

KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL AND  
EMOTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN  
RENEWAL AND THE UTILITY OF  
THIS KNOWLEDGE TO THE PRACTICE  
OF SOCIAL WORK

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
HOMER CHANDLER HAWKINS  
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THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK**

presented by

**Homer Chandler Hawkins**

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

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## ABSTRACT

### KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF URBAN RENEWAL AND THE UTILITY OF THIS KNOWLEDGE TO THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL WORK

By

Homer Chandler Hawkins

The purpose of the study is twofold: firstly to give an in depth discussion of the feelings and manner of treatment of a number of selected persons who have experienced relocation; secondly, to present ways in which the field of social work can make contributions to the urban renewal process.

The study focused on a population of 51 black households (total population of 61) which were randomly drawn from a total population of 120 households. An instrument was constructed (questionnaire) which permitted the collection of the needed data. All of the sixty-one individuals were interviewed in person. Five in-depth interviews were then done. The five households selected were representative of the feeling tone of the entire population.

In the analysis of the data, two approaches were utilized: arithmetic treatment and statistical testing. The former approach consisted of numbers and percentages. The latter approach included the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), analysis of variance and eta.

The in-depth interviews were utilized in order to view some of the "gut level" feelings that could not be viewed by the above stated statistical approaches.

The following significant results were obtained:

1. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) showed a high level of relationship (significant at the .001 level of confidence) between living area difference scores and move feeling difference scores for the total population as well as for males and females separately.
2. The Pearson product-moment correlation also showed a high level of relationship (significant at the .001 level of confidence) between past living area feeling and past move feeling for the total population as well as for males and females separately.
3. The data reflected that 88.6 percent of the individuals interviewed had experienced some level of grief which was associated with having to move.

Four years later, 57.3 percent of the individuals are still experiencing some level of grief.

4. Forty-five individuals or 68.8 percent evidenced a strong feeling for their old neighbors and social activities and were at least quite grieved to move.
5. The analysis of variance of reduction in social interaction with one's best friends by past move feeling was found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.
6. The in-depth interviews suggested that reduction in social interaction with one's best friends is also related to present grief feelings.
7. The analysis of variance of short notice and insufficient time by present living area feeling was found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.
8. The in-depth interviews suggested that the lack of opportunity to express opinions in the relocation process and the lack of participation in pre-relocation planning, had a dehumanizing effect in addition to eliciting feelings of anger.
9. The in-depth interviews also suggested that the lack of assistance the people received and the manner in which they found their present

residences, contributed to the eliciting of lasting feelings of anger as well as the fostering of fear at the time of relocation.

10. The analysis of variance of pleasure with handling by living area difference, move feeling difference, and present move feeling resulted in F-ratios of 6.077, 6.588, and 7.528 ( $P < .05$  with  $F = 6.00$  and  $P < .01$  with  $F = 7.08$ ).
11. The analysis of variance of pleasure with price by living area difference, past move feeling, and present move feeling resulted in F-ratios of 7.044, 6.558, and 7.588 ( $P < .05$  with  $F = 4.00$  and  $P < .01$  with  $F = 7.08$ ).
12. The analysis of variance of politeness by move feeling difference was found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.
13. The analysis of variance of prior feelings about move by present move feeling was found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.
14. The analysis of variance of present feeling about move by move feeling difference and present move feeling were found to be significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The traumatic results of the study are those which can be ameliorated by present day social work methods.

The study points to the need for the inclusion of social work in the carrying out of urban renewal projects. No significant action occurred until the relocatees were able to mobilize themselves and at this point their capacity to initiate action in their own behalf was minimal. The expertise of the social worker is needed at the planning, action and follow-up stages of the urban renewal process.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A General Overview

Individuals who propose urban renewal often use as a rationale, the improvement of the city. Improvement of our cities is of extreme importance, but the relocatee should not be victimized in the process.

When one speaks of urban renewal and the subsequent relocation of people, the first thought that comes to mind is the demolition of blighted areas and the relocation of the people from these areas to other parts of the city. The individuals most often effected are the elderly (black and white) who are often poor and the non-elderly poor (black and white).

Most often the literature reflects upon the poor and disadvantaged and how they fared in the urban renewal process. The study will deal with how the not so poor and disadvantaged fared in this process.



### Study Rationale

Urban relocation, as it pertains to urban renewal, has the inherent potential of being able to cause lasting grief reactions as well as being socially disruptive. When the people aspect of urban renewal is not paramount, a heinous injustice often occurs to those who are relocated. There have been numerous cases where the people aspect of urban renewal was not a major concern and the relocated people suffered immensely. The people must come first if urban renewal is to succeed.

As can be seen from the above, the study, to some extent, is biased. But as Friedenberg states in his book Coming of Age in America,

My metaphor may lead the reader to wonder whether the account to follow will be free from personal bias. I wish to allay such doubt from the outset. It is not. Even if I had begun my investigation without bias--and this is an unlikely event, for unless one is working purely for the record one must have some reason for thinking that what one is studying is important--I should be ashamed to have completed it without bias. The subjects of my study are adolescents, and I brought to the study my feelings about them and my prior judgements as to how they should be treated. These will be apparent to the reader: perhaps more apparent than they are to me.<sup>1</sup>

In line with this mode of thinking is Gouldner who states that:

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<sup>1</sup>Edgar Zodiag Friedenberg, Coming of Age in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. viii.

Once committed to the premise of a value-free sociology, such sociologists are bound to a policy which can only alienate them further from the surrounding world. Social science can never be fully accepted in a society, or by a part of it, without paying its way; this means it must manifest both its relevance and concern for the contemporary human predicament. Unless the value relevances of sociological inquiry are made plainly evident, unless there are at least some bridges between it and larger human hopes and purposes, it must inevitably be scorned by laymen as pretentious word-mongering. But the manner in which some sociologists conceive the value-free doctrine disposes them to ignore current human problems and to huddle together like old men seeking mutual warmth. "This is not our job," they say, "and if it were we would not know enough to do it. Go away, come back when we're grown up," say these old men. The issue, however, is not whether we know enough; the real questions are whether we have the courage to say and use what we do know and whether anyone knows more.<sup>2</sup>

The study is not unbiased or value-free. However, efforts have been made to bring as much objectivity to the study as is possible. It is within this framework that the study is presented.

#### Definition of Terms

In order to add clarity to the study, it is necessary for the reader to know the way in which certain terms will be utilized. The definition of these terms are as follows:

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<sup>2</sup>Alvin W. Gouldner, "Anti Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," in Sociology on Trial, ed. by Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 43.

Urban Renewal--This is the demolition of parts of a city and the replacement of the demolished structures with new structures or by the passage of a highway.

Living Area--This is composed of the home, neighborhood, neighbors, social activities, and church.

Move Feeling--This is composed of feelings concerning being moved, having one's old home torn down, having to leave one's old neighborhood, and having one's old neighborhood torn down.

Social Disruption--The disruption of habitual patterns of interaction between individuals in social situations.

Grief Reaction--For the purpose of this study, reactions of grief will be indicated by: feelings of extreme loss, feelings of sadness, extended longing, and a tendency to idealize what they once had.

#### Limitations of the Study

The study was designed to gain insight into the feelings of the people relocated, in addition to giving added insight into the manner in which the process was

carried out. As was noted the study was not free from personal bias. This personal bias evolves from the feeling that relocation has a detrimental potential, for it is felt that when people are not the paramount issue in the relocation process, they suffer immensely. However, it was hoped that in the presentation of the questionnaire and in the subsequent conversation with the respondents, this was not detected. It cannot be said that this personal bias was at no time evident to any of the respondents. By the same token, it is hoped that if it were evident it was seldom, for special efforts were made in the direction of its concealment. (The exact efforts that were made will be presented in Chapter III in the discussion of the procedure in which the study was conducted.)

This was not a longitudinal study and the difficulties associated with asking an individual to respond to past feelings, is obvious. However, it was felt that through a concise set of directions being given before each interview and the giving of clarifying explanations throughout the filling out of the questionnaire, accurate responses were received. (It should be noted that each individual was notified when he reached the point where the questions dealing with the past changed to questions dealing with the present. More will be said on this

subject in the discussion of trial interviews in Chapter III.)

Further studies could research the application of the expertise of the social worker to the urban renewal process. There is a need for more research in this area. This study is but a step in that direction.

### The Problem

Urban relocation has brought to bear a number of problems. The study was designed in the hope of shedding some light on the labyrinth of problems that have come into existence in recent years because of urban renewal and because of the inherent necessity to relocate people as the result of the ongoing renewal process.

Two questions (that are inextricably entwined) that are often posed but seldom answered center around,

1. What are the varying implications of relocation?
2. What can be done to assuage some of the pain of relocation?

These two questions must be considered to be of paramount importance in a discussion of the urban renewal problem. It is relatively easy to tear down old structures and replace them with new ones. The necessary monies and manpower are all that are really necessary. However, the ways in which the people who are involved are handled is

a question that does not lend itself to a simplistic solution. When we begin to deal with human beings, with their inherent complexities, we must begin to deal with all of the problems that are inherent in an undertaking of this nature.

In viewing the varying implications of relocation, we must be aware of the fact that when we decide that we are going to tear down a particular area and place new structures in its place, we must begin to view what we are doing in a very precise manner. This idea is cogently presented by Gans in his discussion of the urban relocation that took place in the West End of Boston in 1958-1959.

There are social and psychological losses that result from the breakup of the neighborhood. Clearance destroys not only housing but also a functioning social system, the existence of which is not even recognized by current relocation procedures. The scattering of family units and friends is likely to be especially harmful to the many older people. The younger West Enders feel that they can adjust to a new neighborhood but they expect that many of the older ones will not be able to do so and will die during the process.<sup>3</sup>

The idea set forth by Gans, concerning the older inhabitants, is definitely a salient factor but not as inclusive as it could be. It would seem more feasible to speak in

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<sup>3</sup>Herbert J. Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV, No. 1 (February, 1959), 23.

terms of the individual who is established in his neighborhood. This would usually include the older inhabitants but also two other groups of individuals.

(1) The nonelderly who feel a strong commitment to the neighborhood because they have lived there for a period of time that is of sufficient duration to cultivate a feeling of attachment for the area, and (2) those who have simply gained a feeling of attachment to the neighborhood because they have taken part in a number of neighborhood activities but have not lived there for a long period of time. In essence, this brings to the fore the idea that people were being uprooted from their homes in the West End and were being forced to leave their neighborhood which had been an important part of their lives.

In many cities of this nation, the area in which an individual lives is viewed as being a slum by the city's officials. This definition leads to the area being sited as an urban renewal project area. Renewal begins and the people are moved out. At times, these individuals receive help from the relocation office in relocating but often this does not occur. In many cases when aid was given in relocating, it was felt that all that should have been done was done for that particular individual. When a person is relocated, he is forced to leave his home and his neighborhood. Inherent in this process are social

and emotional implications that extend far beyond the physical uprooting of these individuals. Relocation is a crisis which has a shock-like effect on the individuals who must endure this process. When every effort is made to meet the social and emotional needs of each individual who is being relocated, the process is usually a difficult burden for the relocatee to bear. When the social and emotional needs of the relocatee are not viewed as being of extreme importance, relocation can become a crisis of monumental proportions for the individual.

Too often the social and emotional needs of the relocatee are not given the kind of consideration that is so very necessary. Even when a person is moved from what has been labeled a slum to standard housing, the person relocated, in most cases, has very few, if any, old friends nearby to offer him solace in times of stress. In addition the old neighborhood with its positive social aspects (the corner bar, club meetings, etc.) is no longer a part of his life.

The kinds of feelings that are pointed to above are again brought to light by Gans in his discussion of Boston's West End.

Most people were not very explicit at that time about their feelings toward the area. Since the West End still existed, and since they had never known anything else, they could not estimate how its disappearance might affect them. "What's



so good about the West End? We're used to it," was one quite typical comment. Subsequently, however, I heard more anguished remarks that indicated how important the area and its people were to the speaker. In December, 1957, the day after the federal government gave the city the go-ahead, one young Italian man said: "I wish the world would end tonight. . . . I wish they'd tear the whole damn town down, damn scab town. . . . I'm going to be lost without the West End. Where the hell can I go?"<sup>4</sup>

In looking at what can be done to assuage some of the pain of relocation, we must be cognizant of the fact that anytime we discuss urban renewal we must include a great deal more in our discussion than money, bricks and mortar. We must be extremely cognizant of the idea that the people aspect of urban renewal is the most important factor. In the past, and in many cases presently, the people aspect of urban renewal has not been placed at its proper level. Too often when the discussion of urban renewal comes to the fore, the subject of most logical areas, areas with most tax return potential, and amount of money needed seem to be discussed before relocation of the displaced is considered. Often, it appears as though the human beings who will be effected do not seem to be the primary issue. In some cases one is left with the feeling that urban renewal is done in many cities in a

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<sup>4</sup>Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Village (1st ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glascoe, 1962), p. 289.

manner that would lead one to wonder if the relocatees are considered or even exist.

Too often the human needs of the people involved in urban renewal are not considered in the manner which is warranted. The families, which are being uprooted and moved to other areas of the city, are not aspects of the program that must be dealt with as quickly as possible so as not to slow down the physical aspects of tearing down the old structures and replacing them with new ones. The people involved are not simply necessary evils and must be dealt with as human beings.

Many city officials are ignorant to the needs of the displaced families. They do not seem to appreciate the effect of what being uprooted means, nor do they appreciate the intensity of the grief reaction and social disruption that each individual in each family usually experiences. As long as the physical aspects of urban renewal are the focal point, only pain and misery will be suffered by the relocatees. Gans in his discussion of Boston's West End reflects upon the idea that:

American redevelopment planning so far has proceeded on the assumption that relocation is secondary to redevelopment. Thus, great pains are taken with planning for clearance and the re-use of the site, but plans for the present occupants of the site are treated as by-products of the redevelopment proposal. For example, the local and federal redevelopment agencies had detailed maps of the West End's street and utility system,

but they did not seem to know the simple fact that a number of owners living in the area depended on the rents they collected for their income.<sup>5</sup>

Every city in America is not guilty of what occurred in Boston's West End in 1958-1959. However, what occurred in Boston's West End has occurred in many of our cities in the past, is occurring presently and most probably will occur in the future. But, just as mechanical devices have been improved because of past mistakes, it is hoped that urban renewal will also begin to profit from some of the mistakes of the past.

As soon as people become the primary factor in our urban renewal programs, our urban renewal programs will then become more meaningful and more worthwhile. The efficient rehousing of the persons involved must be the main concern. As long as it remains in a secondary status, urban renewal will be, at best, ineffective. More time and effort must be spent in administering to the needs of the displaced. An urban renewal project cannot be considered a success if the people who were relocated have suffered a heinous social and emotional disruption. Admittedly, relocation will almost always be accompanied by pain; but it is the responsibility of relocation officials to insure that every possible effort is made to assuage the shock of being uprooted.

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<sup>5</sup>Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Re-development and Relocation Planning," p. 22.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was twofold. Firstly, to give an in depth discussion of the feelings and manner of treatment of a number of selected persons who have experienced relocation. Secondly, to present ways in which the field of social work can make contributions to the urban renewal process.

The primary thrust of this study was centered around the first purpose. The primary dimensions explored were: how the individual felt about being relocated (i.e., grief reaction), how being relocated effected his social functioning, the manner in which relocation was carried out, the amount of opportunity the people had to express their opinions in the relocation process, the amount of participation the people felt they had in the pre-relocation planning, the type of assistance they received in being relocated and the manner in which they found their new residences, and finally how the people felt they were handled. It was not the purpose of the study to make any kinds of comparisons between two separate groups of relocated persons but rather to describe how a specific group of individuals felt. The avowed goal of the study was to view the feelings of each individual and make generalizations about them. By doing this a discussion of the effect of relocation can be stated.

The study used a totally black population. The study relates to the evils of relocation as it related to this particular group of blacks, but what was said in the study has been stated over and over again by whites who have been relocated. This is made abundantly clear by Fried in his discussion of Boston's West End. Thus it is assumed that feelings of grief and the feeling that relocation is socially disruptive transcend race.

The black population studied represented a compact researchable unit of 120 families from which 51 households were drawn randomly. The study offered the opportunity to look at the relocation of a group of individuals, of whom a large share were homeowners. The black population in the area studied was, for the most part, much like the community studied by Fried, from which the initial impetus for the study was cultivated. (The likeness evolved from the fact that both populations evidenced a definite degree of stability in that they had lived in the torn down area for a substantial period of time. In addition strong positive attachments were felt by both populations toward their former residential area.)

The study, though acutely aware of the evils of racial discrimination, did not dwell at great length upon this topic. Anytime one discusses urban renewal and the subsequent relocation of people, one should realize that

there will be social and emotional effects on the involved persons. In addition one should also realize that being black causes an added problem which evolves from racial discrimination as it now exists in this country. It would be easy to demonstrate the fact that blacks are more difficult to relocate than whites. However, the focal point of the study was to view people who have been relocated and describe their feelings about the process. The black-white issue as it applies to urban relocation was not developed. The basic issue centered around the feelings and conceptions of the people who had to be moved due to the demolition of their living area.

As is noted in Chapter II, Review of the Literature, the evils of racial discrimination are presented in an effort to point to a clear recognition of its existence.

As was noted earlier, the second purpose of this study was to explore the differing ways in which the field of social work can make contributions to the urban renewal process. However, it should be noted that no attempt was made to validate empirically the stated ways the field of social work could make contributions to the urban renewal process.

In essence the study was a description of the feelings and treatment experienced by the relocatees

interviewed. These feelings, which stem from trauma and loss, have been dealt with by social workers in other areas in the past.<sup>6</sup> The field of social work has a great deal of experience in the utilization of techniques which deal with and prevent the pathological lingering of these feelings and these techniques can be generalized to and utilized in the urban renewal process. The discussion of possible social work contributions will be presented in Chapter VII.

Much of the suffering experienced because of relocation (i.e., grief reaction and social disruption) can be seen in other situations (i.e., death of a loved one or broken home caused by divorce) in which social work has presented techniques to provide for re-establishment of psycho-social balance as well as methods to intervene directly to strengthen individual coping mechanisms which in turn reinforce social supports. (Thus, it is suggested that social work could assist individuals in coping with relocation with respect to its socially disruptive and grief reaction producing phenomena.) In addition it is hoped that statements can be presented that will point to the importance of the inclusion of social workers in a new approach that will make urban renewal more humane; a new

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<sup>6</sup>Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," American Journal of Psychiatry, CI (1944), 141-148.

approach which would point to the idea of prevention of social and emotional pain for the prospective relocatees.

### Hypotheses of the Study

#### I. Hypothesis I

Urban relocation is socially disruptive and can be the cause of grief reactions among relocatees.

##### A. Assumptions.

1. Individuals who are relocated will demonstrate by their responses to focused questions that urban relocation has been a socially disruptive experience for them.
2. The reaction of grief will tend to be demonstrated by these individuals.

#### II. Hypothesis II

The intense feelings of grief and the intense feeling that relocation was socially disruptive will be pronounced where the individual is attached to his old living area.

##### A. Assumptions.

1. When one speaks of living area, the inclusion of the individual's home, neighbors, social activities, church, and overall social milieu is pre-supposed.
2. Individuals who have lived in a neighborhood for a relatively long period of time will



tend to be attached to that neighborhood.  
(For the purpose of clarity a long period of time is considered to be five or more years.)

3. Attachment to one's neighborhood may not be based only on longevity. One may have become attached to a particular neighborhood even though he had not been in that neighborhood for a long period of time. This attachment may be based on the individual's involvement in neighborhood activities.

### III. Hypothesis III

If an individual's attachment to his new living area is on a par or greater than his attachment to his old living area, his level of grief will tend not to be as great as the individual who has a far stronger feeling for his old living area than he does for his new one.

#### A. Assumptions.

1. When an individual loses something that is of value to him, he will grieve.
2. The individual's feeling of loss will tend to be greater if what he has lost is far more attractive than what he now has.

### Data Utilization

The data collected were utilized in a twofold manner. Some of the data were used to provide justification for the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses in addition to providing insight into what needs to be done to improve the urban renewal process. Other aspects of the data were used solely in the latter manner.

In essence the data presented the feelings of the relocatees and their manner of treatment. This provided the basis for the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses in addition to the provision of material utilized in the generation of recommendations suggesting ways in which the field of social work can make contributions which will improve the urban renewal process.

A questionnaire was utilized to gather the data. A full discussion of the varying aspects of this questionnaire will be given in Chapter III. A discussion of the community milieu will be presented in Chapter IV. Chapter V will present a discussion of the findings and Chapter VI will be an analysis of these findings. Chapter VII will provide a summary of the study along with conclusions, implications, and recommendations which were generated from the findings.

It also should be noted that in the summary of the study, statements will be made concerning sex, economic status and age.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following discussion will center around the social and emotional implications of urban renewal and what use these implications have to the practice of social work. The sequence of the discussion will be to give an overview of process and then move into the social and emotional implications of urban renewal followed by studies pertaining to urban relocation. From that point a discussion of the literature concerning the role of social work will be given followed by viewing the idea of citizen participation and the family agency concept. The thrust of this chapter will be an attempt to familiarize the reader with what is a relatively extensive sampling of relevant literature on the above subject.

#### Overview of Process

In this section, a discussion of process will be presented. An attempt will be made to reply to the following questions:

1. What does urban renewal mean?

2. Who does it tend to affect most?

3. Is the process of urban renewal inhumane?

These are the kinds of questions that are of paramount importance. Failure to reflect upon these questions would lead to a massive void in a discussion of the urban renewal process.

To begin to respond to the first query, it is important to point out that the renewal of cities is not something new. City renewal can be traced back to the earliest days of history. For example, the city of Troy was renewed nine times before the birth of Christ. Another example which is somewhat less ancient is Barron Haussman's changing of Paris from that of a medieval town to that of a Baroque city. More recently the development of the Rockefeller Center is an example of city renewal.

Since some renewal takes place without benefit of government assistance, the question of why a federally sponsored urban renewal program is a must is often posed. The answer evolves from the idea that the problem is of such great magnitude. Van Huyck and Hornung point to the idea that:

Almost every American city of any size has some signs of deterioration which can range from a small isolated pocket to literally thousands of acres of recognized slums. In analyzing the properties for clearance and redevelopment of these areas, the private investor-developer can only be expected to render those prospects that will offer a reasonable profit. His motives cannot be solely city



betterment or social concern. Furthermore it is not just a matter of cleaning individual blighted buildings to make way for new ones. The problem in most cases is that building lots are too small, the platting pattern obsolete, the streets and utilities inadequate, and the neighborhood in general is simply not conducive to private investment. Since a developer can only deal with a given site, he cannot solve the greater neighborhood problems and as a result, there is little opportunity for successful renewal or a completely private, piecemeal basis. This is why there is a need for a cooperative effort between the Federal and local governments and private enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

As pointed out by Van Huyck and Hornung, the federal assistance offered comes in two forms: technical assistance and financial aid.

The technical assistance is provided by the Federal Government in the form of guidelines for setting up a working local urban renewal agency, fully staffed and supported by the necessary technical personnel. The other area of Federal contribution is in the various types of financial assistance offered. For instance, there are one hundred percent advances for planning urban renewal projects. In addition, all relocation payments are borne through a one hundred percent Federal grant.<sup>2</sup>

Urban renewal is a process which is comprehensive and which encompasses both clearance and construction of structures. This program offers a certain amount of flexibility and allows considerable local discretion. They further state that the process usually proceeds along the following lines.

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<sup>1</sup>Alfred P. Van Huyck and Jack Hornung, The Citizen's Guide to Urban Renewal (West Trenton, N.J.: Chandler-Davis Publishing Co., 1962), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

(1) The submission and approval of a survey and planning application for an urban renewal project. (2) The undertaking of the necessary surveys to provide the data essential for programming the project, and developing of the urban renewal plan. (3) The acquisition of properties. (4) The relocation of all families and businesses. (5) Demolition of structures. (6) The rehabilitation or conservation of all structures determined to be economically feasible for such treatment and permitted by the plan. (7) The installation of all public improvements such as roads, sidewalks, utilities, schools, parking lots and parks. (8) The resale or other disposition of the cleared land to developers who have agreed to build in accordance with the provisions of the urban renewal plan. (9) Finally, the completion of the new construction.<sup>3</sup>

The process as noted above has been afforded the "benefit" of local discretion. However, this has certain inherent problems. There are really no specific, coherent and consistent goals for urban renewal. Instead of movement in the direction of consistent and patterned goals, we have instead a number of programs and objectives which, in many cases, lack that important quality, consistency.

In discussing the meaning of urban renewal, it is essential to identify who is doing the defining. To the prospective relocatee, urban renewal often means that he is going to lose his home and be forced to move to another home in another area. He does not think in terms of city improvement as do the city officials. He, and quite justifiably, is concerned about himself and his family, if he has one. Urban renewal, for the prospective

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16.

relocatee, often means being torn away from an area that he knows and loves. In cases in which he does not have a feeling of love, it is often a place where he feels he can relate to individuals who are familiar to him. It is a place that breeds familiarity if nothing else. Urban renewal often means being "pushed around" by the establishment.

Gans points out that:

The federal and local housing standards which are applied to slum areas reflect the value pattern of middle class professionals. These professionals, like the rest of the middle class, allot a higher value to housing (as measured by percentage of income to be spent for shelter) and place greater emphasis on the status function of housing than does the working class. Their evaluation of the behavior of slum residents is also based on class-defined standards, and these often confuse behavior which is only culturally different with pathological or antisocial acts.<sup>4</sup>

The lack of understanding of which Gans speaks quite often can be found to exist in the establishment's definition of the meaning of relocation to the relocatee.

In line with Gan's discussion, Seeley points out that:

To get at the underlying possibilities for slum renewal or slum clearance, the nature of the slum must first be understood. Among the various lines of possible action that are then identifiable it appears that only one is ordinarily open to city planning [urban renewal]. It is difficult to do anything in even this direction because of the

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<sup>4</sup>Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," p. 16.



vested interests of the non-slum dweller in the continued existence of the slum. Moreover, many slum-dwellers have profound interests in their habitat, and disturbance of these interests raises a great many serious social problems.<sup>5</sup>

Seeley speaks of two important issues, one being that urban renewal is often difficult to set into motion because of resistance from some persons with vested interests (i.e., absentee landlords) and the slum dwellers to be relocated. Seeley also hints that city planners don't really understand nor know what urban renewal really means to the people being displaced and this has led to the poor handling of the relocation process. The implication is that if they did, relocation would be far less painful and the reasons for righteous resistance would be assuaged to an extent.

Anderson in his discussion of urban renewal points out that:

The consequences of a typical urban renewal project are often harsh. People are forcibly evicted from their homes, businessmen are forced to close their doors, buildings good and bad, are destroyed--all in the name of an appeal to some higher "good," the public interest.

Those in favor of urban renewal usually do not like to discuss the unpleasant consequences of the program. When placed in a position where they have to discuss it, they will often attempt to evade the issue or utter vague phrases about the seriousness of the problem and the need for doing

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<sup>5</sup> John R. Seeley, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV, No. 1 (February, 1959), 7.

something about it. They might reply something like this: "Yes, that is a problem, and we must continue to stress the importance of enlisting the full cooperation of communities engaged in urban renewal to help solve these basic social problems." Vague generalities of this type do not alter the objective facts, and they seldom stir anyone to examine the problem and its causes rigorously.<sup>6</sup>

Though one may be hard pressed to find the gross negligence on the part of relocation officials in the cities of this country of which Anderson speaks, one probably would not be as hard pressed to find a paucity of understanding on the part of the professionals responsible for relocation. This paucity of understanding would center around the professions' lack of knowledge of the real meaning of relocation to the people who must endure this process.

Anderson reflects upon the idea of an appeal to some higher "good," the public interest. This points to basic ideological differences between the professionals responsible for urban renewal and the people who are caught up in the process. Often relocation has a secondary status in the urban renewal program; whereas to the people who are effected, urban renewal means being relocated (i.e., forced out). Hartman reflects upon this issue and points out that:

It is an inescapable conclusion that relocation has been only an ancillary component of the renewal

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<sup>6</sup> Martin Anderson, The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964), p. 52.

process, were this not the case, the community would find totally unacceptable "slum clearance" projects which leave as many as two-thirds of the displaced families still living in substandard conditions, or which actually increase the incidence of overcrowding. With few exceptions, relocation in this country has not truly been a rehousing effort [in the British sense of the word], a plan which focuses primary attention on the problem of how to insure that people living in substandard housing are resettled into decent homes.<sup>7</sup>

Again Hartman is pointing to a lack of understanding on the part of professionals as to what urban renewal really does. What urban renewal has done in the past is evidenced by what relocatees think urban renewal means.

The middle-class concept of what exists in a neighborhood quite often is at variance with what the people in the neighborhood feel. Mann in his discussion of the lower Ward in Toronto reflects upon this idea.

The social system of the "old Canadian" of the lower Ward may be regarded at this point as an ambivalent structure hostile to but dependent upon the middle-class culture predominant in Toronto. The encircling community possesses the great preponderance of power and impresses its main values, goals, and codes upon all members. Certain ecological factors, however, tend to weaken the impact of such values, goals, and codes upon the lower Ward. . . . The significant social world of lower Ward residents is an area of perhaps four to five blocks square; beyond this is largely foreign territory. Indifference to secondary associations, which encourage mobility and diffusion of interests, and insulation within certain local institutions like the pub further

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<sup>7</sup>Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXX, No. 4 (November, 1964), 278.



strengthen the isolation of these residents from middle-class influences.<sup>8</sup>

Though this is not specifically related to urban renewal, it points out the social system of the lower Ward was just different with different values, goals, and beliefs. They view the world from a different perspective. The lower Ward with its indigenous social system is similar to a number of districts in the cities of this country. With this thought in mind, one could suggest that in viewing urban renewal from this same differing perspective, a different meaning could easily be attributed to the process by those being relocated.

In viewing the second question, whom does urban renewal affect most, the answer would be the families of elderly and/or poor who inhabit the urban renewal project areas. In addition, large numbers of these elderly and/or poor families are black.

The Philadelphia Housing Association points out that:

We are perplexed by the implicit and explicit consequences of what we have done so far. For example, we have witnessed the disorganization of families and the unexpected restructuring of entire

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<sup>8</sup>W. E. Mann, "The Social System of a Slum: The Lower Ward, Toronto," in Urbanism the Changing Canadian Society, ed. by S. D. Clark (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 57.

communities through displacement. We have found that minorities are hardest hit.<sup>9</sup>

There are two factors that are of paramount importance that must be viewed when one decides to discuss urban renewal. (1) The community in which the affected families life is disrupted (i.e., demolished). (2) The affected families are forced to relocate in another area which quite often is quite alien to them.

In viewing the elderly, they may very well have lived in the renewal project area most of their lives and may own their own homes. When they leave this area and relocate in another area, will they be able to purchase another home? The answer to this is: sometimes yes but many times no. These individuals are considered displacees (i.e., an individual displaced due to the construction of highways, public buildings and urban renewal project activities of all kinds). Haas states:

Any person qualified as a displacee is entitled to a "Certificate of Eligibility," also known as F.H.A. form #3476, which is issued by the displacing agency--which would be any one of the departments or authorities who could force one to relocate.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Paper from the Philadelphia Housing Association's Fifteenth Anniversary Forum, End and Means of Urban Renewal (Philadelphia: Novelty Printing Co., 1961), p. 80.

<sup>10</sup>John H. Haas, 3 R's of Housing (Washington, D.C.: General Improvement Contractors Association, 1962), p. 59.

In this situation F.H.A. makes it extremely difficult to attain a "Certificate of Eligibility" (which authorizes F.H.A. to recognize the holder as a displacee and extend to him the special benefits of the Relocation Mortgage for the purchase of a home). Haas goes on to state that:

F.H.A.'s mortgage credit scrutiny might be considered the toughest stumbling block in the entire relocation picture. F.H.A. will apply the same yardstick of credit eligibility to the buyer of a \$50,000 suburban villa as to the \$5,000 income family deprived of its domicile by a bulldozer.<sup>11</sup>

In many cases, the elderly person is required to move out of his old home and into public housing or possibly an apartment. Of course, this kind of disposition of the elderly is not highly publicized.

In viewing the relocation of racial minority groups, experience has shown that a high percentage of the families of the people effected by urban renewal projects are of minority groups, especially blacks. Quite naturally, the relocation of blacks is said to be fair and in a nondiscriminatory manner. Van Huyck and Hornung cogently reflect upon the idea that:

The Federal regulations have recognized this aspect of the renewal program and require a special report on minority consideration. The purpose of this report is to indicate that the total supply of housing for minority groups is not reduced in the city and that minority group leadership has

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

participated in the relocation programming. These regulations are firm and the Federal Government makes every effort to follow up in this area. A community must anticipate and accept their responsibility to properly relocate minority group families if they are to avoid delays in the project and public opposition at a later date.<sup>12</sup>

When the subject of relocation is presented it is extremely important to realize that adequate standard housing be available at the time clearance takes place. This means that the estimates made, at the time of the program, must be accurate. For the elderly (black and white), it may not be possible for them to buy another home, but they must be able to move into acceptable housing. In the case of the nonelderly poor (black and white) they must be made to feel that they will not be moving from one rat infested apartment dwelling to another. (For blacks, be they elderly and poor or non-elderly and poor, an added problem exists.) Being black often they are discriminated against. Though the Federal Governments demands that nondiscriminatory policies be followed, the insidious evils of discrimination manage to creep into the process. Special efforts must be made to insure that this does not occur. If discrimination is allowed to take place, the available housing supply will be reduced.

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<sup>12</sup>Van Huyck and Hornung, The Citizen's Guide to Urban Renewal, p. 105.



Often the most disadvantaged are victimized, this takes place because of the often stated cliché "being in the wrong place at the right time." These people find themselves in project areas which have been slated for demolition by the city's officials. However, there often is not enough standard housing available and thus these people are forced from usually substandard housing into other living quarters which are also substandard.

The fact that a person cannot look forward to better housing but simply the destruction of his neighborhood, can only lead to feelings of bewilderment and hostility.

Hauser and Wirth reflect upon this dilemma by stating:

In many cases, enthusiasm for launching new projects, whether expressways, public works, or urban renewal, has led to widespread demolition without adequate regard for the problem of relocation. Without question the most serious and numerous complaints about relocation have resulted from deficiency in the supply of adequate standard housing into which to place dislocated families.<sup>13</sup>

In basic agreement with the view of Hauser and Wirth, Greer reflects upon the problems that the disadvantaged must endure because of urban renewal.

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<sup>13</sup> Philip M. Hauser and Mary B. Wirth, "Relocation--Opportunity or Liability?" in Poverty in America, ed. by Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965), p. 354.

No aspect of the urban renewal program has excited more concerns, polemics, and political anxiety than the problem of relocating those whose homes are destroyed. Humanly, it is "pushing people around," and generally it is the poorest with the fewest choices.<sup>14</sup>

From the above, it can be seen that the people who tend most often to be in the most perilous condition are the ones who are called upon to bare the equities that are presented by the "establishment." It seems as though the people who have the least and also have the least chance of withstanding the stresses of life are the ones who are called upon most frequently to endure the most difficult of situations.

Greer makes some interesting suggestions concerning what has to be done if urban renewal is to be successful. From his statement one can glean a number of interesting concepts of which the most prominent would center around the assumptions that are absolute necessities if one is to hope for success to be attained through the urban renewal process.

. . . the elimination and prevention of slums is based on certain assumptions about how people can be controlled. It will work only if those assumptions hold. Those assumptions may be grouped around the various subgoals of the program: (1) the destruction of existing slums and their replacement with standard structures, (2) the

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<sup>14</sup>Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities (Indianapolis, New York, and Kansas City: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), p. 55.

rehousing of ex-slum dwellers in standard housing, (3) the enforcement of housing codes was to bring existing houses up to code standards [This is necessary in order to prevent dual standards. In other words, one set of standards being imposed in order to force individuals out of their homes and another set of standards to define housing which they must take in the place of their old housing. If this is not done people will be moved from sub-standard housing into other substandard housing.], and, (4) the use of the local capital budget to improve public facilities in substandard areas.<sup>15</sup>

Quite often what occurs is that these assumptions are voiced by the city's officials before the initiation of the renewal process. However, these good intentions seem to be forgotten in the "hustle and bustle" of renewal and what usually occurs is that the city officials benefit from this forgetfulness and the relocatees suffer.

In line with Greer's thinking Price interestingly observes that:

Although urban renewal is an exceedingly complex subject involving economics and aesthetics, politics, and sociology, the ethics of urban renewal can be formulated in a very few words: Don't forget the people! This may seem trite to those who, when they think of urban renewal, equal it with better housing for the poor. (The point that should be emphasized, however, is that the recent interest in urban renewal springs largely from economics, rather than humanitarian concerns.<sup>16</sup>)

Frieden, in line with both the thinking of Greer and Price, points out that:

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-26.

<sup>16</sup> Raymond Price, "Urban Renewal--The Modern Juggernaut," Canada's Mental Health, XV, Nos. 3 and 4 (1967), 14.



City planning has sometimes been seen mainly as a technical process involving the application of accepted standards to sections of the urban environment. Modifying plans to take account of local preferences is still seen in some quarters as poor professional practice, an abdication of technical judgement in the face of political pressure. This style of planning in urban renewal provided the rationale for destroying old neighborhoods solely on the basis of physical conditions, without regard for social values destroyed at the same time.<sup>17</sup>

This brings us back to the salient issue that often in the zeal to beautify one's city, the fact that people are involved in the process is often forgotten. In addition the social milieu and the emotional stability of the relocatee is destroyed with the destruction of his neighborhood.

In viewing the final query, is urban renewal inhumane, the response to that query would have to be that in many cases it is very inhumane. Gans reflects on this inhumanity by stating that:

. . . the policy has been to clear a district of all slums at once in order to assemble large sites to attract private developers, entire neighborhoods have frequently been destroyed, uprooting people who have lived there for decades, closing down their institutions, ruining small businesses by the hundreds, and scattering families and friends all over the city. (By removing the structure of social and emotional support provided by the neighborhood, and by forcing people to rebuild their lives separately and amid strangers elsewhere, slum clearance has often come at a serious

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<sup>17</sup> Bernard J. Frieden, "The Changing Prospects for Social Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII, No. 5 (September, 1967), 318.

psychological as well as financial cost to the supposed beneficiaries.<sup>18</sup>

Miss Mary G. Cavanagh testifying before a Congressional committee in June of 1967 adds to the idea that urban renewal is inhumane.

I have done social work in this country and in Europe, both in peace time and in war time, and I have never seen such misery, injustice and hardship inflicted on a population by its own government as has been caused by urban renewal. I really believe that if General MacArthur's command had inflicted this much hardship on a conquered enemy in Japan, there would have been an immediate outcry from all over the civilized world.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the above, in drafting the Re-development Act for the District of Columbia, it was found by Congress that demolition of large areas of substandard housing would result in the relocation of thousands. As a minimum protection for displaced persons, Congress provided that before approval of a project plan, the Board of Commissioners must be satisfied that safe, decent, and sanitary housing, at rents which dislocated persons could afford, would be available for relocation of displaced families. Despite the fact that thousands of dwelling units occupied by low-income families were to be

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<sup>18</sup> Herbert J. Gans, "The Failure of Urban Renewal," in Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy, ed. by James Q. Wilson (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1966), p. 541.

<sup>19</sup> Bryton Barron and Ella Barron, The Inhumanity of Urban Renewal (Springfield, Va.: Crestwood Books, 1965, p. 1.



demolished, provisions for low rent public housing were left out of or eliminated from project plan.

In conjunction with the above project, an accusation pointing to a falsification of data was leveled. In May, 1959, the annual report submitted by the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) for the District of Columbia to the Congress spoke of the highly successful relocation that had transpired in that year. The General Accounting Office, a part of the Federal Government, made a routine audit of the data submitted by the RLA. A sample examination of the relocation program was taken and some unexpected findings were revealed.

Almost 10 percent of the addresses given by the RLA as being dwellings in which displaced persons were relocated proved to be nonexistent; even though inspection reports were fully completed. In some instances, data purporting to be an inspection of the housing conditions gave information on such dwellings when the fact was that no persons had made an interior survey of the particular premises. In other cases, housing reported to be safe, decent, and sanitary, and thus suitable for human habitation, was found to be substandard.<sup>20</sup>

The above report, concerning the activities of RLA, pointed to the kind of situation that is not novel in the area of urban renewal throughout this country. It was found that RLA utilized standards for the determining of acceptable housing for families being relocated from urban renewal areas that were less stringent than the

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-39.



standards utilized in determining an area eligible for urban renewal. In other words, it was found that RLA would use one set of standards in order to promote the renewal of a chosen area, and after declaring it eligible, utilize a different set of standards in order to move the people out of the area. This meant that a family could very well be forced to relocate in an area that was often worse than, and at best, equal to their present area.

From the discussion of situations that have been evidenced in the District of Columbia, it can be clearly seen that any city taking part in urban renewal must meet its relocation responsibilities. When this fails to take place, the treatment that is received by the displacees at the hands of the city's officials is, without a doubt, cruel and inhumane. People cannot be shuttled around as if they were cattle. The officials of this country's cities cannot expect nor should they be willing to treat displacees inhumanely merely to derive the economic benefits that are inherent in urban renewal. Economic benefits must never be placed before human need. With regard to this dilemma Van Huyck and Hornung point out that:

Some communities need and want the economic benefits that come from a successful urban renewal project, but they are not really willing to accept their responsibility for the families living in the project area. It should be understood by the city from the beginning that the relocation of

people with low income into safe, decent and sanitary dwellings, which they can afford, is very difficult. The solution is often some form of public housing on a special subsidy. Public housing has never been a popular program in this country, but if it is needed a community must see it through. If a city will not accept public housing and the local leadership will not support it, and if it is equally obvious that it will be needed, then there is little point in undertaking urban renewal.<sup>21</sup>

It is obvious that the above quote advocates public housing as going "hand in glove" with urban renewal. One would agree with the idea that provisions must be made but one need not agree with the entwining of public housing in an inextricable manner into the relocation process. When this is done, many believe that if public housing is available then the displacees involved are receiving fair and humane treatment. However, this is not always the case. The public housing may be built hastily and with substandard materials which will deteriorate quickly. In addition, the public housing may be situated in an area that would make the displacees feel as though they were pariahs.

Too often a panacea is sought by a city's re-developers. If they see that a particular approach (i.e., public housing) worked in a particular area, they assume that it will be successful in another area. Each

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<sup>21</sup>Van Huyck and Hornung, The Citizen's Guide to Urban Renewal, p. 24.

situation must be weighed on its own merits. Any attempt to generalize may result in undue hardships for the people who are being relocated. The relocation process must be thought out if it is to be successful. The mistakes that are made by the city's officials are felt by the displacees and not by the city at large. The feelings of rootlessness and despair are felt by the people who are in the process of losing their homes and being forced to go to another area.

The problem of inhumane treatment is often more pronounced when blacks are involved, for not only are they poor and disadvantaged but they also are black. This increases the chance that they will receive inhumane treatment. Van Huyck and Hornung cite the fact that:

A major reason why relocation is often a difficult problem is because it may uncover the prejudices and apathies of a city which local officials must be prepared to recognize. Where applicable, the locality must be prepared to effectively solve a problem of minority group housing. The estimates vary, but it is probably accurate to say that about two-thirds of all families in the United States who will be relocated by urban renewal projects belong to racial minority groups. Most of these families are Negro. In undertaking urban renewal, a community may therefore be faced with the problem of relocating minority families into decent, safe, and sanitary housing. For many, if not most communities, this will mean the breaking of traditional segregated housing barriers. Only if a community is prepared to work constructively with minority group leadership to the mutual benefit of all concerned should

an urban renewal project be started which will involve this problem.<sup>22</sup>

Admittedly, the above is dated from the standpoint of segregated housing barriers. The laws that are now in existence make it more difficult to segregate blacks, but subtle approaches (i.e., political pressure) can bring about the desired results. However, it is no longer in the blatant fashion of the past, but it is just as insidious as ever.

#### Social Implications of Urban Renewal

If one attempts to discuss urban renewal without reflecting upon the social implications of the process, he is being, at best, naive. Only through viewing urban renewal in its proper perspective can one expect the relocation of people to be handled as painlessly as possible. This means that the proper attitude by those responsible for the process is essential. Moore reflects upon this issue by pointing out that:

Relocation, the physical moving of people because of governmental action is more than re-housing, it is a process of helping people to transfer from one setting to another, in which comprehensive attention must be given to the person, the family, and the community. In this process, the crisis of imposed physical change is used to promote social, physical, and emotional growth. Needless to say, another factor is at work: the protective element of reducing the hardship of a

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

forced move. Fundamentally, however, relocation must be based on a forward looking approach; one that recognizes that although change may hurt, it also has positive aspects.<sup>23</sup>

Moore, in her discussion, hints quite strongly that this positive approach must encompass an appreciation of the social effects of relocation.

Colebrook's seeing the importance of viewing the social effects of relocation makes an impassioned plea for the recognition of the fact that the social sides goes part and parcel with the urban renewal process.

We must ask ourselves to what extent urban renewal can deal with this question of environment, and to what extent it is simply pushing problems around, rearranging them in the wake of new highways and million dollar schools. It is admirable that the public conscience has determined to eradicate these gray areas, but it is wise to be skeptical as the forces of change struggle with their Herculean task. Housing and social health cannot be separated.<sup>24</sup>

In viewing the social effects of urban renewal Gans indicates that:

Slums are places where people live. Whatever the condition of the housing, residents may have extremely close attachments to the area, its people and its institutions. Sometimes, people have spent their entire lives in such a neighborhood, and suffer grievously if they are forced to move against their will. This was certainly true of a low rent

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<sup>23</sup> Jean E. Moore, "Relocation of People: A Challenging Aspect of Urban Renewal and Redevelopment," Social Casework, XLVII, No. 10 (December, 1966), 657.

<sup>24</sup> Joan Colebrook, "People of the Slums: Relocation or Renewal?" The New Republic, June 15, 1963, p. 19.

Italian neighborhood in Boston that I studied before its clearance. In Negro neighborhoods, with their high rates of population turnover, the attachment to the area may be less intense, but we do not really know this. The sociologist can study these neighborhoods, and see what they mean to the people. He might conclude that the social aspects are such that the present occupants should remain, even if this means only minimal renewal of the housing. Ideally, ways of rehabilitating such housing without large scale relocation should be found.<sup>25</sup>

Reynolds also presents an interesting discussion concerning the social implications of urban renewal.

Although relocation of the occupants of land bought for public purposes has become an established part of urban renewal, the task of uprooting and transplanting these occupants has proved to be more than a mechanical or impersonal matter. Relocation entails much more than formal ejection or the legal obligation to move. It is people who are relocated, and relocation must take into account both the place where these people live and their native social, cultural and economic environments. It is within this human setting that relocation affects families and their communities.<sup>26</sup>

Foster makes an interesting observation with reference to those responsible for urban planning and urban renewal and cogently states:

It is important for those responsible for urban planning and urban renewal to consider what other factors besides shelter are important for family comfort.

Not only does urban renewal ignore the people in renewal areas, but it also bases its plans on

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<sup>25</sup>Herbert J. Gans, "Planning for Urban Renewal," Transaction, I (November, 1963), 6.

<sup>26</sup>Harry W. Reynolds, Jr., "The Human Element in Urban Renewal," Public Welfare Journal, XIX, No. 2 (April, 1961), 71.

misconception about the area which it sees in need of renewal. The areas to be renewed are often termed as slums, and the renewal is based on the feeling that slums are bad places for people to live and therefore, should be destroyed and rebuilt.<sup>27</sup>

Foster is calling for a redefinition of terms at best; but it appears that Foster is of the opinion that if this redefinition of terms does not take place, then at least the individuals responsible for urban planning and urban renewal should become more cognizant of the social implications of urban relocation.

Fried and Gleicher reflect upon the idea and point out that:

In studying the reasons for satisfaction that the majority of slum residents experience, two major components have emerged. On the one hand, residential area is the region in which a vast and interlocking set of social networks is localized. And, on the other, the physical area has considerable meaning as an extension of home, in which various parts are delineated and structured on the basis of a sense of belonging.<sup>28</sup>

In viewing what these individuals have stated with regard to the social implications of urban relocation, two important questions came to the fore: (1) What effect will relocation have on the social processes that were

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<sup>27</sup> Douglas L. Foster, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Urban Renewal," Journal of the National Medical Association, LXII, No. 2 (March, 1970), 97.

<sup>28</sup> Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVII, No. 6 (November, 1961), 315.

taking place prior to relocation? and (2) What are the differing kinds of effects that can take place after relocation?

To the city officials, a particular area that they feel is prime for urban renewal is viewed as a slum. However, to the people who inhabit this area it is their community. It is where they live. In other words, most feel it is home. Some literature points to the idea that many of the slum dwellers are transients and really have no real community feeling about the area in which they live. It is just a place to stay while there is work. This is an argument utilized by many to justify the need for the initiation of a particular urban renewal project (i.e., the hasty demolition of the homes and the "relocation" of the families of that particular area). This can be utilized to assuage any guilt feelings that may come about when people are herded from their homes. The argument is often that "these people move around so much and they really do not have any real ties to the community, and thus through urban renewal they can be moved into nicer homes and apartments in another area and all will benefit." One could argue, and quite strongly, that this idea of the transients is a ploy to attain desired goals. Marris reflects upon this idea by stating that:



It is sometimes suggested that slum dwellers are transients, moving annually and returning to country districts in bad times. Instances are cited of Negro Schools where there has been a complete changeover of pupils in a year. Yet, though some may follow such a restless course, figures I collated do not suggest that the families displaced by urban renewal are especially migratory. In Philadelphia, 17 percent of families had been living in the homes demolished less than a year, 40 percent for more than ten years, half of these had lived in the city more than twenty years. In one cleared area of Baltimore, 18 percent had been there less than a year, a third more than ten years, in a Chicago program, only 7 percent had been less than a year in the houses from which they were cleared, and the median length of residence was eight years.<sup>29</sup>

From the above it can be seen that in many situations the areas that are viewed as being slum dwellings for transients are really relatively stable communities with a great deal of social interaction occurring and with a great deal of community feeling. From this it can be seen that members of a community, over a period of years, have gotten to know each other and interact socially (i.e., golden age clubs or ladies clubs and men's clubs). These people have ties to their community and many love their homes and have affectionate feelings about their community. Demolition of the community means the demolition of a social interactional process that has been prevalent over a period of years. The friends that lived across the street will no longer be in such close proximity

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<sup>29</sup>Peter Marris, "A Report on Urban Renewal in the United States," in The Urban Condition, ed. by Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 123.

if the community is demolished and all of the families relocated. A tremendous void will occur in the social aspects of their lives.

The above is substantiated by Fried who states that:

What is common to a host of studies is the evidence for the integrity of the urban, working-class, slum community as a social and spatial unit. It is the sense of belonging someplace, in a particular place which is quite familiar and easily delineated, in a wide area in which one feels "at home." This is the core of meaning of the local area. And this applies for many people who have few close relationships within the area. Even familiar and expectable streets and houses, faces at the window and people walking by, personal greetings and impersonal sounds may serve to designate the concrete foci of a sense of belonging somewhere and may provide special kinds of interpersonal and social meaning to a region one defines as "home."<sup>30</sup>

In looking at the effects that can take place after relocation has taken place, it can be seen that new ties must be established. The old homesite is no longer in existence and one is forced to move to another area. In this new area, the people are strange and one really does not know what social interactional patterns can be established. One is required to once again start all over and begin to make new acquaintances. If there are children involved, they must also leave their old friends and be required to attempt to make new ones, and, most probably,

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<sup>30</sup> Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," in The Urban Condition, ed. by Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 154.

will have to go to another school. All in all, this means that the social patterns that once were in existence are shattered and if new ones are not established, a tremendous void will be evidenced. Though many may say, "so what," it should be realized that for many their home and friends are all they have and the thought of starting all over for many of them is overwhelming.

### Emotional Implications of Urban Renewal

In viewing the emotional implications of urban relocation, the grief reaction is of extreme importance. Incorporated in this discussion of the grief reaction are: (1) loss of spatial identity, and (2) the stresses that are brought to the fore because of the trauma of relocation.

Rochlin points out that "the immediate loss of a loved or central and important object, or even an abstraction like liberty or an image of oneself, is often followed by grief or mourning. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

In many cases, the loss of one's home and the demolition of his community is analogous to the loss of a loved one. Individuals grieve this loss and actually go through a grief reaction. Bowlby points out that:

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<sup>31</sup>Gregory Rochlin, Griefs and Discontents (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1965), p. 48.

Reactions of grief are manifest in the feelings of painful loss, the continued longing, the general depressive tone, frequent symptoms of psychological or social and somatic distress, the active work required in adapting to the altered situation, the sense of helplessness, the occasional expressions of both direct and displaced anger, and tendencies to idealize the lost place.<sup>32</sup>

In many cases, these reactions can be extremely intense as is reflected upon by Fried who states that:

At their most extreme, these reactions of grief are intense, deeply felt, and at times, overwhelming. In response to a series of questions concerning the feelings of sadness and depression which people experienced after moving, many replies were unambiguous. "I felt as though I had lost everything. I felt like my heart was taken out of me."<sup>33</sup>

Just as in the mourning of the death of a loved one, the more intense the feeling for the person prior to his death the more intense will be the grief reaction. Thus, it can be assumed that individuals who have lived in a particular community for a number of years would most probably have some favorable feelings about that community. As was pointed out earlier, many individuals who live in the slums of our cities are not transient and feel a certain degree of commitment to that community. Because of the nontransient status of these people, one can expect

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<sup>32</sup>J. Bowlby, "Processes of Mourning," International Journal of Psychoanalysis, XLII (July-October, 1961), 330.

<sup>33</sup>Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," p. 151.

grief reactions if they are forced to leave that particular community.

In viewing the grief reaction of the individual who has lost his home, the feeling is without a doubt, extremely intense. What takes place is that an individual who has something suddenly finds that what he once had is gone. Often a place that contained many fond memories is destroyed and because of this, these memories are also destroyed. The persons involved suffer a grievous loss that gnaws at them as if it were a festering sore. The grief reaction becomes worse as the individual begins to realize what he has lost. The loss becomes more apparent as the individual begins to compare what he has with what he once had. Often the individual, as he compared, sees that the urban renewal process has forced him out of an area that he loved or at least was familiar with into an area that is strange, new, and bewildering. The grief reaction maintains itself as the individual sees that his present situation cannot compare with what he once had.

Often the housing is no worse than it was in his old neighborhood; but the point that cannot be overstated is that the old place was a place of fond memories and if not that, a place where he at least felt comfortable because of its familiarity. Consequently, the individual feels uprooted and lost. No longer does he have his home,

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his neighborhood, or his friends close by him. The home and neighborhood no longer exist and his friends have been scattered. The suffering is intense for all that was, is no more.

Foster focuses on the work of Young and Willmott who point out the importance of the social aspects of the community and how they mean a great deal to each person on an individual basis.

What struck us most in our comparison between the two places Bethnel Green, a slum district in the East End, as opposed to Greenleaf, a new suburban housing project to which people from the same borough had moved, was the relative unimportance of good housing and an advanced design as against some other things in people's lives. Bethnel Green, the place in which the housing was poor, a place by which all planning standards was a hodgepodge which had housing mixed up with industry and so on. But there, in spite of the impoverishment of the physical environment we found a rich social life. The new housing project, though not by any means a model urban design, provided a much improved physical setting. The houses were of much higher standard, the community had its shopping centers and a separate industrial section. The layout had been carefully planned but social life was relatively impoverished. The residents of the new community, though better off in terms of housing, saw less of their kin, friends and neighbors and most of them resented the loss of the old community.<sup>34</sup>

Jacobs reflects upon the idea that:

Good shelter is a useful good in itself, as shelter. When we try to justify good shelter instead of on

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<sup>34</sup>Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), cited by Douglas Foster, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Urban Renewal," Journal of the National Medical Association, XLII, No. 2 (March, 1970), 98.

the pretentious grounds that it will work social or family miracles we fool ourselves.<sup>35</sup>

Young, Willmott and Jacobs reflect upon the importance of the social aspects of the community to the individual. As the individual is torn from his old neighborhood with its old social ties, he grieves. He grieves the loss of his home and his neighborhood from the standpoint of its physical qualities as well as what it has meant to him socially. In other words the grief stems from the physical and social loss of what was once his.

The discussion of grief reaction is broadened beyond the above as we view the individual's loss of spatial identity because of relocation. Having a place to call one's own is important if one is to attain emotional integration which is the essence of human functioning.

Fried cogently reflects:

We might say that a sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning. It represents a phenomenal or ideational integration of important experiences concerning environmental arrangements and contacts in relation to the individual's conception of his own body in space. It is based on spatial memories, spatial images, the spatial framework of current activity, and the implicit spatial components of ideals and aspirations.<sup>36</sup>

He further states that:

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<sup>35</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 113.

<sup>36</sup> Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home," p. 156.



Grieving for a lost home is evidently a widespread and serious social phenomenon following in the wake of urban dislocation. It is likely to increase social and psychological "pathology" in a limited number of instances; and it is also likely to create new opportunities for some, and to increase the rate of social mobility for others. For the greatest number, dislocation is unlikely to have either effect but does lead to intense suffering despite moderately successful adoption to the total situation of relocation.<sup>37</sup>

This intense personal feeling as noted above can aid in bringing to the fore familial problems that were heretofore handled (i.e., marital difficulties, child raising problems, or feelings of inadequacy.

#### Studies Pertaining to Relocation

There is a paucity of literature that deals directly with how the involved individuals felt about being relocated. Most of the literature deals with percentages of change from substandard to standard housing and the percentages of individuals who move from substandard to substandard housing. The overall positives and negatives of particular urban renewal projects seem to be the basis for a great number of studies. Studies that deal with the true "gut level" feelings of those people who experienced relocation and what befell many of those relocated, is relatively scarce.

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

Fried in his study of Boston's West End reports on the grief reaction.

At their most extreme, these reactions of grief are intense, deeply felt, and, at times, overwhelming. In response to a series of questions concerning the feelings of sadness and depression which people experienced after moving, many replies were unambiguous: "I felt as though I had lost everything. . . ." "I had a nervous breakdown." Certainly, some people were overjoyed with the change and many felt no sense of loss. Among 250 women, however, 26 percent report that they still feel sad or depressed two years later, and another 20 percent report a long period (six months to two years) of sadness or depression. Altogether, therefore, at least 46 percent give evidence of a fairly severe grief reaction or worse. And among 317 men, the data shows only a slightly smaller percentage (38 percent) with long term grief reactions. The true proportion of depressive reaction is undoubtedly higher since many women and men who report no feelings of sadness or depression indicate clearly depressive responses to other questions.<sup>38</sup>

Fried also reflects in this study that:

One of our primary theses is that the strength of the grief reaction to the loss of the West End is largely a function of prior orientations to the area. Thus, we certainly expect to find that the greater a person's pre-relocation commitment to the area, the more likely he is to react with marked grief. This prediction is confirmed again and again by the data. For the women among those who had said they liked living in the West End very much during the pre-relocation interview, 73 percent evidence a severe post-relocation grief reaction; among those who had less extreme but positive feelings about living in the West End, 53 percent show a similar order of grief; and among those who were ambivalent or negative about the West End, only 34 percent show a severe grief reaction.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 151-152.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 154-155.

In a study by Thursz concerning the individuals who were relocated from the Southwest part of Washington, D.C., he points out that:

A sharp distinction must be drawn between reaction to present housing as compared to housing in the old Southwest and the reaction to having to move from Southwest. This distinction is drawn by the respondents themselves. When asked how they felt about their present dwelling as compared to their former house in Southwest, 50 percent indicate that they like it very much more and another 14.3 percent like it somewhat more. This is very similar to the distribution of replies obtained right after relocation five years earlier. (51.3 percent liked the dwelling very much, and 15.6 percent liked it somewhat.)

When asked to recollect how they felt when they learned they would have to move from Southwest, 50 percent indicated that they strongly disliked having to move. Only 18.4 percent remember being pleased at the idea. The crucial question is the degree to which they hold the same views today.

We find that despite the fact that 50 percent like their homes better than those they had in Southwest, only 29.6 percent are happy they had to move. More than one in every three heads of households is very sorry that they had to move. This percentage--34.7 percent must be compared to the much smaller number who dislike the dwelling they live in as compared to the old Southwest home. That number is only 12.2 percent of the total. This is a further concrete indication of the importance attached by all people to the non-physical factors that make for a good neighborhood.<sup>40</sup>

In a study done by Nelida A. Ferrari, the attitudes of older adults, faced with a decision concerning their moving into an institution, were viewed. It was found that a significant relationship existed between the

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<sup>40</sup>Daniel Thursz, Where Are They Now? (Washington, D.C.: The District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency, 1966), p. 57.

lack of freedom of choice and the subsequent death of the person. Ferrari points out that:

The study is an application of Festinger's theory of dissonance, which arises from the assumption that an individual strives toward internal consistency of cognitions about himself and his environment. When inconsistency exists, attempts are made to rationalize it. When attempts to achieve consistency fail, there is psychological discomfort. This discomfort is referred to by Festinger as "dissonance."

The study was done on the basis of a questionnaire presented to seventy-five women already accepted as residents of an institution. The first interviews took place about a month before the women moved, the second took place about a month after they moved. . . .

Among other questions, the women were asked if the decision to move into the institution was their own, if the alternative of another type of residence was available to them, and how many choices they had. Of the seventy-five interviewed, seventeen answered that they did not have any other alternative but to move to the institution. . . .

Of the seventeen persons in the study who answered that they had no other alternative than the institution, eight died within the first four weeks and a total of sixteen within ten weeks of residence. Only one of the seventeen residents who died during that ten-week period had answered that she had the freedom to choose another alternative. In the records referring to these cases, death is qualified as "unexpected," indicating that, apparently, not even insignificant disturbances had given warning of impending death.<sup>41</sup>

In summarizing a study done by themselves, Aldrich and Mendkoff state that:

A study was made of the 233 patients in the Chicago Home for Incurables over a two-year period following announcement of the Home. Fifty-one patients died before leaving the institution. For

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<sup>41</sup>Nelida Ferrari, "Freedom of Choice," Social Work, VIII, No. 4 (October, 1963), 104.

the 182 who were relocated, the overall death rate one year later was 32 percent.

The results of this study indicate that when disabled persons, particularly the elderly, are transferred from one institution to another for reasons which have nothing to do with their health or their family's attitude, there is a marked increase in the death rate, an increase which is concentrated in the first three months following relocation.<sup>42</sup>

In a study by Lieberman concerning the relocation of individuals from the community to Homes, he states that:

Between 1947 and 1958, 536 deaths were recorded, of which 173, or 32 percent, occurred before the end of the first year of residence in the Home. The figure represents 24.7 percent first year mortality of the total admission between 1947 and 1958. The mortality rate of the same population was compared with the mortality rate of the same population before institutionalization--the waiting list period. The perspective resident to the Home may spend from one month to three years on the waiting list. The mean waiting period for the population was 6.4 months. (This figure represents minimum waiting time; several months usually elapsed between the screening period and the official admission. This figure was used because no accurate records were available for the entire population for the time spent from application to admission.) The mortality rate for the waiting list period was 10.4 percent--less than half the rate for the first year of institutionalization.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>C. Knight Aldrich and Ethel Mendkoff, "Relocation of Aged and Disabled: A Mortality Study," Journal of the American Geriatric Society, XI, No. 3 (March, 1963), 193.

<sup>43</sup>Morton A. Lieberman, "Relationship of Mortality Rates to Entrance to a Home for the Aged," Geriatrics, XVIII, No. 11 (1961), 516.

In summary, Fried, in his study, reflects upon the idea of lasting grief being associated with relocation. Fried, in line with Thursz's thinking, recognizes the importance of the ardent recognition of the prospective relocatee's attachment to his neighborhood. Ferrari speaks of the importance of a freedom of choice. Aldrich, Mendkoff and Lieberman point to the increase in death rates as a result of relocation. The thread that joins all of these individuals is that they see relocation as being far more than just the moving of individuals.

#### The Role of Social Work

The most important question that must be asked with regard to the role of social work in urban renewal is: Does social work really have a role in this process?

In defense of the idea that there is a need for social work services in urban renewal, Kriegsfeld reflects on a statement by Dutton who cogently points out that:

It seems obvious that social planning, and the service functions represented therein, should be integrated more effectively in other planning programs if social considerations are to make maximum contributions to city building and rebuilding. This assistance is needed for more than just helping in the carrying out of programs, but includes the creative participation and contribution of ideas, involvement in program development, designing and execution of experimentation programs, and the evaluation of results.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>W. C. Dutton, Jr., "Physical Planners and the Years Ahead," City Church (National Council of Churches),

O'Hara reflects upon Cohen's discussion of social planning and urban development which calls for the inclusion of social work in the urban renewal process.

Co-ordination of all parties with a legitimate concern in satisfactory urban planning is no longer simply an ideal but an absolute necessity. Adequate social as well as physical change must involve all the people involved--rich and poor, professionals and politicians, urban and suburban dwellers. A mechanism is required to bring together all the professional interests directed toward physical facilities, employment, public services for health and medical care, education, transportation, and recreation and cultural activities. Engineers, economists, architects, city planners, sociologists, educators, members of health profession, and politicians must talk and work together. Social work education should involve itself in the Institutes for the Study of Urban Problems currently being established by some universities. This would enable faculties to incorporate new concepts and experiences into the curriculum and assign students to fieldwork in the broad area of urban planning.<sup>45</sup>

Social work, as a profession, has been relatively uninvolved in the urban renewal process, which has become inextricably entwined in every discussion of urban problems in this country. On the rare occasion that the social worker has been involved, it usually has not been at the policy-making level. For example Etzioni believes that:

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XII (January-February, 1961), cited by Irving Kriegsfeld, "Social Planning and Urban Renewal," in The New Renewal, ed. by George S. Duggar (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1961), p. 133.

<sup>45</sup> National Association of Social Workers, Abstracts for Social Workers, III, No. 1 (Spring, 1967), p. 18.

When a society deals with poverty, riots, and urban problems, it often has little systematic knowledge about the underlying factors and the effects of its efforts on those factors. In the United States, blue-ribbon commissions are appointed to study social problems, but the commissions are composed of prestigious citizens and are staffed mainly by lawyers. The commissions are small, hurried, underfinanced, and understaffed. The Warren Commission is authoritatively reported to have devoted less than ten weeks to its report. Most social scientists' work, as Herbert Gans has recently pointed out, is not policy-oriented and not readily accessible to key decision makers. Few corporations would open an overseas branch on the basis of such superficial and amateurish study as goes into the launching of major national programs.<sup>46</sup>

The social scientists (which includes social workers) has been excluded at the national level and one should not be too surprised to see this trend filter down to the local level. One should be fast to realize that the urban renewal program is a federal program and being such suggests that the shunning of social scientists at the national level would in turn carry down to the local level.

The lack of social scientists at all levels of planning points to a lack of consideration for prospective relocatees and their problems. The urgency of their problems is cited by Vladek who points out that:

The number one problem in urban renewal is the relocation of people. And this is basically a

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<sup>46</sup> Amitai Etzioni, "Toward a Theory of Guided Societal Change," Social Casework, XLIX, No. 6 (June, 1968), 336.



problem which requires the services of social workers because real estate men and people in housing are not generally equipped or trained to handle people. It is a sad commentary, but I think it is a true one, that the builders are more concerned with their brick and mortar than they are with people for whom they are building. Whether this is due to lack of recognition of the problem or because they avoid it or know instinctively that they can't handle it, the net effect has been a mishandling of relocation. It is a field, in my opinion, for trained people who can deal with people.<sup>47</sup>

The above points to the idea that social work techniques are needed sorely in the area of urban renewal.

The underlying assumption of social work as a profession as espoused by Boehm reflects upon the very foundation of the field. In addition these assumptions point to reasons why the expertise of the social worker needs to be included in the urban renewal process. These underlying assumptions are:

(1) Social work like all other professions has problem solving functions. (2) Social work practice is an art with a scientific and value foundation. (3) Social work as a profession came into being and continues to develop because it meets human needs and aspirations recognized by society. (4) Social work practice takes its values from those held by the society of which it is a part. However its values are not necessarily or altogether those universally practiced or held in society. (5) The scientific base of social work consists of three types of knowledge: (a) tested knowledge, (b) hypothetical knowledge that requires transformation into tested knowledge, and

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<sup>47</sup> William C. Vladek, "The Nature and Complexity of the Housing Problem," in Workshop on the Stake of Social Work in Urban Renewal Developments (New York: The New York School of Social Work, 1957), p. 7.

(c) assumptive knowledge (or practice wisdom) that requires transformation into hypothetical and thence into tested knowledge. (6) The knowledge needed for social work practice is determined by its goals and functions and the problem it seeks to solve. (7) The internalization of professional knowledge and values is a vital characteristic of the professional social worker since he is himself the instrument of professional help, and finally (8) Professional skill is expressed in the activities of the social worker. It constitutes his artistic creation resulting from three internal processes: first, conscious selection of knowledge pertinent to the professional task at hand; second, fusion of this knowledge with social work values; and third, the expression of this synthesis in professionally relevant activity.<sup>48</sup>

From the above quote, the exclusion of social work from the urban renewal process can be seen to be a mistake. The level of expertise that permeates the field is obvious. Montgomery is of the opinion that:

Successful relocation is more than finding satisfactory housing for displaced families; it is also persuading families to move into satisfactory housing instead of crowding into nearby neighborhoods and creating more blight. Successful relocation is dealing with the human factors that put people in slums in the first place. Finally, successful relocation is the prevention of hardship so that the cure of renewal will not seem worse than the disease of blight. Already there are signs in some communities that opposition to renewal, sparked by displacement hardship, could easily be translated into political action against community betterment.<sup>49</sup>

Social work needs to step in at the planning stage of urban renewal and carry through to the action phase.

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<sup>48</sup>Werner Boehm, "The Nature of Social Work," in Perspectives on Social Welfare, ed. by Paul E. Weinberger (London: The Macmillan Co., 1969), p. 266.

<sup>49</sup>Dorothy S. Montgomery, "Relocation and Its Impact on Families," Social Casework, LXLI, No. 8 (October, 1960), 403.

Social work skills are needed at the very inception of the process which does not begin after the families have been uprooted. Social workers must take part in the planning and be a part of the very earliest stages of action carrying through until well after relocation has been accomplished. Montgomery reflects upon this concept by stating that:

Casework skills have been applied to relocation in demonstration programs in a number of cities. All the reports confirm the fact that social welfare services are needed by uprooted families, and are needed early because displacement intensifies long-standing problems.<sup>50</sup>

The above is further substantiated by a report made by the Philadelphia Housing Association which noted that:

As planning gets under way, rumors are spread, causing fear and insecurity among people who think they will be forced out of their homes at some indefinite future date. It is important to alleviate these fears as well as to achieve genuine citizen participation in planning for urban renewal.<sup>51</sup>

### Citizen Participation

In viewing citizen participation it should be noted that there are two different approaches which lie

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 405.

<sup>51</sup>Philadelphia Housing Association, Relocation in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Association, 1958), p. 10.

at opposite poles. Wilson reflects upon the two different approaches by stating:

Among community organizers two radically different strategies have been evolved to produce citizen participation under such circumstances. One recognizes the special character of depressed lower-income neighborhoods and seeks to capitalize on it. The most prominent and controversial exponent of this approach is Saul D. Alinsky, executive director of the Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago. . . . According to a recent account, "Alinsky eschews the usual appeals to homeowners' interests in conserving property values or to a general neighborhood spirit or civic pride--appeals, in his view, that apply only to middle-class neighborhoods." Instead, he "appeals to the self-interest of the local residents and to their resentment and distrust of the outside world. . . .

By stimulating and focusing such fears, an organization is created which can then compel other organizations--such as the sponsors of an urban renewal project--to bargain with it. . . .

Many, probably most, planners and community organizations specialists reject Alinsky's tactics. To them, his methods produce and even exacerbate conflict rather than prevent it, alienate the neighborhood from the city as a whole rather than bring it into the normal pattern of civic action, and place a premium on power rather than on a co-operative search for the common good.

The alternative strategy of most community organizers is to stimulate the creation of neighborhood organizations which and define "positive" goals for their areas in collaboration with the relevant city agencies will in accord with the time schedule which binds most federal renewal efforts.<sup>52</sup>

Sower in aligning himself with the latter strategy as posed by Wilson suggests that business and industrial

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<sup>52</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," in Perspectives on the American Community, A Book of Readings, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 482-483.

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organizations and city government are not the permanent enemies of the people. He indicates that the people of a community can work with the varied agencies of a city in bringing about the common good for that community. In other words many people and organizations have a positive identification of goodwill for their local city community as well as with the development of their states and the nation.<sup>53</sup>

A great deal of the literature tends to support Wilson and Sower in their suggestion that through cooperative action, the affected people, the change effecting system(s), and related organizations should be brought together in the planning and implementation of action, if urban redevelopment projects are to really succeed. This suggests a need for citizen participation in community action programs as well as the need for the recognition of the community as a unit.

Before moving into a discussion of the relevant literature relating to citizen participation, a discussion of the community being viewed as a unit is essential if citizen participation is to be placed in its proper perspective.

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<sup>53</sup>Christopher Sower and Earle L. Snider, "Organizing Organizations for Urban Development" (unpublished report, March 3, 1967), pp. 1-6.

Kimball<sup>54</sup> and Miller<sup>55</sup> do just this as they focus upon the need to recognize the importance of the existing sets of relationships that are in existence within a community when the implementation of a program of action is considered.

In Kimball's study he focused upon the reasons why a township zoning proposal was defeated in a particular township in Michigan. In this particular township a group of individuals who lived on Woodlawn Drive became concerned because of a threat of industrial development in their community. (Woodlawn Drive was an attractive residential area in the community.) By the passage of a zoning proposal they could restrict industrial development. As it turned out their petition to the Township Board was rejected. A township-wide referendum on zoning was held and this, too, was defeated.

Kimball reflected upon the series of steps taken by the Woodlawn Drive group in attempting to gain support for the zoning ordinance. They started with closed meetings which excluded the rest of the community (mostly

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<sup>54</sup>Solon T. Kimball, "A Case Study in Township Zoning," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin, XXVIII, No. 4 (May, 1946), 1-17.

<sup>55</sup>Paul A. Miller, "The Process of Decision-Making Within the Context of Community Organization," in Perspectives on the American Community, A Book of Readings, ed. by Roland L. Warren (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 350-359.

farmers). They then petitioned the Township Board for the passage of a zoning ordinance and this was defeated. (The Township Board was composed of five popularly elected members: the township supervisor, three farm members, and the secretary who was the wife of a shop foreman who lived on Woodlawn Drive.) They again met in a closed meeting and decided to petition the board to have a special township election and the petition was accepted. The township supervisor campaigned against zoning and the Woodlawn Drive group for zoning. The election took place and the zoning ordinance was defeated.

The point that Kimball brings out is that the Woodlawn Drive group approached the situation without a recognition of the sets of relationships in existence within the township. For example, many farmers in the township felt some hostility toward the Woodlawn Drive residents because they felt they were trying to take over the township. By the same token, the township supervisor felt that he had been able to stay in office because of the support of his farm constituency. In addition the township supervisor had a very close relationship with the farmer-leaders in the community and he turned to them for advice before he made any major decisions.

In viewing some of the missteps that were taken, Kimball points to: (1) The Woodlawn Drive group was



mainly concerned with a zoning ordinance for their area and this should have been made known. (2) There was a failure to consult with the farmer-leaders who had an influence over a large share of the farmers in the community. (3) The petition should have been a last resort and should have at least included some interested farmers, to present a picture of widespread support. (4) Communication is necessary and to be successful it must provide incentives for the people to take action. In addition it must be disseminated through existing social organization or systems of relationships. The Woodlawn Drive group failed to make the need for zoning a meaningful issue to the farmers and thus encouraged their opposition.

The defeat of the zoning ordinance was a way for the farmers to vent their hostility toward the Woodlawn Drive group. In addition the township supervisor fortified his farmer constituency support in this situation. Thus, the Woodlawn Drive group's lack of understanding of the sets of relationships within the township led to the defeat of the zoning ordinance.

In turning to Miller, he presents an aspect of a study that was conducted by the Social Research Service at Michigan State College in 1949. The study centered around an appraisal of the manner in which contemporary small American communities went about mobilizing the

necessary resources in the attainment of three major health goals: (1) obtaining a hospital, (2) securing a local health department, and (3) organizing a consumer-sponsored prepayment plan for medical care.

In reflecting on one aspect of the study, Miller concentrates on the obtaining of hospitals by contemporary small American communities and the process of decision-making within the context of community organization as it pertained to this process. In providing a focus for this particular material, Miller states that:

The data are for the 218 Hill-Burton hospital communities for which questionnaires were returned [funded by the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Program]. Special attention will be given to 24 communities in the Northeast that returned questionnaires, plus a field study in a western New York community; and to 52 communities returning questionnaires, plus a field study in the Black Belt region of Alabama. The specific data to be discussed here pertain to the hypothesis that decision-making within the context of community organization may operate at times on a basis of position, and hence subsequent roles of authority; while, at other times, decision-making may take place on a basis of property, or community resources and proficiencies vested in certain decision-makers of influence. The theoretic interest here is that such differential operations may lead to a dynamic distinction in community types, insofar as community action toward certain goals is concerned.<sup>56</sup>

As was noted in the above, two field studies were conducted which were representative of the two areas studied. One was representative of the Northeast section of the

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 353-354.

country and the other the Southeast section. It was noted that the four decision-makers in the Northeast community were close friends and leading businessmen in the community. Three of the four men had a great deal of influence in the community. In the Southeast community the four individuals were not close friends and their influence was at the county level. All four of the individuals were active in politics: one was a probate judge, one had recently lost an election for county commissioner, the third was a town councilman, and the fourth was a political leader.

Miller concludes that the decision-making in the Northeast community was based on the four individuals' close relationship and the influence of three of the four individuals in the community. The decision-making in the Southeast community was based on a vertical line of authority from the probate judge and through a horizontal, informal, political organization controlled by a small number of large landholders.

In viewing the Northeast and Southeast communities studied as a whole, Miller concludes that:

In the present hasty treatment, many necessary aspects of decision-making have not been considered: the decisions, tactics, and strategies employed, form and content of negotiations made by decision-makers, symbols and their manipulation, legitimacy, the execution of decisions, and extra-community influences. However, the tentative conclusion is:

to understand decision-making and community action in the Southeast one is forced to veer more toward an inquiry into community structure and subsequent offices of constituted authority; while, in the Northeast, more attention to the social psychological components of influence is required. Although both sets of decision-makers had strong positional attachments, it appears from both quantitative and qualitative evidence that the Northeast communities functioned, in decision-making, more squarely on a basis of social property, or resources and proficiencies vested in persons of influence; while the Southeast communities were characterized by a structural setting in which positional elements led to roles of authority.<sup>57</sup>

Wilson, Sower, Kimball and Miller recognize the community as being a set of interrelationships of organizations and persons. The community is not just a host of individuals living in an area. The utility of this observation is that a total community must be viewed as a set of functioning parts when one is seeking to initiate a program which is change-oriented.

In an urban setting this means, as indicated earlier, that a change-oriented program such as an urban renewal project must include the affected individuals, the change effecting system(s), and other organizations that could contribute to the successful carrying out of the project.

Too often, as is pointed to in the literature, urban renewal projects have been carried out and the affected persons were not included in the planning nor

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 359.

were their needs really considered. (There have been a number of cases in which the change effecting system(s) completely excluded the affected population from the planning process and did not consider their needs.) The literature suggests that to contemplate urban relocation without citizen participation can have a disastrous effect. The people who will be affected most, the relocatees, should be aware of what the future holds for them. Many times people hear, via the "grapevine," that the community in which they live is slated for renewal. Quite naturally, this can and does have an unsettling effect on the people to be moved. This is why these people should be helped to become involved long before the first person is relocated.

The citizen of the prospective urban renewal area should be helped to feel that he is playing a part in the overall renewal process. Too often, the people of a community slated for renewal feel powerless, for they have no control of their destiny. The literature points to instances where people were simply herded from their homes in a most inhumane manner and relocated in a new area, new usually in the sense that it is strange to them. Too often, the people, who are to be relocated, can cite examples where the cure was far worse than the present situation that existed. The above is reflected upon by Loshbough who states that:

The intensive participation of all neighborhood people, including the poverty-stricken, is basic to the success of any social action program. People themselves must take part in planning, decision-making and implementation of programs for their own betterment, or . . . end up with modern, antiseptic cities and alienated people.<sup>58</sup>

The above is expanded upon by Flora Y. Hatcher who reports that:

To function well at the community-wide level, social welfare should get into the act in the beginning. . . . Effective citizen participation should result in a genuine sharing of responsibility with local public officials for carrying out urban renewal objectives. . . . The most common device now used for bringing about citizen participation on a community-wide basis is the citizens' advisory committee. . . . Such committees vary in their functions from locality to locality. They are known, however, to advise public officials with respect to the types of urban renewal treatment to be used in given areas, . . . the necessary planning to be done, existing housing that can be used for relocation, . . . and the timing and priorities involved. These community-wide determinations are of obvious concern to social agencies and the social work profession. The social work profession cannot afford to be unrelated to them. And, local officials can ill afford not to have social work's contribution.<sup>59</sup>

In a survey done by Lewis concerning citizen participation in a number of cities, she concluded that:

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<sup>58</sup> Bernard E. Loshbough, "Social Action Programs in Urban Renewal," in Poverty in America, ed. by Margaret S. Gordon (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1965), p. 336.

<sup>59</sup> Flora Y. Hatcher, "The Role of Social Work in Urban Renewal," in Workshop on the Stake of Social Work in Urban Renewal Developments (New York: The New York School of Social Work, 1957), p. 30.

It is important that urban renewal directors, together with their staff members (where there is staff), spend some time clarifying their own ideas regarding citizen participation. . . . A statement of local objectives for citizen participation might be drafted and served to clarify the issues in the minds of renewal officials. . . . Among the questions which should be asked in this connection are the following:

1. What groups are currently participating?
2. What groups or types of people are not now participating?
3. Are all segments of the population represented?
4. Is the staff content if sufficient support is obtained for carrying out a particular project or is it the objective of the agency to plan for long-range development of the community and consequently for a long-range basis of citizen participation in the planning as well as in the execution phases of such a program?
5. Does the agency want merely to keep the community informed of what it is doing, or does it feel a responsibility to learn from the people in each neighborhood their ideas, hopes, fears, and aspirations?
6. Is it sufficient to draw the powerful interests of the community into the planning a decision-making phase and to overcome their opposition and enlist their cooperation, without also producing the opportunity to participate to other segments of the population?<sup>60</sup>

Rosenberg in a statement in the spring of 1960 before an international workshop on community development and community organization at Brandeis University reflected upon the need for citizen participation in urban renewal. In his statement he relied heavily on his experiences with the Harlem Park project in Baltimore,

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<sup>60</sup>Gerda Lewis, "Citizen Participation in Renewal Surveyed," Journal of Housing, XVI (March, 1959), 83-84.

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Maryland which began in 1960. A major conclusion that Rosenberg drew from the project was:

The success of urban renewal depends to a very substantial degree, on effective participation by the people it directly affects. However, such citizen participation cannot be brought into existence from one day to the next by waving a magic wand. Instead, a considerable amount of time and effort are required to help a community reach that level of functioning without which meaningful community participation cannot be achieved. Especially in view of timing and deadline requirements in an urban renewal program, we face grave difficulties if, in urban renewal areas, the community organization process has not started well in advance of other activities.<sup>61</sup>

Siegel in pointing to the value of citizen participation cogently states that:

. . . Citizen participation constitutes a source of special insight, of information, of knowledge and experience which cannot be ignored by those concerned with whether their efforts are fulfilling their aims. Comprehensive action programs, devised by professionals, and accepted by the dominant social, political, education, and economic institutions represent--from the empiricist's point of view--merely a consensus, a majority agreement on how to solve certain social problems. Citizen participation provides another and radically different perspective of the person who must live day to day with the end results of those solutions--the consumer perspective, the perspective of the person who must live day to day with the end results of those efforts.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Albert G. Rosenberg, "Baltimore's Harlem Park Finds 'Self Help' Citizen Participation is Successful," Journal of Housing, XVIII (May, 1961), 220.

<sup>62</sup>Edgar S. and Jean Camper Cahn, "Citizen Participation," in Urban Development, Vol. I, ed. by Hans H. B. Spiegel (Washington, D.C.: Center for Community Affairs, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968), p. 220.

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Sarchet and Wheeler in viewing the importance of citizen participation state:

The first principle to be kept in mind is that the neighborhood planning process can be a joint enterprise of planners and citizens only if the community is taken into the effort from the beginning. While this may sound alarming to the professional planner who has never tried it there are immediate and long range values which result in greater rewards than go it alone methods. No one is better qualified than the citizens of a neighborhood to speak of the needs and desires of the people. . . .<sup>63</sup>

Wilson in discussing the importance of citizen participation in urban renewal projects indicates that:

Local citizen participation on a city-wide basis is usually not difficult to obtain. "Civic leaders" representing various groups and interests in the community can always be assembled for such purposes. But getting the participation, much less the acquiescence, of citizens in the renewal neighborhood is something else again. . . , the increased vigor of neighborhood opposition has made such participation expedient if not essential.<sup>64</sup>

Dubey in discussing citizen participation develops a statement which evolves from a concept he calls the value of participatory democracy. In this statement he points out that:

It is usually assumed that every citizen should contribute to the working of the society to the fullest possible extent. In slum communities the

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<sup>63</sup>Bettie B. Sarchet and Eugene D. Wheeler, "Behind Neighborhood Plans: Citizens at Work," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIV (August, 1958), 188.

<sup>64</sup>Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," p. 478.

primacy of the individual's welfare is generally overshadowed by the interests and manipulations of the "downtown" political apparatus, whose decisions are frequently inconsistent with the values and aspirations of the slum residents. Consequently, new opportunities and channels are needed to enable people to participate in the affairs of their community and to express their own opinions.<sup>65</sup>

Levine points to the need to truly involve the affected persons in the planning process and avoid tokenism as he states:

In recent years, "citizen participation in planning" has become recognized as a necessary tool by most planning agencies. It has become as popular a panacea for the planner as a new economic base study or a recently completed metropolitan transportation survey. However, the actual involvement and genuine participation of citizens in the planning process is seldom achieved. Too frequently, it consists of a limited discussion of only a portion of the planning commission's completed work by a group carefully selected by a mayor or chamber of commerce official. There is usually little attempt to gain continuity of citizen review and discussion from the early stage of preliminary studies to the final drafts. Frequently, the viewpoints are homogenized with a mutual bias or with a similar lack of imagination of knowledge. When it is realized occasionally that another point of view might be desirable, then one representative of a trade union, a minority group, or a neighborhood association is appointed to speak for his entire group.<sup>66</sup>

In Piven's discussion of the participation of residents in neighborhood community action programs, he states that:

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<sup>65</sup>Sumati N. Dubey, "Community Action Programs and Citizen Participation: Issues and Confusion," Social Work, XV, No. 1 (January, 1970), 79-80.

<sup>66</sup>Aaron Levine, "Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVI (August, 1960), 195.

Residents Participation became a major issue in local areas earmarked for rebuilding under urban renewal programs. The dilemma regarding resident participation followed in part from the fact that although local areas were selected as targets for redevelopment they were to be redeveloped in terms of assumptions about the welfare of "the city as a whole." Whatever diffuse benefits such a program might indeed come to have for the larger community, an immediately disruptive impact was felt by groups residing in the target area. It was these groups that were hit most sharply by the costs of renewal, but it was not necessarily these groups that were to benefit from the new development.<sup>67</sup>

In discussing the issue, citizen participation, Kafoglic presents what she calls a rationale for participation,

The concern with increased participation rests in part on the assumption that the present decision-making process fails to assimilate enough information about the desires of all citizens. Clearly, a process which increases the flow of relevant information should lead to improved decisions in the same sense that well-informed and rational markets lead to a superior allocation of resources in the private sector of the economy. This aspect of the problem calls for continuous flow feed-back of information between politicians, bureaucrats and citizens.<sup>68</sup>

In summary, the central idea presented is that when a decision-making system effects change within a community, the people of that community must take part in the process. Through citizen participation meaningful

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<sup>67</sup>Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," Social Work, XI, No. 1 (January, 1966), 73.

<sup>68</sup>Madelyn L. Kafoglic, "Equality of Opportunity in Decision Making: Its Scope in Economic, Social, and Political Processes," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1970), 2.



dialogue can be set into motion and the people can be given an opportunity to become involved. Thus, citizen participation brings the affected people into the process in such a manner that they play a part in the shaping of their destiny.

### The Family Service Agency Concept

In going from generalities to specifics, the family service agency concept<sup>69</sup> brings to bear a number of very interesting ideas which focus on the role of the social worker and the importance of citizen participation in the relocation process. The basic concept centers around the contracting of a particular family service agency for a particular area for a designated period of time. This kind of approach was utilized in Delaware County, an area that is located just outside of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The contract was set and monies were provided. The project was small and included 100 families. There was an office set up by the agency in the community. In the office there was one caseworker and one clerical worker. The money that was designated for use for

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<sup>69</sup> Maria E. Shelmire, "The Family Agency Role in Relocation," in Workshop on the Stake of Social Work in Urban Renewal Developments (New York: The New York School of Social Work, 1957), pp. 41-45.

administrative purposes in this office was paid for by the agency, but this money was taken from the budget provided for them by the Delaware County Redevelopment Authority.

The caseworker's primary function was to evaluate and prescribe necessary kinds of approaches that would bring about a smooth relocation process. In carrying out this process, the caseworker looked for the following:

First of all, she had to have a real understanding and awareness of the culture. Second, she had to understand the patterns of the individual family. And third, she had to evaluate the capacity of each person to use help.<sup>70</sup>

The caseworker dealt with the realtors in the area. Because of the fact that all of the families involved were black, the problem of discrimination was quite pronounced. The caseworker, in dealing with the realtors, not only made visits to the realtors by herself, she also took a few of the clients. "Out of 53 realtors contacted, 30 became not only resources but allies. They became people who looked for houses and called the caseworker and held houses for her clients."<sup>71</sup> The acceptance of the clients by the realtors helped to bring about acceptance of the people by the receiving community. Through this process, the people were able to make a new

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.



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beginning, but this new beginning was possible only because the needs of the people were held as paramount.

The caseworker, in dealing with the community, involved the community as a whole. Bringing the 100 families together as a unit, brought about a feeling of unity which aided the relocation process. The caseworker went to great lengths to make sure that the community was involved and felt that they were a part of the process.

### Summary

In viewing the first four areas, Overview of Process, Social Implications of Urban Renewal, Emotional Implications of Urban Renewal, and Studies Pertaining to Relocation, the literature pointed to the fact that urban renewal as a process must recognize the importance of the relocation of people. In addition, the social and emotional needs of the relocatees must be recognized as being of paramount importance. Too often displacees are not dealt with as people but merely as commodities. When this is done, urban renewal is a horrifying experience for the displacees.

In viewing the latter three areas, the literature presented the idea that (1) social work, as a profession, has a role to play in urban renewal and this role should

be recognized, (2) citizen participation is necessary if relocation is to be successful, and (3) the family service agency concept is a functional way for social work to begin to fulfill its role, and in doing so, bring about community-wide participation in the relocation process.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

As was noted earlier, the early interest in a study of this nature began after reading of Fried's work in Boston's West End. The feelings of grief due to the loss of home, neighborhood and friends were profound and it lasted over time. After looking at urban renewal and relocation in the Lansing area, the Highway 496 project, which caused the relocation of a great number of individuals during 1966 and 1967, looked to be fruitful and was chosen as the focal point of this study. The study offered the opportunity to view a group of individuals who had been required to relocate at approximately the same time by the Michigan State Highway Department. This gave the population a homogeneous tone.

The population chosen was black and this was done because the black population represented a compact researchable unit consisting of a large number of homeowners. As was noted earlier, no real differences were

expected in the responses of the black population because of race and this expectation proved to be valid.

### Procedure

In selecting the sample, the Highway Department was contacted and arrangements were made so that the names and addresses of the individuals, relocated because of the 496 project, could be gathered. It was found that a large number of the individuals listed had no new address indicated. However, 120 names were secured which had an address indicated (present address as of 1967). Fifty-one of these households were selected randomly in order to secure respondents. At times spouses were also interviewed and this raised the total population to sixty-one.

In the random selection every third name was chosen in the first set of selections, every fourth name in the second and third sets of selections, every fifth name in the fourth set of selections, and every sixth name in the fifth and sixth sets of selections. This procedure is noted in Table 1.

Every effort was made to contact each individual selected. The first step was to peruse the telephone directory for possible address changes and telephone numbers. If the individual did not have a telephone, an attempt was made to locate him at the address listed in

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the Highway Department's records. When this proved unsuccessful, the city directory was utilized. If it were still impossible to locate the individual, he was designated as being "unable to locate."

TABLE 1  
RANDOM SELECTION SEQUENCE

Total Population	Number Selected	Number Found
120	40	25
80	20	12
60	15	6
45	9	2
36	6	2
30	5	4

The individuals who were located were visited and asked to fill out a questionnaire concerning their feelings about being relocated due to Highway 496. Prior to the filling out of the questionnaire, it was pointed out that it was designed to find out some of the basic facts about the person as well as to measure how each person felt about the entire relocation process. It was further stated that there were no right nor wrong answers and that the responses made on this questionnaire would reflect

his overall feelings about the relocation process. In addition his responses would also give some insight into what actually occurred. It was also stated that the questionnaire was confidential. In closing, it was pointed out that responses would only be to those inquiries that he might have about the filling out of the questionnaire. By doing this, it was hoped that the individual would not be influenced in his answering of the questions.

### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is divided into eight aspects: factual information, information concerning proximity to employment before and after relocation, time spent in present and past residence, living area feeling and move feeling, the affects relocation had on social functioning, the overall handling of the relocation procedure, the kind and manner of assistance, and the individual's feelings about the way they were handled.

In viewing the questionnaire (see Appendix A) the first four questions are factual kinds of questions: Questions five and six deal with present and past travel time to the place of employment. Questions eight and nine deal with length of time residing in present residence and length of time spent in old residence prior to relocation.



Question eight is designed to give some indication of the individual's stability after he moved from his old residence. Question nine is designed with the idea that if an individual lives in an area for two or more years there would be a distinct possibility that the individual would feel some attachment to the area.

Questions ten through thirteen are based on the semantic differential (SD). "The semantic differential (SD) is a method of observing and measuring the psychological meaning of things, usually concepts."<sup>1</sup> Osgood developed the semantic differential in an effort to measure the connotative meanings of concepts as points in what he referred to as semantic space.

In Osgood's utilization of the semantic differential, he speaks of a general meaning space, related concepts, and bipolar adjective scales. For example if he were referring to a subject such as education, he would speak in terms of a general meaning space regarding an individual's educational "meaning space" which would include such concepts as teaching, discipline, control learning, and study. In turn bipolar adjective scales would be presented with the reversal of the bipolar adjectives in an attempt to counteract response bias

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<sup>1</sup>Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York, Chicago, Toronto, and London: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 564.

tendencies. The individual would respond to each pair of bipolar adjectives with (1-3 representing extremely, quite, and slightly, 4 representing neutral or no feeling, and 5-7 representing slightly, quite, and extremely). The individual's response to each pair of bipolar adjectives would give him a composite score for each concept. By this procedure the individual's meaning space concerning education could be compared with that of another individual. (Figure 1 depicts this procedure pictorially.)

The same basic procedure is being utilized in this study except that one individual is not compared to another but rather the feelings of the individual as he states they were four years ago are compared to his stated feelings as they are today.

By the utilization of (SD), questions ten through thirteen are designed to measure an individual's feelings concerning his past living area as compared to his present living area. In addition, the individual's past move feelings are compared to his present move feelings.

In semantic differential terms, the individual's living area meaning space is composed of five concepts: home, neighborhood, neighbors, social activities, and church. His move feeling meaning space is composed of feelings concerning moving, the tearing down of his home,

Scales		Teaching (Concept A)*									
1	Valuable	__	X	__	__	__	__	__	__	Worthless	
2	Bad	__	__	__	__	X	__	__	__	Good	
3	Pleasant	__	__	X	__	__	__	__	__	Unpleasant	
4	Awful	__	__	__	__	__	X	__	__	Nice	
5	Important	__	X	__	__	__	__	__	__	Unimportant	
		Concepts									
Scales		A	B		C		D		E		
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\*Concepts B, C, D, and E would utilize the same scales.

Figure 1. Pictorial Presentation

the leaving of his old neighborhood, and the tearing down of his old neighborhood.

The bipolar adjective scales are placed with each concept in order to give each concept a total point value. By selecting a point along the span of each bipolar adjective scales a score is produced. The score for each bipolar adjective scale is totaled and a point value for the concept can be ascertained. The point value for each concept is totaled and, from this, a total point value for the meaning space can be ascertained.

Figure 2 shows the possible living area feeling point value span and the move feeling point value span for an individual. For example if an individual received scores of 44 for feelings about his home, 49 for his neighborhood, 48 for his neighbors, 49 for his social activities, and 49 for his church, he would receive a total point value for living area of 239 which would indicate that he was extremely happy with his living area. By the same token if this same individual received scores of 7 for feelings about the move, 8 for feelings concerning the tearing down of his house, 9 for feelings concerning having to leave his old neighborhood, and 8 for feelings concerning the tearing down of his old neighborhood, he would receive a total point value of 32 which would indicate that he was extremely grieved about

Living Area Feeling

Extremely Displeased	Quite Displeased	Slightly Displeased	Slightly Happy	Quite Happy	Extremely Happy
35-69	70-104	105-139	140-174	175-210	211-245

Move Feeling

Extremely Grieved	Quite Grieved	Moderately Grieved	Slightly Grieved	Slightly Happy	Moderately Happy	Quite Happy	Extremely Happy
28-55	56-84	84-112	113-140	141-168	169-196	197-224	225-252

Figure 2. Possible Scores for Living Area Feeling and Move Feeling

the move. (It also should be noted that the bipolar adjective scales are based on a seven point scale when referring to the living area whereas a nine point scale is utilized for the move feeling concepts. The rationale for this difference centers around the fact that it was felt at the outset of the study that a wider space should be provided because of the distinct possibility of continued grief over time. Thus, the range for grief is expanded to 1-4 rather than from 1-3 as it would have been if a seven point scale had been used.)

In explaining the questionnaire to each individual, special attention was given to this particular part of the questionnaire. The individual was asked to take himself back in time to the point when relocation was just taking place. By observing the individual filling out the questionnaire it could be seen when he reached the transition point from past to present. By observing the responding it could be seen when he reached the lower portion of the fourth page. At this point the past to present transition occurs. It was at this time that the individual was asked to try and relate his present feelings. This was done to make the individual fully aware that two sets of questions, those relating to the past and those relating to the present, were being asked.

[illegible]

Questions fourteen through seventeen reflect upon the physical proximity and amount of social interaction that took place and is now taking place between the individual and his best friends. This was then compared to the physical proximity of his best friends at the present time and the amount of social interaction that now takes place.

Questions eighteen to twenty-three are geared to gain insight into the manner relocation was carried out, the amount of opportunity the people had to express their opinions in the relocation process, and the kind of participation the people had in the pre-relocation planning.

Questions twenty-four and twenty-five are geared to find out the amount of relocation assistance the people felt they received.

Questions twenty-six to twenty-eight focus on the people's feelings concerning how they were handled in the overall process.

### Trial Interviews

In order for the validity of the questionnaire to be assured, it was felt that some trial interviews should be done. Five such interviews were completed prior to the commencement of the actual interview of the fifty-one randomly selected households. In order to insure the



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clarity of the questions and insure that all relevant questions were reflected in the questionnaire, this pilot study was done. In addition there also was a definite need to insure that the pairs of bipolar adjectives were relevant to each concept. As is noted by Kerlinger,

Certain adjective pairs may seem irrelevant to the concepts judged. If one were judging musical composition, adjective pairs like loud-soft, pleasant-unpleasant, and beautiful-ugly are clearly relevant. Other pairs like honest-dishonest, rich-poor, and fair-unfair would seem not to be relevant. But one cannot always be sure of relevance. Meanings are rich and complex, and an apparently irrelevant adjective pair may turn out to be relevant. If consistent systematic variance can be identified with an adjective pair, then one would have to conclude that the adjective pair is relevant to the concepts. (If an adjective pair is irrelevant to a set of concepts, there should be a large preponderance of midpoint settings--4 on a seven-point scale--and relatively small variances.) In general, it is probably wise to select adjective pairs that are relevant to the concepts used and to use other adjective pairs sparingly.<sup>2</sup>

As is indicated in the above quote, the establishment of the relevances by the bipolar adjective scales to the concepts is important. To have used adjective pairs that were not relevant to the concepts would have served no useful purpose. By interviewing the respondents in the pilot study, it was possible to ascertain that each pair of bipolar adjectives was relevant to the concepts. It was noted that the people interviewed were able to fill out the questionnaire without difficulty. In addition no

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 570.

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bipolar adjective pair showed a preponderance for a mid-point rating, which would have been 4 on the 7 point scale and 5 on the 9 point scale, and thus, the relevance of each of the bipolar adjective scales to the concepts was established.

One slight area of confusion was noted when the individual was asked to respond to how he felt at the time he was relocated and how he felt today about being re-located. In addition the comparison of the interviewee's old living area with that of his present living area was slightly confusing. This occurred with the first two individuals interviewed; however, in subsequent interviews, a full explanation was given at the outset and the individual was reminded at the transition point that it had in fact been reached. No confusion was evidenced after this procedure was undertaken.

The slight confusion that did exist in the first two interviews may also have been caused partly by a lack of clarity in the presentation of why the individual was being interviewed. However, a patterned presentation and a concise ongoing explanation removed confusion from the subsequent interviews.

At the conclusion of each of the five pilot study interviews, the individual was asked how he felt the interview could have been done in a more effective manner.

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The responses that were received from this query contributed to the established pattern that was utilized throughout the study.

### Treatment of Data

In the utilization of instruments to report the data collected, two different approaches were used: arithmetic treatment by reporting numbers and percentages and statistical techniques.

In the first approach, the information recorded on each questionnaire was reviewed and the responses for each question were summarized so the findings could be reported in a clear and understandable fashion. Explication of the findings was in the form of an arithmetic treatment reporting numbers and percentages. These numbers and percentages were placed in a perspective that allowed for evaluative statements.

The statistical techniques utilized were the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), one-way analysis of variance and eta squared ( $\eta^2$ ). Further explication of the exact manner of utilization of these techniques will follow in Chapter V.

### In-Depth Interviews

The idea of in-depth interviews, as an important part of the study, was conceived of after reading some of

the work of Oscar Lewis. In the Foreward of Five Families, La Forge states that:

Sociologists who from the outset interested themselves more in modern, urban communities, relied heavily on statistical analysis. The longer we study human beings in their infinite variety, the more apparent it becomes that they cannot in reality be encompassed within the specified rigidities of the kinds of data that can be manipulated mathematically, even given the staggering range of present-day computers. Somewhere along the line, there must be an interpretation arising from the individual's observation, with all its weaknesses of emotion and bias.<sup>3</sup>

La Forge goes on to state that:

His study of a day in the life of each of five Mexican families is an attempt to give us a living picture of one segment of those millions by a process of sampling in depth. . . . He simply lays before us five days, five perfectly ordinary days in the lives of five ordinary, representative families.<sup>4</sup>

In a comparative analysis of 100 low income Puerto Rican families from slums of Greater San Juan and of their relatives, Lewis states that "The study of the hundred families was conducted by a questionnaire method in order to gain background material for the much more detailed study of a smaller group of families."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Oscar Lewis, Five Families, with a Foreword by Oliver La Forge (New York and Toronto: The New American Library, 1959), p. viii.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Oscar Lewis, A Study of Slum Culture background for La Vida (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 25.

Though the interviews done in the study were not of the depth of those done by Lewis, they were carried out in order to view some of the "gut level feelings" that could not be reflected in a questionnaire. These interviews were conducted to gain added insight into the effect that relocation had on the relocatee's. The in-depth interviews given to the individuals in the study were not to gain insight into their day to day human functioning as was done by Lewis but rather to gain some insight into how a small representative group felt at the time of relocation and how they now feel about what occurred.

The five individuals that were chosen were taken from the clusters as they are represented by the scatter-gram (see page 126). Two were taken from the cluster that represents the individuals who liked their living area less than their old living area and are about as grieved presently as they were four years ago. This section is located in the middle part of the - + quadrant at its lower most point and the middle section of the - - quadrant at its upper most point. Two individuals were taken from the cluster that represents the individuals who like their new living area as well as their old living area, were grieved to leave the old living area, but show a reduction in grief. This section is located in the middle part of the + + quadrant and to the extreme



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left and the middle section of the - + quadrant at the extreme right. The last individual chosen likes his present living area better than his old living area, was not particularly grieved to leave his old living area, and is presently very happy about the move. This individual is located in the middle lower left section of the + + quadrant.

The purpose of these interviews was to get short case studies which could be recorded in a process recording fashion. From these interviews was gleaned some of the statements about what grief and social disruption meant at the "gut level." Statements of happiness were also recorded. These interviews were done in order to produce a solidifying effect. What the individuals stated in these interviews was often very similar and at times exactly what had been said by other individuals in his cluster:

It was felt that there was an important need for these interviews in order to explore some of the feelings that simply could not be brought out by a questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to focus on the general feeling tone of the population interviewed and the in-depth interviews were designed to view the individual's expression of his feelings in everyday language.

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The interviews were two to two and a half hours in length. The interview schedule that was followed is shown in Appendix C. Each interview followed this schedule and all of these points were covered in each interview.

### Bias

The discussion of the author's personal bias was reflected upon in a cursory manner in Chapter I in the presentation of the study rationale and limitations of the study. However, it is felt that more is needed to illuminate the linkage that existed between the author and the data during the time the data was collected.

Dollard reflected upon the kind of situation that existed in this study in his book Caste and Class in a Southern Town. In his chapter on bias he refers to four kinds of bias: sectional, personal, psychological, and sociological. His discussion of sectional and personal bias is especially applicable to this study.

Dollard, as a northern sociologist going south, reflected upon the idea that:

There has been a long history of bitter and aggressive men going into the South from the northeast, and the newcomer is appropriately classified at once, especially when his avowed motive is "to study the Negro." One attempt to escape such a classification is to refer to oneself as a "study of society" and imply thereby a lack of bias. Actually, however, there was no escaping the fact that I was a northerner

making a study of the South. At first I wanted to escape it; I preferred to hold up an image, namely, that southerners did not believe it and that it was not true. Northern readers and students need to be reminded of their sectional bias and of the necessity of reckoning with it in all dealings with the South or southerners. Most of us still take pride in the fact that "we" saved the union and freed the slaves and rebuked properly the arrogance of South Carolina and the rest. . . . Behind the romantic legend which now conceals the realities of the conflict, considerable antisouthern sentiment can still be mobilized today. We inherit an abolitionist tradition, which has soaked into our frame of social perception.

. . . I had the typical sectional bias to be expected of a northerner, and I thereupon set out to isolate and discount it. For one thing, I began to pay serious attention to what southern white people told me about the interracial situation, and although I did not always agree with them, I always learned from them. The persistence of an unacknowledged and unresisted sectional bias might have barred me from much indispensable information. The discovery of sectional bias had another advantage, namely, that I realized I was irrevocably a northerner and ended my attempts to pass for anything else.<sup>6</sup>

In relating to personal bias Dollard states:

A second form of bias which cannot be ignored is personal bias. A notion that there might be such in my case dawned upon me when I realized that people were forever asking overtly or by implication: "What is this particular Yankee sociologist among all possible Yankee sociologists doing down here studying niggers?" On several occasions this question was directly and impolitely asked, more often indirectly and courteously, but it seemed to be in everyone's mind. It finally occurred to me to ask myself: What was I doing there? Sectional bias supplied part of the answer. I was there on the old northern errand of showing up the evils of the southern system in its treatment of the Negro, and

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<sup>6</sup>John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (3rd ed.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1949), pp. 33-35.

the suspicion could not be avoided that I wanted to make my research come out that way. The personal aspect of my interest, however, derived from another source, not necessarily a discreditable one, but still a bias. It was what might be called a strong feeling for the underdog, a feeling grounded in my own life history and to some extent previously revealed in self-examination. This resulted recognizably in a tendency to feel with blacks, to be specially accessible to unusual incidents recording oppressive treatment of them, and to stand with them against the dominance of the white caste.<sup>7</sup>

The sectional type of bias that is possessed by the author evolves from the fact that one of the primary aspects of the study centered around an investigation of inhuman treatment by the Highway Department in their handling of the relocation of the population studied. It was a case of a concerned individual going to document an inhuman situation in which people were treated unfairly by a group of individuals who did not appear to be concerned about what happened to the people. The feeling at the outset of the study was that the population studied had been mistreated and their rights had been disregarded. (In essence this feeling held by the author at the outset of the study was much like the feeling of Dollard in his discussion of himself as a northern sociologist going south to study blacks.)

The personal bias that existed stemmed from the author's strong feeling for the underdog. Though this is

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

not grounded in his life history, a propinquity to feel strongly for the underdog is present. In addition the fact that the author is black also contributed to the existence of personal bias. It was not the desire of the author to study blacks but the fact that blacks were involved probably added to the already existing personal bias.

It is felt that the recognition of these biases did not nullify their existence; however, it allowed for some control. The ability to report the data in an objective manner was aided by the author's awareness of his biases. It is also felt that by having an awareness of these biases, the author was able to be more rational in his approach to the data.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMMUNITY MILIEU

This aspect of the discussion is presented in an attempt to describe the community milieu as it existed at the time of the 496 project. Fifty-one households were interviewed and the general feeling tone of the population was presented. However, a void would exist if the opinions and conceptions of these people were the only ones presented. In order for the findings drawn from the sample population to be placed in the proper perspective, the community in which these people lived should be considered. (Community in this sense includes more than just the peoples' neighborhood but also some of the people and agencies that did or could have affected them.)

In order to present a clearer picture of the community a number of individuals were interviewed: Dr. G., Director of the Institute of Community Development at Michigan State University, Mr. H., the Assistant Relocation Officer for the Michigan State Highway Department at the time of the 496 project, Mr. B., the Urban Programs Director for the Michigan State Highway Department,



Mr. E., Director of the Lansing Relocation Office at the time of the 496 project, Reverend B., a minister in the affected neighborhood, Messrs. R. and D., members of the NAACP housing committee at the time of the 496 project, and Messrs. W. and M., who were key people in the community and helped to organize the people.

As was noted above the fifty-one households interviewed presented the feeling tone of the population. The other individuals interviewed offer other perspectives. Dr. G. gave added insight into the situation as it existed prior to highway construction. Mr. H. and Mr. B. present information concerning the manner in which the relocation process was handled. Mr. E. reflected upon the relocation assistance offered by the city of Lansing. The other five individuals, Reverend B. and Messrs. D., R., W., and M., reflect upon what occurred in the affected neighborhood. In addition they discuss their roles in the process as well as the way they felt the relocation process was carried out.

In turning to Dr. G., Director of the Institute of Community Development at Michigan State University, he discussed many of the interagency interactions that took place prior to the construction of Highway 496. The discussion with Dr. G. centered around the study that was to be done in the summer of 1964. This study was to be

done by the Institute of Community Development and its focus was to be on those who were to be displaced by the construction of the highway. It was to be funded by the city of Lansing and thus it was necessary to receive City Council's approval in order to secure the necessary funding.

In the spring of 1964, an individual from the human rights commission approached Dr. G. about the possibility of a study. Dr. G. called an ad hoc committee meeting of university people to discuss the feasibility of the Institute of Community Development doing the study. After a few such meetings Dr. G. decided that it was feasible. The human relations commission proposed the idea to the city planning commission and they thought it was a good idea. Subsequently, Dr. G. hired a Ph.D. candidate, Mr. S., for the summer and it was to have been his responsibility to conduct the study under the guidance of Dr. G.

In May of 1964, Mr. S. composed a questionnaire and gave copies to the members of the Human Rights and City Planning Commission. Copies of the questionnaire were rapidly decimated. The members of the City Council became upset because they felt that real estate and banking interests should have been included in the assembling of the questionnaire. Dr. G. was of the

opinion that City Council's viewing of the questionnaire before formal presentation was a mistake. The fact that the questionnaire had, apparently, been completed before any outside suggestions could be made, appeared to irritate the members of City Council and possibly made them more susceptible to outside pressures. (At this point two things should be noted. Dr. G. was of the opinion that: (1) Mr. S. in his zeal to do a good study had acted prematurely and (2) real estate and banking interests were probably responsible for City Council's hasty recognition of their exclusion.)

Dr. G. pointed to the idea that real estate and banking interests of the city were fearful that information harmful to their interests would be made public. (That is, the black population would want to move to the white neighborhoods of Lansing if they were displaced from their homes by the construction of the highway.) This could have led to a massive public outcry to stop the highway from coming through that area. (A highway of this nature would improve transportation into Lansing's commercial district as well as create an increased demand for housing.)

Dr. G. rejected the idea of real estate and banking interests being included on the ground that the formulation of the questionnaire fell within the realm of

expertise of the Institute of Community Development.

(Dr. G. felt that suggestions could be made by these interests but they would handle the actual formulation of the questionnaire. The real estate and banking interests wanted to actually take part in the formulation of the questionnaire.)

Dr. G. pointed out that the issue went before City Council in mid-June of 1964 but just prior to that date two important occurrences took place. The first developed when a key member of the NAACP publically came out against the study because real estate and banking interests were to be involved. He was of the opinion that the questionnaire could ultimately be utilized to continue the segregated housing situation. He pointed out that their influences would lead to a questionnaire that reflected their desire which he stated was to continue segregated housing. (In other words some of the questions would be phrased in such a manner that it would appear that blacks wanted to live in segregated housing.) The second important occurrence took place when the Highway Department stated that they had intended to begin acquisition of houses in the Interstate 496 corridor in the spring of 1965 but they had decided to push the timetable back and acquisition would not begin until the spring of 1966. (Dr. G. was of the opinion that this reduced the urgency of the study.)

Dr. G. indicated that City Council rejected the funding of the study 6 to 0. He went on to say the influence of real estate and banking interests, the statement by the key member of the NAACP, and the statement by the Highway Department were the primary reasons the funding for the study was denied.

In closing the interview, Dr. G. pointed out that in mid-December of 1964 the Highway Department indicated that they were reverting to the prior plan and acquisition would begin in the spring of 1965. Dr. G. surmized that it was entirely possible that real estate and banking interests of the city of Lansing and the Highway Department had pooled their efforts in an attempt to have the funding for the study denied.

In moving to the interviews with Mr. H., former Assistant Relocation Officer for the Michigan State Highway Department, and Mr. B., the Urban Programs Director for the Michigan State Highway Department, they gave some added insight into the Highway Department's approach to housing acquisition and relocation.

In talking to Mr. H., he pointed out that one of the major problems at the outset was that there was a critical lack of housing. He pointed out that at that time the Highway Department did not subscribe to the multiple listing service. (The multiple listing service

gives all of the available housing in the area. When a realtor is approached and is asked to sell a house he places the individual's name and a brief description of the house with the multiple listing service. Another realtor may sell the house but the first realtor gets a percentage of the fee.) Mr. H. indicated that the Highway Department depended on a few realtors to give them a list of available housing. Thus if they chose to exclude certain housing, the availability of these houses would not be known. He went on to indicate that he felt that the realtors excluded many houses to avoid the possibility of blacks becoming aware of their existence. This made a critical housing shortage even more critical for blacks.

In turning to the procedure that was utilized in the acquisition of a house, Mr. H. indicated that an appraiser would go to the person's home and appraise its value. A buyer would then go to the house to negotiate a price. He would then be followed by the district relocation officer who would go to the home and give them a list of available homes. The person could utilize this list in seeking a new residence or if he chose not to use the list he could seek a residence by other means. (Mr. H. noted that if the individual refused to accept the price offered by the Highway Department, condemnation proceedings would take place which meant that the individual did not accept

the price offered and would get an alternate appraisal and then take the issue to court. The individual, however, would still have to move out, but he would receive 25 percent of the offered price and the rest after the settlement.)

In the interview with Mr. B., he reflected upon the Highway Department's lack of understanding of the needs of the people. He pointed out that the uprooting of people can be extremely traumatic if a great deal of understanding of the needs of the affected population is not in evidence. He also pointed out that the relocation of the people had not been planned for and because of this lack of planning a relatively bad situation developed. Mr. B. went on to state that no real assistance was given to the people in relocation until after early 1967 when the city of Lansing was contracted to relocate the people. (It should be noted that forty-seven of the fifty-one households interviewed in the study had relocated prior to this time.)

Mr. B. also reflected upon the fact that the people were not able to replace what they had with the money they received for their homes. Thus, they were left worse off than they had been prior to the construction of the highway.

In discussing what occurred with Mr. E., former Director of the Lansing Relocation Office, he pointed out that no relocation assistance was given to the people affected by the 496 project until early 1967. He indicated that he had been the relocation officer within the Lansing Redevelopment office from 1965 to 1967 and that he had handled the relocation of those individuals affected by urban renewal projects and not by highway construction. He went on to indicate that he had not become involved in the relocation of the latter until after the city of Lansing was contracted to handle their relocation.

In turning to the interviews with those individuals who were key persons within the affected neighborhood, they were asked to respond to questions concerning their roles, the basic goals sought, whether or not they were accomplished, the amount of participation they felt the people had in the planning process, and the amount of assistance they felt the people received in being relocated.

Reverend B. saw her role as being an organizer of the people in the neighborhood. She indicated that she had gone from house to house to see how the people felt about what was to occur and they all felt they were being treated unfairly. Reverend B. also was of the opinion



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that her role was to convince the people that if they stuck together they would get better prices for their homes and would receive better treatment from the Highway Department.

The major goals sought by Reverend B. were: fairer prices for the people's homes, the provision of a moving allowance, and more humane treatment of the people.

Reverend B. was of the opinion that the people began to receive better prices for their homes but they still were unfair. She pointed out that a moving allowance was provided. Finally, she felt that the people were treated more humanely because of her intervention, but she was of the opinion that the treatment of the people remained quite unjust because the Highway Department was more concerned about highway construction than they were about what was to become of the people.

In terms of participation in the planning process and assistance received, Reverend B. indicated that the people did not participate in the planning process and did not receive any assistance in being relocated.

Mr. R. saw his personal role as being to bring the people together and make the Highway Department realize that they had an obligation to give them fair prices for their homes. In addition he felt that his role as a member of the housing committee of the NAACP was to push

for desegregated housing. Mr. R. saw this as an opportunity to break down the barriers of housing discrimination.

Mr. R. was of the opinion that the major goals that were sought were: fairer prices for homes and desegregated housing. (He was of the opinion that due to the fact that a black neighborhood was being disrupted, the people should be allowed to move to wherever they could afford.)

Mr. R. felt that the goals were not attained but some progress was made in a positive direction. He stated that the people received better prices as a result of joining together but few received a truly fair price. With regard to the latter goal, Mr. R. felt that the NAACP was not really aware of the true feelings of the people, for few really had a strong desire to live in integrated housing. Mr. R. went on to state that though some integration took place, he had hoped that a great deal more could have occurred.

In responding to the questionnaire concerning participation in the planning process and assistance received in relocating, he indicated that the people did not take part in the planning process and no one received any assistance in being relocated until mid-1967.

Mr. D. viewed his goal as an individual as being to assist the people in getting fairer prices for their

homes. He also saw his role as chairman of the housing committee of NAACP as being to push vigorously for desegregated housing.

As were the goals of Mr. R., Mr. D. was of the opinion that the major goals sought were: fairer prices for the homes and desegregated housing.

Mr. D. pointed out that neither goal was attained but progress was made toward their attainment. Mr. D. felt that the Highway Department finally began to offer better prices. Mr. D. quickly added, however, that even though the prices were higher they still were unfair. In addition Mr. D. indicated that through his efforts and the efforts of some of his colleagues competent legal assistance was made available which encouraged some to take the issue to court which usually resulted in substantially higher prices being given for the homes. (Mr. D. indicated that, initially, the attorneys in Lansing did not want to get involved because they felt they would not be adequately compensated for the time spent on a case. However, by joining a large group of individuals together to be represented by one attorney, this factor was no longer an issue.)

In looking at the second goal, Mr. D. was of the opinion that the NAACP had made two mistakes. First, they were under the mistaken impression that after they were

able to place one black family in a white neighborhood it would be relatively easy to place a second, third and so forth. This proved not to be the case. Second, they thought that the people would be willing to fight for desegregated housing. Mr. D. stated that he found that when it meant that a man would have to subject himself and most of all his family to hardships when moving into a white neighborhood he would choose to remain in segregated housing. He went on to state that all of the people were in favor of integrated housing as long as they did not have to be the avant-garde. Mr. D. quickly added that even though he was disappointed by the outcome, some of the barriers of housing discrimination were lowered.

In responding to questions concerning participation and assistance, he indicated that the people did not participate in the planning process and that he did not know of one single person who received any assistance in relocation.

Mr. W. was a key person in the community, who worked with both Reverend B. and the NAACP. He was of the opinion that his role was to organize the people and present a united front and by this process the people would be able to demand more for their dwellings.

Mr. W. felt the goal was to make it possible for the people to be able to demand more for their dwellings.

Mr. W. felt that the goal was partially successful because some of the people were encouraged to hold out and take the issue to court. He was of the opinion, however, that those who did not hold out received what they were offered by the Highway Department which was extremely unfair.

With regard to participation and assistance Mr. W. was of the opinion that the people did not participate in the planning process and received no assistance in moving.

Mr. M. felt that he had the best property in the area and the people looked to him to help bring them together to fight for fairer prices. (Mr. M. indicated that the people viewed him as a pacesetter which cast him into the role of organizer.) He indicated that he had been one of the primary individuals responsible for the bringing of a Detroit appraiser to Lansing to appraise a number of homes. (The people utilized this alternate appraisal in the condemnation proceedings.)

Mr. M. was of the opinion that the primary goal was to insure that the people received fair prices for their homes.

Mr. M. stated that the goal was not attained because all of the people had received unfair prices including those who had taken the issue to court. However, he was of the opinion that because the people had organized, better prices were received.

In responding to the queries concerning participation and assistance, Mr. M. indicated that the people had been purposely excluded from the planning process. He felt that the people were excluded so that the Highway Department could carry out the project in the manner it desired.

With regard to assistance, Mr. M. indicated that some assistance was given to some low income persons beginning in mid-1967 but he knew of no help extended prior to that time.

#### Summary

The interviews with key people in the community produced the following: a historical perspective; some insight into the Highway Department's approach to the relocation of the people; and some of the feelings of key people in the affected neighborhood concerning their roles, goals, and the manner in which the entire process was carried out.

From the interview with Dr. G. one is left with the feeling that real estate and banking interests pooled their efforts with the Highway Department to insure that the highway was built in its present location. Discussions with Messrs. H., B., and E. reflect the fact that no plan for the relocation of the people was in

existence when the Highway Department began acquisition of the homes in the Interstate 496 corridor and that no assistance in relocation was given prior to 1967. The interviews with Reverend B. and Messrs. R., D., W. and M. suggest that the people did not take part in the planning process, received no real assistance in relocation prior to 1967, and felt that the prices they received for their homes were unfair.

Another important point is that some of the key people in the affected neighborhood had different goals. Reverend B., Messrs. M. and W. were principally concerned with fairer prices being received by the people. The NAACP was concerned about fairer prices and desegregated housing with a great deal of emphasis on the latter. Though it was not stated, the difference in the avowed goals of the leadership could have added to the disillusionment of the people.



## CHAPTER V

### FINDINGS

This chapter deals with the findings of the study. Three methods were utilized to interpret the data: arithmetic treatment, statistical techniques, and in-depth interviews. The discussion of the data will be presented in terms of its relationship to the above three methods.

As was indicated earlier, the data collected were utilized in a twofold manner. Some of the data were used to provide justification for the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses in addition to providing insight into what needs to be done to improve the urban renewal process. Other aspects of the data were used solely in the latter manner.

#### Arithmetic Treatment

In moving to a discussion of the questionnaire in terms of numbers and percentages, there were four areas viewed: time spent in the old and new residence, a comparison of the individual's feelings about his neighbors and social activities to his feelings about leaving his

old neighborhood, a discussion of past move feelings, as well as of present move feelings.

### Past and Present Residences

In observing the amount of time spent in the past and present residences, it was found that 5 individuals or 12.2 percent had moved at least once since the initial move due to highway construction. The minimum number of years that any individual lived in his old residence was two years and the maximum was thirty-seven years. The mean for number of years spent in the old residence was 12.1. Forty-six individuals or 90.2 percent of the individuals had lived in the same house since the initial move. Forty-seven of the total group or 92.1 percent were presently homeowners. Forty-one of the total group or 80.4 percent were homeowners at the time of the initial move. This indicates a net increase of five in number of homeowners. (The homes purchased may or may not have been an improvement in the family situation, for many went into greater debt because of the move.)

### Comparative Analysis

In viewing the individuals' responses to their feelings about their old neighbors and social activities as compared to their feelings concerned with leaving their old neighborhood, a broad range was established to add

clarity to the presentation of the data. The highest scores that could be received were forty-nine for feelings about one's old neighbors and social activities. The lowest score that could be received concerning feelings about having to leave one's old neighborhood was seven. For the sake of this discussion, the only individuals considered were those who scored forty-two or higher on both their feelings about their old neighbors and social activities and fourteen or lower on their feelings about having to leave their old neighborhood. (Forty-two or higher would mean that the individual felt at least quite good about both and fourteen or lower would mean that the individual was quite grieved or extremely grieved.)

Within the above framework, 42 individuals or 68.8 percent evidenced a strong feeling for their old neighbors and social activities and were at least quite grieved to leave their old neighborhood.

#### Past Move Feeling

The responses indicated that 37 individuals or 60.6 percent were extremely grieved about the move, 8 individuals or 13.1 percent were quite grieved, 7 individuals or 11.7 percent were moderately grieved, 2 individuals or 3.3 percent were slightly grieved, 5 individuals or 8.2 percent were slightly happy and 2 individuals or 3.3 percent were moderately happy.

Present Move Feeling

The responses indicated that 20 individuals or 32.8 percent are extremely grieved about the move, 2 individuals or 3.2 percent are quite grieved, 5 individuals or 6.5 percent are moderately grieved, 8 individuals or 13.1 percent are slightly grieved, 12 individuals or 19.7 percent are slightly happy, 8 individuals or 13.1 percent are moderately happy, 4 individuals or 6.6 percent are quite happy, and 2 individuals or 3.2 percent are extremely happy.

Of the thirty-seven individuals who were extremely grieved, twenty remained so, five are now moderately grieved, six are slightly grieved, five are slightly, and one is quite happy. Of the eight individuals who were quite grieved, two remained so, two are now slightly grieved, three are slightly happy and one is quite happy. Of the seven individuals who were moderately grieved, one remained so, three are now slightly happy, one is moderately happy, and two are quite happy. Of the two individuals who were slightly grieved, one is now slightly happy and the other is extremely happy. Of the five individuals who were slightly happy, one remained so, three are now moderately happy, and one is extremely happy. The two individuals who were moderately happy remained so.

### Statistical Techniques

The statistical techniques utilized were: the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), analysis of variance and eta squared ( $\eta^2$ ).

The statistical computations were done through the Michigan State University Computer Center. The data were reviewed and statements were formulated based on the size of the population ( $N$ ).

#### Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient ( $r$ )

As was indicated earlier the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ) was utilized in the correlation of the living area difference scores and the move feeling difference scores. In addition the past home feeling scores were correlated with the past move feeling scores. These correlations were done for the total group ( $N = 61$ ), males ( $N = 35$ ), and females ( $N = 26$ ).

The past living area score was subtracted from the present living area score and this produced the living area difference score. The past move feeling score was then subtracted from the present move feeling score and this produced the move feeling difference score. (See Appendix B for Raw Data.)

It was found that when the living area difference scores and the move feeling difference scores for the total population were correlated an  $r$  of .6790 was evidenced. A scattergram representative of this data is shown in Figure 3.

In correlating these same variables for males and females separately, the respective correlations were .7124 and .6653. Figures 4 and 5 present this data graphically.

In turning to the correlations of the past living area feeling scores and the past move feeling scores for the total population, an  $r$  of  $-.7711$  was evidenced. A scattergram representative of this data is shown in Figure 6.

In correlating these same variables for males and females separately, the respective correlations were  $-.7295$  and  $-.8511$ . Figures 7 and 8 present this data graphically.

At the .001 level of confidence and 50 degrees of freedom, an  $r$  of .4433 or greater is significant, at 30 degrees of freedom and  $r$  of .5541 or greater is significant, and at 20 degrees of freedom an  $r$  of .6524 or greater is significant. In other words in viewing the group as a whole as well as males and females separately, the data is significant at the .001 level of confidence. (See Table 2.)

Living Area Difference (1 = 10)

Move Feeling Difference (1 = 10)

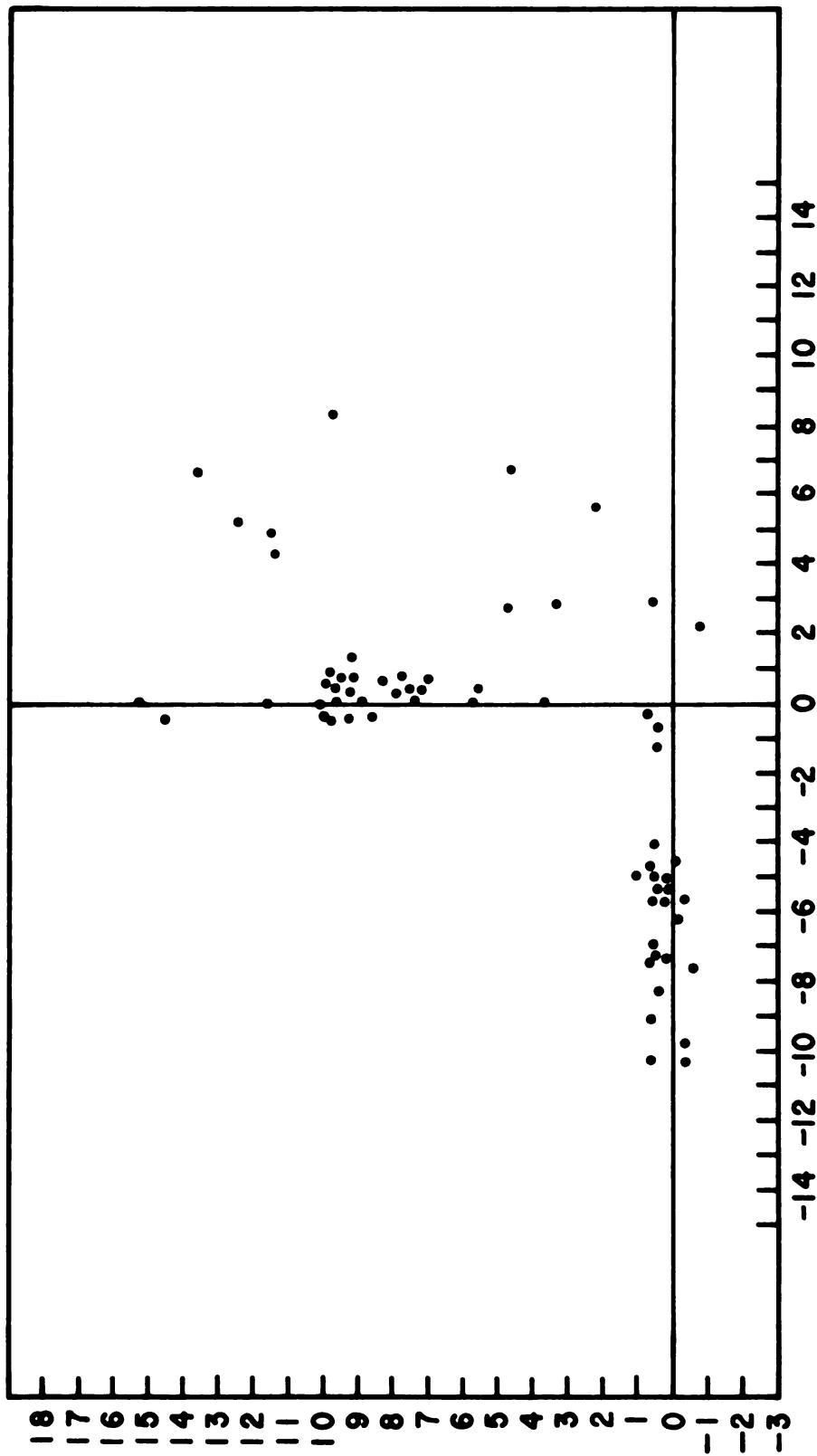


Figure 3. Graphic Illustration of the Living Area Difference Scores  
Correlated to the Move Feeling Difference Scores  
(Total Population)

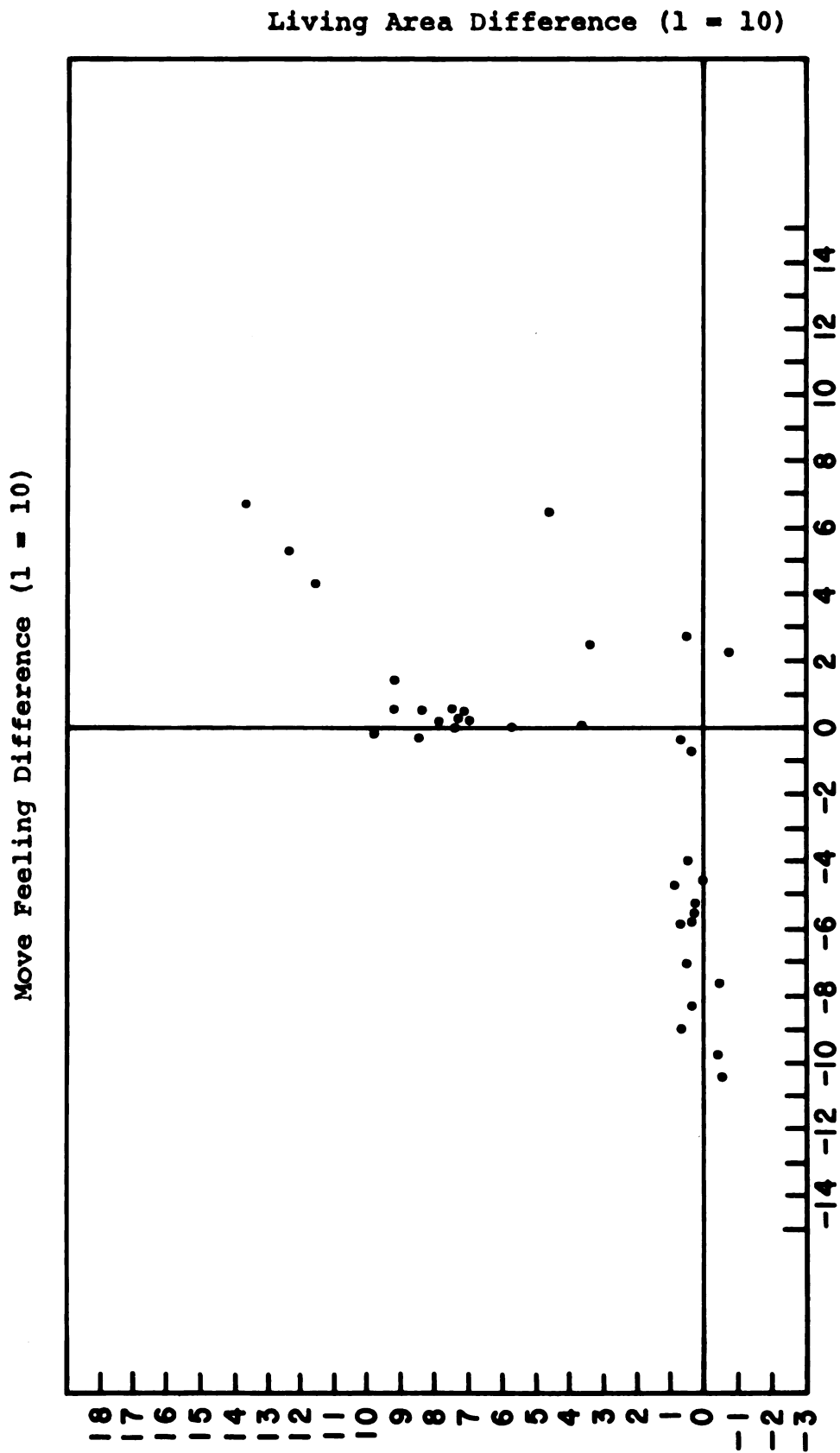


Figure 4. Graphic Illustration of the Living Area Difference Scores  
Correlated to the Move Feeling Difference Scores  
(Male Population)



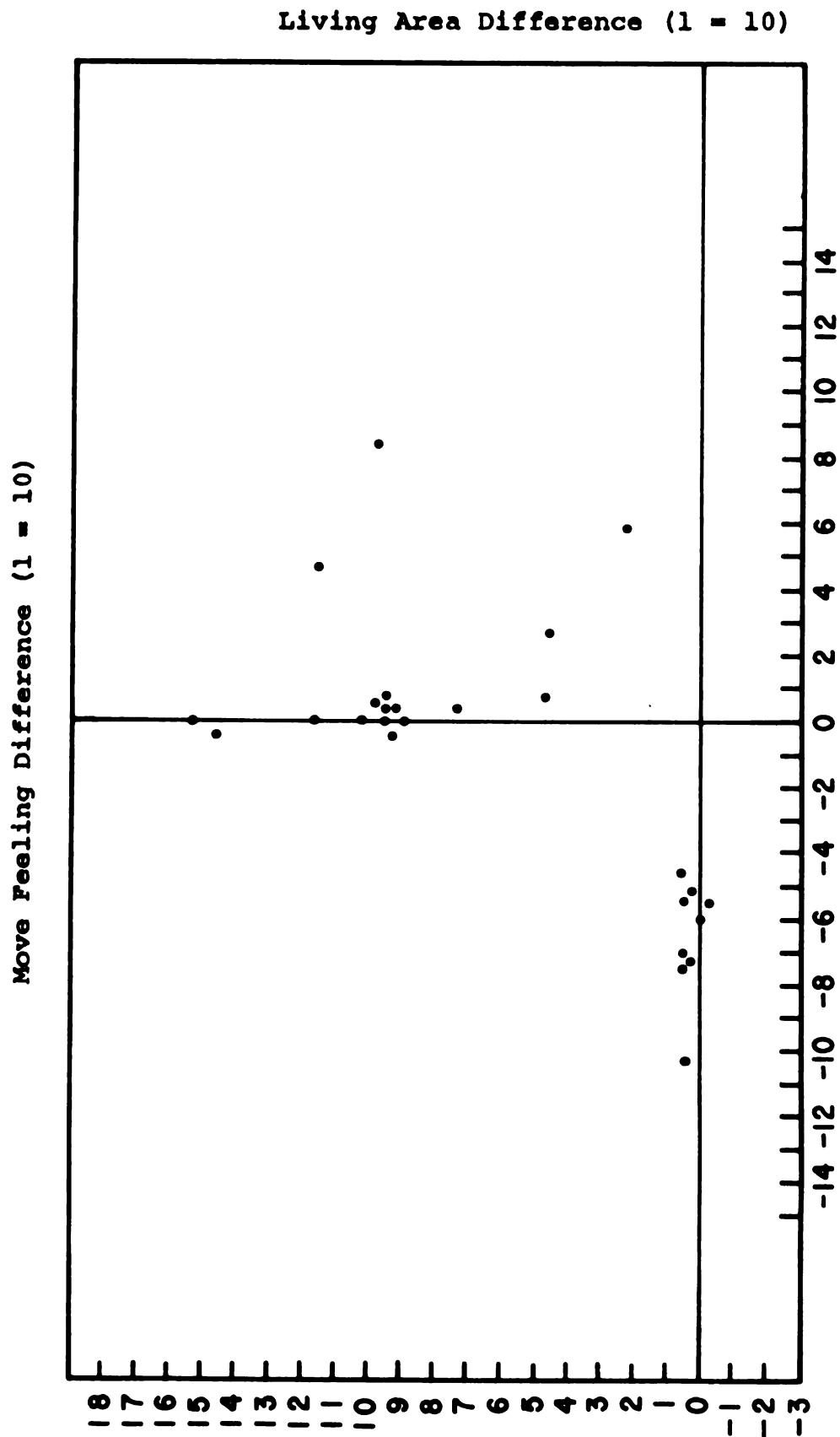


Figure 5. Graphic Illustration of the Living Area Difference Scores  
Correlated to the Move Feeling Difference Scores  
(Female Population)

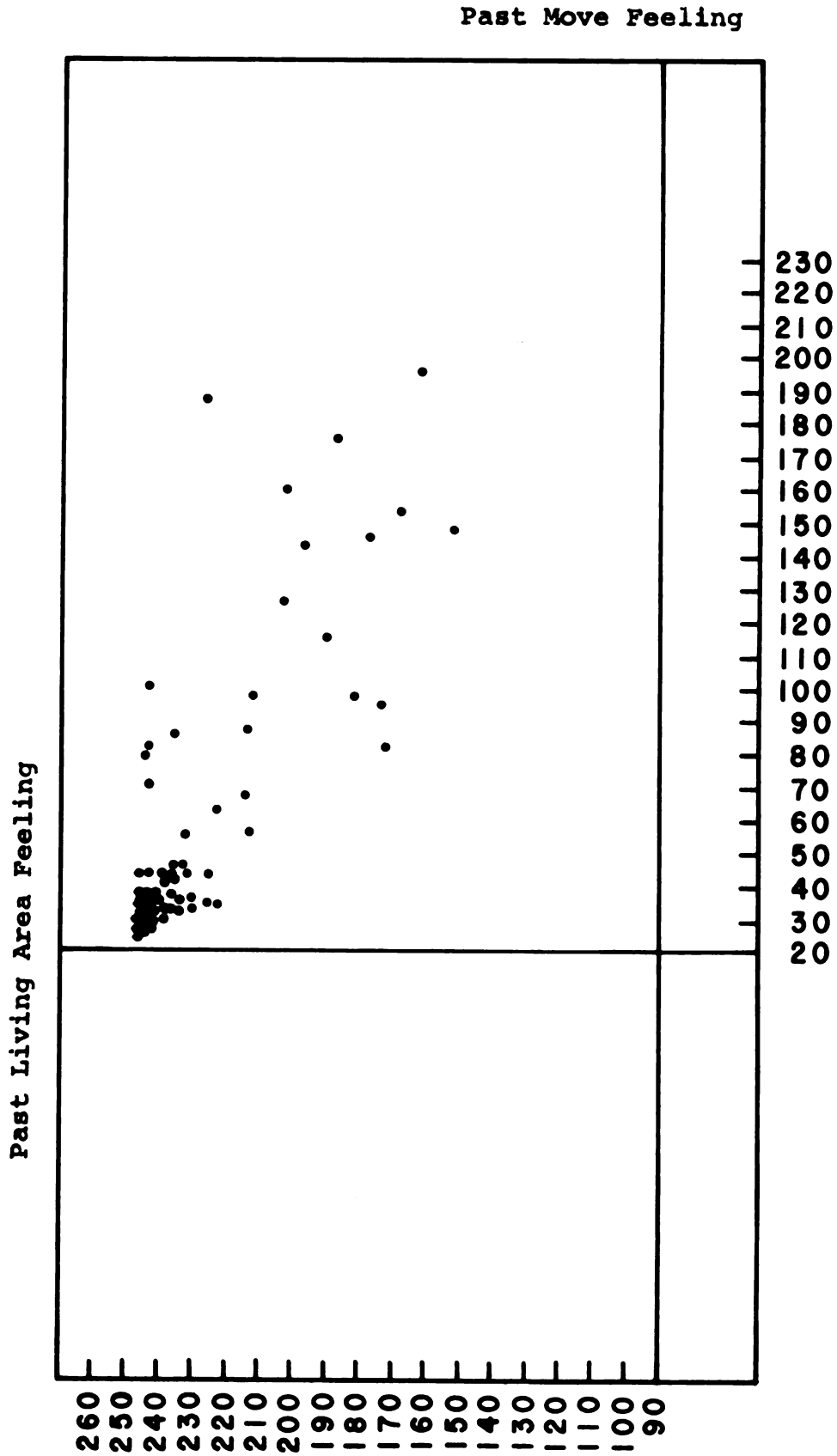
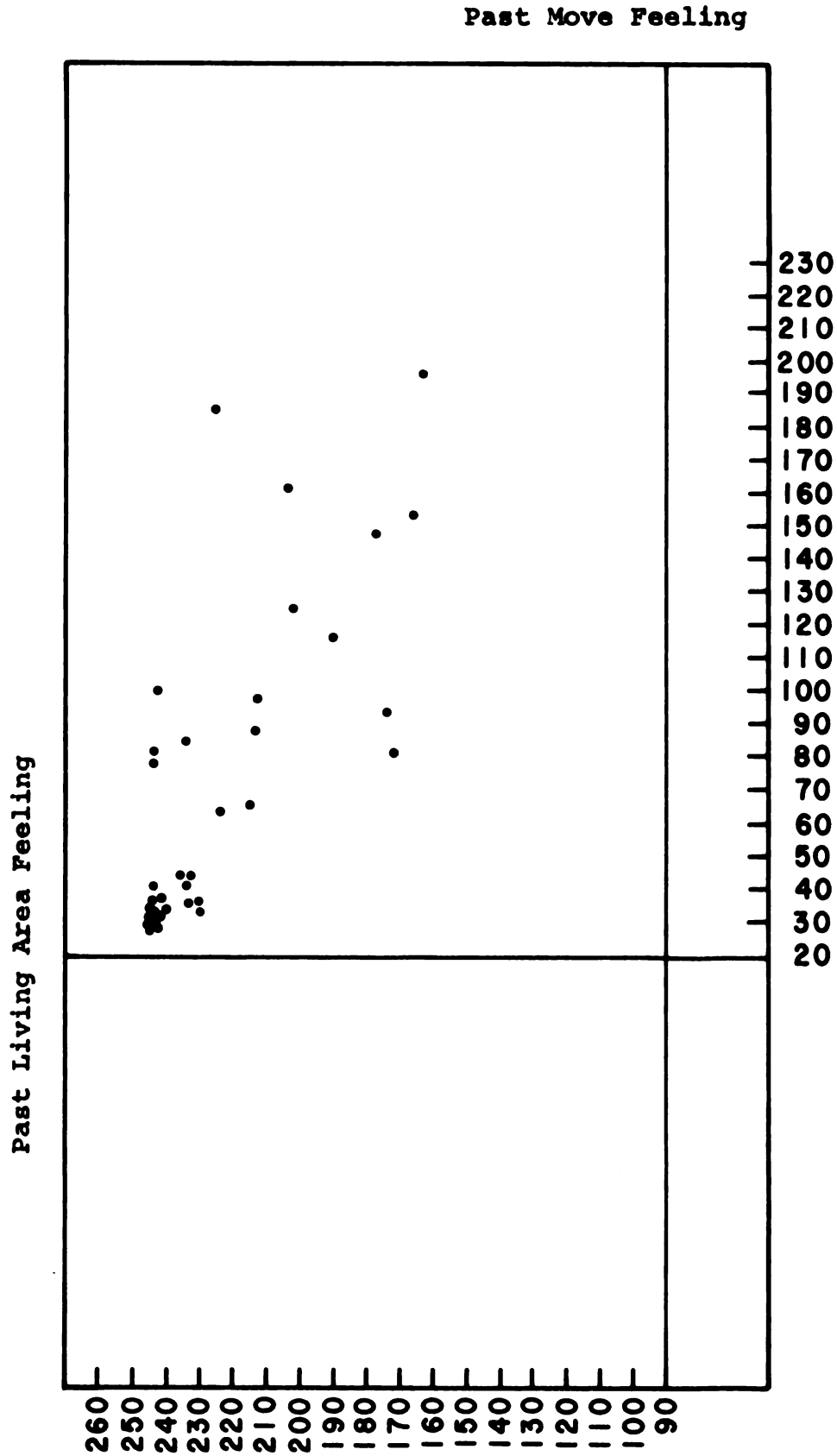
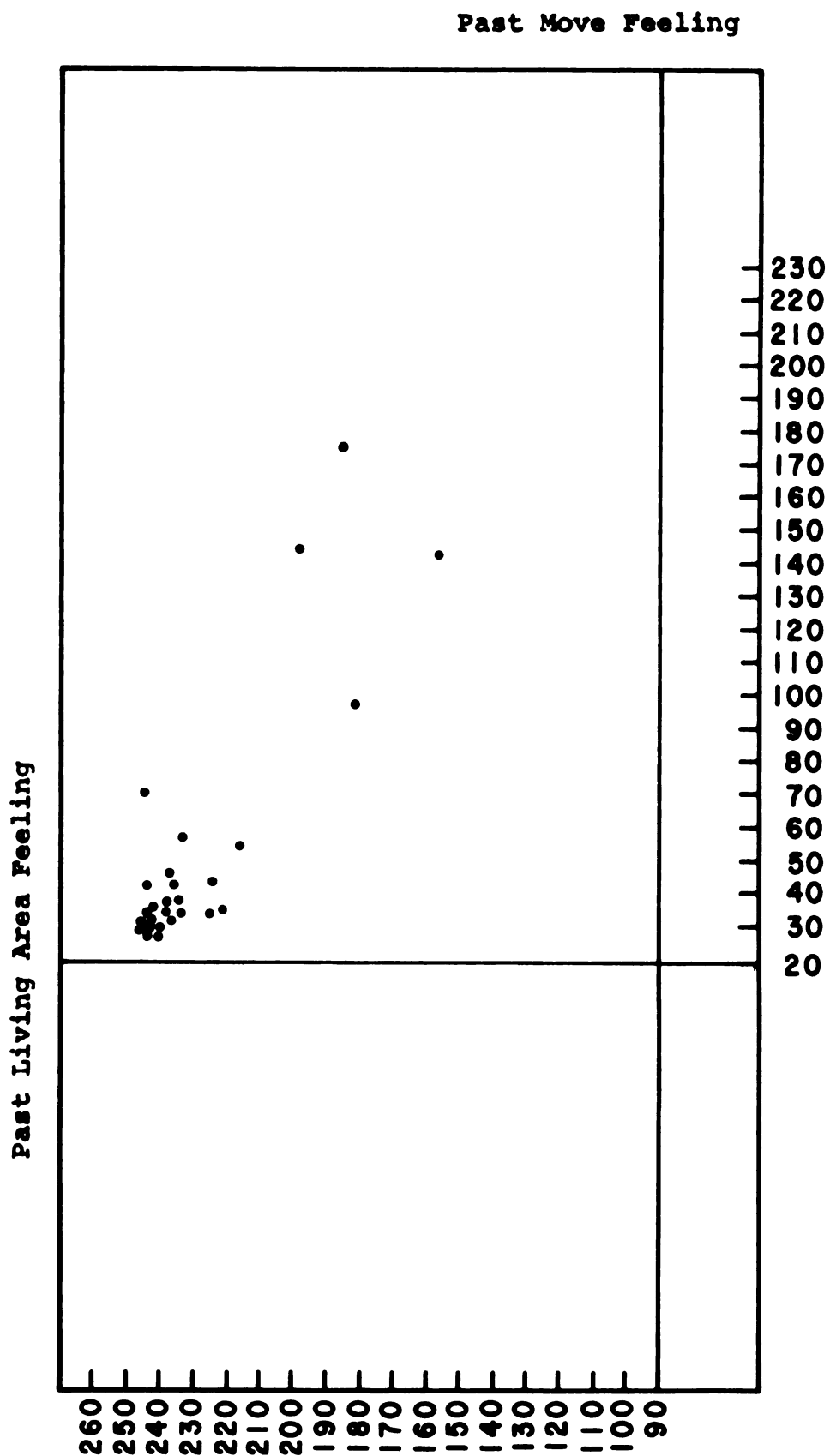


Figure 6. Graphic Illustration of the Past Living Area Scores Correlated to the Past Move Feeling Scores (Total Population)





**Figure 8. Graphic Illustration of the Past Living Area Scores  
Correlated to the Past Move Feeling Scores  
(Female Population)**

TABLE 2

COMPUTATION RESULTS OF THE PEARSON PRODUCT-  
MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENT (r)

Correlation	r Value	Confidence Level
Living Area Difference Scores Correlated to Move Feeling Difference Scores for:		
Total Population	.6790	.001
Males	.7124	.001
Females	.6635	.001
Past Living Area Feeling Scores Correlated to Past Move Feeling Scores for:		
Total Population	-.7711	.001
Males	-.7295	.001
Females	-.8511	.001

P < .001 with r = .4433 for df = 50.

P < .001 with r = .5541 for df = 30.

P < .001 with r = .6524 for df = 20.

### Analysis of Variance and Eta Squared

The statistical techniques utilized for this part of the data were a one-way analysis of variance and eta squared ( $\eta^2$ ). Five aspects of the questionnaire were utilized in the selection of fifteen category variables.<sup>1</sup> These category variables were related to five dependent variables. (See Figure 9.) Seventy-five one-way analyses of variances and  $\eta^2$  computations were done. (Only those that were significant at least at the .05 level will be presented in this chapter. Appendix D presents all of the data.)

The first aspect focuses on employment proximity. Each individual was asked if his place of employment was closer to his present residence than it was to his old residence.

The second aspect deals with the effects of increased proximity from and reduction in social interaction with one's best friends. Before being considered significant, an increase in proximity of seven blocks was necessary. In terms of social interaction, a sevenfold reduction in social interaction was necessary. For

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<sup>1</sup>The term category variable was utilized on the computer print out sheets and will be utilized throughout the remainder of the study. Independent variable is synonymous to category variable.

<u>Category Variables</u>	<u>Dependent Variables</u>
1. Employment Proximity	1. Living Area Difference
2. Proximity to Best Friends	2. Move Feeling Difference
3. Social Interaction with Best Friends	3. Past Move Feeling
4. Proximity to and Social Interaction with Best Friends	4. Present Move Feeling
5. Amount of Notice Prior to Moving	5. Present Living Area Difference
6. Short Notice	
7. Sufficient Time	
8. Short Notice and Insufficient Time	
9. Opportunity to Express Opinions and Participation	
10. Kind of Assistance and Manner of Finding Present Residence	
11. Pleasure with Handling	
12. Pleasure with Price for Home	
13. Politeness	
14. Prior Feelings About Move	
15. Present Feelings About Move	

Figure 9. Category and Dependent Variables

example if an individual saw his best friends every day prior to moving, the reduction would have to be to once a week or if he saw the individual every other day the reduction in social interaction would have to be to once every two weeks.

The third aspect reflects upon the manner in which relocation was carried out, the amount of opportunity the people had to express their opinions in the relocation process, and the kind of participation the people had in pre-relocation planning. Each individual was asked to indicate the lapse of time that took place between the receipt of notice that he must move and his actual moving. This category was divided into six months or more and less than six months. Each individual was also asked if he felt he had been given short notice and if he felt he had had sufficient time to move. Finally each individual was asked if he felt he had had an opportunity to express his opinions in the relocation process or if he had taken part in any of the pre-relocation planning.

The fourth area focuses on the amount of assistance the people felt they had received and the manner in which they found a new residence.

The final aspect deals with how the people felt they were handled. In other words, were they pleased with the way they were handled, were the homeowners pleased with the price they received for their homes, were the



relocation officials polite, how did the people feel about what occurred, and how do they now feel about what occurred.

The findings that were gleaned from the above five aspects were based on different populations. In relating the fifteen category variables to the five dependent variables N's of 61 were in evidence for: social interaction with and proximity to one's best friends, short notice, short notice and insufficient time, politeness, prior feelings about move, and present feelings about move. It was felt that the husband and wife would have the same responses and thus an N of 51 (or total households) was utilized for the category variables: six months or more or less than six, opportunity to express opinions and participation, kind of assistance and manner of finding present residence, and pleasure with handling. With regard to the category variable, employment proximity, an N of 46 was utilized. The rest of the population was not employed (i.e., housewives or retirees). Finally, an N of 41 was used for the category variable relating to the homeowner's feelings about the price received for his house. (It should be noted that the term "individual" is utilized throughout this discussion and thus assumes a different meaning with N's of 51 and 41.

The five dependent variables as were indicated are: living area difference which has a point value range from -104 to 83, move feeling difference from -6 to 154, past and present move feeling from 28 to 252, and present living area feeling from 35 to 245.

The category variables were divided into two subgroups. The category variables were looked at from a yes or no, farther or closer, and angry--not angry or happy perspective (1 or 2). Each category variable was related to each dependent variable, the scores were either placed in subgroup one or subgroup two. The means for each subgroup were tabulated as well as the population mean.

The analysis of variance<sup>2</sup> was utilized as a test of the null hypothesis that the difference between the means of the subgroups came about by chance and were taken from a population in which there was no correlation. The F-test evaluates the hypothesis that the observed difference in subgroup means occurred because of sampling error and that all subgroup means were derived from a population which had but a single grand mean.

Eta squared ( $\eta^2$ ) computes a ratio expressing the proportion of reduction of error or degree of improvement

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<sup>2</sup>Linton C. Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics (New York, London, and Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 200-209.

in guessing.<sup>3</sup> If an individual were to guess the score of one person for a particular subgroup within a particular category variable, he would chose the grand mean of the population. The analysis of variance gives the means for the subgroups. By knowing the means of the subgroups rather than just the population mean, the individual improves his accuracy in guessing. By the computation of  $\eta^2$ , the percentage of improvement can be ascertained.

When the one-way analyses of variance were done on the fifteen category variables by the five dependent variables, thirteen were significant at least at the .05 level of confidence. They were as follows: employment proximity by living area difference; social interaction with one's best friends by past move feeling; short notice and insufficient time by present living area feeling; pleasure with handling by living area difference, move feeling difference, and present move feeling; pleasure with price given for old residence by living area difference, past move feeling, and present move feeling; politeness of relocation officials by move feeling difference; level of feeling at the time of relocation by present move feeling; level of feeling now by move feeling difference and present move feeling.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 120-130.

### Employment Proximity

The individuals in subgroup one now live farther from their places of employment than they did when they lived in their old residences. This suggests that one tends to like his living area less when he has to relocate closer to his place of employment.

(See Table 3.)

TABLE 3  
MEAN EMPLOYMENT PROXIMITY SCORES BY  
LIVING AREA DIFFERENCE SCORES

	Employment Proximity			
	Farther	Closer	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	3.67	-25.7	5.349	.1084
Subgroup Population	15	31		

$P < .05$  with  $F = 4.08$ .

It was felt that this question had some shortcomings. This assumption is based on the fact that most of the people questioned did not move a great distance from their place of employment because of their being relocated. In many cases the increased distance was only

five or six blocks. Consequently the results must be questioned.

### Social Interaction

The individuals in subgroup one experienced at least a sevenfold reduction in social interaction with their best friends. The individuals in this subgroup tended to be more grieved about the move at the time that it occurred than individuals in subgroup two who had not experienced at least a sevenfold reduction in social interaction. (See Table 4.)

TABLE 4  
MEAN REDUCTION IN SOCIAL INTERACTION SCORES  
BY PAST MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Reduction in Social Interaction			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	53.5	85.8	7.552	.1135
Subgroup Population	40	21		

$P < .01$  with  $F = 7.08$ .

### Short Notice and Insufficient Time

Those individuals who felt they had received short notice and had had insufficient time to move were placed in subgroup one. The data suggest that those individuals tend to like their present living area less than those from subgroup two. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5  
MEAN SHORT NOTICE AND INSUFFICIENT TIME SCORES  
BY PRESENT LIVING AREA FEELING SCORES

	Short Notice and In-sufficient Time			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Present Living Area	198.6	218.6	5.451	.0842
Subgroup Population	24	37		

$P < .05$  with  $F = 4.00$ .

### Pleasure with Handling by Relocation Officials

The individuals in subgroup two were not pleased with their handling by the relocation officials. They tended to like their present living areas less than their

past living areas, showed a lower level of grief reduction than those from subgroup one, and showed a tendency to maintain their grief feelings over time. Those individuals in subgroup one tended to like their present living areas more than their past living areas showed a higher level of grief reduction than those from subgroup two, and tended not to evidence a maintenance of grief over time. (See Tables 6, 7 and 8.)

TABLE 6  
MEAN PLEASURE WITH HANDLING SCORES BY  
LIVING AREA DIFFERENCE SCORES

	Pleasure with Handling by Relocation Officials			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	14.2	-19.7	6.077	.1103
Subgroup Population	13	38		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 7

MEAN PLEASURE WITH HANDLING SCORES BY  
MOVE FEELING DIFFERENCE SCORES

	Pleasure with Handling by Relocation Officials		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	78.6	43.7	5.614	.1028
Subgroup Population	13	38		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 8

MEAN PLEASURE WITH HANDLING SCORES BY  
PRESENT MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Pleasure with Handling by Relocation Officials		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	160.9	108.3	6.451	.1163
Subgroup Population	13	38		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.



Pleasure with Price Given  
for Old Residence

Those individuals who were not pleased with the price received for their old residence liked their present living area less than their past living area, tended to feel worse about moving at the time of its occurrence than those from subgroup one, and evidence more grief about the move today than those from subgroup one. In addition those individuals from subgroup one tend to like their present living area more than their past living area. (See Tables 9, 10 and 11.)

TABLE 9  
MEAN PLEASURE WITH PRICE SCORES BY  
LIVING AREA DIFFERENCE SCORES

	Pleasure with Price Given for Old Residence			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	13.7	-28.0	7.044	.1530
Subgroup Population	7	34		

$P < .05$  with  $F = 4.08$ .

TABLE 10

MEAN PLEASURE WITH PRICE SCORES BY  
PAST MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Pleasure with Price Given for Old Residence		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	95.6	53.6	6.588	.1445
Subgroup Population	7	34		

P < .05 with F = 4.08.

TABLE 11

MEAN PLEASURE WITH PRICE SCORES BY  
PRESENT MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Pleasure with Price Given for Old Residence		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	165.6	96.1	7.528	.1618
Subgroup Population	7	34		

P < .01 with F = 7.31.

### Politeness

Those individuals who felt the relocation people were not polite showed a lower level of grief reduction than those who thought they were or had no opinion.

(See Table 12.)

TABLE 12  
MEAN POLITENESS SCORES BY  
MOVE FEELING DIFFERENCE  
SCORES

	Politeness			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	64.1	38.4	4.545	.0715
Subgroup Population	32	29		

$P < .05$  with  $F = 4.00$ .

### Prior Feelings About Move

The individuals in subgroup one felt a level of anger about what occurred (very angry, moderately angry, or slightly angry) and their present level of grief about being moved is greater than those individuals who evidenced no anger or some degree of happiness at the time of the move. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13  
MEAN PRIOR FEELINGS ABOUT MOVE SCORES BY  
PRESENT MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Feelings Prior to Move			
	Angry	Not Angry or Happy	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	103.7	138.8	4.155	.0658
Subgroup Population	39	22		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

The primary reason that prior feelings about move has a significant F-ratio when related to present move feeling centers around the fact that the level of an individual's feeling at the time of the move is very similar to his present feelings.

In responding to how they felt about what occurred, 39 individuals or 63.9 percent evidenced varying degrees of anger about what occurred (N of 61). Eighteen were very angry, fifteen moderately angry and six slightly angry. When asked how they now feel about what occurred, 40 individuals or 65.5 percent evidenced varying degrees of anger. Twelve were very angry, sixteen moderately angry and twelve slightly angry. The actual breakdown of

changes in degrees of anger were: six individuals went from very to moderately angry, five from moderately to slightly angry, one from slightly to not angry, and two from not angry to slightly angry.

Five individuals or 8.2 percent evidenced degrees of happiness about what occurred. Two individuals were very happy and three moderately happy. Six individuals or 9.8 percent evidenced degrees of happiness in responding to how they now feel about what occurred. One individual who indicated he felt no anger about what occurred at that time now feels very happy.

Seventeen individuals or 27.9 percent indicated that they were not angry about what occurred. Fifteen individuals or 24.6 percent indicated that they now are not angry about what occurred.

#### Present Feelings About Move

The individuals in subgroup one feel some degree of anger about what occurred. They show a lower level of grief reduction than those in subgroup two. They also show a tendency to maintain their grief feelings over time. This was not the case with subgroup two. (See Tables 14 and 15.)

TABLE 14

MEAN PRESENT FEELINGS ABOUT MOVE SCORES BY  
MOVE FEELING DIFFERENCE SCORES

	Present Feelings About Move		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Angry	Not Angry or Happy		
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	42.7	69.5	4.485	.0707
Subgroup Population	40	21		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 15

MEAN PRESENT FEELINGS ABOUT MOVE SCORES BY  
PRESENT MOVE FEELING SCORES

	Present Feelings About Move		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Angry	Not Angry or Happy		
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	101.8	144.1	6.078	.0934
Subgroup Population	40	21		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

In-Depth Interviews

The in-depth interview progressed in the following set pattern: feelings concerning relocation, feelings associated with having to leave one's friends, manner of participation in relocation planning, kind of assistance received, feelings then and now about how the relocation process was carried out, and ways in which the whole process could have been handled differently and in such a way that the people would have faired better.

The first two individuals presented do not like their new living areas as well as their old living areas and are about as grieved now as they were four years ago. The second two individuals like their new living areas about as well as their old living areas. They were grieved at the time of relocation but there has been a reduction in grief since that time. The final individual likes her new living area a lot better than her old one, was not grieved to move and is presently very happy about the move.

Mr. L.

"I felt bad and still do. I got treated like a convict. They ain't no warden and I ain't no convict. We got kicked out in the street. We were pushed out in the street. We were like rats looking for a hole and

that ain't right. No way is that right. I was angry, depressed, disgusted, sad, unhappy, and someother bad feelings. You name it and I was that. I just got back on the job. I was off four years with a broken knee and then they come along and take our house. I fought it like anybody would have fought it but they told me if we didn't get out our furniture would be put in the street and the bulldozer would tear the house down. What kind of treatment is that? No way, no way is that right. As I think what happened, I feel bad all over again. If we had stayed in that other place I would have had the place paid for in four years from now. I'll never pay for this place. I guess you could say that I'm one heartbroken man. My heart is broke.

"In thinking about my friends and the nice times we had I really feel bad that we don't get together like we used to. When they started tearing down the neighborhood it was like a tornado but it just wasn't as fast. No one knew what was going to happen to them. You didn't know where your best friends were going and you didn't know where you were going. It was like a very bad ending to a very happy story. I still think about the good times we used to have, and you know, we seldom see these people anymore and this is really sad and depressing. Everybody was so close and you could look to your neighbors for help



if you needed it. The neighbors here are okay but everybody seems too busy to care about the other guy. Close friends are hard to come by but we had plenty in the old neighborhood but you seldom get a chance to see them anymore. That's really sad.

"When you ask about participation that's a laugh. At first a man came by and measured the size of our lot but he wouldn't tell me what he was doing. Then a man came and looked at our house. Then a man told us our house was worth so much money and that was what he'd give us and we had to move. 'The highway was coming through,' he said, 'and it won't do any good to fight it.' The only participation was, here is some peanuts monkey now go away and don't stand in the way of progress. They didn't give two hoots about me and my family. All they cared about was that highway. We didn't count, we was just in the way. We had nothing to say about nothing. We just had to pack our things and find another place.

"When it came to assistance from them that was really something. We didn't get no help. I told them I needed a house that was as good as the one I had and they told me to go out and look for one. If that don't beat all, comes in and kick you out and then tell you to go out and look for a place on your own. The man tells me Mr. L. take this money you can't fight city hall. You

can find another place. That man couldn't have cared less about me and my family. We were in the way and they wanted us out of there as soon as possible. You know when I turned them down that's when they really got mean and told me they'd put my furniture in the street and bulldoze my house down. It's one heck of a feeling to lose what you have and not know where you are going. Not knowing really scared me.

"I guess the best way for me to describe how I felt and now feel about the way the relocation process was carried out is to say I was bitter and I'm still bitter. They just didn't do right by me and my family. They didn't treat us fair and they didn't care about us one bit. We're human beings and we deserved better than what we got. Nobody should be done the way we was done. If I live to be one hundred, I'll never forget how we was done. You should be treated with respect and that didn't happen with us. A man works hard to give his family a decent place to live and they take it away that just ain't fair. No way is that fair. You got to do right by a man that's the only way.

"I think it would have come out better if they had included us in what was going to happen. Good housing should have been available. The kind of place that could give a man a little hope. There should have been people

available to help you get resettled and there should have been people working with you that were concerned about you. It's tough having to move, but if the people who are moving you care, it would make it a lot easier. Everything couldn't be replaced but you wouldn't feel as bad about being moved. Having someplace to go makes a big difference. If you go from someplace to someplace, that's one thing; but if you go from someplace to no place that something different. Care about the people and be concerned about the people that what's necessary. Treat people like they're human being. You got to do that."

Mrs. G.

"I feel as bad now if not worse than I did when it happened. Having to leave was an unforgettable moment. I felt taken and I resented that with all of my insides. I felt sad and depressed and everything that goes with being moved. I felt like I had lost a close loved one and I guess in a way I had. What I had was taken and it was against my will. It was like I had no rights at all. I felt two ways and for different reasons. I felt brokenhearted because I had to move and I felt mad at the people that made me move. Believe you me, I cused them out more than once. A person can't start over when she's seventy years old. I lived in a nice place on Main Street and now I live in a place that isn't too nice. I feel so bad

sometimes I could cry and sometimes I do. I had something that was nice and now I don't have nothing.

"When you have to leave your old friends it makes a person very sad. You look out and the friends that used to live across the street aren't there anymore. My whole social life was changed at age seventy. I can't get to the church activities like I used to because it's so far. The two bridge clubs I belonged to don't meet anymore because the members have moved too far away. The whole group of friends that I used to live close to was scattered. The old group has been broken up. When this kind of thing happens it's hard to be happy. A person's friends are important and when you move away from them it's very very sad.

"When it came to my participation, there wasn't any. You were given notice that you had to move and that was that. They told me that I couldn't expect to stand in the way of progress. 'Progress must go on,' is what they said. They told you what they were going to do and it didn't make any difference what you thought or felt about it. They say this is a free country but after what happened with the highway and all, I'm not so sure that that's true. The highway came first and the people came second. They had chosen that area and that was that. They came to see you and they were nice in a real nasty

kind of way then when I didn't jump right up and move out they got nasty and that's when I cused them out. The whole thing is real simple. They were interested in the highway and not the people. The people were just in their right of way. Here is a group of people that have lived in a place for a long time and they didn't care about us one bit.

"When it came to assistance, they told me I could move into a house on East Main Street but that it would be torn down next year. That's not assistance that's telling you to get out and go to that place over there. The place we had to move to was crawling with roaches. You had to turn the water on to chase them out of the kitchen sink. I didn't have any money so I couldn't move to a better place so I had to go there. It's really sad to have to move from a nice place to a place you don't like. I fought moving for awhile but I'm old and I just got tired and gave up. It's terrible when you get pushed out. It's a terrible feeling. You kind of hurt inside all the time. It's not something you can get over very easy and being as old as I am you'll take it to your grave.

"When it comes to saying how I felt and feel about what occurred, all I can say is that they done me dirty and took advantage of me. I feel mad and sad at the same time. Since I've gotten older, I can't stay mad like I

used to be able to do. Now it seems that I stay sad and that's something I didn't do when I was younger. I still think about what we had and then I compare it to what we have. When you sit down and do that it makes you feel real bad, bad indeed. You ask yourself why they had to take so much from you and give so little in return. I had to pay for that highway by giving up so many of the parts of my life that were dear and I didn't get much in return for doing this. It doesn't seem fair that I should have to give up so much in the name of progress.

"I'll tell you what they could have done to make things better. They could have given me a fair price for my house. That's the first thing. They could have recognized that they were forcing us to leave an area that I loved. They could have considered us. They could have been concerned about what became of us. They should have had people around to help and not push. Any time you got a visitor from the highway it was to push you out. There wasn't any people around that really cared what was happening to us. You go through a lot when you get uprooted. That's a very sad period and there should be people around to help you pick up the pieces and continue to live. There just weren't any people like that around when I had to move and this made moving all the harder. Believe it was hard and it hurt."

Mr. B.

"I felt very bad when it happened but now I don't feel as bad as I did. We live in a nice place and that takes some of the sting out of what happened. We got a bad deal money-wise and that made me mad. We sure didn't get a fair price for our house. We had to get out of a house we really liked and move to a new neighborhood. At first we felt very very bad about what happened. You work like a dog to get something and then somebody comes along and takes it from you. That really hurts. We were a lot luckier than a lot of people because we were able to find a new place that was nice. All in all, I think we still would have been at the old place if the highway hadn't come through. It wasn't as new as this place but it was real homey. We raised our kids in that place. There are a lot of good memories attached to that place.

"We had a lot of good friends in the old neighborhood that we socialized with a whole lot; but since we've moved we don't see them much anymore. When you think about the good old times it makes you feel kind of sad that you don't get together much anymore. I feel sadder in the summer because I think about the weekly barbeques we used to have. That was real fun. When we all had to move we said we'd keep doing that but when you move so far away from each other you just don't get together as

much and that's a real shame. When you have to get up and move you lose a lot. People you used to have close to you, you might kind of take them for granted. You really don't realize how much they meant until they aren't there anymore.

"When it came to participation there wasn't none. They wrote us a letter and told us a highway was coming through and we had to move. Then a man came out and measured our property and another man went over our whole house to assess it. Then a man came out with a check for \$10,000. That was one of their tricks. They'd show you a lot of money and would hope you'd jump at it. We didn't fall for that one. That \$10,000 was \$4,000 less than the worth of the house. They didn't like it when I told them that and they liked it even less when we told them to get out. That's when they told us they would get the house anyway because they had the right of eminent domain. They told us we would have to move regardless. The participation boiled down to we are coming through and you are getting out.

"When it came to assistance we didn't get none. They told us they'd give us 75 percent of the money they offered and we could take them to court to settle for the rest of it. The only assistance we got from them was \$7,500 to use to go out and get another place. They



didn't help us one bit. This house we live in right now was found by us and the Highway Department didn't help us one bit either. It's tough when you've lived in a place for a long time and you got to jump up and find another place before a set deadline. You get kind of scared because you don't know where you're going or what's going to happen. After you get settled you don't think about it; but while it's happening to you you really get scared.

"When it comes to how I felt then and feel now about the relocation process, I can say that I'm not as mad or sad as I used to be, but you just don't never completely get over it. I'll always feel bad. Sure I feel better than I did but we had to give up a lot and didn't get much for it and you don't forget that. When you leave a place you like it's always sad regardless; but when you get thrown out on your ear that makes it a lot worse. When you don't get treated right it makes it all the worse. A man might know he's got to do something but he at least likes to feel that he got treated right. That kind of thing is important to me. You don't have to bow down to me or anything like that but I do like to be treated like you do respect me.

"When it comes to what could have been done differently to make things better than they were, I tell you the first thing is that every person should have got

a fair price for his property. They shouldn't have made you feel like you were being kicked out in the street. They should have helped you find a nice place to live. They also should have shown more concern for the people. They had their priorities mixed up. It should have been the people and then the highway instead of the highway, the highway, and the highway. I've always felt that what is done to you is very important, and how it's done to you is also important. People like to be treated fairly. Treating people like people is doing right by them. That's the only way to do it."

Mr. S.

"When it comes to discussing the relocation deal, I can tell you I was bitter then and I'm bitter now. I don't feel as sad about it now as I did, but I'm still pretty bitter. They put me at a disadvantage financially. I got a higher mortgage than I did before and a higher interest rate. I would have been pretty close to having that other house paid out by now but I got a lot more years to pay on this one. We were happy where we used to be and we didn't want to move, but because somebody wants to build a highway we got to get out and don't get much in return for it. When you're treated like that there's no way you can feel good there's just no way. There you

are with something nice and the next thing you know you don't have it anymore. That really upsets a person.

"When it came to leaving my old neighbors, that was kind of sad. No one knew what was going to happen. There was a close knit group in the old neighborhood and when we all had to move it broke up the group somewhat. That was a pretty sad time. When you live side by side with people year in and year out you kind of get attached to them. Then when all of a sudden these people have to move and you have to move it makes you feel kind of sad. That's when you start to think about all the good times and you wonder if these good times will continue. After we all moved, we didn't see each other as much and what I thought would happen did. The old group was no more.

"When it came to participation, you couldn't really say there was any. They sent out an appraiser and he looked at our house. They then called and said that an agent would be coming out to negotiate a price. This didn't happen. The man came out and made an offer and that was that. He came back a few months later with the same offer. So there was no negotiating at all. They said how much they were going to pay us and that was that. We held out and they gave us a deadline to get out. It really galls you when you get a deadline and when you have to get out of a place you own. You live in a place for

seven years and you pay on that house every single month. You make improvements on that place and then somebody comes along and gives you a deadline to be out. The other thing that was bad was that we stayed a little past the deadline and had to pay them rent. That really made me mad.

"We didn't get any assistance in moving. I had to get out and find this place. They didn't do one thing to help me. They didn't care about you. All they cared about was the property your house was on and how fast they could get you out of there. They pushed they didn't help you to move. They wanted you to move so that they could put the highway through. The faster you got out the better they liked it, but you got out on your own. You don't want to take the first place you see. A man wants to find a place that is as nice or nicer than what he has if he has to move. You want to feel like you're improving yourself and if not that, you, at least, want to stay the same. You don't want to take a step backward. The only step they cared about was you step out.

"My overall feeling is one of bitterness and sadness. They didn't do right by us and that's that. We had to make too many sacrifices and that's not right. There's no way you can ask a man to feel good about being used and abused and that's what happened to us. We were

hurt by what happened and I can't forget and I can't forgive. I just can't say that what happened was just one of those things and forget it. We were taken and pushed around like we didn't even count.

"I think that when you decide that you want a highway through a neighborhood special efforts should be made to insure that not one single person should be left in a worse circumstance than he was. If this is done, you would find that a large share of the people would probably end up with better places. Another thing is that the whole thing should be frank and honest. The people who are being affected should know what the score is. The people who are being affected should be consulted and listened to so that the best possible treatment can be given to the people."

Mrs. H.

"I was sort of glad to get out of the neighborhood. It was beginning to get run down and we wanted to sell and get out. The highway was a chance to sell and get out. The thing I didn't like was that we didn't really get a fair price for our place. We had hoped for a lot more. We got gypped and that's all there is to that. So my gladness that went with getting out was cut somewhat because we got gypped. Since we're in a new

place and we are well on the way to getting this place paid for, I'm glad we moved. If we'd have stayed in that place much longer we wouldn't have gotten much more out of it than we got from the Highway Department. All things being considered, I think that what happened was for the best. We're a lot happier out here than we ever were in the old place. We are really happy with what we have here.

"When we had to leave our good friends that was the part that was kind of sad. You live around people for a long time and you become fond of them. So when you leave them you feel something. When we got out here we didn't see our closest friends as much as we had in the past and you kind of miss this somewhat. Since we've lived out here we've tried to visit our old friends as much as possible so it hasn't been bad. When we get together we have a real nice time so this kind of makes up for not being close. We also have some new friends that we see fairly often. So I guess from the friend standpoint things aren't too bad. There's neighborliness out here too. It's not quite like in the neighborhood where we used to live but it's nice.

"When it came to participation there was none. We received a letter in the mail notifying us of the highway coming through and a few months later a man came

and measured our property and a little later another man came by to assess the value of the house. A little after that a man came by and made us an offer. We told him we'd think about it and to come back in a few days. Well, when he came back, we accepted his offer.

"When it came to assistance, I can say honestly that we didn't get any help from the Highway Department. They gave us the money and a time to be out of the old place. We had to get out before our new house was finished. We were lucky because we moved in with friends for almost three months. At first we thought we would have to move into an apartment and the leases offered were for one year. We were very fortunate. With a little less luck we would have been in a bind. Having to pay out a lease and all. Because of the lack of assistance they put us in a position whereby we could have suffered and from that standpoint I was irritated and I guess, as I sit here talking, I still don't like it. When things turn out alright you feel good but you tend to think about what could have happened.

"My overall feelings about the relocation process was that I was glad to move out but I wasn't particularly happy with the way the Highway Department treated us and I still feel that way. Even when you want to get rid of something, you like to get a fair deal and when you don't

you don't like it. We got something out of the deal only because we wanted out of the neighborhood. Our house was okay but not that great and we wanted to sell. If we hadn't wanted to get rid of it, our overall feelings would have been different, then and now. We wouldn't be as happy as we are now.

"In looking at things that could have been done different, I think that giving a person what his house is worth is important. Even though our place wasn't that great, we didn't get the right price for it. If we had tried to replace what we had we couldn't from the money we got from the Highway Department. I think that more could have been done to make sure that the people got relocated. As I said before we were fortunate that we didn't suffer but if we had of that would have been our problem and we wouldn't have got any help from the Highway Department. Feeling that you aren't all alone in a situation you feel better. When you have to sink or swim completely on your own that can be pretty tough if you don't have a little luck."



## CHAPTER VI

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter will view the findings of the study as they relate to the hypotheses as well as related data. The discussion of the hypotheses will draw from the data analyzed by arithmetic treatment, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, analysis of variance and eta computations, and the in-depth interviews. The data utilized for the presentation of related data were drawn from the material analyzed by analysis of variance and eta computations as well as the in-depth interviews. The only data that were not presented in this chapter concern the past and present residence (i.e., number of homeowners, time spent in past residence, and time spent in present residence). These aspects of the data will be touched upon in Chapter VII.

#### Hypotheses

##### Hypothesis I

Urban relocation is socially disruptive<sup>1</sup> and can be the cause of grief reactions among relocatees.

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<sup>1</sup>See page 4 for a definition of social disruption.

## Decision

The hypothesis is supported by the following evidence. The fact that urban relocation is socially disruptive is evidenced by the fact that 40 individuals or 65.5 percent of the people interviewed had experienced a sevenfold reduction in social interaction with their best friends. (See Table 4.) This reduction in social interaction was linked to past grief which was brought about because of relocation. This is demonstrated by the fact that those individuals who showed a sevenfold reduction in social interaction were more grieved than those who had not experienced a sevenfold reduction in social interaction.

When social interaction was related to past move feeling an F-ratio of 7.552 was evidenced which is significant at the .01 level of confidence. This reflects upon the idea that the sudden reduction in social interaction with one's best friends contributes to the immediate feelings of grief that are often associated with having to move.

The in-depth interviews go beyond the findings presented by the analysis of variance. The people interviewed not only demonstrated the existence of a linkage between past grief and the reduction in social interaction with one's best friends but also a linkage with present

grief feelings. Three examples of this are shown by Mr. L., Mrs. G., and Mr. S.

Mr. L. pointed out that, "In thinking about my friends and the nice times we had I really feel bad that we don't get together like we used to." Mrs. G. stated that, "The whole group of friends that I used to live close to was scattered. The old group has been broken up. When this kind of thing happens it's hard to be happy." Mr. S. indicated that, "When you live side by side with people year in and year out you kind of get attached to them. Then when all of a sudden these people have to move and you have to move it makes you feel kind of sad. That's when you start to think about all the good times and you wonder if these good times will continue. After we moved, we didn't see each other as much and what I thought would happen did. The old group was no more." The reduction in interaction with their best friends can be seen to be linked to their past and present feelings of grief.

The in-depth interviews also amplify upon the overall feelings associated with having to move. Statements indicating that the individuals felt bad, sad and brokenhearted were in evidence.

Finally, the data reflect the fact that 88.6 percent of the individuals interviewed indicated that they had experienced some level of grief which was associated

with having to move and 57.3 percent of these individuals are still experiencing some level of grief. This adds credence to the idea that urban relocation can be the cause of grief reaction among relocatees.

Hypothesis I presents two separate concepts:

(1) the idea that urban relocation is socially disruptive and (2) that it can be the cause of grief reactions among relocatees. The data substantiate the validity of these statements but it goes beyond this point by linking social disruption to grief reactions. Social disruption is one of the causes of the grief reaction.

#### Hypothesis II

The intense feelings of grief and the intense feeling that relocation was socially disruptive will be pronounced where the individual is attached to his old living area.

#### Decision

The hypothesis is supported by the following evidence. It was found that when the past living area scores and past move feeling scores were correlated for the total, an  $r$  of  $-.7711$  was in evidence. When these same variables were correlated for males and females, the respective correlations were  $-.7295$  and  $-.8511$ . All of these correlations are significant at the  $.001$  level of

confidence. This indicates that there is an extremely high relationship between past living area feeling and past move feeling. In essence this means that if the individual has a great deal of attachment to his living area he will be grieved to leave. In addition if the individual does not have strong attachments to his past living area he will not tend to be grieved at his departure from this area, for in order to grieve there must be a relatively strong emotional attachment.

The data also indicate 42 individuals or 68.8 percent of those interviewed evidenced a strong feeling for their old neighbors and social activities and were quite grieved to leave. The leaving of a neighborhood is most closely associated with change in proximity to and a reduction of interaction with one's best friends, and the dissolving of social activities that were indicative of an individual's particular social grouping within his neighborhood.

The above again points to the linkage that exists between social disruption and grief.

### Hypothesis III

If an individual's attachment to his new living area is on a par or greater than his attachment to his old living area his level of grief will tend not to be as

great as the individual who has a far stronger feeling for his old living area than he does for his new one.

#### Decision

The hypothesis is supported by the following evidence. The data indicates that when the living area difference scores and the move feeling difference scores for the total population were correlated, an  $r$  of .6790 was evidenced. When the same variables for males and females were correlated, the respective correlations were .7124 and .6635; all of the above correlations are significant at the .001 level of confidence.

In viewing the correlations between the living area difference scores, the data reflects a high relationship.

In other words if the individual likes his present living area as well or better than his past living area there was a reduction in grief. For the most part those individuals who liked their present living areas as well as their past living areas, evidenced a present move feeling level that ranged between moderately grieved and slightly happy. Those individuals who liked their present living area better than their past living area, evidenced a present move feeling level that ranged between moderately happy and extremely happy.

In viewing the individual who did not like his present living area as well as his past living area, he showed a maintenance of a relatively constant level of grief over time. In essence what is being said is that these individuals were about as grieved today as they were four years ago. Time has done little to lessen their grief.

#### Related Data

This part of the discussion will center around data that were collected for the expressed purpose of providing the kind of information that would lead to the making of needed recommendations which would lead to possible improvements in the relocation process. This will include data derived from the analyses of variance and eta computations as well as data that were gleaned from the in-depth interviews. Data that were not significant when related to the five dependent variables but whose relevance was substantiated by the in-depth interviews will also be presented. Data that were not significant when related to any of the five dependent variables and were not part of the interview schedule will not be included (i.e., six months or more and less than six months, short notice, and sufficient time). Finally, data that were collected for the purpose stated above as well as for the purpose of providing a basis for the

acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses of the study will not be included.

#### Employment Proximity

Employment proximity by living area difference was found to be significant. However, as stated earlier, this finding should be questioned.

It was not surprising to find that employment proximity was not significant when related to the other four dependent variables. The basis for this position evolves from the fact that relocation did little to effect the proximity of the individual to his place of employment. For the most part, give or take five or six blocks, the people were approximately the same distance away after relocation.

#### Short Notice and Insufficient Time

The relevant data that were gleaned from the questions posed in this aspect of the questionnaire centered around the effects of short notice and insufficient time in having to move.

In the analysis of variance of short notice and insufficient time by present living area feeling, an F-ratio of 5.451 was evidenced which is significant at the .05 level of confidence. The people who felt they had



received short notice and insufficient time to move tended to like their present living area less than those who did not feel this way.

Quite possibly the individuals in the former subgroup felt that they had been rushed from their old residences and had to take the first thing that came along. This rushed feeling could have caused some to feel that if they had had more time they could have found a better home.

Opportunity to Express  
Opinions and Participa-  
tion

In looking at opportunity to express opinions and participation, it was found not to be significant when related to the five dependent variables. However, the lack of opportunity to express opinions in the relocation process and the lack of participation in pre-relocation planning had a dehumanizing effect in addition to eliciting feelings of lasting anger. This was shown in the in-depth interviews.

Mr. L. evidenced these feelings when he indicated that, "The only participation was, here is some peanuts monkey now go away and don't stand in the way of progress. They didn't give two hoots about me and my family. All they cared about was that highway. We didn't count, we

was just in the way. We had nothing to say about nothing. We just had to pack our things and find another place."

Mrs. G. reflected on the dehumanizing effect and her anger when she stated, "When it came to participation, there wasn't any. You were given notice that you had to move and that was that. They told me I couldn't expect to stand in the way of progress. . . . The whole thing is real simple. They were interested in the highway and not the people. The people were just in their right of way. Here is a group of people that have lived in a place for a long time and they didn't care about us one bit."

Mr. S. also reflected on the dehumanizing effect and his feelings of anger when he pointed out, "When it came to participation, you couldn't really say there was any. . . . We held out and they gave us a deadline to get out. It really galls you when you get a deadline and when you have to get out of a place you own. You live in a place for seven years and you pay on that house every single month. You make improvements on that place and then somebody comes along and gives you a deadline to be out. The other thing that was bad was that we stayed a little past the deadline and had to pay them rent. That really made me mad."

Kind of Assistance and Manner  
of Finding Present Residence

In turning to kind of assistance and manner of finding present residence, this category also was found not to be significant when related to the five dependent variables. However, the lack of assistance and the fact that the people, for the most part, found their present residences on their own, seemed to contribute to the eliciting of lasting feelings of anger as well as the fostering of fear at the time of relocation. The existence of these sentiments were brought out in the in-depth interviews.

Mr. L., in discussing the lack of assistance he received, displayed his present feelings of anger and his fear when he stated, "When it came to assistance from them that was really something. We didn't get no help. I told them I needed a house that was as good as the one I had and they told me to go out and look for one. If that don't beat all, comes in and kick you out and then tell you to go out and look for a place on your own. . . . It's one heck of a feeling to lose what you have and not know where you are going. Not knowing really scared me."

Mr. S. demonstrated his feelings of fear at the time he had to find another home when he stated, "It's tough when you've lived in a place for a long time and you got to jump up and find another place before a set

deadline. You get kind of scared because you don't know where you're going or what's going to happen. After you get settled you don't think about it; but while it's happening to you you really get scared."

Mrs. H. demonstrated her present anger about what occurred when she stated, "When it came to assistance, I can say honestly that we didn't get any help from the Highway Department. They gave us the money and a time to be out of the old place. We had to get out before our new house was finished. We were lucky because we moved in with friends for almost three months. At first we thought we would have to move into an apartment and the leases offered were for one year. We were very fortunate. With a little less luck we would have been in a bind. Having to pay out a lease and all. Because of the lack of assistance they put us in a position whereby we could have suffered and from that standpoint I was irritated and I guess, as I sit here talking, I still don't like it. When things turn out alright you feel good but you tend to think about what could have happened."

#### Feelings Concerning Handling

The material drawn from this aspect of the questionnaire centered around how the people felt they were handled by the relocation officials, how the homeowners felt about the price they received for their old

residences, the demeanor of the relocation officials, how the people felt about what occurred, and how they now feel about what occurred.

The analysis of variance of pleasure with handling by living area difference, move feeling difference, and present move feeling resulted in F-ratios of 6.077, 6.588, and 7.528 ( $P < .05$  with  $F = 4.00$  and  $P < .01$  with  $F = 7.08$ ). The data point to the fact that those who were displeased with their handling by the relocation officials like their present living areas less than their past living areas and showed a lower reduction in grief than those who were pleased with their handling. They also showed a maintenance of grief over time. Those individuals who were pleased with their handling tended to like their present living areas more than their past living areas, showed a higher level of grief reduction and tended not to evidence a maintenance of grief over time.

It seems as though the people who were displeased with their handling generalized their feelings of displeasure which contributed to their negative feelings about their present living areas. It also appears as though this made it more difficult for them to get over what occurred which contributed to the maintenance of grief over time.

Another interesting point is that when pleasure with handling was related to past move feeling it was found not to be significant. This suggests that during the time of the move the trauma of loss felt by the people gave them little time to focus on their handling. However, after a lapse of time they had a chance to really think about the manner in which they were handled and their displeasure began to take effect.

The analysis of variance of pleasure with price by living area difference, past move feeling, and present move feeling resulted in F-ratios of 7.044, 6.558, and 7.588 ( $P < .05$  with  $F = 4.00$  and  $P < .01$  with  $F = 7.08$ ). The data point to the idea that those individuals who felt they did not get fair prices for their homes tend to like their present living areas less than their past living areas. They also tended to feel worse about moving and evidenced more grief about the move today than did the individuals who were pleased with the price they received.

The data suggest that when people feel they have been cheated they tend to like what they have less than what they feel they should still have but have lost. In addition feeling cheated appears to have an effect on how the individual feels at the time he moves as well as later. Feeling cheated appears to contribute to the people's grief at the time of the move and the maintenance of grief over time.

In viewing the demeanor of the relocation officials, it was found that when politeness was related to move feeling difference an F-ratio of 4.515 resulted which is significant at the .05 level of confidence. Those individuals who felt the relocation officials were impolite evidenced a lower reduction in grief than those who felt they were polite or had no opinion.

It appears as though politeness and pleasure in handling are, to some extent, related. The fact that both were significant when related to move feeling difference suggests a possible linkage. The way a person is treated and the way he feels he was treated are usually related. Thus, this adds credence to the idea that pleasure with handling is often dependent upon the way the person feels he was treated.

The analysis of variance of prior feelings about move by present move feeling resulted in an F-ratio of 4.155 which is significant at the .05 level of confidence.

If an individual were angry at the time of the move he has tended to maintain his anger over time. Thus if he were angry then he will tend to still be angry which effects his present move feeling level.

In viewing present feelings about move, it was found to be significant when related to move feeling difference and present move feeling. The respective

F-ratios were 4.489 and 6.078 both of which are significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The data point out that individuals who are presently angry about what occurred tend to show a lower level of grief reduction and feel worse about what occurred than those who are not angry or are happy about what occurred. This suggests that there is a linkage between grief and anger.

#### How Could the Process Have Been Handled Differently?

The overwhelming sentiments concerning some ways in which the whole process could have been handled differently and in such a way that the people would have fared better were: more concern should have been shown for the people, each person should have gotten a fair price for his home, the people should have taken part in the planning, and finally every person should have been left at least as well off after the move as he was before the move.



## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

The study was made because of the author's interest in the efficient, effective, and humane relocation of persons involved in urban renewal projects. The literature as well as the results of the study reflect what can occur when the people aspect of urban renewal is not viewed as being of paramount importance.

The study was confined to a population of 51 black households (total population 61) which were drawn from a total population of 120 households. An instrument was constructed which permitted the collection of the needed data. All of the sixty-one individuals were interviewed in person. Five in-depth interviews were then done. The five households selected were representative of the feeling tone of the entire population. Hypotheses were advanced by the author based upon the foundation of facts established in the review of the literature and in conjunction with personal conceptions that were held.

The neighborhood that was studied was composed of mostly homeowners and was relatively stable. This is evidenced by the data focusing on past and present residences.

In looking at the time spent in the past and present residences, the minimum number of years spent by any individual in his old residence was two years and the maximum was thirty-seven years. The mean number for years spent in the old residence as 12.1. Forty-six individuals or 90.2 percent have lived in the same house since the move. Forty-seven of the total group or 92.1 percent are presently homeowners. Forty-two of the total group or 82.9 percent were homeowners at the time.

So that a clear and concise summary of the results can be presented to the reader the measurement instrument (questionnaire) will be utilized as a guide. The following aspects of the questionnaire were utilized for this purpose: factual information, information concerning proximity to employment before and after relocation, living area feeling and move feeling, proximity to and social interaction with one's best friends, the manner in which relocation was carried out, amount of opportunity to express opinions in the relocation process, participation in pre-relocation planning, kind of assistance and manner in which individuals found their present

residences, and the individuals' feelings about the way they were handled.

In viewing the factual questions that were asked, it was hoped that additional information could be gleaned from knowing the sex, economical status and age of each individual. As was noted by the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ( $r$ ), little difference existed between sexes. It was hoped that some statements could be made with regard to economic status, but this was not possible for a large share of the population chose not to answer the query concerning income. Finally, this same situation occurred with regard to age.

In viewing employment proximity, it was found that employment proximity by living area difference was significant. However, as was noted earlier, these results were questioned. Employment proximity was found not to be significant when related to the other four dependent variables.

When the living area difference scores and the move feeling difference scores were correlated they were found to be significant for the total population as well as for males and females separately. The correlation of the past living area scores and the past move feeling scores was significant for the total population as well as for males and females separately.

In viewing proximity and social interaction, it was found that proximity was not significant when related to any of the five dependent variables. Social interaction was significant when related to past move feeling. The in-depth interviews suggested a linkage between reduction in social interaction with one's best friends and present grief. Proximity and social interaction were not significant when related to any of the five dependent variables.

With regard to the manner in which relocation was carried out (short notice and sufficient time), opportunity to express opinions in the relocation process, and participation in the pre-relocation planning--these factors were not significant when related to the five dependent variables. Short notice and insufficient time by present living area feeling was found to be significant. Opportunity to express opinions and participation was found not to be significant when related to the five dependent variables. However, the in-depth interviews reflected the idea that this lack of opportunity to express opinions in the relocation process and the lack of participation in the pre-relocation planning appeared to have a dehumanizing effect in addition to eliciting lasting feelings of anger.

In viewing kind of assistance and the manner in which the present residence was found, it was found not

to be significant when related to the five dependent variables. However, the in-depth interviews suggested the lack of assistance and the fact that the people, for the most part, found their present residences on their own, appeared to contribute to the bringing forth of lasting feelings of anger as well as the fostering fear at the time of relocation.

In observing the feelings concerning handling, pleasure with handling by living area difference, move feeling difference, and present move feeling were found to be significant. Pleasure with price by living area difference, past move feeling, and present move feeling were found to be significant. Politeness by move feeling difference was significant. Level of feeling then by present move feeling was significant. Finally, level of feeling now by move feeling difference and present move feeling were found to be significant.

The salient issues pointed to in this data are that a stable group of people who were attached to their homes were required to move. The majority of the people grieved because of the move. Many still evidence about the same level of grief that they had at the time of the move. Others have shown a reduction in grief to the point where their present move feeling ranges from moderately grieved to slightly happy. Only a very small number of

the people evidence any real feelings of happiness about the move (i.e., quite or extremely happy). The major portion of these people felt they had no opportunity to express their opinions in the relocation process nor did they take part in pre-relocation planning. The major portion of these people indicated that they had received no assistance in being relocated and had found the residences in which they now live on their own. A large share of the individuals indicated that they were not pleased with the way they were handled. In addition a large share of the people, not pleased, felt the Highway Department's representatives were impolite. The majority of the homeowners felt that they had received an unfair price. Finally, a large share of the people felt varying degrees of anger about what occurred at the time of relocation and demonstrated a maintenance of anger over time.

### Conclusions

A study of this nature, quite often, leads to many varied conclusions, and, at the same time, suggests a wealth of implications. Caution must be exercised by the investigator in differentiating between the two categories.

After extensive analysis of the results of the study, the author reached the following conclusions:

1. The results of the study are in accord with the work of Fried. People do grieve for a lost home

and a lost social milieu. Indeed, the psychological costs of relocation can be great.

The nature of the loss centers around the loss of the home in addition to the disruption of the social milieu, which is contributory to the overall grief process. When people are forced from their homes they are also forced from a particular atmosphere that, in most cases, has been pleasurable to them. Thus grief is the reaction.

2. The findings of this study support the supposition that the feelings of grief associated with relocation often are quite profound and can maintain themselves over time. The maintenance of approximately the same level of grief over time is found among individuals who like their present living areas a great deal less than their past living area. When the individual likes his present living area as well as his past living area there is a reduction in grief. Finally the individual who likes his present living area more than his past living area will tend to evidence feelings of happiness about being relocated.
3. The study involved a group of individuals who for the most part felt they had no opportunity to

express their opinions in the relocation process, did not take part in pre-relocation planning, and received no assistance in relocating. In addition they were displeased with the way they were handled, were angry about what occurred, and still are angry. Consequently, we have a group of people who, for the most part, felt victimized. This in turn must be attached to the overall feelings of the people concerning what relocation meant to them.

It is relatively easy to see why grief would be maintained over time in the case where the individual likes his present living area less than his old living area, but it is more difficult to explain why there is the maintenance of fairly strong levels of grief among those who like their present living areas as well as their old living areas. In addition it would be logical to wonder why so few of the people expressed any remnants of real happiness about what occurred.

This forces one to turn to the way the relocation process was handled. One would have to suppose that not having an opportunity to express their opinions in the relocation process, not taking part in pre-relocation planning, and



the receipt of no assistance in finding a new residence contributed to feelings of grief and also to its maintenance over time. The in-depth interviews reflect the "gut level" feelings of the people concerning the way relocation was carried out. The sentiments were bitterness and anger which were linked to their grief.

4. As was noted in the in-depth interviews, the people felt that they had had a great deal taken away and had received very little in return. Even the individuals who like their present living area as well as their old living area, feel that they had lost a great deal.

The in-depth interviews reflected the feelings of loss which were: financial, social, and emotional. Any return to past levels of functioning were accomplished by the individual on his own. The Highway Department in no way contributed to this process. The feeling that "things will never be the same" was the feeling tone presented in the first four in-depth interviews. The feeling tone in the last in-depth interview was "we were lucky we wanted out."

5. The overwhelming conclusion drawn from the study is that the manner in which relocation was carried

out added to what ordinarily would have been relatively traumatic. In a situation of this nature it would be naive to hope that the people would have been happy to move. The only thing that could have been done would have been to relocate the people in such a manner that much of the pain that is often inherent in relocation would have been minimized. The feelings and needs of the people would have had to have been considered if this were to occur, and as the study indicates, this was not done.

#### Implications

The findings of the study, which provided the opportunity for the reaching of a number of important conclusions, also suggests some relevant implications. These implications are as follows:

1. If the needs of the prospective relocatee are not recognized the individual will be forced to endure intense personal suffering. This suffering can be alleviated only if the "people aspect" of urban renewal is held to be paramount. The people concerned must be the first priority. When this is not done, the kind of suffering that was brought out in the study will take place. The people not

only experienced pain and loss but also a sense of personal diminution. They felt less than valued as people.

2. Special efforts must be made to minimize the intense feelings of grief that occur. Often little can be done to lessen social disruption, but if the relocatee is treated fairly and concerned individuals deal with the person in such a way as to insure his careful relocation, much can be done to assuage the pain of loss.
3. Relocation often means that an individual must leave a place that held many fond memories. These memories stem from his home and the social milieu in which he lived. Thus to leave is to lose and this loss causes reactions that can only be explained as grief. These reactions are manifested in feelings of continued longing, depression, helplessness, and the idealizing of the lost place. Thus, relocation obviously entails more than just the putting of an individual in another area. It also involves the helping of the individual to deal with and express his feelings of grief.
4. If the appropriate treatment of the individual is to be realized, a set pattern is necessary. The

study reflects the need to include the people in the planning process. It was expressed by a number of the people interviewed, and amplified upon in the in-depth interviews, that the people felt they had no say about what occurred and they felt like they had been "kicked out." These kinds of feelings cannot exist if successful relocation is to take place. It is important for the people to feel that they have something to say about their destiny. The people need to be helped to feel they are a part of the process.

5. As was indicated earlier, this area was not a slum. The majority of these people would have continued to live in the area had it not been for the construction of the highway. In a situation of this nature housing must be available which is comparable or efforts must be made to build comparable housing.
6. The people must get a fair price for their homes. The people should not be paid what the house was worth at the time of purchase but rather what the house is worth at this point in time. As was the case in the study, a large portion of the people interviewed indicated that they had made extensive improvements on their homes and when the homes

were purchased from them, these improvements were not considered. (The replacement value of the home was not considered.) The choice that was often left to the individual was to move to a house that was not as nice as his present residence or to move to a house that was as nice and go deep into debt. In both cases anger and bitterness were always the by-products. This process tends to accentuate the feeling of loss.

7. The extensive prior planning for the relocation of people must be the cornerstone of any relocation project. The people must be included and they must be treated fairly. No individual at any time should feel "scared," which was often the case in this study. Often the people did not know where they were going or what was going to become of them.

From the conclusions and implications of the study, the obvious need for change is apparent. Relocation is the moving of families. Relocation effects the people who are required to find a new place to live. It is within the framework of people being the substance of relocation that social work has a place. The following recommendations are designed to make suggestions that could help in the implementation of change.

### Recommendations

The predominate fact isolated is that the people in this study who were relocated experienced feelings of helplessness, fear, and impotent anger which were found to be positively related to the amount of grief still present four years later. Nothing that was reported by those individuals who had endured the moving process reflected the fact that they really had been helped to come to grips with the human experience of being forceably uprooted. In addition they had no opportunity to express their opinions in the relocation process and did not participate in the pre-relocation planning.

Thus, the role of the social worker can be seen as being to help the prospective relocatee and the larger community to come to grips with the human experiences and feelings involved in relocation. Within this framework the following recommendations are offered: (1) Social workers should begin to realize that they should begin to play a major role in the urban change process. (2) There is a need for social work to assume a coordinating function within the urban renewal process, which would entail the drawing together of the affected population, the change effecting system(s), and related organizations into meaningful and productive interaction leading to the effective and responsible relocation of the prospective

relocatees. (In the assumption of a coordinating function it is imperative that social workers not lose sight of the possible need for individual treatment in needed situations.) (3) There is the need for the development of new approaches by existing agencies such as the family service agencies in becoming involved with the larger community systems causing the need for relocation of entire communities and prospective relocatees.

Social Work with Formal and  
Informal Interactional  
Patterns within the  
Community

As was noted in the review of the literature, the techniques for helping the relocatee in the process of relocation have been excluded at the national level and thus the filtering down of this exclusion to the local levels could not be viewed as surprising.

The travesty of the relocation process is that all shapes and forms of expertise are present except for "people experts." In every urban renewal project, there is always an overabundance of realtors, housing experts, etc.; however one would be hard pressed to find a person whose role is defined as helping to handle the relocation of people with all of the inherent human problems that accompany such an endeavor. Urban relocation is too often viewed only with regard to the physical relocation of the

people. This means that the most important aspect of relocation, the needs of the people, are overlooked. Often it appears as though people are included in the planning process as an adjunct. The social and emotional effects do not seem to be viewed as being of great importance and do not appear to be included in an adequate manner in the planning procedures which precede relocation.

The major role of social work can be seen as being the bringing of the prospective relocatee into meaningful dialogue with the system calling for relocation, with those associated in the process, and those who could have an effect on the process, (i.e., realtors, appraisers, government agencies, social agencies, and others engaged in assisting in relocation). By bringing together the people and the system calling for relocation at the planning stage, the dehumanizing effects of helplessness, fear, and impotent anger could be reduced which in turn would reduce the grief process.

This suggests a broad social work approach. By the inclusion of the prospective relocatee in the process, this does not mean the bringing together of just the people as individuals, but also the key persons within the community as well as the use of the formal and informal structures and interactional patterns of the community.



Thus, the kind of interaction, as discussed above, quite possibly would reduce the kind of unethical pressures reported by the majority of the individuals in the study and would give the relocatee a means for coping with pressure tactics. Again, this would be a step in the direction of the reduction of helplessness, fear, and impotent anger.

Many social work agencies today, including family service agencies are broadening their role in the community to facilitate groups and neighborhoods in coping with disorganizing social problems of which urban renewal is only one.<sup>1</sup> However, this does not rule out the more traditional methods of helping individuals with special problems, but places added emphasis on intervention at all levels within the community.

The Expanded Family Agency  
Concept as an Approach

Within the concept of broadened community service, the Delaware County project, in which a family service agency was contracted to facilitate relocation, should be noted.<sup>2</sup> The situation in the Lansing study was much

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<sup>1</sup>Community Service Society of New York Research Report, Supplement I and II, and the Report to the Board of Trustees (New York: Community Service Society of New York, 1970).

<sup>2</sup>See pages 79 through 81 for a discussion of the Delaware County project.

like the one that occurred in Delaware County. However there was the absence of social workers in the 496 project in addition to a lack of concern for the people and no one the relocatees could turn to for help. The absence of help spurred feelings of anger and bitterness. It can also be seen that the feelings of grief were intensified by this type of treatment.

In planning an urban renewal project, a family service agency could be contracted for a designated length of time. The contract would need to run from the planning stage through the follow up efforts needed to insure that the needs of the people have been met. By bringing trained social workers into the situation, steps could be taken to alleviate a great deal of the suffering associated with being relocated. By an approach of this nature, the people could become involved and this would be necessary for the generation of a feeling of participation, a necessity for success.

The family service agency would in effect have a coordinating function as well as the function of individual treatment in needed situations. Just as the Highway Department contracted with the city of Lansing to handle the relocation of the people, a social agency with a family service oriented approach could have been contracted to become involved in the process as a

coordinating agent. The primary responsibility could have been to bring together the various agencies of the community and the affected population, and thus set into motion a unified effort resulting in the best treatment that could be afforded to the prospective relocatees. (The agency effecting relocation, those assisting in relocation, and those who could effect relocation could have been brought together for the good of the affected individuals.) Just as this procedure met with success in Delaware County, the initiation of this procedure quite possibly could have met with success during the 496 project and quite possibly could meet with success in present urban renewal projects.

By contracting the type of agency that has been described, a group of trained individuals would be available. The unit would already be formed and the individuals would already have been functioning together as a working unit within their agency. Thus, a synchronized effort could be immediately set into motion. A trained group of individuals could be drawn together for a specific purpose and this could be accomplished without precious time being wasted in the construction of a unit of trained individuals.

It should be noted that no movement in behalf of the relocatees occurred until the people themselves

became sufficiently organized to implement action in their own behalf. (In this case, it was minimal and late.)

There must be sufficient organization of the people in addition to the dissemination of relevant information to these people. This process can be implemented by the utilization of the expanded family agency concept as an approach. However, this does not reduce the need for initiation of action at the earliest possible point by the concerned population.

### Summary

In essence the recommendations that have been set forth were designed to point to: (1) the coordinating function that social work should begin to assume in the urban change process, and (2) through the use of formal and informal social structures within the community as well as help to specific families where necessary, a broad social work approach by family service oriented agencies can bring about community participation and the eradication of many negative social and emotional implications of urban relocation.

In closing it should be noted that as social work becomes increasingly concerned with large groups of people affected by pervasive social forces, the new roles for social work are developing. Quite probably, there will be a move from merely assisting in the facilitating of a

change to helping people to develop sufficient power to question the need or direction of the proposed change. In other words, there is a need to develop within the affected population the power to participate not only in the planning stage of change but in the questioning of the direction, even the need for a proposed change. For example the group studied might well question whether the best route for Highway 496 was through their neighborhood.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to the Head of the Family if not  
actually husband. \_\_\_\_\_  
Age \_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Education \_\_\_\_\_
2. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_
3. Place of work \_\_\_\_\_
4. Monthly income (optional) Below \$400 \_\_\_\_  
\$400 to \$500 \_\_\_\_ \$500 to \$600 \_\_\_\_ Above \$600 \_\_\_\_
5. Time that it takes in traveling to work \_\_\_\_\_
6. In your old residence, was your place of employment  
closer than it is now? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_
7. When did you move from your old residence?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. How long have you lived here? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Before highway construction, how long did you live in  
your old home prior to moving? \_\_\_\_\_
10. In general what were your feelings about the place  
where you used to live?





Social Activities

Good	_____	Bad
Unpleasant	_____	Pleasant
Happy	_____	Sad
Awful	_____	Nice
Important	_____	Unimportant
Friendly	_____	Unfriendly
Gloomy	_____	Cheerful

Church

Good	_____	Bad
Unpleasant	_____	Pleasant
Happy	_____	Sad
Awful	_____	Nice
Important	_____	Unimportant
Friendly	_____	Unfriendly
Gloomy	_____	Cheerful

11. Often a great deal of feeling is associated with having to move from one's home.

Just after you moved, how did you feel?

Sad	_____	Happy
Overjoyed	_____	Depressed
Brokenhearted	_____	Glad
Pleased	_____	Crushed
Sorrowful	_____	Cheerful
Gay	_____	Mournful
Discontent	_____	Content

How did you feel about having to leave your old neighborhood?

Sad	— — — — —	Happy
Overjoyed	— — — — —	Depressed
Brokenhearted	— — — — —	Glad
Pleased	— — — — —	Crushed
Sorrowful	— — — — —	Cheerful
Gay	— — — — —	Mournful
Discontent	— — — — —	Content

Sad	— — — — —	Happy
Overjoyed	— — — — —	Depressed
Brokenhearted	— — — — —	Glad
Pleased	— — — — —	Crushed
Sorrowful	— — — — —	Cheerful
Gay	— — — — —	Mournful
Discontent	— — — — —	Content

10

### Neighborhood

Good	—	—	—	—	—	—	Bad
Unpleasant	—	—	—	—	—	—	Pleasant
Happy	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sad
Awful	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nice
Important	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unimportant
Friendly	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unfriendly
Gloomy	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cheerful

## Neighbors

Good	—	—	—	—	—	—	Bad
Unpleasant	—	—	—	—	—	—	Pleasant
Happy	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sad
Awful	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nice
Important	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unimportant
Friendly	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unfriendly
Gloomy	—	—	—	—	—	—	Cheerful

Social Activities

Good	_____	Bad
Unpleasant	_____	Pleasant
Happy	_____	Sad
Awful	_____	Nice
Important	_____	Unimportant
Friendly	_____	Unfriendly
Gloomy	_____	Cheerful

Church

Good	_____	Bad
Unpleasant	_____	Pleasant
Happy	_____	Sad
Awful	_____	Nice
Important	_____	Unimportant
Friendly	_____	Unfriendly
Gloomy	_____	Cheerful

13. What are your present feelings about the move?

How do you now feel about being moved?

Sad	_____	Happy
Overjoyed	_____	Depressed
Brokenhearted	_____	Glad
Pleased	_____	Crushed
Sorrowful	_____	Cheerful
Gay	_____	Mournful
Discontent	_____	Content

Sad	— — — — —	Happy
Overjoyed	— — — — —	Depressed
Brokenhearted	— — — — —	Glad
Pleased	— — — — —	Crushed
Sorrowful	— — — — —	Cheerful
Gay	— — — — —	Mournful
Discontent	— — — — —	Content

Sad	— — — — —	Happy
Overjoyed	— — — — —	Depressed
Brokenhearted	— — — — —	Glad
Pleased	— — — — —	Crushed
Sorrowful	— — — — —	Cheerful
Gay	— — — — —	Mournful
Discontent		Content

Sad	— — — — —	Happy
Overjoyed	— — — — —	Depressed
Brokenhearted	— — — — —	Glad
Pleased	— — — — —	Crushed
Sorrowful	— — — — —	Cheerful
Gay	— — — — —	Mournful
Discontent	— — — — —	Content

14. While you lived in your old neighborhood, how close did you live to your best friends?
- 1 to 3 blocks \_\_\_ 4 to 6 blocks \_\_\_ 5 to 7 blocks \_\_\_  
8 to 10 blocks \_\_\_ 11 blocks or more \_\_\_
15. How often did you see them?
- Every day \_\_\_ Every other day \_\_\_ Twice a week \_\_\_  
Once a week \_\_\_ Once every two weeks \_\_\_  
Once a months or less \_\_\_
16. Since you have moved, how close do you live to them?
- 1 to 3 blocks \_\_\_ 4 to 6 blocks \_\_\_ 5 to 7 blocks \_\_\_  
8 to 10 blocks \_\_\_ 11 blocks or more \_\_\_
17. Since you have moved, how often do you see them?
- Every day \_\_\_ Every other day \_\_\_ Twice a week \_\_\_  
Once a week \_\_\_ Once every two weeks \_\_\_  
Once a month or less \_\_\_
18. When you were displaced from your old neighborhood, when did you actually find out that you would have to move? \_\_\_\_\_
19. Did you consider this short notice?
- Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_
20. How did you find out? \_\_\_\_\_
21. Do you feel that you were given sufficient time to move?
- Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_
22. Do you feel that you had any say in the relocation process?
- Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

23. Did you in any way take part in the pre-relocation planning?

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

24. What kind of assistance did you receive in being relocated?

None \_\_\_ Some \_\_\_ A great deal \_\_\_

25. How did you find the house to which you moved when you left your old residence?

On your own \_\_\_ With assistance from the relocation people \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_

Explain.

26. Were you pleased with the way the relocation people handled you?

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

Explain.

27. How did you feel about what occurred?

Very happy \_\_\_ Moderately happy \_\_\_ Slightly happy \_\_\_  
Not angry \_\_\_ Slightly angry \_\_\_ Moderately angry \_\_\_  
Very angry \_\_\_

28. How do you now feel about what occurred?

Very happy \_\_\_ Moderately happy \_\_\_ Slightly happy \_\_\_  
Not angry \_\_\_ Slightly angry \_\_\_ Moderately angry \_\_\_  
Very angry \_\_\_



# APPENDIX B

## RAW DATA

Individual	Living Area Difference Score	Move Feeling Difference Score	Past Living Area Score	Past Move Feeling Score	Sex*
1	4	58	215	58	2
2	4	72	230	36	1
3	6	96	239	42	2
4	-70	5	245	36	1
5	-74	6	245	28	2
6	83	99	158	141	2
7	-104	6	237	41	2
8	0	118	238	31	2
9	68	139	171	80	1
10	58	21	187	175	2
11	-90	8	232	44	1
12	51	125	174	94	1
13	-99	-3	245	31	1
14	-57	-2	226	34	2
15	3	93	242	28	2
16	-104	-4	245	32	1
17	66	48	179	148	1

Individual	Living Area Difference Score	Move Feeling Difference Score	Past Living Area Score	Past Move Feeling Score	Sex*
18	-82	3	244	30	1
19	-54	4	244	32	2
20	-46	0	245	28	1
21	-49	10	245	28	1
22	0	154	245	43	2
23	-78	-4	245	36	1
24	-59	3	245	28	1
25	-74	4	235	32	2
26	0	39	190	114	1
27	-71	5	245	31	2
28	0	96	239	48	2
29	-4	95	233	56	2
30	-1	87	216	67	1
31	5	95	240	35	1
32	0	102	245	28	2
33	0	73	245	28	1
34	21	-6	163	196	1
35	-48	8	244	33	2
36	2	73	221	33	2
37	14	91	230	34	1
38	-59	4	245	41	1
39	-56	3	235	44	1
40	6	74	231	35	1
41	28	36	203	160	1
42	-3	7	226	187	1

Individual	Living Area Difference Score	Move Feeling Difference Score	Past Living Area Score	Past Move Feeling Score	Sex*
43	-1	100	233	44	1
44	-6	146	236	39	2
45	7	99	226	43	2
46	29	5	169	152	1
47	4	92	244	38	1
48	1	80	214	88	1
49	-6	5	245	79	1
50	4	78	235	85	1
51	0	59	245	81	1
52	27	48	198	143	2
53	42	118	203	125	1
54	5	97	240	29	2
55	2	81	243	100	1
56	49	117	181	96	2
57	-52	2	224	62	1
58	-51	3	245	28	2
59	-40	5	212	99	1
60	0	90	245	70	2
61	-60	0	238	32	2

\*Males designated by 1. Females designated by 2.

## APPENDIX C

### IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How did you feel about being relocated?
2. How did you feel about having to leave your friends?
3. In what ways did you participate in the pre-relocation planning?
4. What kind of relocation assistance did you receive?
5. How did you feel then and how do you now feel about the way relocation was carried out?
6. What are some ways in which the whole process could have been handled differently and in such a way that the people would have faired better?

# APPENDIX D

## TABLES

TABLE 16

MEAN EMPLOYMENT PROXIMITY SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Employment Proximity			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	3.67	-25.7	5.349	.1084
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	51.3	45.2	.1670	.0038
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	86.7	58.9	3.361	.0710
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	137.5	104.1	2.806	.0600
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	214.7	208.1	.4002	.0090
Subgroup Population	15	31		

P < .05 with F = 4.08.

TABLE 17

MEAN PROXIMITY SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Proximity			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-17.2	-10.3	.3114	.0053
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	52.9	49.7	.0609	.0010
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	61.3	71.2	.6147	.0103
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	114.1	121.0	.1436	.0024
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	208.8	214.7	.3999	.0067
Subgroup Population	41	20		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 18

MEAN REDUCTION IN SOCIAL INTERACTION SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Reduction in Social Interaction		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-22.7	0.04	3.657	.0584
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	54.9	46.2	.4365	.0073
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	53.5	85.8	7.552	.1123
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	108.4	131.6	1.716	.0283
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	208.4	215.3	.5692	.0096
Subgroup Population	40	21		

P < .01 with F = 7.08.

TABLE 19  
 MEAN INTERACTION AND PROXIMITY SCORES BY  
 THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Interaction and Proximity			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-18.6	-9.96	.5369	.0090
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	56.9	45.2	.8731	.0146
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	54.8	77.8	3.918	.0623
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	111.7	122.7	.4042	.0063
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	211.1	210.3	.0091	.0002
Subgroup Population	35	26		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.



TABLE 20

MEAN SIX MONTHS OR MORE OR LESS THAN  
SIX MONTHS SCORES BY THE DEPENDENT  
VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Six Months or More or Less Than Six Months		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-13.4	-8.0	.1833	.0037
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	46.1	61.5	1.303	.0259
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	74.8	61.5	.9409	.0188
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	120.9	122.6	.0077	.0002
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	210.4	215.4	.2866	.0058
Subgroup Population	29	22		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 21

MEAN SHORT NOTICE SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Short Notice			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-21.8	-7.8	1.468	.0243
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	50.8	53.0	.0300	.0005
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	54.8	74.6	2.919	.0492
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	105.5	127.6	1.727	.0284
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	203.8	217.9	2.702	.0438
Subgroup Population	31	30		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 22

MEAN SUFFICIENT TIME SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Sufficient Time			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-7.7	-23.4	1.851	.0304
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	55.1	48.2	3.041	.0051
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	71.5	56.4	1.658	.0273
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	116.4	104.3	1.737	.0286
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	216.7	203.8	2.236	.0365
Subgroup Population	33	28		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 23

MEAN SHORT NOTICE AND INSUFFICIENT TIME SCORES  
BY THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Short Notice and In- sufficient Time		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-27.9	-6.5	3.388	.0543
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	41.8	58.5	1.771	.0292
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	55.8	70.3	1.456	.0241
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	97.2	128.8	3.435	.0550
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	198.6		5.451	.0846
Subgroup Population	24	37		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 24

MEAN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OPINIONS AND  
PARTICIPATION SCORES BY THE  
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Opportunity to Express Opinions and Participation		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-19.9	-9.2	.4138	.0084
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	53.7	52.5	.0041	.0001
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	68.8	69.1	.0004	.0000
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	122.6	121.5	.0018	.0000
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	210.1	213.1	.0621	.0013
Subgroup Population	9	42		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 25

MEAN KIND OF ASSISTANCE AND MANNER NEW  
RESIDENCE FOUND SCORES BY THE  
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Kind of Assis- tance and Manner New Residence Found		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-0.8	-13.6	.6441	.0130
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	48.7	53.7	.0869	.0018
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	94.3	62.9	3.569	.0679
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	143.0	116.5	1.235	.0246
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	215.0	212.0	.0670	.0014
Subgroup Population	10	41		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 26

MEAN PLEASED WITH HANDLING SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Pleased with Handling			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	14.2	-19.7	6.077	.1103
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	78.6	43.7	5.614	.1028
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	82.0	64.7	1.256	.0250
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	160.9	108.3	6.451	.1163
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	227.3	207.6	3.768	.0714
Subgroup Population	13	38		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 27

MEAN PLEASURE WITH PRICE BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Pleasure with Price			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	13.7	-28.0	7.044	.1530
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	67.9	42.8	1.745	.0428
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	95.6	53.6	6.588	.1445
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	165.6	96.1	7.528	.1618
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	230.9	204.7	4.018	.0934
Subgroup Population	7	34		

P < .05 with F = 4.08.

P < .01 with F = 7.31.



TABLE 28

MEAN POLITENESS SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Politeness			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-5.8	-24.9	2.782	.0934
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	64.1	38.4	4.545	.0715
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	65.3	63.8	.0156	.0003
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	129.5	101.9	2.705	.0439
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	218.7	202.0	3.870	.0616
Subgroup Population	32	29		

P < .05 with F = 4.03.

TABLE 29

MEAN PRIOR FEELINGS ABOUT MOVE SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Prior Feelings About Move			
	Yes	No	F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-20.9	-4.3	1.931	.0317
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	43.6	66.6	3.307	.0531
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	60.3	72.1	.9196	.0153
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	103.7	138.8	4.155	.0658
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	208.0	215.6	.6983	.0117
Subgroup Population	39	22		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

TABLE 30

MEAN PRESENT FEELINGS ABOUT MOVE SCORES BY  
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Mean Scores for Dependent Variables	Present Feelings About Move		F-Ratio	$\eta^2$
	Yes	No		
Mean Scores for Living Area Difference	-21.9	-1.6	2.849	.0461
Mean Scores for Move Feeling Difference	42.7	69.5	4.489	.0707
Mean Scores for Past Move Feeling	59.4	74.5	1.499	.0248
Mean Scores for Present Move Feeling	101.8	144.1	6.078	.0934
Mean Scores for Present Living Area Feeling	207.6	216.8	1.007	.0168
Subgroup Population	40	21		

P < .05 with F = 4.00.

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