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T H E S I S:

The Evolution of the Ontario Legal Aid Plan and its effect on the service delivery of the McQueston Community and Legal Services.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In terms of basic food, shelter and clothing requirements, the living standards of all Canadians have improved steadily since World War II. Fewer Canadians are going without these necessities. In terms of possessing an adequate quantity of goods and services in relation to what the average Canadian possesses, however, the plight of low income Canadians has not improved. The relative economic position of the poor has not increased relative to the average Canadian. The enormous increase of wealth in Canada since 1946 has had little direct benefit for the poorest earners, but rather has gone to raising the already high standard of living of the wealthy. (Mullaly p. 97 1988)

The poor occupy an inferior position in every facet of life: social, economic and legal. The Ontario Legal Aid plan was founded on the assumption that equal and fair representation before the law is not a privilege but a right. The shortcomings of the OLAP led to the creation of a system of independent, community-based legal aid clinics. Independent meant free to choose its own agenda within reasonable OLAP set guidelines. Community-based meant situated within and controlled by the community. Such a clinic would be sensitive to the unique needs of its client population and recognizing the need, have the freedom to engage in meaningful class-based reform activity.

1.1 INTENT OF THESIS

This paper, within the framework of the development of the Ontario Legal Aid Plan, uses the experiences of the McQueston legal aid clinic to resolve the following hypotheses:

1. The main focus of OLAP: the provision of formal equality before the law, through the provision of juridical rights is irrelevant in dealing with the overall needs of the poor.
2. The clinic system has contributed to the development of welfare rights through a program of education, advocacy and reform. It is only through such activity that working class capacities to contest capitalism may be enhanced.
3. The community-based focus of the McQueston clinic has led to a service agenda sensitive to the needs of the neighborhood.
4. The Clinic Funding Committees, a central regulation, has operated to limit the clinic's competence in reform actions.

The political-economy theory's approach to urban development and service deliveries will be utilized throughout this paper in order to better explain the actions/responses of the state to the responses/ actions of the clinic. The theory's findings on class relations with the state are particularly useful. Chouinard's

work in this area will be emphasized.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE

This paper has both practical and scholarly significance. The problems of the poor and working classes are of immediate concern to all members of society. Legal clinics are among the foremost advocates of their often overlooked rights. This thesis contributes to the body of research on urban development and the geography and politics of service delivery with respect to state intervention.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the literature on urban development and service delivery is broadly discussed, focussing more specifically on the case of legal aid clinics.

Although there is a deficiency of research pertaining to legal aid clinics, four approaches to urban development in general and legal aid clinics more specifically, may be identified. These are the descriptive, micro-behavioral, structural-determinist and the political economy approaches. The relative advantages and disadvantages of each approach in explaining urban development and service delivery will be examined.

2.1 DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH

A widely used method for the investigation of urban development and service delivery is the descriptive approach. There are numerous studies dealing with these broad topics, yet few which deal with legal aid clinics.

The few articles available seek to describe the history and development of legal aid clinics in Ontario. These studies provide information about the clinic system which improves the visibility fo the struggles. The evolution of the system over

time are ably described. (see chapter 3) Descriptive studies have shown that the Ontario clinic system is not indicative of other systems, indeed is unique (Martin, 1967 P.490) This brings out the potential of comparative case studies for which this approach is suitable.

Thus the descriptive approach has the potential to highlight a variety of information. This approach serves two further functions. Firstly, it meets the need for more information concerning political organizing and experiences of urban development, policy and service delivery. Also, this approach allows for some investigation of urban sophisticated explanation for urban struggles.

The descriptive approach has its drawbacks however. While ably explaining the "how", the approach is unable to elucidate the "why". It fails to provide explanations for any findings. A further weakness is that since the majority of descriptive research consists of case studies, the findings are not readily generalizable. Also, while this approach is able to document urban development and make some reference about current political and economic conditions, its predictive power is limited.

Thus while this approach has its merits, it is limited as to devising theories of urban development and the evaluation of such changes. This is a superficial approach which is incapable of any kind of in depth analysis required for the full exploration

of the phenomena of legal aid clinics.

2.2 MICRO-BEHAVIORAL APPROACH

The behaviorist approach focusses on the individual, rather than the social and economic system in which the individual functions. The behaviorist view human subjects as "thinking beings whose actions are mediated by cognitive processes . . . and . . . is interested in the ways in which people come to terms with their physical and social milieu, and in the factors that influence the interrelationships of thought and action." (Gold, 1980 p.4)

As geographers we are interested with the behavioral approach to people-social environment relationships. Therefore, this approach seeks to explain urban development and service delivery in terms of the actions of the individuals. Mossman theorizes that legal aid clinics owe their survival in part to the vigorous support of the Attorney-General on behalf of the clinic system in a time of government restraint. (Mossman, 1983 p.367) That is, the behaviour of an individual affecting the operation of the clinic system.

There are two important aspects of this approach. First, is the idea of environmental cognition. In relation to this paper, environment can be taken to mean the social environment.

The difference between the objective and behavioral environments can be applied to the demands of the poor for legal equality. The early forms of legal aid may be seen as granting the disadvantaged a certain formal equality before the law when in fact actual inequalities still exist. This superficial measure gave the appearance of real equality and as such went unchallenged for some time. A limitation of this approach is that fails to explain the broader social, political and economic forces which determine the form and function of the environment.

The second relevant aspect of the behavioral approach is the belief that the individual shapes his/her physical and social environment. This seems to rule out any investigation of the effectiveness of forms of collective action, as it tends to focus upon the individual rather than approach problems at the level of the social group. (Knox, 1982) This also brings to light the fallacy that social phenomena are explained purely in terms of facts and doctrines about the mental characteristics of individuals. (Desbines) (Gold, 1980 p.5)

Thus, while there is no doubt that an approach involving the examination of an individual's relationships to his environment and the individual factors which influence this relationship has its merits, this approach is inadequate for the purposes of this study. One limitation of this approach is that it makes no allowance for the broader social, political, or economic forces

which help to determine local experiences. Problems or crises in society are seen as the result of lack of choice, again ignoring the broader forces which act to limit choice and opportunity. This approach also fails to provide any insight into the events that occur during the formation of legal aid clinics with respect to the action of the state and the state's relationship to the individual. The micro-behavioral approach, while inadequate on its own, may be used to complement other relevant approaches.

2.3 STRUCTURAL-DETERMINIST APPROACH

The structural-determinist approach examines structures (anything from government institutions and statutes to income means tests) and the relation of individuals and groups to the structures. Proponents of this approach would hold that the structural features which characterize the capitalist mode of production, uniquely account for the behaviour of individuals in capitalist societies. (Castells) Further, that urban development and modes of service delivery are dictated and limited by the structures existing within the society.

Castells is concerned with how the class structure of capitalism and the role of the city as a site of "collective consumption" and reproduction of labour necessarily determines the types and scopes of struggles range from the B.N.A. Act which

limits equality because of its demeaning and stigmatizing nature.

There are several problems with the structural-determinist approach. The major difficulty is what is known as the trap of the structuralist - determinist approach. The major difficulty is what is known as the "trap" of the structuralist - determinist approach. (Edel, 1981 p.56) (Hindress & Hirst, 1975 p. 519) This involves the notion that structures determine the form of the state and that individuals or collective struggles have no possibility to effect state policy and social relations. More simply put, the idea that the whole determines all of its parts or more precisely, "all dimensions of aspects fo a mode of production are determined effects of its structure".

(Wolff, p.90 1979) The trap is that there is no way of knowing whether particular aspects are necessary or variable, nor how the structure itself came into existence or may generate conditions for change. (Hindress & Hirst, 1975 p.319)

Other limits to this approach include its inability to allow for the potential change in class relations within the state due struggles. This approach does not address the problems inherent within the system that give rise to crises. Thus this approach, while able to identify the structures which exist within a society, is too rigid a theory as it cannot take into account collective responses to structural problems. Lastly, the

approach does not recognize the significance of broader economic and social factors which gave substance to the structures originally.

2.4 POLITICAL-ECONOMY APPROACH

A radically different strategy for explaining urban phenomena and service delivery is the political - economy approach derived from Marxist theory. While there are difficulties inherent in using this method, it seems to be the approach best suited to an investigation of legal aid clinic struggles, a belief which shall be developed as follows.

The political-economy approach seeks to identify alternative methods of action that can be seen as result of class struggle by considering the role of economic changes and class struggle in urban development. Class struggle can be viewed as conflicts in which institutions and practices incompatible with dominant social relations are constructed (Chouinard and Fincher, 1983 p.59).

As this point, an explanation of the pertinent concepts of the political-economy approach should be given. According Marxist theory, there are two great classes. The bourgeoisie being distinguished from the proletariat by the ownership of capital. The bourgeoisie through their control of the means of

production regulate, economic growth and accumulation. The proletariat carry out the actual processes of production for a wage less than the value of the end product. It is through this surplus value of production that the capitalist class accumulates wealth and socially reproduces itself.

Inherent in this drive for accumulation is a tendency toward crises in the accumulation process. This crises can occur as a result of conflicting interests of capitalists and wage workers in production (over shares of total value). (Edel, 1981 p.22)

During these crises, the state, which operates in accord with the demands of the capitalists class, acts in order to maintain the status quo. In a capitalist society, the primary purpose of the state is to maintain the necessary conditions for capital accumulation and through various state apparatuses, the state is able to intervene in times of crisis to assist in the continuing accumulation of capital. (Chouinard, 1988 p.7)

The state operates in the interests of the ruling class through variety of policies and programmes. The state, by offering medicare programmes, social housing and legal aid clinics seeks to diffuse collective opposition to the abuses of the ruling class. These programmes encourage individual interaction with the state, which according to the literature, is less likely to result in successful struggles to oppose capitalism (Chouinard and Fincher, 1983). Such measures capital

and state agencies themselves help to define the limits to political struggle under capitalism. (Chouinard, 1987)

The goals of the bourgeois as stated above are the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of its class. The goals of the proletariat are to sell their skills for a wage and social reproduction of their class. When their reproduction is threatened the working class will respond. For example, legal aid was originally established in response to demands for actual equality was articulated in struggles over the form and substance of legal relations which resulted in the establishment of the clinic system for the delivery of legal services to the poor. Legal services as a commodity has the effect of limiting real equality before the law as a result of inability to pay on the part of the disadvantaged. Thus, the decommodification of a market service or good may be seen as advancing working class capacities to contest capitalism. "Struggles for program criteria

which permit the use of state funds for collectively controlled, decommodified services ... help to reproduce collective, non-capitalist subjects of state programmes and in this sense increase class capacities for opposition to dominate forms of state intervention in capitalism." (Fincher and Ruddick, 1983)

Thus the legal aid clinic is an arena for conflict between the

state and the working class.

The community based nature makes and hopefully reflects the uniqueness of scope of each local clinic. The political-economy literature addresses this facet of the clinic system quite well, referring to the significance of local social relations and practices in creating specific forms and scales of political struggle. (Cox and Mair, 1986) Also, the degree of intervention by the state through certain policies and programmes and the degree of class consciousness experienced by the working class shapes the possibilities for opposition with a locality.

The political-economy literature agrees that collective action is a more viable means of achieving social reforms within the capitalist system than is individual action. Informed collective struggles over the implementation of state programmes such as the legal aid program are seen as increasing class capacities to oppose capitalism. The establishment of legal aid clinics was explicitly directed toward advancing possibilities for class based politics of place. (Chouinard, 1988)

Legal aid clinics operate under a contradictory philosophy: individualized access to the law must be provided. This mandate, directed by the Clinic Funding Committee (CFC) is an example of how the state limits potential opposition to state policies. The second mandate is to advance people's collective rights and capacities to contest existing relations within state laws.

(Chouinard, 1988) The state, by demanding a quota of individual case work limits the resources available to a clinic for encouraging a collective sense of opposition to the state through forms fo state intervention that limit clinic and client services. (Chouinard, 1988) This tension between concentrating on individualized or collective legal action has led to internal political divisions over organizing criteria and aims of legal aid clinics. According to the political economy literature (see Chouinard's works), such intra-class divisions may weaken possibilities for struggles. The quotas and guidelines of the state regarding individualized clinic actions point to deeper political causes of state intervention in reproduction. (Chouinard, 1988)

The state's role in facilitating the reproduction of the classes with the subordination of the working class is made quite evident through these clinic regulations. In this sense, the establishment of the clinic system can be seen as the capitalist class defense mechanism stated by Edel. That is, the state in response to class struggle and a potential disruption in the capital accumulation process will increase some social benefits (for example: formal legal equality) in order to deflect or reduce worker discontent without cutting into profits. (Edel, 1981)

Thus, with the establishment of legal aid clinics, the state

has sought to reinforce the capitalist mode of reproduction in our society. However, struggles through legal aid clinics over state programmes and policies allow for opportunities to transform social and economic relations within the state apparatus and localities which increase working class capacities to oppose capitalism. (Chouinard, 1988)

2.5 CONCLUSION

This literature review has attempted to locate legal aid clinics within a broader context of literature concerning urban development and service delivery. The literature review has raised some important questions for further investigation. For example, the merits of collective action over individualized action and the effects of government policy on service delivery and how responses to policies may advance collective capacities to expose existing class relations. Thus, of the four mentioned methods, the political-economy approach the clinics will be examined within the broader social, economic, and political factors which affect urban development and service delivery.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Initially, legal aid assistance was a charity provided at the discretion of lawyers on an individual basis.

Before 1951 legal aid was granted on an ad hoc basis by lawyers. By 1951 a voluntary form of OLAP was introduced (with the passing of the Law Society Amendment Act 1951). Its rudimentary guidelines called for lawyers to be available on voluntary basis as well as operating with very strict financial eligibility requirements. The effect of this means test was under the assistance unavailable to all but the most destitute members of society. This had the effect of limiting expenses and clients while satisfying the subjective ethical obligations of the Bar. This amendment also gave some early legitimacy to the notion of formal equality before the law.

By 1965 the fundamental failings of this early scheme were recognized. A report recommending a comprehensive fee-for-service legal aid plan administered by the Law Society of Upper Canada and subsidized by the provincial government was presented in the Ontario Legislature. The result was the Legal Aid Act (1966). By March of 1967 the Act began functioning as legal aid offices were opened in each country and legal aid duty council first approved in criminal courts.

3.1 THE ONTARIO LEGAL AID PLAN

With the passing ratification of the Legal Aid Act (1966) Legal aid underwent four fundamental changes: 1. the previous charity doctrine characteristic of the earlier scheme was abandoned; 2. it was recognized that lawyers handling legal and were entitled to at least partial remuneration for professional services rendered under the plan; 3. recognized that indigents were deserving of more than a mere charity service; and 4. acknowledged that legal services were the responsibility of government and not only the legal profession. "(Zemans) These changes are significant in that they point to burgeoning awareness of the need for true as opposed to formal social equality and the inherent responsibility of the government for the disadvantaged. The period of 1965-1967 saw the emergence of a publicly funded general legal aid scheme. The Ontario Legal Aid Plan (OLAP) by obtaining a financial commitment from the Ontario government in 1967 thus becoming the first subsidized judicare system in Canada. Henceforth, services provided by the legal profession as a humanitarian gesture were to be available without the stigma of charity. [M.J. Mossman identifies this as a fundamental change from "charity to justice", a prevalent theme under the late 1960's.]

That is a progression from individualized, discretionary and often stigmatizing social benefits toward a notion of social rights and entitlements available to all on equal terms. (Mossman 1983 from Chouinard State Formation and the Politics of Place p. 30)

3.2 INTENT

OLAP was adapted to the Canadian context from the English judicare model, with the private practitioner as the deliverer of legal services and the Plan governed and administered by the Law Society of Upper Canada (LSUC). The goal is to deliver what is known as judicial rights. It was felt that by transferring the rights of paying clients to the recipients of legal aid, formal equality of access to the law could be realized. Proponents of OLAP made it clear that access to the legal apparatus of the state and equal opportunity to representation before the state was no longer a charity but a right; available to all regardless of income.

3.3 JURISDICTION

The federal Department of Justice, under the authority of section 92(27) of the Constitution Act 1867 provided funding for

the development of legal aid plans in the early 1970's for criminal matters. Such cost sharing schemes between the two levels of government resulted in the establishment of minimum standards for legal aid in all provinces. For example minimum standards of financial eligibility were set. The federal government offered little funding for legal assistance and representation in non-criminal matters as this subject falls under the provincial bracket of powers with respect to section 92(27) of the Constitution Act 1867 regarding the administration of justice matters and matters of property and civil rights.

3.4 MEAN'S TEST

The means test, implemented as a result of federal cost-sharing agreements is administered by the province (Ministry of Community and Social Services) as a flexible guide to determine eligibility for assistance. The test involves an examination of income and of disposable assets, indebtedness, maintenance obligations and other expenses. "The most basic criterion for evaluation is whether or not the applicant has any disposable income to pay for the services of a lawyer after he/she has met all his financial obligations according to his/her station in life. (Zemans) Hence there is some limited leeway available when a potential client is financial eligibility is defined.

3.5 COVERAGE

If a client is deemed to be financially eligible, a determination regarding legal eligibility must still be made as legal aid clinics are unable to provide every possible service. This coverage available under the legal aid plan is limited by finance and personnel. If a client has a problem which cannot be addressed at a particular clinic he may have no other alternative but to seek help at another clinic or to approach a charitable lawyer, legal aid certificate in hand.

As seen from the proceeding legal aid is, as Mossman & Lightman state: "a residual social welfare service: it is directed only towards the (presumably) small segment of the population who are unable to meet their legal from their own resources in the private market." It is further subject to an individual means test and available only on a selected, limited basis.

3.6 FUNDING GAINS

There has been a rapid development of legal aid services from 1967 to the present. For example, in the 1969-70 fiscal year, the total expenditure of public funds on legal aid outside of Ontario was under 1 million dollars. By 1976-7 this figure

was greater than seventy million dollars, (Ontario \$28 Million). Such an increase may be mainly attributed to a rediscovery of poverty during the OPEC oil embargoes and resultant economic recessions felt in the Western World. Concomitant with this revelation was a recognition of the needs of the poor for greater access to the services of the legal profession. The poor and the legal profession also formed lobbies to press for increased funding especially for the clinic movement.

3.7 STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION OF OLAP

The Plan is administered and governed by the LSUC through its Legal Aid Committee. The Committee is composed of 19 lawyers, ten lay members and one law student. The most obvious problem here is that the clients or consumers of legal aid are not at all represented. Any insights, opinions or view into the services provided by the plan may only be offered indirectly. The consumers utilizing the plan are excluded from setting priorities as to the type and extent of services to be offered. Here we run into the professional fallacy that people such as lawyers, doctors, and planners unwittingly fall into. The lawyer may truly believe that his choices regarding the Plan's priorities will be of the greatest benefit to its consumers. These choices however are based on a background and

circumstances which are in many cases totally alien to that the poor which the lawyer seeks to help. One cannot impose middle and upper class values and solutions upon the problems of the poor. Such is a failing of the plan with regard to the imposition of formal equality before the law, which however well intentioned does little to ease the plight of the poor or to alter the class relations within state law which perpetuate their poverty.

Subordinate to the central Legal Aid Committee are the area committees, each having a minimum of five members, the majority of which must be lawyers appointed by the LSUC. These committees have virtually no membership from the client community and are composed primarily of lawyers and social workers.

3.8 CRITICISMS OF OLAP

The most important question to be asked is whether or not this approach is capable of achieving equality in legal services.

OLAP is essentially a fee-for-service program. It is still a form of charity as lawyers who participate are reimbursed to the amount of 75% of their expenses while implicitly contributing the remaining 25% of the costs themselves. The tacit charity denies the entire premise behind OLAP: that all citizens have the right to access to the legal system and not have to rely on charity.

The Osler Report indeed states that, "the charitable element is inconsistent with the principle of the Plan and compromises the dignity of the recipient". (Osler 1974)

3.9 FORMAL EQUALITY

The notion of providing equality before the law is essentially a formal one. The goal of OLAP was to provide legal aid clients with those services which were generally available to paying client. This is within the Act itself, "no one shall be denied the services or advice of a lawyer because of lack of money." This statement betrays the highly individualistic approach taken by the formulators of the Plan and further supports the theory of professional fallacy mentioned earlier. By conferring the rights of fee-paying clients on the poor dominant set of capitalist market relations are reinforced. The nature of legal aid services are confined to traditional litigation activities and discourages broader forms of collective legal action. Political-economy theorist such as Chouirnard hold that only by challenging the form and substance of the state's laws's can the working class contest the dominant set of legal relations necessary to the capitalist system. It is only through attempts at broad reforms that change may occur. The individualistic approach to equality while beneficial at a

personal level (and therefore necessary) does little to improve the overall plight of the poor and may even have the effect of diffusing crises which may arouse the class consciousness necessary for ultimate reform.

There were two assumptions which underlied this notion of formal equality. "First, it was assumed that the needs of the poor were roughly comparable to those of paying clients. Secondly, it was felt that the major barriers to access were financial." (Mossman & Lightman 1983) The Osler Report 1974 found that the needs of the poor were not necessarily the same as those of fee-paying clients. Thus the theory of granting formal equality by transferring the rights of fee-paying clients to the poor proved to be a fallacy. Osler recognized the need for preventative law such as "timely advice, the careful drafting of necessary protective document and merely the simple process of advising individuals of the existence of miles of law important of the recommendations called for OLAP to recognize and fund the so-called poverty law areas of, "consumer rights, landlord-tenant, social benefits, economic and other anti-discrimination rules, immigration matters, civil rights, compensation, and a great variety of activities and occupations to be dealt with by a diverse body of tribunals boards and commissions". (Osler, 1974)

Now the shortcomings of OLAP are made obvious. The legal problems of the poor are fundamentally different than those of

the wealthy. The poor also face other impediments to accessing the law which are not limited to finances. The Grange Commission Report (1978) reported several gaps in the existing legal aid structure which affected the Plan's performance and were obstacles to the poor.

These were as follows:

- "a) the poor lacked information and personal mobility to seek out legal aid.
- b) there was limited coverage under the Plan
- c) The problems of the poor are different from those of the rich.
- d) the problems of the poor involve more than mere resolution of immediate difficulties.
- e) Legal aid certificates are limited to a single event but often the legal problems of the poor are associated with and cannot be divorced from their social, economic, and personal concerns." (Grange 1978, Mossman and Lightman)

3.95 CONCLUSION

Hence what is needed is a structure through which people may be educated about the law and an avenue from which social and legal reform activities might be directed toward government to enact change.

The evidence of the Osler and Grange reports together with the early misdirected efforts of the OLAP may serve notice on how little we are concerned with the plight of the poor. We (meaning the middle and upper classes) pay much lip service to various social, economic and political concerns. But we of the wealthier classes really attach little weight, and less thought to such concerns. We are in fact buffered by the inertia of our own classes from the worst effects of any crisis. It is the lower income groups which are most vulnerable to changing conditions. People living on fixed incomes, at or below the standard of living are greatly affected by slight (to us) changes in the economy, in political policies etc.... Legal proceedings which may seem trivial in the traditional sense to the wealthy may have serious consequences to the poor. For example, a landlord-tenant dispute may involve little in terms of money to the landlord whereas it may be a matter of survival of the tenant. Clearly if legal aid is to have legitimacy it must lend its support to such a dispute.

The problems of the poor are a combination of many factors. In order to get to the rest of their problems, broader issues (ie) inequality, discrimination, education) must be addressed. Ad hoc measures may alleviate immediate problems but does little to break the cycle of poverty or reduce inequalities. The problem of the poor are structured and systematic, caused by the

dominant class relation inherent in capitalism, clearly the early forms of the Plan were inadequate in addressing these issues.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Hamilton-Wentworth is a region dependent upon heavy industry and manufacturing for its economic survival. The steel companies are facing still competition from U.S. corporations while plant shutdowns which reached their zenith in the early to mid 1980's continue today. Hamilton-Wentworth had the highest percentage of economic families in the low income category when compared with the other nine largest Ontario counties in 1977. 13.8% of the families were in this category. By 1981 this figure had increased dramatically with 16.1% of the economic family's and 42.7% of unattached individuals falling into the low income category.

McQueston Neighbourhood Profile:

The McQueston Community is a neighbourhood where:

- the population rose until 1971 after which it began to decline;
- the youth population is comparatively high and the elderly population is comparatively low;
- more than three-quarters of the population speak English as their first language;
- a majority of the land is for residential purposes;
- a majority of the occupied dwellings are rented;
- the average value of dwellings are about fifteen percent lower than the City average;

- the greatest number of assisted family housing units exists (compared to other neighbourhoods);
- the rate of single-parents is twice the City average;
- unemployment rates are higher than the average and labour force participation rates are lower than the City average;
- the incidence of low income families is twice the City average (one in three families are poor);
- school enrollment is at a healthy (although declining) level;
- an above average proportion of the labour force is employed by manufacturing industries; and,
- the utilization of human/social services and assistance is generally above average.

(Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton District, 1984)

4.1 POPULATION AND ASSISTED HOUSING INVENTORY

The above figures are the average for Hamilton. The McQueston neighborhood (East and West) is considered disadvantaged. In 1982 McQueston had a total population of 7914, and has been declining since for 2.5% of the population in 1971. McQueston has 5.9% of Hamilton's total assisted family housing inventory, the majority of which are family unit. The neighborhood has the greatest number of assisted family units in this area than any other city neighborhood. It has the fifth

largest number of assisted units in total. (see Table 1)

4.2 UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment rates for both men and women were higher than the cities average. Young women (aged 15-24) were the worst off with an unemployment rate of 22.2% compared to the city average of 12.4% (see Table 2) The highest proportion of the labour force (40.4%) were employed in the manufacturing industries. The Hamilton average was 34.9%. Thus any problems in the manufacturing sectors resulting in layoffs or shutdowns would be acutely felt in McQueston.

4.3 AVERAGE INCOMES

Average total income for both men and women are well below the city average, pointing to employment in low and unskilled occupations. These workers may often be only part time and are the most expendable and most easily replaced. Thus there is little security and often no benefits for the workers. This is evidenced by the high unemployment rates in Table 2 and the incidence of low income families and individuals seen in Table 3.

4.4 UTILIZATION OF SERVICES

The utilization rates of some of the major social services in the city provide a good indication of the extent to which neighborhoods make use of existing services. In general McQueston has greater utilization rate per 100 than the city average use of family and police services (Table 4). It will be noted that McQueston Legal Aid Community Services is utilized to almost six times the city average. Proximity alone cannot account for this number. The clinic's emphasis on poverty law and advocacy with an emphasis on workman's compensation due to the high numbers of heavy laborers plays an major role in this utilization figure.

Table 5 indicates that McQueston has an above average utilization rate for General Welfare Analysis and the number of people receiving Family Benefits allowance per 1000 is more than double the rate for the city.

(Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: A statistical compendium, 1977; Community Profile: McQueston East and McQueston West Planning Neighborhood)

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The gaps in service identified by the Osler and Grange reports led to and gave legitimacy to the funding of a community controlled legal aid clinic movement in 1976. The Legal Aid Committee defines a clinic as an independent community-based clinical delivery system defined by the regulations as any method for the delivery of legal and para-legal services to the public other than by way of fee for service. These methods include preventative law programmes and educational and training programs that are calculated to reduce the costs of delivering legal aid services.

5.1 GAPS IN SERVICE

One of the major gaps cited by the Grange Commission Report was that the poor lacked the knowledge and mobility to contact a lawyer. The obvious solution was to locate clinics in the poor communities. A highly visible "store front" office on a well travelled street within the neighborhood would maximize exposure and accessibility to potential consumers.

In this way one of the major roles of the clinics: to enfranchise a group of people who for all intents and purposes have been disenfranchised may be addressed.

5.2 MCQUESTON LEGAL AID CLINIC HISTORY

"It is the absence of uniformity that is the strength of the community clinics. If each clinic board can reflect the special concerns and priorities of its poor community, it will, of necessity, become the advocate for those people." (Mossman 1983) Experiences with the state vary with locality. Only clinic community boards with the responsibility for the selection of legal services are able to concentrate their resources on the specific problems identified within a community.

The clinic as a state agency helps to represent or interpret the social and legal relations through which state formation is contested. This was mentioned earlier, referring to the selective as opposed to universal provision of service under OLAP as well as the mean's test and board membership requirements. The demands for alternative community based clinics were the result of the gaps present in the OLAP structure. The need for advocacy, education and reforms activities to increase working class capacities to oppose capitalism could now be affected within the legal system. There is however a danger in having a state agency opposing the state on behalf of the working class. If the reform activities stray too far outside what is controllable and acceptable, if the clinic became too radical, then the clinic will be defunded.

The unique goals of each clinic may actually hinder its ability in contesting state regulation. The guidelines set by OLAP may require a certain quota of individual cases to be processed. If a clinic sees a greater need for some reform action or general education of the community, it may not, due to limited resources, be able to meet the quota. This is grounds for defending by OLAP.

5.3 MCQUESTON

Three groups were interested in establishing a legal aid clinic in the east end of Hamilton in 1977. These groups were the McQueston Community Association (MCA), the Ontario Persons Research Interests Group's (Oprig) Housing Education Centre and OLAP. OPRIG withdrew its request for funding a clinic in favour of the MCA.

5.4 MCQUESTON COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CLINIC'S INITIATION

The McQueston Community Association was organized to address some of the community's problems (see Chapter 4). The MCA saw the clinic as a means to resolve some of the social problems in the neighborhood.

The factors outlined in Chapter 4 played a definite role in the delineation of the clinic's service goals. For example, high unemployment results in an increased utilization of government support systems such as GWA. Informing people of their legal rights concerning such benefits would be a priority in the McQueston neighborhood.

M.C.A. By-law #3 set the following service goals: "the clinic shall serve the people of the East End and Hamilton-Wentworth while maintaining accountability to the community ... and ... will endeavour to provide accessible legal services, community resources and knowledge within the staff and volunteer capabilities"(M.C.A. By-law 3#)

In order to meet these objectives by undertaking to provide:

- "1) legal and community information
- 2) fair and impartial legal representation to those eligible individual(s) who meet our reasonable financial criteria
- 3) community law reform
- 4) community and legal research, planning and development
- 5) community law reform
- 6) strengthening and establishing East End citizen groups
- 7) services and representation to community groups who try to seek to improve the quality of life in the East End"(Mullaly p.6 1988)

5.5 OLAP'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CLINICS INITIATION

OLAP had identified the East End of Hamilton as an area experiencing socio- and geographical alienation from the rest of the City. The service goals stated by OLAP were broadly to provide legal and social services within a clinic structure which meets OLAP guidelines and which serves and meet the needs of the residents of Hamilton-Wentworth. The prime community focus for the clinic's activities where resources and activities would be concentrated were designated as the area from Ottawa Street to Highway 20 and from the Escarpment to the Bay.

5.6 CLINIC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The community clinic's Board of directors define the service parameters of the clinic. The board was originally composed of 16 members: nine MCA appointments seven at large members. The Board composition was an element of conflict between the clinic Funding Committee (C.F.C.) and the clinic. For reasons to be explained shortly the Board was increased to 19 members, composed of nine MCA appointments, six at large and four recognized community association members. (Mullay p.11 1988)

The members have a loose representativeness, being people genuinely concerned about their community. The Board decides the

service goals and distribution of resources. They are responsible for hiring lawyers and paralegals as well as attracting volunteers.

The Board must therefore be attuned to the needs of the community. An example is the increased emphasis on Workman's-Compensation as work and reform. McQueston has a large percentage of people employed in heavy industry. The inherent perils of these occupations and the current assault on injured worker's rights by the Peterson government makes Workman's-Compensation a priority for the clinic. Once service goals have been set it is left to the staff (two full time lawyers, three paralegals and on full time community worker) to design strategies for implementing the goals.

5.7 DEVELOPMENT OF SERVICE GOALS

Such broad objectives espoused by both MCA and OLAP resulted in a high intake of cases as well as a wide variety. The pressures generated by such a diversity of cases strained the clinic's ability to carry out its mandate in an adequate way. The result was a change in the focus of the case work taking into account the time, resources, and goals of the clinic as well as the establishment of the Dundurn clinic.

The clinic, in 1982, decided to increase its involvement in

the areas of Immigration, disability and Workman's Compensation (in response to the formation of a standing committee for Bill 162). In 1983 the clinic decided to increase its activities in the areas of law and social reform policies. Examples of this are the organization of an injured workers march on City Hall in the fall of 1988 and the submission of numerous reform-oriented briefs to Queen's Park. This modification of service philosophy was based on the logic that the clinic should concentrate its efforts in the areas of law where it might have the most "significant impact on the welfare of it's client community." (Mullaly p.14 1988) The significant community influence evidenced by the selection and fine tuning of the service goals is a result of the clinic being an offshoot of the M.C.A. as well as the need for a broad community base as a condition for funding by OLAP.

The obvious results of allowing the community to both directly (through membership on the Board of Directors) and indirectly (by demonstrating a need) determine the clinic's objectives has been a high degree of acceptance, support (ie) volunteers and demonstrations) and utilization within the neighborhood.

5.8 CLINIC FUNDING COMMITTEE

The Clinic Funding Committee (CFC) is an autonomous body within OLAP. While only two of the five committee members are required to have some "clinic association" it nonetheless has ultimate authority over each clinic in terms of funding decisions. Hence the clinics are accountable to the CFC while the committee is not answerable to the communities served by the clinic and only indirectly responsible to the general public, through the office of the Attorney General. As a result, clinic activists are insisting that formal community control of the clinic system be replaced by substantive control, (Chouinard 1988 p. 18) by making the CFC answerable to each community regarding a particular funding decision, as recommended in the Osler Report.

The CFC as the central regulator of the clinic may act to enhance or limit the clinic's potential for social change. Naturally, attempts to impose uniform operating guidelines will be viewed as an attempt to weaken the unique community-based agenda and decision-making powers of each clinic. It must be recognized that a certain degree of accountability is a requisite for the use of public funds. Hence a balance must be found between maintaining clinic independence and public accountability. Recent work by Chouinard has found that, "decisions about clinic funding have shown the capacity of the

state to restrict the range and focus of clinic services". (Chouinard p 21 1988) The McQueston clinic has in three significant instances felt the influences of the CFC on matters of clinic management.

5.9 INSTANCES OF CFC INTERFERENCE

The first regards the restructuring of the clinics Board of Directors. CFC guidelines insist upon an independent community run board. The CFC felt that the clinic's initiator: the MCA wielded too much control over the clinic due to its majority on the Board of Directors (9 of 16 seats). The CFC made the restructuring of the Board a condition of funding. The result was that the clinic broke from the MCA to become an independent legal entity, a general clinic membership was created and the Board was increased to 19 members of which 9 were elected from the MCA.

The second instance of CFC interference was its opposition to the clinic volunteer policy concerning students. The concerns were due to insurance problems, supervision and client confidentiality.

A more serious attempt to affect the clinic's operation come with the establishment of new financial guidelines. As mentioned in the chapter on OLAP, the mean's test was flexible method of

determining financial eligibility. The new regulations permitted no discretion on the part of the clinic for clients above a maximum income. This new guideline applied to all clinics in the province. (Mullaly p. 65-72, 1988)

The CFC has also imposed regulations which are of significant benefit to the clinics. One worth noting is policy of asking for court costs when before a judge. These costs would be deposited into a general fund so that in the future a client need not fear losing a test case as the costs may be disbursed from this fund.

Interviews with staff at the clinic reveal that the degree of accountability demanded by the CFC is not onerous in light of the size of the budget granted to the clinic (\$350,000/yr).

The clinic's freedom to oppose the state has never been constrained. The Board feels free to determine its own service agenda. It has never been corrected or coerced by the C.F.C. Reform activity has in fact been encouraged with the funding of a Community Development consultant whose only task is community organizing and reform actions. Thus while the actions of the provincial regulatory apparatus (CFC) have been accompanied by intense debate and conflict, McQueston has had little conflict with the C.F.C. and felt no limitations to its challenging of the state on behalf of the working class.

5.95 WELFARE RIGHTS VS JURIDICIAL RIGHTS

There are two concepts of legal aid. Juridicial rights referred to in the chapter on OLAP attempts to transfer the rights of paying clients to recipients of legal aid, producing formal equality of access to the law. Individual case work is stressed here. Some political economy theorists hold that individual actions do little to enhance working class capacities to oppose capitalist exploitation . By providing stop-gap solutions, the provision of formal equality may actually diffuse any chance for a meaningful class response to inequality by obscuring the disparities which exist between classes.

Welfare rights stresses equality of outcome and benefits. The legal problems of the poor are dealt with on a more structural basis in an attempt to attack the underling issues affecting the poor. The reform activities of the clinic system addresses these problems and offers the greatest promise for effective legal services for the poor. The reform activities of the clinic system addresses these problems and offers the greatest promise for effective legal services for the poor. (Mossman p.96 1983, Chouinard 1988). The legal aid clinic is indeed a mixed system of the two sets: combining individual can work with ongoing reform activity.

The early policies of OLAP favoured individual dependence on

the state and the legal profession. The element of charity connected to the legal aid certificate generated reluctance on the part of the poor to utilize the legal system when needed.

The clinic system offered a community oriented alternative to this by encouraging collective class based responses to the state. This has the effect of increasing working class capacities to oppose capitalist exploitation in, for example, the work place (challenges to Bill 162). Further in this vein, McQueston has been active in organizing demonstrations and establishing a province wide network of groups and clinics to unify the injured workers in the province.

Such action serve to contest state regulations and at the same time help to make the state more accessible and responsive to the needs of the working class. The meeting of the two sets of rights within the clinic system would seem to indicate a tension the philosophy behind the clinic being: individual equality of access to the law and advancing peoples' collective rights to and capacities to contest existing relations within state law. (Chouinard p.10 1988). This is the tension between the practical commitment to providing individual legal aid to the poor and the need for enfranchising an entire class of people often excluded in our society.

Interviews with the staff at McQueston denied this notion of tension between philosophy and practices. The presence of a

community development person ensured ongoing form action while not being isolated from the case workers. The load of case work can therefore in no way monopolize or intrude on the resources designated towards reform activity. A balance between the two is guaranteed. In fact the actual reliability of reform attempts depends on the quality of the individual case work. On one side, if the poor see the immediate positive results of the case work they will be able to overcome their apprehension of the law to more actively participate in reform organization. On the other hand the state will see the case work done by the clinic and respect its expertise. The clinic, by synthesizing literally hundreds of cases into succinct briefs for amendments required to a particular law will have gained the respect of the state necessary for their recommendations to be heeded. Thus quality individual case work is absolutely necessary for any successful challenge of state regulation.

The one major draw back is that since clinic funding accounts for only ten to twelve percent of the OLAP budget, juridicial rights remains the norm in the province. Thus notions of effective equality before the law remains but a small portion of the legal aid system.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to explain the causes behind the evolution of legal aid in Ontario using the McQueston clinic to evaluate the end results of such changes.

It has been determined that juridical rights are of little benefit to the poor. Formal equality fails to meet the underlying problems, (i.e. education, social and economic disadvantages) which the poor must overcome in order to escape their subordinate role in society.

The clinic's agenda of individual case work along with programmes of education, advocacy and reform provide the most promise for effective class based opposition to the capitalist system.

The community based orientation of the McQueston clinic has resulted in a service agenda uniquely suited to the neighborhood. The success of such a service program may be evidenced by the outstanding utilization rate of the clinic within the community.

Contrary to many of the political-economic accounts, the C.F.C., while limiting the clinic's activities in a general way does not interfere with the clinic's mandate for being a means of increasing class capacities to contest dominant state policies and procedures. McQueston has actually been given funding by the C.F.C. for a Community Development Person whose main task is

organizing reform activities.

Thus the clinic system in Ontario, even with limited funding (10%-12% of OLAP budget) has the potential to be a major force for government reform and the improvement of the plight of the working class in general.

TABLE 1
ASSISTED HOUSING, 1982

	<u>McQuesten</u>		<u>City of Hamilton</u>
	No.	Percent*	No.
Total Assisted Housing Inventory	534	5.9	9,023
Total Family Units	487	10.4	4,564
O.H.C. projects	484		1,932
Private non-profit	3		1,162
Total Senior Citizen Units	44	1.0	4,278
O.H.C. projects	16		3,027
Rent Supplement	12		233
Private non-profit	16		1,018
Total Handicapped Units	3	3.7	81

* Percentage of total units in the City of Hamilton.

Source: Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton & District

TABLE 2LABOUR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS, 1981

	McQuesten	City of Hamilton
Males in Labour Force	2,060	90,390
Participation Rate	73.8%	77.5%
Unemployed	190	5,035
Unemployment Rate	9.2%	5.6%
15-24 years	15.3%	11.4%
25 years and over	6.4%	3.8%
Females in Labour Force	1,595	64,005
Participation Rate	49.0%	50.7%
Unemployed	195	5,035
Unemployment Rate	12.2%	7.9%
15-24 years	22.2%	12.4%
25 years and over	7.7%	6.1%

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE 3AVERAGE AND LOW INCOME DISTRIBUTION, 1981

	McQuesten	City of Hamilton
Average total income, male	\$ 13,242	\$ 16,379
Average total income, female	6,437	7,981
Average employment income, male	14,006	16,803
Average employment income, female	6,648	8,246
Average Census family income	18,762	25,202
No. of low income economic families	755	13,290
Incidence of low income	36.3%	16.1%
No. of low income unattached individuals	260	15,465
Incidence of low income	36.1%	42.7%

Source: Statistics Canada

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF HUMAN SERVICE UTILIZATION RATES

	<u>McQuesten</u>		<u>City of Hamilton</u>
	No. of Cases	Rate*	Rate*
Big Brothers Association (1982)	28	3.53	1.11
Catholic Children's Aid Society (1982)	27	3.41	1.93
Catholic Social Services of Hamilton (1982)	25	3.16	2.44
Chedoke Child and Family Centre (1983)	15	1.89	2.03
Child and Adolescent Services (1982)	37	4.68	1.68
Children's Aid Society of Hamilton-Wentworth (1983)	36	4.55	2.08
Dundurn Community Legal Services (1982)	3	0.38	0.45
Elizabeth Fry Society (1982)	8	1.01	0.71
Family Services of Hamilton-Wentworth (1982)	50	6.32	3.89
John Howard Society (1983)	9	1.14	1.19
McQuesten Legal and Community Services (1982)	78	9.86	1.71
Meals-On-Wheels (1982)	8	1.01	2.68
Police calls (Feb.-June, 1980)			
Disturbances	286	36.04	22.60
Liquor Control Act	22	2.77	3.21
Person Crimes	85	10.71	8.70
Property Crimes	272	34.28	25.54
Other	266	33.52	28.07
St. Matthew's House (1982)	30	3.79	4.38
Victorian Order of Nurses (1982)	108	13.65	14.76
Visiting Homemakers Association (1982)	24	3.03	5.75

* Utilization rate per 1,000 population.

Source: Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton & District

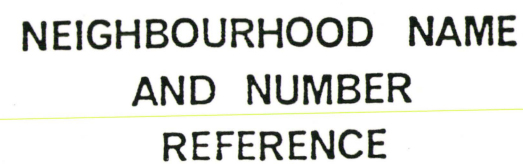
TABLE 5COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS

	<u>McQuesten</u>		<u>City of Hamilton</u>
	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Rate*</u>	<u>Rate*</u>
General Welfare Assistance (16 Sept. 1981)	175	22.17	13.43
Family Benefits Allowance (17 June 1981)	453	57.40	23.23
Total	628	79.57	36.66

* Utilization rate per 1,000 population.

Source: Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District

Source



AGENCY: McQUESTEN LEGAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES
CASES: OPEN/ACTIVE
DATE: 1982

A. CITY OF HAMILTON

Neighbourhood Number	Neighbourhood Name	1982 Population	No. of Clients	Utilization Rate Per 1000 Population
1	Ainslie Wood	677	0	0.00
2	Ainslie Wood East	3588	0	0.00
3	Ainslie Wood North	904	0	0.00
4	Ainslie Wood West	4763	1	0.21
5	Albion Falls	327	0	0.00
6	Allison	469	1	2.13
7	Balfour	2671	1	0.37
8	Barnstown	70	0	0.00
9	Bartonville	3805	8	2.10
10	Beasley	5473	14	2.56
11	Berrisfield	4248	4	0.94
12	Blakeley	3122	10	3.20
13	Bonnington	1820	2	1.10
14	Broughton East	8	0	0.00
15	Broughton West	143	0	0.00
16	Bruleville	3207	2	0.66
17	Buchanan	3209	1	0.31
18	Burkholme	3391	8	2.36
19	Butler	85	0	0.00
20	Carpenter	116	0	0.00
21	Central	3750	19	5.07
22	Centremount	3056	1	0.33
23	Chappel East	32	0	0.00
24	Chappel West	8	0	0.00
25	Chedoke Park A)			
26	Chedoke Park B)	5	0	0.00
27	Confederation Park A)			
28	Confederation Park B)	79	0	0.00
29	Cootes Paradise A)			
30	Cootes Paradise B)	2344	0	0.00
31	Corktown	6679	7	1.05
32	Corman	4015	20	4.98
33	Crerar	108	0	0.00
34	Crown Point East	5870	7	1.19
35	Crown Point West	7213	20	2.77
36	Delta East	4430	4	0.90
37	Delta West	2179	8	3.67
38	Dundurn A)			
39	Dundurn B)	0	0	0.00
40	Dundurn C)			
41	Durand	10757	7	0.65
42	Eastmount	5069	3	0.59
43	Eleanor	814	0	0.00

Neighbourhood Number	Neighbourhood Name	1982 Population	No. of Clients	Utilization Rate Per 1000 Population
44	Falkirk East	1161	3	2.58
45	Falkirk West	75	0	0.00
46	Fessenden	3434	2	0.58
47	Gershorne	841	1	1.19
48	Gibson	7793	22	2.82
49	Gilbert	2988	0	0.00
50	Gilkson	2935	6	2.04
51	Glenview East	1082	2	1.85
52	Glenview West	2361	4	1.69
53	Gourley	2608	1	0.38
54	Grayside	35	1	28.57
55	Greenford	2013	1	0.50
56	Greeningdon	3700	5	1.35
57	Gurnett	1857	2	1.08
58	Hamilton Beach A)			
59	Hamilton Beach B)	1383	10	7.23
60	Hamilton Beach C)			
61	Hampton Heights	3676	1	0.27
62	Hannon North	77	0	0.00
63	Hannon South	72	0	0.00
64	Hannon West	10	0	0.00
65	Hill Park	3637	2	0.55
66	Homeside	6705	18	2.68
67	Huntington	5768	3	0.52
68	Inch Park	4394	3	0.68
69	Industrial Sector A	1853	2	1.08
70	Industrial Sector B	801	2	2.50
71	Industrial Sector C	341	1	2.93
72	Industrial Sector D	841	1	1.19
73	Industrial Sector E	972	1	1.03
74	Industrial Sector F	66	4	60.61
75	Industrial Sector G	0	0	0.00
76	Industrial Sector H	0	0	0.00
77	Industrial Sector J	0	0	0.00
78	Industrial Sector K	1	0	0.00
79	Industrial Sector L	0	0	0.00
80	Industrial Sector M	0	0	0.00
81	Industrial Sector N	0	0	0.00
82	Jerome	184	0	0.00
83	Kennedy East	559	1	1.79
84	Kennedy West	135	0	0.00
85	Kentley	4136	9	2.18
86	Kernighan	159	0	0.00
87	King's Forest Lower A)			
88	King's Forest Lower B)			
89	King's Forest Lower C)	8	0	0.00
90	King's Forest Lower D)			
91	King's Forest Upper	0	0	0.00
92	Kirkendall North	6168	5	0.81
93	Kirkendall South	2887	1	0.35

Neighbourhood Number	Neighbourhood Name	1982 Population	No. of Clients	Utilization Rate Per 1000 Population
94	Lakely	34	0	0.00
95	Landsdale	8469	19	2.24
96	Lawfield	3558	1	0.28
97	Lisgar	3078	4	1.30
98	Macassa	3134	3	0.96
99	McQuesten East	1286	4	3.11
100	McQuesten West	6628	74	11.16
101	Mewburn	170	0	0.00
102	Mohawk	286	0	0.00
103	Mountview	4369	2	0.46
104	Nashdale	11	1	90.90
105	Normanhurst	3750	13	3.47
106	North End East	4175	3	0.72
107	North End West	1661	0	0.00
108	Parkview East	790	4	5.06
109	Parkview West	1892	2	1.06
110	Quinndale	3585	3	0.84
111	Raleigh	5380	3	0.56
112	Randall	919	1	1.09
113	Red Hill	4287	13	3.03
114	Riverdale East	3265	4	1.23
115	Riverdale West	6423	23	3.58
116	Rolston	5050	4	0.79
117	Rosedale	4650	6	1.29
118	Rushdale	31	0	0.00
119	Ryckmans	157	0	0.00
120	Rymal	5	0	0.00
121	Sheldon	217	0	0.00
122	Sherwood	3081	6	1.95
123	Southam	987	2	2.03
124	St. Clair	3355	12	3.58
125	Stinson	4248	11	2.59
126	Stipeley	6907	14	2.03
127	Strathcona	7883	7	0.89
128	Sunninghill	2566	0	0.00
129	Templement	1093	0	0.00
130	Thorner	1470	1	0.68
131	Trenholme	656	1	1.52
132	Vincent	8748	19	2.17
133	Westcliffe East	3077	3	0.97
134	Westcliffe West	2017	0	0.00
135	Westdale North	2347	1	0.43
136	Westdale South	5326	1	0.19
137	Yeoville	1368	1	0.73
TOTAL:	City of Hamilton	308,402	528	1.71

	1982 Population	No. of Clients	Utilization Rate Per 1000 Population
B. <u>TOWN OF STONEY CREEK</u>			
TOTAL: Town of Stoney Creek	37,613	52	1.38
C. <u>TOWN OF DUNDAS</u>			
TOTAL: Town of Dundas	19,689	2	0.10
D. <u>TOWNSHIP OF FLAMBOROUGH</u>			
TOTAL: Township of Flamborough	24,610	1	0.04
E. <u>TOWNSHIP OF GLANBROOK</u>			
TOTAL: Town of Glanbrook	9,549	3	0.31
F. <u>TOWN OF ANCASTER</u>			
TOTAL: Town of Ancaster	14,780	1	0.07
G. <u>REGIONAL</u>			
TOTAL: Regional	414,643	587	1.42

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