multiplication of voluntary organizations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests. . . . It is largely through the activities of the voluntary groups, be their objectives economic, political, educational, religious, recreational, or cultural that the urbanite expresses and develops his personality, acquires status, and is able to carry on the round of activities that constitute his life career It is only through the

organizations and groups to which men belong that their interests and resources can be enlisted for a collective cause.

This lengthy but necessary passages from the writings of Louis Wirth illustrate that for him, there was a strong relationship between urbanization and group membership. This theory reflects Durkheim's ideas concerning the emergence of secondary groups with the increase of complex economic activity. Wirth's analysis is also similar to Weber's view that city-dwellers can only think effectively in groups.

Following Wirth, other sociologists studied the concept of participation in the urban society and challenged his claim that urban relationships are impersonal and transitory. Studies of urban neighborhoods, (Bell, 1968; Bell and Newby, 1971; Gans, 1962) "revealed the existence of cultures where relationships exist that are primary and close, where family life is rich and cohesive, where 'ethnic villages' thrive, where a sense of community may exist and be of real significance to residents." (Jacobs, 1971:291)

Wilensky, in his discussion of social relations in the urban setting presents the classic picture of the city as portrayed by Simmel (1951:563-574); Park (1925); Wirth (1938:1-24); and Davis (1949). Briefly his summation of the theories of these sociologists follow these lines:

- 1 - Secondary contact spreads with increased size, density, and heterogeneity of population.
- 2 - Social tolerance, the blasé attitude spreads.

- 3 - Secondary control becomes dominant.
- 4 - Private interest groups, voluntary associations multiply.
- 5 - Social life becomes atomized, the individual stands apart, loses a sense of participation, becomes susceptible to manipulation.

Given these factors, together with the complex division of labor, and specialization of functions, Wilensky posits the questions - How does society maintain itself? Why does it not come apart?

In response to these questions, Wilensky examines primary group life in the city, urban mass organizations and mass communications as to their relation to consensus and integration. From this analysis of these three sets of studies, Wilensky suggests that urbanization produces new patterns and sources of stability so that the city tends to stabilize itself. This conclusion bears similarity to Durkheim's theory that the individual was able to relate to the newly developing complexity of urban life through the emergence of occupational groups and corporations thereby producing, in the city, organic solidarity which presumed heterogeneity and division of labor. Furthermore, Wilensky's claim that the city tends to stabilize itself was earlier expressed by Weber (1958:55) who stated that the urban community

represents a total system of life forces brought into some kind of equilibrium. It is self-maintaining, restoring its order in the face of disturbances.

Examining group life in the city, Wilensky suggests that although the city is filled with strangers and the proportion of a person's

total relationships that are secondary is higher in the city than in the peasant village, the mobility and variety of city life can become routine instead of disruptive. In addition, Wilensky points to the fact that new stable patterns of family life have emerged as a result of the home and leisure time being centered for many middle class people, in the suburbs, together with higher salaries, longer vacations, regularized careers and the security produced through the establishment of government and welfare programs. Speaking further of the emergence of new routines and stability in the face of the urban situation, Wilensky disputes the claim that mass communications produce a super-culture as Wirth suggested or permit the easy mobilization of the rootless mass.¹ The basis for Wilensky's argument lies in the fact that the urban population is not simply one large mass but an aggregate of a variety of groups. These groups limit mass media impact because:

- as members of special interest groups, people lack a common way of life and cannot develop common norms through these mass media.
- members of the media audience, although a mass in terms of numbers, "select media content under pressure and guidance from local leaders and from experience in social groups, large and small."
- individuals are predisposed to select further media exposure based on previous attitudes resulting from specific group membership.

¹In discussing these two points, Wilensky refers to: Louis Wirth, "Consensus and Mass Communication," American Sociological Review, XIII, (February, 1948), 1-15, and Karl Mannheim, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, translated by Edward A. Shils. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940.

Wilensky suggests "that mass communications have been absorbed into the life of social groups. The individual adopts the patterns of exposure and response appropriate to his social class and cultural level." (Wilensky, 1958:132) This theory is important because it emphasizes the significance of social groups and social class differences when studying social life in the urban society. The citizen action group is a type of social group which has emerged in the urban setting and in the discussion of these groups, the factor of social class is found to be of considerable importance in accounting for differences in the operations and outcome of action groups.

Wilensky's analysis of social groups and the media brings us to the final point - consensus and secondary associations, in which we find the citizen action group. Wilensky claims (1958:129) that:

Even if family ties are looser and primary group controls have less effect, American society would have an important source of stability and integration in the great secondary associations and controls of the city.

Secondary associations - the church, trade unions, professional associations and the many voluntary associations (the citizen action group is included in this last category) are powerful integrators of society because they bring together diverse people in pursuit of limited goals and because there is often overlapping of membership, thus creating the necessity for people and groups to form a new common meeting-ground as a means of

accommodation and co-operation.

Furthermore, some associations such as unions or protest groups, for example, the citizen action group, represent accepted forms of conflict and are built into society as legitimate channels of protest, thereby preventing disintegration of social structures from irrational or explosive conflict. Finally, the existence of secondary associations and the fact that they command only partial loyalties from people, "serve as a firm block against organizational and propagandistic manipulation." (Wilensky, 1958:130)

Writing about social participation, Scott Greer concluded that the average individual does not participate in a metropolitan society. Formal organizations are run by professionals thus limiting members' participation to voting rights and the government is so highly bureaucratized that the individual participates very little. In addition, the individual is freed from forced participation in work, merely gives lip service to community leaders and is oriented toward home and family.

However, in discussing social participation as it is related to the community in the urban setting, Greer found (1962:96) that social participation does exist in those situations where there is functional interdependence in the community, hence commitment to the ongoing social system; and when the individual has some measure of investment in the interactional network that constitutes the locality group. These factors

tend to occur to a greater degree in neighborhoods which are in low-urban areas since familism is highly correlated with the "growing importance of the local area as a social fact."¹ (Greer, 1962:96)

Applying these findings to citizen action groups, it can be concluded that membership in an action group is a form of social participation, in Greer's terms, when it is the result of or contributes to:

- 1 - functional interdependence in the community.
- 2 - commitment to the ongoing social system.
- 3 - a significant level of investment by individuals in the interactional network that constitutes the locality group.

From these theories on participation it may be concluded that the individual's participation in a secondary group is purposive, the basic desire to interact with other individuals, to become integrated in some aspect of the social life of the community. However, group participation may also be directed towards the achievement of some specific goal as in the citizen action group and towards maximizing rewards and minimizing costs.

However Booth and Edwards point out (1973:6) that:

Resources that are exchanged need not be of the same kind, but it is crucial that each party receive in exchange something he perceives as equivalent to that which he gave.

¹This finding was the result of a Los Angeles study of four census tract populations at middle social rank, without segregated populations but varying from very urbane to very familistic. Greer defines familistic as family-centered, such as a life-style found in the suburbs. This study indicated "a growing importance of the local area as a social fact, as one goes from the highly urbanized areas to the low-urban areas." Scott Greer, The Emerging City, Myth and Reality, New York: The Free Press, 1962.

In addition, interaction occurs only when it is reasonable to expect that the compensation will be equivalent to the resources invested.

Relating this theory to Greer's view of participation, the question remains of how these theories pertain to the specific problem at hand - the citizen action group.

Simply, it appears that an individual will participate in his local area when he has some commitment to the community social system and some investment in the interactional network which constitutes the specific locality. However, in order for this commitment to exist, the individual must feel that there is functional interdependence between himself and the community, such that his investment will receive equal compensation. Given these factors it follows that an individual will participate in a citizen action group only if he perceives that he will receive in exchange something that he feels is equal to that which he gave or invested.

Summarizing these theories on social participation in reference to citizen action groups, it can be concluded that a citizen's group emerges in a specific local area in response to individuals' needs and interests because, as Wirth suggested, it is only through joining with others, of similar interests and needs, into groups that any one individual would obtain his objectives. Furthermore, this participation occurs as a result of an individual's investment in and commitment to the

ongoing social system of the locality. His behaviour, in the act of participating with others in a citizen action group, is not random but purposive and goal-directed such that he not only desires to obtain his objectives and fulfill his interests or needs but expects that the compensation will be equivalent to the resources invested.

Summary:

The review of these theories emphasizes that although society has evolved from a simple, agricultural form to a complex urbanized state, having division of labor, specialization and advanced technology, the individual consistently seeks participation and integration in the social system. Many forms of participation have developed, including the rise of occupational groups and corporations as Durkheim suggested and the shift from Gemeinschaft, close-knit, primary and informal kinds of social interaction with kin and neighbors to Gesellschaft¹ - political and economic interaction, secondary contacts, the rise of formal groups, and the emergence of voluntary and less formal interests groups, as Wirth suggested. Because these secondary groups express individuals' needs and interests, allow human interaction and provide opportunities for participa-

¹For a discussion of Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, see Ferdinand Tonnies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), New York: American Book Company, 1940.

tion in a complex, rapidly-changing social system, they serve as integrators of society. Durkheim states (1933:28):

A society composed of an infinite number of unorganized individuals, that a hypertrophied State is forced to oppress and contain, constitutes a veritable sociological monstrosity. For collective activity is always too complex to be able to be expressed through the single and unique organ of the state. Moreover, the State is too remote from individuals, its relations with them too external and intermittent to penetrate deeply into individual consciences and socialize them within. . . . A nation can be maintained only if, between the State and the individual, there is interrelated a whole series of secondary groups near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and drag them, in this way, into the general torrent of social life.

Despite the changes in the structure of society, Weber claims that the urban community tends to be self-maintaining and restoring in the face of disturbances. New patterns of interaction emerge to replace weakened ones so that society continues to be stable and integrated. Although the primary groups of family and neighborhood have been altered, they have not been replaced by the emergent secondary groups. The citizen action group is one such secondary, voluntary association which serves to relate the urban citizen to his environment and provide him with a means of interaction, participation and solidarity in the social life of his community.

C - Changes in the nature of participation

As indicated by the review of literature on social participation, the subject of group membership, participation

and integration is not new. Sociologists have conducted studies on the kinds and extent of participation in urban society. (Axelrod, 1956:13-18; Babchuk and Booth, 1969:31-45; Litwak, 1961:258-271) Investigation into formal and informal groups including - kin, friendship, neighboring and institutional associations have produced convincing evidence that social exchange as exhibited in group membership, is a near universal feature of the complex, urbanized society.

Historically, we have seen that participation can be traced from the familial circle with its primary relationships to the emergence of secondary groups, in Durkheim's view, the rise of corporations, through to membership in a variety of formal, secondary associations (work, religious), thence to the proliferation of informal organizations (including service groups) and finally to the emergence of groups emphasizing the individual's desire to increase his active involvement in the social system. (Labour party protest groups, social movements, and recently citizen action groups.) Investigation into these groups indicates that although many individuals join groups that are related to religious, educational, or political interests, there is a definite direction in participation towards exercising control in the social system.

The orientation in the field of community organization toward self-help, development of indigenous leadership and community initiative as well as the government-sponsored

community projects indicate that special importance is being placed on citizen involvement in an effort to combat urban apathy towards one's social and geographic environment. At the same time, through various modes of expression: the civil rights movement, political action groups, labour unions, peoples' organizations such as Saul Alinsky's and student activism - individuals are directed towards the concept of participation and the right of the common man to be involved in running those affairs which concern him. Although these forms of participation are different in their goals, actions, type of organization, structure and geographic scope, the theme of participation is nevertheless, common to all. Each represents individuals joining together with others to protest some aspect of the existing situation and to demand some control in decision-making.

However, one dimension of individuals' involvement in the social system which lacks a great deal of theoretical material is the local self-initiated citizen action group. The emergence of these groups indicates the desire of citizens to exercise social choice in their urban environment and as previously stated, this kind of participation "is vital to the success of solving America's urban crisis." (Spiegel, 1971:288) Despite the literature which has grown up around community involvement and various aspects of participation, there is a

scarcity of organized theory, in both Canada and the United States, on these citizen action groups.

The facts on social movements supply information as to how citizens are reacting to national or state problems, irrespective of their communities; literature on planned intervention groups indicates certain needs within the lower-economic neighborhoods and the response of formal organizations; the peoples' organization deals with the mobilization of the poor; and many studies describe participation in society's formal and informal associations.

What is lacking, however, is some textual knowledge explaining the emergence and consequences of citizen action groups if sociologists wish to gain insights into this rapidly developing form of participation. Unlike other forms of participation, citizen action groups are community-based, found in all social classes, are organized by local citizens and directed towards the problems of man's involvement in the planning and control of his urban local environment. Therefore, in a sociological context these groups relate to - social participation literature, urban community studies and stratification theories but despite these linkages, the study of citizen action groups has received comparatively little theoretical recognition.

Based on this realization that there is a scarcity of material discussing citizen action groups in the context of existing sociological theory, the analysis of citizen action

groups will be an attempt to relate this specific form of participation, to the already existing theories on participation, integration and group affiliation. To this end, our analysis of citizen action groups will begin by elaborating on what a citizen action group is and by discussing the questions - What are the specific needs and interests of the urbanite which cause him to join with others of similar interests into forming citizen action groups? What functions does the citizen action group perform as a form of social participation?

Definition and types of citizen action groups:

The citizen action group is one form of the relatively recent citizen group movement and is encompassed within the broad term participation (Carota, 1970:2). In discussing the ideology and practice of citizen participation Wilson Head states (1971:15) that it is not a new process in North America since "Canadians as well as Americans are, as de Tocqueville observed more than a century ago, a nation of 'joiners'. The country is characterized by innumerable citizens joining together as interest groups for the purpose of achieving common objectives." Head goes on to cite such aspects of participation as voting and the fact that much of citizens' participation has been by middle-class groups.

Having said this however, Head states (1971:15) that,

"In recent years, there has been both a qualitative and quantitative change in the nature and extent of citizens' participation and involvement in neighborhood and community affairs." This statement is significant because it speaks of the progression of participation from involvement in interest groups or voluntary service organizations such as the Boys Scouts or Kiwanians to the establishment of citizens' groups. In contrast to organizations which serve the existing system, the citizen groups operate, in geographically defined communities with the purpose of demanding change or resisting some intended change in order to maintain the status quo.

From these examples of participation it can be seen that participation is a broad term encompassing many forms and which is an expression of a variety of needs. Citizen action, as one form of the citizen group movement is included within this general concept of participation but denotes a specific expression of participation.

However, much of the theory surrounding participation, for instance, the relation between social class and the rate, type and style of participation is applicable to citizen action groups. Simply, the discussion of participation has moved from the general to the particular such that participation includes citizen action but is not synonymous with it, whereas citizen action is always participative.

As stated previously, citizen action groups are a form

of the citizen group movement which also includes ratepayers' associations and those groups organized around regional issues such as pollution.

Citizen action groups are differentiated from these as they are defined as groups, which are self-initiated in a local community, by citizens, for the purpose of taking action to change or maintain their immediate situation. Unlike ratepayers' associations, the citizen action group has only one specific goal and the issue or issues under debate are significant to a specific geographically defined group of citizens. An example of this is the Durand Neighborhood Association in Hamilton which is protesting the increase of high-rise apartments in its community. This problem relates to a specific locality whereas issues such as ecology and pollution are the concerns of a larger and broader segment of the population, often exceeding the limits of one community.

Citizen action groups do not simply happen, they are a conscious organized attempt to bring about or resist change in the local community by non-institutionalized means and thus they constitute a form of countervailing power to institutional forms of power. Citizen action includes such groups as those organized to stop the construction of expressways through neighborhoods, (Hamilton and Toronto), minimize the increase of high rise apartments in residential areas (Hamilton), cut down traffic on local streets (Vancouver), preserve parks,

improve and maintain neighborhoods, save homes against expropriation (Montreal), halt land speculation (Waterloo), and set up resistance to the building or expansion of airports near homes (Hamilton, Toronto). (Clark, 1974:1-40)

All of these groups represent people across the country fighting similar battles with developers, urban planners, civic government and land speculators. Even more significant is the fact that these groups, unlike other movements, are representative of all classes.

Although the middle class gives rise to a larger number of groups, the lower income citizens in urban Canada are also forming citizen groups. Carota (1970:12) identified two hundred and fifteen such groups which have sprung up spontaneously in cities across Canada. They are self-initiated by local citizens and receive no outside help from any national network of supporting staff. The emergence of these and middle class groups is the birth of a movement representing citizens of all classes.

Groups may be formed around issues that are specific and local but the principles which underlie them are shared by all. Citizens are concerned with the future of their communities and with the fact that they play no significant role in planning and creating the environment in which they live. Carota states (1970:12) that "citizens are no longer content to wait for the government or some private agency to

produce the things they need or want or to solve the problems and issues they face. Government and private social bureaucracies have failed to meet the needs or solve problems or fulfill citizens' aspirations at local neighborhood levels."

The groups are the expression of these dissatisfactions and concerns and they emphasize, in some but not all cases, the desire of citizens to play a responsible part in the planning process. Despite the fact that many groups have emerged there is no easy way for them to communicate with each other.

They are not learning from the experience of others. There is no group trying to tie it all together, to take the responsibility of systematically analyzing and criticizing policies of federal, provincial, and civic governments in the field of urban policy; no one to report on the successes and failures of the citizen movement across the country; no way to ensure wide exposure of the too-frequent sacrifices of citizens needs for developers' profits. No assurance that the increasing number of interesting books and reports would be brought to the attention of their potential users.

(Stewart, 1974:2)

It is precisely for these reasons, coupled with the lack of sociological theory concerning citizen groups, particularly in Canada, that an analysis of citizen action groups has been undertaken in this thesis. It is only when the planners begin to acknowledge the sophistication and responsibility with which the Canadian people are dealing with their own cities and similarly, it is only when all citizen action groups act in a practical and realistic manner that the distance between

planners and the people will be removed and the planning process can become truly meaningful. (Stewart, 1974:1)

In many areas of community development, sociology can bridge the gap between government and planners and the citizens because sociology possesses the means to analyze situations, provide facts relevant to social problems and evaluate proposed and existing policies. From previous sociological studies of communities and through current analysis of urban problems, two sides of the question concerning the urban environment can be given, on one hand, the problems and needs of the people - on the other, the policies and development plans of the governing bodies. Sociological studies can provide both the government and the citizens with the knowledge of the other's case thus allowing and facilitating communication channels to be developed between citizens and government.

Needs and interests contributing to the formation of citizen action groups:

One basic need or interest which contributes to the formation of citizen action groups is density in the city. Wirth stated that concentration of increased numbers in limited space produces a situation in which competition for space is great. Thus an individual's place of residence is selected on the basis of land values, rentals, accessibility, aesthetic considerations, and in accordance with such characteristics as

place and nature of work, income, social status, racial and ethnic background, custom, habit, taste, preference and prejudice. As a result of these factors, Wirth states (1964: 74) that the:

diverse urban population elements become segregated from one another in the degree in which their requirements and modes of life are incompatible and in the measure in which they are antagonistic.

Given the significance and ramifications of the factors of selection, together with the level of one's economic investment in place of residence, the increased activity of urban developers, as Head (1971:16) noted, and the realization that urban space is at a premium, it is not difficult to comprehend why importance is attached to one's place of residence and why the urbanite should demand or protest change to his physical environment. Similarly, the value which one places on home and neighborhood heightens one's interest in local issues which appear threatening. Lack of urban redevelopment in older sections of cities, the construction of expressways through residential areas, increase in high-rises, and the accompanying problems of deterioration, increased heterogeneity, decrease in land values, higher taxes, expropriation, noise, dust, and greater density are all threatening and in opposition to the basic factors of selection which one initially takes into serious consideration when choosing place of residence. This is especially so if there was originally a choice, and

the place of residence was selected on the basis of aesthetic factors and the absence of nuisances.

Furthermore, in the case of expropriation, one is not only subjected to inconveniences but to displacement and loss of dwelling. As Gans (1962) has indicated, there are urban neighborhoods "which have revealed the existence of cultures and subcultures where relationships exist that are primary and close, where family life is rich and cohesive, where 'ethnic villages' thrive, where a sense of community may exist and be of real significance to residents." (Jacobs, 1971:291) In neighborhoods such as these, the price which residents pay as a result of expropriation is significantly higher because the investment is greater. It is an investment of emotions, not simply of economics.

Consequently, individuals react to the threatening situation of change, deterioration and expropriation and it is their physical needs and interests which cause them to create an organization in which these needs can be enlisted for the collective cause of influencing the decisions which affect their physical locality. Hence citizen action groups emerge.

Aside from the purely physical needs and interests which encourage many individuals to join citizen action groups, participation in these groups is also the result of individuals feeling the need to do more than merely protest municipal decisions. Many citizens also want to participate in the planning and control of their neighborhood. This interest was developed

for several reasons, the first of which was a change in thinking on the part of those involved in urban studies.

In contrast to the determinism of the Chicago school which held that industries, and commercial institutions - hence land values and competition determined the location and composition of residential areas, Bell (1968) posited the theory of social choice. In this he emphasized that man makes choices that do indeed affect both where he lives and the nature of the urban environment.

The introduction of this concept of 'intervention',¹ brought about great emphasis on urban planning which in time also encouraged citizens to realize that they too could intervene and influence the nature of their environment.

The second factor responsible for developing this interest on the part of citizens can be traced to the growth of an increasingly complex society. The increased activity of urban developers, the accelerated rate of technological change, the growth of knowledge, expansion of bureaucracy and the development of larger governing units are all factors which remove government further from the people. (Jacobs, 1971:288) This remoteness of control in the face of a large, complex and rapidly-changing society develops in the individual the need to break through the impersonal bureaucracies of business, government, educational, and health-related structures

¹This concept was expressed by W. H. Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment: A Sociological Approach. Don Mills: Addison Wesley Co., 1970, p. 21.

which dominate his life at every level. As a result, the individual seeks others who share this need and they join together in some collective action, such as the formation of citizen action groups, rather than remaining uninvolved or limiting participation to voting rights.

The need of citizens to participate has been expressed in many ways and represents a world-wide movement of people to take action to change their immediate situation. The demand of citizens to participate in community affairs is thus closely related to other movements such as civil rights, Canadian Indians, women's equality and the revolt of the youth, all of which are consequences of our complex society.

According to Franklin, (1971:288), "In a world of large institutional and corporate control, it becomes increasingly vital for the individual to know he has some influence on his own future." Nowhere is this statement more valid than in the city neighborhood and community which, because of the size and complexity of urban affairs, have become the focus of urban living. The importance of this 'neighborhood concept' has been recognized by the United Nations which in 1961 "emphasized the concept of neighborhood as the geographic and social unit within which urban community development can be undertaken." (Jacobs, 1971:291)

Social Participation - Definition and Functions:

"Social participation involves two or more persons, mutually pursuing the attainment of some defined objective, and undertaking activities which are separated from other social activities in time and space.

(Edwards and Booth, 1973:1)

Although a wide range of diverse and specific activities are included within this definition, two basic distinctions have been developed in order that social participation may be conceptualized. The first distinction refers to the types of objectives pursued and the second is the distinction between formal and informal participation.

In discussing participation it is assumed that all activities and their associated behaviour are goal-oriented. Thus, activities and the activity goals have been classified into two major types: instrumental and expressive.

Activities which are instrumental are:

those which are directed outside of the group of participants and whose objectives are instrumental in the sense that the activities pursued have functional consequences for some segment of the community or the larger society.

(Edwards and Booth, 1973:1)

At the other extreme, are expressive activities which are restricted solely to the participants and whose objectives are an end in themselves having no effect on non-participants. Finally, in reality, is the instrumental-expressive type of participation whose activities and goals are mixed in character.

Edwards and Booth state that many voluntary associations fall into this category. As an analysis of citizen action groups will indicate, it is appropriate to label these groups as a form of instrumental-expressive participation because, while their goals are instrumental and their activities are a means to an end, participation in such a group is also expressive. This occurs because some gratification is derived from the mere fact of being involved and thus is immediate and self-contained.

The second distinction, between formal and informal participation, is a difference of degree rather than of kind and depends on the extent to which social participation is formally organized. Measurement of formal organizations includes the variables of: well-defined goals, role expectations, rules of organization and hierarchially arranged positions. According to Edwards and Booth (1973:3), "voluntary associations represent one of the few forms of social participation that vary in the degree to which they are formally organized."

Similarly, although citizen action groups would be placed at the informal end of the continuum, there is much variation in the extent of organization and structure found in these groups. They are less formally organized than a political organization but generally are more formally organized than purely expressive participation because their goals are in-

strumental and thus necessitate some co-ordination of activities directed toward a goal beyond the gratification of the participants.

However, variations do occur among citizen action groups in the extent to which they are formally organized. Because these groups are community-based and are thus subject to certain constraints within the community, such as local traditions, culture and class characteristics, the group's features will reflect the setting out of which it emerges, influenced by these internal characteristics. When the factor which differentiates one community from another is social class this theory has greater validity since studies (Mayer, 1955; Bendix and Lipsett, 1966; Reissman, 1967) have indicated that class affects participation.

It is the intention of this thesis to provide evidence which will support the claim that these variations between citizen action groups may be accounted for, to a large degree, by the factor of social class.

In further conceptualizing social participation sociologists have suggested several functions of participation for the community and for society. Edwards and Booth summarize these as:

- 1 - To promote collective interest.
- 2 - Distribute power in a democratic society.
- 3 - Mediate between smaller structures and larger ones.

- 4 - Facilitate the flow of information between separated social units.
- 5 - Give expression to emergent interests.
- 6 - Facilitate adjustment to unusual demands.
- 7 - Supplement earlier socialization.

These functions will be discussed here and in greater detail after the two Hamilton groups are analyzed, for it is believed that citizen action groups, by their nature of being both an expressive and instrumental form of participation, are capable of fulfilling these functions.

On the one hand citizen action groups are functional for the small community or segment of a community which they represent. However, they have ramifications for the larger society at the macro-level of social organization by virtue of the fact that they perform important functions not provided for by present organizational structures.

Community Functions:

Within a community the citizen action group represents a means of fulfilling certain interests held in common by a number of persons. Because these groups are organized and operated by citizens themselves, they function, as Arnold Rose (1973:4) suggested:

to contribute to the democratic character of society, since strong family systems, churches and communities tend to be totalitarian in their influence over the individual, whereas voluntary associations distribute and diversify power and influence.

In addition, there are some citizen action groups whose or-

ganizational characteristics (strategies, social power) are such that they enable the group to establish links with the political processes. In this way the group becomes acquainted with the methods and operations of the political structure thus helping to train future leaders or acting as a mechanism for social change.

The emergence of citizens' groups is the expression of the desire of citizens to be involved in the decisions which affect their lives, thereby allowing individuals to have greater control over their environment. Therefore the group acts as a link between individuals and community structures and in this way fulfills the function of social participation which is said to "... mediate between the isolated, hence potentially powerless individual, and the massive state. (Edwards and Booth, 1973:4)

Finally, citizen action groups function by facilitating a flow of information between separated social units. This function is performed because these groups enable communication channels to be established among different units within a geographically defined area, between the residents of the area and those in power, and in the same area among a number of groups at the municipal, provincial or national level.¹

¹ An illustration of this function will be presented when the case of the Durand group in Hamilton is discussed. This group incorporated various units from its specific area into the group. These units included homeowners, tenants, a tenant group, and roomers. As a result, a flow of information developed among these units and to the municipal government. The group also attempted to establish links with other Hamilton groups (Dundas Ratepayers' Association). Communication channels at the national level have been started by means of City Magazine which is attempting to report on the successes and failures of the citizen movement across Canada.

Macro-Structural Functions:

Proceeding now from the role of the citizen action group in the community to its role at the macro-level of social organization, the theoretical discussions of social participation suggest three functions which are believed to be fulfilled by an action group.

Firstly, action groups constitute an expression of emergent interests - that is, "citizens' desire to help control and exercise social choice in their urban environment" - that are not represented by the existing macro-structure of government, industry, education, religious or health-related organizations, which tend to dominate the individual and are oriented towards mass interests.

Thus the citizen action group prevents frustration at the personality level and limits deviant manifestation of these interests at the structural level." (Edwards and Booth, 1973: 5) Those groups which express 'protest', more than the interest and desire for responsible involvement, also provide a mechanism which enables the fundamental structures to operate because a protest group provides an outlet for personal frustration and thereby limits any "deviant manifestations" to the structural functioning of the community. For example, a group may picket city hall to express frustration but this does not undermine the governmental structure.

Related to this concept, is the realization that the citizen action group, as a form of participation, enables "macro-structures to operate by providing means for handling unusual or unique demands placed on the structure." (Edwards and Booth, 1973:5) The demands of individuals to be involved in community control and planning are unique demands in terms of the usual functioning of a city government. However, if a citizens' group is formed, and if the city council allows this group a role in the planning process, the group thereby meets the citizens' needs and the existing structural organization of the community is altered but not threatened.

As with other forms of social participation, (parent-teachers associations, junior chamber of commerce, community voluntary associations) participation in the citizen action group reinforces certain characteristics learned in earlier socialization or makes up for deficiencies in early socialization. This comes about because leadership training, communication skills and specific work procedures are qualities utilized in a citizen action group. One's participation in such a group extends one's capabilities in these areas or gives one the opportunity to learn these skills for use in subsequent performance in macro-organizations thus benefiting the larger social structures.

In chapter seven, when the two groups from Hamilton are analyzed and compared, conclusions can be drawn, as to the

extent to which, citizen action groups perform community and societal functions.

D - Conclusions:

In this chapter, we have presented classical and current literature dealing with the question of the individual's relation to society and suggesting that the citizen action group is one way in which individuals in the urban setting interact with and participate in the social system. However, the literature on social participation also suggests that the factor of social class is related to social participation in the sense that class affects many aspects of participation and determines the extent and forms of an individual's participation in society (Richards and Polansky, 1959:31-39; Reissman, 1967:257).

In addition, from the field work conducted on the citizen action groups in Hamilton - the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive, it became apparent that in each group a relationship existed between the group's internal factors and the class composition of the group.¹ Yet, on closer inspection, all of these relationships shared in

¹Some examples of the influence of social class on the internal features of the groups appeared in the relationship between:

- class and the motivation to participate.
- class and the availability of indigenous leadership.
- class and the access to network contacts
- class and structure.
- class and tactics.

common the fact that each factor could be traced to one significant underlying factor - the amount of social power the group possessed or to which it had access to by the nature of its internal composition. This factor of social power was, in both groups, determined by the characteristics of the social class concept, that is by the socio-economic level of the group.

Thus from the analysis of the Hamilton groups - the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive, a Model began to emerge in which social class is classified as an independent variable affecting the degree of social power intrinsic to each group. Social power is the intervening variable, but because of its nature and the fact that it has its source in the factors of Numbers, Organization and Resources, (Bierstedt, 1950:730-38) it incorporates many other factors which can also be designated as intervening variables. These in turn ultimately determine the dependent variable which is the outcome of the group's actions. (Figure I - Page 50 illustrates this model.)

In the chapters to follow the relationship of this model to citizen action groups will be examined thereby explaining the relevance of social class to citizens' groups and demonstrating that this Model fulfills the following important functions:

- A - It depicts the significant internal features of a citizen action group.
- B - It represents the theory that social class is an independent variable affecting the internal factors of a group - the intervening variables. These variables are the sources of social power, also an intervening variable, which in turn, influences the dependent variable - the group's achievement of its goals.
- C - The model provides a framework in which to analyze the group's internal nature, operation and functions with reference to the belief that the citizen action group is a form of social participation.

With this basic introduction, we are now ready to fulfill the aims of this thesis:

- 1 - To present a complete analysis of citizen action groups, including:
 - A - Description of internal characteristics.
 - B - The relationship of the variable of social class to the internal features of a citizen's group and to its success in obtaining its goals.
- 2 - To provide evidence supporting the belief that citizen action groups are a form of social participation.
- 3 - To collate a body of facts on citizen action groups such that a theoretical approach to the analysis of citizen action groups may be formulated. The model which has been presented forms a part of this theoretical framework since the model consists of the internal features of a citizen action group.

In the next seven chapters of this thesis these aims will be accomplished.

Chapters two, three, and four will examine the concept of "social participation and social class" in relation to

citizen action groups by drawing from the literature on participation and from selected forms of participation. These chapters also point out certain factors which will be used as the internal dimensions of citizen action groups. All of these factors will be related to citizen action groups with the purpose of indicating that the citizen action group is a specific and unique form of participation and as such, an analysis of its nature and consequences is relevant to the sociological study of social participation.

Chapter 2 is designed to acquaint the reader with an overview of social participation as related to social class. The concept of social power will also be introduced; explaining how it is affected by social class and how it encompasses all of the dimensions of a citizen action group.

Chapter 3 examines 'participation in the community' by analyzing community organization agencies. This examination has two functions:

- 1 - Community organization agencies, as a form of group participation, share some traits in common with citizen action groups. Therefore, community agencies provide some of the dimensions which will contribute to the formation of the theoretical framework to be used in the analysis of citizen action groups.
- 2 - Social class is a significant variable in the organization and operation of community organization agencies. Thus the relevance of the Model will be made evident.

Chapter 4 deals with 'participation in society through social movements'. This form of participation has been selected

primarily because:

- 1 - As movements, social movements are applicable to citizen action groups because action groups are a part of the larger citizen group movement. From social movement literature, other important dimensions used to analyze citizen action groups will be derived.
- 2 - By studying social movements, further explication of the model - the effect of social class on the intervening variables, will be presented.

In Chapter 5 the theoretical framework for the analysis of citizen action groups will be illustrated. This framework is the result of the utilization of the facts and theories reviewed in the previous four chapters.

Chapters 6 and 7 will be devoted to the application of this theoretical framework to the two citizen action groups in Hamilton - the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive, in order that the theories and conceptualization of the citizen action group as a form of social participation and the relationship between the citizen group and social class be illustrated.

Finally, in Chapter 8, the social consequences of the citizen action group as a form of social participation will be discussed and conclusions will be drawn as to the implications of citizen action groups for future sociological research in social participation.

FIGURE I

MODEL INDICATING THE AFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASS ON THE
CITIZEN ACTION GROUP

Independent
Variable:

Intervening
Variables:

Dependent
Variable:

Social Class:

- level of community participation)
- motivation to participate)

Numbers

- qualities of members)
- network contacts)

Resources

- availability of indigenous leadership)
- style of participation and strategies)
- structure of group)
- type of problems approached)
- goals)
- ideology)
- cohesion)
- organization and status system - social machinery)
- tactics)

Social Power

Organization

means

Operations
of Group
and Out-
come of
the Group's
efforts.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

Introduction:

This chapter will focus on a discussion of the relationship between social participation and social class since the social participation literature and findings from various studies point out the sociological significance of the class concept in relation to social participation. In addition to the discussion of participation and class, an analysis will be made of the effect which class has upon social power (Bierstedt, 1950:730-38). In so doing, reference will be made to the model introduced in Chapter 1 because the factors of social power - numbers, organization and resources encompass the 13 internal dimensions of a citizen action group. Consequently, this discussion of social power and social class, forms the basis for a further analysis of the affect of social class on the internal features of a citizen action group and on the success or failure of the group's actions.

A - Significance of the Social Class Concept in Relation to Social Participation:

The history of research in the area of social participation is a long one covering eight decades from 1895 to the present. Throughout these decades, several trends have occurred in the research which are of interest to our analysis

of citizen action groups.

Prior to 1950, most of the work dealt with the role of participation in the community and society and articles published at this time were discursive but seldom empirically based. In the 1940's empiricism was more evident as a result of the interest in community studies but even so, there was an absence of theoretically derived hypothesis.

Beginning around 1950, participation research took a new direction "reflecting a general trend in sociological analysis, most participation studies began to apply more sophisticated methodologies and were designed to test hypotheses derived from several bodies of sociological theory - most notably stratification theory." (Edwards and Booth 1973:16)

The focus shifted from the study of small communities to analyzing formal and informal networks in large metropolitan areas, with some attention being paid to studying social participation on a cross-cultural basis. Following 1950, the articles produced were concerned with particular aspects of participation such as the effect of class, educational, and family differences on participation and the relationship of these differences to affiliation and social ties.

As a result of this interest in the relationship between social participation and social class, evidence was put forth to support the belief that class determines the extent of one's participation, in the sense that middle class people

tend to belong to more clubs and groups than do those in the lower-income strata. (Reissman, 1967:261)

In *Class and Society*, (1955) Mayer views class as a multi-dimensional component of the social order as it promotes various status groups, a socio-economic hierarchy, patterns of class sentiments and power structures. Thus class affects almost every aspect of our lives including variations in knowledge and experience, choice of marriage partners, life chances, occupation, education, sexual behaviour, attitudes, place of residence, friends, hobbies, and the organizations and clubs to which one belongs. Beginning in childhood and continuing throughout life, class creates differences in individuals' attitudes and expectations.

The middle class individual believes that he can do something about his environment to the extent that he is successful in his achievements. Thus, "society in general, and his environment in particular are considered as capable of being altered." (Reissman, 1967:257) In contrast, lower income individuals are generally confronted with barriers that seem to repel their every effort. Adjustment, for them means learning to cope with the environment as they find it rather than attacking it or altering it.

It is these contrasting attitudes of 'viewing society as capable of being altered' versus 'adjusting to it rather than constantly combatting it' that sets the pattern for the

differences in the way and degree to which middle and lower class citizens, respectively tend to become involved in all facets of social life.

As mentioned earlier, a number of studies have established that lower-class persons participate less in their society than do those in the middle and upper classes. "Lower-class persons read less, belong to fewer organizations and are less active in the organizations that they do belong to." (Reissman, 1967:260)

Leonard Reissman (1967) states that this class also attends church less frequently, has fewer friendships and tends to restrict visiting to the immediate family and neighborhood. Thus lower class people remain isolated from the rest of society while the middle and upper classes branch throughout the community and society in choosing their friends and joining formal and informal associations. Working class organizations do exist, but are fewer in number and are marked by the typical pattern of being work-related such as labour unions, or characterized by religious, patriotic and fraternal themes. Upper and middle class groups tend to be professional associations exclusive social clubs or of a cultural, historical and educational nature.

However, as Reissman points out, (1967:260)

the findings of these studies are not reported simply to show a higher sociability index for the middle and upper classes. The implications are

more significant. The main point is that middle and upper class persons are able to exert somewhat more control over their environment than can those in the lower class. Those in the higher social positions have been socialized to consider their environment as fluid - a complex entity that can be modified through action."

What is perhaps more important is the fact that the middle class individual knows something of the means by which his ideas and attitudes can be translated into action. Through socialization and education he has learned to understand the workings of the social system and what bureaucratic and organizational channels may be utilized to his benefit. In contrast, the individual from a lower economic background usually lacks the knowledge of how to accomplish change or perhaps that change is possible for he knows fewer or no people in influential positions, is inadequately informed and generally has a lower level of awareness of the usual sources of information in society.

Put simply, one's position in the class structure influences the amount of social power one possesses and the degree to which one can exert control over his environment. Extending this to the group situation, the power of the members taken collectively, determines the degree to which the group is successful in achieving its goals. In the organizational nature and functioning of a citizen action group the concept of social power is related to many internal features of the

group.

As illustrated by the model presented in Chapter 1, social power is related to 13 variables found in the citizen action group. These variables too are influenced by the class basis of the group. In turn, these variables determine the outcome of the group's activities. However, it should be emphasized here that these variables of an action group are not separated from the concept of social power but in fact, comprise the sources of social power and are embodied in Bierstedt's factors of numbers, organization and resources - the three sources of social power.

We will now proceed to review Bierstedt's analysis of power and indicate how power relates to the 13 variables which comprise the nature of a citizen action group.

B - Social Class, Social Power, and the Citizen Action Group:

Robert Bierstedt, (1950:730-38) states that social power is a vague and ambiguous concept, and therefore his paper is an attempt to "sharpen the edges of its meaning." Bierstedt does not define social power but characterizes it by offering several proposals. First he suggests that it is a "social phenomenon par excellence, and not merely a political or economic phenomenon." Bierstedt also distinguishes power from prestige, influence, dominance, rights, force, and authority. He states, in fact, that these resources as well

as money, property, deceit, secrecy and supernatural resources, although not power themselves, may be re-introduced as sources of power. In a specific institutional framework (politics, economics, et cetera) money, property, knowledge, and prestige, as sources of power, enable one to develop role relationships and contacts with individuals of similar influence and resources. In other words, these qualities give an individual the opportunity to form a personal network consisting of a wide range of persons with varying backgrounds and characteristics, thus increasing the individual's social power.

In an entirely different context, that is, citizen action groups, which are outside the institutional framework, these networks can be utilized to benefit a cause and are thus translated into a form of power giving the group greater influence in attaining its goals. Furthermore, "power is a universal phenomenon in all social relationships, it is never wholly absent from social interaction." (Bierstedt, 1950:730).

However, Bierstedt emphasizes (1950:737) that although power appears in social relationships and has its source in a variety of factors, "no one of these sources in itself constitutes power. Power appears only in the combination of the three factors of numbers, organization and resources."

1 - Numbers:

By numbers is meant the residual power which is found

in a numerical majority, in both formal and informal groups. In the case of a citizen action group, whether or not the group possesses power in the form of a large membership - numbers, is directly related to the class base of the neighborhood or community because studies (Richards and Polansky, 1959:31-39; Gans, 1962) have proven that class influences the rate of participation in society and one's motivation to participate. These two features of participation will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter which deals with community organization agencies.

However, numbers themselves do not guarantee social power as Bierstedt points out by citing the example of a well organized and disciplined body of marines or of police which can control a larger number of unorganized individuals. Similarly, in other situations, such as the French in Quebec or the Black population in South Africa the fact of having numerical majority is not synonymous with social power since it is the minority group, the English and Whites respectively which form the power majority.

2 - Organization:

As important as numbers are as a source of social power, we can see that they do not in themselves suffice. Thus we turn to the second source of social power - social organization. Bierstedt (1950:737) claims that organization

is an important source of social power since "an organized minority can control an unorganized majority."

In the citizen action group, the factor of organization is of prime importance to the group's operations and achievement of its goals because without organization the individuals could not function in a co-operative and interdependent manner towards the attainment of any success. Following is a list of nine factors which are considered to be the prime features of the organization of a citizen action group.

- 1 - style of participation and strategies.
- 2 - structure of group.
- 3 - type of problems approached.
- 4 - goals.
- 5 - ideology of group.
- 6 - degree of group cohesion.
- 7 - organization and status system.
- 8 - availability of indigenous leadership.
- 9 - tactics employed.

These nine factors are all influenced to some degree by the factor of social class and in turn, contribute to the amount of power which a group possesses. This relationship between independent and intervening variables will become clearer in Chapters three and four, when the nine facets of organization are discussed in relation to the analysis of community organization agencies and social movements, respectively.

However, it should be remembered that there are limits to the level of power which any group can attain based on organization or numbers alone, for it is neither numbers or organization which constitute power. "Of two groups, equal

in numbers and comparable in organization, the one with access to the greater resources (money, prestige, property, knowledge) will have the superior power." (Bierstedt, 1950: 737)

In any power conflict, it is these resources which can tip the balance when the other sources of power are relatively equal and comparable.

3 - Resources:

The resources of a citizen action group include education; a knowledge of bureaucratic and organizational skills, functions and channels; money; prestige; awareness and information related to current societal conditions; knowledge of the means by which to translate ideas into action; experienced indigenous leadership and access to all these resources through the activation of network relations. One's position in the class structure determines the amount of access one has to these resources and to what advantage the activation of a personal network is in assisting a cause.

A personal network consists of all the links - relationships which a person has with other people. In turn, each of these persons has his own network of relationships and these may be categorized in terms of content, frequency, durability and directedness. (Barnes, 1955; Mitchell, 1969; Boissevain, 1974) In any situation, by using these links, individuals may attempt to mobilize support for their various purposes. This

is simply what is meant by the term 'activation of network.' Depending on one's class position, the composition of the network would vary from people of low prestige and influence to those of high social status and power. The influence intrinsic in one's network relations is a source of power for the individual; and in a group situation, those persons who possess power are desired by the group, since members' qualities can increase the organization's chance of achieving its ends because the group can utilize members' expertise, experience of the situation and special knowledge. (Booth and Babchuk, 1973:77)

Thus it may be stated that class influences the degree of social power available to those individuals and groups of individuals who possess access to useful resources and who have people of influence and power in their social networks. P. D. Wheeldon uses the concept of network to analyze the way in which individuals participate in and manipulate voluntary associations since a network is a potential medium for the flow of information and for the execution of transactions. (Wheeldon, 1969:128) Here a distinction is being made between the network of social relations, persisting in latent form through time and the action-set that emerges in a specific context for a specific task. (Mitchell, 1969:38) It is the latter concept of action-set which is appropriate to the citizen

action group because the individual utilizes contacts from his own network in a specific current situation despite the fact that these networks resulted from former and different institutional frameworks. However the action-set is derived from, and so limited by, the total network of possible links (direct or indirect). Thus, the action-set available to an individual is determined by the individual's class position because class influences the composition and extent of the total network relations. (A case in point demonstrating the use of an action-set would be the business executive who deals with a legal firm in the framework of the business setting but who utilizes these legal contacts in the work of the citizen action group of which he is a member.) Thus the individual's social network relations become instrumental network relations activated for pragmatic ends. Everyone possesses potential networks and role relationships from a variety of situations but whether or not these are activated and the amount of influence they carry indicate the extent and nature of the individual's participation in the wider society, his exposure to the varying populations, his class background and the amount of social power he possesses.

Similarly, the utilization by the citizen action group, of a member's network to achieve the goals of the group, is related to the concept of social power. Briefly, this relationship stems from the fact that an individual's possession

of social power, which he has because of his place in the social system and which may be derived from or contributes to significant network contacts, is transformed into collective power in the citizen action group. The citizen action group utilizes all the qualities which the members possess, together with their network contacts, as resources by which to establish information routes and influence paths and to gain access to people, in short to achieve goals. These resources are influenced by social class at the individual level and then within the citizen action group when individuals join with others in their collective cause. Possession of any of these factors contributes to a group's power when attempting to confront other agencies, groups or power systems. However, these resources are not themselves power. Power appears only in the combination of all three factors - numbers, organization and resources. (Bierstedt, 1950:737)

Consequently, summarizing Bierstedt's theory on social power, if two action groups are compared and measured as to the probability of success, three questions enter into the analysis.

- 1 - Does the group have a large number of participants forming a representative membership from the community?
- 2 - To what degree is the group organized and how functional is this organization?
- 3 - What is the extent of the group's access to people of influence, to money, prestige and experience?

Simply, which group has the greater amount of social power, that is, a balance of the components of numbers, organization, and resources.

Thus, in studying and analyzing citizen action groups this concept of power in the form of numbers, organization, and resources is a crucial factor especially when power, according to Bierstedt, (1950:735) "is required to inaugurate an association, guarantee its continuance, enforce its norms, sustain its structure and supply it with the stability necessary to maintain it through periods of transitions." Furthermore, it has its greatest importance "where it reigns uninstitutionalized, in the interstices between associations and has its locus in the community itself." (Bierstedt, 1950:736)

C - Social Participation in the Local Area:

Having presented the concept of social class, its relation to the variable of social power, and the significance of both these variables to the nature of the citizen action group, we will complete the discussion of participation and social class by dealing with participation in the local area. This aspect is important since the citizen action group originates and operates in the neighborhood unit unlike other forms of participation which do not belong to any one geographically defined community. Consequently, a citizen action group is

influenced by community conditions, in particular, social class factors. Therefore, we will address the relation of Greer's theory (1962) concerning participation in the local area, to the concept of social class, with reference to citizen action groups.

Despite the findings which indicate increased participation as one climbs the social hierarchical scale, it should be emphasized that these trends refer to social participation in a general sense and do not deal with 'social participation in a spatially defined local area.' When the degree of involvement in a specific territorial community is considered, other conclusions come to light as a test of these earlier assumptions.

In recent years, studies dealing with the topic of participation in a specific geographical urban area, have demonstrated that "as one moves across the continuum, from the urban toward the familistic neighborhoods, community participation in the local area increases. (Greer, 1962:96) "The results of a Los Angeles study of four census tract populations but varying from very urbane to very familistic" supported this theory as the findings indicated "a growing importance of the local area as a social fact, as one goes from the highly urbanized areas to the low-urban areas. Neighboring, organizational location in the area, the location and composition of church congregations, readership of the

local community press and the ability to name local leaders all vary with urbanism and increase as urbanism decreases." (Greer, 1962:96)

This brief summary emphasizes the need to place the question of 'participation in the urban community' somewhere between the two polar extremes suggested, on the one hand, by Wirth's approach of urban anonymity and fragmentation and, on the other, by the ideal, which speaks of a democratic community characterized by communication, involvement, commitment, the interdependence of groups and the consequent ordering of behaviour.

According to Greer (1962:103) "the local area is not a community in any sense, in the highly urban parts of the city; it is a community of 'limited liability' that is, there is some community commitment in the suburbs. Communication and participation are as apt to be segmental as in any formal organization that is extraterritorial. And many are utterly uninvolved." To a great extent this is due to the fact that, unlike rural societies, "the urban individual's investment is relatively small in the interactional network that constitutes the locality group, for even the most deeply involved (homeowners with children, merchants) can withdraw from the local community and satisfy all needs elsewhere and the withdrawal need not be physical." (Greer, 1962:98)

Thus it is only in those situations where there is

functional interdependence in the community, hence commitment to the ongoing social system, that the community can be called a spatially defined social aggregate.

Having painted this picture of the urban community, Greer concludes that by and large the average individual in a metropolitan society does not participate. The formal organizations such as labour unions or church and school related groups are run by professional and bureaucratized leaders limiting members' participation to voting rights. Similarly, formal government is highly bureaucratized and the individual participates very little.

Most people have neither the vested interest in, nor the tradition of responsible participation in the life of the polity. And they have great freedom from forced participation in work. They exercise it in fashioning the typical life patterns adumbrated, in avoiding organizations, politely giving lip service to the neighbors and local community leaders, avoiding work associates off the job, orienting themselves toward evenings, weekends and vacations. These they spend en famille, travelling, looking at television, gossiping and eating with friends and kin and cultivating the garden.

(Greer, 1962:105)

From these and previous statements, it appears that there are two sets of findings to reconcile and to take into account when analyzing social participation in the specific urban local area. The first requires that one consider the

effect which social class has on participation levels and the second stresses the need to study the relationship between participation and the degree of urbanism in the particular community.

These different findings suggest that although social class determines the extent and degree of participation in society it does not guarantee that participation in one's own local area will increase as one rises in the social hierarchy. As Greer's study demonstrates, the degree of urbanism is the intervening variable in the relation between class and locality-based participation. Another factor must be taken into consideration and that is the extent of the individual's investment in the locality which will result in involvement or withdrawal.

In an effort to relate these varying theories it may be concluded that: If an issue arises which threatens the vested interests of the individuals in two specific urban localities, which have similar levels of urbanism and familism but vary in social class, the degree and extent of their participation in the issue will be a function of their class since class affects participation levels.

Furthermore, when these individuals, who share the vested interest of the local issue react as Wirth suggested, and form into groups within their specific areas to obtain their objectives, the size of the group membership, the organization

and direction of their efforts and the resources to which the group has access will all be a function of class. This comes about because class affiliation influences these factors, which in turn, form the sources of social power and social power ultimately determines the success of the group's efforts in the local area.

D - Summary:

From Chapter 2 the following points may be summarized:

- 1 - Social class influences participation by determining the extent and type of one's participation.
- 2 - Social class determines the amount of social power a group possesses.
- 3 - Social power has three sources - numbers, organization and resources.
- 4 - These three sources comprise the thirteen factors designated as the dimensions of a citizen action group.
- 5 - The thirteen factors were derived from an analysis of two forms of group participation - Community Organization Agencies and Social Movements.
- 6 - In relating social class and social power to the dimensions of a citizen action group a model emerges in which:
Social class is the independent variable affecting the level of social power which a citizen action group possesses. Social power determines the outcome or dependent variable, therefore power becomes the intervening variable.

However, power is the result of the combination of three sources - numbers, organization and resources and these resources are composed of thirteen factors. Consequently, these thirteen factors are also intervening variables, affected by social class and affecting the group's outcome, the dependent variable.

- 7 - Class, as related to one's geographical area of residence determines the rate of locality-based participation because participation levels are affected by the degree of urbanism and familism, factors influenced by socio-economic variations.

It has been previously stated that one of the end results of the analysis of citizen action groups is to be the development of a theoretical approach which may be used in further studies. In order to outline this approach or conceptual framework, it is necessary to rely on the existing body of literature concerning participation. In part this has already been done as we have reviewed and presented:

- The conceptualization of participation in order that citizen action groups may be placed within the theoretical realm of participation literature.
- Historical overview and current theories related to participation thus explaining the conditions which contributed to the emergence of citizen action groups at this point in time and relating action groups to the theories concerning social participation.
- An investigation into the relation between social class and social participation thereby providing evidence as to why the forthcoming illustrative Hamilton groups, will represent two different social classes.

However, what remains to be presented is the literature concerning specific forms of group participation for it is in this review of our two kinds of participation - community organization agencies and social movements that we derive the thirteen variables which will be utilized in the analysis of citizen action groups.

The term 'group participation' is very broad and denotes both formal and informal groups, including for example, the American Legion and card clubs. In Babchuk and Booth's study (1969) of voluntary association membership, groups were categorized as: church-related, job-related, recreational (bowling league, garden club), fraternal-service (Masons, Eastern Star), adult leadership of youth programs (4-H, Boy Scouts) and others - veterans' organization, co-op, board member of a community agency. Babchuk and Booth also state that voluntary associations play a vital role in our society, are numerous, diverse and involve large numbers of people. Local and national studies dealing with voluntary associations have indicated several significant factors regarding social determinants and correlates of membership. (Babchuk, 1969) From the field study conducted on citizen action groups in Hamilton, the results of which will be presented in Chapter 7, it appears that, based on the findings on voluntary associations, the citizen action group can be classified as a voluntary association. A summary of these findings follows, and in subsequent

chapters conclusions will be drawn as to whether or not citizens' groups may be described in this manner.

Voluntary associations provide a setting in which to engage in expressive activities, function as vehicles to implement special personal interests, and may provide affectual support for the individual. They are important agencies supporting the normative order (though some groups are organized to change the order), help to distribute power at the grass roots level, function as service centers, and reinforce important values. . . . Membership in groups can not only be socio-economically gratifying but make it possible for the individual to control an important part of his environment.

(Babchuk and Booth, 1969:31-45)

In the next two chapters group participation in the form of community organization agencies and social movements will be discussed. These examples are voluntary associations having some degree of formal organization and were selected, over other groups, on the basis of their applicability to citizen action groups. Very briefly, community organization agencies were chosen because they represent, like citizen action groups, a form of participation specifically related to community problems, unlike other groups which are linked to institutions (politics, religion, education). On the other hand, social movements, share with citizen action groups the feature of mobilizing people towards the specific objective of promoting or resisting change. Citizen action groups are one form of the citizen group movement and as with social movements, action groups are the media through which new ideas and practices enter

into the social fabric.

This compatibility between community organization agencies, social movements and citizen action groups will be presented in greater depth when each example is discussed.

Having thus explained why these particular forms of participation were selected, we will now begin to examine each in its relation to citizen action groups. Chapter 3 deals with community organization agencies, Chapter 4 with social movements.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION:

AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AGENCIES

A - Introduction:

Relevance of Community Organization Agencies to Citizen Action Groups:

Following from our discussion of social participation and social class, we will present in this chapter an analysis of a specific form of group participation - the community organization agency. This analysis will attempt to relate the citizen action group to community organization agencies by indicating the similarities between them and by suggesting that the internal dimensions of a community organization agency may also be found in the citizen action group. In addition, the concept of social class, as it affects these dimensions, will also be discussed, thereby illustrating a portion of the Model presented in Chapter 1.

Participation in the form of community organization agencies is a field which has recently evolved in the United States as a result of the National Economic Opportunity Act, passed in 1964. It refers mainly to the work of practitioners who go into a community and attempt to motivate the inhabitants to become interested and involved in the solution of local problems. Community organization agencies are established to deal with problems and to encourage indigenous leadership and

participation.

Community agencies and citizen action groups both deal with community-related participation and problems thus representing the concept of 'the formation of local groups' as opposed to participation in the form of voting or church attendance. As groups, both share the characteristics of having some type of structure, strategies of operation and orientation towards certain issues and problems, excluding other types. Both agencies and action groups must contend with aspects of power, conflict, and the factor of unstable relations with the environment. Finally, this discussion of community agencies exemplifies the theoretical model presented in the foregoing chapters indicating that social class is an independent variable affecting such factors as structure and strategy, which inevitably determine the outcome of the group's endeavours.

Before turning to an examination of community organization agencies a few words should be said about the class nature of these groups. Primarily, community organization agencies are operated by middle class personnel but are directed towards the people in neighborhoods which are of working class or lower class)economic levels. This appears to create a one-sided (one-class situation in the literature on community organization agencies. Although class bias enters into this, it was felt that a review of community organization agencies nonetheless provided some useful literature which could be applied to the

analysis of citizen action groups.

The following explanation is a summary of the factors considered relevant to the utilization of community organization literature:

- (1) The first overriding feature of community agencies is their orientation toward the problems of the local community and environment which is the major concern of citizen action groups.
- (2) Secondly, although much literature exists on participation, the bulk of community participation studies refer to the middle class mainly because the lower economic classes tend to participate less in organized groups. (Reissman, 1967; Gans, 1962)

Gans states (1962:106) that:

In the middle class, people are viewed as participating in community activities. That is, they enter organizations because they share the values and aims fostered by them; or because they find organizational activities - such as the acquisition of prestige, leadership experience, or social and business contacts - useful for their own purposes.

However, according to Gans (1962:106), for the West Ender, a lower-income citizen:

parallel functions can be satisfied within the peer group, participation in the community is ancillary. Sometimes, however, a single peer group does become active in an organization to help a friend who has become an officer. But most of the more active individuals are either socially marginal or mobile.

In addition, most organized groups in society are initiated from the middle class and reflect middle class thought, life styles, leadership and techniques so that the literature which exists on institutions, bureaucracies and organizations also expresses a middle class orientation. Therefore, when reviewing the literature on community participation to use as a reference for citizen action groups, there is a gap in our understanding of organized group participation in the lower economic classes. Thus when an agency or organization, like community organization agencies, appears and operates within the context of the lower-income classes, it becomes a valuable source of information for analyzing other developing forms of group participation in the working or lower classes. Community agencies work with these classes and reflect the thoughts, problems, solutions and cultures of the lower economic strata because these agencies are utilizing the talents and manpower of the under-developed citizen to deal with community and environmental problems. Hence these agencies provide a guide to understanding the functioning of the citizen action group in the lower classes.

- (3) Although Gans indicated that many needs of the lower classes are met by peer and kin groups, there are certain needs, particularly those related to physical environment (housing, traffic, deterioration) which cannot be satisfied in the peer or kin group. In response to the presence of these needs, the middle class forms groups such as citizen action groups whereas the majority of the lower classes remain uninvolved or rely on outside assistance (Saul Alinsky's Peoples' Organization) to form groups. This situation is changing as citizen action becomes more prevalent, but in past years, community organization agencies were the response to community problems in many lower class areas. The reason for non-participation can be traced to many factors in addition to those suggested by Gans, such as lack of knowledge and skills in organizational techniques; little participation experience - participation is limited to peer groups; shortage of money, means or leadership - hence low level of social power needed to foster participatory groups. Community organization agencies exemplify the relationship between class and power. Lower classes, lacking

social power must rely on middle class power in the form of community agencies. Furthermore the literature on these agencies indicates that in the operation of a community agency, the concept of social power and its affect on various aspects of participation is significant to the functioning and consequences of the agency. With reference to citizen action groups, it has already been suggested that the relationship between class - power and outcome is highly significant. Given this similarity between agencies and action groups, it is beneficial to utilize community agency literature in our analysis of citizen action groups.

- (4) Finally, it is relevant to utilize community organization literature in reference to citizen action groups because the theories concerning community organization practise allow comparisons to be drawn between the middle and lower classes, which is beneficial to analyzing citizen action groups which represent all classes.

Community organization agencies incorporate the interaction between different classes because the agencies are operated by middle class personnel but are directed towards the lower classes. The existing literature is produced from a middle

class point of view, by professionals who are skilled in community development but who are also aware of the problems and conditions of their lower-class constituents.

Consequently, we are given knowledge as to what the internal features of a neighborhood group should be - structure, strategies, goals, means - but we also learn the extent to which these features are affected by community patterns. (For example, the practitioner may advocate group structure but a specific community may be such, that structure does not facilitate ready participation by residents because structure creates fear or hinders expressive behaviour since the citizens are not accustomed to participating in formal organizations. Thus the middle class point of view must be adjusted to the needs of the community.) In some cases, this adjustment is occurring, as some community workers are changing their old methods so that instead of planning programs for the lower-income classes, the workers are helping the citizens with THEIR own programs and objectives. (Carota, 1970:12) This is a revolutionary way of thinking about community development. Similarly, when a lower-

income citizen action group is the result of self-initiated effort, it represents a personal and local revolution for people who were previously apathetic, fearful of those in power, lacking in confidence and perhaps even depressed victims or beneficiaries of a system from which they felt estranged. When these citizens become involved, aware, and willing to participate in community affairs then it is indeed a revolution and deserves to be investigated.

The interaction between classes - the problems of one - the response of the other - is particularly useful when comparing citizen action groups of different social classes because viewing two classes in action together provides explanations as to the differences found in citizen action groups of various socio-economic levels. Inferences can also be made as to why a middle class group may succeed while the lower class group fails to achieve any success.

B - Relating Social Class to Community Organization Agencies:

In the field of community organization practice, the concept of social class arises frequently as practitioners attempt to serve the widest possible range of people. Catherine

Richards (1959:31) poses a fundamental recurring question - "Is it possible for one agency - any agency - to be all things to all people? Or does it make more sense to assume that if the client group differs markedly, a quite different battery of techniques, and in some cases, of agency organization, will be called for?" This question emphasizes the importance of understanding the nature of the community in which one proposes to operate so that the agency and the structure, through which it serves may be modified and adapted in accordance with the prevailing social conditions.

Similarly, Roland Warren, (1971:112) states that much valuable knowledge has been gained from studies dealing with "variations in many aspects of living due to socio-economic status."

To relate effectively to people of lower strata the community practitioner must understand the total environment and class factors of the people with whom he is working. In the areas of delinquency and mental illness the methods of diagnosis and treatment are considered in relation to social status for it has been recognized that differences in class have differential effects on these problems. In addition,

"the increasing saliency of poverty as a social problem has renewed the interest, of both researchers and practitioners in the differences in opportunity structure that social stratification implies and has focused attention increasingly on the social structural aspects of such problems as delinquency, unemployment, and dependency as distinguished from the earlier view which considered them more or less as aberrations on an otherwise healthy body politic."
(Warren, 1971:112)

There is still further evidence from the area of community organization practice to demonstrate the importance of social class in the structure and operation of community organization agencies.* In addition to this class factor, a study of these agencies is significant because certain parallels can be drawn between them and citizen action groups, as the following will indicate. Mayer Zald (1970:92) describes CO agencies as being:

among a class of organizations in which goals are often in flux; in which the patterns of power of influence ebb and flow, but are central to understanding the problems of the organization; in which conflict is sometimes subterranean, sometimes overt, but almost always there; and in which organizations are in unstable relations to their environment.

There may be additional factors but the ones which Zald suggests seem to be significant in that they may be found in most situations exhibiting social change and they cut across any operative area of community action, including citizen action groups.

To a great extent, the goals, methods, and structure of an agency or organization are defined and shaped by the community, since its needs and problems are channelled into the agency and not directly to the practitioner. Thus the practices of an agency must be well-co-ordinated with the people it serves if it is to satisfy their needs. But "at

* Hereafter community organization agencies will be referred to as CO agencies.

the same time the characteristics of the community may lead to a limit on goals and means." (Zald, 1970:96)

From the brief introduction just presented concerning social class and CO agencies, several parallels can be drawn between CO agencies and action groups. Primarily, it must be remembered that any community endeavour, involving local people and problems of any class does not take place in a vacuum. Irving Spergel states (1972:17) that:

the activities of the practitioner and whether they are successful or not may be determined by forces outside of the organization, such as class structure, local politics, social and cultural traditions and existing beliefs and attitudes.

He maintains that these, along with social-psychological and ecological factors are often constraints on community organization impeding its functioning and the realization of its goals. His purpose in discussing these constraints is to emphasize the need of understanding the significance of local community patterns in order to determine one's strategies. This is especially relevant for practitioners who Spergel says "tend to be eminently rationalistic and overlook the presence and potency of traditions which are irrational or 'should not' exist". (Spergel, 1972:17)

Similarly, this approach and the need to analyze all community factors is relevant to any locally-based community project which endeavours to enlist indigenous participation.

A self-initiated citizen action group for instance, whether it be of the middle or working class origin faces the same problems and constraints as does a professional community organization agency for like the agency, the group also experiences the ebb and flow of power, the presence of conflict in various forms and unstable relations with its environment. To be effective in gaining community participation and in achieving its goals, the agency and the citizen's group must be aware of the social class composition of the area in which it is operating and the many inter-related dimensions that this class factor affects.

To exemplify how the concept of class affects many factors of CO practice, Zald analyzed the factors of: Participation levels, Style of participation and strategies, Structure of the organization and Types of problems and issues approached, in community organization agencies. Each of these characteristics will be discussed in relation to CO agencies, and conclusions will be drawn as to how Zald's findings apply to citizen action groups. As a result of this discussion, certain similarities will appear between CO agencies and action groups; factors will emerge which can be utilized in forming a theoretical approach to the analysis of citizen groups and specific examples will be given suggesting the influence of the class variable on other aspects of an action group.

Participation Levels:

As stated previously, the rate of participation in society varies directly with socio-economic status. In an attempt to explain this correlation and more specifically to learn why working-class women participate less than middle-class women, (Richards and Polansky, 1959:31-39) examined three groups of factors presumed to deter participation. These three factors were designated as reality factors, values about participation in formal organizations and general morale.

This study's conclusion, that values about participation and general morale affect participation levels, is relevant when analyzing degree of participation in citizen action groups.

Briefly, it was found that "reality factors (large families, employment outside the home) apparently do not account for very much of the differences in level of participation between classes." (Richards and Polansky, 1959:34) However, the second area, dealing with values, indicated that when the respondents had been affiliated with organizations in their youth or if their parents had participated in groups, they would be more willing to participate as adults. Finally, one's general outlook on life was significant. Richards and Polansky concluded that "working-class women have a lower state of general morale and lowered morale does have a deterrent

effect on participation." (Richards and Polansky, 1959:36) These findings are significant when comparing citizen groups of different class neighborhoods. If the citizens of the working or lower class have negative values about participation or generally reveal a depressed attitude toward their life situation, their willingness to join or organize a citizen action group will be considerably lower than the middle class citizens who perceive participation as prestigious and useful and who view life positively.

Furthermore, the results of this study have ramifications both for the leader who attempts to organize a citizen action group and for the level of success the group will experience. In the lower classes, the leader must strive to change peoples' attitudes and convince them of the positive value of participation, both of which may be necessary but not as difficult in a middle class area. Consequently, the success of an action group in the lower class must depend, not only on the group's actions but upon gaining and maintaining the peoples' confidence and general level of morale, which, unlike the middle class group, is more susceptible to discouragement, depression and defeat.

In view of the large number of studies on low participation among the lower classes there has been much concern about strengthening local involvement. In response, Federal legislation in both Canada and the United States has fostered

local participation programs. However, despite these attempts, many organizations, even those advocating social action rather than services, are middle class in that they depend heavily on professional and/or middle class leadership. "The ideology of self-help through community action may be as much a product of middle class aspirations as the uplift ideology of the welfare colonialists." (Hillman and Seeever, 1970:283) Reports compiled for the Office of Economic Opportunity and studies of the poverty program have pointed to the fact of non-participation, especially among the lower-lower class. It appears that small groups become involved but this does not affect the masses. This is to be expected since urban poverty, as it is characterized by the pressing problems of unemployment, poor schools, inadequate housing, and the apparent alienation and disenchantment of a large segment of the population, is hardly conducive to the development of leadership or the mobilization of the poor.

According to Mayer Zald (1970:96), when these findings, which testify to the greater difficulty of involving low and working-class individuals in voluntary organizations as compared to middle or upper-class persons; are extended to CO agencies the following proposition emerges:

the lower the socio-economic status of the constituency; the more difficult it is likely to be to maintain their interest and their participation. In other words, the CO practitioner with a lower socio-economic class con-

stituency will devote more of his energies to motivating the constituency than he would in other organizations.

Similarly, attempts to initiate citizen action in lower class areas are subjected to the problems of poor housing, inadequate education, unemployment, low motivation and disenchantment and although some of these factors are the conditions which inspire citizen action in some citizens, these factors are the same ones which inhibit the development of leadership and mobilization of whole neighborhoods.

To counteract the problems that are faced when attempting to initiate the lower classes' involvement in any community organization or group, efforts must be made to organize the citizens, teach basic skills which will compensate for lack of experience, and develop community leadership.

In summary, class affects one's motivation to participate; the extent of participation - that is, if motivation is created, for what length of time will the individual remain involved and to what degree; the development of leadership and the availability of indigenous leaders. This last factor is significant because sometimes, citizen action in a lower class area is initiated by an individual who is an outsider and who fails to understand the problems or complexities of the neighborhood. As Catherine Richards states (1959:39):

we should start where the client is, if for no other reason than that, at the moment, he knows better where that is than we do. Perhaps in group work, as in casework, we must learn increasingly

to ask ourselves whether the program that will not sell is, in fact, the product that a given group of people really need.

Similarly the use of non-local leadership can create communication gaps between the community and those attempting to create a citizen group. In contrast, most middle class citizens' groups are organized by community people thereby producing a situation in which both leaders and members are of the same class background thus eliminating communication difficulties based on class differences.

From these examples it may be concluded that middle class citizen action groups have certain advantages which lower class groups must strive to attain. These advantages consequently produce a situation in which the middle class group has access to greater social power than the lower class groups because these advantages, which are correlated with the class base of the community, are some of the factors which combine to form the sources of social power.

To summarize:

- (1) Middle class origin creates higher general morale and positive values about participation, which produce greater motivation to participate and a higher level of participation. Therefore a middle class citizen action group will possess a sizeable, motivated, involved membership - numbers.
- (2) Indigenous and experienced leadership, that is, the availability of community people who possess the education, knowledge and means of organizing and dealing with people and bureaucracies is a situation more common to middle than lower classes and gives a middle class action group valuable resources and organizational skills.

- (3) These factors of numbers, resources and organization are, as previously stated, the sources of social power. In the group's operations and actions, this factor of social power will determine how successful the citizens will be in attaining their objectives.

The next three factors of CO practice which Zald uses to analyze the class concept are style of participation and strategies; structure of organization; type of problems and issues. With reference to citizen action groups, these factors constitute features of organization, thereby forming a source of social power. An attempt will be made to indicate the influence of class upon these factors and the consequences of this relationship when a group strives to achieve objectives.

Style of Participation:

Not only is the level of participation affected by the socio-economic basis of the community but as suggested, the strategies or styles of participation are also determined by class variations.

Strategy is a concept of great importance in community organization for, without it, the interventive actions of practitioners would lack co-ordination and lose their effectiveness. Carefully designed strategies allow the opportunity to consider alternatives and evaluate the validity and worth of various plans of action. Fred Cox et al (1970:159) emphasize that:

strategy is not devised in a vacuum. The strategic thinker works in some specific community, with specific groups and probably for some organization. As he develops his plan, there are a number of factors which he needs to take into account.

These factors include the available resources of staff, money, equipment, public support as well as the amount of resistance which is encountered when change proposals are suggested. Furthermore, class variables play an important role in the conceptualization of strategic alternatives because as Cox points out (1970:161) "change strategies are handicapped by their class of origin" if, in the case of an agency it represents a higher class and "is willing to utilize its prestige in achieving the desired goal over the objections of community residents," while on the other hand, "a change proposal coming from a lower-class constituency directed toward a middle class formal organization is likely to be stalled, sidetracked, and indefinitely tabled or ultimately defeated."

In discussing strategy, Hillman and Seever suggest three types which may be used separately or flexibly from one to the other depending on the situation. Although no attempt has been made to assign one type to a specific class, by definition of these types, certain conclusions can be drawn as to how a working-class or lower class group might be limited in the type of strategy it employs or the effectiveness of it.

The strategies are termed consensus, demand and independent activity and may be briefly described as follows:

Consensus: Based on the assumption of shared interests and objectives, utilizes education and persuasion to create a climate in which differences can be accommodated. Used mainly to change institutional practices or policies.

Demand: Assumes conflict and attempts to mobilize as much power as possible with which to confront other parties.

Independent Activity: Essentially the self-help approach to problems.

Taken from the perspective of a working class settlement or other type of action group one can see how this class may be handicapped in the utilization of these strategies.

In the first instance, to be effective, consensus requires people of influence who are backed by a strong case, have access to community decision makers and can realistically imply a threat to use legal sanctions. These resources as well as equality of status may not be available to residents of working-class neighborhoods. Demand stresses power and includes both a conventional type such as making impact on public opinion or utilizing means of political expression as well as pressure tactics such as boycotts, strikes and picketing. Here too class variations are

important because what public sentiment and the media condone in one situation may be condemned in another.

Finally, the usefulness of the self-help strategy depends on adequate leadership and is affected by the conditions of the community in question. In some cases, problems may not be solved simply through volunteer or small group efforts since the underlying causes of these problems will still persist.

Another example of the relationship between class and techniques can be found in Zald's work on Community Agencies. Basing some of his knowledge on Gans' The Urban Villagers, Zald maintains that the techniques employed to change aspects of a community vary depending on the class base of the constituency. The middle class is likely to use persuasion, harmony of interests, financial and professional status, and negotiations whereas a lower or working-class based group will often resort to agitation, overt action and propaganda. Zald also points out (1970:96) that the higher one is in socio-economic standing, the more experience one possesses in using and in benefiting from organizational participation. Therefore, the class base will affect not only the tactics one uses to involve the community but the method and success of approaching the target, "the amount of time spent in agitational versus more neutral activities" and inevitably its success.

Discussing strategies or style of participation with reference to the citizen action group indicates many similarities between citizens' groups and CO agencies. Strategy is a significant concept since it embodies the planning and direction of operations. Therefore, as Cox suggested, it cannot take place in a vacuum but must be considered in relation to the people and environment out of which the group emerges. Decisions concerning strategies or styles of participation necessitate an awareness of all factors relating to group members, the community and those who the group is confronting in order that the group be fully informed as to the type and amount of resistance, what resources are available and how these can be used most advantageously. With this knowledge, the group can adjust itself appropriately to the situation. Hillman and Seeever's typology of strategies may be used in relation to citizen groups with the result that the 'consensus' strategy seems best suited to the middle class; 'demand' describes the style of the lower classes' participation while 'independent activity' is not applicable since the objectives of a citizen action group cannot be achieved through self-help measures alone.

The proposition concerning the correlation between middle class and consensus, lower class and demand is based on field work¹ but also on the theory that strategies are

¹Analysis of the York Opposition Union & the Durand Neighborhood Executive - the citizen action groups in Hamilton, indicated a strong relationship between the consensus strategy and the middle class Durand group and the demand techniques in relation to the York Opposition Union, a group representing the lower-economic classes.

closely linked to resources. Efficient and successful use of the consensus strategy necessitates the possession or access to resources and this access or possession varies with socio-economic status as the following chart indicates:

Consensus - based on:	shared interests	necessitates:	1 - communica-
	education		tion skills
	persuasion		to discuss
	accommodation of		differences
	interests		& compro-
			mises.
			2 - confidence,
			prestige,
			equality of
			status.
			3 - awareness &
			knowledge of
			problems
			facing both
			group & civic
			leaders.
			4 - diplomacy,
			flexibility.
			5 - strong &
			informed case.
			6 - network con-
			tacts.
			7 - experience.

To summarize literature already reviewed, studies indicate that lower classes do not possess the resources listed in the foregoing chart because class affects their level of awareness, organizational experience and skills, educational level thereby handicapping lower class citizens from devising or utilizing the consensus strategy or a style of participation based on harmony and persuasion.

Thus the lower classes approach their objectives and the people they are confronting with an attitude based on con-

flict and the mobilization of power. Middle classes also attempt to gain power but their's is composed of resources, organization and numbers while the lower classes, because they do not adequately possess these sources of power, are oriented more towards power in the form of conflict, pressure tactics and agitation.

However, the middle class may occasionally employ the demand strategy but this applies to a specific situation and illustrates the previously stated point about adjustment to prevailing conditions. Differences in the effectiveness of the demand strategy by the middle and lower classes may again be traced to class background, because when those who have influence and social power use conflict and demand strategies, their actions are viewed as legitimate whereas the demand techniques of the lower classes are often perceived as radical and agitational. Therefore class not only enables one to use a specific strategy successfully but judges one's actions in doing so. As a result of class, one segment of the population possesses social power by which to confront parties and achieve objectives. Similarly, because of class, the other segment lacks social power and must confront problems and people using power based on assumed conflict, which seldom achieves objectives.

Structure of Organizations:

"Differences in structure of neighborhood organizations have a bearing on the extent of participation" (Hillman and Seever, 1970:284) and are therefore related to social class variations because social class determines the extent of one's participation.

It appears that groups which have loose and simple structures encourage greater participation by the poor because the "commitment is of short duration and thus people with little experience and some with low esteem may become engaged". (Leighty, 1970:276)

In some situations the needs and aims of the groups are crucial intervening variables affecting the structure and hence a conclusive correlation cannot be drawn between structure and class. However, the needs of a group are determined by class variations thus creating a link between structure and class.

Structural characteristics may vary from the loose and simple type to a complex more formal group depending upon such factors as experience, basis of representation, degree of permanence and purpose of the group. However Hillman and Seever state (1970:284) that:

simple structures, notably ad hoc groups, invite better participation of the very poor; as people become more secure and experienced they may participate more readily in ongoing organizations.

Further evidence is provided from the work of Lee Rainwater (1970:276) who notes that:

the low structuring relationships within the group facilitate expressive behaviour and provide maximum chances for everyone to be the center of the stage from time to time.

Very often the lower class group wants concrete results from action and organization. The constituency of this group is not interested in elaborate structures because they are not relevant to the lower-class background or needs. In fact people could be repelled if structure becomes an end in itself.

Citizen action groups from middle and lower class neighborhoods may exhibit different levels of structure or degrees of formal organization. However this is not a negative situation because elaborate structure or formalized organization is not equally desirable or beneficial for all groups.

As with CO agencies, structure should be related to the needs and interests of the group. According to Gans, (1962) middle class people perceive organizations as fulfilling certain aims or values fostered by the middle class. Lower class people, on the other hand, have their needs for social contacts met through kin and peer groups. Thus in a citizen action group which is formed, to express physical and psychological needs related to community problems, the lower classes will seek involvement to find solutions, not to further an interest in organizational management or for social relations.

Hillman and Seever suggest (1970:284) that the structure of lower class groups is often simple because "simple structures invite better participation". This is so because the lower classes are not skilled and experienced in organizational practices and therefore simple structures are more relevant to their purposes, needs and understanding. Rainwater also suggests (1970:276) that low structuring relationships facilitate expressive behaviour.

Although groups from the middle and lower economic classes may differ in degree of structure depending on neighborhood needs and interests, the group structure should have the following basic features if it is to be effective:

- (1) The structure should reflect the members' needs and interests, not those of the leaders if the group is to be representative of the community.
- (2) The group should develop an awareness of the potentialities of all members and utilize these, not only to achieve objectives but to maintain the interest of participants.
- (3) Keep people enlightened and informed through providing effective information and developing communication channels for feedback.

However, whether the group's structure includes these factors or not depends on several factors including:

type of leadership - skills, perception, experience

qualities of members - level of motivation
 - attendance at meetings
 - characteristics and network contacts

available monetary resources

tactics

These factors, as previously indicated, are correlated with social class and with the concept of social power under the variables of numbers, organization and resources.

It can be concluded, therefore, that structure is a source of power to a citizen action group not in terms of degree of formalization but in terms of its effectiveness, which is directly linked to the factors of numbers, organization and resources. These, in turn, are influenced by class variations.

Type of Problems and Issues:

Another element of neighborhood organizations that is determined by social class and related to participation is the type of problem towards which a group is oriented. From the working-class individual's perspective he is more interested in specific action suited to his pressing needs than in attempting to solve large social issues. Hillman and Seever point out (1970:285) that generally groups are being organized around immediate interests and issues such as tenant and welfare problems. "One cannot expect hardpressed people to be active

in organizations based on broadly defined community goals."

Similarly in a citizen action group, the lower classes, for the most part are oriented towards dealing with basic needs related to housing conditions, welfare rights, tenants' rights because it is generally the lower economic areas that are slated for expropriation or that suffer from deterioration or abuse by slum landlords.

For this class, displacement and loss of home have emotional and psychological consequences; whereas, while the middle class suffer anger and inconvenience, they can relocate and readjust more easily to new surroundings because they have higher morale, more money and fewer children. Very often middle class groups are concerned with factors such as aesthetic conditions of an area or with changing administrative policies and city by-laws. Lacking the security of the middle class citizens, combined with less organizational skills and influence, the lower class groups do not become as readily involved in these issues but are concerned primarily with the bread-and-butter issues affecting their daily lives.

C - Summary:

Community organization agencies have been discussed for the purposes of utilizing the CO literature as a basis of reference for citizen action groups since both forms of partici-

pation are oriented towards the problems of the local community. From the review of CO practice, the level of and motivation to participate, style of participation and strategies, structure of group, and type of problems approached were derived for usage as the internal features of a citizen action group. Thus far we have presented eight internal factors of a citizen's group as illustrated in the Social Class Model. (See Figure A - Page 50)

In addition, the discussion of CO agencies provided evidence to substantiate the suggested social class model because when analyzing citizen action groups in reference to CO agencies, a relationship appears between social class, the degree to which it determines the factors of social power, and the influence of power on the group's effectiveness. Furthermore, social class accounts for variations between groups of different social classes.

In the next chapter this Model will be further explicated when the literature on social movements is discussed and additional internal elements of a citizen action group are presented.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

A - Introduction: Relevance of Social Movements to Citizen Action Groups

A review of the literature on social movements has been conducted for the purpose of summarizing the important elements of social movements. These elements will be used to complete the theoretical framework from which to analyze citizen action groups and to indicate the relationship between these elements and the variables of social class and social power. However, social movements are a highly significant form of group participation in society and as such, provide many important theories regarding participation that are valuable to an understanding of the specific form of participation we are investigating. It was felt, therefore, that the relevance of social movements to citizen action groups warrants an indepth study of social movements in relation to citizen action groups. The reasons for this belief are as follow: Wirth stated (1964:77 & 82) that:

If the individual would participate at all in the social, political and economic life of the city, he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure immerse himself in mass movements. . . . It is only through the organizations to which men belong that their interests and resources can be enlisted for a collective cause.

Social movements clearly exemplify the coming together of men to express similar interests; the immersion in mass movements; and the enlistment of interests for a collective cause. Similarly, it has been suggested that the citizen action group is a unique form of collective behaviour whereby individuals can express specific interests relating to life in the urban community.

Consequently, both social movements and action groups represent Wirth's concept of "social participation" and illustrate ways in which people unite together and become mobilized for the specific objective of promoting or resisting change.

Citizen action groups are a form of the citizen group movement, which also includes neighborhood improvement groups, ratepayers' associations and tenants' organizations, among others. (Jacobs, 1971) "This movement is considered to be a relatively new phenomenon in Canada, at least in terms of the degree of visibility that it possesses." (Jacobs, 1971:289). Despite the recency however, the fact that the term "movement" is used to describe these groups gives one rationale for placing it with social movements. As social phenomena, both are labelled movements and, by definition, "they are processes; or acts of change; agitation by more than one person for the purpose of bringing about some desired result." (Webster Dictionary, 1954: 472)

Although the degree of change produced by social movements such as the Civil Rights or the Marxists, is greater than

that resulting from the citizen group movement, the latter can still be described as a process of change since its purpose is to alter the role of citizens from spectatorship to control and thereby change the policies of those who govern. Whether a specific group's goals are to improve a neighborhood or to stop the construction of an expressway, the underlying theme of all these groups is the desire of citizens to be involved in the decisions affecting their lives, to help control and to have some influence in their own future.

Social movements have the potential to grow to a large membership and their objectives have broad ramifications, whereas, citizen groups tend to be more limited in scope, (Wilson, 1937:9). However, as previously stated, this citizen group movement is a relatively new phenomenon and thus far no predictions have been made as to its eventual size or to what the cumulative effects on society will be if more and better organized citizen groups appear across Canada. Some social movements (Civil Rights/ Boy Scouts) which began on a small scale later became national or international in scope. Therefore, the scope of citizen action groups could also increase extensively in the next decades. On the other hand it is conceivable that action groups may continue to be much the same as the small, emerging social movements which are based in a single community but have nominal national ties and reflect widespread national sentiment. (Zurcher and Curtis, 1973:175).

But regardless of size variation, both social movements and the citizen group movements emerged out of some type of turmoil in society which transfigured patterns of relations between classes, groups and other components which make up society. Thus both are vehicles expressing change and through which new ideas and practices may enter into the social order.

In addition, both organize themselves in their attempt to bring about or resist change and it is this structure and organization which distinguish them from forms of collective behaviour, such as a panicking crowd.

There are still other significant reasons for relating the phenomenon of social movements to citizen action groups. Societies constantly experience conflict, and the presence of opposing ideas, interests and social groups. The impetus for change comes, not from those who hold on to custom, tradition and institutionalized positions of power but from the non-institutionalized sector of society. (Wilson, 1973) John Wilson stated (1973:4) that, "if this is true, then it is justifiable to attribute a great deal of importance to the vehicles of expression through which non-institutionalized beliefs and practices achieve public exposure in explaining social change. It is the particular significance of social movements that they are one of the media through which new ideas and practices enter the social fabric." Similarly, what is the citizen action group

but a sign that the present order is being challenged and that those who do not occupy the traditional positions of authority are striving, through their own efforts, to bring about some type of change or to maintain the status quo.

The problem for the sociologist is to describe "how the metamorphosis from one social form to another takes place." (Wilson, 1973:4). Since social movements are the expression of change they demand attention because they provide valuable clues as to what parts of the social order are irrelevant to people's needs, the circumstances conducive to the formation of movements and what direction future change will take. Similarly, the emergence of the citizen group movement provides clues into the needs and desires of urban dwellers, those aspects of the social and physical environment considered to be in need of alteration, the role that citizens wish to play, the attitudes and reactions of those in power and in consequence of this, the kind of society and urban order which will be produced if this movement enlarges its scope. Although the forms of the movement are local, such as a neighborhood action group or a ratepayer's association, the impact of the groups will go beyond local boundaries and become a regional or national issue.

As with social movements, these citizen groups help describe how a society moves from one social form to another. Therefore, what now appears as a collection of different types of citizen groups in various cities is, in reality, a movement

or process by which urban society is being transformed. The former social order, characterized by citizen apathy and government representation is becoming a social order characterized by citizen intervention and influence.

The analysis of citizen action groups is also significant because it leads to a greater understanding of the local community which is the total complex social system in microscopic form. This is accomplished by studying the social composition of the community in relation to the issue in question, the methods utilized in the specific locality to cope with stress, the attitudes and response of those in authority and the tools developed to handle local problems. Thus by understanding the interactions of these factors on the local level and knowing that this situation is occurring in many cities, one can see that the phenomenon of citizen action groups is indeed a movement which expresses itself in various forms across the country.

No one can predict what the ramifications of this movement will be. If groups continue to appear and if leadership and organization are improved, then participation, involvement and the developmental qualities of the citizen group process could possibly produce political strengths and abilities which will affect policies and contribute to the development of better forms of local government.

Because of the similarities between social movements and citizen action groups, the literature on social movements will be examined in the remainder of this section in order to elicit the most important elements which describe movements. Following the presentation of the elements, each one will be discussed in relation to citizen action groups, thereby serving to further develop the theoretical approach which is being formulated to analyze citizen action groups. In addition, statements will be made indicating how these elements, as internal features of a citizen group, are influenced by the social class variable and how they are related to one of the three sources of a group's social power - numbers, organization and resources.

With these objectives in mind we will now begin an examination of social movements.

B - The Nature of Social Movements:

Social movements are a varied and complex phenomenon about which many questions can be raised relating to their origin, definition, component features, careers, and social effects. Consequently, sociologists strive to develop a systematic kind of analysis which includes the features all movement have in common as well as their distinguishing characteristics.

John Wilson (1973) gives the following four major objectives of a sociological analysis of social movements.

- To construct a meaningful definition.
- To make generalizations about the social conditions which typically give rise to social movements.
- To analyze the structure - that is, the behaviour patterns and organization system within social movements.
- To measure the social consequences of social movements.

The literature on social movements contains a large number of concepts portraying the nature of the movement phenomenon but lacks one specific conceptual framework, although much overlapping of terms is apparent.

A complete review of this literature is beyond the scope of this paper so for present purposes Wilson's four major objectives will be utilized as a guideline for a simple but inclusive description of social movements. The analysis includes relevant factors gleaned from many sources (McLaughlin, 1969; King, 1956; Cameron, 1966; Oberschall, 1973; Rush and Denisoff, 1971; Wilson, 1973; Zurcher and Curtis, 1973) and will follow this outline:¹

- (1) Definition of Social Movements.
- (2) Causes of Social Movements.
- (3) Consequences of Social Movements - for the Movement itself and for Society.
- (4) Structural features of Social Movements and

¹ Although some comparisons will be made between social movements and citizen action groups, discussions relating to the consequences of action groups will be dealt with in Chapters Seven and Eight. See Chapter One for discussion of definition and causes of citizen action groups.

Citizen Action Groups: (a) - Goals

(b) - Means:- ideology
- cohesion
- organization
and status
system
- tactics

(1) Definition of Social Movement:

A social movement is "a conscious, collective organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalized means." (Wilson, 1973: 8) Herbert Blumer divides movements into two main types: revolutionary and reform, but it should be remembered that a continuum exists between these ideal types. "While both seek to influence the social order, a revolutionary movement attacks existing norms and values and attempts to substitute new ones, whereas a reform movement accepts existing norms and values and uses them to criticize the social defects it opposes." (McLaughlin, 1969:4) Reform and revolutionary movements exemplify specific movements which usually have a well defined objective or goal. However these specific movements normally emerge out of

more general movements which in turn were products of cultural drifts.

In relating these points to citizen action groups it can be stated that they fit more closely to the reform type of movement because action groups accept existing norms and values but are attempting to implement a new concept, that of citizen participation into the social order. As with other specific social movements the citizen group movement is a product of larger trends in society. The belief in freedom, the tendency towards "involvement of the people" in business, religious and educational management and the proliferation of movements stressing the rights of youth, women, ethnic and racial groups have set the stage for a movement advocating the rights of citizens in the planning, operation and control of the urban environment.

Thus, when studying a social movement or a social phenomenon such as citizen action groups, consideration should be given to the origin of the movement in question. Is it parent-sponsored or organized independently?

Did it begin at the national or local level? Many movements start in one place but break local bonds and "regardless of its initial scope - national, regional or international, the mature movement transcends the local community." (King, 1956:27)

Some groups in the citizen group movement are national such as ecology or anti-pollution organizations but citizen action groups will never transcend the local community except insofar as the fact that the problems and principles they express are felt by people in many urban centers. At present these groups are in the infancy stage and little or no communication exists between them. However, as the movement grows and matures, some type of national network may develop whereby groups can benefit from each other's experience and share knowledge and skills. In this manner the local community will be transcended while the groups will have local origins and represent immediate problems.

(2) Causes of Social Movements:

Closely related to definition and types is a concern with the conditions which lead to the proliferation of movements. C. Wendell King

(1956) designates cultural confusion, social heterogeneity, individual discontent and mass communication as the circumstances conducive to the formation of movements. These factors can also be responsible for the development of the citizen action group since a local problem may represent a disparity of norms for the community people (such as the local government which uses community funds to erect an arts complex but will not provide adequate fire protection or rehabilitate deteriorating houses, or the situation where homes belonging to senior citizens are being expropriated for the construction of high-rise apartments) or increase their existing feelings of discontent. Working together or separately these conditions create, as Wirth suggested (1964) feelings of disintegration, alienation and depersonalization thus rendering individuals receptive to suggestion or proposals which offer answers, meanings or change.

(3) Consequences of Social Movements for Themselves And Society:

"After a movement has been described there remains the question of its social and psychological importance." (Cameron, 1966:167) However, before

the topic of evaluation can be discussed some attention must be paid to the growth patterns of a social movement which, are in fact, related to its consequences.

Wendell King states that a movement may be viewed "as a series of steps or a progression of phases," and proceeds to deal with the internal and external development of a social movement. Very briefly, the internal development includes the incipient, organizational and stable phase during which a movement undergoes successive alterations within itself leading to failure or success in attaining goals whereupon it terminates or establishes new goals to perpetuate the organization. By contrast, the external development of a social movement refers to the graduated career of a movement with respect to its relationship with society. King describes the processes of innovation, selection and integration as they pertain to the movement's external career in society.

These changes and growth patterns in the external and internal career of a social movement are responsible for producing consequences for the movement itself and for the society in which it operates. In addition, King points out that a

movement or any agency of change, such as a citizen action group may also produce consequences that are unwanted and unanticipated. These he calls latent consequences and along with the desired goals, (the manifest consequences) have implications for the movement, the individual members and society as a whole. An evaluation of manifest and latent consequences requires an interdisciplinary approach because no single frame of reference can provide answers as to what happens to the movement and the complex fabric of society once a movement goes into action.

Sociologically however, it can be asserted that social movements constitute an important dimension for they embrace vast numbers of people, are numerous in mass societies and provide endless empirical material with which to study and perhaps predict social change. Because social movements are first of all an innovation and secondly because:

They exert a detectable influence upon the society in which they occur, an analysis of social movements can provide social scientists with greatly needed principles about the rate, direction and consequences of social change.

(King, 1956:118)

Based on this, sociologists may derive questions pertaining to citizen action groups which will be beneficial in adding to our existing knowledge about social change.

- By embracing large numbers of people in groups across Canada, what influence will the citizen action group exert on society?
- At what rate and in what direction will the citizen action group grow?
- Does the citizen action group produce social change at the community level? If so, what are the direction, type and the consequences of this social change?

These questions will be dealt with in Chapter 8 under the discussion of the relevance of the citizen action group in relation to future sociological research in Social Participation.

(4) Structural Features of Social Movements and Citizen Action Groups:

Produced by similar social conditions, social movements and citizen action groups are later differentiated by the scope of their objectives, the size of membership and patterns of growth. However, both movements and local citizen groups share the basic structural features of goals and means which will be dealt with presently. Prior

to this discussion, it should be pointed out that the concept of structure does not refer to Parsons' structural functional model. (Wilson, 1973:162)

(a) Goals: "The goal of any movement is the objective toward which the movements' activities are directed." (King, 1956:30) King states that some form of social change is always explicitly indicated in that objective but the movement may also contain ends which are implicit rather than expressed.

Such would be the case of leaders who strive for personal power and prestige or who keep certain objectives secret from members until the members are considered to be ready for them.

Goals may also be distinguished as to whether they are general or specific, immediate or ultimate, (King, 1956) people-changing or society-changing and according to whether the incentives are purposive (value-fulfillment) or solidary (prestige, respect, friendship). (Zurcher and Curtis, 1973) Basing their work on Zald and Ash, (1966) Zurcher and Curtis (1973:175-188) draw correlations between type of goal and incentives by stating that:

when the leadership is oriented toward goal specificity and purposive incentives the movement will manifest society or community-changing goals but when the leadership is oriented toward goal diffuseness and solidary incentives it will manifest person-changing goals.

Zurcher and Curtis relate additional effects of the independent variables of goal specificity, leadership orientation and incentives on other variables but these propositions will be considered at a later stage.

In the previous section it was pointed out that social movements and action groups, although differentiated by scope of objectives and size of membership, share the basic structural features of goals and means. In the case of citizen action groups the type of goal which any group strives to achieve is a specific goal centering around one or more issues of immediate consequence. The goal may be to resist change (stop the construction of high-rise apartments in residential areas) or to demand change (neighborhood improvement) but in both cases the issue is of local significance strongly affecting the vested interests of a certain geographically-defined group of people.

In some situations the issue may also have consequences for other people beyond the local area as in the case of Spadina Expressway Issue in Toronto. However, it is the local area which is affected to the greatest degree, and it is the local citizens who form the groups and initiate some type of action.

In some, but not all citizen action groups there is an additional goal which is directly related to the specific goal. This is the under-lying demand and desire of citizens to be involved in the decisions which affect their lives. The emergence of citizen action groups indicates an expression of this desire. Many citizens want the opportunity and perhaps even feel the obligation to do more than protest for or against some issue. They want to become seriously involved in the planning and governing of their community because they are concerned with the future or feel that those who govern and plan are too far removed from the people. Thus, for some groups the purpose is not merely engagement for its own sake or the achievement of the specific local goal but the desire to alter the social system in the sense of incorporating

rational, responsible, moral citizen participation into the policies of governing and planning.

To some extent, the kinds of goals towards which a citizen action group directs its activities will be determined by the social class. While the upper and middle class organize to protect their interests (retain residential character of neighborhood against developers) or alter the policies of urban planners, the lower-income citizen action groups will be concerned primarily with what Carota (1970) calls "The bread-and-butter" issues. The lower-economic class will organize to fight against the abuses of the welfare system, practices of slum landlords or agencies that do not meet their needs. Examples of these are welfare rights groups, tenants-rights, and groups designed to obtain day-care facilities, better education or the rights of racial and ethnic groups. The focus is upon institutional change as opposed to ideological change which may be evident in some middle and upper income groups.

The goal of a group is an organizational feature and as such constitutes one of the sources of social power. This is so because, without concrete

or specific goals, the group's activities cease to have direction and purpose or the group is deflected from achievement of its goals because of a tendency towards goal-displacement. Selznick states (1973:174) that running an organization:

generates problems which have no necessary (and often an opposed) relationship to the professed or original goals of the organization. The day-to-day behaviour of the group becomes centered around specific problems and proximate goals which have primarily an internal relevance. Then, since these activities come to consume an increasing proportion of the time and thought of the participants, they are - from the point of view of actual behaviour - substituted for the professed goals.

This factor of goal-displacement can result in disappointment and disillusionment - hence membership apathy, for those individuals who choose to participate in the group as a means of achieving specific purposes. Thus the group is prevented from achieving its goals because its ability to produce an effect, its power, has been lessened by the apathy and disillusionment of its members.

The concept of 'goals as a source of social power' is influenced by the socio-economic background of the group - more specifically by the qualities of leadership which are determined by

factors of class. As previously stated, class determines one's education, experience, knowledge and organizational skills thereby, producing in the middle class, individuals who have the capabilities and potentialities of good leadership and creating in the lower classes a scarcity of effective leaders.

In the administration and operation of a citizens' group or any group, it is the ability of the leader in formulating goals, in preventing goal-displacement and membership apathy, which mobilizes the members, creates power and achieves objectives.

Therefore, we may say that this ability of goal formulation and achievement is:

- a function of social class
- a source of the group's social power

However, it is also true that middle class groups may suffer goal-displacement because the middle class leader lacked the ability to mobilize the members towards achieving the original objectives. Bearing this in mind, our conclusion should be restated as:

Goals, as an organizational feature, constitute a source of the group's social power and are related to social class in three ways:

- Insofar as class determines the potentiality of a group's leader to formulate the goals and mobilize the members towards the achievement of the original goals.
- In accordance with the fact that, given this relationship between class and potentiality, the proportion of potential leaders in an area will vary with socio-economic variations.
- With reference to the type of goals towards which a citizen action group is oriented.

(b) Means: Despite the fact that goals and the means of attaining them are separated for the purposes of analysis it is essential to keep in mind that they are integrally related in the movement's nature and operation. Indeed, all of the structural features not only form boundary criteria for a movement but work together as interrelated units for the effective functioning of a social movement as a whole. According to Wendell King, (1956:30) the means employed to achieve an end can be broken down into a variety of categories. However he limits these to four - ideology, group cohesion, organization and tactics.

The goals of a citizen action group and the means of attaining them are also integrally related in the nature and operation of the citizen group because both goals and means are organizational features of the group, thereby constituting a source of social power.

As with social movements, the means of a citizen action group can be divided into the categories of ideology, group cohesion, organization and tactics. In examining the various types of means, the discussion will refer to the means employed by the "ideal" citizen action group. Thus it should be remembered that not all groups achieve the standards or level of expertise suggested by the ideal type and consequently the calibre of means which a group does use will determine the degree to which the group functions effectively - its level of social power, and the measure of success it achieves.

The development of appropriate and effective means is an art, requiring time, strategic thought and the awareness of certain important factors. First, there is the necessity of knowing both the people the group represents and the sector it is opposing. Such information as what skills, qualities, education and vested interests the people possess, coupled with an understanding of their needs and aspirations will go far in making the group truly representative of the community,

On the other hand, knowing who your opponents are (government, planners, developers), their values and what they stand to gain or lose in the issue will determine the types of tactics and the course of action to be followed. In addition, the group must familiarize itself with the prevailing values of the community, its social composition and power structure so that the group may work with community forces as well as individuals.

Finally, there must be the recognition that one should collaborate with as many people as possible - educators, the media, unions, company management, civic representatives, ethnic groups, and religious leaders so that the group gains allies and credibility in the eyes of the general public. This resource of network contacts increases the group's access to social power in the form of such resources as prestige, money, influence and reputation, thus raising its chances of success.

However, the ways in which a group achieves its objectives - the means it employs, are not only a source of the group's social power but are influenced in several ways by the external factor of social class.

Whether or not a citizens' group is cognizant of the qualities and potentialities of its members and how these may be utilized for the benefit of the group; the participants' needs and interests; the characteristics of the opposition; and the internal features of the community, is directly related to the leadership qualities of awareness, perception, interest in the group and ability to develop effective strategies. All of these, as we have seen, are a product of one's class background.

In addition, the usefulness and scope of a group's contacts and the efforts the group makes in establishing allies is a resource which varies, among groups, according to the socio-economic status of the group.

Thus, in our discussion of the type of means, we should

keep in mind the relationship between social class, organizational features as a source of social power and the group's achievement of objectives.

Turning now to the four categories of means, the subject of ideology will be dealt with first. As each of these types will be defined with reference to social movements, there is no need to repeat it in the discussion of citizen action groups.

Ideology:

The ideology constitutes an important element in social movements since it not only states the goals but encompasses a system of belief which justifies the movement's existence, contains values, ideals and rules, and indicates whatever the movement is against. Without ideology, the movement would lack its rationale, its doctrine, its solidarity and the course it is to follow in pursuit of its goals.

At present, citizen action groups may be divided into those whose ideologies are mainly concerned with protest and action, and those who desire and believe in the ethic of responsible citizen participation. The ideology of the group may be determined to a large extent by the leader's own ambitions and characteristics. If his motive is self-interest or if he is swayed by broader ideologies such as Marxism or by the successes of other leaders, such as Saul Alinsky, without a

realistic awareness of his specific situation, his efforts may be wasted. The reasons for this are twofold. Either the community people will feel alienated because they cannot identify with the leader's ideology, or, they will perceive that the ideology is lacking in realism and practicality. Hence the group will have lost the commitment of the community and its course of action and effectiveness will be radically different from the group whose ideology is based on the community's needs, and is consequently useful and practical.

As was indicated in our discussion of goals, the variable of class produces leaders whose characteristics differ markedly. So too the factor of ideology is a product of the leaders' background, attitudes, life style, and education. Therefore differences in groups' ideologies may be related to social class. For instance, the leader with community status, prestige, influence, and organizational experience will generally propose an ideology which is traditional, embodies organizational principles, is oriented towards the status quo and is acceptable to those in power. In contrast, leaders with some education or familiarity with the philosophies of various social movements are more prone to suggest ideologies which challenge the philosophies of those who hold positions of organized authority.

Finally, the ideologies of the lower classes may be conflict-oriented; extremely idealistic; or perhaps simple, practical and relevant to the community's comprehension. However, whichever ideology the group develops, it will help to enable or prevent the group from achieving its goals. Ideology is a feature of the group's organization system and thus is a source of social power. The contribution which the ideology makes to the group's power depends upon the degree to which the ideology represents the members' needs and how effective it is in providing "rationality, solidarity, and the course the group is to follow in pursuit of its goals." (King, 1956:32)

Cohesion:

Having established goals and the ideology to rationalize its necessary course of action, a social movement, as indeed any change-oriented group, faces the problem of durability when it swings into operation. Any group which challenges the status quo, and both social movements and citizen action groups do this, will face opposition and conflict. Thus, the movement or group requires a close-knit membership and group cohesion if it is to function effectively and survive. "When enthusiasm gives way to disenchantment, the movement is headed for obscurity." (King, 1956:33)

Neither goals nor ideology will succeed once disagreement gains momentum; "a sense of loyalty and consciousness of kind are essential for holding a movement together." (King, 1956:33) Similarly, citizen action groups require cohesion when challenging civic policy, urban planners or developers. The citizen action group is less concerned with durability than the social movement since the action group may cease to function once the issue around which it evolved has been settled. Despite this, however, cohesion is a necessary factor if the group is to go beyond the initiation stage and achieve any kind of measurable success. As it is a group which challenges the present social order it requires a close-knit membership in order to function effectively, and survive the waves of opposition, inner-conflict or disenchantment. The group must encompass the loyalties of the community it represents such that there is consciousness of kind and identification with the group. Furthermore, it is mandatory that the people of the community hold the group's goals as their goals and work together as a unit to achieve them. Marjaleena Repo (1971) cites the example of a Toronto community which sought to have traffic lights installed in the neighborhood, but instead of joining together in the

cause, the citizens of various blocks sent separate petitions to the civic government. This action created so much confusion that, as a result, no group achieved its goal.

Cohesion is a factor of the organization of the group and is integrally linked with other elements of the group's internal nature such that a discussion of cohesion involves repetition of previous information. Originally, individuals join groups in order to have their needs and interests enlisted for some collective cause. However, we have seen that in the lower-economic classes, the motivation to participate is lower than it would be in the middle classes because lower income persons do not value organized participation to the extent that middle class people value it. Secondly, in lower income areas the general morale is not as high as in middle income neighborhoods. Thus the leader of the citizen action group in the lower economic area must work harder at motivating people to participate and consequently needs a great deal of cohesion to counteract the problems of morale and negative views concerning participation, in addition to the issues of opposition or conflict which a middle class group also faces.

It is also necessary that the group represent the needs of the community and avoid goal-displacement, otherwise apathy and disenchantment will set in. Cohesion can prevent this because if there is cohesion there is usually a close-knit membership and open communication among the participants and with the leaders. However cohesion also depends upon the factors of structure and tactics. Does the group's structure allow for the true participation of all members? Specifically in the lower-economic classes, does structure provide opportunities for training people in skills necessary for full participation in a democratic society and is it simple enough to "facilitate expressive behaviour and provide maximum chances for everyone to be the center of the stage from time to time. (Rainwater, 1970:276)

In addition to structure, the group must employ certain tactics in order to create cohesion. This task falls upon the leader or leaders who should institute the practice of communicating with all the participants and the community at large, encouraging feedback, motivating people to attend meetings, publicizing group activities to the public, discovering peoples' needs and potentialities and utilizing them so that all participants feel involved.

The promotion of cohesion within a citizen's group is the responsibility of the leader, and as in other examples, is correlated with his experience, skills and personality. As we have seen, social class determines the potentiality for good leadership thereby influencing the factors of structure, tactics and consequently, cohesion. Furthermore, variations in degree of cohesion found in groups can also be traced to morale of participants and motivation to participate, both of which are affected by social class. Philip Selznick (1973:74) describes typical voluntary association as:

Skeletal in the sense that they are manned by a small core of individuals, a few faithful meeting-goers - around whom there fluctuates a loosely bound mass of dues-payers.

If the citizen action group fits this description there is bound to be limited cohesion, consciousness of kind or loyalty and the group will lack the power to survive the waves of opposition, conflict or apathy. Cohesion, then, like goals and ideology is a factor of organization and consequently combines with goals and ideology to form a source of power. However, the elements of an organized social machinery and tactics are also required.

Organization and Status System:

To achieve the goals of the group or social movement, undifferentiated cohesion is not enough, nor is mere agreement on means. The sustained activities which bring results require an orderly social machinery.

(King, 1956:35) This social machinery consists of the statuses of leader and followers, the roles played by each and the patterns of relationship between them.

Leadership is a crucial component and varies in degree from the charismatic to the legal type. While the former possess power derived from an individual's unique virtues and appeal, the legal leader operates from a formal position of authority. However, when the charismatic leader dies or steps down he is replaced by a legal leader and the movement is on the way to being bureaucratized. In analyzing leadership, several relevant questions such as - the functional value to the movement of different types of leaders, the roles they play and the problems they create,

(McLaughlin, 1969:203), are useful in gaining knowledge of the importance of leadership as an independent variable affecting several dimensions of a social movement. The study of a movement's organizational system also includes some consideration of the type of membership

it attracts and why. The appeal of a specific movement or any community group is related to an individual's stage in life, life style, problems and opportunities. As a consequence of these factors, people "will appraise the social scene differently and assign different values to the purposes and promises of a social movement," (Cameron, 1966:37) thus resulting in their willingness to join or their rejection of it. Cameron cites the following as the recurrent categories by which to differentiate membership: age, occupation, economic class, education, racial or ethnic background, religion, political faith, geographic location, language and historical accidents. However, in most social movements these categories are interconnected in determining who joins what. Many of them can also be viewed as dimensions of social class in its broadest form, not simply as economic status.

In the United States, there are few examples of social movements where membership can be labelled as representing economic class exclusively. This fact is due to the lack of clarity concerning class lines. Despite this however, there are illustrations of movements where class is a significant factor. Cameron (1966) cited the league of Women Voters and the Boy Scouts as middle-class, most Pentecostal religious movements as

predominantly lower class and some nationalistic economic-political movements as appealing primarily to the upper class.

Class in strictly economic terms plays a decisive role in the absence of movements representing the depressed of society for as Cameron points out (1966:40), "people who are really downtrodden do not form political movements. History has rarely recorded a successful slave revolt." Examples of lower class movements are either led by people of higher social status or illustrate that the citizens of the lower class, who are involved in the movements, are not the economically repressed but are those who have gained enough power, wealth and means to mobilize themselves into a movement. However, if one looks at social class not strictly as economic status but as correlated with education, occupation, quality of life, mental abilities and health it becomes significant as a determinant of who joins what movement. For instance, education, as it moulds one's needs, attitudes and abilities and unites people through a common bond of shared experiences "influences the probability that a man will join a given social movement." (Cameron, 1966:40)

Examples of educational-related organizations are societies

of lawyers and doctors and such groups as the Wiffenpoofs, West Pointers or Oxford Group all of which symbolize similarity of interests or shared sentiments and loyalties exclusive to graduates of the respective institutions.

Further evidence supporting the belief that social class and its related dimensions determine participation is given by Anthony Oberschall (1973:135) in the following hypothesis:

Participants in popular disturbances and activists in opposition organizations will be recruited from previously active and relatively well-integrated individuals within the collectivity, whereas socially isolated, atomized and uprooted individuals will be under-represented, at least until the movement has become substantial.

This proposition is not necessarily confined to working or lower-class movements since as Cameron (1966: 45) has pointed out: "people who join one social movement are good candidates for others." However, there is a relation to social class because as previously stated, the degree to which one participates in society or is active and well-integrated is a function of class. Thus, as one's position in the social hierarchy rises the probability of participation increases.

From these variables of class we can learn what type of people will participate in which social movements.

There are, however, other factors which will explain why only a percentage of potential participants do participate. Drawing from Marx, and C. Wright Mills, Oberschall states (1973:63) that there must be not only common economic interest but also an "impetus to engage in activity toward social change intended to ameliorate economic antagonism."

It is the concept of impetus which bears significance because when given the social conditions and class factors to become a potential participant in a specific movement or group, one final consideration remains: What will the individual gain by joining, what is the impetus which transforms the potential participant into an active participant. Oberschall states (1973: 176) that:

The basic postulates of rationality and of self-interest or what amounts to the same thing, the careful weighing on the part of potential participants of the rewards and costs of collective action, can go a long way in explaining differential participation.

From the foregoing discussion we have some knowledge of the categories of leadership and membership, the two component parts of a social movement's organization system. In order that these parts function effectively as means of achieving goals there must be some division of labour. This entails statuses, roles, special responsibilities, obligations, rights and power.

If there is to be a co-operative effort, the relationship between leaders and members must be well defined. In the event of membership turnover or loss of leaders, the organizational system will remain operational. Furthermore, there must be constant communication between leaders and followers so that the latter do not feel alienated. It is casual talk, participation and meetings between leaders and followers that develops stability, durability and cohesion once the organization system has been effectively established. As with social movements, a citizen action group requires an orderly social machinery with which it can become operative and sustain its activities through periods of crisis or transitions.

Leadership:

The type of leader, his skills, and whether he is oriented toward realistic goals determine the direction that a citizen action group will take. According to Wilson Head (1971:25),

The importance of leadership in developing effective citizen participation programs has been repeatedly demonstrated in Canada as in the United States. In the past the development of leadership in citizens' group has been a precarious process, largely because it lacks of an adequate body of knowledge relating to community action.

In addition, it is difficult in the lower income groups to obtain and maintain adequate indigenous

leadership for citizen action groups. Either the local neighborhood leaders do not possess the skills necessary to handle organizational activities of an action group or the qualified leaders are upwardly-mobile, use the skills gained in group activities to their personal advantage, and move into middle-class positions beyond the neighborhood.

The utilization of non-indigenous leadership could prove to be inadequate if the leader is not fully aware of the peoples' needs, or of community forces.

This could lead to the problem of lack of communication between the leader and the people which the group is striving to represent so that alienation and disenchantment quickly develop.

In previous discussions it has become evident that the potentiality for effective leadership is a function of class and is directly related to a group's resources, to other elements of its organization and to the factor of numbers, all of which combine to produce social power.

Membership:

In the discussion of membership in social movements the factor of social class was an important variable.

Similarly, with citizen action groups, social class will determine the extent of participation and the group's effectiveness because, as demonstrated earlier, class

is directly related to the rate of participation and to the concept of social power.

Class may have additional significance since lower-income citizens may be reluctant to become engaged in an action group specifically related to their community because of the realization that their power is too limited to influence the power structure. Many citizen groups do not possess the information and knowledge required to meet or confront those in power, and do not wish to risk the humiliation of failure. This is especially true of those citizens who continually have to contend with defeat, and for whom the belief that 'you can't beat City Hall' is particularly significant.

A low level of trust in municipal government and a feeling of government neglect hinder the motivation of people to participate in anything connected with the government even if it is in the form of a protest. These feelings and the resulting apathy are experienced in all classes, but more frequently by lower income citizens thus accounting for their lack of eagerness to become mobilized. In contrast to this situation Dorene Jacobs (1971) cites the example of a group which represents a basically middle-class neighborhood and has a range of educational and occupational levels among its citizens. This group has more access to

information about what is happening in the city; it has more resources available, such as funds for legal counsel; it has considerable knowledge and expertise regarding city by-laws, the process of lobbying, and so on. As a result, it is always treated with a certain amount of respect in official quarters as a body that cannot be ignored.

In addition there must be continual communication - talk and meetings between members and leaders so that cohesion and stability will strengthen the social organization and the group will run efficiently.

Tactics:

The final type of means to be considered is tactics - "those activities and policies of a movement which are directed at the outside world." (King, 1956:36).

Cameron states (1966) that social action may be instrumented by violent, non-violent and quasi-violent methods.

Violent tactics include riots, mass demonstrations, revolutions, civil war, terrorism and assassinations.

A step removed from these are quasi-violent measures whose effectiveness rests largely upon the possibility of violence. Some examples are threats and ultimatums. Finally, the non-violent tactics refer to such actions

as constituting a voting majority, influencing the voter and utilizing picket lines, strikes, coalitions, mass media, personal persuasion, petitions or briefs.

In addition to tactics, Cameron points out that some groups may develop certain techniques to assist them in attaining goals, attracting new members or solidifying the present membership. Such unique qualities as dress, language, names, methods of fund raising or exposure to the public set a specific movement apart from other movements and from the rest of society.

There are certainly additional tactics and techniques but a complete listing of them is not possible here.

It should be emphasized however, that:

Tactics are clearly dependent upon other elements within the movement. The suitability of this or that approach in terms of audacity or cautiousness, for example, varies with the size and cohesion of the membership, with the structure of the movement, and especially with the kind of leadership at hand. Ideology too is an influence for it may so exult and justify the goals that almost any tactical devices seem excusable. The goals themselves are also a factor, ultimate ends calling for quite a different tack than more immediate aims. Always present as another condition of tactics is the social order as a whole. Violence, for instance, may seem appropriate for achieving some particular goal, but is risky in the modern state which rarely tolerates the use of force by any but its own agencies. (King, 1956:37)

Having described the structural features of a social movement it is worthwhile to emphasize that the components of an organization, its goals and various

means are interconnected units operating with reference to each other for the overall functioning of the organization. It is the differences in the structural features and the role they play in relation to each other which are responsible for the consequences of a movement and which distinguish one movement from another. The work of Zurcher and Curtis (1973) on small social movements illustrated these statements as the following excerpts will indicate: "We conclude that in the small or emerging social movement organization, the variables of leadership orientation, goal specificity and incentive structure are significant and perhaps overriding independent variables accounting for much of the variance in other organizational characteristics." Zurcher and Curtis (1973) put forth the following propositions based on these conclusions:

The small or emergent social movement organization, when the leadership is oriented toward goal specificity and purposive incentives, will manifest the following characteristics; task orientation; bureau-charisma; conservativeness in strategies and tactics; exclusiveness in membership recruitment; homogeneity of characteristics; no mergers or coalitions with other social movement organizations, schisms; a short duration, or duration terminated upon goal attainment; resistance to pressures for organizational maintenance; no goal transformation; society or community-changing goals; existence of a parent organization.

In comparison:

The small or emergent social movement organization, when the leadership is oriented toward goal diffuseness and solidary incentives, will manifest the following characteristics: expressive orientation; charisma; radicalism in strategies and tactics; inclusiveness in membership recruitment, homogeneity of membership characteristics; mergers or coalitions with other social movement organizations; long duration; susceptibility to pressure for organizational maintenance; goal transformation; person-changing goals; no parent organization.

From these passages it may be concluded that tactics are dependent upon other elements within the movement. Choice of tactics varies with size, degree of group cohesion and kind of leadership found in the social movement.

Similarly in the organization of citizen action groups one should ask 'what tactics are best suited to the goal.' Some groups continually use various kinds of confrontation tactics because these are currently popular for achieving individual and social change. (Kidd, 1971)

In some cases protests and confrontation are appropriate and effective and one can benefit from studying the success of those who use them well. However, "some of those with little experience or imagination, or those who are proud of their skill with such tactics, tend to employ them on all occasions, whether suitable or not." (Kidd, 1975:141)

Initially these tactics will produce results but then those in authority can quickly defuse the power which

protest and confrontation measures originally possessed.

A citizen action group should be sufficiently equipped, skilled and competent to employ other methods as the utilization of legal assistance, access to municipal and provincial information and expertise, or the activation of network contacts.

Once again the factor of social class enters the discussion as it determines the number of resources available to any group whereby it can employ certain tactics. Following is a list of tactics used by citizen action groups and the resources necessary to employ these tactics, illustrating how class determines the group's resources and the tactics it employs:

Tactics:

Resources:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| - collecting information on community problems and peoples' needs, interests, opinions. | - organizational abilities |
| - establishing contacts with key people. | - experience |
| - increasing education as to urban planning, city-by-laws, organizational skills, policies of government. | - education |
| - organizing members to develop and utilize full potential. | - communication skills |
| | - network contacts |
| | - prestige |
| | - influence |
| | - social status |
| | - perception |
| | - diplomacy |
| | - money |
| | - access to office equipment |
| - distribution to community of information flyers describing group's activities. | |
| - recruiting assistance and co-operation from mass media | |
| - utilizing community resources - schools, churches, other groups. | |
| - holding open meetings, open house. | |
| - gaining the co-operation of resource people - planners, educators. | |
| - encourage feedback from general public. | |
| - organizing meetings with government officials. | |

Many of these tactics require resources that are more available to middle class groups than the lower class ones. Consequently, the middle class group is more likely to achieve its goals because it has the power (tactics and resources) to do so. As stated earlier, the implementation of means is an art and to succeed, the citizen action group must have the knowledge of all workable tactics and understand the principles of timing and flexibility in the utilization of different methods in various situations.

A group should be as practical and as realistic as possible in the choice of tactics so that they are suitable for the circumstances. This requires a considerable amount of planning and some groups consistently fail because they are happy only when there is action, regardless of its direction.

C - Summary:

This chapter has dealt with social movements, as a form of collective participation from which significant data can be drawn relating to citizen action groups. The goals and the four types of means which comprise the structure of social movements have been used as five additional features of a citizen action group's organization, thereby completing the internal factors of our conceptual framework which will be used in the

analysis of the citizen action groups in Hamilton.

In the discussion of goals and means, as pertaining to citizen action groups, several important points have been demonstrated:

- (1) The effect of the social class variable on the organizational features of goals, ideology, cohesion, social machinery (leaders and members) and tactics.
- (2) The integral relationship between goals and means and their interdependence with other factors of resources, numbers and organization.
- (3) The placement of goals and means as features of the group's social power.
- (4) The illustration of the suggested model whereby social class is the independent variable influencing the 13 intervening variables which comprise the factors of numbers, organization and resources. These three factors are the combined sources of social power which determines a group's success or failure in achieving goals - the dependent variable. Therefore, social power is also an intervening variable in the relationship between a group's social class and the ultimate outcome of its efforts.

CHAPTER V

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN ACTION GROUPS:

- A - The analysis of citizen action groups through the application of the literature reviewed in the previous four chapters:

It has been stated that the intention of this thesis is to provide not only an examination of the citizen action group as a specific form of social participation but in addition, to review the literature on social participation and subsequently, to develop a conceptual framework for the analysis of the citizen action group. Chapter five stands as the link between these two purposes. It represents the culmination of the literature review which allows us to formulate the conceptual framework.

The four chapters covered thus far have dealt with this review of the literature on social participation presenting the reader with the following information which will facilitate the formulation of the conceptual framework:

- (1) A review of significant classical and current theories on participation and integration thereby relating citizen action groups to the existing body of social participation literature.
- (2) Social participation - definition and functions.
- (3) Changes in the nature of participation in the community setting.
- (4) The relationship between social participation and social class.

- (5) A description of the two specific forms of participation which are relevant to the study of citizen action groups:
 - community organization agencies
 - social movements
- (6) The compilation of 13 variables designated as the internal features of a citizen action group..
- (7) The creation of a MODEL in which social class is an independent variable affecting the 13 intervening variables which ultimately determine the outcome or dependent variable.

Having reviewed and utilized these data on social participation to derive the most significant elements, it has been possible to produce a conceptual framework based on this literature. This framework presents the citizen action group as a unique form of social participation but also endeavours to relate citizen action groups, in a sociological context, to social participation theory.

The remainder of chapter five will be devoted to the presentation and discussion of this framework. Then in chapters six and seven, which deal with the examination of the Hamilton citizen action groups--the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive, the conceptual framework will be used to analyze the two groups so that the utility of the conceptual framework as an analytic tool may be tested. Thus chapter five may be viewed as the pivotal point of this paper because it encompasses the summary of the salient features of participation literature in the presentation of the conceptual framework. This chapter also operates as a

springboard for the application of the conceptual framework in the analysis of the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive.

FIGURE II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

FOR ANALYZING CITIZEN ACTION GROUPS

- I : Definition of citizen action groups
- II : Conceptualization of citizen action groups as a form of social participation.
 - (a)-Type of activities and objectives pursued
 - instrumental
 - expressive
 - (b)-Degree of organization
 - (c)-Relation of citizens' groups to participation literature -
 - Wirth's theories
 - Social class
 - Social power
 - (d)-Citizen action groups as related to specific forms of group participation - community organization agencies
 - social movements
- III : External factors of citizen action groups.
 - (a)-Conditions conducive to the formation of citizen action groups
 - (b)-The effect of social class on citizen action groups.
- IV : Internal Factors of citizen action groups.

There are 13 internal factors of a citizen action group which are embodied in the 3 components of numbers, organization and resources. These 3 components are the combined sources of a group's social power.
- V : Relationship between external and internal factors.

The presentation of the Social Class Model.
- VI : Functions of a citizen action group
 - as a form of social participation
 - as a voluntary association

I Definition of citizen action groups:

To summarize previous discussions of the definition and types of citizens' groups, the citizen action group may be defined as a form of the recently emerging citizen group movement which includes ratepayers' associations and those groups organized around regional issues such as pollution. However, citizen action groups are unique in themselves and differentiated from other groups in the citizen group movement because the citizen action group is self-initiated in a local community by citizens for the purpose of taking action to change or maintain their immediate situation. Unlike ratepayers' associations or anti-pollution groups, the citizen action group has only one specific goal and the issue or issues under debate are significant to a specific geographically defined group of citizens, although the principles involved or the implications of the issues may be shared by segments of the population beyond the local neighborhood.

II Conceptualization of citizen action groups as a form of social participation:

(a) Type of activities and objectives pursued:

The citizen action group represents an instrumental-expressive type of participation because its activities and objectives are mixed in character. The goals of a citizen action group are instrumental--protest or demand change; exercise some influence in the urban environment--and their activities are a means to this end. However, participation

in a citizen action group is also expressive because some gratification is derived from the mere fact of being involved. This gratification is immediate and self-contained unlike instrumental activities whose gratification is derived from the accomplishment of the goal.

(b) Degree of Organization:

Citizen action groups have some degree of formal organization because their goals are instrumental and thus necessitate some co-ordination of activities directed towards achievement of the goal. Variations among groups in degree of organization may be explained by the effect of the external factor of social class on the internal factors of the group. This theory will be dealt with in section five of the conceptual framework when the relationship between external and internal factors is discussed.

(c) Relation of citizen action groups to participation literature:
Theories of Louis Wirth:

The most significant element in the review of literature on social participation is Wirth's theory regarding the individual's participation in society as a result of urban living. Wirth stated (1964:81):

Reduced to a stage of virtual impotence as an individual the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar interest into groups organized to obtain his ends. This results in the enormous multiplication of voluntary organizations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests.

AND

It is only through the organizations and groups to which men belong that their interests and resources can be enlisted for a collective cause. (Wirth, 1964:82)

These passages are significant because they are the central theme underlying our discussion of citizen action groups as a form of participation. The citizen action group emerges in a specific local area in response to the needs of individuals to exercise social choice and control in their urban environment because, as Wirth suggested, it is only through joining with others, of similar interests and needs, into groups that any individual can develop his personality, acquire status or obtain his objectives. Furthermore, this participation occurs as a result of an individual's investment in and commitment to the ongoing social system of the locality. (Greer, 1962:96) His behaviour, in the act of participating with others in a citizen action group, is not random but purposive and goal-directed, such that he not only desires to obtain his objectives and fulfill his interests or needs but expects that the compensation will be equivalent to the resources invested.

Relation of citizen action groups to social class and social power:

In addition to Wirth, the theories concerning social class and social power in relation to participation are also significant in analyzing the citizen action group because

social class and social power not only affect the group's operations and eventual success or failure but these factors are also interrelated in the group's organization and career. Given the importance of 'participation in relation to social class' when formulating a conceptual framework for studying citizen action groups, we have from a review of the literature, learned that group participation is a middle class phenomenon because middle class people are socialized towards involvement in groups and value such participation as a means of achieving status, prestige, self-fulfillment and engaging in social and economic relations. The lower economic classes, in contrast, do not value group participation to the same extent because they fulfill social needs in the kin and peer groups and generally are not socialized towards joining organized groups beyond informal gatherings consisting of neighborhood, kin or work associates. This literature also pointed to the differences in socialization process, characteristics and network contacts available to people of various socio-economic levels.

This basic class difference in orientation toward group participation and in the resources which individuals possess was further emphasized when community organization and social movement literature was reviewed and the class variable was seen as affecting such factors as motivation to participate, rate of community participation, strategies

and style of participation, group structure, type of problems approached, availability of indigenous leadership, the goals attempted and the means available to achieve objectives.

As a result of the literature and studies on social participation, it was concluded that the class factor was vital to understanding and explaining the variations among citizen action groups of different class neighborhoods. However, this theoretical review also produced the realization that the groups differed in organization and effectiveness not simply because of class background but because class determined the amount of power a group possessed and this power enabled the group to achieve success.

Thus the concept of social power was investigated and the theories of Bierstedt were utilized because his definition of power, with its source in the combination of numbers, organization and resources, contained the framework for deriving the internal factors of a citizen action group and because it was also apparent, from the literature and from field work that social class strongly affected the numbers, organization and resources of the citizen action group that is, class determined the group's power and the eventual outcome of its efforts.

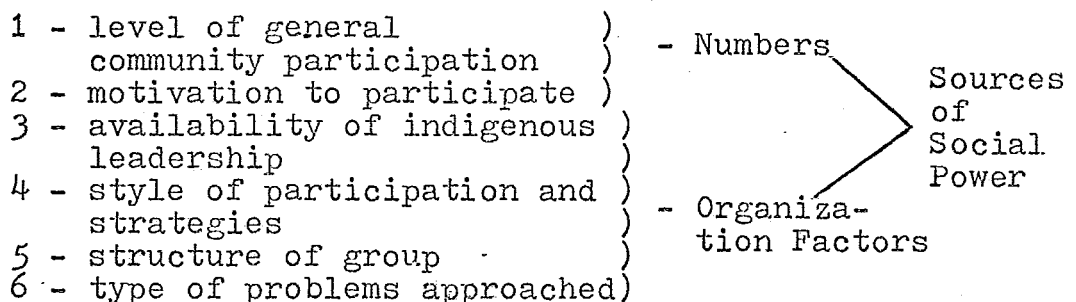
Consequently, from this, a Social Class Model was developed illustrating the relationship between the external factor of social class and the internal factors of a citizen

action group. This model will be presented as part of the conceptual framework of the citizen action group in Section 5 under the relationship between internal and external factors and its validity will be tested in chapter seven when the two Hamilton groups are analyzed.

(d) Citizen action groups as related to two specific forms of group participation:

(i) Literature on community organization agencies was utilized in reference to citizen action groups because CO agencies provided facts on 'participation in the local community' which is of relevance to action groups whose emergence occurs in the neighbourhood or community setting.

From the literature on CO agencies the following six variables were derived for use in analyzing citizen action groups:

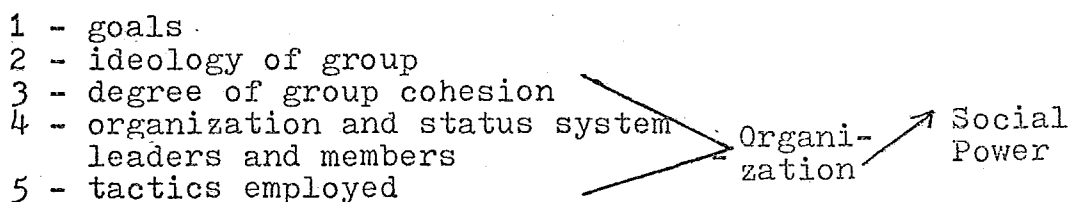


When these variables were discussed with reference to citizen action groups the relationship between them and the concept of social class was indicated. (See Page 50, Presentation of Social Class Model).

(ii) An investigation of social movements was conducted because certain important similarities exist between social

movements and citizen action groups, which are a form of the citizen group movement. Both social movements and action groups are vehicles of expression through which ideas, practices, and beliefs achieve public exposure and enter into the social fabric. In addition they represent people in non-institutionalized positions of authority who are seeking to bring about or resist change.

Completing the list of internal variables comprising a citizen action group, social movements contributed five additional elements which are factors of a group's organization and a source of social power:



Data were also presented to illustrate the affect of social class on these variables, hence on the group's social power and ultimately on the group's success or failure.

III External Factors of citizen action groups:

(a) (i) Physical Needs:

According to Wilson Head, (1971:16) "the single activating element in the increasing scope of citizen participation has been the activity of high-rise developers engaged in urban renewal activities in the larger cities of Canada." To a great extent this is true since people of all classes are protesting the

expropriation of land, displacement of families or the construction of high-rise buildings in residential neighborhoods and are taking action to stop developers. This activity of developers is a serious problem because it is related to the factor of density in the city.

Wirth stated (1964:74) that concentration of increased numbers in limited space produces a situation in which competition for space is great.

Density, land values, rentals, accessibility, healthfulness, prestige, aesthetic, considerations, absence of nuisances such as noise, smoke and dirt determine the desirability of various areas of the city as places of settlement for different sections of the population.

Thus an individual's place of residence is selected on the basis of these factors and in accordance with such characteristics as place and nature of work, income, social status, racial and ethnic background, custom, habit, taste, preference and prejudice. As a result of these factors Wirth states (1964:74) that the:

diverse urban population elements become segregated from one another in the degree in which their requirements and modes of life are incompatible and in the measure in which they are antagonistic.

Given the significance and ramifications of the factors of selection, together with the level of one's economic investment in place of residence, the increased activity of urban developers, (Head, 1971:16) and the realization that urban

space is at a premium, it is not difficult to comprehend why the urbanite should demand or protest change to his physical environment.

Lack of urban redevelopment in older sections of cities, the construction of expressways through residential areas, increase in high-rises and the accompanying problems of deterioration, increased heterogeneity, decrease in land values, higher taxes, expropriation, noise, dust, and greater density are all threatening and in opposition to the basic factors of selection which one initially takes into serious consideration when choosing place of residence. Consequently, individuals react to the activity of developers which threatens their place of residence. Therefore, it is their physical needs and interests which cause them to create an organization in which these needs can be enlisted for the collective cause of influencing the decisions which affect their physical locality. Hence citizen action groups emerge.

(ii) Psychological Needs:

The psychological needs which increase individuals' desire to become involved in community planning and control and hence to join citizen action groups may be traced to conditions of society itself as suggested by the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Citizenship of Ontario. He stated:

In many ways the present interest which people are expressing in formation of local neighborhood groups may indeed be considered a natural outgrowth

of the very complexity of our modern society and institutions.

The depersonalizing effects of rapid urbanization, remoteness of government control and technological change lead to a sense of alienation and social, economic and psychological deprivation. The continuing rate of poverty in the midst of a generally affluent society, powerlessness of the individual to effect change, the demand to be heard and the desire to participate in community control and exercise choice in their urban environment are causes for people joining together to take action and are shared by a cross-section of the population - the aged, the poor, the young, long-time homeowners, the working class, the middle class, and people with or without families.

Still another condition conducive to the formation of community action groups is the philosophy which pervades society through such institutions as universities, industry, government, schools and voluntary organizations that participation, co-operation, communication and involvement should be encouraged and practised by everyone. (Draper, 1971; Connor, 1974; Curtis, 1973; Ontario Economic Council, 1971) Furthermore, by forming into groups and fighting local battles, citizens are learning the skills and acquiring the confidence needed to win their cases instead of remaining apathetic and uninvolved. To some extent this is due to the presence of such movements as civil rights, women's liberation, Canadian Indians and the youth which have created a climate of parti-

cipation and protest that is now filtering down to the community level. Head states (1971:16) that "it is no longer a question of whether or not participation is a good thing: this is now accepted." In some cases, such as the poor, "citizens' participation has become not merely a desirable factor but a virtual necessity."

(b) The effect of social class on citizen action groups:

In discussing community organization practice, Irving Spergel states (1972:17) that:

the activities of the practitioner and whether they are successful or not may be determined by forces outside of the organization such as, class structure, local politics, social and cultural traditions and existing beliefs and attitudes.

Similarly the citizen action group as a community organization is affected by forces outside itself, of which social class is highly significant. The class structure of a community may be a constraint on the group's functioning and impede the realization of its goals because class factors produce certain community patterns which the group reflects and which prevent it from attaining the power necessary to achieve its objectives. On the other hand, class structure may enable the group to have access to a great deal of power with which it can obtain its goals. The socio-economic level of an area is related to the factors of status groups, social hierarchy, class sentiments and power structures - hence, individuals' life chances, education, occupation, attitudes, place or residence, variations in knowledge and experience and the organizations and clubs which

one joins. (Mayer, 1955:1)

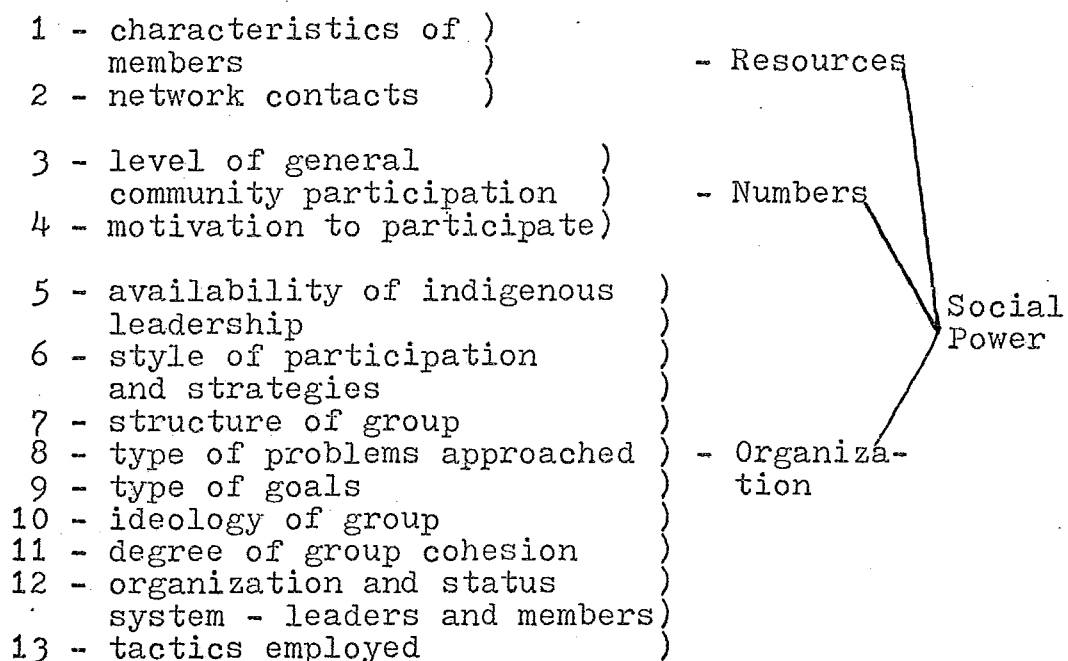
According to Wirth (1938:74) on the basis of these factors, people select certain areas of the city in which to live. Therefore, class produces groups of people having similar levels of income, power, status and prestige but differentiated from other groups by socio-economic divisions. When the individuals of a certain social class background form a group or when a group embodies collections of individuals with different socio-economic backgrounds, the group reflects the characteristics of its members. Characteristics such as an individual's education, organizational skills, prestige, occupation, network contacts, motivation to participate and philosophies produce, as previously indicated, the internal features of a group's structure - numbers, organization and resources which are sources of social power.

However, depending upon the socio-economic background of members, these numbers, organization and resources give the group power that is limited or abundant, thus signifying that social class is an important external factor in the life of the citizen action group.

IV Internal factors of citizen action groups:

From the review of the literature on social participation, particularly the examination of community organization agencies and social movements as well as from the analysis of Bierstedt's theory of social power, it has been possible to compile a list of thirteen significant characteristics

which describe the internal structure of a citizen action group. These features are thus designated as the internal factors of a citizen action group and are embodied in the factors of numbers, resources and organization - the three sources of social power.

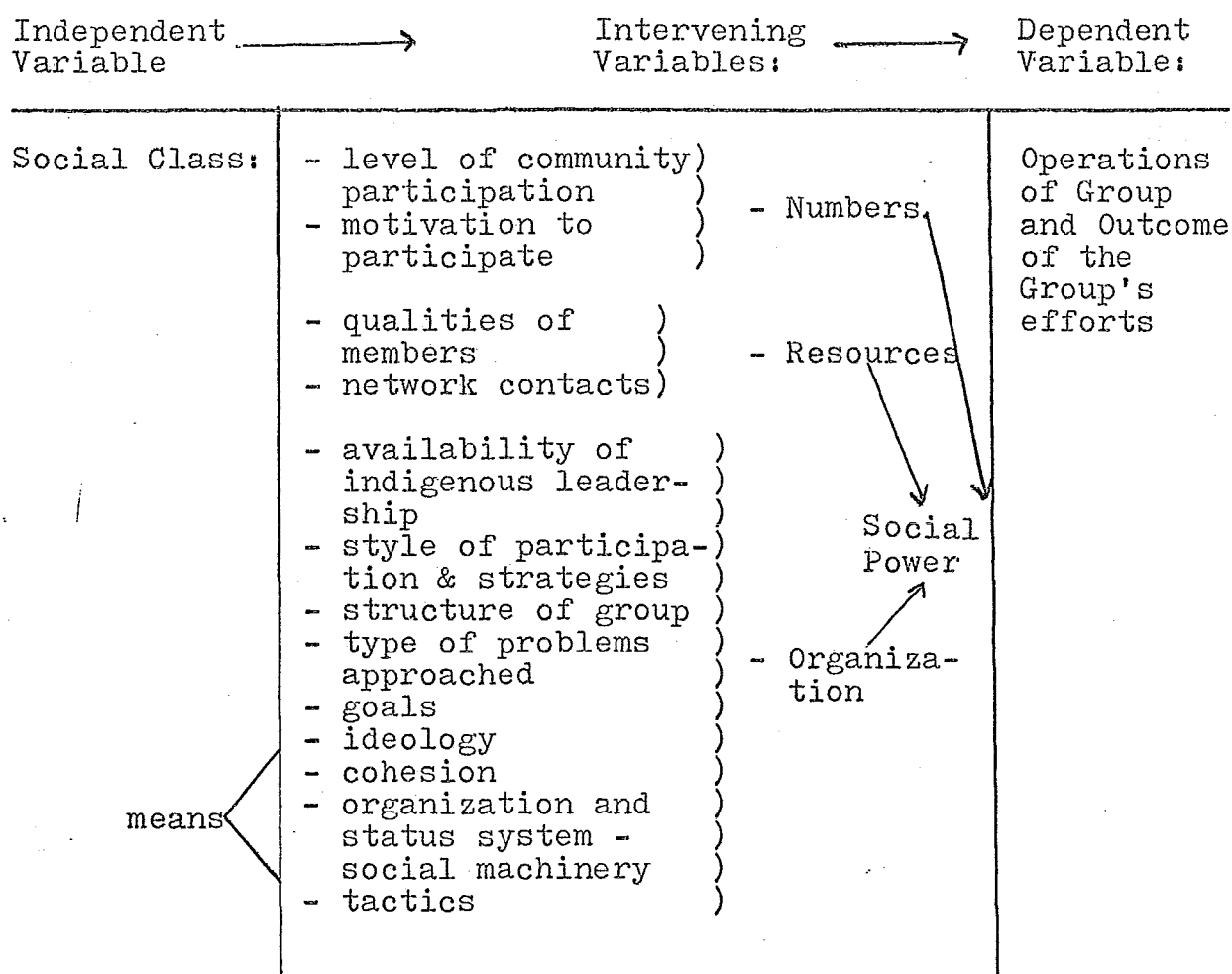


V Relationship between external and internal factors:

The relationship between the external factor of social class and the 13 internal factors is illustrated by the following diagram of the Social Class Model. This model contends that social class is an independent variable affecting the intervening variable of social power which determines the dependent variable - the group's outcome. However, the intervening variable of social power has its source in 3 components - numbers, organization and resources which embody 13 factors. Consequently, these 13 factors are intervening

variables between the factors of class and goal achievement.

Model indicating the affect of social class on the citizen action group:



Organization and social class:

From the examination of community organization agencies and social movements, as forms of participation having relevance to citizen action groups, the factors of a citizen's group organization were derived. These nine factors included:

- availability of indigenous leadership
- style of participation and strategies
- structure of group
- type of problems approached
- goals
- ideology
- cohesion
- organization and status system - social machinery
- tactics

Many of these factors are interrelated with each other and combine to form a source of power for the citizen action group. However, in analyzing these factors as they appear in social movements and community agencies, it was found that class determined, for example, the type of goals and strategies formulated, the quality of leadership, degree of cohesion, or level of efficiency which the organization achieved. This relationship between class and organizational factors was further substantiated in the study carried out on the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive in Hamilton, thereby providing evidence to suggest that the Social Class Model presented in the first chapter was an accurate description of the effect of social class on the life of a citizen action group.

In chapter seven, the relationship between the external factor of class to the internal factors of numbers, organization and resources in both the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive will be demonstrated when these groups are discussed and compared. In this way, the validity of the Social Class Model will be shown as we

trace the effect of class on the 13 intervening variables which constitute the sources of social power and which ultimately determine the group's level of success.

To demonstrate the effect which social class has upon the internal factors of a citizen action group, a brief summary will be given of the factors pointing to the relationship between numbers and class, resources and class, and organization and class.

Numbers and social class:

The causal relationship between social class and participation in organized groups may be explained in the following way, based upon the review of participation literature presented in previous chapters. An individual's socioeconomic level determines:

- Whether or not the individual values participation.
- His general level of morale.
- The degree to which his needs may be fulfilled by group participation.
- His commitment to the ongoing social system - the interactional network of his local community.

As a result of these four factors, an individual will or will not be motivated to join a citizen action group and consequently the group will have large or small numbers.

Resources and social class:

The qualities possessed by the group members and the possible network contacts available through the members'

personal networks are the resources of a citizen action group. These resources are affected by social class because class is related to one's education, occupation, organizational skills, life style, social status, influence and the composition of one's personal network.

Consequently the group with the higher socio-economic membership will have better access to useful qualities and contacts thereby giving it greater social power.

VI Functions of a citizen action group:

One of the fundamental purposes of this thesis is to analyze the citizen action group, as a specific and unique form of social participation. Consequently, the role which citizen action groups play in society will be studied with reference to social participation literature. "Sociologists have suggested somewhat diverse roles for social participation in the structure of community and society. (Edwards and Booth, 1973:4) Two sociologists suggest that voluntary associations develop as a means of fulfilling interests and are likely to be formed when people recognize a like or complimentary interest which is enduring enough and distinct enough to "be capable of more effective promotion through collective action . . ." (MacIver and Page, 1973:4) This view was also expressed by Louis Wirth (1938:81) Other studies indicate that voluntary associations play a vital role in our society. (Babchuk and Booth, 1969:31) From various sociological works,

a number of functions of social participation and voluntary associations have been compiled and are tabled below. Since the citizen action group has been designated as a form of social participation and as a voluntary association, these functions are applicable to our analysis of citizen action groups. Previously in chapter 1, these functions were discussed in relation to citizen action groups.

Following the analysis of the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive in terms of the conceptual framework, in chapter 7, conclusions will be drawn as to the extent to which citizen action groups may be said to fulfill the following functions of social participation and voluntary associations.

Communal functions of participation:

- (1) promote collective interests
- (2) distribute power in a democratic society
- (3) mediate between smaller structures and larger ones
- (4) facilitate the flow of information between separated social units

Functions of social participation for society at the macro-level of social organization:

- (1) social participation relationships give expression to emergent interests
 - (2) they facilitate adjustment to unusual demands
 - (3) they supplement earlier socialization
- (Edwards and Booth, 1973: 5 & 6)

Role of voluntary associations in society:

- (1) provide a setting in which to engage in expressive activities
- (2) function as vehicles to implement special personal interests

- (3) may provide affectual support for the individual
- (4) they are important agencies supporting the normative order (though some groups are organized to change the order)
- (5) help to distribute power at the grass roots level
- (6) function as service centers
- (7) reinforce important values
- (8) membership in groups cannot only be socio-emotionally gratifying but make it possible for the individual to control an important part of his environment.

(Babchuk and Booth, 1969:31)

B - Summary:

The review of the literature on social participation facilitated the development of the Conceptual Framework for Analyzing the Citizen Action Group. In this chapter, the Conceptual Framework has been presented and discussed. The utility of this Framework as an appropriate analytic tool for studying citizen action groups, will be examined by using the framework to analyze and compare the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive. In chapter six the data will be presented, giving the community background of each group, the issues involved, and a synopsis of each group's activities. Then in chapter 7, the Conceptual Framework will be employed to analyze each group. As the field study indicated, the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive differed in many respects as to organizational features, methods of operations and level of success. The York Opposition Union lost in its attempt to stop the widening of York Street while the Durand Neighborhood Executive achieved some of its objectives and negotiated a compromise

with the city. It is felt that by using the Conceptual Framework as presented in this chapter, the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive can be thoroughly analyzed and compared as representing a form of social participation, and as relating to participation literature; as to internal and external features and the relationship of these, thereby demonstrating the social Class Model; and as to the functional role they perform at the communal and societal levels.

CHAPTER VI

YORK OPPOSITION UNION & DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD EXECUTIVE: AN ILLUSTRATION

Introduction:

The impetus for this thesis was initially conceived out of an interest in the relatively new phenomenon of public involvement in community operations. This interest finally became focused and narrowed into a desire to understand those groups organized by citizens, specifically for the purpose of bringing about or resisting change in their immediate neighborhoods. The existence of two such action groups in Hamilton known as the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive offered much material for analysis. Both neighborhoods were slated to undergo physical change and the issues surrounding this had resulted in the formation of active citizen groups. Furthermore, the areas represented different social classes and since the literature on social participation and on the various types of social groups and movements clearly indicated the importance of social class as a variable; it seemed beneficial to apply the social class argument to the study of citizen action groups. The two groups in Hamilton presented ample scope for analysis. Very little literature on the subject of action groups is available; thus it has been necessary to utilize whatever existing material appeared relevant.

Background Information:

The issue which spurred the formation of the York Opposition Union* dates back to 1948 when the city of Hamilton set out a plan to widen York Street, a route which serves as a major arterial entrance from the north-west to the heart of downtown Hamilton. In addition to being an important traffic route, York Street "has served a commercial and residential function for many years thereby creating a viable unit - people needed stores and stores needed people. (Goddard and Stokoe, 1973:IV) It is simply this fact and the desire to retain the neighborhood area bordering York Street which gave rise to the Y.O.U. They opposed the widening and wanted to see something done about it because the city's plans, calling for Six lanes instead of the present Four would result in the expropriation of land and the removal of existing structures on both sides of the street.

From the city's point of view it was for the reasons of the importance of York Street as a continuing principle means of access to downtown, the realization of its potential in aesthetic terms and the improvement to working and living environment by correcting blighted areas that motivated the proposed widening. (Jones, 1966)

The second group - the Durand Neighborhood Executive*

* Hereafter referred to as Y.O.U.

* Hereafter referred to as D.N.E.

was organized in October 1972 as a result of City Council Neighborhood concept. This was a plan to divide the city into small areas and then involve citizens in the development. However, the citizens in Durand wanted not only to be involved in the development but they wanted the city to delay all development in the neighborhood until a planning study was completed. Thus they organized themselves into a group which would prepare the plan for their neighborhood and at the same time, would attempt to stop demolition and development. The main reasons for this latter purpose stemmed from the fact that too many demolitions were occurring and had created:

- 1 - empty, unslightly vacant lots
- 2 - the removal of sound buildings
- 3 - the destruction of houses of historic interest
- 4 - the increase of high-rise apartment buildings in a residential area

Before discussing both issues in detail it is necessary to present some material on the community setting in which each group operates. This is imperative because no group exists in a vacuum and the local forces of class structure, political, social, and cultural traditions, as well as prevailing beliefs and attitudes can be constraints to the group's actions. In addition, these forces may be affected by forces outside the local area thus accounting for the group's failure or success.

A - Community Data:

- The York Street Community

(1) Community Background:

The section of York Street, between Dundurn and Queen Streets, which is slated for widening is situated in the geographical area designated by the city of Hamilton as Strathcona Neighborhood. For planning purposes Hamilton has been divided into 118 neighborhoods as the 'neighborhood' is considered to be the "basic planning unit in the provision of public services and the organization of the urban structure." (City of Hamilton, 1971:32) Strathcona Neighborhood is bounded by Main Street to the south, Queen Street on the east, Highway 403 on the west and by the C.N.R. tracks forming the northern limits. (See Map I - Appendix A)

According to the 1970 population statistics for the city of Hamilton (See Map II - Appendix A) the population of the Strathcona Neighborhood was 8,250. The total acreage of this area is 452.13 acres, therefore producing an area having 18.2 persons per acre.

(2) Historical Interest:

The area has historical value as York Street served as the gateway between the Niagara Peninsula and

and Toronto until the construction of the Chedoke Expressway and the Queen Elizabeth Way. In addition, it is the site of Dundurn Castle and Battery Lodge. The latter building dates back to 1837 and the ground upon which it stands was the strategic site for the defense of Queenston Heights "which served as the staging area for the Battle of Stoney Creek." (Y.O.U Brief to O.M.B., 1974:4)

(3) Commercial and Residential Importance:

Over the years, York Street has also been of commercial and residential significance as well as being an important access route to downtown Hamilton. In 1968, the existing land use of 452.13 acres in the Strathcona Neighborhood indicated that the area included both a large percentage of residences as well as commercial and industrial establishments. (See Table I for a comparison in land use between Strathcona and Durand Neighborhoods).

Despite the fact that there are some well-run and prosperous businesses on York Street (for example, Ten Mile House art gallery, Haylock's Interiors, Wilson Real Estate, Crown Motor Sales, and Midas Muffler) the area in general is in a state of deterioration and was slated for urban redevelopment by the city

in 1966 following the York Street Urban Renewal Scheme presented by Murray V. Jones and Associates, Ltd. In this report the area was described as having blighted and obsolescent buildings, poor quality stores and substandard housing with inadequate fire escapes. Certainly these conditions speak of the degeneration of the area and in many respects York Street is in a state of limbo caused by civic indecision throughout the years. Since 1948 York Street has been in the shadow of redevelopment and expropriation which has served to discourage community pride and rehabilitation of personal property. The 1971 Canadian census data give a clear picture of the facts behind the superficial appearance of York Street. Although the neighborhood of Strathcona includes census tracts 47, 65, and a portion of 41, for these purposes, only data from tracts 47 and 65 will be used. This is due to the fact that the issue of the proposed widening affects the structures on York Street and those streets immediately bordering York Street to the north and south, that is, all of census tract 65 and a few streets in census tract 47. The census data from York Street which appear in Tables II, III, IV, V, VI, in Appendix A, are the total

figures from adding tracts 47 and 65. These data indicate that the average total income for the household is 5,537 dollars, 63.53% of the population has less than grade nine education, the median value of the homes is 17,819 and 98.11% of the dwellings were constructed before 1946. These statistics support the Murray Jones report which referred to the degeneration of the area and they also provide evidence to suggest that the York Street community is a working-class neighborhood. However, this will become clearer when comparisons are made between the York Street data and the statistics for Durand and the city of Hamilton.

- Durand Neighborhood:

(1) Community Background:

The second group in question is situated in a primarily residential area of Hamilton just south-west of the downtown core. According to the City Planning Department's neighborhood subdivision the area forms the Durand Neighborhood and is bounded by Main Street on the north, the Mountain to the south, and lies between Queen and James Streets, to the west and east respectively. (See Map I - Appendix A)

This section of the city contains 221.14 acres with

the 1970 population figures standing at 9,259 thus forming a densely populated neighborhood of 41.9 people per acre. (See Map II, Appendix A)

(2) Historical Interest:

As with York Street, this area has a history behind it. In fact many houses date from the 19th century or the early part of the 20th century. Some of these are consequently of historic value, a point which motivates the citizens to fight against demolition and to encourage the preservation of culturally significant buildings.

(3) Commercial and Residential Importance:

As the following Land Use Table indicates, only 12 acres are utilized for commercial purposes with no industry at all, in contrast to the 48 acres set aside in Strathcona for commercial and industrial usage. The area of Durand is primarily residential and includes a cross-section of roomers, apartment dwellers and homeowners. Over the years the face of the neighborhood has been altered as some of the single family homes have been replaced with apartments or have been subdivided into rooms and flats for rental. Nevertheless, the area has still retained the character of a well-kept middle-class residential neighborhood.

TABLE I¹

EXISTING LAND USE

A COMPARISON OF DURAND & STRATHCONA NEIGHBORHOODS

Existing Land Use:	Durand Neighborhood		Strathcona Neighborhood	
Family Dwellings	110.18	48.82% of total	186.21	41.18% of total
Apartments	41.57	18.79	11.22	2.48
Commercial	12.58	5.68	17.52	3.87
Industrial	-	-	31.71	7.01
Schools	2.19	.99	6.65	1.47
Churches	4.92	2.22	7.67	1.71
Parks	-	-	46.32	10.24
Special Uses	20.66	9.34	76.12	16.83
Vacant Lots	29.04	13.13	68.71	15.19
Total:	221.14 acres		452.13 acres	

¹Taken from City of Hamilton General Information, (1971:4)

In order to compare the Durand area with York Street, the 1971 census data will again be utilized. In Tables II, III, and IV of Appendix A, are the total statistics for Durand from the addition of figures for the census tracts 38, 39, and 17. Although only a few streets in the Durand neighborhood are located in census tract 17, the data are included here because these streets form an important part of the neighborhood. The table consists of the data for those categories previously selected in the first neighborhood, as well as the statistics and percentages for the city of Hamilton are also presented in Tables II, III, IV, V, and VI.

A Comparison of York Street Area and Durand Neighborhood:

From the statistics in Table II, III and IV, it appears that average total income by household head is higher in the Durand neighborhood (\$8,603) than in Hamilton (\$7,168) or in the York Street area (\$5,537).

Similarly, this pattern occurs in other categories: Median value of homes in Durand is \$34,036 while Hamilton and York figures are \$22,929 and \$17,819 respectively. The average rent in Durand is \$116.33 which is comparable to the city average but higher than the York Street rent of \$104. In education and occupations the Durand neighborhood indicates

¹The figures for Hamilton which are included in Tables II, III and IV refer only to the city itself and not to the metropolitan region.

higher percentages of the population with more education and employed in the professions than does the city or the York Street area. For instance, 17.94% in Durand have grades 12-13 schooling while the Hamilton figure is 12.07% and York Street shows 7.75%. In Durand, 7.08% of the population has a university degree compared with 2.35% for Hamilton and a figure of .86% for York Street. Occupationally, in the categories of engineering, mathematics, social sciences, religion, artistic, literary, recreational and related occupations - Groups 21, 23, 25, 33 the figures indicate Durand 10.48%, Hamilton - 5.43% and York Street - 3.32%. On the other hand, in the construction trade - Group 87 and fabricating and machining - Groups 83, and 85, only 8.01 and 13.36% of the Durand population are employed in these occupations. These statistics are below the Hamilton and York Street figures which indicate that 21.10% and 10.86% of the city population and 17.27% and 19.26% of the York Street residents are employed in construction and fabricating trades.

These examples and the figures for income, education and value of homes, all substantiate the claim which designates the Durand neighborhood as a middle class community and the York Street neighborhood as working class when compared with the data for the city of Hamilton.

B - The Issues:

The Widening of York Street

The controversy over the widening of York Street dates

back many years and has long been a topic of debate at City Hall. Following World War II, and the passage of the Planning Act in 1946 which authorized municipalities to formulate Official Plans and Zoning By-laws the Hamilton City Council employed Dr. E. G. Faludi to develop a comprehensive plan for Hamilton. In 1947 the finalized plan - A Master Plan for the Development of the City of Hamilton was presented to Council and included proposals for urban redevelopment and the improvement of the transportation system. Among these, were plans to redevelop the York Street area and to construct a York-Cannon Street downtown by-pass. (City of Hamilton Background Information, 1971:4)

Since this time the residents of the area have lived under the threat of expropriation while York Street continues to be clogged with traffic and the state of deterioration increases. In the sixties and early seventies three planning reports were issued through the city. To a large extent these provided the main justification for the plan to build a six lane, 120 foot wide, median separated highway where York Street now exists. For purposes of clarification these three reports will be dealt with separately.

In 1963, the Hamilton Area Transportation Plan recommended the construction of five major freeways and expressways within the city as a result of the forecasts of the traffic situation for the future. The plan reported that the great

majority of future travel within the city would increasingly continue to be accomplished by the automobile. To date, not one of these recommendations has been implemented and although the widening of York Street was not included in the HAT plan proposals it appears that the desire to provide the CBD with better access routes has been transferred to the York Street area. (Moerman, 1972:10)

Following this plan, City Council employed Murray V. Jones and Associates, Ltd. to undertake a plan for the city. Three reports were prepared - the first designating five urban renewal areas including Civic Square and York Street as priorities and the second initiating the development of Civic Square. It was the final report entitled the 1966 York Street Urban Renewal Scheme which contained the actual proposal to widen the street. (Moerman, 1972:9)

According to the plan, "the scheme for York Street was to evolve primarily from local conditions and needs" unlike the Civic Square scheme, which "meets a functional need as a cultural and commercial focus to the city as a whole." (Jones, 1966) Accordingly, the plan reflected the following principles and objectives:

- 1 - Recognition of York Street as a continuing principle means of access to downtown and the realization of its potential in both aesthetic and functional terms.

- 2 - Improvement to the primary road system in conjunction with construction of the East-West Freeway.
- 3 - Provisions for uses complimentary to and occasioned by renewal of the Civic Square area.
- 4 - Consolidation and improvement of existing land-use concentrations which are suitable for retention.
- 5 - Allocation of land for relocation of certain functions displaced from Civic Square.
- 6 - Improvement to living and working environment through correction of blighted conditions.

In discussing the York Street issue Tom Moerman states (1972:9) that:

how these principles of the plan meet local conditions and needs is indeed a mystery since not less than four items out of six relate primarily to non-local considerations. The principles make it clear that York Street is being subordinated to the needs of the Civic Square at public expense.

Several additional comments may be made concerning the Murray Jones report. Firstly, the state of deterioration to which the report refers was caused in part by the city's plan to redevelop the area, a plan which did not materialize but nevertheless forestalled any sustained effort on the part of citizens to improve dwellings which might be expropriated.

Secondly, the widening plan was proposed in conjunction

with the construction of the East-West Freeway and the subsequent cancellation of this in 1970 eliminated one of the major platforms on which the recommendations of the report were based. In addition, Bob Bailey, Planning Commissioner pointed out in the 1971 minority report of the Traffic and Engineering Departments that the proposals of the scheme can "no longer be unquestionably adhered to" as a result, not only of the cancellation of the East-West Freeway but due to the withdrawal of Federal urban renewal programs. (PET Report, 1971:5)

These three factors question the credibility and justification of the Murray Jones plan for widening York Street.

Complications delayed the implementation of this scheme and in 1971 the city reviewed the situation producing, as a result, the third report called the Planning, Engineering, and Traffic (PET) report.

Actually the PET committee was divided on the issue and two reports were submitted, one by the Traffic and Engineering departments, the other by the Planning department. The first recommended that the city go ahead with the widening thus reaffirming the Jones' original report. The basic reason for this was the fact that York Street's location made it an essential route to the \$100 million Civic Square project and without a suitable access route and complementary redevelopment on adjacent land the Civic Square project would lack the essential features of aesthetic and functional planning. At the same time,

anticipated traffic would compound the already existing traffic congestion.

The Planning department by contrast, produced a minority report suggesting that the York Street widening should be scrapped. However the city accepted the majority report on the grounds that York Street would remain a principle gateway to downtown Hamilton. (PET Report, 1971:5)

In this majority report of the Traffic and Engineering departments the following four reasons were given as a justification for the widening:

- A - Deficiency in Pavement Width
- B - Aesthetics
- C - Uses Complimentary to Civic Square
- D - Deterioration of the Neighborhood

In order to clarify these points and to understand the position of the Y.O.U. on the York Street issue, each of the points will be discussed in connection with the arguments prepared by the Union and presented in the Brief to the Ontario Municipal Board Hearings in February 1974.

A - Deficiency in Pavement Width:

The first point related specifically to the usage of York Street as a continuing significant arterial access to downtown Hamilton and thus included the points concerning deficiency in pavement width and lack of parking facilities. On this factor the Y.O.U. contended that the widening of York Street

was completely redundant if the proposed perimeter route (East-West Freeway) were not constructed since the widening of York Street alone would not remove heavy industrial traffic from the area but six lanes would, in fact, increase the flow.

In addition, the trucks would be streaming through the city center, past Civic Square and the Sir John A. MacDonald School. Motorists who presently use York Street as a means of access to side streets would have to find alternate routes thus extending the traffic flow to the entire neighborhood. Not only would a six lane highway divide a community, having serious socio-economic effects but would necessitate the removal of the historic Battery Lodge (whose cost is not mentioned in the city's estimates) and cause the disappearance of a twenty foot strip of Dundurn Park.

Finally, the extension of York Street from Four to Six lanes is likely to create traffic congestion further west since the western entrance, feeding York Street, that is, York Boulevard and the high level bridge consist of only four lanes. As to the parking problems the Y.O.U. suggested that on-the-street parking be prohibited thus resulting in four unobstructed lanes, a safer and more convenient situation. To facilitate parking, the brief recommended that "certain small portions of York Street, where the housing is the least adequate and the least historic and the least valuable be expropriated for municipal parking lots." (Y.O.U., 1974:6)

B - Aesthetics:

On the issue of the aesthetic value to be derived from widening York Street the PET majority report stated the following:

York Street is a major entrance to the downtown area and feeds traffic directly into Civic Square. Highway #2 and York Boulevard which connect to York Street from the north-west, are flanked by large areas of Royal Botanical Gardens, Dundurn Park, Hamilton Bay, etc., all of which are objects of highest aesthetics. The existing blighted and obsolescent buildings on both sides of York Street together with the narrow pavement is hardly a link between the natural beauty on one end and man-made prestige development of the Civic Square at the other end. To achieve a continuity in aesthetics, York Street requires widening and redevelopment.

(PET, 1971:5)

In response to this the Y.O.U. reiterated the claim that almost all of the buildings on York Street are not only structurally sound but are "representative of the colourful past." (Y.O.U., 1974:3) Simply, the Y.O.U. believed that structurally sound buildings and history should not be sacrificed to aesthetics. Furthermore the Y.O.U. questioned the aesthetics of a six lane expressway which would be fronted primarily by backyards.

C - Uses Complimentary to Civic Square:

The Traffic and Engineering committee stated that York Street, as a mixture of residential and commercial uses and situated as a doorway to Civic Square would never be complete unless the land uses on the street are made complimentary to Civic Square. (PET Report, 1971:7)

Once again the Y.O.U. questioned the validity of this rationale by asking if a six lane highway were a proper complimentary land use and by expressing the fear that the city would view the rest of the neighborhood as not being complimentary land-use as well. If "York Street is to be demolished because the existing land-use is not complimentary to Civic Square then it is reasonable to ask, where does this end?" (NDP Brief, 1974:8)

D - Deterioration:

Part C of the majority PET report deals with the physio-socio-economic needs of the area and suggests that the only solution to the deterioration of the street is to tear down the buildings. As a rebuttal to this statement the Y.O.U. prepared the following arguments (Y.O.U. Brief, 1974:2):

- (1) Deterioration of the area is the result of civic indecision since 1948 which has kept the area under the threat of expropriation and demolition. This began a continuous cycle of honest landlords being replaced by slumlords and speculators who did no repairs, made profits and rented to people who had nothing to gain or lose and therefore made no efforts to keep the area in good condition.

- (2) The brief claimed that not all buildings are structurally unsound and furthermore the assessment of the housing in the Murray Jones report was based primarily on an external survey..
(NDP Brief, 1974:3)
- (3) Demolition of houses would result in financial and emotional hardships for those families, especially in the low-income bracket who would be forced to relocate. An area divided by a highway not only endangers the safety of the inhabitants, particularly the children and the aged, but destroys the strength, unity, and viability of a residential and commercial community.
- (4) The Y.O.U. contended that the city wanted York Street expropriated and widened because aesthetically, it spoiled the entrance to Civic Square; economically, York Street would never become a tangential part of the Civic Square project and would discourage future large investments and socially, because the city wanted to be rid of low-income families in an area adjacent to the re-developed and prestigious city core.
- (5) The Y.O.U. recommended that "the city and Province make available low or no interest funds for the

private development of York Street as a natural, historic and beautiful entrance to the Civic Square." (Y.O.U. Brief, 1974:2) This would entail no widening, but would necessitate the construction of a perimeter route and the rehabilitation of York Street. With these measures the city would be taking into account long term needs; putting an end to the days of stop-gap traffic engineering. (Y.O.U. Brief, 1974:2)

The Planning and Development of the Durand Neighborhood:

Introduction:

The Durand Neighborhood is one of the four adjacent neighborhoods to the Central Business District of Hamilton. Consequently, it has been and will continue to be, "subject to strong natural economic pressure for redevelopment, principally channeled into apartment development to meet the increasing population demand generated by expanding employment and public facilities in the business district." (City Planning Dept., 1973)

Since 1971, the Hamilton Planning Board has directed the preparation of neighborhood plans for some of the Lower City Neighborhoods. The purpose of these plans is to guide future neighborhood development, and protect local community interests while providing for the requirements of the total city.

The Durand Neighborhood was one such area and in formulating the proposed plan for the neighborhood, a citizens' committee met each week with the planning staff from April to June 1973. "At these sessions, the members of the committee discussed a variety of matters pertaining to the neighborhood, particularly the extent and type of future development, the lack of certain amenities, traffic-related problems and assorted local nuisances." (City Planning Dept., 1973:1)

These discussions provided in large measure, the content of the proposed plan, as it contains goals, the neighborhood programme and the land use control plan. Similarly, it is the matter of development, traffic problems and the lack of amenities which form the issues around which the citizens' group exists and operates.

This section will be divided into two parts. In the first part, the plan and its recommendations will be discussed and then, the second section will deal with the citizens' reaction to this plan and will include a summary of issues which developed concerning Durand.

Before delving into this, it should be mentioned that in the spring of 1973, before the committee met to draw up the plan, the citizens of Durand, organized into the Durand Neighborhood Executive, were urging the city to delay all development in the area until the study was completed, thereby, stopping the

rapid pace of demolitions. They succeeded in persuading City Council to hold back demolition permits for thirty days on pre-1880 buildings. In addition, the city passed a bylaw in March 1973 forcing developers to submit site plans to the city before building permits could be issued. This stipulated that the builder must present a site plan showing the proposed usage of the land, to the city for approval before any building could be constructed. If the structure is to be located within four hundred feet of a residence, the citizen must be notified and has the right to make objections to the construction plans.

Attitude Survey of Durand Residents:

Prior to the development of the Neighborhood Plan, the Planning Department conducted an "attitude survey" among the Durand residents. It was decided that this was one method of involving the citizens. The area was divided into three groups:

- (a) Household residents (owners and tenants).
- (b) Senior citizens living in the three senior citizen high rise apartments in the area.
- (c) Commercial businessmen and professionals located in the neighborhood.

Separate questionnaires for each group were mailed out to 100% of the neighborhood population and separate analysis were carried out for each group.

From the questionnaire, information was gathered concerning the following factors:

- (1) Demographic characteristics;
- (2) Opinions regarding traffic problems, amount of available park and playground space, condition of housing and roads, presence of commercial uses and increasing apartment development.

The following list indicates some of the findings for the household residents with a few comments regarding the senior citizen survey. (The third section on the businessmen was not available to me). The sample population of households (returned questionnaires) consisted of 25% owners and 75% tenants.

- (1) Approximately 40% maintained that serious traffic problems exist in the area.
- (2) 59.5% of the respondents are dissatisfied with the amount of park/playground space in the neighborhood. Their response of inadequate (30.7%) and very inadequate (28.8%) indicates the degree of negative feelings regarding this situation.
- (3) 44.7% feel that roads and sidewalk conditions represent a serious problem.
- (4) 6.6% stated that commercial uses do present a serious problem. This can be further sub-

stantiated by the senior citizens who also stressed the need for a local food store in the area, to which they could easily walk. (The number of returned questionnaires in this category constituted 32% of the population of Durand senior citizens).

- (5) 43.4% of the household sample were very concerned with the increasing apartment development occurring close to them - on their block or in the neighborhood as a whole. In addition, some senior citizens felt that high rise apartments obstruct the view and create strong winds thereby making walking difficult.

The following comments summarize the general consensus of feelings among the residents regarding apartment development and the residential character of the neighborhood. (City Planning Dept., 1973:15);

"I would like to see a site plan programme for the neighborhood. I do not want a stop to the apartment developments, only better planning in relation to the environment"

"No attempt has been made to alleviate the cave-dweller syndrome by legislating design modifications or improvements to boxed living."

"Durand Neighborhood contains many fine structures which can and have contributed to the quality of life for the residents and visitors to the area."

"I would like to see the rapid development of apartment complexes stopped. This neighborhood offers an alternative to the large, impersonal and sterile apartment living that is typical in

high-rise development areas. . . . The Durand Neighborhood offers reasonably priced, large apartments in old houses. These houses should not be replaced or crowded out by high-rise development. The architectural style and flavour of these old houses is priceless to the Durand Neighborhood and to the City of Hamilton."

These statements, along with the awareness of the problems of traffic and lack of park space indicate that the residents of the area are concerned with the future development of their neighborhood. These factors of awareness and concern are the basic prerequisites to responsible citizen participation.

Durand Neighborhood: Proposed Plan and Programme:

The committee which drew up the report on Durand Neighborhood consisted of 15 citizens and 3 city representatives.

After analyzing existing conditions, some broad goals were developed for the neighborhood. Briefly, these goals are as follows:¹

- (1) Reasonably limit the current potential for future apartment redevelopment and maintain an adequate balance between high and low density forms of residential accommodation. Encourage more variety in physical form and appearance.
- (2) Discourage needless demolition of existing sound, low-density housing.

¹Full details of the plan appear in Appendix B - Developed Neighborhood Study Programme.

- (3) Encourage alternative forms of future high density development to include lower-rise mixed tenant accommodations.
- (4) Establish some publicly useable open space areas to serve the immediate neighborhood.
- (5) Minimize traffic volumes within the neighborhood.
- (6) Support continued existence and possible upgrading of neighborhood commercial stores and services.
- (7) Improve or maintain to adequate physical standards, the conditions of properties, roads, sidewalks, sewers etc.

Proposed Neighborhood Plans:

These goals for the neighborhood were translated into a proposed land use plan as set forth on a land use map. (See Appendix A and B for Land Use Map IV and Neighborhood Plan).

The southern and western sectors of the neighborhood were designated as a low density family residential area and it was suggested that the existing single homes, duplexes and triplexes be conserved and maintained.

To the north and east, closest to the CBD - the land was marked out for multiple residential usage thus allowing for accommodation within a range of structures, to varying densities.

The map also indicates a number of shaded areas which represent those sections containing buildings that should be retained rather than redeveloped. This applies to structures of historical or architectural merit as well as ensuring a balance of old and new, low-rise and high-rise.

The land use plan also suggests that certain locations be set aside for park areas, as presently there are no parks in the neighborhood.

As for future population, it is roughly estimated that Durand Neighborhood might eventually accommodate approximately 16,500 persons, as compared to the 1970 population of 9,259, if developed in accordance with this proposed land use plan. "This estimate makes allowance for some additional conversion of houses to more units, and for higher occupancy rates per dwelling unit than presently exist." (City Planning Dept., 1973:4)

In addition to the land use plan, a Neighborhood Programme was proposed which consisted of recommended steps that should be undertaken within the immediate few years to improve the neighborhood. Some of these actions included:

- (1) Adopting the proposed land use plan.
- (2) Initiating REZONING procedures to prevent redevelopment of low density residential areas.
- (3) Requesting Provincial legislation for demolition control.
- (4) Recommendations for proposed street closings to reduce traffic flow, acquisition of parkland,

control of private developers and encouragement of private rehabilitation of existing homes and businesses. Other suggestions are included within the programme. (Please refer to Appendix B for complete details).

After the Neighborhood Plan and Program were unveiled and presented to City Council in July 1973, the planning board made certain revisions. Bob Bailey, Planning Commissioner is quoted as saying that "the revised plan takes into consideration the arguments of both the people who favor retention of more low-density housing and those who want more apartment development." (Spectator, November 1973)

In the revised plan, approved in December 1973 the following changes were made:

- (1) Instead of the six blocks (sections thereof) which were designated by the citizens committee for low-density housing (see Map IV - Appendix A) only the Robinson-Hess-Duke-Caroline block and the west half of the Jackson-Caroline-Hunter-Bay block were given this designation. Parts of others will be zoned back to low density apartments if Council approves the plan.
- (2) The new plan also leaves only one site instead of three, definitely set aside for a park.
- (3) Planners also removed a designation that showed that certain buildings should be preserved.

It was felt that such preservation should be decided by other civic agencies.

Public Reaction and Other Issues Affecting Durand:

The citizens of the committee and the neighborhood at large felt that the plan was a compromise and that the planners had decided "to walk the fence" on Durand's future. This middle of the road policy was, in fact, unpopular with both the citizens and the developers. (Spectator, December 6, 1973)

During the months that the Neighborhood Plan was being prepared and following its completion, a number of issues arose concerning the Durand Neighborhood. On one side of the question of the area's future the citizens wanted to delay development while the city, on the other hand, could not afford to pay compensation to owners who had lost money because they had purchased the land for apartments.

These citizens were concerned that the rapid growth of apartments would result in more traffic and parking problems, a drop in the school population and the destruction of valuable old homes. However, the city felt that apartments were needed to absorb the future population. As to the preservation of old homes, some of those who had defended this cause were tenants who were primarily concerned with retaining low-cost housing, that is, old homes which had been subdivided into flats and rooms.

In the spring of 1973 the city hired an architect to do a study of the area and he produced a report recommending low-rise

alternatives to high-rise buildings. Following this, the City Council discussed a bylaw which would limit the height of buildings to four storeys. Some citizens objected to this as they were anxious to sell their properties and a height restriction would discourage developers. These residents felt that since they had already been subjected to noise, the dust of construction and demolition, changes in the neighborhood and empty, unsightly lots there was no point in remaining in the area. Therefore they wanted to sell and be properly compensated.

Other reactions regarding the low-rise alternatives were elicited by those citizens who felt that four storey apartments would put housing beyond many people's financial means and become a shelter for the affluent since low-density means higher rents and higher taxes to reduce the loss in profits which would be incurred.

Pleasing the haves rather than the have-nots sometimes ignores the needs of the majority - the growing number of families for whom accommodation must be provided.

(Spectator, December 15, 1973)

In December 1973 the City Council approved the proposed Neighborhood Plan in its revised form. From January 1974 to the present, a number of issues have occurred. First, the Durand Neighborhood Executive joined City Hall in a fight against Ronark developers who had purchased land in the area at \$400,000 to build a high rise apartment. Thus Ronark was protesting the four storey restriction. However, by July 1974

the city had agreed to pay Ronark \$580,000 for the site and Durand acquired its first park (bounded by Charlton, Bay, Herkimer and Park Streets).

In January the Council approved plans for the construction of a twenty-six storey apartment in Durand at Duke Street and later exempted Bell Canada from the height limitation. As can be seen from this discussion, the Durand Neighborhood contains a number of complicated issues and the questions are many-sided - planners, developers, and a mixture of opinions from the residents. All of these views and feelings regarding the future of Durand have resulted in a compromise for the neighborhood.

C - Group Data:

The following section contains a brief description of the activities of the York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive:

York Opposition Union:

- (1) Origin: The Y.O.U. had its start through the Victoria Park Organization which is sponsored by Federal, Provincial, and Municipal grants. The Y.O.U. operates out of Victoria Park offices - 448 York Street thereby utilizing equipment (printing press) and staff of Victoria Park.

The Y.O.U. thus depends on the Victoria Park Association for its financial support such that at the time of the O.M.B. hearings on the York

Street Widening in April 1974, the lawyer who represented the Y.O.U. was hired by Victoria Park Organization.

However, the Y.O.U. has had fund raising events, such as an auction in the spring of 1974.

- (2) Structure: The Y.O.U. has an executive of 3 - chairman, secretary and treasurer.

Most meetings are attended by only 7 - 10 people. Minutes are taken during the meetings and usually these meetings are held once a week and are open to the public.

- (3) Activities: The orientation of the Y.O.U. has evolved from being a quite radical group to realizing the need for more organization and planning; as a result of the group's lack of success and negative attitude of some York Street and Hamilton residents. (Interview with a staff member of the Y.O.U. - June 1974)

Early in its career, the Y.O.U. staged activities such as picketing City Hall and stopping trucks on York Street as manifestations of protest against the proposed widening.

However, as its orientation changed, the Y.O.U., in the year 1973-74 began writing briefs, petitions and presentations and gathering information to

present at the O.M.B. hearings.

When the O.M.B. decided in favour of the city, the Y.O.U. hired a journalist (July 1974) to write a book about the York Street issue and planned to submit this book as an appeal to the Provincial Cabinet which would make the final decision.

The book was intended to be 30,000 words and to be completed in four weeks which appeared to be an unrealistic estimate. The Y.O.U. staff would act as researchers under the direction of the hired journalist. There was debate as to whom the book would be directed towards other than the Provincial Cabinet. It was suggested that the book be directed toward 'radicals',¹ and those other citizen groups such as the Spadina group in order to gain support, across the province, on the principle of the York Street issue.

It was thought that this approach would then force the government to reconsider the O.M.B. recommendation as the cabinet would have to take into account the public sentiment and would not sacrifice future

¹Direct quote as recorded at July 4, 1974 meeting I attended.

votes or popularity.

- (4) Result: The book was started and two chapters were submitted to the Provincial Cabinet but its decision was made in September 1974 before the book was completed.

In addition, to the book, the Y.O.U. wanted to present an alternative to the York Street widening and this was discussed in July 1974. With the assistance of an architect student, the proposed alternative was formulated¹. It consisted of the idea of rerouting the traffic off York Street and narrowing York Street instead of widening it. The alternative seemed impractical since it was unclear where the traffic would go as several suggestions were made and opposed - i.e. Barton Street, a highway along the Bay. However, the ideas surrounding the "redevelopment" of the street included: limiting on-street parking only to businesses which required it; allowing more green spaces in front of houses; tearing down dilapidated houses and sheds and replacing them with new storage space; construction of a building on York Street to house recreation areas, workshops, and a coffee shop.

¹The ideas included in the suggested alternative were presented by use of slides and diagrams at a meeting in July 1974.

This building would be surrounded by pedestrian walks and green spaces.

Throughout its career, the Y.O.U. made little attempt to do any door-knocking in the neighborhood or to distribute information so as to encourage participation. However, as previously mentioned it did publicize meetings, utilizing the staff and equipment of the Victoria Park Organization. The following advertisement appeared in the STORM, The Hamilton West NDP magazine in May 1972:

A Word About Y.O.U.

Anyone who opposes the widening of York Street, and would like to do something about it or see something done about it should come to a meeting of the York Opposition Union (Y.O.U.) and meet some people who agree with him. Y.O.U. is mobilizing opposition to the widening, and building a case for presentation to the O.M.B. Meetings are held at 448 York Street every Monday night at 8:00.

Durand Neighborhood Executive:

- (1) Origin: The incorporation of the Durand Neighborhood Association was passed in June 1973. However, prior to this, the citizens of the area had expressed concern over the future of the Durand neighborhood and public meetings had been held in October 1972 and May 1973. The main impetus for the development of the D.N.E. came from the North-West section of the neighborhood where a group of tenants in the Jackson-Hess Street area

were drawing up a petition to stop demolition. The Durand neighborhood executive which consisted of residents from the southern section (homeowners) joined with this group and added 'a freeze on high-rise apartments' to the petition. Approximately 600 names were signed.

- (2) Structure: There are 11 members on the Durand Neighborhood Executive. These were elected at the first annual public meeting held on June 3, 1973. Weekly meetings are held by the executive or a nucleus thereof, monthly meetings by the entire group and two annual public meetings a year.

The D.N.E. has a constitution, is incorporated and has a mailing list.

Three times a year The Durand Neighborhood Association Newsletter is published free of charge.

- (3) Activities: Activities of the D.N.E. include:
- information output to community residents. (newsletters, presentation at meetings)¹.
 - random sample of opinions on study plan from neighborhood.
 - self-education - urban planning.
 - preparation of reports to City Council.

¹Excerpts from the Durand Association Newsletters appear in Appendix B.

CHAPTER VII

YORK OPPOSITION UNION & DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD EXECUTIVE: AN ANALYSIS

Introduction:

Having discussed the background data surrounding the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., we will now proceed to analyze the two groups in terms of the Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Citizen Action Groups which was presented in Chapter 5. As previously stated, this framework represents a collation of the most significant factors gleaned from the review of the literature on social participation, factors considered highly relevant to a study of the citizen action group. By applying this Framework to our analysis of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. it is hoped that the utility and effectiveness of the Framework as an analytic tool in the study of citizen action groups will be demonstrated. With the use of this Framework, which is considered to be a comprehensive summary of the social participation literature in relation to citizen action groups, several objectives will be accomplished. The Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. will be analyzed and compared as to the degree to which they can be called citizen action groups, the extent to which they represent a specific form of social participation, as to their internal and external factors and as to the functions which each group

performs at the community and societal levels. Most significantly, by focusing upon the relationship between external and internal factors, this Framework allows the claim that "social class affects the internal factors of a citizen action group and ultimately determines the outcome of a group's activities" to be tested in two existing citizen action groups. In this way, the usefulness of the suggested Social Class Model may also be demonstrated and conclusions can be drawn as to whether the differences in structure, operations and outcome of the groups is a factor of the determining effect of social class upon the groups.

I: Definition of York Opposition Union and Durand Neighborhood Executive as Citizen Action Groups:

The York Opposition Union and the Durand Neighborhood Executive are citizen action groups because they are groups which are self-initiated, in the local neighborhoods of Strathcona and Durand respectively, by the citizens, for the purpose of taking action to protest aspects of their immediate local situation. Each group has one specific goal and the issues under debate are highly significant to the citizens of the neighborhoods involved. For the Y.O.U. the goal is to stop the widening of York Street. This makes the issues of expropriation, increased traffic, noise, danger, displacement, loss of homes, and disruption of the neighborhood unit of concern to the people living on York Street. The D.N.E. is attempting to stop the

the demolition of houses and the construction of high-rise apartments until a study plan of the area is completed. The citizens here too are concerned about the related problems of noise, density, loss of historical homes, and disruption of an otherwise quiet residential neighborhood.

Both groups are a result of a conscious, organized attempt to alter the present municipal plans by non-institutionalized means and thus they constitute a form of countervailing power to institutional forms of power. The D.N.E. represents the middle class while the Y.O.U. emerged from a working-class area. Consequently, these two groups illustrate that the citizen group movement, which is occurring across the country, is representative of different classes. The common denominator between the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. and with other such groups, is the desire of citizens to exercise social choice and play a role in the decisions, the planning and the developing of the environment in which they live.

II: Conceptualization of York Opposition Union and Durand Neighborhood Executive as forms of social participation:

A - Type of activities and objectives pursued:

Sociologically, the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. represent instrumental-expressive forms of participation. Primarily the goals of the groups are instrumental - to exercise influence in the urban environment so as to stop construction of a highway and limit high-rise apartments - and their activities are a

means to these ends. However, on the basis of interviews¹ with members of both groups, it was concluded that some gratification is derived from the fact of being involved. The planning and discussing with other interested citizens, the challenge of approaching City Hall, the attempts to mobilize the community were all sources of involvement for the leaders of the groups and the gratification they experienced from this was immediate and self-contained - separated from gratification which would be derived if and when the goals were accomplished.

Consequently, both the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. are forms of participation involving instrumental and expressive characteristics.

B - Degree of Organization:

Although neither group was formally organized, both the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. exhibited some degree of organization, beginning with the manifestation of organizational names. Other attempts at organization were evidenced by the fact that in the groups there were designated positions - leader or president, vice-presidents, and a staff responsible for various tasks - secretary, fund-raising chairman, publicity. Meetings were run

¹A number of interviews were carried out with both the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. In July and October 1974, interviews were conducted with the president and vice-president of the D.N.E. but meetings of the group had been suspended throughout the summer. In June 1974, the Y.O.U. president, secretary and staff member responsible for printing were interviewed and in September a meeting was arranged with the person hired to write the book for the O.M.B. appeal. In July 1974, interviews were conducted with the entire staff of the Y.O.U. at a general meeting of the group.

with some degree of formality following the procedure of being opened by the leader, past and present business discussed, allowing opportunity for expression of opinions, with decisions informally voted upon and recorded in the minutes.

Despite these basic similarities, the groups appeared to differ in the degree to which participation was organized. In the D.N.E., there appeared to be greater co-ordination of activities than in the Y.O.U. More time and effort devoted to the task of planning strategies, mobilizing the community and utilizing participants' talents; and greater evidence to suggest that goals and means were explicit and well-defined. It has been suggested in the literature on social participation that the social class composition of a group accounts for the variations in degree to which the group is organized. Similarly, in comparing the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. it was found that the class factor and its dimensions of occupation, education, organizational skills and experiences determined the degree of planning, organization and efficiency found in each group. In section five, when the relationship between class and numbers, class and resources, class and organization is discussed, further evidence will be provided to support the belief that the class factor affects the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. and explains many of the differences between them. However, before dealing with this relationship between external and internal factors, we must first proceed to an examination of the Y.O.U. and D.N.E. with reference

to participation literature and then to a discussion of the internal and external factors of each group.

C - Relation of Participation Literature to Y.O.U. and D.N.E.:

The initial formation of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. occurred as a result of individuals experiencing the interest and need to exercise social choice, some influence in the decisions affecting their environment. These individuals joined with others, formed groups and attempted to collectively achieve their goals. Thus the emergence of the groups illustrate Wirth's theory (1964:82) regarding social participation in the urban environment.

Once the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. were formed by the original organizers and represented their interests or needs, the participation levels between the groups varied. The participation of approximately 100 citizens of the Durand Neighborhood in the D.N.E. (attendance at meetings, signing petitions, involvement in activities) was higher than that which the Y.O.U. experienced in the York Street area. Only 10 - 15 people attended Y.O.U. meetings, however larger numbers turned out for fund-raising activities and public demonstrations. This lower level of participation in the Y.O.U. is explained in part by the theory that the Durand citizens perceived that they would receive equal compensation for the resources invested in the D.N.E., whereas the rationality operative in the York Street

area was avoidance of a non-rewarding situation. Simply, the Durand citizens felt that through the D.N.E. their goals could be achieved and thus the time invested in being involved in the D.N.E. would be rewarded. In contrast, the Y.O.U. was regarded as a non-rewarding situation. As Wirth stated (1964), groups emerge in response to needs - participation in the urban society is a result of immersion in mass movements. Applying this to York Street, it may be concluded that participation by the community did not achieve the level which the D.N.E. experienced because, although the York Street residents had concerns about the widening, they did not feel that the Y.O.U. was an adequate response to their needs and consequently did not join.

This raises the question as to why the Y.O.U. was perceived in this light. The answer to this relates to the nature of the group itself. The Y.O.U. lacked realism; the ability to mobilize the community; and well-defined goals and means; all of which lowered its credibility and effectiveness as a means to stop the street widening. Consequently, the citizens did not feel that investing time in the Y.O.U. would be rewarding. There are two additional reasons explaining why participation was deterred. The first refers to the fact that the issue had been debated for so many years that it was no longer perceived as an immediate threatening situation as in the Durand neighborhood, where demolition and construction were daily occurrences. The second reason introduces the theory of

participation in relation to social class from the literature on social participation. As we have seen, group participation is a middle class phenomenon because middle class people are socialized towards involvement in groups and value such participation as a means of achieving status, prestige, self-fulfillment and engaging in social and economic relations. The lower economic classes, in contrast do not value group participation to the same extent because they fulfill social needs in the kin and peer groups and generally are not socialized towards joining organized groups beyond informal gatherings consisting of neighbors, kin or work associates.

In contrast, in the Durand neighborhood, there was commitment to the social system of the community as well as economic investment; the group was perceived as a means to achieve objectives, and the people, being of middle class background, viewed participation as desirable. Thus the D.N.E. had a large membership giving it one of the sources of power necessary to obtain its objectives.

In section five of this Chapter the relationship between the external factor of social class and the other internal factors of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. will be analyzed thus tracing the effect of social class on the numbers, organization and resources of each group. The variables subsumed in the factors of numbers, organization and resources are derived from the analysis of community organization agencies and

social movements and indicate that, as suggested, these two forms of social participation bear relevance to actual citizen action groups. As with CO agencies, the D.N.E. and the Y.O.U. emerged from and operate in the local neighborhood setting but both are like social movements because they are vehicles of expression through which ideas and practices achieve public exposure.

III External Factors of Y.O.U. and D.N.E.:

A - Conditions conducive to the formation of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E.:

The discussion in Chapter 6 of the issues concerning the Y.O.U. and D.N.E. contained a summary of the physical and psychological needs which prompted the formation of the groups. To briefly reiterate, the needs of the York Street residents were related to physical interests - expropriation and loss of homes; increased noise, traffic, and danger from a six-lane highway; division of the community and to the psychological concerns of: living under the continual threat of expropriation since 1948, while the city debated the issue; consequent deterioration of the neighborhood, influx of slum landlords and transients; interest in retaining the social character of the neighborhood - historical buildings, small stores; and the desire to exercise some voice in municipal decisions and planning.

In the Durand neighborhood, the physical needs included: noise, wind-tunnels, density, and increased traffic from high-rise apartment buildings; displacement, economic concerns, lack of open spaces, loss of existing low-density housing. Psychologically, the residents of the Durand neighborhood were worried about the destruction of the residential character and aesthetic appearance of the neighborhood as a result of large apartments, vacant unsightly lots, continual construction and the demolition of valuable, historic homes.

From these conditions it can be seen that in both neighborhoods there were a number of needs which prompted the formation of the groups.

B - The affect of social class on the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E.

Given the conditions necessary to encourage the residents of the York Street and Durand areas to form action groups, it is now important to understand what outside forces would affect the life of the group - its numbers, resources and organization, hence the degree of social power each group could command and consequently the success or failure of each in achieving its goals.

In the formulation of the external factors of a citizen action group, the concept of social class was highly significant. Similarly, in the study of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. the class structure of each was found to be an important variable in ex-

plaining the variations of the two groups in their activities and accomplishments.

From the analysis of the census data on the York Street area and the Durand neighborhood it was concluded that the area in which York Street is located has a lower socio-economic status than the Durand neighborhood. Consequently, our study deals with a working class and a middle class area respectively. As suggested previously, the class structure of an area produces certain community patterns and characteristics in individuals which the group reflects and which may hinder or help it to realize its goals.

In the case of the Y.O.U. the factor of social class was a constraint because the class-related variables of low education and occupational levels; lack of money, organizational skills, prestige, indigenous leadership abilities or status; and the limited influential network contacts produced a situation in which the group had few resources, a small membership and an ineffective organization. Consequently, these internal features did not allow the group a great deal of access to social power which was necessary to achieve its goals or to influence the situation to any degree.

The D.N.E., on the other hand, emerged out of a middle class area and was composed of individuals who had desirable and useful qualities which increased the organization's chances of achieving its ends. Factors such as high levels of education,

and professional occupations; personal influential networks; indigenous leadership; high potentiality for effective leadership; organizational abilities; communication skills; and significant prestige, and socio-economic status gave the D.N.E. sufficient numbers, resources and organizational assets to enable the group to have a high degree of social power.

As a result, although the D.N.E. did not completely achieve its goals, it did receive co-operation from the planning department, was given a role in the planning and control of neighborhood development, established two-way communication between government and succeeded in obtaining some of its objectives - one park and the rezoning of the neighborhood.

Thus social class is an important factor in the life of each of these groups and is significant in explaining the variations between the groups. In section five the relation between social class and each of the internal factors of the group will be analyzed.

IV - Internal Factors of D.N.E. and Y.O.U.:

The internal factors of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. consist of thirteen variables which are embodied in the factors of numbers, organization and resources - the three sources of social power.

Below is a list of these thirteen variables with a brief description of each as related to the two groups.

Y.O.U.D.N.E.

Numbers: - level of participation
 - motivation to participate

- low level of participation and awareness of issue
- low attendance at meetings - average 10 - 12 persons
- higher participation in fund-raising campaigns or active protests (picketing, truck-stopping)
- lower general morale
- negative attitude towards Y.O.U. by some residents and public

- high participation and awareness
- attendance at meetings - average - 150, 200 names on mailing list
- 600 names on petition to stop demolition - spring 1973
- higher community morale
- positive attitude towards group

Resources: - membership qualities
 - network contacts

- leaders - educated, some organizational skills, little prestige, influence, status, or high occupational level (some employed by Victoria Park Assoc.)
- potential to acquire contacts but little attempts made to do so
- contacts - little influence
- some were newcomers to neighborhood and to Hamilton.

- prestige, high level of education, occupation, status. Some group members were members of other organizations
- skills, abilities
- access to significant and influential network contacts - lawyers, aldermen, educators
- long-time residents and homeowners
- social contacts with city council

Organization: - type of problems and goals approached

- basic problems: housing, displacement, expropriation
- stop the widening of York Street

- basic and aesthetic concerns
- to stop the rapid construction of high-rises, develop a neighborhood plan, involve citizens in decisions (immediate & long-range) that affect their environment

- organization and status system

- leaders lacked organizational abilities, membership low

- skilled leaders, large membership, more effective social machinery than Y.O.U.

Y.O.U.D.N.E.- organization and status system

- very little indigenous leadership, leaders are from outside neighborhood. One had been a Durand resident, one was from Toronto
- all indigenous, many long-time homeowners

- tactics and strategies

- truck-stopping
- picketing city hall
- preparation of briefs for O.M.B. decision
- not much effort to gain support of media
- little attempt to involve community beyond fund-raising. Little door-knocking
- demand strategy - to mobilize power
- petitions
- self-education - urban and social planning
- contacting resource people (university, planning architect, lawyer)
- published newsletter
- well prepared study plan of neighborhood and briefs to city council
- encouraged communication channels to be opened, feedback from community, neighborhood participation
- sought support of media
- utilization of network contacts - prestige, influence, social power
- consensus strategy - utilize harmony of interests, persuasion

- ideology

- often idealistic, alienated the residents, Marxist-oriented, referred to Alinsky
- practical, down to earth, similar to municipal council in philosophies

- cohesion

- Y.O.U. did not represent residents' needs, internal conflicts, separated from businessmen's association
- group was more of a working unit. Members and residents shared attitudes and goals except when the issue of downzoning caused some residents to disagree because they wanted to sell their homes and be well compensated.

- structure of group

- simple, basic, leader-oriented, lacked effectiveness
- simple, basic - more organized, involved many residents

V - Relationship between Internal and External Factors of the Y.O.U. and D.N.E.

In order to analyze the affect of social class on the internal features of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. - the intervening variables, to indicate the relationship between these 13 variables and the factor of social power and to measure the influence of social class on the groups' achievement of goals, the discussion will be divided into three parts - numbers and class; resources and social class; organization and class.

1 - Numbers and social class:

The study of the York Street area and the Durand Neighborhood indicated that social class accounted for the variation in size of membership between the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. because the class background of the citizens of these areas affected the general level of community participation and thus the motivation of the citizens to participate in the citizen action groups.

The York Street area was a working-class neighborhood in which the residents tended to have a lower level of morale than the middle class citizens of Durand because on York Street, the threat of expropriation had been present for many years and because many of the people were on welfare, or were roomers, transients. A field study (Goddard and Stokoe) conducted in 1973, indicated that the residents' level of awareness in the issue was fairly low. This study was carried out in the Strath-

cona neighborhood by two teachers in the summer of 1973. Its purpose was to gather information on peoples' attitudes toward the widening, awareness of other alternatives to the proposed plans as well as the alternatives.

The area was divided into three zones of which York Street, from Queen to Dundurn Streets, formed one zone. In this area 25 people were interviewed and categorized as businessmen, tenants or owners.

Table V represents data based on responses to question #1 - Are you in favor of the York Street widening?

TABLE VII¹

ATTITUDES TOWARD YORK STREET WIDENING

	In Favor	Opposed	Indifferent
Business	11%	89%	0%
Tenants	0%	85%	15%
Owners	60%	40%	0%

These data indicate a high degree of opposition (89%) from the Businessmen thus illustrating a desire to remain, and unwillingness to risk re-location. The Tenants' response substantiates

¹The Widening of York Street - A Field Study, T. G. Goddard and T. D. Stokoe, July - August, 1973.

the importance of low-cost accommodation while the 15% in-difference is attributed to the transient population. It is interesting to note that 60% of the owners are in favor which indicated a desire to profit by the widening.

Data represented in Table VI was collected from question #2 - Are you aware of other alternatives besides this proposed widening? - These data indicate a high level of awareness from the businessmen who have high personal investment in the community compared to the low-level for tenants and owners.

TABLE VIII¹

AWARENESS OF ALTERNATIVES TO THE YORK STREET WIDENING

	% Unaware of Alternatives
Businessmen	0% Unaware
Tenants	100% "
Owners	20% "

This variance may also be accounted for by the variables of age, length of residence, income and ethnicity as the study indicates that the largest ethnic group was of Italian background.

Where necessary, the researchers supplied information

¹The Widening of York Street - A Field Study, T. G. Goddard and T. D. Stokoe, July - August, 1973.

as to the other alternatives. These appear in the 1971 York Street Widening Report, and was as follows:

- (1) Extension of Barton Street - from Queen Street over C.N.R. Yards to Industrial Road and Highway #403 - (\$22,900,000).
- (2) Perimeter - Industrial Road from Burlington to Highway #403 - (\$18,021,000).
- (3) Widening of York Street - (\$10,500,000).

Table VII illustrates the response from question #3 - Knowing all the alternatives which plan would you choose?

TABLE IX¹

CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVES TO THE WIDENING OF YORK STREET

	York	Barton	Burlington
Businessmen	11%	0%	89%
Tenants	0%	0%	100%
Owners	20%	10%	70%

From these data the following inferences were made:

- (1) The businessmen were still convinced that the York Street proposal was not in the best interest of the community.
- (2) The tenants still remained 100% opposed and

¹The Widening of York Street - A Field Study, T.G. Goddard and T.D. Stokoe, July - August, 1973.

avored Burlington Street because it was the furthest away.

- (3) The change of the owners' attitude from 60% in favor of York Street to 20% in favor reflects the fact that many took a humanistic approach to the problem, although some retained their wish to have York Street widened for the profits which could be made.

From this study it may be concluded that those with a high stake in the community (Businessmen and Owners) are more aware of problems and the related issues than those who are tenants in the area. However, the variable of education was not controlled for and this too could account for the variance in response.

From these factors - transient population and low level of awareness it can be concluded that many of the York Street residents had little commitment to the social system of the community and did not perceive the widening as immediately threatening. These conclusions, together with the fact that the Y.O.U. was not perceived as an effective organization¹ and with the generally accepted theory that the lower-economic classes tend to participate less in the community, hindered the population of the York Street area from being motivated to join the Y.O.U.

¹This conclusion was drawn on the basis of opinions from the general public, as well as from interviews with individuals connected with the Y.O.U., such as members of the City Planning Department, members of other action groups, and with the York Street businessmen who formed their own association.

Consequently, because of the influence of the class variable, the Y.O.U. had a small membership and thus lacked one of the sources of social power.

The Durand Neighborhood, being middle class, can, on the other hand be characterized in the following ways:

- (1) Populated by people who value participation because they have the middle class background to do so.
- (2) The level of morale was higher due to the fact that the issue was a challenge, an opportunity to become involved in neighborhood planning.
- (3) The D.N.E. appeared to be an effective means of achieving individuals' desires.
- (4) It was an area where there was economic investment as well as commitment to the on-going system. Many residents were long-time homeowners, had social relations in the community and were involved in community activities - home-school, church, Hamilton Historical Society.

As a result of these factors and ultimately of social class, there existed in the Durand Neighborhood, the motivation to participate in the D.N.E. The group reported having a large membership and a good turnout at meetings thereby giving it one source of social power - that which is found in Numbers.

2 - Resources and Social Class:

The resources of a citizen action group which constitute a source of social power are the qualities possessed by the group members and the potential network contacts available through the members' personal networks.

Dealing first with members' qualities, it may be said that initially the two groups began operations from different positions because, based on social class, the leaders and members of the Durand group occupy a higher socio-economic level than those from York Street.

The members of the D.N.E. who served on the Planning Committee and represented the group in the eyes of City Council members are citizens of the middle and upper-middle class. They are long-time residents of the area, educated, employed in the professions (education, religion, medicine) or have spouses who are so employed, possess a background of participation, and have influence and prestige. All of these enable them to relate to those in authority from positions of equal status and comparable ideologies.

In contrast, although several of the Y.O.U. leaders have university education they appear to lack the additional characteristics of status, prestige and influence. Furthermore, they are not long-time members of the community they represent. In addition, their ideologies tend to be confronta-

tion oriented and influenced by Saul Alinsky's actions and philosophies. These are quite far removed from the orientation of civic officials, thus creating an initial gap in communication. Simply, the leaders and members of the group represent different life styles and social classes, from those they are confronting thus possessing different levels of social power.

Furthermore, in the Durand neighborhood, even before the city conducted the attitude survey or organized the planning committee, many citizens in the area expressed not only a concern over the rapid demolition and development, but expressed a desire to be involved in the planning of their own environment. There was also a high level of awareness of both the problems and possible changes which could be made in the neighborhood. In contrast, as previously stated, the York Street area indicated that the level of awareness regarding the total issue was much lower.

Due to the class composition of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., the groups were differentiated as to how many resources they possessed in their members and how these resources could enable them to achieve their goals. The D.N.E., with its high membership rate and the possession of many useful skills had a greater amount of social power than the Y.O.U. whose membership was small and whose members lacked many effective and necessary qualities.

The social networks of members are a source of resources and a source of social power for citizen action groups. As seen from our previous discussion in Chapter 2, a personal network consists of all the links - relationships which a person has with other people. In any situation, an individual may activate his network for his own purposes, mobilizing support for his various relationships. Social class influences the composition of one's network such that it may vary from people of low prestige and socio-economic status to those of high social status and power. In a group situation, through members' networks, the group's access to people of status and power is a resource which enables the group to achieve its goal or strengthen its position. The D.N.E. had access to such influential contacts (as a lawyer, the Head of the Hamilton Historical Society) and could activate members' social network relations for pragmatic ends. Consequently, the D.N.E. had a source of power which the Y.O.U. did not possess because the networks of its members were not prestigious.

The Durand Neighborhood Executive also had links to educational resources, civic officials, the planning board and an architect in urban planning and utilized them effectively to achieve the association's goals. The Y.O.U. had the benefit of a lawyer during the O.M.B. hearings but lacked long-term assistance. In many respects, because the leaders of the group were educated, the potential to establish links to people of

influence was present but not utilized. However, among the residents of the York Street area, influential network relations similar to Durand were lacking. For instance, an architect student prepared the plans for the group's alternative proposals to York Street whereas the D.N.E. had the benefit of an expert. In addition, there appeared to be no support from the rest of the city or from the area's aldermen. In contrast, the D.N.E. has been working in conjunction with other neighborhood groups and has gained the assistance of Durand's aldermen.

In conclusion it can be stated that social class determines the qualities of a group's members and the network contacts available to the group. These in turn, increase the amount of power which the group possesses.

3 - Organization and Social Class:

The factor of organization as a source of a group's power is a composite of nine variables, many of which are inter-related with each other and with the variables just presented. Thus by necessity, some points may be repeated and some are combined, in the discussion to follow:

A - Type of problems and goals approached:

The goal of a citizen action group is the objective toward which the group's activities are directed. In the case

of the Y.O.U. and D.N.E. their goals were specific and centered around attempts to resist change in their respective neighborhoods. However, in both situations these goals involved a number of significant issues related to the desire to prevent change. The Y.O.U. opposed the widening of York Street because it would result in the demolition of homes and businesses, destroy the sense of community in the area, create greater traffic problems, more noise for nearby schools and endanger the citizens, especially school children.

In the Durand neighborhood, the group sought to stop developers from constructing high-rise apartments on the basis that these tall structures would destroy the residential character of the area, necessitate the demolition of historic and architecturally significant homes, create wind tunnels, noise, traffic problems, increase the population density and block out the sunlight into adjacent residences.

Thus, both groups share the characteristic of being concerned with immediate issues that are of local significance and strongly affect the vested interests of a specific geographically defined group of people.

Despite this basic similarity, however, the type or nature of the goals differentiates the Y.O.U. from the D.N.E. because while the Y.O.U. seems interested in protesting and achieving its goal, the D.N.E. was oriented toward long-range involvement in the development of their neighborhood. It has been found that many citizen action groups have goals which

are twofold and inter-related. The first is strictly local and immediate -- that of resisting or promoting some type of visible change, (improve homes, stop expressways,) while the second refers to the long-range goal of altering the system and implementing new concepts and practices into governmental operations. This latter goal may emerge over time after the group is formed. It emphasizes a realization of the need to establish avenues of communication, on-going contact and exchange between those who govern and the citizens. This goal would include the incorporation of citizen participation into the planning and governing of urban environments, thereby allowing citizens the opportunity to become personally and directly involved in the operations and development of their community. This objective and orientation toward responsible participation in the planning and control of the community appears to be present in the D.N.E., but not in the Y.O.U.

In the Durand neighborhood, several of the members of the neighborhood executive were representatives on the Citizen Planning Committee. Chosen from the attitude survey which the city conducted, these citizens, as well as other neighborhood residents had the opportunity not only to participate in developing a Plan for the neighborhood, but of establishing personal contacts with members of the City Council and the Planning Board. These interactions carried over into the

D.N.E. group and broke down the barrier between citizens and city hall. It is no longer a case of citizens versus an impersonal system, but the citizens communicating with, and working with individuals who are city council or planning board members.

In the York Street debate, rapport between citizens and officials was not given the same opportunity to develop because the city did not conduct a survey of peoples' attitudes toward the widening of York Street and there was no attempt made to set up a committee to study neighborhood development. Also, to some extent the early tactics which the Y.O.U. utilized (for example - picketing City Hall and truck-stopping) were antagonistic and prevented the channels of communication from being established. These tactics will be discussed in greater detail in another section, but suffice to say that they created an atmosphere of hostility and antagonism causing the Y.O.U. to lack the support or respect of city council.

This is not to say that the Y.O.U. did not desire citizen participation in neighborhood planning. Basically, this goal was present but it was not sought after in the responsible and informed manner which characterized the D.N.E. Furthermore, the Y.O.U. lacked the impetus for achieving this type of involvement which the city had given to Durand through the Citizen Planning Committee.

z Consequently the two groups began operations from different positions, and this difference may be accounted for in part, by external factors such as the actions of City Hall, and in part by the internal factors of social class variations, which, as previously illustrated, affected the motivation to become involved, the level of citizens' awareness and the qualities of the members.

In addition to this variation in goal orientation, if one considers the nature of the immediate goals which each group set out to achieve, the theories concerning social class are again substantiated. The literature states that the working and lower class individual is more interested in specific action suited to his pressing needs, and is concerned primarily with the bread and butter issues which affect his daily life.

(Carota, 1970)

The issues of the Y.O.U. and D.N.E. follow this pattern and reflect class interests and concerns. The D.N.E. organized itself to stop the construction of high-rise apartments because they were destroying the 'residential character' of the neighborhood. The citizens were concerned about dust, noises, wind tunnels, lack of sunlight, increased traffic problems, lack of open spaces, density, destruction of historically and structurally valuable homes, and a desire to retain and achieve visual variety in age and type of dwelling.

These issues may be described as aesthetic concerns

affecting the quality of life but not the basic bread and butter issues. In the York Street area, some of the issues were more pressing, affecting basic needs of existence, such as the social and economic consequences of re-location, demolition of low rental housing which would create difficulties in finding cheap accommodation for large families, the removal and re-location of businesses and stores, and the loss of clientele upon which the remaining stores would depend. / Furthermore, the highway would isolate the northern section of the community into a small area with few services, thus destroying the viability and strength of a commercial and residential neighborhood unit.

It can therefore be seen that in both groups the kind of goals toward which the activities are directed, as well as the group's basic orientation are determined by the many dimensions of social class.

Aside from the main goal, in the course of a group's operations, there are often smaller goals which the group attempts to obtain so as to achieve its major objective. However, these smaller goals, like the major ones must also be well-defined and specified because without concrete goals the group's activities cease to have direction and purpose, and the group's power position is weakened since explicitly formulated goals, as a feature of organization, are a source of power.

The concept of "goals as a source of social power" is influenced by the socio-economic background of the group - more specifically, by the qualities of leadership which are determined by factors of class. In the administration and operation of a citizen's group, it is the ability of the leader in formulating goals and preventing goal-displacement which decreases membership apathy, mobilizes the members, creates power and achieves objectives.

In one specific instance the failure of the Y.O.U. to explicitly define its goals exemplifies the affect of social class on leadership qualities, on the group's organization and on social power.

The Y.O.U., in an effort to appeal the Ontario Municipal Board decision to widen York Street attempted to write a book on the history and problems of York Street. However, the manner in which this project was presented indicated the lack of explicit and well-defined goals, little organization or planning and consequent disinterest from those individuals who attended the meeting.¹

In summary, it appears that goals, as an organizational feature of a citizen action group, constitute a source of the group's social power and are related to social class insofar as

¹At an open public meeting I attended in July, 1974 at the Y.O.U., the staff was attempting to select a person to do the writing for the book. However, no decision had yet been made as to the type of book desired, (factual, novel, academic, historical) or as to the intended audience - two factors which should have preceded the selection of the writer.

class determines leaders' potentiality to formulate goals and with reference to the type of goals towards which a group is oriented.

B - Organization and Status System:

In order for a group to achieve its goals an orderly social machinery in the group is required. This consists of leaders and followers, the roles played by each and the patterns of relationship between them. The Y.O.U. did not seem to possess the social machinery apparent in the D.N.E. and if one considers first, the leadership and then the membership, the reasons for the variations between the groups becomes clear.

Leadership:

The type of leader, his skills and orientations determine the direction that the citizen action group will take. Firstly, the Y.O.U. lacked indigenous leadership whereas the D.N.E. was led by community residents. This factor raises the question of whether or not the Y.O.U. leaders were fully aware of community needs and whether or not the group was representative of the neighborhood. Judging from the low level of citizen participation, it can be concluded that a communication gap existed between the leaders and the residents.

Secondly, as previously stated, the Y.O.U. leaders, although educated, lacked the prestige and occupational status so evident in the D.N.E. Furthermore, the

Y.O.U. leaders appeared to lack organizational skills and the ability to relate to civic officials or to the community. Some of their goals and alternative proposals were unrealistic and their orientation toward confrontation and Alinsky's philosophies were too far removed from the residents and from city hall. Thus the group tended to antagonize the authorities and disenchant the community. In contrast, the D.N.E. leaders possessed social power (money, educational, professional resources) and utilized whatever contacts (legal, educational, municipal authorities) were available to produce a situation in which the group was regarded as a functional, credible and efficient association. The dimensions of leadership such as skills, social power and philosophies are variables which determine the final results of a group's operations. However, the source of these dimensions is the social class background of the leader and thus a pattern is produced in which the success or failure of a group can be traced to social class through a number of intervening factors. Therefore the theory suggesting that class was an independent variable in the operation of a citizen action group is substantiated when leadership is considered.

Similarly, a group's membership can be analyzed in terms of class factors thereby demonstrating once again the relevance of the class theory and explaining the differences between the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. (Figure I - Page 50 illustrates how class functions as an independent variable affecting many dimensions of a citizen action group.)

Membership:

Social class is an important variable in a group's membership because it determines the qualities which the members possess and the extent of people's participation in the group. As cited earlier, it has been found that one's class position affects first, the potential of people to participate and then the impetus to participate, that is, those factors which determine whether or not the potential participant will become an actual participant. In the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., class accounts for the variations in qualities of members and the extent of participation. The Y.O.U. did not have a large membership because the group was lacking in efficient leadership and organization. Despite this, the citizens did not form a group of their own and did not produce an indigenous leader because they lacked the necessary

power, knowledge and skills. The Durand residents, on the other hand, many of whom are well-educated and employed in the professions possessed knowledge and skills which enabled them to confront those in authority from an equal position of power and status. As stated earlier, motivation to participate in the Y.O.U. was low due to apathy, lack of trust in the municipal government, transient and welfare population and lack of immediacy posed by the long-debated issue. In contrast, the Durand residents had established a rapport with the civic government, had the assistance of a lawyer who supported and advised the group's efforts and had a high degree of interest in the issue because many of them were long-term homeowners with families. The demolition of houses and the construction of high-rise apartments posed an immediate threat to their homes and the future of the neighborhood thereby increasing their desire to participate in a group organized to preserve the area. By indicating the relationship between class background and the skills and contacts which individuals possess, the York Street and Durand neighborhoods substantiate the hypothesis that social class affects the factors of leadership and membership.

The residents of the middle-class Durand neighborhood are able to exert more control over their environment than those in the lower class because socialization, education, income, occupation and the related characteristics of prestige, status, and influence have provided the Durand residents with the potential, the motivation and the resources to participate.

Before proceeding to discuss tactics, the fourth category of means, one final remark should be made concerning the social machinery of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E.

In the Durand group there was continual communication between the leaders, members of the association and other residents of the neighborhood. A newsletter was published free of charge three times a year and sent to residents. Meetings were well publicized and open to the public and many of those involved in the group interacted on other levels - through work, school activities, socially and informally through neighborliness.¹

¹On the basis of interviews with group members, it was concluded that many members were interrelated in personal networks - meeting socially, attending school functions, visiting as neighbors.

In these ways the group developed cohesion and stability and was representative of the area, whereas in the Y.O.U. there appeared to be little community support or rapport with the residents. Thus the D.N.E. possessed an effective social machinery - the factor of organization which, according to Bierstedt (1950) constitutes along with resources and numbers, the sources of social power.

C - Tactics and Strategies:

The tactics which a group chooses and utilizes are affected by social class. The reason for this is based upon the fact that tactics are dependent upon the characteristics of the leaders and members, the size of the group and the resources which the group possesses. These, as demonstrated in the preceding pages, are determined by social class.

Because the D.N.E. possessed numbers (a large membership), of approximately 100 members, an efficient organization and a variety of resources (money, prestige, knowledge, networks of 'useful' people, skills) the group had, in Bierstedt's term the three necessary sources of power, whereas the Y.O.U. lacked this power. Thus the groups began operations from different levels and were differently equipped to employ various tactics.

Referring to the strategies suggested by Hillman and

Seever (1970) we can conclude that the D.N.E.'s strategy approximated consensus. This is based on shared interests and objectives and utilizes education and persuasion to create a climate in which differences can be accommodated. Preparation of the neighborhood study plan with city officials, research into urban studies, and discussing community planning and alternatives to high-rises with planning experts are examples of the D.N.E.'s activities using the strategy of consensus.

The Y.O.U. tended more towards the demand technique - conflict and the mobilization of power with which to confront other parties. (Instances of this are truck-stopping on York Street, picketing city hall and refusing to move from a house slated for demolition). However, after many months of operation without too much effect and with the realization that these tactics antagonized civic officials, the Y.O.U. employed other measures such as preparing briefs for the O.M.B. hearings and writing a book to appeal the O.M.B. decision. This suggests that a citizen action group should be sufficiently flexible to change tactics and knowledgeable enough to know which tactics should be employed on what occasions. However, the Y.O.U. unlike the D.N.E., did not have a long range plan of action which could be communicated to the residents of the community. In addition, if one considers the ineffectiveness of their protest strategies and the negative publicity which these pro-

duced as well as the lack of realism in the alternatives the group suggested it appears that little time was spent in analyzing the effectiveness and consequences of various strategies.

The D.N.E. received favorable coverage from the media, because as a result of efficient organization and lack of conflict tactics they had gained public support, they also made known to the public and officials that they wanted time to study the neighborhood and develop a plan for future development. Clearly, to be effective, a group must spend some time in planning and in neutral activities and not be content with overt action regardless of its direction or consequence.

In many ways the variable of class is demonstrated by studying the actions of these groups. Consensus requires people of influence who are backed by a strong case and have access to community decision-makers. Because the members of the D.N.E. possessed among themselves the resources of money, prestige, education, knowledge and access to people of influence and authority the group was equipped with the third source of social power in addition to numbers and organization.

Having this power enabled the group to effectively employ the consensus strategy and to activate members' social network relations for pragmatic ends because the group had links to individuals in the Municipal Council and Planning Department. The links facilitated the development of communication avenues.

D - Ideology:

The ideology of the group contains a statement of the goals, and encompasses a system of beliefs, values and ideas which justify the group's existence. The ideology indicates what the group is for or against, and presents the course of action it is to follow.

To a great extent the group's ideology may be determined by the ambitions and characteristics of the leader or leaders. This holds true for both the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. as these groups tend to reflect the philosophies of those in control. As previously stated, the respective ideologies also express a difference in social class background since the D.N.E. leaders possess social power lacking in the Y.O.U.

The leaders of the Y.O.U. appear to be oriented toward conflict and ideas of Saul Alinsky in mobilizing the lower-class towards opposing city hall, and attaining power by force. Their ideology is conceptualized in the terms of "fighting" (The Spectator, September 27, 1974) the planning board, whereas the Durand group tends toward a harmony of interests with the city and strives to attain power through presenting a well-researched and informed case.

In both neighborhoods a series of "alternatives" to the proposed changes were suggested and these represent the important point that a citizen action group to succeed must have plans that are credible and practical.

The Y.O.U. with the assistance of an architectural student put forth the idea that York Street should be narrowed instead of widened thus necessitating the rehabilitation of the street to include on-the-street parking, green spaces, pedestrian walks, and the construction of a recreation center. This alternative would re-route the traffic off York Street, but made no provision for where the traffic would go, thus leaving the problem unsolved. For this reason, combined with the fact that the scheme would require total co-operation from the residents - many of whom are tenants, transients or low income citizens, made the proposed alternative appear to be impractical and lacking in realism.

Consequently, the community people are alienated from the Y.O.U., primarily because they cannot identify with the leaders' ideology or with the plans which seem unrealistic to them. Thus the group lacks the commitment and support of the community and is therefore not very effective.

In the Durand neighborhood executive, the leaders are oriented toward preserving the quality of life and approach this goal in an organized, realistic manner. However, as with the Y.O.U., the D.N.E. is also unrealistic. Their proposal of alternatives has proven to be too idealistic, although it is basically feasible, and with some compromise could be achieved. This refers to their efforts to have a portion of the neighborhood, which is now zoned E-3 - high density, down-zoned for low density housing. In addition, the group wanted a restriction

on building height, limiting buildings to four storeys, but in view of the developers' bid to buy land, and the increasing population problems, this restriction is unrealistic. Thus, the D.N.E. like the Y.O.U. has lost the support of many community people who want to sell their homes, and are protesting the height restriction which will discourage developers.

E - Cohesion:

Closely related to ideology is the concept of cohesion which is necessary if the group is to survive the waves of external opposition and inner conflict.

The Y.O.U. is not a cohesive group because it failed to encompass the loyalties of the York Street community and did not exhibit consciousness of kind with the people. The citizens of York Street do not attend meetings and very few of them display any involvement with the Y.O.U. beyond participating in activities to raise money or joining protests (truck-stopping, picketing city hall). This exemplifies several interesting points related to the concept of participation. Firstly, when compared to the Durand Neighborhood where people attend meetings, it appears that the two groups illustrate the theory that middle class people tend to participate to a greater degree than do those of lower economic backgrounds. Secondly, this also suggests that class affects the type of participation since the York Street people were inclined towards participating in active events but had no interest in attending meetings whereas the

the meetings of the middle-class Durand Neighborhood Executive had a high attendance rate.

However this lack of participation in the Y.O.U. can also be traced to the two other factors that the Y.O.U. lacks sufficient credibility and efficiency which would inspire people to become involved and the fact that the York Street issue has been debated for so many years that it has lost the immediacy which the Durand issue possesses.

It is interesting to note that the businessmen of York Street formed a separate association through which to oppose the widening. This raises many doubts about the usefulness and viability of the Y.O.U. but also raises the question as to the lack of participation by other York Street citizens who were not businessmen and who were not involved in the Y.O.U. These residents did not produce a leader from among themselves and did not form their own group to oppose the issue. Once again social class seems to account for their actions as these citizens represent a lower-income background. From a field study conducted in the summer of 1973 the following factors concerning the area were obtained:

Twenty-five people on York Street were interviewed. Many of them had lived in the area for over forty years but there was also a fairly large transient population who were indifferent to the situation because "there is always a room to rent." Thus the proposed widening and subsequent loss of homes

was not a serious problem. Income, however, was a major factor. Although it was difficult and in most cases impossible to elicit this information, it was plain to see that many families were on welfare and required the type of low rental housing that York Street afforded. (Goddard and Stokoe; 1973: xviii)

In contrast, to this, the D.N.E. reports a large attendance at meetings, a membership of approximately 100 people, and for the most part, with the exception of those who oppose the height restriction, represents the needs and concerns of the community. However, even this issue did not produce inner conflicts within the group because the percentage of the area which did not want the height restriction agreed with the association on other matters of neighborhood planning.

Thus in comparing the two groups several conclusions can be drawn:

That social class accounts for the variations in the degree and type of citizen involvement in the two groups.

That a group must encompass the needs and loyalties of the people in the community if the group wishes to be cohesive.

F - Structure:

Although the review of literature in Chapter 3 indicated that the structure of groups often varies from simple to more

complex in accordance with class variations, the structure of both the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. can be characterized as similar in that they are both simple. However, the groups differ in the degree to which the structures are effective. As stated earlier, the effectiveness of structure can be related to the following factors:

- type of leadership - skills, perception, experience
- members' qualities - socio-economic characteristics
 - networks
 - attendance at meetings
 - level of motivation
 - monetary resources
- tactics and strategies

These factors are correlated with social class and with the concept of social power under the variables of numbers, organization and resources.

The structure of the Y.O.U. appeared to be less effective than that of the D.N.E. because it was often too idealistic to reflect the community's needs and interests, representing more the interests and attitudes of the leaders. In contrast, the D.N.E. publicized its activities, circulated information notices and newsletters, had large attendance at meetings and a great deal of feedback. This enabled it to keep attuned to the needs and opinions of the members and the community. The Y.O.U. made little attempt to keep residents informed, to encourage their participation, or to structure the group in such a way so as to develop communication channels or facilitate residents' involvement.

Consequently, it can be concluded that the structure of the D.N.E., as a result of the group's middle class influence,

is a source of power to the D.N.E., not in terms of degree of formalization but in terms of its effectiveness, which is directly linked to the variables incorporated within the factors of numbers, organization and resources. On the other hand, the Y.O.U.'s structure, as related to class characteristics of the group, was ineffective and did not become a source of power. In fact, its structure may have hindered its potential to succeed.

VI: Functions of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E.:

Having illustrated the extent to which social class affects the internal dynamics of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., our analysis of these groups can be concluded by discussing the affect of social class on the final outcome of the groups' efforts.

On the basis of social class in relation to the thirteen internal factors of the Y.O.U., it may be said that the Y.O.U. lacked the necessary amount of social power to achieve any measure of success. In July 1974, the Y.O.U. made an appeal to the O.M.B. concerning the O.M.B.'s May decision to widen York Street and the city filed a reply to the appeal. Two months later - September 1974, "the Provincial Cabinet upheld the O.M.B. in its approval of the city's application to spend 3.8 million dollars for the York Street properties." - thus bringing defeat to the Y.O.U.'s efforts to stop the widening.

(The Spectator, September 27, 1974)

However, beyond the fact that the Y.O.U. did not achieve its major goal, several other points should be noted concerning its lack of effectiveness.

Firstly, the Y.O.U. was in the process of writing a book on the York Street issue as a form of appeal, and had sent the Cabinet the first and second chapters. Tom Moerman, spokesman for the Y.O.U. was quoted as saying that "the cabinet decision was a surprise to him because the Y.O.U. had the impression that the Cabinet would wait for the remaining three or four chapters before making a decision." (The Spectator, September 27, 1974) This situation raises the question as to the seriousness with which the Cabinet viewed the Y.O.U. and the amount of significance attributed to the Y.O.U.

In our analysis of the Y.O.U., it was evident that the interrelated dimensions of social class caused the group to lack a large membership - numbers; an effective organization, and a sufficient number of useful resources. Consequently, on the basis of numbers alone, it may be concluded that the Y.O.U. did not promote the collective interests of the York Street community. Furthermore, taking all three factors - lack of members, resources and the Y.O.U.'s inefficient organization, it appears that the Y.O.U. was not successful in distributing power at the grass roots level; in allowing individuals the possibility of controlling a part of their environment; or in providing the

York Street community with a vehicle through which information could be exchanged between city council and the community.

However, although the Y.O.U. did have a small membership, the fact of its existence was important because, for those who joined, and/or participated in its protest activities, it provided a setting in which to engage in expressive activities; provided support for those individuals whose homes were threatened and gave gratification to the organizers for their expressive activities. Thus, to a limited extent, the Y.O.U. mediated between the smaller structure - the isolated individual and the larger structure - the city thereby fulfilling, at a minimal level the function of distributing power.

Hindered by its small degree of social power - a result of the class basis of the community, the Y.O.U. did not effectively fulfill the theoretical functions of social participation and voluntary associations at either the communal or societal levels. Furthermore, hindered by inadequate social power together with the importance of York Street as the completion of the downtown development of Hamilton, (Jones, 1966) the Y.O.U. did not achieve the goal of stopping the widening of York Street.

On the other hand, the D.N.E., although it did not completely achieve its goals, (of downzoning the neighborhood, stopping demolitions, obtaining parks) it was successful in attaining a compromise with the city. Demolition and construction were not permitted until the study plan was completed and as a result of the plan, the neighborhood was granted one park,

partial rezoning, controlled construction of high-rise apartments and the opportunity to participate in neighborhood planning.

From our knowledge of two factors - the importance of social power, in its combination of the three factors of numbers, organization and resources, to the achievement of goals and the amount of power which the D.N.E. possessed - it can be concluded that the D.N.E. performed the functions of social participation and voluntary associations at the communal and societal levels because the group had the necessary numbers, organization and resources.

The large membership and attendance at meetings which the D.N.E. experienced, indicates that it represented the collective interests of the people and provided a setting whereby organizers and residents could engage in expressive activities and obtain support in their concerns over the future of the neighborhood. Furthermore, because the group had the resources and organization to enable it to establish communication channels with the city and succeed in allowing citizens to exercise some control and social choice in the decisions affecting their environment, we can conclude that the D.N.E. distributed power at the grass roots level; facilitated a flow of information between separated social units and mediated between smaller structures and larger ones. As such it fulfilled the theoretical functions of social participation relationships and voluntary associations at the individual and communal levels.

Turning now to the social consequences of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., the question arises as to the extent to which

the groups perform functions at the macro-level of social organization.

To reiterate, sociologists have suggested that "social participation relationships serve 'umbrella functions'. They give expression to emergent interests; facilitate adjustment to unusual demands and supplement earlier socialization."

(Edwards and Booth, 1973:6)

From the analysis of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E., it may be stated that the groups do fulfill these functions but functional variations are the result of the socio-economic differences in the two neighborhoods and the affect of their differences on the internal dynamics of the groups.

As stated earlier, the many forms of the citizen group movement "are a relatively new phenomenon in Canada . . . and "the emergence of citizens' groups in many centers across Canada, indicates one way in which the desire of citizens to be involved in decisions affecting their lives has found expression."

(Jacobs, 1971:289)

The D.N.E. and the Y.O.U. both represent the concerns of citizens to be involved in the decisions affecting their neighborhoods. Regardless of the type or degree of involvement, be it simply protest against change or the desire to help plan the neighborhood; limited or total community participation; the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. both gave expression to emergent interests not adequately represented by existing macro-organizations. Although the emergence of the Y.O.U. resulted in conflict between

the group and the municipal politicians, nevertheless, like the D.N.E. it provided a means for handling unusual demands placed upon the municipal structure and allowed the protests and desires of the people to be expressed without threatening the fundamental structural components of the community or the city council.

The type and degree of involvement experienced by the groups and the citizens, as well as the conflict or harmony between groups and municipal politicians can be traced, as illustrated, to the factor of social class and to its influence on a group's members, level of participation by residents, network contacts, prestige, organizational ability, strategies and tactics - in short, to the degree of social power the group possesses when confronting the municipal power system.

Similarly, the extent to which the groups were able to extend and reinforce earlier socialization or make up for deficiencies in earlier socialization is a function of class variations. The D.N.E. allows individuals to utilize and further develop their communication, leadership and organizational skills because the group's activities involved many community members and included tasks such as preparing briefs; communicating with the public, the neighborhood residents, media, city council and other groups; increasing knowledge of urban and social planning and municipal policies and by-laws; arranging and operating meetings; participation in the neighborhood study plan and

preparing publicity and information out-put. In the performance of these tasks, skills learned in previous socialization process were extended and new ones were acquired. Consequently, by performing this role, the D.N.E. fulfilled the third societal function of participation relationships.

The Y.O.U. also performed this function but to a lesser extent because although its activities (fund-raising, preparation of briefs) did utilize some organizational abilities, its internal features were such that it did not provide leadership training of the community residents and did not allow many individuals the opportunity to develop communication or organizational skills, community knowledge, or network contacts which would be beneficial for subsequent performance in the community.

Conclusion:

In summary, we may conclude that the emergence of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. is of social consequence because the groups fulfilled functions at the individual, communal and societal levels of society. Consequently, the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. may be classified with other social participation relationships and with voluntary associations and as such, may justifiably be designated as forms of social participation.

Furthermore, on the basis of the analysis of the internal and external factors and the functions of each group, we may conclude that the D.N.E. and the Y.O.U. exemplify the social class

model and support the hypothesis that social class, as an independent variable, determines the amount of social power a group possesses and consequently, determines the outcome of the group's efforts.

CHAPTER VIII

C O N C L U S I O N S

A - Conclusions and implications arising from the study of Citizen Action Groups:

This thesis has provided the student of urban society with an analysis of a rapidly developing form of social participation in the urban milieu - the citizen action group.

To achieve this end, we have shown that the citizen action group is not only a new social phenomenon but that it relates in particular to a body of literature in sociology, social participation. From the review of the literature on social participation which has been discussed in the preceding chapters, the relevance of citizen action groups to participation literature was presented, a collation of facts concerning citizen action groups was derived, and a conceptual framework for analyzing the citizen action group as a form of social participation was developed, thereby fulfilling the major objectives of this paper.

Furthermore, on the basis of the theoretical review, an hypothesis was formulated suggesting a relationship among social class, social power and the outcome of a group's efforts, in the career of a citizen action group. Seeking to test the validity of this hypothesis, two case studies were examined and as we have seen, the analysis of the Y.O.U.

and the D.N.E. in Hamilton provided evidence to support the belief that the social class background of a group determines the amount of power it possesses and consequently the degree to which it achieves success. The study of these two groups also demonstrated the utility of the Conceptual Framework as an analytic tool in examining a citizen action group because the scope of the Framework provided for a complete analysis of the citizen action group: Its relation to the existing body of literature on participation; its internal and external factors and the relationship between them; and its functions at the individual, community and societal levels. Having thus accomplished the aims of this paper, we will now turn to a discussion of the implications of this analysis of citizen action groups and to a consideration of the relevance of citizen action groups to future sociological research in social participation.

The review of social participation literature, the collation of facts on citizen action groups, and the analysis of the Y.O.U. and the D.N.E. allow several observations to be made concerning the implications of the emergence of citizen action groups. Although it is apparent that citizen action groups cannot alone solve the pressing problems of inadequate housing, unemployment, poor schools, or ineffective social services, there is some evidence and validity in stating that these groups may help to stop the alienation of an increasing number of citizens, both adults and the young. This statement

is made on the basis that the citizen action group performs the task of relating the individual to his society through community action.

Through community action, he is beginning to break through the impersonal bureaucracy of big business, big government, big education systems, big health bureaucracies and the other structures that dominate his life at every level.

(Head, 1971:27)

The citizen action group is a secondary group and functions, as Durkheim suggested, in the capacity of a regulating activity between the state and the individual, near enough to the individuals to attract them strongly in their sphere of action and dray them in this way, into the general torrent of social life. (Durkheim, 1933:28) As a secondary group, the citizen action group provides for the development of social relationships, participation and interaction thus integrating the individual into the life of his community because the group fulfills needs, provides a setting in which to express interests and helps the individual to relate to the changes and complexities of the social system. Thus, like other secondary groups, the citizen action group represents one way in which human life is patterned and brought into some kind of equilibrium and how the urban community continually maintains itself. (Weber, 1958:55)

However, beyond its functions as a secondary group which has emerged in urban society, the citizen action group has been designated as a unique form of social participation because it exemplifies the qualitative change in the nature and extent of participation from involvement in interest groups, occupationally-related associations and service organizations to the development of groups which express the demands of citizens to be heard and

to exercise social choice in their urban environment.

Several conclusions can be drawn as to the implications of the citizen action group in this capacity. Firstly, the citizen action group may be seen simply in the role of action or protest, advocating change in a specific situation or protesting the attempts to change some aspect of the urban environment. Thus the group may be analyzed as to its internal features - amount of social power, its operations and the degree of success it achieves. However, beyond the success or failure of any specific citizen action group in any one community, the total concept of "citizen action and participation in the urban community" should be evaluated because this concept is related to social change and has implications in terms of future changes in community attitudes and structure. This relationship between citizen action groups and social change is based upon the assumption "that citizens' groups, whether low or middle income, can through organized action, release major sources of energy and ability which have been largely untapped in the past." (Head, 1971:21)

Information is a source of control and, as previously demonstrated, numbers, organization and resources are a source of social power. Thus the group which possesses power may also be viewed as a form of countervailing power with regard to other groups and to the government, because the citizen action group has the possibility, to some extent, of checking the influence of other groups and of persuading municipal leaders on the basis of votes and popularity.

However, it has also been stated that:

the ad hoc, informal and spontaneous characteristics of many citizens' groups are a source for fertile ideas and for experimentation that may not be possible within the most enlightened formal structures of bureaucracy."

(Clague, 1971:39)

In contrast to traditional forms of organization that are characterized by rigid systems with elaborate hierarchies, the citizen action group is an open, more flexible, less complex arrangement of human and material resources which can adapt itself more easily to change. Thus the citizen action group can often better represent the interests of the people than can government organizations, can serve the government by providing information as to citizens' demands; and can assess existing and proposed policies and practices with reference to the needs of the community.

Consequently, the citizen action group has the potential of bringing about changes in government policies and attitudes by demonstrating the benefits which can be realized from incorporating citizen involvement in decision-making processes. If this citizen participation were realized, it would create changes in the practices and attitudes of both governmental structures and citizen action groups. Firstly, it would bring about the decentralization of the decision-making process thereby helping the government to become more responsive and to reflect more adequately local needs and aspirations. (Head, 1971:27) Furthermore, it

would necessitate that:

citizens' groups be willing to assume responsibility for decisions made. When citizens are given the right to participate in decision-making, then they must be ready to assume responsibilities for action taken to implement plans. They cannot sit back and permit public officials to fend off attacks by other segments of the community, who may not agree with decisions made by local groups.

(Head, 1971:28)

In summary it may be stated that participation through the citizen action group has social implications in its role as a secondary group, as a means of integration and interaction; as a simple protest and action group and as a catalyst for producing changes of mind and communities that will inevitably bring about changes in the social structure.

The dilemma of participation faces all classes in a society characterized by complexity and rapid pace of change but particularly when the stakes are so high.

Matters of pollution, of resource scarcity, and technological response allow for only slim margins of error, if any at all. There is a sense of finality about the decisions before us, which, once taken, seem irrevocable. The character of a city can be sealed through the development of a freeway network; the fate of a river system can be determined by hydro-electric dams.

(Clague, 1971:32)

The lives of many people can be disrupted and seriously affected by changes or lack of changes in the urban environment. If the power to resolve these problems lies in the hands of those who make decisions, it is equally true that

power lies in the hands of those who define the alternatives upon which decisions are made. (Draper, 1971:3)

The final implication emerging from our analysis of citizen action groups is the fact that the citizen action group is a form of social participation which can define these alternatives and thereby perform an essential role in planning and controlling the urban environment.

B - Relevance of citizen action groups to future sociological research in social participation:

Previously, the citizen action group has been discussed as to its social relevance as a newly emerging social phenomenon and to the functions it fulfills as a voluntary association and as a form of social participation at the individual, communal and societal levels. What remains now in this final section, is to indicate the relationship of the citizen action group to future research in social participation.

Interest in the consequences of social participation is not new, but what is new, according to Edwards and Booth, is "the increasing awareness of the complexity of the impact when large numbers of individuals engage in social participation. Until recently, much of the literature betrays a dominant interest in what participation does for the individual." (Edwards and Booth, 1973:281)

Channelling research along this line emphasizes the consequences of participation in terms, not only of personality but of structure and directs our attention to the realization "that participation relationships form crucial nexuses in urban society." (Edwards and Booth, 1973:282)

Current research, is therefore, investigating the proposition that when there is a relationship between two or more persons or social systems, "the exchange involved is

seldom undirectional and its consequences, therefore, are likely, to be multiple." (Edwards and Booth, 1973:281)

Although this proposition is widely recognized, few empirical investigations have adequately confronted the issue or tested its validity. Research into the participation relationships found within a citizen action group - leaders, citizens, city council, planners, other groups - could certainly provide an adequate area in which to test this proposition and in which to explore the multiple consequences of this form of participation.

| Related to this, is a deficiency in research into the problem of specifying the conditions under which participation relationships compete and conflict with one another. Edwards and Booth state (1973:282) that:

Under the conditions of competition and conflict the interdependence between relationships is radically different than that found when they are complementary to one another. Interdependence between competing and conflicting groups has direct consequences for their structure, degree of integration, and rate of exchange.

Given the fact that the emergence of citizen action groups has in some cases, resulted in sharp conflict between the group and the municipal politicians (Draper, 1971:289) and that the city and the group must therefore interact under conditions of conflict, further research into citizen action groups would be sociologically valuable. By understanding

some of the conditions under which this interdependence occurs, that is by specifying particular conflict situations under which citizen action groups and municipal politicians operate, we would gain, as Edwards and Booth suggest, (1973: 282) "a firmer basis for postulating the sociological and social-psychological consequences of collective participation."

Another area of participation which needs to be studied is the effect which one form of participation has on another. Of particular interest is investigation into a proposition, related to the social exchange theory, that, "the more a particular behaviour is rewarded, the more it will be emitted, or, alternately, the more a particular behaviour is not rewarded or is punished, the less that behaviour will be emitted". (Edwards and Booth, 1973:282) Participation in the form of citizen action groups provides sociologists with an opportunity to test this proposition in a significant and rapidly emerging group situation. By analyzing citizen action groups, the researcher can acquire answers to the following questions and thereby draw conclusions as to the explanatory and predictive power of this theory.

- (1) To what extent does one's success or failure in one form of participation influence one's predisposition to engage in citizen action groups?
- (2) What form of citizen group behaviour is rewarded?
- (3) Under what conditions is this behaviour rewarded?

- (4) If participation in a citizen action group is rewarded, is the individual likely to continue participation in the group or in another citizen group?

This proposition is particularly relevant in the lower-income classes where participation in groups, other than kin, peer, or work-associated groups, is often minimal. (Gans, 1962: 106) Research into these questions has, according to Edwards and Booth, certain benefits as the following quotation indicates:

if the proposition is found to hold and if the conditions under which it holds are further delineated, substantial gains could be made in long-term and large-scale planning efforts. With community and regional planning becoming more widespread, we will probably find greater recognition given to the fact that participation relationships form crucial nexuses in urban society. With greater knowledge regarding the compounding efforts of participation, these planning efforts, whether they be for bringing about greater coordination or for affecting some aspect of social change, will be considerably more successful.

(Edwards and Booth, 1973:282)

Similarly, with greater emphasis being placed upon citizen participation and with the increased desire of citizens to exercise social choice in their urban environment, greater recognition will be given to the importance of citizen action groups as crucial nexuses in urban society. "Social participation is an area of sociological concern and is attracting the attention of increasing numbers of researchers who are concerned with the practical application of the research findings." (Edwards and Booth, 1973:283)

If this thesis, in presenting theoretical facts on citizen action groups and in applying these facts to two case studies, has indicated unexplored areas of social participation and has emphasized the importance of citizen action groups as a significant form of social participation, it will have fulfilled its objective.

Appendix A

Table II¹

A COMPARISON OF ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS
FOR DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD, YORK STREET NEIGHBORHOOD
AND THE CITY OF HAMILTON

Census Characteristics: Ethnic Group	Durand	York	Hamilton	Durand %	York %	Hamilton %
Asian	205	90	4,395	1.99	1.66	1.57
British Isles	7,755	2,975	177,235	75.36	54.93	63.38
French	365	365	13,840	3.54	6.74	4.94
German	635	240	14,620	6.17	4.43	5.22
Hungarian	245	80	5,540	2.38	1.47	1.98
Italian	470	1,430	35,155	4.56	26.40	12.57
Netherlands	240	65	6,295	2.33	1.20	2.25
Polish	180	50	10,810	1.74	.92	3.86
Russian	10	15	550	.09	.27	.19
Scandinavian	60	20	1,560	.58	.36	.55
Ukranian	125	85	9,600	1.21	1.56	3.43
TOTAL	10,290	5,415	279,600	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	11,835	6,390	309,180*			

* Please note - The first row of Totals refers to the additions of the 11 ethnic groups. The second row refers to the TOTALS given in the Census bulletin, leaving a group of persons not accounted for. The percentages are based on the first row of Totals for Ethnic groups.

1 Census of Canada, 1971.

Table III¹

A COMPARISON OF POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS
FOR DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD, YORK STREET NEIGHBORHOOD
AND THE CITY OF HAMILTON

Highest Level of Schooling	Durand (Population 5 years and over)	York	Hamilton	Durand %	York %	Hamilton %
Less than Gr. 9	3,450	3,685	131,710	30.57	63.53	46.15
Grades 9-10 NT	1,495	940	49,780	13.24	16.20	17.44
WT	340	145	9,435	3.01	2.50	3.30
Grade 11 NT	590	205	17,400	5.22	3.53	6.09
WT	175	45	4,615	1.55	.77	1.61
Grades 12-13 NT	2,025	450	34,440	17.94	7.75	12.07
WT	1,250	165	18,415	11.07	2.84	6.45
Some Univ. NT	665	85	7,750	5.89	1.46	2.71
WT	320	25	3,440	2.83	.43	1.20
Univ. Degree NT	800	50	6,710	7.08	.86	2.35
WT	175	5	1,640	1.55	.08	.57
TOTAL	11,285	5,800	285,335	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NT = No Other Training

WT = With Other Training

1 Census of Canada, 1971.

Table IV

A COMPARISON OF POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
FOR THE TWO NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE CITY OF HAMILTON

Census Characteristics:	Durand	York	Hamilton	Durand %	York %	Hamilton %
<u>Migration:</u>						
Non-Migrants	8,705	4,500	235,805	76.89	77.58	82.69
Same Dwelling	6,185	2,870	146,625	54.63	49.48	51.41
Diff. Dwelling	3,905	1,630	89,185	34.49	28.10	31.27
Migrants	2,615	1,300	49,360	23.10	22.41	17.30
Total =	11,320	5,800	285,165			
<u>Owner-Occupied</u>						
<u>Dwellings:</u>						
Median Value	34,036	17,819	22,929			
<u>Tenant Occupied</u>						
<u>Dwellings:</u>						
Average Rent	116.33	104.00	116.33			
<u>Length of Occupancy:</u>						
(Head of Household)						
Less than 1 year	1,325	340	16,995	24.37	18.73	17.97
1 - 2 years	1,335	270	16,060	24.56	14.87	16.98
3 - 5 years	700	285	14,770	12.87	15.70	15.61
6 - 10 years	840	255	14,975	15.45	14.04	15.83
More than 10 years	1,235	665	31,770	22.72	36.63	33.59
Total =	5,435	1,815	94,570			
<u>Period of Construction:</u>						
Before 1946	2,880	1,565	44,365	60.88	98.11	66.59
After 1946	1,850	30	22,255	39.11	1.88	33.40
Total =	4,730	1,595	66,620			

Table V

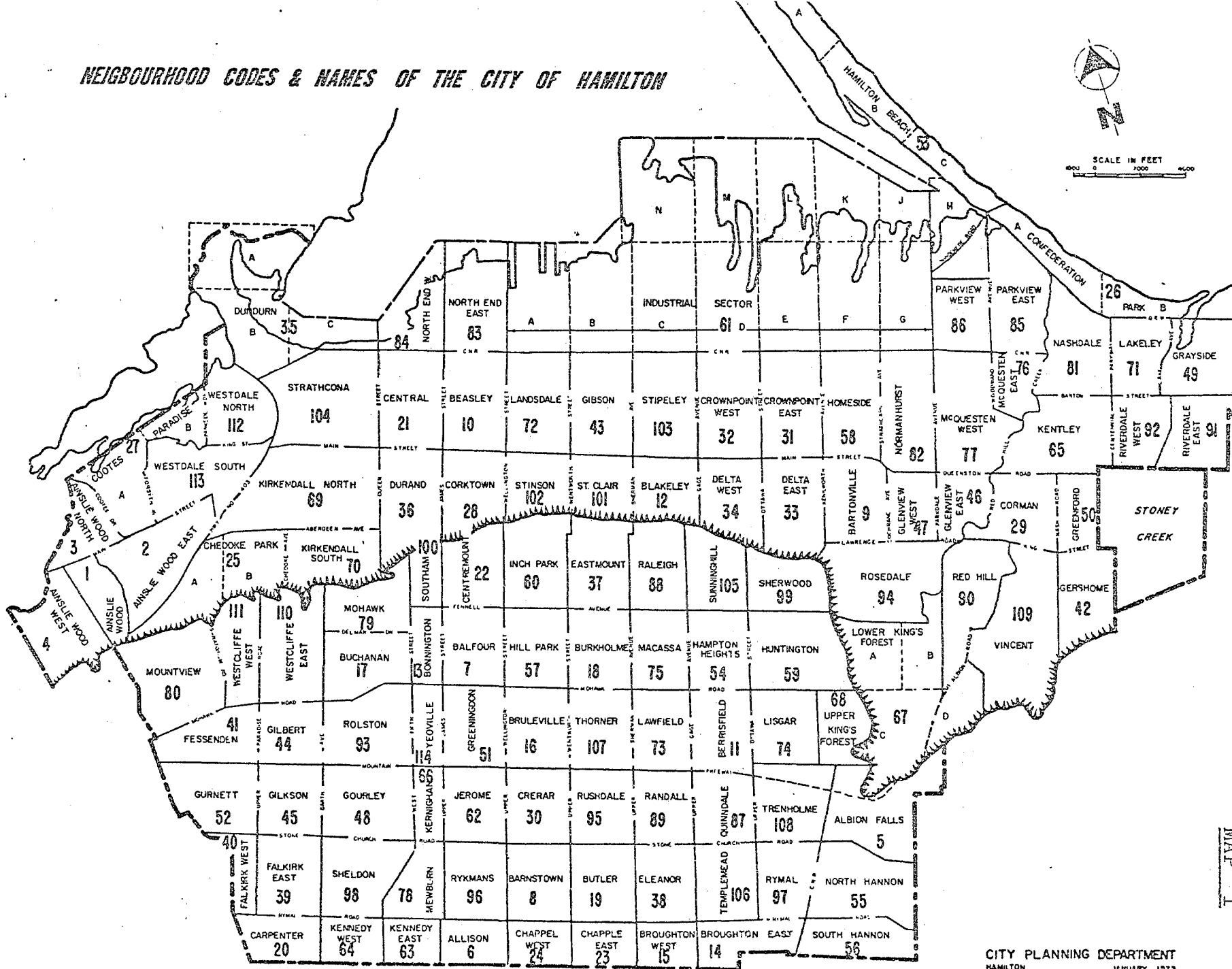
A COMPARISON OF INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
FOR THE TWO NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE CITY OF HAMILTON

Census Characteristics:	Durand	York	Hamilton.	Durand %	York %	Hamilton %
<u>Household Income:</u>						
Average Total Income						
Household Head	8,603	5,537	7,168			
<u>Income of Persons Not in Families:</u>						
Average	5,407	3,175	3,818			
Occupied Dwelling	5,430	1,810	94,575			
<u>Occupation - Major Group:</u>						
(1) Males	3,395	1,695	86,750	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(2) Group 11 Managerial	260	5	2,790	8.17	.33	3.41
(3) Group 27 - Teaching	155	5	1,870	4.87	.33	2.29
(4) Group 31 - Medicine	155	5	1,405	4.87	.33	1.72
- Health						
(5) Groups 21;23;25;33						
- Engineering	345	50	4,440	10.84	3.32	5.43
- Social Sciences						
(6) Group 41 - Clerical	325	145	7,345	10.22	9.63	8.99
(7) Group 51 - Sales	450	75	7,115	14.15	4.98	8.71
(8) Group 61 - Service	290	165	7,070	9.11	10.96	8.66
(9) Groups 71;73;75;77	35	75	1,035	1.10	4.98	1.26
- Natural Resources						
(10) Groups 81/82	135	145	7,485	4.24	9.63	9.16
- Processing						

Table VI
A COMPARISON OF INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
FOR THE TWO NEIGHBORHOODS AND THE CITY OF HAMILTON

Census Characteristics:	Durand	York	Hamilton	Durand %	York %	Hamilton %
<u>Occupation - Major Group:</u>						
(11) Groups 83; 85	425	260	17,230	13.36	17.27	21.10
- Machining						
- Fabricating						
(12) Group 87 - Construction	255	290	8,870	8.01	19.26	10.86
(13) Group 91 - Transport	115	115	4,920	3.61	7.64	6.02
(14) Other	235	270	10,055	7.38	11.29	12.31
- Materials Handling						
- Other Equipment						
- Operating						

NEIGHBOURHOOD CODES & NAMES OF THE CITY OF HAMILTON

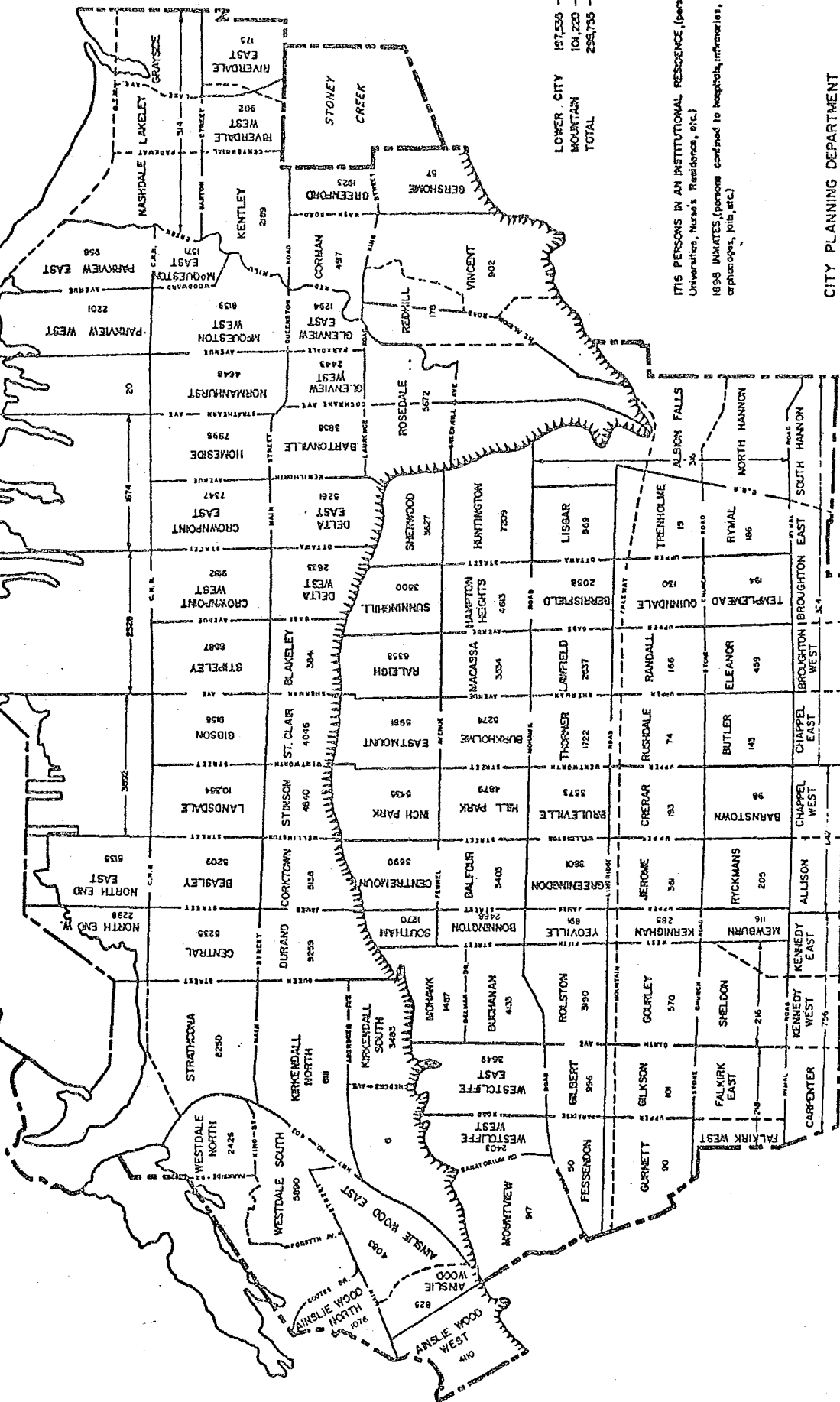


CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON JANUARY 1972

1970 POPULATION STATISTICS FOR THE CITY OF HAMILTON



SCALE IN FEET
0 1000 2000



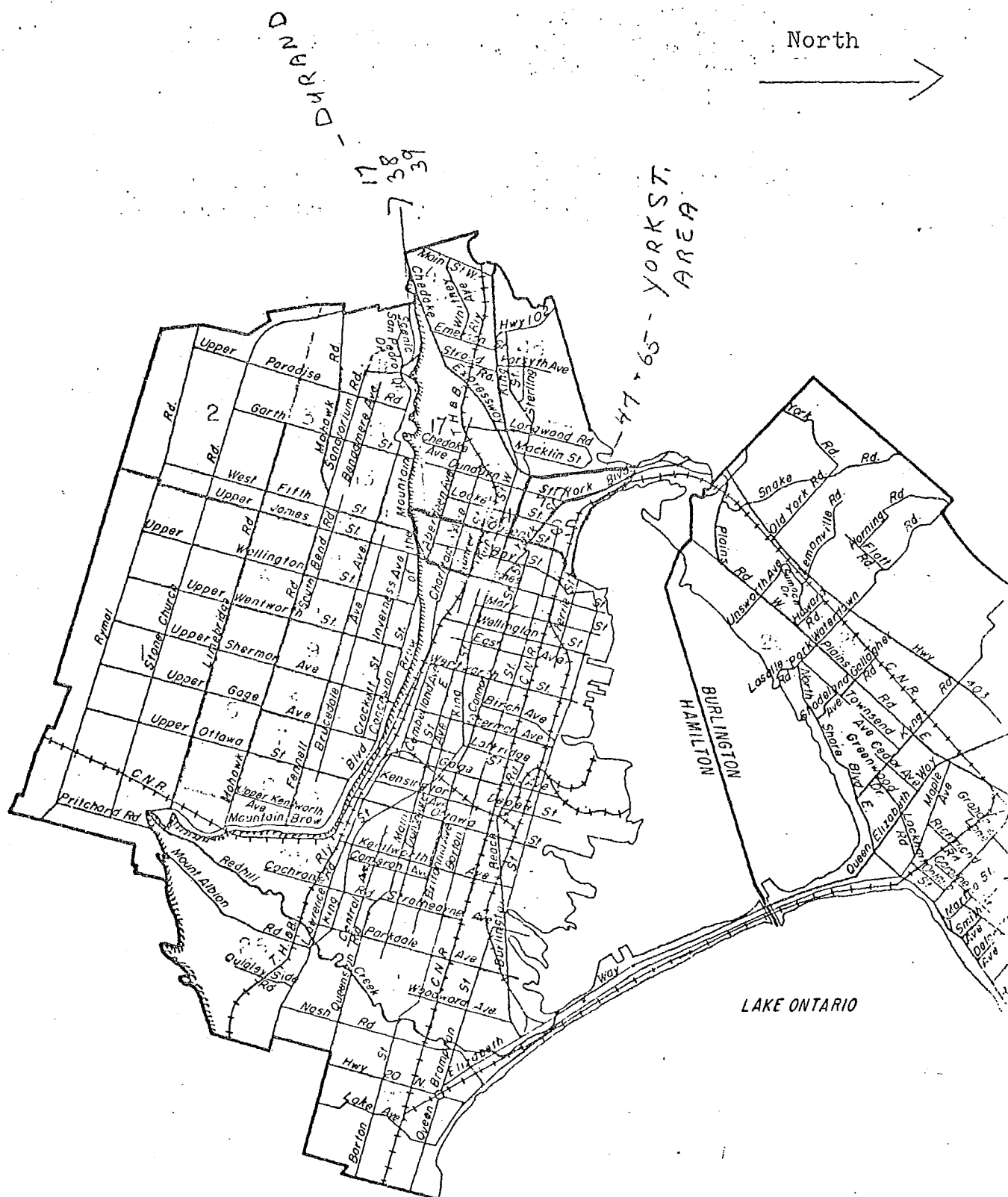
LOWER CITY 197,550 - 66%
MOUNTAIN 101,220 - 34%
TOTAL 298,775 - 100%

1716 PERSONS IN AN INSTITUTIONAL RESIDENCE (persons in Universities, Nurses' Residences, etc.)
1898 INMATES (persons confined to hospitals, infirmaries, orphanages, jails, etc.)

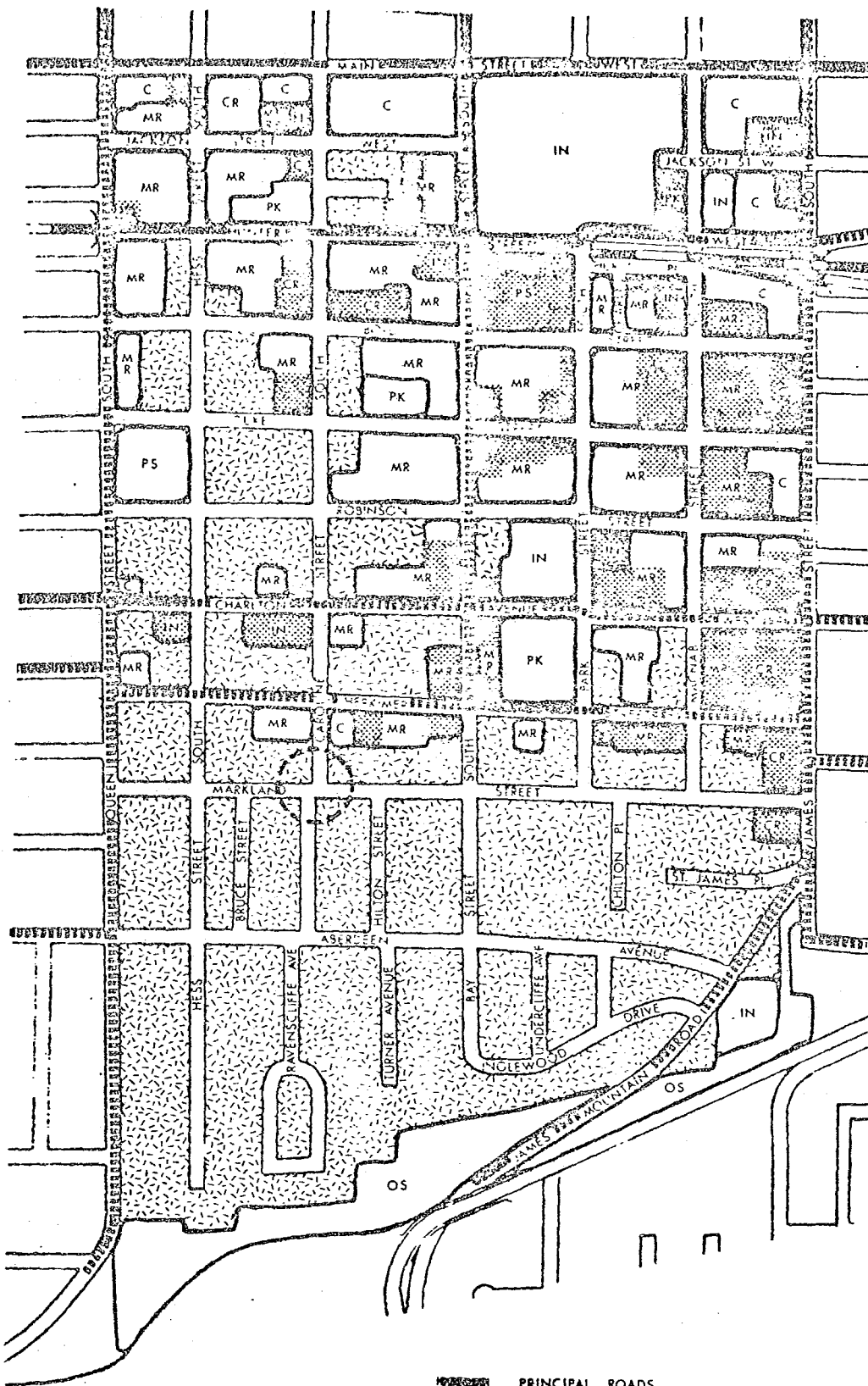
MAP II

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT
HAMILTON
NOVEMBER 1970

North



MAP IV
PROPOSED LAND USE
DURAND NEIGHBOR-
HOOD




 LOW DENSITY FAMILY RESIDENTIAL


 MR MULTIPLE RESIDENTIAL


 CR COMMERCIAL & RESIDENTIAL


 C COMMERCIAL


 DESIGNATED LAND USES TO BE ACCOMMODATED IN EXISTING STRUCTURES. REDEVELOPMENT TO BE DISCOURAGED


 PRINCIPAL ROADS

 IN CIVIC & INSTITUTIONAL

 PS PUBLIC SCHOOL

 PK PARK & RECREATIONAL

 OS OPEN SPACE

 PUBLIC OPEN SPACE AREA TO BE PROVIDED IN THE VICINITY OF THE DESIGNATED SYMBOL. THE PARTICULAR LOCATION OF WHICH SHALL BE DETERMINED AT SUCH TIME AS FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE FOR ACQUISITION.

CITY OF HAMILTON
PLANNING DEPARTMENT

DURAND

PROPOSED PLAN



Appendix B

Developed Neighborhood Study Programme:

Durand Neighborhood - Proposed Plan and Programme¹

This plan and programme were prepared
with the assistance and suggestions of the
DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD CITIZENS' COMMITTEE
including

Mrs. D. Dent
Dr. & Mrs. G. Head
Miss D. Marks
Mr. K. Palmer
Mr. & Mrs. M. Garner
Mrs. E. Wojtala
Miss E. Fischer
Mrs. M. Motley
Mr. D. Martin
Mr. H. Mark
Mrs. C. Dunlop
Mr. J. Hewitt
Rev. E.J. Sewell
Mr. J. Edmonds
Mr. F. Burcher

Ald. V. Agro
Ald. W. McCulloch
Dr. G. Morrow (Planning Bd. Rep.)

¹City Planning Department, July, 1973.

DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN AND PROGRAMME

INTRODUCTION

The Durand Neighbourhood is one of four adjacent neighbourhoods which jointly constitute the so-called "Central Area" of Hamilton, and which share the high intensity commercial uses of its C.B.D.. Consequently, Durand has been, and continues to be, subject to strong natural economic pressure for redevelopment, principally channelled into apartment development to meet the increasing population demand generated by expanding employment and public facilities in the business district.

Since 1971, the Hamilton Planning Board has directed the preparation of neighborhood plans to guide the future course of development in such Lower City neighborhoods - to protect and further the interests of each local community, while providing for the broader demands and requirements of the City at large.

In formulating a proposed plan for Durand Neighborhood, a 'citizens' committee met weekly with planning staff for a period of two months, from April to June, 1973. At these sessions, the members of the committee discussed a variety of matters pertaining to the neighborhood, particularly the extent and type of future development, the lack of certain amenities, traffic-related problems and assorted local nuisances. It is these discussions which have provided in large measure, the content of the proposed goals, the neighborhood programme and the land use control plan which are suggested in this report.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD TODAY

Durand Neighborhood is bounded by Main Street on the north, Queen Street on the west, James Street on the east, and the escarpment brow to the south. This neighborhood comprises some 274 acres, and supported a 1972 population in the vicinity of 10,000 persons, the highest in the city.

The neighborhood is basically residential, but contains a full spectrum of dwelling types, from large-lot single family residences, through smaller-lot duplexes, triplexes, etc., to apartment developments at medium and high densities. The latter are located in the north half of the neighborhood, and have sprung up over the last 15 years, in response to the demand for rental accommodation close to the core. This growth of apartments has vastly altered the appearance and social characteristics of the original neighbourhood, adversely in the minds of many who live there, and it continues to threaten the ever diminishing stock

of sound low density housing which was once the basic attracting factor for the very same apartment development. Furthermore, much of the original development represents the best of Hamilton's heritage, in character and architecture, and it may well be considered a travesty to witness and condone the further obliteration of this legacy..

Commercial development in Durand exists principally along two of its peripheral arterial streets, Main and James. On James Street particularly, many such commercial uses are attractively housed in old residential buildings which have been converted.

There is a concentration of civic buildings on Main Street, anchored by the City Hall. Other institutional buildings in the neighborhood include four or five historic and picturesque churches, and two public schools, one of which is now inappropriately located in the midst of recent apartment development which generates few children. Enrollment at both schools has been decreasing as a result of the change in population age characteristics precipitated by redevelopment.

There is a high concentration of elderly people in Durand, particularly influenced by three high-rise senior citizen apartment towers. Two more senior citizen towers are now under construction.

There are virtually no parks in the neighborhood, other than the ornamental landscaping apurtenant to some public buildings. Recreation facilities are limited to the school playgrounds, the Y.W.C.A., and the private Thistle Club, thus affording very restricted opportunity to the public. This represents an extremely poor amenity rate, considering the very high - and ever growing - population.

Traffic presents the usual problems found in older neighborhoods. The volume continues to increase, while street capacities remain the same, creating congestion at rush hours and inducing the use of local streets in the grid pattern by through traffic. Durand's location as a cross-roads, between the C.B.D. and the Mountain and West Hamilton, accents this situation. The one-way street system, however, effectively optimizes both the safety and capacity of the existing network.

GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

The analysis of existing conditions, and the discussions with the citizens' committee, led to the development of some broad goals for the Durand Neighborhood:

1. To reasonably limit the current potential for future apartment re-development in Durand Neighborhood, and to maintain an adequate balance between high and low density forms of residential accommodation, and a subsequent balance in social patterns.
2. To discourage the needless demolition and redevelopment of existing sound, low-density housing.
3. To encourage alternative forms of future high density development, allowing for closer orientation to ground level (lower-rise) and greater potential for mixed tenant accommodations (i.e., families with children, senior citizens), as well as encouraging more variety in physical form and appearance.
4. To minimize the encroachments or adverse impacts of future development, upon the enjoyment or amenities of adjacent properties, including the temporary impacts of construction procedures.
5. To establish some publicly usable open space area(s) to serve the immediate neighborhood.
6. To minimize traffic volumes within the neighborhood and to direct heavier traffic movements along principle routes, to be identified.
7. To support the continued existence and possible upgrading of convenience commercial stores and services as presently established within the residential fabric of the neighborhood..
8. To ensure the maintenance of all properties in good repair.
9. To improve or maintain to adequate physical standards the conditions or capacities of roads, sidewalks, sewers, etc.

THE PROPOSED NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN

The goals for Durand Neighborhood have been translated into a proposed land use plan, as set forth on the attached map. (Map IV)

The "low density family residential" designation is predominant in the southern and western sectors of the neighborhood, and it suggests that the existing housing stock of single homes, duplexes and triplexes, etc., should be conserved, protected and maintained. The "multiple residential" designation infers apartment uses, which may however be accommodated within a range of structures, to varying densities; this designation is principally applied to

lands in the north and east of the neighborhood, closest to the business district. The "commercial and residential" designation is flexible in allowing either of two uses, or a mixture of both, on lands within the areas indicated.

Superimposed upon the suggested land use designation, the map shows a number of shaded areas, which represent areas where the existing buildings should be retained for the respective recommended use, rather than be redeveloped. The intent of this designation is not only to preserve specific structures of, say, architectural or historical merit, but to maintain a mixture and balance of development - old and new, low-rise and high-rise - and thus maintain a rich and varied environment, which will retain a valuable flavour of the past, and a sense of human scale.

The land use plan also proposes locations for the development of neighborhood park areas, close to the higher density residential areas.

The principal roads which are identified in the proposed plan are the bounding arterials - Main, Queen, and James - as well as the following interior roads: Bay Street, from north of Herkimer to Main; and in an east-west direction, Hunter, Charlton, and Herkimer Streets. All other streets should serve the primary function of affording local access.

In terms of population, it is roughly estimated that Durand Neighborhood might eventually accommodate approximately 16,500 persons, if developed and restricted in accord with the intent of the proposed land use plan. This estimate makes allowance for some additional conversions of houses to more units, and for higher occupancy rates per dwelling unit than presently exist.

THE PROPOSED NEIGHBORHOOD PROGRAMME

In addition to the land use plan, a Neighborhood Programme is proposed, consisting of a number of recommended actions or steps which may be undertaken within the immediate few years to improve the neighborhood. Since implementation may lie with a variety of individual civic departments and boards, and private or public interest groups, the programme must be considered primarily suggestive. At this time, the objective is to obtain approval in principle of the programme by the Planning Board and Council.

The elements of the proposed programme for Durand Neighborhood are as follows:

1. Adopt the proposed Neighborhood Plan.
2. Initiate rezoning procedures as quickly as possible to protect, and prevent redevelopment of, those areas designated for low density residential uses, or for preservation of existing structures according to the Neighborhood Plan.
3. Request or support new Provincial legislation for demolition control and general preservation.
4. Recommend to the Parks Board, the acquisition of lands in the areas designated for parkland in the Neighborhood Plan, with highest priority assigned to the block bounded by Charlton, Bay, Herkimer and Park Streets.
5. Request or support new Provincial legislation enabling current requirements for open space dedication to be extended and to apply to all new residential development.
6. Recommend to the Works Committee, the detailed investigation and implementation where feasible of the following proposed street closings (through the creation of cul-de-sacs), or alternate treatments, in order to reduce the possibility of through traffic movements on local residential streets: Aberdeen Avenue, east of Queen; Markland Street, east of Bay; Park Street South, south of Robinson.
7. Control new developments, particularly apartment projects, by Site Plan, Development Agreement, or equivalent means, to maximize their compatibility with the local surroundings and the existing neighborhood structure, especially in terms of height, amenity areas, and mixed occupancy.
8. Amend the zoning regulations for multiple residential districts to reduce the density bonuses for landscaped areas, while increasing the landscaping requirements.
9. Recommend that the Building Department investigate the possibilities and means whereby private construction may be effectively controlled to minimize the adverse effects on adjacent properties and residents, which frequently now occur during the process of construction.
10. Support the implementation of a city-wide Property Standards By-law, and its enforcement in Durand Neighborhood on those properties which may be determined to seriously detract from the general appearance and welfare of the local community.
11. Encourage private rehabilitation of existing homes and business premises, particularly those of unique architectural

merit, in co-ordination with the aid and guidance of the Community Development Department programmes.

12. Support the continuation and increase of Capital Budget allocations for the proper maintenance of local roads and sidewalks and the construction of relief sewers, on a condition priority basis.

NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS

NAME: Durand

DATE: July 5, 1973

POPULATION: 16,512

GROSS AREA: 274.00 Ac.GROSS DENSITY: 60.3 P/Ac.NET RESIDENTIAL AREA: 141.30 Ac. R.N. Density: 116.9 P/Ac..PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT

CATEGORY	USE	NET ACRES	%	UNITS	PERSONS /UNIT	PERSONS
Residential	Single	87.80	43.4	1076	3	3228
	Double, Att					
	Med. - High Apartments	47.93	23.7	6769	1.8	12184
*	Commercial & Apartments	5.57	--	611	1.8	1100
Sub Total		141.30	--	8456		16512
Civic & Institutional		23.77	11.8			
Commercial		11.06	5.5			
Commercial & Apartments		7.42	3.7			
Open Space		18.27	9.0			
Park & Recreational		5.84	2.9			
Total		202.09	100%	8456		16512

NOTE:

* Assume 75% of designated mixed area to be used for Apartments, and included in residential sub-total.

DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER

May - July 1973 Inclusive

PUBLIC MEETING MAY 3, 1973

The second public meeting of the Durand Neighborhood Association was held at Ryerson Public School. Mr. Jack Diamond, the guest speaker, demonstrated in articulate terms that:

1. high density development can be achieved, if desired, by utilizing existing buildings and supplementing them with new low rise structures inserted into existing open space. In this way the character and scale of an existing block and the personal freedom of its residents is preserved while density standards are achieved. Furthermore (and very important to investors) the cost is comparable to that of the conventional high rise solution to the problem of where to put people.
2. a good neighborhood plan can only emerge from the desires of its residents, translated into a workable concept by a sympathetic government..

With reference to land speculation, Mr. Herman Turkstra noted that in any other investment, people assume that the risk is proportional to the possible gain, but for some reason land is somehow holy, in that only a gain should result from its purchase. Whether this should be is a moot point, but as long as this philosophy persists, those who use land for living will be in conflict with those who use it for profit.

FIRST ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING

This meeting was held at Central Presbyterian Church, June 3, 1973.

The slate of officers for the 1973-74 year was presented, further nominations were accepted from the floor, and the executive was duly elected.

Mrs. Diane Dent presented a Progress Report, the content of which is included in this newsletter.

Mrs. Judy Pierson (Treasurer) submitted the Financial Statement for the period ending June, 1973.

Mrs. Cynthia Moore read the Zoning Report, in which it was noted that an individual or individuals may, through Planning Department, request a zoning change on his property. From this, a petition was initiated to examine the zoning desires of homeowners in the E and E3 zones of Durand. Petitions are now in progress in 5 neighborhood blocks, and the results are complete in one of them. In this block, Wesanford Place, 12 of the 13 homeowners requested a change from E3 to D zoning, and acting on this, the Planning Board approved the zoning change on July 5, 1973.

DURAND NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER

August - November 1973

THE DURAND PROPOSED PLAN

Of the many developments which have occurred in Durand since publication of the last newsletter in August 1973, the evolution of the proposed plan has been the most significant in terms of future development of the neighborhood.

The original plan, as it appeared in the last newsletter, was given public presentation on August 8 and 9 and at that time written submissions regarding the plan were invited. These submissions were read at a second public meeting November 5. There were few surprises that night, with the submissions reflecting the arguments which have become so familiar in the last year..

The central issues in favour of continued heavy development are based on a concern over possible deleterious effects on property values if down-zoning occurs, and the belief that Durand is the only suitable area in which high population density, which is necessary for maintenance of the commercial downtown core, can be accomplished. On the other hand, those who favour controlled development point to the tax strain which roads and sewers would create if the Durand population continued to blossom, and they emphasize that the concept of a neighborhood would be lost if the balance of viable homes and existing apartments were upset. In general, they stress "people-oriented" values such as quality of life, availability of diverse housing styles, availability of parks, and so forth. In short, Durand should be a place to live rather than a place to merely hang one's hat.

New submissions at that meeting included a slide presentation by Dr. Grant Head showing the feasibility of rehabilitating old houses, using two American cities as examples, and a report by Dr. Philip Maurice assessing tenant opinion of the Durand plan. A poll of a random sample of all Durand tenants showed that two-thirds of tenants sampled responded, and of these, 95% favoured the plan (85% of the total Durand population are tenants).

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