THE IMPACT OF RELOCATION ON THE ELDERLY: RELOCATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN RENEWAL

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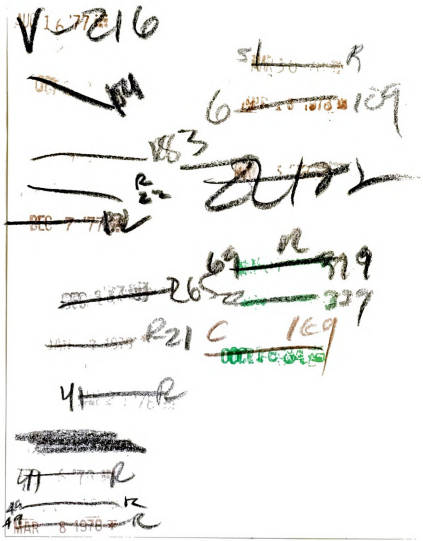

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF RELOCATION ON THE ELDERLY: RELOCATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN RENEWAL

By

Diane Szymkowski Kayongo-Male

Other studies have shown that relocation, defined here as the process whereby people are involuntarily moved by a governmental agency, usually impacts negatively upon the relocated. Furthermore, the elderly have been pinpointed as the most vulnerable to the adverse consequences of relocation. However, specific variables which would account for these negative reactions and consequences, as well as the minority of positive reactions, have not been determined or analyzed. On a general level, it is argued that the impact of relocation will vary to the extent that a person is prepared for a move and the new environment meets his housing needs.

The study has built upon the findings of past studies in relocation regarding changes in life style and life chances for the relocated. Through the development of a model of the process of relocation, these significant additions were made: the theoretical import of force in a move, the ideas of intervening variables, the organizational context of relocation, and personal crises and conflicts.

This new model was utilized to examine the situation of a group of people relocated through urban renewal, with special emphasis on the elderly who resettled in a centrally located high rise apartment building. The high rise offered the elderly an opportunity to make the change to the new environment more easily than if they had gone to dispersed units throughout the city. The reasons include: there was a great increase in life chances in terms of major rent decreases, and new conveniences within the high rise like elevators and continuous maintenance services. The place was locationally adjacent to many essential services, with an additional bus service to further supplement the access to services and facilities. For a few, mutual aid bonds were quite intense, representing another benefit. Changes in life style included a major increase in formal and informal activities, such as dinners, entertainment, bus trips, and morning coffee hours. There were quite high levels of participation of the relocated in these activities, indicating that most had adjusted well to the new environment.

Relocation, as examined in this study, considers the organizational context of relocation, namely, urban renewal. In Batavia, the fact that many of the relocated benefited from the enactment of the Uniform Relocation Act of 1970 meant that most did not have any substantial financial worries as is shown in previous research, since the compensation for the rent increases, moving expenses, and housing downpayments were liberal. Though most of the relocated had never planned to move prior to urban renewal, and had very low mobility rates, most felt they had sufficient time to locate a new place. In general, people

found what they were looking for in the new place. The majority of housing preferences indicated indirect-economic items, like conveniences within the house and location of the house to essential community services; and most of the relocated were quite pleased with the new environment because they found these same preferred items.

Reactions to the move are best described in terms of Grief, Dissatisfaction, Powerlessness, Happiness, and Projection. The refinement of the types of reactions is a significant improvement over past studies which described the reactions as largely negative. Both these attitudinal reactions and the person's sense of overall satisfaction with life were significantly related to the intervening variables. It was demonstrated that the following variables were significantly related to different attitudinal reactions and overall satisfaction: 1) prior intent to move; 2) times moved in the past ten years; 3) sufficient time to locate a new place; 4) adequacy of payments from urban renewal; and 5) sex of the person. Hence, one way of distinguishing among the elderly in terms of preparedness for a move would be through these variables.

Personal crises arose from a variety of sources, and were meant to indicate that despite overall satisfaction there may be certain things in the new environment that will be a persistent source of strain of a minor nature. From the organizational context of the relocation came the personal conflicts of new, unwanted dependency of some relocated because of substantial rent supplements, or inadequate knowledge of relocation laws or loss of the low rent district. Changes in life style resulted in personal conflicts deriving from: 1) changes in

personal versus public space, 2) changes in neighborhood interaction patterns, 3) a changed definition of social space, 4) losses in personal possessions, 5) timing of personal activities, and 6) social distinctions in household furnishings and in manner of dressing. From changes in life chances, the example was the conflict derived from a change in ownership status.

It should be cautioned that although the overall results of this relocation were largely positive, there were specific conditions which gave rise to the positive results, as well as there being inherent problems underlying the overall results. Specifically, if a person is not given sufficient time to locate a new place, if he does not intend to move prior to urban renewal, and if he is not residentially mobile, he would be less prepared for a move and would react more negatively than someone who was prepared for a move. It is also the case that when the new environment meets the housing needs of the relocated as it did in this study, the relocated are more satisfied than otherwise. While the new environment corresponded closely to stated housing preferences, most of the relocated were in the high rise and also experienced major benefits in terms of changes in life chances and life style. Thus, urban renewal agencies can ensure more positive results for the relocated if they provide the relocated with sufficient time to find a place, and with adequate compensation for financial costs of the move, as well as attempting to offer suitable new environments.

Furthermore, inherent problems exist despite the overall positive results. Personal conflicts are among these problems. It was also mentioned that the liberal financial benefits could serve to create new

dependencies of the relocated, as well as to hide basic structural inadequacies of the system such as a lack of sufficient low cost housing. In fact, the implementation of the federal relocation laws, though improving, is still deficient since there is emphasis solely on financial aspects of relocation, ignoring the numerous other social problems connected with the process.

This study has found that the impact of relocation is most accurately assessed in light of various intervening variables, which differentiate among the relocated in terms of their preparedness for a move and their preferred housing types. Finally, the process of relocation is seen as a complex one involving various levels of adaptation, rather than being largely negative or positive in its impact. This complexity cannot be perceived when it is argued that, "The elderly react more negatively to relocation than younger people."

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Previous studies of people who have been forced to change their residence have shown that many of them react negatively to the new social and physical environment. Typical feelings of the relocated have included severe grief (Fried, 1963) and apathy and helplessness (Chambers, 1969). There are often changes in life style and life chances as a result of the move. Research efforts have further pinpointed the elderly as one group that is particularly vulnerable to the adverse consequences of involuntary moves (Gray and Kasteler, 1969; Goldstein and Zimmer, 1960). However, little information is available on what it is specifically about the aged or relocation itself that determines the predominance of extreme negative reactions and consequences, as well as the minority of positive reactions and consequences. Despite some general indications that changes in life style and life chances are partially responsible for these reactions, an explicit theoretical formulation is lacking.

In this study the main focus is upon a group of elderly residents of a small city, relocated through urban renewal and resettled in a

high rise apartment building. Relocation within the context of urban renewal has certain distinctive features, though it does closely parallel relocation due to dam or highway construction or other development projects, and thus has applicability to these other types of relocation. The study, by dealing with residents of one high rise complex in a small city, provides further testing of the general observation that the elderly are more likely to suffer adverse consequences when involuntarily moved than younger people, since other studies of relocation connected with urban renewal were conducted in large cities and dealt with people who were resettled in dispersed houses throughout the city. Hence, issues of importance in urban renewal in large cities, like racial discrimination and radical changes in neighborhoods, are not involved, and numerous new environments do not enter into the picture.

The existence of some typical characteristics, like relative residential immobility and limited financial resources, have led to the presumption that the elderly are best considered as a homogeneous group when analyzing the impact of involuntary moves. Thus, past researchers have drawn simple correlations between old age and negative consequences leading to the impression that age in itself is sufficient to predict the probable impact of a move. These efforts would lead one to conclude that when the elderly are involuntarily relocated they will invariably experience negative feelings and consequences. However, this study departs from previous efforts in two respects. First, it is assumed that there are pertinent differences among the elderly which determine differential responses to relocation. The second assumption is that relocation is most accurately viewed as a complex process with a range

of levels of adaptation and personal conflicts rather than being viewed simplistically as either positive or negative in its impact. In effect, the process of relocation involves a number of interactive steps which are ignored when one deals in generalities about what usually happens when people are forced to move.

This departure from past positions on relocation is possible through the integration of theoretical perspectives derived from selected migration studies and studies on involuntary decision-making. Post-movement adjustment in the new environment has been shown to be related to various intervening variables which can measure a person's general preparedness to assume the responsibilities of a move. Research in the broad area of involuntary decision-making suggests that to the extent that the results of a forced decision meet one's needs there is a higher level of satisfaction than when needs are not met.

This study is pertinent to migration studies since it provides information on problems accompanying short distance moves. Generally migration studies have considered extremes where people have migrated from one country to another or from rural to urban environments. There is, however, minimal data on post-movement adjustments of people involved in short distance moves, such as relocation connected with urban renewal, which entail few changes in occupational or cultural environments.

The general aim of the study is two-fold. First, the study will pinpoint characteristics of the elderly which possibly account for variations in the responses to and the impact of a move, such as the person's prior mobility patterns and mobility predisposition prior to

urban renewal. Secondly, the process of relocation will be traced more explicitly. The aim is to delineate and analyze forces and mechanisms throughout the relocation process that may account for significant variations in the impact of relocation upon the relocated. Relocation may impact upon the relocated in terms of changes in life style and life chances; personal conflicts and stresses related to these changes; and personal feelings.

The next part of this chapter will examine the pertinent literature which lays the foundation for the new formulations of this study.

A Review of Current Literature

Conceptualization of the Process of Relocation

As employed here, relocation is defined as the process whereby a mass or group of people is settled in a different location by a private or governmental agency, the latter generally initiating the move. The process implies a large measure of planned change which is often aimed at alleviating a defined social problem. People who are moved through such a process are confronted with changes in life style and life chances, and possible conflicts deriving from these changes. A critical point, however, is that the movement is largely involuntary. Thus, it is necessary to examine the meaning and significance of force and coercion as it relates to the process of movement from one area to another.

It is obvious that several problems of definition arise in clarifying how a researcher will designate that a move is forced. Astrid Monson (1966), for example, argues that families displaced by urban renewal are indistinguishable from families living in slums or other

inadequat housing or those forced to enter the housing market because of: 1) overcrowding, 2) changes of employment location, 3) family expansion, or 4) termination of their rental occupancy by the owner, fire or other casualty or demolition of their homes for highway or other public use. This argument is confusing since, on the one hand, it considers as equivalent moves which are initiated by the movers after evaluating costs and benefits of a move and, on the other hand, moves initiated by governmental order.

Force is herein conceptualized as a power relationship. Essentially force and coercion involve the power of the decision-makers over the relocated. The urban renewal agency is viewed as the party forcing the move and the relocated as the parties being forced to move. One group has the power to and does effect the movement of another group or groups.

Illustrative of the above is the case of Lansing, Michigan, where the M-99 highway, adjacent to the downtown area, has necessitated that houses, occupied by lower income groups and minorities, be demolished and the people relocated elsewhere. Significant, however, is the fact that a manufacturing division of Oldsmobile will remain and the highway be diverted around it. This example suggests the importance of assessing the nature of the structural relationships involved in a forced move; for instance, who initiates and directs the move, as well as differential bargaining power and mobilization of resources of various subpopulations expected to move.

For this study, then, relocation has been conceptualized as a process initiated by urban renewal, of which a major characteristic is the involuntary nature of the move for the relocatees. The major

question which follows from this is the extent to which a forced move may possibly result in differential consequences for behavior in the new environment.

Implications of Involuntary Moves: Attitudinal Reactions of the Relocated

Robert Chambers in a study of settlement schemes in Africa provides us with a notion of how people's choice in living on settlements facilitates or hinders their adaptation to the new environment. In those schemes where settlers are brought involuntarily, the settlers easily acquire a sense of victimization which can lead to apathy and dependence. On the other hand, when the government sets up a scheme and invites people to come, the selection is voluntary and the settler is more inclined to regard the move as an opportunity rather than fatalistically as a sequence of disasters beyond his control (Chambers, 1968: 176). The crucial item of interest here is that voluntary and involuntary moves can have *differential consequences* for the adaptation of the migrant and should be assessed in planning for relocation and resettlement.

Voluntary migration is particularly significant in discerning what it is about an involuntary move that makes for differential behavior in the new environment. Many migration studies deal with the motivations behind the move. They indicate that there is a certain process of evaluating one's life circumstances beforehand and that the resulting decision to move is based largely upon the impression that the move will help improve one's life. As Burchinal and Bauder put it,

> Residential mobility is a response by which individuals and families expect to, and generally do, succeed in better meeting important housing and other personal needs. (1970: 211-31)

There is more likelihood that a person moving on his own volition, having already considered the options open to him, will find the movement is more suitable to his needs than will a person who is forced to move.

This fact of prior assessment of the person's own particular needs comes into play when one interprets one type of free move, namely, squatting. Although squatter settlements are often debilitating environments, recent evidence has contradicted the outsiders' view of the squatter areas as socially disorganized and more harmful to the resident than, say, public housing would be. In *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World* (1964), Charles Abrams perceives of squatting as the most condonable form of land seizure since the squatters have picked the most rational alternative given their minimal incomes and desires for independent control of their lives. In another article, Abrams is quoted as saying,

> Unlikely as it may seem there are those who actually prefer their squatter shacks to what the legitimate housing market offers. They may feel that what is available is too costly or that it offers insufficient space and privacy. Public housing, even when available, may be objectionable to them as making for a more bureaucratic regulation of their private lives, or they may not cotton to the vertical way of life characteristic of the public housing projects. Some may feel that the proximity of their squatter shacks to their job makes up for other shortcomings. (Portes, 1972: 277)

When these people are forcibly relocated into new housing units, they may be quite dissatisfied. The importance to the individual of being able to assess the suitability of environments, given certain limitations of income and so on, cannot be treated lightly.

There is further indication from work done by Marc Fried that a forced move may impact negatively upon those being moved:

> When people have been forced to change their residence, the result under certain circumstances has been what psychiatrists call a "grief syndrome"...it comes into play when public officials intervene to supposedly upgrade the quality of the environment, for urban renewal, condemnation or deteriorated housing, etc....It comes into play among people who have for some reason or another formed an attachment to the area and are now compelled to leave it.
> (Michelson, 1970: 163)

Fried makes this more explicit by noting that the negative reactions resulted in cases where the people could no longer maintain their previous life styles after the move, and they very much wanted to maintain this life style. People who adapted more readily were those who were ready to alter their life styles.

In dissonance studies, Kelman's ideas seem to provide some additional insight into the importance of both force and the subject's own needs in determining receptivity to change, in the new environment. He incorporates the idea of response restriction, which refers to a situation occurring when the source of influence reduces behavioral alternatives so as to make conformity more likely. He argues that,

> Response restriction would tend to produce supporting responses and hence favor change, when the communicator is perceived favorably, when the restriction is in line with the subject's own feeling of choice. Response restriction would tend to produce interfering responses, and hence impede change, when the communicator is perceived unfavorably, when the restriction frustrates the subject's own needs, and when it creates an atmosphere of high pressure.
> (Zajonc, 1968: 370)

In terms of this study, the communicator would be the urban renewal agency; the restriction would be the order to move and the resulting new environment; and the subject's needs will be related to his housing needs or preferences. Kelman's ideas on the subject's feeling of choice, when the restriction is in line with the subject's own needs,

are significant contributions since they further specify why a forced move may result in negative consequences.

Perspectives on Relocation and Social Change: Life Chances and Life Style

Having conceptualized relocation as a type of involuntary move, it is necessary to consider more specifically the various changes that accompany relocation.

For example, studies on relocation (Gans, Harrington and Hartman) have shown that relocation often results in better housing, higher costs, and changes in social relationships. The diversity of changes has been grouped into two broad categories for the purposes of this investigation, life chances and life style.

Although basically independent categories, the two do interrelate in that life chances may curtail or eliminate certain life styles. On the other hand, life style may impact upon the individual's life chances, for instance, as much as frugality might help meet food requirements for one with a limited income.

Life chances. Weber employed the idea of life chances, as a component of a person's class situation. He expressed this as,

> ...the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions and personal life experiences, in so far as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in any given economic order.
> (Weber, 1966: 21)

Weber, therefore, stresses the capacity of meeting basic human needs on the basis of economic, social and political position. In this study, attention will be centered upon 1) specification of the typical life

chances of the elderly population itself; and 2) changes in life chances related to a residential move.

One type of estimate of required needs is afforded by the national poverty level, which is presently $4,200 for families and $2,100 for unrelated individuals. Figures for the 1970 Census indicate that, in general, 80 percent of those people who are over 65 and receive Social Security have incomes below the poverty level. Besides this limited income, there is the fact that medicine and doctor's fees are larger for the elderly than any other age group (Riley, 1969: 104).

Furthermore, older people in relocated areas are generally in a lower income category than the larger elderly subpopulation in the same city (Riley, 1969: 155). Relocation usually alters the amount of money spent on housing and rental needs, and sometimes transportation. Then there are many who cannot afford tax and maintenance costs on their homes. With such problems it does make it emphatic to assess life chances in the relocation process.

Changes in life chances related to a residential move include the physical quality of the house; costs of housing and transportation; degree of access to essential services and conveniences; and mutual aid patterns. Quality of the house is based upon codes for standard housing, such as the existence of private kitchen and bathroom facilities, as well as the extent to which the house is free of physical impediments. Access to essential services like medical facilities and food stores are easily determined by noting the physical proximity to such places and the availability of transportation.

Feelings of safety and freedom from physically threatening experiences is closely related to the degree and type of mutual aid

patterns. Gerald Suttles and David Street (1970: 748), for example, see the formal aid system as a mechanism for undercutting the patterns of mutual aid existing in a neighborhood. Horizontal exchange, as between aid recipients and the government, decreases the amount of trust among people who may fear disclosure of the amount of aid they receive. For these purposes, an important question relates to the extent to which compensation or other aid offered by the government influenced the degree and type of mutual aid among relocatees and their friends. No relocation study has examined changes in mutual aid patterns.

Another pertinent area essential to the analysis of life chances is the new environment and how it meets the requirements of the life cycle of the relocatee. Life cycle refers to whether people are childless or have children, and if they are presently raising children or have finished raising them. In this context, Michelson illuminates the life cycle idea by identifying some of the needs and requirements of adults at various points in time (Michelson, 1970: 110). For example, the elderly find greatest satisfaction in areas where there is a predominance of other elderly persons; and adults, before and after raising children, value centrality to goods and services more than do families with children. While there are other possible requirements connected with the stage in the family life cycle, these examples will suffice in clarifying the notion.

Life chances, then, represent one area of changes related to a residential move. The next broad area is that of life style.

Life style. Herbert Gans (1968) has noted that urban planning often assumes the self-sufficiency of the nuclear family and hence extended family relationships may be severely strained under the relocation process. Furthermore, the people are at times forced into neighborhoods and houses for which they do not care. Molly Harrington (1965) reports that the following changes occurred as a consequence of one relocation project: 1) changes in marital roles toward greater conjointness; 2) lessening of social distance-keeping codes due to an increase in space; and 3) the break-up of old friendships making many people feel that they had lost their self-image.

As defined by Scott Greer, life style is,

> ...the way of life chosen by the majority of the population whether the family committed life of the suburbs or the life of the working couple in the apartment areas of the city. (1962: 31-32)

This definition can be accepted with one reservation, namely, the way of life is not always freely chosen by people, but may be partially outside their control as when people are told they have to move. Indicators of life style, as provided by Greer, range from fertility levels of the population and type of dwelling unit, to size of the family and emphasis on the home and family. Similarly, Michelseon sees life style as composed of two elements, role emphasis and the sphere of life emphasized most (Michelson, 1970: 110). Some of the spheres suggested are political control, economic supply, socialization of the young and careerism.

Life style changes of critical importance in this study will be primarily sociability patterns and physical-social spatial relationships. Elderly people do not normally like to move as they are more likely to have developed a life-long attachment to their home or neighborhood and friendships in that location. Such a forced move implies that such

things as loss of friendships and loss of a cherished environment may occur. Perhaps the move to the new environment alters the person's opportunity to engage in spare time activities, such as going to the movies, workshop activities, gardening, drinking at favorite bars, or attending various meetings. Thus the ability to carry out preferred spare time activities is an important indicator of changing life style as are changes in neighboring patterns.

These possible changes suggest a need for careful examination of life style categories in evaluating the impact of involuntary moves. More important, however, is the need to review and assess research observations specific to the elderly.

The Elderly and Relocation

Migration studies have long shown that the elderly are among the least mobile groups in the U.S. Bultena (1970) and his associates observe that older persons changed residence less frequently than younger persons and these moves tended to be confined to the local area. Figures from the 1970 Census show that for those over 65, about eight percent of the males and nine percent of the females moved. Of those who moved, only one and one half percent went from one state to another and some six percent moved within the same county.

In 1958 (Drake: 58), it was reported that the trend in migration is for decreasing mobility with each successive age class, with 65 and older people having a rate of ten percent. It was indicated further that the "movers" are usually physically mobile only with the same county.

Though there is some indication that the aged are becoming more mobile in the U.S. as structural changes resulting from the transition

to an industrial society become pervasive (Hitt, 1954), it appears more as a gradual change than a radical departure from past migration trends. Thus, one feature of the elderly population is a generally low rate of physical mobility.

As a sub-group that is plagued with physical impairments, and minimal incomes, the aged normally can have a hard time surviving. In addition to these disadvantages, they may find themselves with the problem of looking for a new home if they are relocated.

Granted, there are general assumptions that would normally lead one to conclude that the elderly would be the most severely affected by a forced move. Studies, however, have limited themselves to these general assumptions, and ignored the process of relocation by making simple statements that an older person reacts more strongly to a forced move than a younger person. Though the specific reasons for this difference between old and young are hinted at, they are never clearly delineated or analyzed.

For instance, Goldstein and Zimmer (1960) did a comprehensive survey of 88 respondents in Providence, R.I. on both pre- and post-movement phases of relocation. Their analysis consists of tables showing differences between those over 65 and those 55-64 years of age; and all younger age groups. They concluded that the people in the elderly group were, in general, more dissatisfied about the move, even though their housing improved. They did identify the factors that the elderly disliked about having to move, though there is never any attempt to explain differences.

Niebanck (1965) did a more general overview of relocation programs in the U.S. by sending questionnaires to relocation agencies inquiring

about the status of the relocated elderly. The primary findings were: 1) Elderly prefer centrality to essential services, and some degree of self-direction in their housing choice; 2) Indirect costs have resulted in long-term rises in cost of living in the new environment; 3) Social ties to the neighborhood are seen as the greatest impediment to voluntary move; and 4) Some neighborhoods are preferred since there is more activity and this provides some added dimension to the life of the elderly. Niebanck also confirmed these results in interviews with 50 elderly households in Philadelphia.

The problem, again, with findings like these is that they refer to the elderly as a homogeneous category neglecting people who are isolates, or who are very mobile. There is also a significant group who are at a stage in life such that relocation helps them make a necessary decision to get rid of costly homes. Initially, the studies indicating the type of impact that relocation has for the elderly served a crucial purpose in warning social scientists and planners about the detrimental effects the process of relocation can have upon people. However, it is now time to proceed beyond this stage and more specifically detail and evaluate factors in the process of relocation, factors which will clarify why various responses are elicited even among the elderly.

Four Ford Foundation demonstration projects were designed to study ways of helping people of age adjust to relocation. These studies were in San Antonio (Reich, 1966), in San Francisco (Smith, 1966), and in Providence and New York City (Niebanck, 1968). It is difficult to expand upon the knowledge of these studies since they were never intended as research topics but simply reports of types of social work efforts

that have accompanied relocation. They do indicate, as with other studies, that many of the elderly face severe problems in relocation. Their emphasis on individual cases is fruitful since it demonstrates the diversity of elderly responses and problems.

This diversity is also noted in another study. In the Canadian Columbia River project resettlement, which took place from 1967 to 1970, a large proportion of the resettled were elderly persons. Wilson tells us that,

> Even the older people showed great differences in reaction to displacement. For some the ties of place and memory took precedence over more mundane considerations. But for many others the comfort of urban facilities, especially medical services, was stronger.... (1973: 12)

Even though Wilson does say that there are great differences, he provides only these very general observations. A more complete analysis would entail clearly specification of the types of variations and of the sources of these variations.

Mental health studies complement the sociological efforts in the area of relocation. In one study of two U.S. metropolitan areas (Gray and Kasteler, 1969), it was concluded that involuntary relocation appears to be a stressful experience for older persons as reflected in lower health scores in a comparison of relocatees and nonrelocatees. While the work does refer to general assumptions about the elderly population being less mobile and resistant to change, there is a noticeable absence of attempts to explain deviant types in the formulations.

Another report in the area of mental health consequences of relocation is important since it suggests that relocation can be beneficial for the elderly, a clear departure from most other studies on elderly

relocatees. Kasl's (1972) article is a review of literature on the mental health effects of relocation on the elderly. From the research on involuntary movements of the elderly, he says it is generally true that among all age groups, the elderly appear to be the most vulnerable to the adverse effects of involuntary relocation, such as intense depression, sadness, and negative feelings (Kasl, 1972: 378). However, he argues that inferential evidence from studies done on voluntary moves of the elderly indicates that, given positive changes in certain variables, an involuntary move could be beneficial to the elderly. Specifically, when an elderly person makes a voluntary move "which provides a striking improvement in living conditions", it will result in largely positive consequences in the areas of "life satisfaction and morale, evaluation of health, frequency of social contacts and so on" (Kasl, 1972: 381). Thus, given a positive change in the variable of "living conditions", that is a striking improvement in living conditions, an elderly person who is involuntarily moved may experience more positive reactions to the move than if there were not this improvement in living conditions.

The only other study thus far to propose that some elderly may find relocation beneficial is that of Goldfarb (1968). However, his main indicant of stress is the death of the relocated. What is relevant in Goldfarb's work is his finding that relocation is only bad (resulting in death) for those elderly who were in bad physical and mental shape prior to relocation. He examined the situation of the relocated by comparing three groups, of which the first control group of 170 remained in their residence; the experimental group of 70 were those who were relocated *en masse*; the second control group consisting of

493 participants, was composed of both those who stayed in their residence and those who relocated themselves for individual reasons. His contention was that those who were relocated *en masse* would show higher mortality rates than either of the control groups. He did not confirm his expectations, since he found mortality to be more related to the functional status of the person than to the move itself. Nevertheless, the limitation to mortality rates is fairly restrictive in relation to the proposed study. Moreover, no consideration was given to social changes, and it is expected that analysis of such changes would confirm Goldfarb's findings that some elderly do benefit from relocation.

In summary, past research on relocation provides little theoretical foundation for explaining differential behavior of relocatees in the new environment. What has been shown is that there are some changes in the areas of life chances and life style, but these changes in themselves cannot account for a diversity of responses. Not all elderly respond negatively and not all young and middle aged persons positively to relocation. It is possible for an individual to view most changes as satisfactory while experiencing some persistent personal conflict. There have been instances where people, soon after being relocated, respond by making another voluntary move. This failure of past research to explain differential attitudes and consequences of relocation, is partly related to the tendency to ignore the meaning of force in a move. Also, there has existed a disregard for differences among people with respect to such things as their mobility, prior intent to move, and degree of neighboring, all of which can influence responses to relocation.

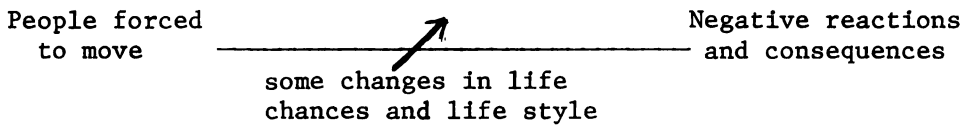
In the next chapter, an alternative is proposed that will go beyond past efforts in two major respects. First, variations among the elderly, that are pertinent in terms of indicating their overall preparedness for a move, are incorporated into the analysis. Secondly, the process of relocation itself is conceptualized as a process comprised of various levels of personal evaluations, adaptations, and stresses throughout the entire movement from the old to the new environment. These various levels provide a more accurate picture of what happens when people are involuntarily moved than is possible when considering only the most general responses of the aggregate of relocated.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND NEW DIMENSIONS OF THE STUDY

Model of the Process of Relocation

The general aim of this study is to examine the situation of a group of elderly relocatees in terms of their involvement in the process of relocation. Previous studies have predicted somewhat of the following:



Instead of this formulation, the proposed study suggests the model illustrated in Figure 1. This is an adaptation of a tentative model for studying adjustments to residential mobility, offered by Burchinal and Bauder (see Appendix). In the model for this study there are pre-move factors, intervening variables and movement-related changes and/or subjective reactions. It is clear that the only portions of the model that have been considered in past relocation research have been in the area of movement-related changes, namely, the Objective--Life Chances, Life Style; and under Subjective--Attitudinal Reactions. The rest of the model incorporates components not previously examined in relocation studies.

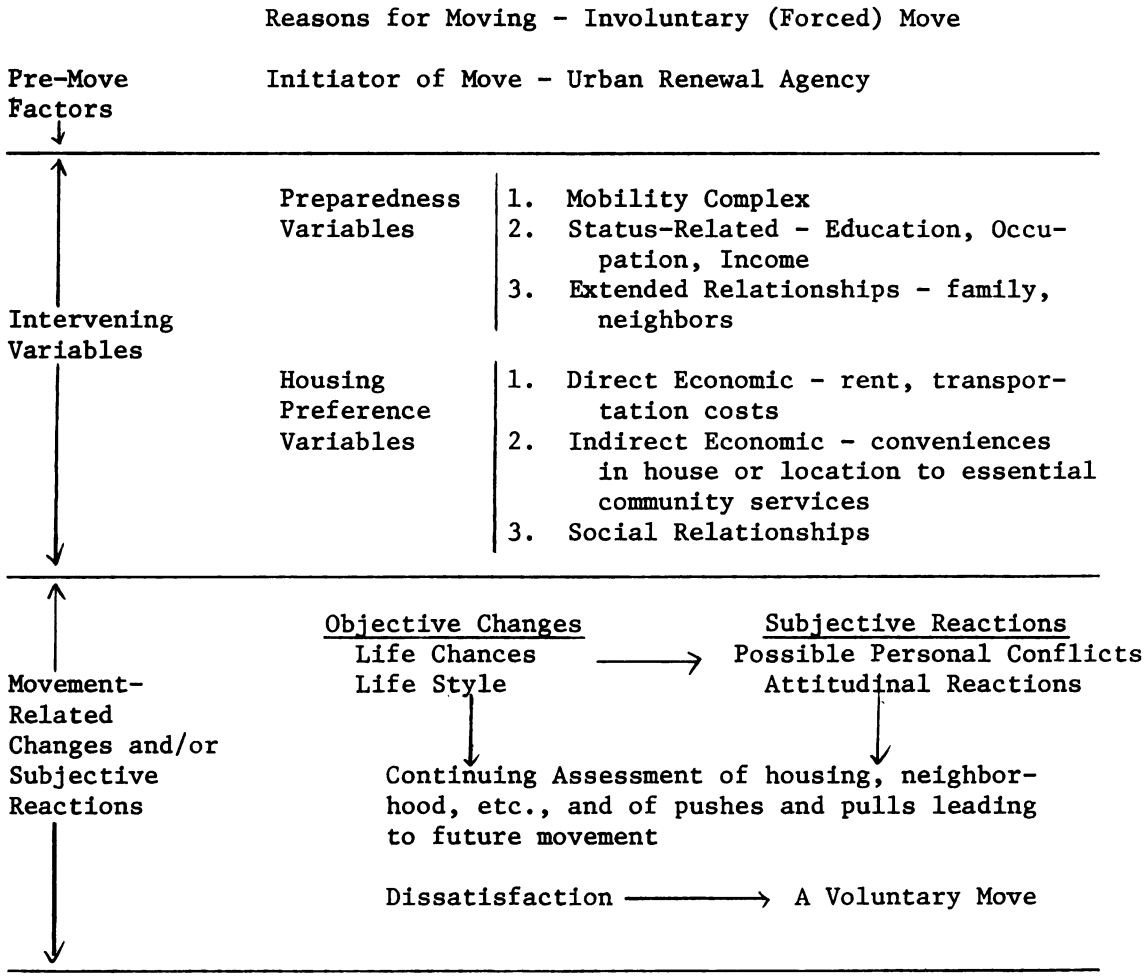


Figure 1. Components of the process of relocation.

The model indicates that there are three interrelated levels of the process. Basically the pre-move factors interact with the intervening variables to influence the type of movement-related changes and/or subjective reactions. Each of the three levels will now be explored in more detail.

Pre-Move Factors

It is important whether the move is voluntary or involuntary, for reasons previously noted, namely, that force will determine negative outcomes to the extent that 1) a person is, through such a move, given little time to carefully assess the available options; and 2) a person finds that the post-movement environment does not meet his needs. On the other hand, force will *not* affect the outcome negatively if the person is prepared for a move, has sufficient time to assess the housing options, and the post-movement environment does meet his needs. To determine the extent to which a person has faced these two circumstances, a model of involuntary moves must look at both, what is here referred to as the Mobility Complex, and Movement-Related Changes.

The second major aspect of the pre-move factors is the Initiator of the Move. Different agencies vary with regard to their ability to compensate the relocated, their dissemination of information to the relocated, and any number of other factors. When considering the impact of an involuntary move, it is crucial to describe the initiating agency in terms of its major characteristics since these may account for some of the types of responses. For instance, a person moved by Urban Renewal under the Uniform Relocation Act of 1970 would receive more financial payments to cover movement-related expenses than one moved by the Highway Department.

Intervening Variables

The variables contained in this level are meant to suggest some of the possible features that could account for variation among the relocated elderly in terms of their movement adaptability. This adaptability would be related to their general preparedness or unpreparedness for a residential move, as well as their values or preferences regarding acceptable housing. Though there could be other pertinent variables included by researchers as more knowledge is gained about relocation, as a first attempt this model is limited to a selected number of variables that appear most crucial.

The first of the intervening variables is the Mobility Complex. A wide range of experiences would prepare a person for a move. For example, Shannon and Morgan (1966) looked at such variables as education of the male; first work experience; and first urban work experience. It was demonstrated that these factors facilitate economic absorption and cultural integration of migrants in an urban setting.

For the purposes of this research, the prior experiences that would be most pertinent in a move of such a short distance would be the intent to move prior to relocation (Mobility Orientation); the degree of prior mobility (Mobility Experience); and the number of housing alternatives, once forced to move (Mobility Alternatives). It is argued that those who had a prior intent to move, even without urban renewal, who were mobile, and who had a large number of alternative housing choices prior to the move will be the most readily prepared for a move among all the relocated. Figure 2 illustrates some of the possible combinations. Those who would be least prepared for a move would be those who did not intend to move prior to relocation,

X. Mobility Orientation (+ or -)
intended to move prior to urban renewal

Y. Mobility Experience (+ or -)
number of years in the house
number of moves in the last ten years

Z. Mobility Alternatives (+ or -)
amount of time available to find a house
number of houses looked at that meet needs and income

X,Y,Z, can result in the following combinations:

1. (+++) most prepared for a move
2. (---) least prepared for a move
3. (++-), (-++), or (+-+) more prepared for a move than (+--), (-+-) or (--+)

Figure 2. Mobility complex.

were quite immobile and had few alternatives in the selection of a new residence. The main purpose here is to indicate that prior experience and intent, as well as sufficient options, can make a difference in a person's response to a forced move, rather than to predict exact outcomes for all cases.

A person's ease of adaptation to the changes accompanying a residential move may also be investigated by looking at status related factors. Burchinal and Bauder (1970) have shown that in a new environment, "persons with more resources--material as well as nonmaterial resources such as education..." make the transition much more quickly than people without such resources. In general, then, it would be expected that the higher a person ranks on these factors, the more likely it is that the person will be able to adapt to changes in the new environment.

Finally, the last set of preparedness variables refers to the degree of extended relationships a person has and to what degree these relationships may have helped in the movement.

In addition to the study examining how the general preparedness variables are related to the impact that a forced move has upon the relocated, some possible housing preference variables are suggested. Michelson (1970) has shown that people have certain values regarding the type of housing they find most suitable. While some people place the highest value on the location of the house with respect to various community facilities, others are most concerned with the amount of yard space they have, or still others emphasize the amount of rent or the type of social environment of the house. Although he does relate value preferences to certain types of life styles, the important thing here is to examine what a person says he values most in picking a residence and how the new environment meets this preference. These housing preference variables provide another means of differentiating among those relocated in terms of criteria that determine the impact of an involuntary move. If a person is told to move, and he happens to find a house that rates highly on his value preferences, he is more likely to react positively than a person who does not obtain a house that satisfies his preferences.

The intervening variables, then, permit the researcher to categorize the relocated in a theoretically meaningful fashion related to their likelihood of responding positively or more negatively to an involuntary move.

Movement-Related Changes and/or Subjective Reactions

This brings us to the final component of the model of relocation, which deals with the types of changes and reactions that may accompany such a move. Changes in life style and life chances (Figure 3) are particularly important and a variety of possibilities exists. Some

	Time 1	Time 2
1. Life Chances		
a. economic relations		
i. direct economic - costs of rent, or transportation	a- - - -	$-a_1$
ii. indirect economic - conveniences within the house or location of house to essential community services	b- - - -	$-b_1$
iii. rental or ownership status	c- - - -	$-c_1$
b. physical quality of the house		
structural conditions of the house	d- - - -	$-d_1$
c. personal safety and security		
mutual aid	e- - - -	$-e_1$
2. Life Style		
a. sociability		
i. social participation - neighbor, isolate, club member, family-centered	f- - - -	$-f_1$
ii. leisure patterns - preferred recreation or spare time activities	g- - - -	$-g_1$
b. dwelling unit		
apartment complex or single dwelling	h- - - -	$-h_1$

Figure 3. Objective changes involved in relocation.

life style changes may be unacceptable, while others may be quite minimal or acceptable.

Most of the changes listed here are based upon the findings of past relocation studies, as reviewed in the previous chapter. For instance, changes in cost of rent or transportation have been included under direct economic. While the direct economic are simply the more specific costs or financial differences related to the move, the indirect are the more general or less quantifiable financial differences related to the move. The indirect include conveniences within the person's house, as well as the location of the house with respect to essential community services like shopping areas or medical facilities.

The changes listed in Figure 3 are suggestive of some of the possible changes that can occur when a person is relocated and include both examples from previous research as well as several additions that have been made for this study.

With respect to life chances, one additional item is mutual aid since feelings of safety or freedom from physically threatening experiences are an integral part of one's evaluation of his neighborhood. As mentioned before, Suttles and Street (1970) argue that the formal aid system can undercut the patterns of mutual aid existing in a neighborhood. Since there is a great deal of formal aid involved from the urban renewal agency to the relocatees, it is possible to see whether Suttle and Street's argument holds up for the relocated in this study. If it does hold true, then this would be one example of how the agency directing the move can influence the impact of a move. And, since mutual aid is integral to one's security in an environment, changes in mutual aid patterns should be determined in order to evaluate the impact of a residential move.

Another addition to changes in life chances is the person's ownership status. It would be important to know whether through the move people changed from being a tenant to an owner or vice versa. Ownership of a house usually means that the person has more control over his life circumstances than if he would be renting, and hence part of the evaluation of changes will include the ownership status.

The other additions are in life style changes, namely the types of social participation and dwelling types. Scott Greer's (1962) categories of social participation formed the basis for the division of people into neighbor, isolate, club member or family-centered. It

is an arbitrary selection made on the basis of relative ease of obtaining such information from the respondents. Moreover, it accommodates the findings of past studies on relocation better than other categorizations. Finally, it provides a way to include the variations among the elderly which are emphasized in this study. While Gans had observed that relocation sometimes destroys the functioning of the extended kin relationships, it is also the case that in recent years questions have been raised regarding the impact on isolated individuals as are typically found in hotels (Fielding, 1972). This item of social participation will distinguish not only the person's typical participation but also the change from the old to the new environment. Again, it is much more accurate in studying relocation to note that some people who were "neighbors" lost many friends or some who were "isolates" made friends through the move, rather than assuming that most of the elderly felt bad because they lost friends when the moved.

With respect to dwelling type under life style changes, this item is pertinent since most of the people in the study moved from a single dwelling to an apartment complex, namely the high rise.

As the various changes occur, it is expected that the person who is relocated makes some evaluation of what the move has meant for him, how much he has gained or lost through the move. Then, as this evaluation proceeds, most people try to make some sort of adjustment to unacceptable changes. If the unacceptable changes are only of minor importance, the likelihood of major conflicts and problems decreases considerably. However, when the unacceptable changes are of central importance, then certain personal conflicts will result from the person's inability to accept the changes, and the value he places upon the changes.

Some of the possible subjective changes are found in Figure 4. Preliminary contact with the relocatees, in the early part of the problem formulation, suggested possible areas of personal stresses and conflicts. A few examples of the personal stresses and conflicts from the preliminary contact will be outlined here to demonstrate the significance of the items.

1. Possible Personal Stresses and Conflicts Deriving from:
   a. institutional restrictions
   b. ownership status change
   c. change in social interaction
   d. change in the amount and use of public or private space
   e. unprepared for a move
   f. alteration in time patterns
   g. loss of material possessions

2. Attitudinal Reactions
   a. helplessness or sense of control
   b. dissatisfaction or contentment

Figure 4. Basic subjection reactions involved for the relocated.

Institutional restrictions. For some, life in a high rise could mean that they are now subject to having their overnight guests checked in through the main office. Living in the high rise can mean a tremendous increase in life chances, but the person may value his freedom to have whom he wants overnight without approval. The result may be either that the person leaves the high rise or remains perturbed about institutional rules or regulations.

Change in social interaction. One of the women in the high rise has spent most of her life in the place from which she was moved. Though she owned the house, the taxes were becoming a burden. Moving to the high rise has been a financial boost, though she has suffered

because most of her friends no longer drop in to visit her in her new efficiency apartment.

The personal conflicts, then, can arise from both the changes themselves, to the extent that they are perceived negatively, and from the fact of being forced to move. This study aims to ferret out some of the interesting, pertinent details that become subsumed under the general observation that "the elderly react more negatively to relocation than other groups." Such details on personal conflicts or stresses permit a more intelligent assessment of what relocation entails for the relocatees.

The second portion of the basic subjective reactions deals with the feelings of the relocated, and this derives from past research. Specifically, it was noted that people who are relocated may suffer from severe grief (Fried, 1963) or experience a feeling of helplessness (Chambers, 1968). Furthermore, others like Goldstein and Zimmer (1960) have shown that most of the elderly they studied were dissatisfied after they were involuntarily moved even though their housing situation improved. Examination of this factor provides a test of past research which indicated largely negative reactions, and helps measure the impact of the move in terms of the relocatees' own perceptions.

Finally, the last part of the movement-related changes deals with the continuing assessment of the new environment. It is argued that the process of relocation may lead to further residential mobility for some who view the changes in the new environment unfavorably. Hence, another residential move seems to be a viable alternative when major dissatisfaction exists.

The proposed model surpasses past research efforts since it incorporates variables which determine differential behavior in the new environment. It is possible through the use of the model to pinpoint characteristics of the elderly which influence the impact of the move upon them, as well as elements of relocation itself which affect the outcome. From the intervening variables, the distinctions among the relocated are made. While the mobility complex, the status-related and the extended relationships are meant to indicate the person's general preparedness for a move, the housing preference variables are designed to measure to what degree the new environment corresponds to the person's preferred housing. Relocation itself entails numerous levels of adaptation and personal conflict, rather than being either positive or negative. The model has added the following items, which were not examined in previous research: 1) the conditions under which a forced move would result in certain outcomes; 2) the organizational context of the relocation, here, urban renewal; 3) mutual aid and ownership status under Life Chances; 4) Possible Personal Conflicts; and 5) continuing assessment of the environment as related to future voluntary moves. Building upon and yet further testing past research, the sections on Life Chances and Life Style, as well as the item of Attitudinal Reactions of the relocated were included in the model.

The study will illuminate the significance of two general propositions:

Proposition 1: Those people who are most prepared for a move and who find that the new environment meets their housing needs will manifest feelings of control and satisfaction.

Proposition 2: Those people who are least prepared for a move and who find that the new environment does not meet their housing needs will manifest feelings of helplessness and dissatisfaction.

Preparedness for the move is measured by the Preparedness Variables. While the Housing Preference Variables will be utilized to evaluate how well the new environment meets the housing needs of the relocated, there will also be an examination of the various changes in life style and life chances which result from the move to the new environment.

The emphasis of this study is upon determining the extent to which other variables must be included in any analysis of forced moves, variables which will account for the differential impact and consequences of relocation upon the relocated. The next portion of this chapter will elaborate upon some of the methodological aspects of the research.

Techniques of Study and Design

Batavia, New York, was chosen as the research site for both theoretical and practical reasons. First, although it is a small city it still typifies one important problem faced by large cities, namely a housing shortage. The availability of housing is particularly acute for low income groups. Initial interviews established that rent often increased close to double the amount after relocation. Although the federal government provides for rental assistance for relocatees for four years, the increase will be difficult for some people to handle after the four years. This housing shortage was somewhat aggravated by urban renewal since it did demolish certain sections of the low income housing. On the other hand, a planned low

income housing project, sponsored by the Council of Churches, failed to reach completion and thus was a major factor contributing to the shortage. Many of the low income units available are now occupied by median income groups, probably due to a shortage of median income housing units in the city. About 85 percent of the Batavia housing was constructed before 1930 and with the normal useful life of a house being around 45 years, much of the housing will be in need of replacement or rehabilitation in the next decade.

Secondly, one of the unique characteristics of relocation in Batavia is the existence of an elderly high rise, where elderly relocatees are given first priority in obtaining housing. In other renewal projects in the U.S. elderly people have always been relocated into separate places throughout the city. Of the total 220 households which were relocated, 30 percent are over 60 years of age and about 50 percent are over 50. The high rise which has about 30 relocated elderly out of its total of 100 households, provides an ideal setting for the research for several reasons.

The existence of a single setting simplified at least one aspect of the complex process of relocation, that is, the new environment. Rather than dealing with a number of diverse new environments, as in past research on renewal, the major portion of this research will deal with one setting, the high rise. Furthermore, as will be discussed under the research techniques, the setting lends itself easily to observation techniques.

Thirdly, Batavia is also significant for a study of relocation since it has several characteristics that are interesting from an urban planning viewpoint. It is characterized by the dispersal of low

income housing units throughout the city rather than concentrated in one or two low income sections of the city as is typical of most cities. Additionally, the renewal area is going to be rebuilt with a shopping mall, the first time an urban renewal agency has directed the construction of a mall project. This has implications for the amount of time that can be spent on residential relocation since the commercial relocation may tend to dominate.

Originally, the researcher had offered to work as a volunteer in the high rise, so as to maintain some type of formal role in the place. However, the offer was rejected by the manager, who also heads the Housing Authority, making the researcher's role temporary in nature. Instead of having some type of official role, or a justification for spending a large amount of time in the high rise, the researcher relied upon continuous informal visits to the different relocatees.

In contrast to the rejection by the high rise manager was the cooperation of the Batavia Urban Renewal Agency, which is completely separate from the Housing Authority. Contact with the renewal agency had proven fruitful from the outset. The agency provided office space for the researcher, gave complete access to all agency files on relocatees, and provided names and addresses of the relocatees. One of the staff members took the researcher around on numerous occasions to meet people who had been relocated. Permission was also given for the researcher to attend all of the agency meetings. Finally, the director of the agency even secured housing for the researcher prior to arrival in Batavia.

The focus of the study is on elderly relocatees. However, as a favor to the agency, in return for the chance to study in Batavia,

data were collected on a large part of the non-elderly relocatees. The research encompassed approximately six months and incorporated both participant observation and survey techniques.

The high rise was particularly suited to participant observation techniques, since there were lounges on each floor, a central recreation room and a laundry and special-activity dining area. Observation of daily activities could be quite spontaneous and casual in the rise, but not in the separate households, which are too dispersed from one another in the city to permit participant-observation techniques. One of the best ways to evaluate how people are adapting to a new environment is to observe their interaction in that new environment. This adds considerable depth of understanding to the data from the questionnaire.

In the first stage of the research, from July to September, interviews were conducted with 37 of the relocatees, mostly from those dispersed throughout the city. Those interviewed included all age groups. Issues relevant to the study, such as reactions to being relocated, attitudes toward urban renewal in general, changes in their lives since the move, and comparison of the housing situation before and after the move were examined to develop the questionnaire.

The first three months also involved a review of the city's newspaper, the *Daily News*, to ascertain the feelings of the community towards urban renewal and to put the development of the urban renewal plan into a systematic framework. During this period, all the data in the agency files that seemed to bear upon the concerns of the study were carefully studied. The agency files included brief personal case

histories of most of the relocated and basic demographic and relocation payment information.

The early interviews afforded an opportunity to talk to subpopulations of individuals varying with respect to age, marital status, sex, and type of dwelling unit. From these contrasting cases, the questionnaire was developed. This enabled the researcher to emphasize issues most important to the relocatees.

In the second three-month period, the questionnaire was first pre-tested and then, after revision, the final questionnaire was administered. Most of the questions were open-ended rather than multiple choice. Of the 220 households that were relocated, 37 were interviewed in the first stage, 25 were given the pre-test, and 63 were given the final questionnaire. Of the 95 not studied, some 19 had moved a second time with no forwarding address, 6 refused, 39 either moved out of town or out of state, and some 31 were not included for various reasons such as their being in an institution. In effect, then, every person that could possibly be included in the study was questioned in some way. Since case file material was available on all 220, there is some very general information on the entire relocated population.

The questionnaire results reported here will be those from the 63 respondents who were given the final, revised questionnaire. This questionnaire concentrated primarily on those in the high rise though there are some results reflecting views of the relocated in dispersed areas of the city.

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework of the proposed study and discussed the site selection and methodology. The next one will discuss the city of Batavia in more detail.

CHAPTER III

BATAVIA: A COMMUNITY IN TRANSITION

Batavia, New York, is a relatively small city of approximately 17,000 residents in close proximity to Buffalo and Rochester, New York. It is the Genesee County Seat and houses both the New York State School for the Blind and a major branch of the Sylvania Television industry. On the lighter side, it is well known in western New York as the location of the Batavia Downs race track, and there are those who know Batavia more as a place having very tasty locally-made candy. It takes about five or ten minutes to drive through Batavia, or forty to fifty minutes to walk from one end to the other. The city bus service is a dial-a-bus variety, where people call to have the bus pick them up at their homes and drop them where they wish. Some other facts give a picture of the size of the community: there are about three fire engines, one three-room library with a basement and main floor in what appears to have once been a house, and a newspaper that averages about ten pages.

There are many large houses, which in recent years have been sub-divided into small apartments. Though there are several newer housing developments on the edges of the city, most of the houses are old, but well maintained, and give the appearance of being comfortable despite their age. It is difficult to distinguish any rich or poor sections

in most of the city, since the previous renewal project had eliminated most of the severely deteriorated buildings in the city. Though there is no major problem with discrimination in housing, with the small number of minority members, several of the Blacks and Puerto Ricans had mentioned that they are sometimes very subtlely refused housing by owners in Batavia. It is also the case that most Batavians say that there are few status distinctions among the members of the community, though one man commented that "People on that side of town [the area of a new housing development] have their cocktails in the evening while we have our cans of beer."

There are two plazas on each end of the city which presently are the main shopping centers. Though relatively small, they are central while the downtown area is being redeveloped through the Jefferson renewal project.

Batavia began its initial growth as the center of the Holland Land Office which developed more than three million acres of western New York in the early 1800's. Its predominance decreased with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, which by-passed Batavia. Since then its economic growth has been largely secondary to and influenced by the Buffalo and Rochester metropolitan areas. In fact, the Jefferson Plaza Renewal Project, which effected the movement of the relocatees in this study, is an attempt to deal with the increasing competition from shopping malls in the two cities, as well as with the five percent decline in population from 1960 to 1970.

Some 3000 people in Batavia commute for work in Buffalo or Rochester, and roughly 27 percent of the labor force is blue collar. The top industries include the world's largest maker of heavy

industrial building equipment and the top manufacturer of die castings.

About 32 percent of the population is under 18 and 12 percent over 65. The recent decrease in Batavia's population is largely attributable to decline in 15- to 24-year-olds as a percent of the total city population. The decline in this age group is largely related to young people going elsewhere for school and work. Among the various ethnic groups, the Italian and Polish have the highest percentage. There is a very small proportion of Blacks, 2.5 percent, so that the housing problems may be more related to income differentials than to racial distinctions, which are of crucial importance in large urban areas. Those 250 families with income less than the poverty level represent about 5.6 percent of all the families. Of those listed as under the poverty level, people 65 and over represented 31 percent.

The city government is of the Council-Administrative type with a nine-man council that serves without pay. A professional manager is appointed by the council as the city's chief executive. This type of government structure is rare in the U.S. where mayoral governments predominate at the city level. Recent articles in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* have argued that this type of government is somewhat better for urban renewal projects. It is suggested that with officials receiving no salaries there is perhaps little chance for political patronage.

It is interesting to see what the respondents liked or disliked about Batavia. When the respondents were asked to characterize the city, 64 percent felt positively about Batavia, calling it a "friendly

town", and a "good place to live", while only 19 percent felt negatively, referring to Batavia as a "truck stop" or a "ghost town." The comment about the truck stop refers to the fact that the main street of Batavia is used extensively by trucks traveling through from Buffalo in the west to other parts of eastern New York. Referring to it as a ghost town most likely reflected Batavia's emptiness in the downtown area since major demolition had taken place for the Jefferson Plaza project. Some 17 percent provided rather neutral comments like "it's a small town" or "it's an industrial city." In terms of Kevin Lynch's (1960) description of how people form images of their city, the positive aspects of the city of Batavia were concerned with the meaning or emotional content for the observer, while the negative views placed emphasis on the structure of the city as seen by the reference to the use of the main traffic artery, or the physical appearance of the principal downtown district. The majority of Batavians then thought that Batavia was best described as a community of good moral character.

The city, in fact, has chosen to be called the "city of opportunity." Its offerings include a deep sense of security in one's home and on the streets, a relaxing pace of life, and more primary relationships than are usually the case in large urban centers. Batavia is in the process of some very major changes that suggest that many new opportunities lie in the immediate future.

One woman's comment revealed how changes appeared to long term residents. While she had always felt rather contented in her house, she had in recent years been a bit uneasy about the changes in the downtown area. There had been an influx of a small number of young

people who she said were involved with drugs and seemed to always be getting into trouble. In fact, there seems to have been some controversy among the community members over the establishment of the "Home" youth center in the downtown area (*Daily News*, September 5, 1972). While some people felt the center was an essential place for young people to get together, others felt that the place bred more trouble than good. The "Home" center was eventually closed.

Several of the major changes that have affected the community in recent years have been the community college and the renewal projects. The community college was established in the last few years. This has provided young people with educational advantages that they had formerly found only in the adjacent metropolitan areas. With the initial growth of the college has come the first contact that many residents have had with college students and their distinctive casualness in dress and social activism. For instance, community meetings regarding urban renewal several times led to a quite spirited debate between the renewal staff and college students over the value of restoring instead of destroying the old buildings in the renewal area.

The other major change is the recent urban renewal activities, the earlier project called the Court Street renewal and the newest one the Jefferson Plaza project. The Court Street project lasted from 1962 to 1972 and involved 70 businesses and 9 families and 24 individuals. One physical result of the early project was that, while the one side of Main Street had new, golden brick buildings, the other side of Main had dilapidated, red brick buildings; the project had modernized one of the worst sections of the city.

The Jefferson Plaza project, the basis of this present study's relocation, has been much more pervasive in its impact on Batavia than the first renewal project. It will be more fully examined in the next chapter.

Batavia is best seen as a community moving from a period of relative decline to a time of new opportunities. Among the changes leading to the new prospects are the establishment of the community college and the development of the Jefferson Plaza urban renewal project. The following chapter will deal with urban renewal as it has originated in the U.S. and as it developed in Batavia.

This first part of the dissertation has provided the conceptual framework for the study, including the pertinent literature, the new model for the study of relocation as a process and, finally, has briefly described the community where the research was undertaken. Part II will elaborate upon relocation as a process.

PART II. RELOCATION AS A PROCESS

CHAPTER IV

URBAN RENEWAL: ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF RELOCATION

Urban Renewal in the United States

Urban renewal is one of the major causes of population displacement in the U.S., with others being highway construction and code enforcement. From 1949 to 1963, about 220,000 households were relocated due to urban renewal with about one-fifth of these having members age 60 and over (Riley, 1969: 154). In the last decade the numbers of households have more than doubled, as evidenced by the fact that in 1973 alone there were about 1000 localities in the U.S. with renewal plans in progress ("Myths and Realities of Urban Renewal", 1973: 171).

While the original slant of the housing laws aimed more at slum clearance in the cities, recent emphasis has been on renewing or rehabilitating the physically deteriorated parts of the cities. The legal basis of urban renewal derives from the principle of eminent domain, whereby the government can acquire private property against the owner's will and use this property for public projects. In this case, just compensation to owners is determined solely on the basis of market values of property.

Whereas the U.S. originally employed this law of eminent domain in rural areas for railroad construction, Britain utilized similar statutes to clear up deteriorated urban cores. This distinction helps explain the different government treatment of the relocated in the two countries. While the U.S. has had to concern itself mostly with property loss, Britain has had to deal with major population displacement long before the same occurred in the U.S. Hence, Britain has long considered it proper to compensate people for additional hardships of resettlement. Contrary to this assumption of public responsibility for the difficulties, the U.S. attitude has been, until recently, to reject responsibility for hardships incurred in such moves and had offered payment only for portions of actual property loss. Since urban renewal entails other expenses besides property loss and other types of personal damages, the problem of just compensation is difficult to resolve.

The spread of urban renewal in the U.S. has progressed on a piecemeal basis through various stages of federal and state legislation beginning with the Federal Housing Act of 1949. With the Housing Act of 1949 came the first clear statement that the national government considered relocation a public responsibility and an integral part of slum clearance. A major reorientation came with the 1954 Housing Act, which converted slum clearance to "urban renewal." Under this act, the Urban Renewal Administration (URA) was established as a major component of the Home Finance Agency (HHFA). An additional feature of the act was the shift from individual projects to an integrated, overall program for the broad problems of urban decay.

With the enactment of the Housing Act of 1956, the Congress made it clear for the first time that urban renewal displacees had a right to financial compensation and should not receive only token payments to facilitate slum clearance. There was to be the provision of reasonable and necessary moving expenses for all the relocated, with the maximum payment per family or individual being $100, and for businesses $2000. The next pertinent legislation came in 1964. Under the Housing Act of that year, additional relocation adjustment payments of up to $500 were authorized for families and individuals who were eligible for but not able to secure public housing (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs, 1965).

Until the enactment of the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Policies Act of 1970, treatment of urban renewal relocatees varied from locale to locale because of the latitude permitted local agencies. This occasioned numerous injustices. Changes under the Uniform Act include, for instance, an increase in the maximum payment to renters for rent differences of $4000 over four years from the previous maximum of $1000 over two years. This act also includes an increase in the maximum payment to owners for replacement housing from $5000 to $15,000. People are given additional money for moving expenses. If the person elects to take a fixed payment for moving expenses based on the number of rooms of furniture, he is also allowed a flat $200 dislocation allowance. For those who decide to receive actual moving expenses there is no limit to payments.

Determination of the payment for rent increase is basically calculated on the basis of the difference in the rent in the old location and that rent in the new location for comparable replacement housing.

The fixed schedule of moving expenses is based upon the number of rooms of furniture; for example, for three rooms, the moving expense would be $150 in a small city. Furthermore, any place that the resident selects must be inspected by the City Housing Inspector to see if it is standard according to the housing codes. If it is not standard, urban renewal will not pay anything towards the rent, since the main intent of the new law is to get people into housing that is structurally safe and sound.

Although the Uniform Act is a vast improvement over the previous one, there are still numerous problems to be ironed out. For example, there are no income limitations under the Uniform Act (Gorland, 1972: 137). Thus, the payments a person receives have no relationship to his income. Gorland's other major objection to the Uniform Act is that, while a former tenant can get a maximum of only $4000 for a downpayment on a house, a former owner can get up to $15,000 maximum. He asks, "Is the owner a first class citizen and the tenant a second class?"

The most recent changes in the area of urban renewal related to the 1973 dictate of President Nixon. He ordered an abrupt termination of new urban renewal activity as of June 30, 1973, and instead a new special revenue sharing program beginning in July, 1974. This may lead to a reversal in payment policy since some communities may not be able to finance such substantial amounts as covered under the Uniform Act. However, Congress has still not taken the Act off the books, so the general intent of the law is still applicable in terms of covering the expenses related to a residential move.

Perhaps the most pertinent fact related to the relocation process in this study is the existence of large amounts of financial assistance, far surpassing what was available to relocatees studied in previous research. These added financial advantages would themselves lead one to expect much more positive responses from the relocated. This investigation is one of the few undertaken since the Uniform Act came into existence.

Aside from the legislative changes related to urban renewal, several other characteristics of relocation in the U.S. should be mentioned. First, while the relocated persons as a whole have experienced rather poor treatment by the government, relocation has adversely involved some subpopulations more than others. Reynolds (1963: 116) points out that there is a high proportion of minorities among the displaced, with the estimate being about 56 percent of all relocated. In fact, urban renewal has come to be perceived as "Negro removal" because so many Blacks have been uprooted by the process.

Secondly, more persons from the lower socio-economic strata are affected by urban renewal. Due to the relative powerlessness of this particular group of persons, the element of force and coercion has far reaching implications, when compared with their more affluent counterparts. Exemplifying this is the observation that when renewal involves the more economic and socially advantaged, public meetings are called to discuss the renewal plans with them and to urge them to accept the program. If they are not included in the planning they usually have sufficient resources to stop the renewal plan. This happened in the Beacon Hill section of Boston in 1922, when a group of upper class citizens successfully fought urban renewal efforts in the

Beacon Hill section of the city (Firey, 1945). Jane Jacobs, known best for her *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, led a similar fight against a renewal plan in the West Village in New York City in 1961. Jacobs and other members of the neighborhood provided the best example of how the more socially advantaged can summon more resources in terms of expertise on legal matters regarding urban renewal as well as financial support (Davies, 1966: 72-109). On the other hand, relocation of the lower socio-economic groups has usually meant that typical procedure is to begin contact with the people notifying them that they must move because urban renewal is coming through their neighborhood; they are the ones to whom dictates are given. This has been confirmed by several ex-relocation aides in Lansing, Michigan, who say this is what happened in their city. In summary, Wilson has said that, Middle class persons who are beneficiaries will be planned with; lower class persons who are disadvantaged by renewal will be planned without" (1963: 242).

Another reflection of this power dimension is the comment by one of the present Lansing relocation aides that, of the two broad groups relocated in Lansing, the upper socio-economic group did not turn to the agency for help in resettling, while the lower socio-economic group did turn to the agency for assistance. While one group is forced by circumstances to rely upon the agency for assistance, another can be more independent of the agency.

The third characteristic is that most urban renewal had taken place, until the last five or six years, in the large cities in the U.S. In fact, all the studies of relocation connected with urban renewal have dealt with relocation in large cities. The trend in

recent years has been a sharp increase in the number of medium and smaller size cities undertaking urban renewal programs. In 1973, approximately three-fourths of the 100 localities engaged in urban renewal programs were cities with populations below 50,000. The present study dealing with a small city, will be one of the first reflecting this current trend.

In summary, then, the government position on relocation connected with urban renewal in the U.S. has evolved from one of complete disregard for the relocated to one of major responsibility for the financial hardships incurred by resettlement. This particular study deals with relocatees who are better off than their predecessors since they have been moved under the Uniform Act, which provides liberal financial benefits. This might suggest more positive reactions and consequences than shown in previous studies, though financial problems are not the only ones involved in such moves.

This next section will consider urban renewal in Batavia, specifically the Jefferson Plaza project.

Urban Renewal in Batavia

The Jefferson Plaza Project

The locational point of relocation in the present study is the Jefferson Plaza Project, which physically encompasses about five blocks in the heart of downtown and borders on the main thoroughfare. To the east is one of the city's hospitals. Prior to the start of the project, the area was bounded on the west by several factories which were later moved to an industrial park on the outskirts of the city. Many of the buildings were quite old and most had two or three stories.

On the ground floor space of the buildings facing Main Street, there were small retailers of jewelry, shoes and women's clothing. Dispersed among these shops were various service establishments such as barbers, beauty shops, luncheonettes, and dry cleaners. About ten small taverns were also found in the area. While the upper floors of the Main Street buildings contained mostly offices for lawyers, dentists, physicians, and insurance agencies, there were numerous apartments found above the stores throughout the renewal area.

The project was directed from the start by the Batavia Urban Renewal Agency. Though the agency functions are largely independent of the city government, formal decisions of the agency are made by the Board of Directors of Urban Renewal, which does have one member who is a city councilman. Other members of the Board are the Director of Urban Renewal and several other Batavia residents. Planning for the Jefferson Plaza Project began with a land use and marketability study of the proposed renewal area, which was submitted to the urban renewal agency in March, 1968. Local approval for the project came in 1969, with relocation of people from businesses and residences being initiated the following year.

In the agency's original renewal plan, it is clear that the decision to redevelop the area derived from the need to fight competition from the Buffalo and Rochester metropolitan shopping areas by revitalizing the central business district of Batavia. Among the broad objectives of the original plan were the following: 1) renewal of a significant portion of the Central Business District; 2) integration of functional public and commercial land use including the provision for public space to further enhance the project area; and

3) the provision of opportunities for the development of low and moderate cost housing (Urban Renewal Plan, 1969).

While the original Jefferson renewal plan did not include the idea of a shopping mall, the mall soon became the focus of the development project. It is to be an enclosed mall with 32 stores, and the central areas between the stores are to be used for community activites. Progress was not simple, as unexpected delays occurred, like the failure of the Council of Churches housing project to meet its completion deadline, and the one major work stoppage of construction workers. A significant court proceeding also contributed to a further delay. This case was between the agency officials and one of the larger businesses over the price of acquisition of the old store as well as the time of vacating the old location.

About seven of the 132 businesses which were in the project area will be relocated within the mall. The businesses that planned to relocate in the mall were closely involved in the development of the mall plans, and at times disputes over purchase prices for the mall parcels and again acquisition prices for the old stores were causes of some extensions. However, the date for ground-breaking has been set up, and in retrospect the Jefferson Plaza Project did move quite rapidly though about a year behind its original optimistic deadline. In June, 1974, the construction of the top portions of the stores will begin and the community of Batavia will attain a new, hopefully fruitful, "shopping-community" mall.

With the completion of the Jefferson Mall, there should be numerous economic advantages, as well as benefits in terms of new types of resident interaction in the community spaces in the mall. The

Jefferson Plaza Project has already resulted in other important changes. These include the construction of an elderly high rise unit, the construction of several new low-income housing projects, and the development of an industrial park on the edge of the city.

Proceeding from the historical aspects of urban renewal in the U.S. to the emergence of urban renewal in Batavia, this next section will deal with the characteristics of those people relocated because of the Jefferson Plaza renewal project.

Characteristics of the Relocated

As compared to the rest of Batavia's residents, the relocated did differ with respect to certain aggregate features. While most of the discussion in this section will refer to the 63 respondents to the final questionnaire, there will be information, when available, on the total relocated group of 220.

Of the total respondents, 62 percent were female and 35 percent were male. There were 25 that were widowed, 19 married, 13 single, and 6 divorced. As noted earlier, Batavia's housing problems are not characterized by racial conflict since almost 98 percent of the population is white. This is evident in the relocated group of which 56 were white, 4 were black and 3 were Puerto Rican.

Age. While the 1970 Census indicated that 12 percent of the people in the city were over 65 years of age, about 25 percent of all the relocated were over 65 (Table 1). For all of Batavia, those aged 50 and over represented 30 percent, while for all the relocated those aged 50 and over represented about 50 percent of the total. The group of respondents is an even older group than the city as a whole, since

Table 1. Comparison of ages of relocated and all of Batavia (percentages)

Age	All of Batavia residents (n = 17,000)	Relocated	
		All Relocated (n = 220)	Respondents (n = 63)
49 and under	70	50	21
50-64 years	18	25	14
65 and over	12	25	65
	100	100	100

the main portion of the study concentrates upon the elderly. Here the proportions are 79 percent for the 50 years and older group with those over 65 accounting for 65 percent of the total.

Thus, one feature of the relocated group is a much older population than Batavia as a whole. This would imply much greater negative reactions according to past researchers like Goldstein and Zimmer, who said that the elderly were more dissatisfied than younger relocatees even though their housing situation improved. However, according to this proposed model there are other factors besides age which may elicit a variety of reactions.

Tenancy status. The other striking difference between all the relocatees and the rest of Batavia is the proportion of owners and renters. Before the move, about 79 percent of the relocatees were renters and only 18 percent were owners. Similar proportions existed after the move with about 71 percent renters and 29 percent owners

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(Table 2). In direct contrast to this are figures for the entire city, these being 65 percent owners and only 35 percent renters. Travel brochures for Batavia in fact refer to it as a home-owning city. So, while those in the relocated group were predominantly renters, Batavia itself is primarily an owner-dominant city. To some students in the

Table 2. Comparison of tenancy status of relocated and all of Batavia (percentages)

Tenancy status	All of Batavia residents (n = 17,000)	Relocated (n = 63)	
		Before	After
renters	35	79	71
owners	65	18	29
life use	--	3	--
	100	100	100

field, the large number of renters in the relocated group would suggest that the relocatees are much more geographically mobile than the rest of the Batavians, though the relocated are quite residentially stable as will be shown near the end of this section.

Occupation. Classification of the relocated according to socio-economic status is based upon Reiss's occupational scale and the number of years of school completed. Reiss's scale is a ranking of occupations based on the 1960 Census, with each occupation being given a two-digit rank. The selected divisions of the Reiss's scale correspond roughly to semi-skilled; skilled and clerical; and professional

and technical workers categories. About 60 percent of the relocated ranked from 0 to 28 on the scale, some 24 percent rank from 30 to 49 and 17 percent fit into the scale from 50 to 99.

Table 3. Occupational classification of the relocated (percentages)

Occupational classification	Relocated (n = 63)
0-28 on Reiss's scale (semi-skilled)	60
30-49 on Reiss's scale (skilled and clerical)	24
50-99 on Reiss's scale (professional and technical)	16
	100

Education. Comparisons between the respondents and the rest of Batavia can also be made with regard to education (Table 4). Figures for the relocated group on education as compared with all of Batavia contrast at certain levels, probably due to the older age of the relocated group. Overall, more of the relocated were elementary graduates, 28 percent, and attended some high school, 38 percent, than all of Batavia with 11 percent and 20 percent for the same levels. On the other hand, less of the relocated graduated from high school and attended college, 21 percent and 3 percent, respectively, than the rest of Batavia with 37 percent and 10 percent, respectively.

Residential mobility patterns. The one trait which was shared by the majority of the elderly is the fact of relatively long residence

Table 4. Education compared for respondents and all of Batavia (percentages)

Education	All of Batavia (n = 17,000)	Respondents (n = 63)
some elementary	10	10
elementary graduates	11	28
some high school	20	38
high school graduates	37	21
some college	10	3
other	12	--
	100	100

in Batavia and, for some, even in the same house. In the last ten years, 46 percent had moved only once or no times and 41 percent had moved twice or three times. Several people had been in the same house all their life, some had been in the same house for 30 or 40 years, while others had been in the same house for less than a year. In terms of proportions, 42 percent had been in the house for over 11 years, 23 percent had been in the house from 6 to 10 years, and 34 percent had only been there for five years or less. Though no distinctions have been drawn between length of time of those living in hotels, houses or apartments, the proportions do include all of these residences and "house" was used simply for brevity.

The project area had a diversity of people and types of residences. There were the people who lived in apartments above the stores. Though many of the apartments in such store buildings were substandard, they

did offer cheaper rents than anywhere else in town. Then there were those who lived quite literally out of suitcases in one of the old hotels. Some of the old people had two storey houses to themselves, while others shared a house with five or six others. Among the residents were those who had known each other for years and were quite dependent on each other for various favors like keeping an eye on the house. These were totally different from the ones that just nodded at people in the same apartment building but preferred not to get too close to anyone. While some loved their house because their relatives lived right upstairs, there were those who had no relatives left in Batavia. As argued earlier, it is not always appropriate to consider relocated elderly as a homogeneous group when assessing the impact of an involuntary move. These examples have illustrated the types of diverse characteristics which existed among the relocated, and hence why they cannot be considered solely as a homogeneous group.

Having established the general features of the relocated group, it is now appropriate to turn to the topic of community reactions to urban renewal in Batavia.

Community Perceptions of Urban Renewal in Batavia

Urban renewal can be conceived of as a vehicle of change in the community of Batavia. It has impacted upon the total community directly and indirectly. Some vague indications of the perceptions residents of Batavia had of urban renewal can be gleaned from the local newspaper, although they may not be representative. However, some of the comments will be cited here to at least partially illustrate how the members of the community who were not relocated might have viewed urban renewal.

One of the letters to the editor written by 6th graders mentioned, "I have been concerned recently with the new urban renewal project,... I really wonder why we have to cover up more soil with shopping centers and parking lots" (*Daily News*, February 10, 1973). The most perceptive response from one of the 6th graders was,

> It seems that almost all the buildings on Main Street are old and for that reason they're being torn down. What is the city accomplishing by tearing down all those old buildings?
>
> The threatre is another problem. One of the theatres has been torn down. Now there's only one theatre and it shows mostly adult movies except on Saturday and Sunday... The other theatre would show children's movies practically all week...
>
> Urban renewal also hurts the economy. For instance, my mother makes two or three trips to Buffalo (about 15 to 20 miles away) because all the good stores have been torn down.... (*Daily News*, February 13, 1973)

Aside from the negative reactions were some responses as follows: "I have a vision of the Jefferson Plaza area being turned into a great park with a tennis court, beautiful trees..." (*Daily News*, February 10, 1973).

It would be erroneous to totally accept the views of school children as indicators of community attitudes towards urban renewal. Yet one might assume that many of the views expressed by the children are influenced and shared by their teachers or their parents via home or classroom discussion. At a very general level, however, the comments are illustrative of some of the types of conflicting values upon which planners and lay people base their evaluation of a healthy, meaningful environment. While the planners may consider the declining population of Batavia and attempt to revitalize the business district, or see the structural dangers inherent in the old buildings, the residents may wonder whether the new plans will unnecessarily infringe upon favorite

pastimes or whether there will be a sacrifice of neighborhood cohesiveness for the sake of architectural modernity.

One of the major effects of urban renewal was the critical housing shortage which developed in Batavia in 1972. Responses to this crisis provide some further clarification of how renewal was interpreted by community members. When the housing crisis became evident, one of the city council members in Batavia centered his attack upon the 96 male residents in the Jefferson Plaza renewal area. The project could not continue, under federal regulations, until these men were suitably relocated. After characterizing most of the men as alcoholics or derelicts, whom the taxpayers must constantly support, he concluded that they should be completely disregarded and the Jefferson Plaza Project should continue on schedule (*Daily News*, May 2, 1972). This very attitude is the kind which forestalled major reform in urban renewal until the Uniform Act. For years, it had been the belief by both planners and other community members that, since the people in the renewal area were usually from the lower classes or often engaged in "deviant behavior", they did not deserve first class treatment. Hence, urban renewal was seen as a method of removing "undesirable elements."

It appears, then, from the little evidence that is available that the rest of the community did feel that urban renewal was making some basic changes in their city. Moreover, some of the people reacted more against the relocated than against urban renewal.

In this chapter urban renewal has been examined in light of its historical development in the U.S. and its development in and impact upon Batavia. In the U.S. the government's position has only recently

assumed major responsibilities for the hardships of relocation, with the Uniform Act of 1970 offering liberal financial benefits to the relocated. In Batavia, the Jefferson Plaza project offers Batavia a chance to revitalize its downtown business section and thus fight the economic competition from stores in nearby Rochester and Buffalo, New York. With the planners' emphasis on community use of the open spaces in the Jefferson Plaza Mall, there should also be an opportunity for new types of interaction of community members. Finally, characteristics of the relocated, as well as community perceptions of urban renewal, were examined.

The following chapter will approach urban renewal in view of the interrelationship between the urban renewal agency and the relocated.

CHAPTER V

THE URBAN RENEWAL AGENCY AND THE RELOCATED

The Agency

The Batavia Urban Renewal agency was staffed by five people at the time of the research, two of which dealt mostly with residential relocation, two handling commercial relocation and the other being the director of the agency. The director had worked on other federal renewal projects in Washington, D.C. and in another city in New York previous to taking the position in Batavia. Other staff members were natives of Batavia, and several of these had attended college elsewhere in the state before joining the urban renewal agency. This agency operated out of one of the old, larger houses in the project area that was eventually scheduled for demolition.

Procedures of the agency were established by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Guidelines for the implementation of the Uniform Act are primarily found in the 120-page *Relocation Handbook* of 1970. Among the required procedures for local renewal agencies under this new law are: the dissemination of certain information to the relocated; distribution of relocation payments; referrals and assistance in housing selection; and services and counseling of the relocated in occupational, financial, educational, and health matters when needed.

In Batavia some members of the staff occasionally went on their own time in the evenings and weekends to take people without cars to look at different apartments or houses. Openings in housing were often made known to the agency before they were listed in the papers, and this information was then passed on to the relocated who were looking for a place. Special attention was given to many of the elderly, taking them to see the high rise and later dropping in to visit them and see how they were doing.

Urban renewal staff meetings were generally covered by a reporter from the local paper, and regular reports of progress on the Jefferson Mall construction were given by the Urban Renewal Director to the newspaper. The newspaper also carried details from him on the acquisition price of all buildings in the project area, on total payments to the relocated group, and on court proceedings connected with the urban renewal project.

Aside from these examples of how the agency assisted the relocated in locating new housing, and how information was provided to the community from the agency, the major workload of the Batavia renewal agency consisted in information dissemination to the relocated and distribution of relocation payments to them. Hence, these two areas will be examined more closely in this chapter.

Information Dissemination

Basic Information for the Relocated

The *Relocation Handbook* states that the minimum information which the agency should provide to the relocated should include: 1) complete description of the nature and types of urban renewal activities which

will be undertaken; 2) an indication of the availability of relocation payments; 3) statment that no person shall be required to move without at least 90 days' notice; 4) brief description of what constitutes comparable, decent, safe, and sanitary housing; 5) a layman's description of the Federal Fair Housing Law of 1968; 6) a summary of the eviction policy; and 7) a clear explanation of the project boundaries. Although there are seven more recommended items listed, these are the more important ones and clarify the content of the information that is transmitted.

Batavia's renewal agency fulfilled the recommendations primarily through a 12-page pamphlet that was given to all people who were to be relocated. The pamphlet contains a variety of essential information. For instance, it is noted that when urban renewal buys the building the person is living in, that person is not required to move until the agency gives him a 90-day notice. However, any person who moves before the agency buys the property or notifies the individual that it will acquire the property forfeits all rights to relocation payments. In terms of where to move, there are two points. First, any of those who are displaced by a federally aided project have priority over others who apply for public housing. Secondly, certain payments cannot be made if the new residence is not considered "standard" by examination of the Batavia Housing Inspector.

Most of the other information concerns the relocation payments, of which there are four basic kinds: moving expenses, replacement housing payment for homeowners, rental assistance for tenants who continue to rent or homeowners who decide to rent, and downpayment assistance for tenants who purchase. For moving expenses the relocated

have two options, reimbursement for actual moving expenses, or a fixed payment based on the number of rooms, which includes an additional flat dislocation allowance of $200.

Tenants who decide to buy are allowed up to $4000 for the downpayment, though they must match every dollar over $2000. This claim must be made within six months of the data they move from the renewal area. Any rent assistance that is given to someone who later decides to purchase a home has this amount subtracted from his maximum allowance for a downpayment.

Owners are permitted up to $15,000 for replacement housing, of which there can be provision for higher mortgage rates or incidental expenses such as appraisal fees. Any claims by relocatees who feel they have not received a proper amount of payment from the agency must be filed with the local agency within six months. And, if this review by the local agency is still unsatisfactory, there are 25 days after the review for the relocatee to appeal the case with the area director of HUD.

These are the essential details found in the pamphlet which is given to all relocated, though there are two pervasive messages whose implications will be considered next.

Implications of the Major Messages

It can be said on a very general level that the major messages communicated by the agency to the relocated were that they had to move and that the move would follow the regulations of the agency. Following from these messages, the implications were: 1) a changing definition of social space, and 2) varying degrees of uncertainty for the relocated. These implications and messages are part of the process

of relocation, though they have not been clearly distinguished by previous researchers.

For most relocatees the process of moving began with the pamphlet, mentioned before, which informed them that, "You now live in the Jefferson Plaza Urban Renewal Project Area...it will eventually be necessary for you to move." This shows how the resident has, without physically moving, shifted his location in social space from his own neighborhood to a site controlled by a distant federal project. The fact of changing definitions of social space, due to the agency's new command over the project area, is an exmple of conflicting territorial claims. Stanford and Scott refer to territoriality as,

> ...opportunities for freedom of action, with respect to normatively discrepant behavior and a *maintenance of specific identities*...intimately connected with the ability to attach boundaries to space and command access to or exclusion from territories. (1970: 90)

While the concept of territoriality is helpful in describing how people can maintain their identities, as here, being identified as a member of the neighborhood of downtown Batavia, it can further indicate the role of territoriality in power relationships. Specifically, as pointed out by Kuper, "When one group is dominant it may express its domination by ignoring, neglecting and even obliterating the established sites of the subordinated people" (1972: 422). One aspect of the dissemination of relocation information in Batavia was the imposition of a new definition of social space since the old neighborhood was soon to be obliterated and the residents' informal claims were no longer recognized.

Varying amounts of uncertainty for the relocated could result from the fact that, though the move was mandatory at some point in time, the

agency, rather than the relocated, controlled the timing of the move. Newspaper accounts had earlier informed the people that there would be a renewal project, though many kept thinking of this as something that might still take a while to materialize. Then the pamphlets were given to the relocated. But even the pamphlet did not signal the end of the time of uncertainty since regulations required that the person must wait until the urban renewal agency acquired the property or sent the person a notice of intent to acquire the property. Failure to wait for this property acquisition or intent to acquire meant that the person lost all rights to compensation for expenses related to the move. This meant that even if a person knew that he was in the heart of the renewal area, and if he found another suitable place to move, he could not move until the stated conditions occurred. Some people had very little time to wait, others waited close to a year before acquisition took place. There were additional numbers, who once the agency acquired the property had chosen to remain until it was mandatory for them to move. A move was mandatory once the agency gave them a 90 day notice to vacate, and some bided time until they did get this notice.

Problems of Dissemination of Information

While the pamphlet made the fact of the eventual move quite clear, it also supplied the relocated with basic information, which was not always clearly understood. Some misunderstandings arose about payments and procedures.

For instance, one respondent was quite annoyed because, as he put it, "...my mother lived here longer than all the rest of her neighbors and got less money than the rest." Or another said that it was not

fair that, "...some of my neighbors got $900 or $1000...big checks, but not me." And still some felt sure that, "...if you're not on welfare, you don't get any help from urban renewal in finding a place."

Part of the reason for the confusion in the Batavia project was the fact that the Uniform Relocation Act became effective in January, 1971, some time after the Jefferson Plaza renewal had already begun under the old relocation laws. So, it is expected that some of the discrepancies in payments related to the fact that some of the relocated were moved under the old law and the majority under the Uniform Act, each having different compensation rules.

Another reason for the confusion is that the regulations are sometimes too complex for people to fully comprehend. In one respect, people must develop a kind of "recipe knowledge" to deal effectively with the information on relocation. As formulated by Berger and Luckmann (1966: 65-66), recipe knowledge means that at certain times people pay more close attention to specialized areas of knowledge regarding everyday life. The specialized knowledge gained in this instance is used for an immediate purpose, to help a person adjust to an unfamiliar situation, and is abandoned once that situation is gone. If the relocated do not develop this type of knowledge about relocation procedures they could lose their rightful benefits and have a harder time coping with the problems of a residential move. For instance, some relocated consulted attorneys about their legal rights once urban renewal has condemned a building and hence, when talking to the researcher, they had quite specific knowledge about legal matters related to urban renewal. Others were uncertain about such

basic things as moving expenses. Perhaps they had no recourse to attorneys or they might have been reluctant to consult the agency personnel for clarification. An example of how a lack of recipe knowledge disadvantaged one relocateee is the fact that one woman who had received a rental assistance payment for over a year still expected that she was permitted up to $4000 for a housing downpayment. However, this rent assistance would have to be subtracted, leaving her with less than she counted on.

So within a short period of time people in the project area had to acquire some type of recipe knowledge about relocation procedures; and if they did not do so they might lose benefits or become rather confused. Most of the misunderstandings that people had concerned the payments for rent and other moving expenses, which will be further examined in the next section.

Compensation for the Move

Adequacy of Payments

One of the first aspects of compensation is whether the payments which the agency did give were adequate to cover expenses. People could say that the money is adequate and still wish they had gotten an extra bonus. When people were asked what was the most important type of assistance they received from the agency, the overwhelming response was money. The question was open-ended so the results are even more revealing. While 71 percent said the most important assistance given to them was money, only 16 percent said "advice" or finding a house, and another 11 percent said "nothing." Although money is certainly basic to the process of relocation, it is expected that there

should be a greater benefit in other areas like finding a new apartment. If the main problem of relocation is financial, then the monetary assistance is fine. However, in most instances, there is a need for a much wider range of assistance required for the entire complex of problems that may occur in relocation. Although the official recommendations include counseling and services in occupational, health, and educational matters for the relocated, the responses to the most important assistance indicate that there was very little of these services given to the relocated in Batavia.

In view of the responses to the most important type of assistance from the agency, it is not surprising that 68 percent felt that the payments they received from urban renewal for rent, replacement housing and/or moving expenses were quite adequate. For those 30 percent who felt that the payments were not sufficient, the types of deficiencies included: 1) not enough was paid for the old house or for the purchase of the new one; 2) not enough was paid for the rent increase; 3) there was a loss of extra income from tenants or roomers; and 4) new household items had to be purchased for the new place. An example of the last was the one lady who had a severe hearing problem and had to purchase a television with a special earphone so as not to disturb her neighbors. Previously, she was in a place relatively isolated from others so that she could easily turn her television as loud as she needed. Since the woman found difficulty in carrying on the simplest conversation with the hearing as bad as it was, she depended on the television to pass the time of day. It should be noted that in her case the complaint was more related to the fact that she did not get her payments as quickly as she had expected, rather than the fact that

the payments would not be adequate to cover such an expense. In fact, the dislocation allowance of $200 is designed for such miscellaneous expenses connected with a move, as for this television.

For the people who said that not enough was paid for the rent increase, this meant that either: 1) the person moved again after having been relocated, or 2) people were including higher utility bills in their rent expenses, or 3) there were rent increases while in the new place. When people moved again after relocation, or when the rent increased, the rent payments stayed the same as they were originally calculated. And utility bills were not considered in the calculation by the agency of rent payments.

It seems that the compensation of the relocated can be broadly seen as a mechanism for temporary solution to financial problems and a de-emphasis of long range and non-financial problems. Since a major problem of past relocation projects has been financial, and the people in this study felt they were paid adequately, a major cause for dissatisfaction is removed.

In addition to examining how adequate the payments are, it is also essential to investigate some of the difficulties associated with these payments.

Difficulties Connected with Compensation

Some of the difficulties that were created by the payments were basically: 1) the payments are distasteful to some relocatees; 2) the lump sum payments often destroy the main intent of compensation; and 3) the idea becomes predominant that money solves all problems when in fact the payments may create more dependence for the relocated.

Receiving a payment from a federal agency is automatically regarded as a distasteful procedure to some people. Even if the cause of the higher rent cost is the government, some people do not like to be dependent on checks from the government. As one woman put it, "They [the rent payment checks] make me feel like we're receiving welfare." This feeling can be better understood in terms of Suttles and Street's argument that public aid can be interpreted through exchange theory. For this instance of receiving rent assistance, they would hold that the "vertical source [the federal government] tends to make it possible to partition people into permanent categories as to who is benefactor and who is recipient" (Suttles and Street, 1970: 751). Although the rent assistance checks are temporary, it is the case that people may not like receiving checks from the government since they are seen as recipients, and the government as the benefactor. Hence, the first part of the exchange transaction, wherein the government took the houses from the people and disrupted their lives, is sometimes overshadowed by the second part where the government gives to the relocated. One of the difficulties arises, then, when a person feels that he has been labeled primarily as a recipient because of the rent checks.

Secondly, rent payments are given in one lump sum to the relocated once a year, for four years. There were instances where people went out and spent their rent assistance money on items other than rend and then could not meet the rent payments, which is to make up for the increased rent in the new location. Even though the Batavia Urban Renewal Agency had criticized this lump sum procedure in a critique given to HUD, HUD officials ignored the recommendations to scatter

the payments for rent throughout the year. Recent changes, in fact, have made the situation even worse. People are now given a lump sum payment for the total four years, instead of periodically during each year.

Related to this fact of procedure of payments is the implication that money solves all the problems of relocation. Although it is essential to provide people with rightful payments for rent and other expenses, the payments themselves could tend to hide basic structural inadequacies in the present system. One inadequacy is the lack of sufficient low-cost housing. In fact, massive grants can be employed to discourage possible protests against renewal (Keyes, 1969: 215). Since there were no public protests by relocatees in Batavia, it is possible that this is related to the large amounts of assistance which were given to them.

Furthermore, Seeley (1959) has shown that there are a variety of uses served by the slum areas of a city, which cannot be adequately fulfilled in other parts of the city. The monetary payments then do not replace the use value of the low rent houses which are destroyed through urban renewal. Some of the uses mentioned by Seeley are based on necessity and others on opportunity, examples being the respectable poor and social outcasts for the first and social climbers and fugitives for the second. Many of the people in the project area were there because of low rents in the area. For those who depended on the low rents of necessity, rather than opportunity, relocation could easily push them into an untenable situation.

For those who receive close to the maximum of $1000 a year for the rent increase, there will be extreme hardships when the four year

period of payments ends. There is little likelihood that the rents will go down, so immediately after the four years lapse, some families will need to find an additional $1000 for rent. If they are not already in public housing, they could at that time be forced into it. However, one of those already in public housing was receiving close to the maximum, meaning that his major alternative at the end of the time will be to go on welfare. In this case, the money did solve the problem of the rent increase, though relocation itself may have made the person's long range situation worse since he no longer has the low rent housing available to him.

Therefore, while the payments themselves are justified due to the extra financial burdens imposed on the relocated, some of the procedures and implications of the payments raise serious questions about the ability of present regulations to deal adequately with the full impact of relocation.

Search for a New Home

Locating a new residence involves the relocated in a process of decision-making. In the case of the relocated, as opposed to the voluntary mover, the broader limits of the decision-making are those of an agency rather than the mover himself. Despite such broader limits as the timing of the move, there are features of the relocation process which involve the person in making specific judgments about what he prefers in a residence.

In analyzing relocation, this study argues that the impact of relocation will vary to the extent that a person is prepared for a move and the new environment meets his needs, given the fact that he is forced to move. If, even though the person is forced to move, he

has sufficient time, sufficient housing alternatives, and the new environment meets his needs, he is more likely to be content in the new environment than otherwise.

This chapter will consider the decision-making part of relocation in terms of the person's housing values or preferences, and his time and housing alternatives.

Housing preference variables, as introduced earlier in the discussion of the model for the study, are basically what people value most when picking a residence. When people were asked what things were important to them in picking a residence, 48 percent mentioned indirect-economic items which include services, facilities and location of the house. Examples of the indirect-economic items are: adequate heating and plumbing; type of garbage disposal; laundry facilities; proximity to work, church and shopping; and amount of maintenance required for the place. The next largest proportion was 27 percent for direct-economic reasons, which referred to rent and transportation costs. A few relocatees said that the things which are most important to them in picking a residence are the physical features of the neighborhood, sociability in the neighborhood, and health-related reasons. Among the health-related are such physical problems as heart conditions and crippling diseases which often require special modifications of the house or necessitate living on the first floor.

Previous research (Niebanck, 1965: 63) has argued that in selecting a site for the elderly, planners should give greatest attention to convenient location to essential community services and facilities. However, Niebanck also says that past research has shown that social

ties to the neighborhood are the greatest impediment to a voluntary move (Niebanck, 1965: 136) by the elderly people. While this present study does strongly confirm the first, that is, the importance of the locational aspect, in Batavia, the social ties to the neighborhood are among the least important of the elderly's housing values or preferences (Table 5).

Table 5. Housing preferences according to age

Housing values or preferences	Age 20-49 No.	%	50-59 No.	%	60 and over No.	%
Direct economic-costs of rent, transportation	2	15	3	33	10	25
Indirect economic-services, facilities, location	5	38	3	33	19	49
Health-related	1	8	-	--	3	8
Sociability-social ties	-	--	1	11	-	--
Environment-physical aspects of neighborhood	1	8	1	11	3	8
Other	1	8	-	--	1	2
No response	1	8	-	--	1	2
Nothing	2	15	1	11	2	5
	13	99	9	99	39	99

The elderly were more concerned than the non-elderly with services, facilities and location of the place. Comparing the age groups on their housing preferences, 38 percent of those aged 20 to 49 mentioned the indirect-economic preferences, with 33 percent for ages 50 to 59 and 49 percent for ages 60 and over. Few of the elderly or other relocated mentioned social ties as important in picking a residence. These choices most likely indicate that since the relocatees were all moved

from an area that offered superb location with respect to downtown shopping and other facilities, they had grown to value such items more than others. And, the responses would suggest that the social ties in the project area were not that intense.

The issue which is central is not so much why the people preferred what they did in housing but, rather, did these preferences in picking a house relate to what the relocatees actually obtained in their housing? Knowing that the clearest choice of the relocated was indirect economic items, since over 40 percent indicated these, it is useful to compare these preferences with what they did in fact have before moving. When asked what they liked about their old place, 62 percent mentioned indirect-economic reasons. Only 38 percent disliked the indirect-economic features of their old place. This demonstrates that for many of the relocated the old place rated very highly on items they valued most in picking a residence.

Summarizing these results, the designation of housing values or preferences varied somewhat according to age, with the older person stressing indirect-economic items more than other ages and the relocated as a whole indicated indirect-economic items more than any other factor as important in picking a residence. The major values of the relocated, then, were such things as the conveniences within the house and the location of the house with respect to essential services and facilities.

The next factor to consider is the amount of time the person has to find a new place. It was argued in developing the model for studying relocation that the more time people had in making their housing decision, and the more alternatives they had, the more satisfied they

would be and the more positively they would react to changes in the new environment.

When asked if they had sufficient time to locate a new place, once given their notice to move, around 70 percent said they did have plenty of time, with the rest indicating that they did not have enough time to make their decision. Over half of the people did not look at any other place besides the one into which they eventually moved. Of the 46 percent who did look at more than one place, 84 percent said that none of the other places met their needs or budget. In general, then, the relocated had plenty of time but few housing alternatives.

While the housing values or preferences would indicate whether the new place corresponded to the things that people valued most in a residence, the preparedness variables of the time available and the housing alternatives once they are told to move will indicate the person's general readiness for such a move. Thus, greater satisfaction would result if the new place rated highly on the indirect-economic items, and if the person had plenty of time and housing alternatives once being told to move.

In summary of the major points of this section, the following issues are primary: information dissemination and compensation for the relocated. First, the major messages to the relocated, that they must move and that the agency would set the rules for the movement, had the following implications: 1) an altered definition of the social space of the project area, and 2) varying degrees of uncertainty as to the timing of the move. Most of the problems in the dissemination of information derived from the overlap in federal laws for relocation

compensation during the project implementation and the complexity of the laws of the Uniform Act. Compensation for the move was thought to be adequate by most of the relocated, who in fact mentioned money as the most important type of assistance given by the renewal agency. However, the compensation was partially unsatisfactory for the following reasons: 1) receiving payments from the government is distasteful to some relocatees; 2) the lump sum payment for rent defeats the purpose of rent assistance; and 3) money is treated as a panacea for all the problems of relocation.

From this section, it has been shown that the relocatees must deal with these basic items of the relocation process: 1) imposition of a new definition of social space; 2) uncertainty related to a lack of control over timing and some conditions of the move; 3) a complexity of rules and regulations; and 4) the implications of the relocation compensation. Though these are all components of the process of relocation, and are essential in understanding the relocatee's participation in the process, not all of these components impacted upon the relocated in the same fashion. Hence, while some of these components entailed personal conflicts or stresses for some relocatees, the components were only minor inconveniences to others.

Relocation also entails the search for a new home, which was analyzed here in terms of housing preferences and time available to find a house once told to move. In general, most people indicated that their major housing preferences were indirect-economic, which includes the conveniences of the house and the location of the house with respect to essential community services. Most of the relocated felt that they had plenty of time when they were told to move to find a new house.

Although the expenses of a move were usually the main problem faced by the relocated in previous relocation projects (Hartman, 1972), the new amounts of compensation under the Uniform Act were considered sufficient by most of the relocated. This would imply much greater satisfaction, even with various personal conflicts, than was the case in previous studies. However, it should be remembered that the positive aspects did not mean that relocation involved no problems for the relocated and, furthermore, the positive features are based on the very liberal financial benefits of the Uniform Act.

This chapter has considered the interrelationships of the urban renewal agency and the relocated, concentrating upon the dissemination of information and the distribution of relocation payments. The chapter concludes with the search for the new residence.

In the next chapter the experiences of the relocated in the new environment will be detailed.

CHAPTER VI

SETTLERS IN THE NEW LOCATION

Almost all of the relocated, some 90 percent, said they would not have moved if urban renewal had not come along or that they had never considered moving before they were told to move. However, little by little they all received notices to vacate and began searching for a new place. Once in the new location, what types of experiences did the people have and what were their overall feelings since the move? These questions will be addressed in this chapter.

Some basic differences between the high rise relocatees and others will be reviewed. Then the high rise will be examined in more detail to illustrate some of the pertinent characteristics of the new environment where most of the relocatees settled. Finally, some of the changes in life chances and life style that occurred for all the relocated will be examined.

Differences Between the High Rise Residents and the Spatially Diffused

Not all of the relocated settled in the same environment. Some moved to the centrally located high rise and others were spatially diffused, dispersed in housing throughout the city. Of the 63 respondents to the questionnaire, 37 originally relocated in the high rise.

There were a few relevant differences between these two groups, the ones in the high rise and the others dispersed throughout the city.

Respondents were asked, "What do you like about your new place?" Following the trend of responses to the housing preferences question, the things liked best in the new place as in the old were indirect-economic. Thus, on a general level the things which people looked for in a new residence were usually found in the new location. This is the broad picture for all the respondents.

As seen in Table 6, when people were asked about the new residence, almost 60 percent of those in the high rise as compared to 34 percent of the rest said that there was nothing they disliked, indicating an extremely high degree of satisfaction for the high rise residents.

Table 6. Comparisons of likes and dislikes of new residences, high rise versus non-high rise

Housing values or preferences	Liked about new place					Disliked about new place			
	High Rise		Non-High Rise			High Rise		Non-High Rise	
	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%
Direct-economic	2	6	1	4		1	2	3	10
Indirect-economic	21	67	11	41		4	12	7	24
Mutual aid	-	-	1	4		-	-	-	-
Sociability	6	18	5	18		2	6	2	7
Neighborhood	1	3	4	15		-	-	2	7
Familism	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Other	-	-	2	7		4	12	1	3
No response	1	3	2	7		2	6	4	14
everything	1	3	1	4	nothing	19	59	10	34
Unknown	-	-	-	-		1	2	-	-
	32	100	27	100		33	99	29	99

Each of the items can be illustrated more clearly by specific statements of the relocatees. For the indirect-economic, things people liked about the old place included: "had baths to myself there" and "had a place to hang the laundry outside in the fresh air"; and for the new place, "access to kitchen facilities", "extra room", "all-round comfort" and "not having to drag the garbage down the street." Under the category of "other" things people liked about the old place were: "it was home" and "I could teach piano there and make money." For others the main attraction of the old place was that they were in the same building or else right next door to their relatives.

While some of the likes and dislikes are quite sophisticated, others are very basic or simple. There were people who were hanging laundry out on the roof before they moved, or drying their clothes on radiators, and after they moved their greatest pleasure was having a laundromat in their own building. One had been eating meals out of cans for over six years because there were no kitchen facilities included with the room, and was overjoyed to have a tiny stove and refrigerator in the new place. When several people were asked what they liked or disliked, they stated that it did not matter, the important thing was that they had a place to lay their head. The most pertinent example of the basic is the case of one woman who had a severe heart condition. In order to reach her apartment, the researcher had to cautiously climb a steep set of stairs. Her old place had been much worse; it was structurally quite dangerous, from her own account, and was completely uncomfortable.

Hence, the first major difference between the high rise relocated and the other relocated was that the elderly had a much higher degree

of satisfaction with their new place than did the other relocated. The second major difference was in terms of rent changes.

The rent changes are shown in Table 7, a contingency table with the type of structure compared to the rent changes from the old to the new place. For this contingency table and others used in these following pages, a correction factor was used to adjust for the small cell frequencies. This Yates Correction will be found in the Appendix. Figures in the right-hand corner of each cell indicate the percentage of people in a particular type of structure who had the respective rent change. For those who were renters before and after the move, more of

Table 7. Type of structure and rent change

Type of structure	Amount of rent change: Decrease $41-61	Decrease $1-40	Increase $1-40	Increase $41-60
One-family	-	-	50% 1	50% 1
Two-family	33% 1	-	-	67% 2
Apartment	-	-	67% 2	33% 1
Hotel	-	-	100% 1	1
Mixed	25% 2	12% 1	25% 2	38% 3
High Rise	8% 2	54% 14	38% 10	

$X = 29.7661$ (df = 15) significant at .025 level

the high rise residents, 62 percent, had decreases in rent than those in all other units, with 24 percent for the 17 others. These results are significant at the .025 level for the X^2 test, which reveals a very high level of correspondence between the type of structure people were in and the rent changes. People in all other units, then, had much higher rent increases after the move. Since the aged group is usually the one subpopulation least able to finance increased rent changes, this does demonstrate that many of them improved their life chances very greatly simply in terms of the rent benefits. These benefits are possible since the high rise is a unit, partially federally financed, which can permit adjustments of the rent schedules according to income.

Thus, the major changes for people were seen in terms of rent differences between the old and new and what they liked and disliked about the new place. In comparing the high rise residents and the other relocated, the high rise relocated have much more significant positive consequences in that they have greater decreases in rent after the move and are more satisfied, in terms of their housing preferences, with the new place than other relocated.

This next section will elaborate upon the new environment of the high rise.

The High Rise as a Special Environment: A Selected Analysis

The Setting

Adjacent to the downtown renewal area is a modern ten-storey apartment complex for the elderly. There are 150 units in all in the high rise. Though most of the units are efficiencies, there are a few

one-bedroom units for couples and some two-bedroom units where health problems of either party dictate an extra bedroom. Of the 41 persons who are 60 years of age and older in the respondent group, about 37 originally went to this new high rise. Of the 37, only 32 were in the final questionnaire; the other 5 either moved again leaving no forwarding address or refused to answer, and several had passed away.

When asked why they chose to go to the high rise, 43 percent responded that they could not get a place elsewhere, while 32 percent had elected to go there because of conveniences for the elderly. Another 18 percent chose to go there because of the cheap rent. Even though many may have initially assumed that the high rise was similar to an institution, most of the relocatees appeared quite satisfied with the place once they had settled down. In order to set the record straight, one of those interviewed set out immediately to dispel some common rumors that she had heard from outsiders and that some of the residents believed before coming to the high rise. Contrary to these rumors, people can watch television after 11 p.m., people can have liquor, people can come in at any hour, and the place is "not like a prison but rather like a big family."

Since its inception in September, 1971, the high rise has been filled to capacity and maintains a continuous waiting list of 50 or more persons. This waiting list is often mentioned by the residents to indicate the popularity of the place. Displacees from urban renewal were given first priority on this list for admission, ahead of other residents of the city.

Life Chances

For the relocated in the high rise, the new environment has largely meant an increase in life chances, which are related to economic factors like rent and indirect-economic items like locational convenience. The high rise is locationally quite convenient. There are churches of three denominations and a library within a block of the high rise, and the downtown stores are about four blocks away. Right next door to the building is a drug store and a large supermarket. Additionall, Batavia has a Dial-a-Bus service, which is found in fewer than 20 cities in the U.S. Through the service a person can be picked up at his house and dropped where he wants, and vice versa. This service costs about $1.20 round trip. Specific for the high rise is a bus service co-sponsored by one of the local banks, a supermarket, and the Dial-a-Bus company. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the bus takes the residents in the high rise to the supermarket, located at the other end of town, for no cost and gives them an hour to shop before the return trip. Once a month, when the Social Security checks come in, a similar trip is offered to the downtown bank also giving people an hour or so for shopping downtown.

Such convenience in terms of location to essential services and free transportation opportunities are particularly important to the elderly, who find it more difficult to get around because of physical disabilities and usually do not have a car. However, it is interesting to note that 86 percent of those relocatees in the high rise did not use the bus service to the shopping center and 89 percent did not use the bus service to the bank. Of the 24 who did not use either service only four had cars, and hence would have had little use for the bus

services. It seems that the rest would not be using the service because they either used the Dial-a-Bus or cab, while some 70 percent often had relatives or friends drive them where they wanted to go. Several of the people did mention some other facts which might account for the small number of non-users, who did not have relatives to help them with transportation. First, a couple of the people found that the one hour or so was often not enough time for what they wanted to do and that they had been terribly rushed the few times they had gone. Secondly, others like to have the cab drivers or relatives help them with their packages, this being something missing from the high rise bus service. Finally, there were those who managed to get rides whenever they wanted from others in the high rise and some who preferred to go to their old grocery store rather than the one to which the bus service took the high rise residents.

In addition to locational advantages, there are numerous conveniences within the building. There is a continuous maintenance service and an emergency switch is located in each apartment. At one time there was a Senior Citizens health screening clinic at regular intervals in the high rise. However, the county ordered it closed since it offered services only to those in the high rise while receiving some county funds to pay for the two nurses and the doctor, though the rest of the staff were volunteers. Each floor in the building has a garbage disposal, and there are two laundry rooms, one in each wing of the high rise. There is one large activity room for meetings and informal gatherings, and a small kitchen right next to it. Just off the large room is a small sitting area where there is a large color television.

What many of the elderly enjoy is the fact that they do not have to shovel snow or tend to lawns, and if anything goes wrong in the apartment they get immediate maintenance service. For many the elevator is most important if they had previously had several flights to walk up or to carry groceries up.

Another component of life chances is mutual aid. As mentioned before, mutual aid has implications for the amount of safety or security people feel in their house and neighborhood. Respondents were asked about mutual aid in the old and new residence, that is, whether mutual aid between neighbors occurred seldom, never, or often. Of the 15 who experienced no changes, 7 answered never, 4 seldom, and 4 often. Of the ones who had changes, seven increased in the amount of mutual aid, the most extreme change being from never to often. In all, in the new location, 12 never received nor gave assistance to others, and 17 either seldom or often gave or received favors.

More specifically, the type of mutual assistance people were seen to render to each other does indicate that there were quite intense bonds for some of the relocated. One of the first examples is the fact that many of the elderly leave keys with neighbors and keep others' keys in case of emergency. Some of the elderly's relatives will drive them around when taking their own relatives on errands. Others say that they can go down into the lobby at almost any time and get a ride when they need one. When one of the relocatees broke his hip, he managed to stay in the high rise and out of an infirmary only because several of the women in the high rise brought him his meals and kept house for him.

Other people have said that if they are sick one of their neighbors will often bring a meal over in the evening, and this is sometimes done even for people who are not ill. One of the outstanding examples of assistance in the high rise was the case of one woman who received a great amount of help when her husband died. Even though she had children close by to help, the people at the high rise collected $100 for her, provided a luncheon on the day of her husband's funeral and, for the week afterwards, helped her with meals and housekeeping.

Although it is certain that not all or even the majority of the elderly do benefit from strong mutual aid patterns within the high rise, these examples do bring to light several of the possible ways mutual aid can be interpreted for those living in the high rise.

While previous studies of relocated elderly have been focused on the residentially dispersed, those in this study were largely resettled in a new high rise. It appears that those in the latter category experienced more advantages than those available to the elderly in dispersed units. There were no maintenance responsibilities for the tenants, like mowing lawns or shoveling snow. The elevators, garbage disposal, and laundry facilities, as well as the emergency switches in each apartment, were items which the elderly particularly liked. Location was superb with regard to church and shopping facilities, and special service buses were provided for additional shopping and bank trips.

These were the major features of changes in life chances. There were additional changes in life style for the relocated.

Life Style

Many different types of social activities are available on a formal and informal basis in the high rise. On Monday afternoons there is a "500" card game, on Tuesday afternoons a euchre game, and Bingo on Tuesday nights. Every morning there is coffee and doughnuts available in the main activity room, giving people a chance for company while they eat. People contribute what they want and this money forms the basis of the "kitchen fund." There are two shuffleboards on the front lawn and a piano in the activity room.

On a more informal basis there are different types of entertainment, dinners and trips offered. Square dancing is organized four times a year, and there are four or more concerts a year given by local bands. In the summer there are several barbecues. In December there are two special holiday dinners and several other dinners on holidays like St. Patrick's and Valentine's Days. For many of these dinners the tenants do all the cooking and take care of other arrangements. The Christmas day dinner is given especially for those who will spend the whole day in the high rise, and dinners are even taken up to those who are too ill to join the rest downstairs. Every so often a pancake breakfast is held. Most of the dinners or entertainment are free since the money from the "kitchen fund" and the membership dues in the Tenants' Association are sufficient to cover the costs.

Trips were made this past year to Niagara Falls; to Hammondsport, N.Y. to visit the wineries; to Jamestown, N.Y. to see the autumn scenery; and to Christmasland, a special shopping center near Buffalo, N.Y. Each trip costs a person $9 and usually includes a dinner at a

good restaurant and a chance to do some shopping in addition to the special feature of the trip.

It is no wonder that in view of the large number of activities offered, 76 percent of the relocatees said that they did not desire any new activities since the ones that were offered were more than enough. The most popular activity, having 32 percent participation, was informal recreation such as card games, the shuffleboard, Bingo and morning coffee and doughnuts. Almost as popular were the dinners and entertainment. Trips had the lowest participation, with only 7 percent of the relocatees taking advantage of them. Of the relocated group, one-fourth did not participate in any activity. Reasons given for non-participation in any activity as well as specific activities included health problems and not interested in particular events, each with 36 percent, and like to spend time alone, with 12 percent. The health reason was usually related to dinners since many were on restricted diets. There were several who participated in all the activities and about 17, roughly 60 percent, who participated in two or three activities. These figures indicate a high degree of social adjustment to the new environment. One measure of social adjustment in a new environment is the amount of participation of the residents in activities (Bennett and Nahemow, 1972: 518) in that new setting. In the high rise about three-fourths of the elderly did engage in at least one of the activities sponsored for the high rise residents.

The final activity is the Tenants' Association meetings, which are held every two months. Although only four percent of the relocatees said they attended these regularly, there were about half of them at the December meeting, again a high level of participation. The purpose

of the association is to give tenants a forum to discuss their wishes and feelings about the running of the high rise. Though all the officers of the group are tenants, the high rise manager is usually in attendance and, in December, he carried the bulk of the meeting. While the December meeting concentrated on the energy crisis, other meetings have had speakers such as a representative from Social Security to explain the new laws, the director of the library, and a member of the fire department.

One other point related to these activities is the tremendous amount of community involvement in the high rise, offering volunteer services and providing necessary equipment. Among the community's donations are the television, piano, wheelchair, outside grill, all the lounge furniture, the flat and pole in front of the high rise, the shuffleboards, and the Bingo equipment. For the early December dinner, a variety of things like flowers, nuts, and fruit were donated. At Christmastime, school children come in and sing carols on every floor and a women's group helps decorate the lobby and set up the Christmas tree. There are numerous efforts to provide concerts and other entertainment throughout the year.

One final feature which characterizes the life style of the high rise besides the formal and informal activities is the practice of giving homemade items to other members of the high rise. Pillows and other crafts, made by members of the high rise, are seen throughout the different apartments. There is not necessarily a one-to-one exchange of favors in this case, since many give things to others without getting any material thing in exchange. This gift-giving was evident throughout the high rise, as people had on display their presents of

egg carton wastebaskets, or pictures made with seeds on the plastic bottoms from meat packages, or crocheted pillows, and so on.

People can benefit from more formal and informal activities than they could before their move to the high rise. However, despite some of the advantages, there were some difficulties associated with life in the high rise.

Personal Crises

Some of the few complaints voiced by *single individuals* is that they are automatically *excluded from* consideration for *one-bedroom units*, and the efficiencies are often not spacious enough. This is one difficulty with such apartment complexes, designed for lower income groups. For example, there is the neglect of variations in life style by adoption of some general code of what the normal requirements are for single versus married individuals. In this case, the cost of putting a bedroom in each unit would have been prohibitive, so the choice was made to have a majority of efficiencies, with efficiencies being allocated to single individuals and one-bedroom units only for married couples. Some of the single individuals preferred the efficiencies since they had less space to keep up. However, there were some who indicated that a bedroom would have been a great improvement since they would have had some private space separate from the living room, especially if they are having company or could not always move fast enough to make the bed up before friends arrive. In the case of one man with severe arthritis, who was given an efficiency, he would have been permitted a separate bedroom if he had been married. These are just some of the problems that arise in attempting to fit a wide range of life styles into a standard requirement.

All of the units in the high rise are unfurnished, and some conflicts on a personal level arise from *distinctions among the furnishings*. Though there are income limitations for admission since this is a partially federally financed project, social distinctions are sometimes more contrasting than would be expected. One of the better apartments has plush wall-to-wall carpeting, a fine mahogany cabinet for dishes and glassware, a console television and new couches. At the other end of the continuum would be one of the apartments with only a chair or two, an old bare frame bed, a nightstand and a dresser. Such distinctions are noticeable to an outside observer but are even more salient to some of the poorer residents who will comment upon the fact that their places are so bare compared to others. They hint that there may be some unfairness involved in resident selection for the high rise.

As distinctions in apartment furnishings may be the source of minor personal stresses to some relocatees, so too *distinctions in clothing* seem to have attained more importance in such an apartment building than had been the case when people lived in dispersed houses or apartments. One woman remarked that, "Mrs. X wears dresses for housecleaning that I couldn't wear even for my Sunday best." Another said that she never attended the tenants' meetings because she felt out of place in her old clothes. On the other hand, another woman says that most of the women in the high rise wear pants or pant suits because "if you don't people won't talk to you...and if someone puts on a dress, they look all dressed up." This is an exmple of how people can have varying perceptions even of the same environment. The one who was more isolated from the rest of the residents felt that the dress code was unjustly beyond her means, and experienced some personal

conflict over it. The other woman, who was one of the most active high rise members, did not see the dress code as any type of a problem.

Several other phenomena in the high rise have given rise to personal stress or conflict for some individuals. *Gossip* was mentioned by a number of the relocatees as a problem. In fact, the item was even brought up at the Tenants' Association meeting in December, 1973. A small sitting area, located across from the activity room, was the center of this annoying pastime. Those who mentioned this as bothersome said they didn't like to sit in the lounge or even go past it because "that's all people ever do there is talk about people." Since this sitting room is next to both the back entrance and one of the front entrances, some people felt so intimidated that they would put off certain errands until times when few people were there.

Personal versus public space stresses were varied. For instance, two women, across from each other, liked to leave their doors open and converse across the hall. This posed a problem to some neighbors who felt that doors should remain closed and the apartment space should not be extended into the hall. Another example refers to people who had much more private space before to engage in various activities. Moving into the apartment not only *restricted private space* but expanded the amount of public space. For those who preferred to be more isolated, the public space was not realistically available to them since they would not feel comfortable in such public areas where people congregated. Harrington (1965) had noted that relocation in her British study had increased the amount of space available to the relocated in their apartments. With this increase in space came a decrease in social distance-keeping codes, more necessary in the

restricted places prior to the move. So changes in private space can be brought about by relocation, and these changes can occasion either social changes or personal crises as this study has revealed.

For one woman, *perception of time* was quite different in the high rise than previously. Before moving she had marked time quite easily by the sequence of daily activities outside her house. Once in the high rise she said she seldom knew what day it was and time seemed to go much more slowly. She told time now by looking at the newspaper rather than observing the daily round of events in the neighborhood. It is remarkable that the woman who mentioned this had four or five clocks in her apartment. Researchers like Michelson (1970: 110) had earlier emphasized the need for many elderly to have access to observe daily neighborhood activities. In this case, these events are essential in ordering the lives of these elderly.

Timing of activities became problematic in the case of one woman who stayed in bed several hours later than she was accustomed in order not to disturb her downstairs neighbor. Though the apartments are well insulated against such disturbances, it seems that the neighbor below indicated that walking around above her in the morning disturbed her sleep. Despite the fact that the lower neighbor was obviously exaggerating, the woman continued to stay in her bed late and even let her dishes go until she was sure the complainant was awake.

Finally, one other type of personal crisis mentioned by a resident in the high rise was the *disapproval of her personal habits*. She enjoyed having her boyfriend in to visit and was annoyed that others kept complaining about his visits. Whereas before she never had anyone

interfering with her personal life, now it seemed to her as if everyone expected her to change her behavior to fit with their norms.

Though not every person experienced personal stresses like these, these are the ones that were mentioned by some relocatees. Hence, they did represent a source of often minor but sometimes major disruptions for the relocatees concerned and influenced their adaptation to the new environment.

In summary, the high rise offered the elderly an opportunity to make the change to a new environment more easily than if they had gone to different single units throughout the city. The reasons include: there was a great increase in life chances in terms of major rent decreases, and new conveniences within the high rise like elevators and continuous maintenance service. The place was locationally adjacent to many essential services, with an additional bus service to further supplement the access to services and facilities. For a few, mutual aid bonds were quite intense, representing another benefit.

Changes in life style included a major increase in formal and informal activities. With the advantages in life chances and the changes in life style came personal crises for some. These personal crises derived from social distinctions in clothing and apartment furnishings, personal and public space changes, timing of activities and even personal behavior patterns. Though these conflicts are difficult to quantify for the whole group, the existence of them does suggest more of the subtleties involved in adapting to a new environment.

In interpreting the results from the high rise, it should be pointed out that because of the numerous advantages most of the elderly

in the high rise did benefit by the move and were quite satisfied. This contrasts with Goldstein and Zimmer (1960), who said that although the housing of the elderly they studied improved, the majority were dissatisfied; and with Gray and Kasteler (1969), who said that relocation is a stressful experience for the majority of the elderly. What is shown is that certain aspects of relocation may be more stressful than others as indicated by the personal conflicts, even though there may be general, overall satisfaction with the new environment. Furthermore, the elderly in the high rise did have high levels of participation in the social life in the new environment, demonstrating the positive consequences which Kasl (1972) argues are possible with involuntary movements of the elderly.

In recent years, high rise units have fallen into disfavor with urban planners because of the social disadvantages such as high crime rates, of which Pruitt-Igloo is the prime example. The high rise was a positive environment for the relocated for reasons provided by Oscar Newman (1972). He argues that high rise units will not be detrimental to residents if they are able to recognize "outsiders" from the residents and thus "defend" their home territory. In Batavia, most of the high rise residents knew what the researcher was doing in their building even if they themselves were not being interviewed. There was a very clear understanding among residents as to who belonged in their apartment building and, thus, the likelihood that the high rise could be beneficial.

Changes in Life Chances and Life Style for All Relocated

Though the study concentrated upon the situation of those in the high rise, there are certain observations which can be made about the relocated group as a whole, both in the high rise and spatially diffused. The first observation is that relocation did result in some other minor changes, which will be reviewed here.

Life Style

Respondents were asked to rate their participation in 10 activities before and after the move, according to sometimes, very often and never. This afforded a comparison of life style changes related to the move in terms of social participation. Since most of the respondents were elderly, many of the activities were chosen since other studies of the aged have shown these activities to be significant in leisure time of the elderly. These activities include:

1. entertain friends
2. visit friends
3. entertain relatives
4. visit relatives
5. do gardening
6. go for a ride
7. sit and think
8. listen to the radio and watch television
9. read magazines, newspapers and books
10. sew, knit or crochet

In general, for all activities, more people did *not* have changes than did have changes in these leisure activities. For activities 6 to 10, almost no one had changes before and after moving. In fact, for activities 2 to 5, roughly three-fourths of the respondents had no changes, while only one-fourth had changes since the move. The only activity which had comparatively significant results was the first, entertaining friends, where 42 percent had changes and 58 percent had

no changes. There were some who said that before they moved they could entertain friends more easily because they had plenty of space, while after they moved into the high rise they had people over less often because there was not enough room in the new place. On the other hand, some people had very poor rooms before they moved and were reluctant to invite people very often. After the move, these people entertained friends much more often since the new place was much cleaner and more modern.

There were also some who experienced a change in neighborhood since they moved on the other side of Batavia. One couple said that the difference in the old and new neighborhood was primarily that the old was a place where people often walked down the street and met others, while in the new neighborhood anyone who is walking and not driving looks out of place. This was an important difference to the people involved in terms of the personal attachment to the neighborhood --with the new environment engendering very little sentimental attachment.

Finally, the move to a new environment did mean for many who had known each other for years that neighboring took on a more formal structure. Before the proximity to friends determined the informal pattern of simply dropping in on friends. Living farther apart after the move created a need to call first before stopping over for a visit. This relationship between spatial distance and neighboring patterns had been earlier noted by Blake (1956) and others, who showed that an increase in spatial distance discouraged the formation of strong friendship groups in a study of army barracks. Though the physical environment should not be viewed as invariably determinant of social

relations, it does at times have an influence on the quality of these relationships.

Life Chances

Along with these less pervasive changes in life style for all the relocatees were similar minor changes in life chances.

There were a few, for instance, who changed their ownership status. Four people went from renting to owning, and six from owning to renting. One woman who had formerly rented and became an owner experienced a personal conflict related to the change. She said she did not like having the responsibility of owning a home, though after a search through Batavia for a house to rent, there was not much choice.

Almost half of the relocated experienced changes in mutual aid with their neighbors, with equal proportions increasing and decreasing. One example of this is the woman who commented that after she moved she liked her neighbors but missed having her neighbor next door, who used to watch the house while she was working. Since the woman had an invalid husband, she even depended on her neighbor to check in on him occasionally. In the new place, she feels a bit more uneasy leaving the house for work and errands. The results in the area of mutual aid do not confirm Suttles and Street's argument that an increase in horizontal aid, namely the rent increase payments and other relocation monies from the urban renewal agency, did not result in an overall decrease in mutual aid, but rather equal increases *and* decreases in mutual aid.

A likely explanation for this finding is offered by Michelson (1970: 187). He says that mutual aid may increase immediately after a residential move since people are often faced with numerous manual

tasks and turn most often to their closest neighbors for assistance in this type of emergency situation. On the other hand, a decrease would be likely if the people did not have these numerous manual tasks involved in settling in a new place, as was especially true in the high rise. In this instance, mutual aid would grow with the length of time a person lives in the new environment as people become closer to certain of their neighbors.

One further explanation for Suttles and Street's argument not holding true for the Batavia relocated is that most of the aid given by the government to the relocated is that most of the aid given by the government to the relocated was quite temporary. Moving expenses, the dislocation allowance, and the house downpayments were all given at one time. Even the rent assistance, which was given in four payments over four years, would only last for four years, and hence people may not have been as pressed to cut down on their mutual aid relationships as would be more likely if they were, say, receiving welfare.

Finally, one other change which occurred for relatively few of the relocated was transportation cost increases. Most of the employed had walked to work previously, though after the move they more often called cabs or the Dial-a-Bus. To give one instance, one woman spent about $300 a year more because of new transportation costs. The factory she worked at had also relocated to the edge of the city, so it is more accurate to say that her costs increased because of the process of urban renewal rather than simply because of her own move. Although she took a bus, the amount easily came up to $300 since it cost $1.20 each work day, of which there were about 250. Another man

said that every time he went to work he spent $3.00 on cab fare to get there and back. Though there is a Dial-a-Bus, it did not run during the evening hours when he worked.

This chapter has related the experiences of the relocated in their new locations. Differences between the centrally located high rise residents and the spatially diffused were discussed, followed by an examination of the high rise as a special environment. The final portion dealt with the rather minor changes in life style and life chances that occurred for the relocated. These minor changes are important in terms of indicating the full range of possible changes, since changes in entertaining friends, in ownership status, in mutual aid, and in transportation costs defined the relocation process for some of the relocated.

The high rise was analyzed as a special environment since it offered various advantages that were not available to the spatially diffused relocatees. As shown at the beginning of this chapter, the high rise residents had major decreases in rent costs in the new place, as well as much greater satisfaction with the new environment than other relocatees. This does not mean that relocation is always beneficial for the elderly, but rather than given such positive changes as major rent decreases and new housing conveniences, relocation can result in very positive reactions of the elderly.

Finally, although it has been shown that there were quite major changes in some areas for those in the high rise, the entire group of relocated cannot be characterized in terms of these changes. Relocation had a differential impact upon the relocated, in both degree and relevant changes.

In the next chapter, the views of the relocated about the whole process of relocation will be presented.

CHAPTER VII

RELOCATION IN RETROSPECT: SUBJECTIVE VIEWS OF THE RELOCATED

The relocated have, throughout the process of relocation, reflected upon the impact of relocation in their lives. In order to comqlete the evaluation of relocation as it affects the relocated, this chapter will look at these topics: perceptions of urban renewal; subjective views and perceptions of losses; attitudinal reactions of the relocated to their involuntary move; and the relationship of the intervening variables to the attitudinal reactions.

Perceptions of Urban Renewal in Batavia

It was pointed out earlier that most of the respondents had positive feelings about Batavia. A related issue is how they felt about the changes that urban renewal brought about in their community. In direct contrast to their feelings about Batavia, the feeelings about urban renewal were a lot more negative. In response to the question, "How has urban renewal changed Batavia?", about 20 percent answered positively, 46 percent negatively, and about 13 percent said that their judgment was dependent on the final outcome of urban renewal. It should be noted that at the time of the questionnaire much of the downtown area was torn up and awaiting the start of the mall construction. Comments on the negative included the following: "It looks like an atomic bomb was dropped", "It's wicked", "They ruined it", and "Right

now it's disgusting." On the affirmative side were such reactions as, "It's been very good and uplifted a lot of people's style of living and gives people a sense of dignity", and "It got rid of the slums."

Besides asking the relocatees how urban renewal changed the city, they were also asked who benefited the most from urban renewal and who benefited the least. The responses fell into four categories: the relocated, the city itself, businessmen and the elderly. Some 31 percent felt that the relocated themselves benefited the most, with specific mention being made of people who got a lot of money for moving and some of the property owners who made big profits. While 14 percent felt that the city itself benefited the most, 12 percent felt that it was the elderly, primarily those in the high rise, who gained. Finally, 12 percent thought that businessmen were favored, with most pinpointing big businesses and several referring to small businessmen who were ready to retire and took advantage of urban renewal.

Of those who benefited the least, close to 46 percent argued that the relocated themselves, particularly the poor and big families, were the worse off. Responses which indicated businessmen were hurt, 16 percent, were mostly in reference to small businesses.

Overall, then, the relocatees saw the relocated as the particular group most directly affected by urban renewal in terms of both benefits and harmful effects. This does not mean that persons answered that they themselves were most helped or harmed, but rather that they mentioned other people who were relocated. For instance, some of the elderly mentioned the small businessmen as being harmed, while there were younger people who referred to the elderly as benefiting the most from urban renewal. So the majority of the respondents made

distinctions within the group of relocatees rather than naming the entire group of relocated as either gaining or losing. Furthermore, in both benefit and cost sides, good proportions, around 18 percent, did not have any opinion as to who was most affected by urban renewal. It was easier for the relocated to list a variety of groups with different types of benefits and losses than to deal with extremes. Hence, the feelings the relocatees had about those who lost or gained by urban renewal were mixed, and would not generally lead to more negative reactions to the move. It was hard for the relocated to center any resentment upon any one group.

Many of the relocated felt negatively about how urban renewal was changing and had changed Batavia, but there were no clear judgments by them as to who had benefited the most or least from urban renewal. Since the relocated could not ascribe overall cost or benefit solely to any one group, they would not be likely to develop feelings of alienation as shown in other studies. It has been shown that alienation arises in relation to urban renewal when the relocated find that the renewal proposal runs counter to their interest (Davies, 1966: 139). However, in this case a significant proportion of the relocated said they did not know who benefited or lost because of urban renewal. When they did mention the relocated specifically there was a mixture of costs and benefits ascribed to their situation rather than interpreting urban renewal as primarily against their own interests.

In the relocation process there were specific things that the relocated did have to give up, and the views about these losses will now be examined.

Subjective Views and Perceptions of Losses

The Neighborhood

Things that were given up were both physical features of the neighborhood and personal possessions. People became attached to a neighborhood for a variety of reasons. Though these attachments do not indicate the maladjustment will follow in the new environment, they do characterize the type of environment that would be most satisfactory to the people involved. The attachments do tell us something about the person's life style and have been considered by some like Firey as important ecological variables. Firey (1945) shows that in the Beacon Hill area of Boston the old burial grounds had a symbolic rather than a spatial reference for the people. His research is classical in demonstrating the role of sentiments about particular parts of the environment in determining people's behavior. In Beacon Hill, a renewal project was fought because the people there had developed a sentimental attachment to the area scheduled for demolition. Hence in considering what people lose when they move, the researcher should look at the types of attachments people have regarding the neighborhood they have to leave.

Two of the neighborhood features that strongly appealed to more of the relocatees than any other were Austin Park, adjacent to the renewal area, and the supermarket in the project area. Some of the houses directly faced the park, which was a relatively small one and was not affected by urban renewal. The loss occurred when people had to leave the area. For those who had lived closest to the park, the things they enjoyed most were watching the children play and the special community events that took place throughout the year. For instance,

in the summer, the high school students built their floats for one of Batavia's annual parades in Austin Park and any one of the other city parks. In winter, the scene was filled with children sledding and building snowmen. Although the park is the smallest in the city, more of the relocatees mentioned missing the park when they moved than any other one feature. This attachment to the park can be attributed to a number of factors. The park provided a sense of contact with the youth of the community, it helped mark the passing of seasons and daily activities, and afforded people an opportunity for frequent contact with nature.

Another feature which was a favorite of the residents was a local supermarket. One woman said that she would often spend as much as two hours in the store. While buying groceries was secondary, visiting neighbors was the primary reason for coming there. For many who did not regularly visit people in their homes, the store gave them a chance to meet and talk to their neighbors informally and to catch up on neighborhood news. Older people fondly remembered the manager of the store when he was a child and enjoyed seeing him in such a good position. What meant a lot to people was the personal attention given to them by both the manager and the rest of the employees, like the practice of referring to the customers by name, asking about relatives, and cashing the monthly Social Security checks. Even after people left the neighborhood, quite a few were seen shopping in the store regularly, particularly those with cars. Some of the relocatees regretted that they could no longer visit the supermarket so often since it was hard for them to arrange suitable transportation. It was possible for many to refer to the store as "my store" and the manager as "Mr. John."

The store's appeal, then, rested upon its importance as an informal neighborhood gathering place, the intimacy felt with the store personnel and the personalized attention that people received from the clerks.

There were other features in the neighborhood that the relocated people favored but to a lesser degree and which were both demolished. First, there was the market on Main Street, which offered a wide selection of fresh fruits and vegetables and was handy to walk to. Then there were the local taverns, once dispersed throughout the renewal area. It is HUD's policy to ban the construction of taverns in any urban renewal project. Unfortunately, it is a fact that such local taverns are important gathering places where the purchase of liquor is secondary to visiting with friends and neighbors.

Personal Possessions

In addition to the attachment to certain features of the neighborhood, there were also different attachments to personal possessions, many of which had to be given up. Around 56 percent of the people said that they gave up personal possessions as a result of the move, 82 percent said they gave up household items, 10 percent mentioned the house itself, and 7 percent mentioned animals. Often those who moved into smaller places had to give up dishes, linens and furniture. In addition to the material loss involved, many had retained the items for memories they held of their earlier days.

One formulation which applies to this topic is the notion that *object loss*, "a rather broad category of life events which include actual, threatened or symbolic loss of people, *objects*, activities, or familiar surroundings...are causally related to the development of various types of illnesses" (Kasl, 1972: 377). The extension of this

idea to the present study would be that when people do lose objects they would experience various types of personal conflicts or stresses.

One of those who said he had given up a house mentioned these special features of the house: "Anderson windows, with four parts that you could take out and wash very easily,...rainbow prism windows...and a walnut staircase like the one in the historical house they have in Geneva, New York." Many had spent years fixing the house up to fit their needs and designs, like one woman who could not see well and had things like the laundry and staircase altered for her safety and convenience. People who gave up houses were sometimes quite upset by the fact that once they moved out, another person moved into their old place. As demolition continued, it was sometimes necessary to put some of the people in the renewal area into those houses until they could locate suitable housing outside the project area. Regardless of the reason, however, the people who had this happen to their old house could not understand why they had had to leave their house and then see other people living in it.

Besides those who would have to give up the house and household items, there were some who would lose their pets. Since some places did not allow pets, people either had to give the animal up or limit their housing choices. One lady who was almost blind had a cat to which she was quite devoted. She said she cried for days after she had the cat put to sleep so she could get into a cheap apartment. As she related it, the animal was the only company and joy she had most of the time.

Thus, in deciding where to move, people had to figure out which things they would sacrifice in return for suitable housing. There

was no decision about losing cherished features of their neighborhood--that was beyond their control. But there were some who gave up better housing in order to retain their possessions and others who gave up the possessions for better housing. One of the ladies who decided in favor of the poorer housing instead of losing her possessions was one who had a lot of old material and plants. She liked to sew and kept plants throughout the apartment, and would never have gone into an apartment that was too small for all the things she had.

Thus, another part of the process of relocation was the loss of certain objects that people valued and their perceptions of these losses. The relocated also had various attitudinal reactions to the move, and these will be detailed in the following section.

Attitudinal Reactions of the Relocated to Being Told to Move

When the relocated who, as a group, had experienced relatively little mobility were faced with the fact that they had to move, a variety of reactions occurred. In attempting to group the reactions an effort was made to ensure some comparability with previous studies where appropriate and to make distinctions that best captured the essence of the open-ended responses to "What were some of your reactions when you were told you had to move?"

The first point that should be made is that the five dimensional categorization is not to be interpreted as any type of continuum. Secondly, though the categories are discrete, a response in one does not mean that a person can respond in only one way. This can be further explained by examining the basic types of response categories chosen here and indicated in Table 8. The categories are derived from

Table 8. Attitudinal reactions to the move: categories and interpretations

Attitudinal Reactions - Categories	Interpretation	% of all relocatees
Grief	Very bitter, grief-stricken, or hostile	13
Dissatisfaction	Some irritation or resentment	38
Happiness	Somewhat positive, pleased	18
Powerlessness	Stresses lack of control over move or lack of choice	13
Projection	Charts the course of future actions or events	13
No response		5
		100

a content analysis of the responses to the question on reactions. While grief and dissatisfaction could be seen as negative response, and could be opposed to happiness, the other two categories of powerlessness or apathy are neither positive nor negative. There were ten respondents who gave responses that fit into two of the categories, those being shown in Table 9. Most of these combination responses then fall into the Dissatisfaction-Powerlessness combination.

The categories do permit comparability with previous studies (Table 10). While Fried had noted the extreme emotional reaction of grief which accompanied relocation, Goldstein and Zimmer had emphasized the dissatisfaction of the relocated. Chambers had spoken of the feelings of helplessness or apathy which are most similar to the powerlessness dimension. As Blauner defines powerlessness, it occurs when

Table 9. Types of response combinations

Combination of responses	Number
Grief-Projection	1
Grief-Powerlessness	1
Dissatisfaction-Powerlessness	5
Dissatisfaction-Projection	2
Powerlessness-Projection	1
	10

Table 10. Comparison of present categories with previous research

Categories of Batavia study	Other relocation studies
Grief	Fried's grief syndrome (1963)
Dissatisfaction	Goldstein and Zimmer's (1960)
Powerlessness	Chambers (1969)
Happiness	Kasl (1972)

"the person is controlled and manipulated by other persons or an impersonal system" (1964: 32). This concept of powerlessness, then, affords comparison with Chambers' emphasis and best fits the responses of the relocated Batavians who mentioned a lack of control or choice. Finally, Goldstein and Zimmer's, as well as Kasl's work had concentrated upon the elderly, the former being an empirical study, the latter being a review and integration of mental health studies. The other two studies had been conducted with varying age groups.

Examples from the answers of the respondents will be mentioned here to illustrate the content of the categories. Among the most bitter (Grief) was one who said,

> You should have talked to me when we were first told. I thought it was heartless, worse than Russia. If they would have put the renewal project up for a referendum, it never would have passed. I was very bitter then. We're just beginning to get over the idea now.

This comment comes from a woman who, together with her husband, had been looking forward to his retirement in a few years and to the end of their mortgage payments. Although the house was much newer, the old one was adequate and would have been completely theirs in a short time. Another woman said that when she first found out she would have to move she cried for days (Grief). She related that "The hardest thing for me was leaving the home. I'd been there for so many years. I'm quite sentimental. Every time I heard of urban renewal I was sick."

For those who fit into the Dissatisfied category, the comments were generally that they "didn't like it" when they were told they had to move. They usually mentioned that they had been in the house for a long time and just didn't like having this disruption in their lives. However, there was no bitterness or extreme emotional reaction indicated.

In contrast to those who were more negative toward the move were those people who were relieved and happy to get out of the places they were in. There was one couple who recalled how the ceiling leaked whenever it rained and how the wires hung dangerously loose near the source of the leaks. The place was damp and cold all winter and stuffy in the summer. For them it was the situation that "We couldn't have stood it much longer. One thing I really like about urban renewal is that if they moved you into a place, the landlord had to have the place fixed up properly." Since a move into a house requires that it meet standard housing codes, or no payment will be provided by urban renewal, this meant more adequate housing for them. These people were happy to

move into the most simple, but structurally safe, housing because of the poor housing they had previously had. Contented reactions also came from those who, though satisfied with their old place, did see the move as a way to improve their situation.

Other relocatees stressed the fact that once they were told to move there were no alternatives (Powerlessness). "I wanted to stay. I was content, but you can't stop progress," replied one man. Or there was the person who said, "Sure, it's a free country, but they tell you they're going to condemn the building and then what can you do but get out? You can't fight it." Another example is this reply: "You can't fight city hall. My friend is an attorney and I talked to him about it. Anyway, by the time we would have paid an assessor to come and appraise the place...it would have been worth it."

Finally there were those who immediately concentrated on a future course of action or possible events (Projection). They thought about the fact that they would have to find another place to live or perhaps reflected upon how their life might change.

Before relating the various responses to the intervening variables, some general comments about the way these results compare with previous studies are necessary.

Since there was only one study which put the attitudinal reactions of the relocated in terms of percentages, Goldstein and Zimmer's, this is the only one which can be compared to the actual percentages of this study. First, while Goldstein and Zimmer found 72 percent against the move or dissatisfied when told to move, this study found 65 percent who could be considered against the move, if the categories of Grief, Dissatisfaction and Powerlessness are combined. However, it is felt that

this combination is justifiable only for the broadest comparisons, since the combination does conceal discrete responses to the move. Secondly, where Goldstein and Zimmer found 15 percent who were glad to move, this study had similar results of 18 percent happy to move. Though Goldstein and Zimmer emphasized that the majority of the elderly were dissatisfied with having to move, this study has stressed the fact that relocation entails a variety of responses, which are concealed when one deals with very general positive or negative responses. One of the reasons for this study finding a variety of negative responses rather than simply noting that a large proportion were "against the move" is related to the type of question posed to the relocated. Whereas Goldstein and Zimmer simply asked people if they were dissatisfied with having to move or more satisfied with the move, this study asked the respondents what their reactions were when they were told to move. Instead of forcing the people to respond in a two-dimensional way, this study permitted the respondent to respond more flexibly.

Emphases from past research have been as follows: Goldstein and Zimmer--dissatisfaction; Fried--grief; Chambers--helplessness and apathy; Kasl--happiness. It is inappropriate to characterize the response of the relocated in this study to any *one* of these past emphases, but rather by a variety of these responses.

Reactions of the relocated in Batavia have been categorized in five dimensions: 1) Grief, 2) Dissatisfaction, 3) Happiness, 4) Powerlessness, and 5) Projection. This indicates that relocation results in a complexity of attitudinal responses and cannot be conceived of accurately in terms of only the negative or positive nature of the responses.

This next section will consider the relationship of the intervening variables to the various attitudinal reactions to the move.

Intervening Variables and Attitudinal Reactions to the Move

Feelings regarding the move have been determined on the basis of these three questions: 1) What were some of your *reactions* when you were told you had to move?; 2) Which of these two statements is more accurate? a. What happens to me is my own doing. b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough *control* over the direction my life is taking; 3) In general, how *satisfying* do you find the way you are spending your life these days? a. Completely satisfying. b. Pretty satisfying. c. Not very satisfying. For simplicity, they will be referred to respectively as Reactions, Control, and Satisfaction.

This study has argued that there are a complexity of determinants of reactions and feelings of the relocated rather than simply age. In order to demonstrate this more explicitly, contingency tables were constructed and the more significant results will be reviewed here.

In general, items from the mobility complex were significantly related to reactions, satisfaction and control. Secondly, though age was significantly related to reactions, it is obvious that the factor of age did not have a higher predictive value than some of the mobility complex items. This second observation must be taken with caution, though, since the group of relocated was skewed toward the older ages.

Chambers (1969) and Fried (1963), among others, had indicated that involuntary moves generally lead to grief, apathy or lack of control of the relocated. Though Fried had mentioned that certain circumstances lead to the negative responses, he did not develop any general

indicators of such negative responses. This study has astempted to demonstrate that force will result in these effects in cases where 1) the person has not had enough time to assess available options, and 2) the person finds the new environment does not meet his needs. Earlier it was shown that 71 percent of the relocated felt they had sufficient time to find a new place once they were told they had to move. Secondly, though those in the high rise were much more satisfied with the new environment than the non-high rise relocated, the relocated as a whole liked more about the new place than they disliked. Some 52 percent of the whole indicated there was not anything they disliked about the new place. More importantly, on the item which relocatees said they valued more in picking a house, primarily economic-related, 60 percent said they liked that aspect of the new place best.

Hence, the relocated should be expected to react more positively than negatively to the move, even though they were preponderantly from the elderly age groups. In fact, they did. When asked how satisfied they were with their life since the move, 24 percent said completely, 60 percent said pretty, and only 15 percent said not very. This is in accordance with predicted results.

In terms of Control, the majority, 58 percent, chose the first indicating control and only 21 percent chose the other indicating a lack of control. It is important to point out that this question got a high rate of non-response, 21 percent, with many of these indicating that they did not know what the question meant. Still, the results do confirm the prediction of more positive results given the fact that there was sufficient time to locate a new place and that most of the

places met the housing preferences or values of the relocated.

Just to review the responses to the reaction question, discussed earlier, these are the percentages: 13 percent in the Grief category, 38 percent in Dissatisfaction, 13 percent in Powerlessness, 18 percent in Happiness, and 13 percent in Projection. Of the relocated, 16 percent had multiple reactions, combining two of the five categories. The five-dimensional grouping of reactions is a more explicit measure of reactions to the move. Both the additional dimension of projection and the multiple reactions go beyond the findings of Chambers, Fried, Goldstein and Zimmer, and others. This study indicates that not only do people react negatively to an involuntary move but also there are those who set their minds on the future course of events, those who had a mixture of feelings about the move, and those who reacted happily.

Moving from the findings on an aggregate level, there will now be a consideration of how the attitudinal reactions relate to the intervening variables.

Data analysis was accomplished through contingency tables, since much of the data are nominal rather than ordinal. Because of the small number of cases, some of the cells have frequencies of less than five. In addition to the Yates correction factor which was earlier mentioned, there is another remedy which involves combining adjacent rows and columns. Guilford (1965: 241) says that such combination of rows is acceptable provided the neighbor rows or columns are theoretically similar enough so as not to distort the findings. For instance, five dimensions of reactions have not been combined in any of the tables though adjacent age categories were combined.

On the basis of the contingency tables, the following observations can be made. (Chart I summarizes the main findings of the contingency tables, and Tables 10 through 18 are the more pertinent contingency tables.) Mobility items, suggested in the original model, are significantly related to reactions and satisfaction, though not control. It is likely that the large number of non-responses to control adversely affected the relationship and will simply be disregarded from further analysis. These mobility items which were found significantly related to reactions and satisfaction are: 1) times moved in the past ten years (Mobility Experience), 2) sufficient time to locate a new place (Mobility Alternatives), and 3) intent to move prior to urban renewal (Mobility Orientation).

Reactions were related to times moved (Table 11) at the .05 level of significance; to sufficient time (Table 12) at the .01 level of significance; and to prior intent (Table 13) at the .05 level. Satisfaction was related to sufficient time at the .05 level and to prior intent at the .05 level. These results demonstrate that these mobility complex items were fairly accurate predictors of differences in reactions and feelings related to the move. In general, then, it can be said that the less time a person had to find a house and the less the intention to move prior to urban renewal, the more inclined the person was to respond in terms of the Grief dimension or the Dissatisfaction dimension than those who had plenty of time and had intended to move prior to urban renewal.

The other significant results in feelings were related to whether the payment from urban renewal was adequate enough. This is a feature of the organizational context of relocation, namely urban renewal. As

Chart I

Summary of Results of Contingency Tables

1. Satisfaction by Education - nonsignificant
2. Satisfaction by Sufficient Time - significant at .05 level
3. Satisfaction and Prior Intent to Move - significant at .05 level
4. Satisfaction and Payments Adequate - significant at .10 level
5. Satisfaction and Age - nonsignificant
6. Satisfaction and Rent Change - nonsignificant
7. Satisfaction and Reactions - nonsignificant

8. Age and Control - nonsignificant
9. Age and Prior Intent to Move - nonsignificant
10. Age and Years in House - significant at .025 level
11. Age and Times Moved - nonsignificant
12. Age and Dislike about New - nonsignificant
13. Age and Sufficient Time to Find a Place - nonsignificant
14. Age and Payments Adequate - nonsignificant

15. Control and Education - nonsignificant
16. Control and Reactions - significant at .05 level
17. Control and Sufficient Time - nonsignificant
18. Control and Payments Adequate - nonsignificant
19. Control and Occupation - nonsignificant

20. Reactions and Mutual Aid (After) - nonsignificant
21. Reactions and Mutual Aid (Before) - nonsignificant
22. Reactions and Education - nonsignificant
23. Reactions and Occupation - nonsignificant
24. Reactions and Years in House - nonsignificant
25. Reactions and Times Moved - significant at .05 level
26. Reactions and Prior Intent to Move - significant at .05 level
27. Reactions and Sufficient Time - significant at .10 level
28. Reactions and Payments Adequate - significant at .05 level
29. Reactions and Sex - significant at .025 level
30. Reactions and Age - significant at .10

31. Type of Structure and Rent Change - significant at .025 level

Table 11. Reactions by times moved in last ten years

Times Moved	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
4-9	-	3 50%	1 17%	2 33%	-	6 100%
2-3	5 20%	7 28%	1 4%	8 32%	4 16%	25 100%
0-1	3 11%	14 50%	6 21%	1 4%	4 14%	28 100%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 8 X^2 = 16.5112 significant at .05 level

Table 12. Reactions by sufficient time to find a new place

Sufficient Time	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
YES	4 10%	14 33%	6 14%	10 24%	8 19%	42 100%
NO	4 25%	9 56%	2 13%	1 6%	0	16 100%
Totals	8	23	8	11	8	58

df = 4 X^2 = 9.4751 significant at .10 level

Table 13. Reactions by plan to move prior to urban renewal

Prior Intent	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
YES	-	1 17%	-	2 33%	3 50%	6 100%
NO	8 15%	23 43%	8 15%	9 17%	5 9%	53 99%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 4 X^2 = 10.7015 significant at .05 level

related to whether the payment was adequate, reactions were significant (Table 14) at the .05 level, while satisfaction was related at the .10 level. This means that in most instances people who received what they regarded as adequate compensation from urban renewal were somewhat more likely to be satisfied than those who did not receive adequate payments. Finally, sex was related to the person's reactions (Table 15) at the .025 level, the highest level of all. The general trend, then, is for women to respond with less powerlessness than men, less happiness, more projection, and more grief and dissatisfaction than men. This again indicates a variety of reactions on the basis of some readily established criteria like sex.

Relationships between the other status-related items, like education (Table 16) and occupation (Table 17) were nonsignificant in regard to reactions, satisfaction or control. Extended relationships were also shown to be not significantly related to reactions and satisfaction.

Table 14. Reactions by adequate payment from urban renewal

Adequate Payment	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
YES	4 10%	16 38%	7 17%	11 26%	4 10%	42 100%
NO	4 25%	7 43%	1 6%	-	4 25%	16 100%
Totals	8	23	8	11	8	58

df = 4 X^2 = 9.7354 significant at .05 level

Table 15. Reactions by sex

Sex	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
MALE	1 4%	8 35%	6 26%	6 26%	2 9%	23 100%
FEMALE	7 20%	16 44%	2 59%	5 14%	6 17%	36 100%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 4 X^2 = 11.6840 significant at .025 level

Table 16. Reactions by occupation

Reiss's occupation scale	Grief	Disssatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
1. 0-28	5 14%	16 46%	3 8%	7 20%	4 11%	35 99%
2. 30-49	2 13%	3 20%	4 27%	2 13%	4 27%	15 100%
3. 50-84	1 11%	5 56%	1 11%	2 22%	-	9 100%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 8 X^2 = 9.9886 - nonsignificant

Table 17. Reactions by education level

Level	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
some elementary	1 17%	2 33%	-	2 33%	1 17%	6 100%
elementary complete	4 25%	8 50%	2 12%	2 12%	-	16 99%
some high school	3 13%	8 35%	3 13%	4 17%	5 22%	23 100%
high school complete & some college	-	6 43%	3 21%	3 21%	2 14%	14 99%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 12 X^2 = 12.9260 - nonsignificant

While these results do demonstrate that the indicated items in the mobility complex are related to the reactions and satisfaction, they do not confirm the findings of past research that the elderly react more negatively than the non-elderly. Age is not significantly related to Satisfaction or Control. In fact, the direct contradiction to past studies lies in the fact that more of the 60- to 79-year-olds, 25 percent, reacted happily after the move (Table 18) than all the younger groups. Despite there being large numbers of the elderly who reacted in terms of Grief or Dissatisfaction, the entire group of relocated cannot be so categorized.

This final section, then, has shown how the variety of responses to relocation is determined by the items of the mobility complex and several other intervening variables. These are the variables which help distinguish among the relocated in the suggested model. The findings explain why it is inaccurate to say that the elderly respond more negatively to relocation than younger people, without specifying the conditions responsible for the reactions. The elderly were not a homogeneous group with respect to the mobility items. Since these items were found to be significantly related to a person's reactions, and satisfaction, they should be used to discriminate among the elderly in analyzing the impact of an involuntary move on the elderly. Specifically, it has been demonstrated that attitudinal reactions and satisfaction are significantly related to: prior intent to move, the amount of time available to find a place, the adequacy of payment from the renewal agency, and the person's sex. This permits a more refined set of measures of the likely outcomes of an involuntary move than was previously possible.

Table 18. Reactions by age

Age	Grief	Dissatis-faction	Power-lessness	Happi-ness	Pro-jection	Totals
20-39	-	6 75%	1 12%	1 12%	-	8 99%
40-59	1 8%	3 23%	2 15%	2 15%	5 38%	13 99%
60-79	5 18%	9 32%	4 14%	7 25%	3 11%	28 100%
80-99	2 20%	6 60%	1 10%	1 10%	-	10 100%
Totals	8	24	8	11	8	59

df = 12 X^2 = 20.42 significant at .10 level

It is obvious that feelings are not the only indication of the impact of an involuntary move. This chapter has considered only the subjective views of the relocated about their own overall situation, showing that most of the relocated in Batavia had a mixture of reactions to the move.

As a final note to this chapter, it should be mentioned that another indicator of satisfaction with the new environment is the number of people who moved again soon after they were relocated by urban renewal. In this study there were 19 such individuals who moved again, though the majority of these could not be located to interview them. This is a

small number when one considers the fact that there were 220 relocated at the point in time the researcher undertook the study.

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PART III. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VIII

RELOCATION: IMPLICATIONS AND SUMMARY

There are varieties of relocation throughout the world. Some may cover vast distances and entail drastic changes in social and cultural environments. This study has focused upon relocation within the context of urban renewal, where people are moved only a short distance and have had few changes in occupation or cultural environments.

Future research efforts might develop an explicit continuum of relocation along such lines as 1) job changes; 2) cultural changes; 3) social changes; and 4) political changes. Within each area there can be varying degrees of change from minor to severe changes. Burchinal and Bauder in their model take note of the degree of difference between the old and new social systems. In terms of people having to change jobs, change cultural environments or change the system of policital leadership, relocation in Batavia, a relatively small city, has *not* meant drastic differences.

The examples that follow are illustrative of relocation at the extreme from Batavia. First, there is the relocation of the Bantus in South Africa. They were moved for political reasons into the border areas of South Africa, given tents for compensation for their lands

and homes, and given the most barren land. Disease, death, and social disruptions predominated. The areas were mostly for the women, old people and very young people. All able-bodied men worked elsewhere most of the year. It is evident that there was a tremendous decrease in life chances, as well as major social disruptions and loss of all tribal lands.

For people in Latin America, relocation has been recently concerned with the colonization of sparsely settled areas, as well as removal of squatters from the central business areas of the cities. For those on sparsely settled lands, job changes became a reality. Some had to learn how to be farmers and in fact set up entirely new communities. For the squatters, removal from the central areas may entail quite long distances between their home and place of employment and major disruptions in family and neighboring relationships.

One of the most difficult issues to resolve in the Kariba project in Zambia was how to compensate the dislocated Tonga people for the loss of cattle, which represented a complex system of social reciprocity. Most of the men were farmers, but when their land was flooded they had to learn to be fishermen. Later the fishing industry failed and the men went elsewhere seeking employment.

Of course, there are other projects in the Netherlands, and Britain and other countries, which are more similar to the renewal project studied in this research. The point is that there can be an extension of the model employed in this research into a variety of relocations by adding such variables as occupational and cultural changes.

Some of the very general similarities in the diverse types of relocation include: 1) the question of compensation for personal losses, as well as social losses; 2) the implication of force related to adaptation in the new environment; 3) the organizational context of the relocation (though varied, it is a relevant component of relocation); and 4) the importance of intervening variables in the process. While the Tonga lost their cattle, the Batavians lost the cheap rent district as well as personal possessions. The cattle represented a system of social relationships; the rent district permitted the poorer people to retain a sense of independence. In either case, simple monetary compensation would not replace the true value of the losses. The implication of force can be conceived generally as impacting negatively upon the relocated to the extent that they do have sufficient time to assess available options and that they do not find that the new environment meets their needs. The organizational context would be relevant to all relocation studies as, for instance, the vastly different implications of the Urban Renewal Agency directing a move versus the South African Government directing a movement of the Bantus. Finally, the intervening variables would be pertinent in terms of indicating what the person values in his environment.

While one suggested extension of the research conducted in this study would be the application of the model to relocation which involves extreme changes in cultural setting or in occupation, other possibilities exist. One of the most fruitful approaches would be to employ the model to study a younger group of relocatees. This would lend further confirmation to the argument that intervening variables rather than age are the most accurate predictors of the outcome of relocation. From the

results of this study it would be expected that with a young age group there would be a mixture of reactions to the move instead of only positive responses as previous studies would argue.

This study has conceived of relocation as a process and, while building upon the findings of changes in life style and life chances of past studies, has made several significant additions and departures. The new items are basically the ideas of intervening variables, personal crises and organizational context of relocation. The basic departure is that overall generalizations are inadequate to capture the full essence of the impact of relocation upon the elderly. Instead, there are characteristics about both the elderly and features of relocation which can more clearly explain the impact of relocation.

Relocation, as examined in this study, begins with the organizational context of relocation. In Batavia, the fact that many of the relocated benefited from the enactment of the Uniform Act meant that most did not have any substantial financial worries because of the move as in previous relocation studies. Though most of the relocated had never planned to move prior to urban renewal, and had very low mobility rates, most felt they had sufficient time to locate a new place. In general, people found what they were looking for in the new place. The majority of housing preferences indicated economic-related items and most of the relocated were pleased with the new environment because of these same items.

Reactions to the move are best described in terms of Grief, Dissatisfaction, Powerlessness, Happiness, and Projection. Both these reactions and responses to the feelings of control and sense of overall satisfaction with life were related to the intervening variables. It

was demonstrated that these variables were significantly related to different attitudinal reactions to relocation: 1) prior intent to move; 2) times moved in the last ten years; 3) sufficient time to locate a new place; 4) the adequacy of payment from urban renewal; and 5) the sex of the person. Hence, one way of distinguishing among the elderly in terms of preparedness for a move would be through these variables.

Personal crises arose from a variety of sources and were meant to indicate that despite overall satisfaction there may be certain things in the new environment that will be a persistent source of strain of a minor nature. From the organizational context of the relocation came the personal conflicts of new, unwanted dependency of some relocated because of substantial rent payments or inadequate knowledge of relocation laws, or loss of low rent district. Changes in life style resulted in personal conflicts deriving from: 1) changes in personal versus public space; 2) changes in neighborhood interaction patterns; 3) changes in definition of social space; 4) losses in personal possessions; 5) timing of personal activities; and 6) social distinctions in household furnishings and in manner of dressing. From changes in life chances, the example was the conflict derived from a change in ownership status.

It should be cautioned that although the overall results of this relocation were largely positive, there were specific conditions which gave rise to the positive results, as well as there being inherent problems underlying the overall results. Specifically, if a person is not given sufficient time to locate a new place, if he does not intend to move prior to urban renewal, and if he is not residentially mobile,

he would be less prepared for a move and would react more negatively than someone who was prepared for a move. It is also the case that when the new environment meets the housing needs of the relocated as it did in this study, the relocated are more satisfied than otherwise. While the new environment corresponded closely to stated housing preferences, most of the relocated were in the high rise and also experienced major benefits in terms of changes in life chances and life style. Thus, urban renewal agencies can ensure more positive results for the relocated if they provide the relocated with sufficient time to find a place and with adequate compensation for financial costs of the move, as well as attempting to offer suitable new environments.

Furthermore, inherent problems exist despite the overall positive results. Personal conflicts are among these problems. It was also mentioned that the liberal financial benefits could serve to create new dependencies of the relocated, as well as to hide basic structural inadequacies of the system such as a lack of sufficient low cost housing. In fact, the implementation of the federal relocation laws, though improving, is still deficient since there is emphasis solely on financial aspects of relocation, ignoring the numerous other social problems connected with the process.

In summary, relocation within the context of urban renewal in Batavia has been more critically examined in light of the role of intervening variables, personal crises or conflicts, and the direction by the urban renewal agency. The major message to be gleaned from the results is that the relocation process is one encompassing a complexity

of reactions, and specific determinants of these reactions, that cannot be properly perceived of when people argue that, "The elderly react more negatively to relocation than the non-elderly."

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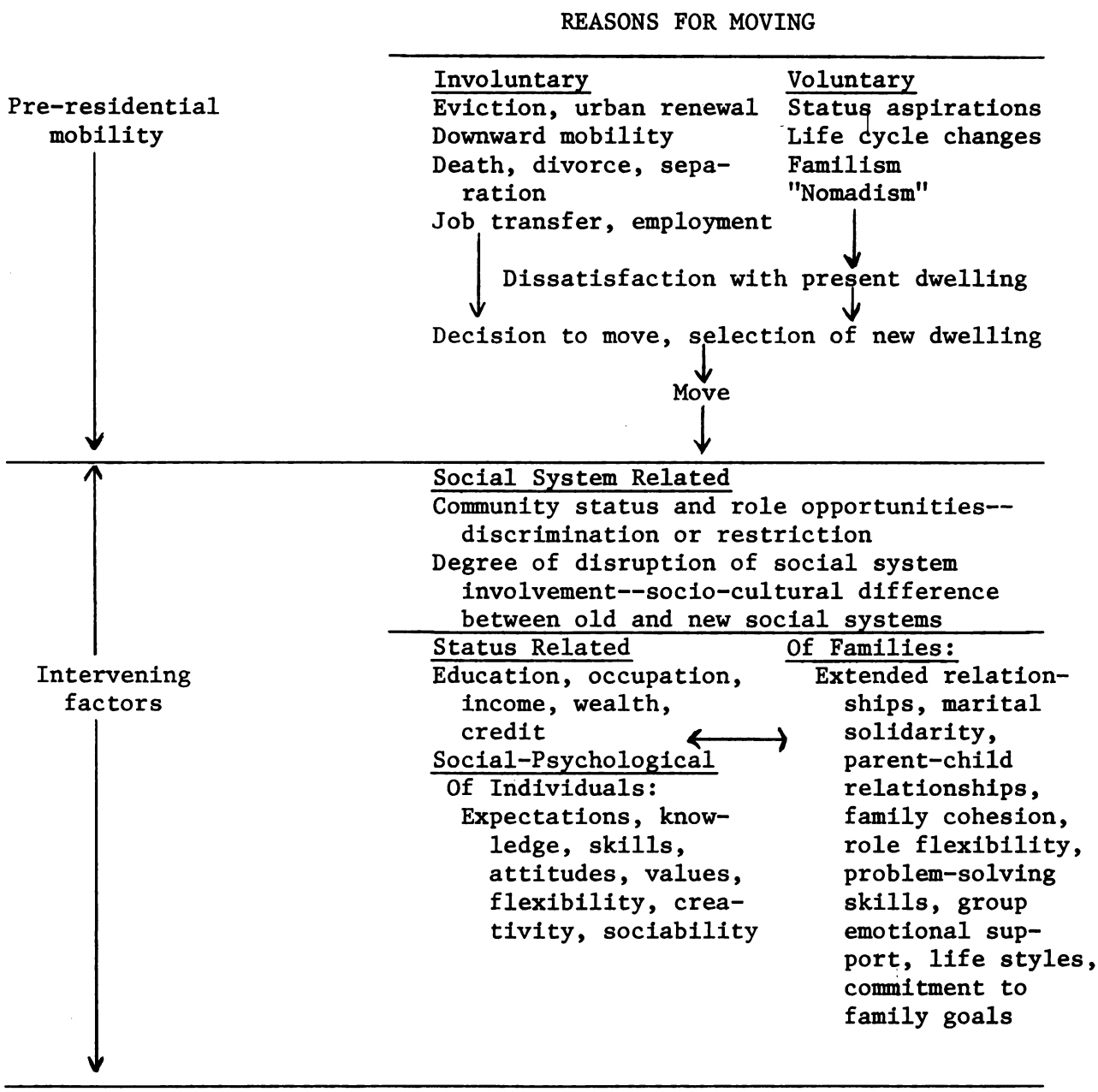
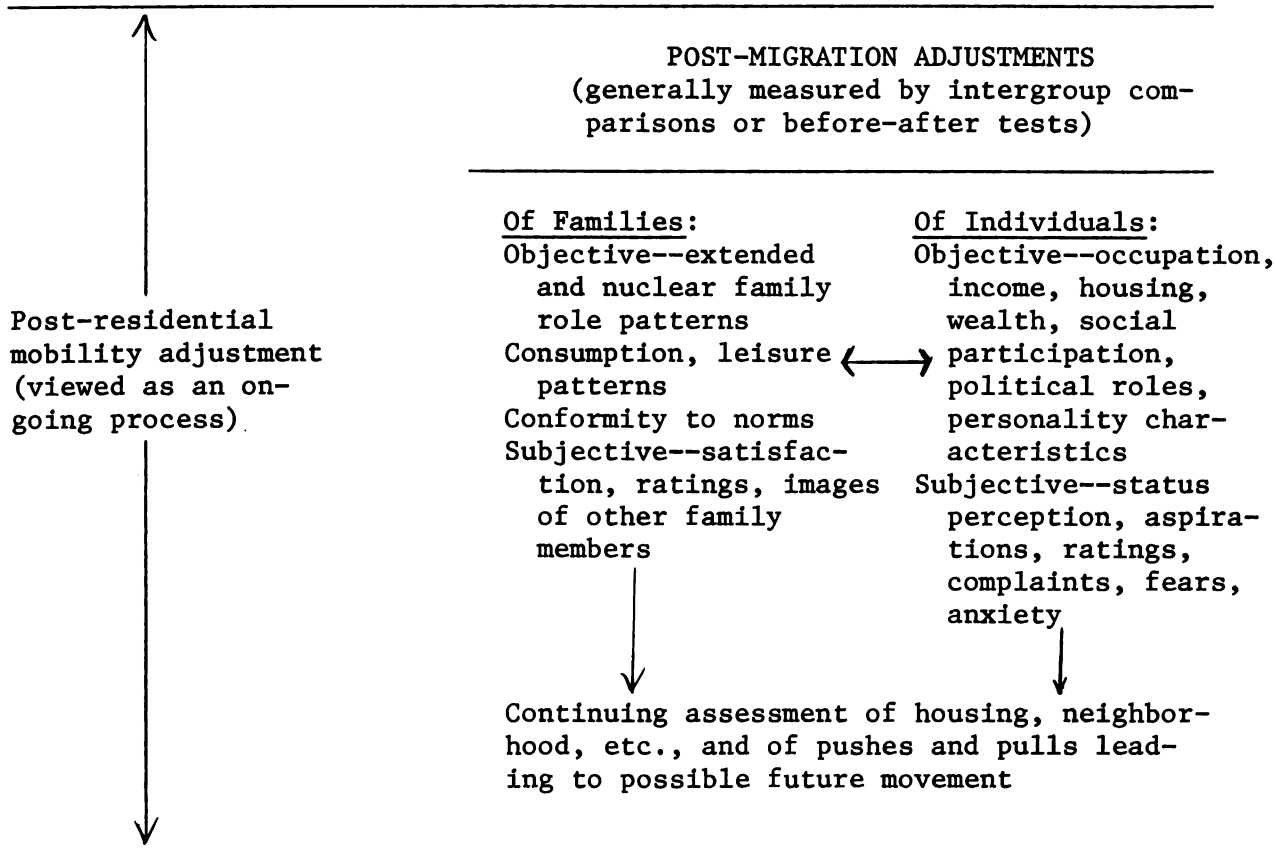
APPENDIX

Burchinal and Bauder Migration Model





Tentative model for styding adjustments to residential mobility.

Yates Correction Factor

Yates Correction Factor for small cell frequencies:

$$\Sigma \frac{(\text{Absolute Value} - \text{Expected Value} - .5)^2}{\text{Expected Value}} = X^2$$

Used for all cells when there are any that are less than 5 in frequency. Otherwise, the X^2 without the correction is found through this equation:

$$\Sigma \frac{(\text{Actual Value} - \text{Expected Value})^2}{\text{Expected Value}} = X^2$$

Questionnaire for Those Relocated in Batavia, New York

November, 1973

1.	Sex: a. male b. female	1.	_____
2.	Marital status: a. single b. divorced c. widowed d. married	2.	_____
3.	Ethnic group or race	3.	_____
		You	Your Spouse
4.	Age	4.	_____ _____
5.	Last grade completed in school	5.	_____ _____
6.	Place of birth	6.	_____ _____
7.	Number of years you have lived in Genesee County	7.	_____ _____
8.	Number of years you have lived in Batavia	8.	_____ _____

THE PROCESS OF MOVING

9.	How many times have you moved in the past ten years?	9.	_____
10.	Where did you move? a. within Batavia b. to other places	10.	_____
11.	Were you planning to move before urban renewal came along? Why or why not?		
	_____		
	_____		
12.	What were some of your reactions when you were told you had to move?		
	_____		
	_____		
13.	How did other people react when they were first told that they had to move?		
	_____		
	_____		
14.	When you moved, did you give up any possessions that you wanted to keep and what were these? _____		
	_____		
15.	When it was time for you to move, what were the most important types of assistance offered to you by the urban renewal agency?		
	_____		
	_____		
16.	Did you feel that you had sufficient time to locate another place? If not, explain.		
	_____		
	_____		
17.	How many places did you look at before you chose the one you are presently in?	17.	_____
18.	If you looked at more than one place, how many places were there that would meet your needs, and that you could afford?	18.	_____

19. What are some of the things that are important to you when picking your residence?_____

_____

20. Under present federal regulations, relocated persons receive certain financial payments for rent, moving expenses, and sometimes buying a house. In your case, were the payments adequate? If not, explain_____

_____

21. As one of the relocated, how would you suggest that relocation might be improved?

_____

_____

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

22. How many years had you lived in the place from which you were relocated? 22. _____

23. What were some of the things you liked about living in your old house and neighborhood?_____

_____

24. What were some of the disadvantages of your previous house and neighborhood?

_____

_____

25. Did you own or rent before you were relocated? 25. _____

26. How many of your neighbors did you know by name when you lived in your previous residence? Would you mind telling me who were the two or three you knew best?

_____

_____

27. Which of your neighbors did you talk to most often?_____

_____

28. Did you and your neighbors ever exchange favors or services, such as receiving parcels, telephone messages, or other similar favors? a. never b. sometimes c. often 28. _____

29. Before you moved, who would you call on for assistance if an emergency arose?

_____

YOUR PRESENT RESIDENCE

30. Do you presently own a home or rent? 30. _____
31. What type of structure do you live in? 31. _____
    a. one family house
    b. two family house
    c. apartment (multiple dwelling)
    d. single room
    e. hotel
    f. rooming house
    g. other or mixed
    h. the high rise
32. What type of occupancy is there? 32. _____
    a. one family
    b. individual
    c. potential sharing families
    d. co-tenants
    e. owner-occupied
    f. other
33. If you did not go to the high rise, please explain why you did not.

    _____

    _____
34. What are some of the things you like about your present home and neighborhood?

    _____

    _____
35. What are some of the disadvantages of your present home and neighborhood?

    _____

    _____
36. How many of your neighbors do you know by name? Who are the two or three you know best? _____

    _____
37. Which of your neighbors do you talk to most often?_____

    _____
38. Do you or your neighbors ever exchange favors or services, such as receiving parcels, telpehone messages, or other similar favors? a. never b. sometimes c. often 38. _____
39. Who would you call on for assistance if an emergency arose?_____

    _____

TRANSPORTATION

40. Where did you or do you work? Name of firm or business_____, location_____
41. What type of work do you or did you do there?

    _____
42. If you are now working, how long does it take you to get to work? 42. _____
43. What type of transportation do you use to get to work now? 43. _____

44. How much do you spend on transportation to work? 44. _____

45. How did you get to work before you moved to your present home? 45. _____

46. How much did you spend on transportation to work before you were relocated? 46. _____

47. Do you own a car? a. Yes b. No 47. _____

48. What types of activities do you need transportation for quite frequently?

_____

_____

49. How often do you use a Dial-A-Bus? 49. _____
    a. once a week
    b. once a month
    c. daily
    d. don't use it
    e. other (specify)

50. If you do use the Dial-A-Bus, what do you use it for? 50. _____
    a. to visit friends
    b. to go to the doctor
    c. to go shopping
    d. to go to church
    e. to visit relatives
    f. other (specify)

51. How often do you use a cab? 51. _____
    a. once a week
    b. once a month
    c. daily
    d. don't use it
    e. other (specify)

52. If you use a cab, do you use it to: 52. _____
    a. visit friends
    b. go to the doctor
    c. go shopping
    d. go to church
    e. visit relatives
    f. other (specify)

53. Do your friends or relatives ever provide transportation for you? _____
    Where? And how often? _____

_____

54. Where did you shop for groceries before you moved? _____
    Where do you shop for groceries now?

_____

LIFE STYLE

55. Which organizations, clubs or religious groups do you belong to?

_____

_____

56. How often do you travel outside of Batavia?
    Where do you travel and what do you do there?

_____

_____

57. Which newspapers or magazines do you read?

_____

_____

58. For each of the following, please place a check under the heading that most closely describes how often you participated in the following activities before you were relocated, and then after you were relocated.

ACTIVITY	BEFORE THE MOVE sometimes	very often	never		AFTER THE MOVE sometimes	very often	never
entertain friends							
visit friends							
entertain relatives							
visit relatives							
do gardening							
go for a ride							
just sit and think							
listen to the radio or watch TV							
read magazines, newspapers or books							
sew, knit, or crochet							

59. How many of your relatives live in Batavia? 59. _____

60. How many of your relatives live in nearby towns or cities, and what are the names of these places?

_____

_____

61. How often do you see your relatives? 61. _____
a. once a week c. seldom
b. daily d. other (specify)

62. How often do your relatives do favors for you, and what types of favors?

_____

_____

63. How often do you do favors for your relatives, and what types of favors?

_____

_____

64. Which of these two statements is more accurate? a. What happens to me is my own doing. b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking. 64. _____

65. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you are spending your life these days? a. completely satisfying b. pretty satisfying c. not very satisfying 65. _____

URBAN RENEWAL

66. Detroit is known as the motor city and Hollywood is important as a movie center. How would you characterize Batavia?_____

67. How has urban renewal changed Batavia?

68. Who benefited the most from urban renewal?

69. Who benefited the least from urban renewal?

70. If you are getting a rental assistance payment from the urban renewal agency, how much does it amount to? 70. _____

71. If you pay rent, how much do you pay? _____ How much did you pay for rent before you were relocated?_____

72. Why did you choose to go to the high rise rather than relocate elsewhere?

73. Do you use the bus service at the high rise that goes to Tops for shopping twice a week? 73. _____

74. Do you use the bus service at the high rise that takes people to the bank to cash checks? 74. _____

75. Which activities sponsored by the high rise do you participate in or benefit from?_____

76. Are there some activities that you would like to have at the high rise that are not there now? And what are these?

77. If you do not participate in any activities in the high rise, why don't you?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH