Public Housing Redevelopment: Residents' Experiences with Relocation from Phase 1 of Toronto's Regent Park Revitalization

by

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Abstract

Regent Park is Canada's largest and among its oldest public housing developments. Like similar large-scale public housing developments across North America, Regent Park has come under considerable criticism for isolating low-income households and facilitating crime, among other things. As a result, an ambitious six-phase, one billion dollar revitalization project was initiated in 2005 to completely re-design Regent Park and integrate the neighbourhood into the urban fabric of Toronto. This qualitative study examines the impact of relocation on residents from phase 1 of this revitalization project. With demolition of the neighbourhood commencing in February of 2005, 370 households from Regent Park were dispersed; some stayed in Regent Park, some moved to surrounding neighbourhoods, and others moved further away in the Greater Toronto Area. Open-ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of 21 of these households in an effort to discover some of the more salient impacts of relocation on the lives of phase 1 residents. Both social and place-based impacts were assessed using the frameworks of social capital and place attachment, respectively. The study was conceived of as the first part of a longitudinal study of relocation and resettlement of public housing residents in Regent Park.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

Toronto's Regent Park—among the oldest and still the largest of Canada's public housing stock—lies just east of Toronto's downtown core. Spread out over 6 blocks and 69 acres of valuable downtown real estate, Regent Park has been described as "the country's most notoriously ill-planned community" (Meagher and Boston 2003, 5). Efforts to redevelop the neighbourhood have waxed and waned for more than two decades. With the formation of the Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) in 2002, new opportunities for redevelopment were explored. Residents were invited to participate in a comprehensive community engagement process, and a complete revitalization study was conducted (TCHC 2003 & 2002). The result of these efforts is an ambitious six-phase plan, with an estimated cost of one billion dollars, that will transform the neighbourhood over the next decade and a half. The new plan calls for the re-introduction of through streets, mixed-uses and mixed-housing tenures, environmental sustainability to a LEED gold standard, and more than double the density. As a result, the existing neighbourhood—a collection of red brick town houses and three and six storey walk-up apartments—will be completely torn down. Hardly a trace of it will remain.

The first phase of the redevelopment plan has resulted in the relocation of 370 households. Members from 21 of these households participated in the research presented here. The objective of this research project was, in the broadest sense, to investigate the experiences of public housing residents relocated as part of phase 1 of the Regent Park revitalization. This thesis is anticipated to be the first project in a longitudinal study of the relocation and resettlement of residents in phase 1. The research is exploratory and aims to identify primary issues pertinent to the experience of relocation. As a result, in depth personal interviews were conducted with a diverse group of relocated residents about one year into the process of relocation.

Residents from the first phase of the Regent Park revitalization have been relocated to other TCHC-operated housing both inside and outside Regent Park. While relocation is necessary to carry out the neighbourhood transformation that many Regent Park residents support, those from phase 1 have been the first to experience the effects of Canada's largest public housing relocation program to date. In some cases, residents have lived in the neighbourhood for decades, while others have lived in Regent Park, and sometimes Canada, for a much shorter period of time. Some residents are inextricably attached to the neighbourhood, both its people and its places; for them the relocation and the redevelopment pose difficult challenges. Other residents see the relocation and the redevelopment of Regent Park as catalysts for new opportunities beyond that which has been available to them in the past. In any case, residents have experienced real effects, both positive and negative, with their relocation from phase 1 of Regent Park to new homes all across Toronto.

1.1 Regent Park: Then and Now

On September 29th, 1948, the Mayor of Toronto, along with civic officials and members of the Housing Authority of Toronto gathered around a platform on a back lot off of Gerrard Street East for a dedication ceremony for what was to become Canada's largest public housing project—Regent Park. A children's choir from the local school sang the National Anthem and speeches were made by the platform guests. The backdrop for the event was "great heaps of sand and piles of building materials full of practical promise" (Pursor 1948). In a brief speech, Mrs. H.L. Luftmann, a member of both the Housing Authority and the Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, said: "This is an historic day—writing the first Canadian chapter in the story of subsidized, permanent, low-rental housing" (Pursor 1948). Mayor Hiram E. McCallum dedicated the first cornerstone of the first building to be erected in Regent Park (Rose 1958).

Almost 60 years later, on February 13th, 2006, the Mayor of Toronto, civic officials and members of TCHC again gathered around a platform in Regent Park, this time for the official

demolition ceremony of the first phase of the Regent Park revitalization. A steel drum band from a local school played outside the tent while the platform guests made speeches inside. The apartment buildings of phase 1 had been vacated and stood prepared for demolition. Neil Clarke, a resident and vice president of the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative (RPNI), said to the audience: "We are thrilled with where we are at today. When we see these buildings fall it will show that someone listened and understood that we couldn't continue to live in the conditions that we were in." Television cameras from major networks recorded Mayor David Miller taking down the first bricks of the first building to be demolished as part of the Regent Park revitalization plan.

While the settings of these ceremonies may be strikingly similar, attitudes about how to make public housing work, in Canada and elsewhere, have changed considerably between then and now. In the 1940s, public housing similar to Regent Park was being built across North America and Europe (Sewell 1994). In most cases, old neighbourhoods were completely cleared, in the name of slum clearance or urban renewal, and were replaced by designs inspired by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement and the Radiant City of Le Corbusier (Coleman 1985; Jacobs 1961). In many cases, these developments turned their back on surrounding neighbourhoods and were oriented inward towards park space. Furthermore, through streets were eliminated to encourage a pedestrian environment. However, by the 1960s, the deficiencies of this particular public housing design were becoming well known and by the 1970s, in both Canada and the United States, this approach to public housing had virtually ceased (Vale 2002; Van Dyk 1995; Sewell 1994).

In 1957, the same year that North Regent Park was completed, an article appeared in *Architectural Forum* titled "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing." Here renowned architect Catherine Bauer criticized the United States public housing program that she had helped to create. She writes that in "grasping for modern principles of large-scale community design," public housing

adopted an "institutional quality" that isolated the community and reinforced the stigma of living in the lowest income group. She adds:

> There is no room in such schemes for individual deviation, for personal initiative and responsibility, for outdoor freedom and privacy, for the type of small-scale business enterprise that plays such an important social role in most slum areas. (1957, 221)

More criticism of public housing would soon follow. Most significantly perhaps was that of Jane Jacobs, who, in her seminal book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, observed that public housing developments had "become worse centers of delinquency, vandalism, and general social hopelessness than the slums they were supposed to replace" (1961, 4). Jacobs' own ideas about mixed uses, diversity, high densities, and especially sidewalk life helped usher in a new generation of planning with very different ideas about how to make neighbourhoods work. It is with these ideas in mind that redevelopment in Regent Park, and public housing all across North America, is taking place.

Now, nearly 60 years after the first bricks were laid in Regent Park, the neighbourhood is being demolished to make way for an entirely new approach to public housing. Planners say that the new design will integrate the neighbourhood into the rest of the city as well as bring more density and diversity to the area. They say what was exclusively a residential enclave—an island of poverty in the middle of the city—can become a vibrant mixed-use, mixed-income neighbourhood that will improve the lives and living environment for residents in the neighbourhood (TCHC 2006 & 2002). In any case, its supporters view it as the historic beginning of a new era of public housing in Canada.

1.2 Making Redevelopment a Reality

In 2002, the assets of the Metro Toronto Housing Corporation and the Toronto Housing Company were combined to create the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, now the second largest social housing provider in North America. TCHC operates at arm's length of the City of Toronto, the sole

shareholder of the corporation. A few years prior to amalgamation, responsibility for assisted

housing was transferred from the province to the City of Toronto, presenting an opportunity for the

newly created TCHC to investigate new possibilities for redevelopment within Regent Park (TCHC

2002, 1). According to Staff Reports from the City of Toronto, Regent Park was slated for

redevelopment because:

> The development is aging and requires significant investment to
> upgrade buildings and units and to maintain the facilities in a good
> state of repair. Building and unit designs are obsolete and no longer
> respond well to the needs of households, and the urban design
> characteristics of the site create significant challenges in maintaining
> a safe and healthy community. (City of Toronto 2005, 2)

Staff also argued that both the stigma of Regent Park and the isolation of its residents were

augmented by the failure to integrate the neighbourhood into the surrounding urban fabric. This

isolation of Regent Park had long been acknowledged as a problem in the neighbourhood.

In February of 2005, at a ceremony in phase 1 of Regent Park, the redevelopment officially

commenced with the demolition of two buildings. Politicians and other key decision makers at the

event expressed a tremendous sense of optimism about the future of Regent Park: "this is a great

day—it is the beginning of a new Regent Park"; "This is the historic beginning of what could be the

most sustainable and best housing development in North America, if not the world"; "[Regent Park]

will be an incredibly important part of Toronto and a sterling example of creative city building";

"We're reconnecting Regent Park; this is not an island anymore." However, it was city councillor

Pam McConnell who was perhaps most effective in putting the redevelopment into context:

> Inside this tent are the dreams of this community, thought about for
> 25 years. But let's remember that in the '40s this community had a
> dream: it was a dream to bring decent and affordable housing to the
> downtown of Toronto. That housing sustained for over 60 years, but
> now is the time for rebuilding that dream and building on that dream.
> Now is the time for us to rebuild this community. To look at a place
> that has all incomes, all ages, people from every walk of life and

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from every corner of the world—to come together in a true Toronto
neighbourhood; a neighbourhood where everyone lives together.

Many residents share this enthusiasm for the redevelopment of Regent Park, hoping it will provide a

safer neighbourhood with more opportunity for jobs. Others residents are more wary of the

objectives of this project and fear gentrification will compromise their future place in the

neighbourhood.

1.3 Relocation

Households in phase 1 of Regent Park are the first to participate in a relocation process unprecedented

in scale in the history of Canadian public housing. Relocation is a necessary part of the

redevelopment and serious consideration was given to the potential disruption that this process could

have on the lives of residents:

> As with any major redevelopment of a neighbourhood, one of the
> key challenges is to develop an approach to relocation that is both
> fair and effective: fair in that those affected are treated (dealt with) in
> a manner that is just, respectful and that takes into account the
> special circumstances of each particular household, without
> favouritism towards particular households or groups; effective in that
> the process is carried out in a way that leads to the overall goals of
> the proposed redevelopment most efficiently, in a manner that is
> within certain budgetary parameters and that, at the same time, fulfils
> the project goals. (TCHC 2002, 79)

TCHC relied on a thorough community engagement process to help inform relocation policies. Also,

more than a year before relocation, TCHC stopped filling vacant units in various buildings in their

portfolio, especially Regent Park, to prepare for relocation. These were the units that were made

available to the 370 households that moved out of Regent Park between April and November of 2005.

For many residents, the relocation process was stressful, but manageable. For others, it was

more difficult and households did not necessarily end up in the unit or neighbourhood that was their

first choice. Now, one year into the relocation process, residents have encountered a series of

challenges that go along with relocation and have dealt with these challenges in different ways. Even

those residents relocating within Regent Park have new neighbours, while some of their former neighbours and other friends have spread out across the city. Others are adjusting to entirely new neighbourhoods, all the while coping with the barriers associated with being from one of Toronto's most stigmatized neighbourhoods. In fact, an article appearing in Toronto's *Globe and Mail* newspaper about one year after the relocation speculated that the relocation of some of Regent Park's residents to a neighbourhood in East Toronto was contributing to an unprecedented elevation of crime rates in the area (Archer 2006).

These experiences of relocation among phase 1 residents form the focus of this study. This thesis will examine the experiences of members from 21 relocated households, one year into their experience of relocation. A literature review of related research will provide a context for this study. Also, a discussion of the qualitative research methods used in this research will be presented along with details of the sample recruitment strategies and the sample characteristics. Results and discussion of residents' experiences of relocation will focus on social and place-based impacts of relocation, relying primarily on the frameworks of social capital and place attachment, respectively. Furthermore, a series of recommendations will be made relating to future phases of relocation in Regent Park, public housing relocation and redevelopment in general, and future research in the field. Finally, a video introducing the research will be contained within the appendix (see Appendix A). The video is intended to provide an accessible way for individuals to become acquainted with the material presented in this study.

Chapter 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature of fundamental importance to this study pertains to the relocation of public housing residents. While there are examples beyond North America, it is the HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) literature arising from the redevelopment of public housing across the United States that is most substantial and relevant. A review of the literature on the theoretical concept of social capital and how it relates to resident mobility will follow. Social capital is relevant both as a framework for evaluating the effects of relocation on public housing residents, and also because it is largely with social capital in mind that policy makers have made decisions about relocation and redevelopment. In addition to this social aspect, literature on particular place-based effects of relocation, especially place attachment, will be reviewed to provide a more complete understanding of the effects of public housing redevelopment on residents. But first, it will be necessary to put the research and literature into context, and therefore necessary to look at the evolution of public housing in Canada and the conditions that have prompted the decision to redevelop some public housing projects.

2.1 Public Housing in Canada

Public Housing in Canada, like in the United States, emerged predominantly out of grave housing shortages during and after World War II (Purdy 2003). John Sewell (1994) points to the Cedar-Central project in Cleveland, Ohio, completed in 1934, as the first evidence of public housing in North America. In 1947, Toronto voters supported the six million dollar construction of Regent Park in downtown Toronto, making it one of the first, and still the largest, public housing projects in Canada (Rose 1958).

In North America, public housing "consists of federally subsidized housing owned and managed by public housing authorities" (Dreier & Hulchanski 1994, 41). According to Sewell (1994), it meets two criteria: first, a government or government agency owns it; and, second, household income is used to determine rent for the unit. There are approximately 205,000 units of public housing in Canada, built primarily during the 1950s and 1960s, of which more than half are located in Ontario. This represents about 2% of the total housing stock in Canada, which also includes various forms of market rate, non-profit, and cooperative housing. Social housing—housing that involves some sort of government subsidization—accounts for 650,000 units in Canada, or 6.5% of the total housing stock (Smith 1995; Dreier & Hulchanksi 1994). Therefore, public housing comprises about one third of all social housing in Canada.

2.1.1 Housing Policy In Canada

Public housing projects were first built in cities across Canada in the late 1940s as part of post-war urban renewal programs. Amendments to the National Housing Act of 1949 meant that both federal and provincial governments would cover expenses for the projects, with the federal government assuming 75% to 90% of the costs. However, the program came under considerable criticism during the 1960s and was scaled down and abandoned in favour of a non-profit model and co-operative program during the 1970s.[1] As a result, the greatest portion of public housing in Canada was built prior to the mid-1970s and construction of new public housing had completely ceased by 1984 (Smith 1995; Sewell 1994). Since then, federal and provincial support for housing has decreased, especially in the 1990s, as the federal government has tried to distance itself from the housing management field. Currently, federal subsidies have been frozen and municipal governments have taken on much of the responsibility for developing and managing projects, creating numerous regional housing authorities (Wolfe 1995; Dreier & Hulchanski 1994). Wolfe (1995) points out that unlike federal government in the United States or United Kingdom, Canada's federal government has retreated from

managing social housing projects. She claims that this devolution of responsibility for social housing to the provinces and municipalities has hampered efforts to create a strong national housing policy, instead resulting in a "checker-board of 12 provincial and territorial policies, and innumerable local policies" (Wolfe 1995, 131).

It is important to note that even in a time when public housing was unified under the federal government and regarded as the preferred method to address housing shortages for low- and moderate-income households across the country, it was not intended to compete with private market housing. Canada had hoped to keep housing in the hands of the private sector and introduced a public housing program with great reluctance, only as a last resort for those without the means to afford private market housing (Dreier & Hulchanski 1994). Thus, the value of social housing programs in Canada, from the perspective of government, has remained questionable. Harris (1999) indicates that the federal retreat from social housing is not surprising given the fact that housing has never really been a part of social policy. He notes that allocation for social housing was 1.3% of federal expenditures in 1989, the lowest of any category of social expenditures. Furthermore, he argues that the dedicated federal housing agency, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)[2], has fundamentally been driven by economic rather than social objectives: "From its inception…[CHMC] has always felt more comfortable speaking the language of business accounting than of social needs" (Harris 1999, 1174). Wolfe (1998) seconds this notion, indicating that the economic agenda of CMHC is hinted at by the precedence of the word "mortgage" over "housing" in the name of the corporation. On the other hand, Van Dyk (1995) points out that innovations in financing mechanisms are a more sustainable approach to funding social housing programs over the long term, rather than through subsidization. Finding ways to minimize costs, providing access to capital at low interest rates, and creating partnerships are some of the ways to combat what Van Dyk believes was the inevitable curtailment of federal subsidies to support affordable housing.

2.1.2 Problems with Public Housing Design

By the 1970s, public housing across North America was widely perceived to be a failure. In Canada, the shortcomings of public housing were first revealed in a 1969 report from the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development (Sewell 1994). The response was to halt the urban renewal program, which had permitted public housing construction, and to introduce a co-operative and non-profit program (Van Dyk 1995; Sewell 1994).

A great deal of the criticism of public housing has focused on the physical design of the developments and the buildings themselves. Much of the public housing stock in Canada and elsewhere was built as a result of "slum clearance" in which traditional neighbourhoods, replete with poverty and in states of disrepair, were destroyed to make way for new developments. This gave architects a virtual *carte blanche* when designing public housing and there was often an explicit attempt to distinguish these spaces from the surrounding areas (Vale 2002). Many designs embraced the visions of Le Corbusier[3], creating large, uniform apartment complexes surrounded by ample open space (Coleman 1985; Jacobs 1961). Regent Park was no exception, with its "brick, three-storey, cruciform buildings spread on a sea of grass" (Sewell 1994, 133). But since their creation, developments such as these have been harshly criticized for their tendency to turn their backs on the surrounding neighbourhoods, blur the boundaries of public and private space, and give residents little incentive to care for the space (Vale 2002; Sewell 1994; Coleman 1985). They are also often recognizably different from surrounding neighbourhoods; a difference that Bothwell et al. (1998) suggests has become synonymous with poverty.

The demolition of the Pruitt-Igoe housing development in St. Louis effectively ended this type of public housing development and became symbolic of how Modernist public housing design had failed to meet the needs of residents. At Pruitt-Igoe, the collection of seventeen eleven-storey buildings had won an American Institute of Architects award less than two decades before being

internally destroyed by residents and then demolished (Sewell 1994). Davis (1995) points out that attempts by architects to create distinct and often experimental public housing developments has contributed to the segregation of public housing residents from neighbours in surrounding communities. He writes that residents of affordable housing "should not be the subjects of experimentation. They have little choice about where to live, and an odd design serves only to further stigmatize them and to undermine their desire to fit into the community" (Davis 1995, 53).

Alice Coleman (1985) would agree. She criticized the design problems of public housing in a pioneering study in London, England during the mid-1980s. While Coleman recognized that design could explain only part of the problem in public housing developments, she did identify fifteen design variables that directly connected to undesirable behaviour such as littering, graffiti, and other forms of vandalism. In her opinion, public housing design is "a cross between the worst features of Radiant City and Garden City—high rise combined with low density" (Coleman 1985, 11).[4] As a result, she made a series of design recommendations intended to reduce anonymity and escape routes within public housing and, at the same time, increase surveillance among residents.[5] Sewell (1994) points out that Coleman's findings in England are relevant to large public housing projects in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada and the United States because of the similar designs of public housing that were built in both North America and Europe.

2.1.3 Socio-Demographic Composition of Public Housing

Public housing in Canada differs from the United States in that most Canadian public housing developments have been built on a much smaller scale: 80% of the developments have less than 50 units and only 11% have more than 100 units. Nonetheless, those developments with over 100 units account for more than half of all the public housing units in Canada (Dreier & Hulchanski 1994). These larger developments are significant in that they are host not only to a concentrated number of

low-income households, but also to a number of other groups that are disproportionately represented in public housing.

A significant factor in the unequal representation of certain groups in public housing has to do with certain policy changes made in the late 1980s. Following the lead of the United States, which expanded public housing eligibility to the "least advantaged applicants" (Vale 2002, 6), Canada had also changed policy by the late 1980s in order to target the most needy. Since the late 1940s, Canadian public housing had been intended for low- and moderate-income working families and there was a concerted effort to limit the number of families receiving social assistance (Purdy 2003). However, the policy changes of the 1980s resulted in expanded eligibility to public housing for groups such as refugees, the mentally or physically disabled, parents under 18, and victims of family violence. Core housing indicators were assessed to determine those in most dire need of housing (Purdy 2003; Wolfe 1998; Dreier & Hulchanski 1994).

As a result of these policy changes, the demographics of public housing are considerably inconsistent with Canadian society at large. Females, for instance, make up almost two thirds of public housing residents, reflecting the "preponderance of female-headed households" (Dreier & Hulchanski 1994, 43). However, the large proportion of females may be influenced by their longer life spans and the fact that about half of public housing units are dedicated to seniors. According to Smith (1995), public housing has about three times the number of seniors over 75 and three and a half times the number of seniors over 80, compared with the general Canadian population. The result is that public housing demonstrates a "high incidence of frail elderly, many of them in isolated personal circumstances" (Smith 1995, 913).

The number of seniors in public housing may appear somewhat misleading, however, when looking at more specific public housing developments. While Smith (1995) points out that a number of seniors have become elderly while living in public housing, the majority still live in public housing

developments dedicated specifically to seniors. In Regent Park, the senior population is only 4% and

those over 75 years old comprise less than 1% of the population (TCHC 2006). Rather, in family

public housing, it is the number of children, as well as single-parent households, that is remarkable.

Children under 15 years of age comprise 30% of family public housing in Canada, while accounting

for only 20% of the overall population. In Regent Park, 37% of residents are under the age of 14,

more than double the city's average of 17.5%. Almost 57% of the Regent Park population is aged 24

or under (RPNI 2006). Furthermore, family public housing in Toronto is composed of significantly

more single-parent households than average rental households (Murdie 1994). In Regent Park,

single-parent households account for 37.3% of all families, with the ratio of female-to-male led

single-parent families being nine to one (TCHC 2004).

There also exists a disproportionate representation of black households in public housing

developments throughout North America, including in Toronto public housing (Murdie 1994).

Between 1971 and 1986, the representation of black households in Toronto public housing rose from

4.2% to 27%, while only doubling from 2.5% to 5% in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area

(Murdie 1994). Overall, Toronto public housing also demonstrated a rise in single-parent households

as well as in foreign-born residents during this period (Murdie 2004). Public housing has high

numbers of foreign-born residents who tend to be concentrated in large public housing developments,

as these usually offer the largest units. One study in the Ottawa region revealed a connection between

the number of bedrooms in a unit and the numbers of foreign-born heads of household. Where two or

three bedrooms were in a unit, there were about half foreign-born residents. In units with four or five

bedrooms, the percentage of foreign-born residents was 83% and 100%, respectively (Ottawa-

Carleton Regional Housing Authority 1992 in Smith 1995). In Regent Park, 63% of residents speak a

first language other than English (RPNI 2006). In the past 10 years, English as a first language has

fallen by 28 percent in Regent Park South and by 50 percent in Regent Park North. Also, in 2004, a

total of 54 Regent Park families, with a combined 82 children, were awaiting the results of refugee claims (TCHC 2004).

Of all Regent Park residents over the age of 20, 25% have been to university and close to 18% have at least an undergraduate degree. At the same time, over 50% of Regent Park youth complete high-school, but nearly 14% never enter high-school at all (RPNI 2006). 36% of families earn their primary source of income from employment, averaging approximately $20,793/year per family. On the other hand, 45% of families receive social assistance at an average of $11,700/year (TCHC 2004).

2.1.4 Renewal of Public Housing

Currently, there is little debate that conditions in both Canadian and American public housing have been deteriorating. However, there is some debate as to how to go about correcting the situation. What was once an ambitious project to provide adequate housing primarily for working, low-income families, public housing is now widely considered to have fallen into a state of disrepair, stigmatized for high crime rates and social problems (Purdy 2003). The response, much like the treatment of the North American slums after World War II, has often been to address the physical design of the space itself. Part of the rationale for this is rooted in the belief that the physical environment of a neighbourhood can strongly influence human behaviour (Talen 1999; Bothwell et al. 1998; Coleman 1985). Coleman suggests that "design acts on a sliding scale. The worse it becomes, the more people it affects adversely, and the more intense becomes the atmosphere of social malaise" (1985, 20).

While there might not be consensus as to the degree to which physical design impacts the lives of public housing residents, there is general consensus among many residents and housing authorities alike that the designs of public housing developments are generally outdated and problematic. Public housing developments like Regent Park were designed as self-contained neighbourhoods, eliminating through traffic, and directing units towards undefined open spaces

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(TCHC 2003). Significant design deficiencies such as these, combined with the poor maintenance of the buildings, has prompted many housing authorities, in Canada and the United States, to focus on redevelopment rather than renovation. Redevelopment calls for the introduction of through streets, a mix of commercial and residential land uses, and both market rate as well as Rent-Geared-to-Income (RGI) units (TCHC 2003).

In the United States, housing policy emphasis has been put on both rebuilding public housing with more contemporary designs as well as deconcentrating impoverished households. Both scattered site Section 8 vouchers[6] and public housing revitalization, which incorporate market rate dwellings alongside public housing units, aim to eliminate high poverty neighbourhoods. These efforts are founded on evidence suggesting that social problems decrease and opportunities increase with gentrification and the rise of neighbourhood quality (Kleit 2001). It was the contention of Wilson (1987) that deconcentrating households living in inner city public housing projects would provide new opportunities for disenfranchised groups that had been historically marginalized. Wilson (1987) pointed to the changing social organization of inner city neighbourhoods after the 1960s, which helped to eliminate vertical integration among families of different classes. He observed that both working- and middle-class black households were making their way to the suburbs and leaving behind "a much higher concentration of the most disadvantaged segments of the black urban population" (Wilson 1987, 49). The effect of this social transformation, he argued, was the decline of basic institutions in poor neighbourhoods as well as a reduction in "mainstream role models that help keep alive the perception that education is meaningful, that steady employment is a viable alternative to welfare, and that family stability is the norm, not the exception" (Wilson 1987, 56).

Still, the primary debate about the redevelopment of public housing is whether or not there are real benefits being experienced by public housing residents who have relocated to new neighbourhoods or returned to revitalized public housing. So far, there is little empirical evidence

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demonstrating that mixed-income revitalization has in fact resulted in significant improvements in the lives of public housing residents (Boston 2005; Goetz 2005; Clampet-Lunquist 2004; Sewell 1994). Revitalization can also be very costly and some critics in the United States have suggested that public housing redevelopment is often just a way to subsidize the gentrification of troubled inner city neighbourhoods, while also reducing the number of public housing units available (Goetz 2005). Current efforts to revitalize public housing are also suggestive of the often-criticized urban renewal programs of the 1940s and 1950s. Vale observes, "they stage implosions and bulldozings with a level of gusto and ceremony curiously reminiscent of the ardor that once marked public housing construction a half-century ago" (2002, 1).

Some Canadian public housing received modest design changes in the early 1990s, which resulted in some moderate improvements. These projects include Rumball Terrace in Sudbury, St. Joseph Square in Windsor, Regent Court in Regina, and Uniacke Square in Halifax (Sewell 1994; Smith 1995). Success in redeveloped mixed-income neighbourhoods such as Toronto's St. Lawrence Community suggests that diversifying neighbourhoods can have positive outcomes (TCHC 2003; Sewell 1994). TCHC has looked to the St. Lawrence neighbourhood in downtown Toronto to provide a framework for policy and planning interventions in Regent Park. The redevelopment of this community has been deemed a success because of the open and democratic nature of the planning process, the collaboration of all levels of government, and the diversity attained by mixing incomes and housing tenure (TCHC 2003). It has also been suggested that mixed-income redevelopment in public housing is not only a way to address the social isolation of public housing residents, but often provides opportunities for public-private partnerships that reduce the burden on taxpayers (Van Dyk 1995; Sewell 1994). Nancy Smith (1995) points to the Strathcona Heights redevelopment in Ottawa as a model of successful redevelopment of a social housing project.[7] This project was especially lauded for involving residents and neighbours early in the decision-making process and having

planners, architects and residents working as equal participants. This helped give residents a sense of proprietorship as well as provide "an attention to detail usually perceived as optional in a public project" (Smith 1995, 925). Indeed, this attention to detail is critical, as Vale writes, "once public housing became reconceptualized as a publicly funded resource for coping with the needs of the most desperate city-dwellers, public neighbourhoods inevitably became treated as storage facilities rather than as communities" (2002, 8).

2.2 Resident Mobility and Neighbourhood Change

Widespread efforts in North America to revitalize public housing have invariably resulted in the relocation of residents. The experiences of these residents have largely gone undocumented, particularly in Canada, and there remain a number of questions as to the effect of public housing relocation. Given the diversity of groups and social needs among public housing residents, the intention for relocation to be temporary, and the unique environment from which public housing residents move, the relocation of public housing residents as part of redevelopment is indeed a situation that merits study.

A large part of the academic literature related to public housing relocation comes from the United States in respect to the HOPE VI program (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere), initiated in 1992. The program was created by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and aimed to redevelop distressed public housing across the United States. By 2003 there had been over $5.3 billion dollars in demolition and revitalization grants, targeting 165 developments in 98 U.S. cities (Clampet-Lundquist 2004). The most common method of relocation has been a voucher system, known as a Section 8 voucher, in which residents relocate to private-market housing with some degree of rent subsidization. Other initiatives, and in particular the Moving To Opportunities Program (MTO), which provide services such as moving and mobility counselling, job training strategies, and also promote home ownership, have been slow to develop

(Kingsley et al. 2003; Vale 2002). Evaluating the HOPE VI program is somewhat difficult, however, due to inconsistencies among redevelopment sites, the flexibility of the program, and input of different housing authorities (Curley 2005; Popkin et al. 2004). Curley (2005) notes that the inconsistent data and dearth of research on the effects of HOPE VI is concerning because of the great potential of this program to affect the lives of the many low-income families involved.

In Canada, the situation has been quite different with government subsidies for public housing being frozen, and non-profit and co-operative housing comprising a larger portion of the social housing stock (Van Dyk 1995). Canada's commitment to co-operative and non-profit housing has prevented the development of rent subsidization programs, like the Section 8 voucher, that are common in the United States. However, efforts to redevelop public housing as mixed-income communities, including the plan for Regent Park, are consistent with the objectives of most HOPE VI projects in the United States.

2.2.1 Effects of Relocation on Public Housing Residents

Moving can be challenging for anyone, but there is some evidence that public housing residents are especially vulnerable to the negative consequences of relocation. In particular, the literature suggests that the social world of public housing residents tends to be bounded by the limits of public housing developments themselves. Physical, social, and ideological barriers to neighbourhoods beyond public housing create a series of challenges for the relocation of public housing residents (Vale 2002; Bothwell et al. 1998; Sewell 1994). Furthermore, health issues and problems associated with living in poverty can often aggravate the experience of relocation for public housing residents (Kleit 2005; Popkin et al. 2004; Wilson 1987).

Kleit (2005) documents the social loss experienced by relocated public housing residents because of the particular importance of their proximity-based social networks within their public housing communities. She notes that both proximity and commonalities are factors in social relations

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and, due to limited interaction outside of public housing developments, residents tend to depend

heavily on one another. Vale (2002) notes that the design of public housing precludes strong

integration with the surrounding communities and turns social relationships inwards toward other

public housing residents. Outside interaction is further impeded by the single use of public housing

developments as residential enclaves. Facilities and organizations in the neighbourhood are often

limited to use by only public housing residents themselves and therefore also limit integration into the

broader community (Sewell 1994). At the same time, workplace contact among public housing

residents is limited to the minority who have jobs (Vale 2002).

In addition to this, there is evidence that suggests residents of public housing face more

hostility when moving to a new neighbourhood. In their study of the Gautreaux program, Rubinowitz

and Rosenbaum (2000) found that receiving communities, even those consisting of primarily rental

households, feared neighbourhood decline and deterioration with the introduction of public housing

residents. Reception of relocated residents into a neighbourhood is often coloured by a

predominantly negative perception of public housing developments. Regent Park is no exception.

The stigma of living in Regent Park has been thoroughly documented by historian Sean Purdy, who

argues that media representation, among other things, has created a negative view of Regent Park that

has real consequences in the lives of residents (Purdy 2005 & 2004). Citing the 1994 film, *Return to

Regent Park*, in particular, Purdy argues that Regent Park has been socially constructed as an "outcast

space," which in turn contributes to the social and economic marginalization of its residents outside

of the development (Purdy 2005). Susan Clampet-Lundquist (2004) also identifies social stigma as

an impediment to the integration of relocated public housing residents in new neighbourhoods. She

notes that this stigma is not simply restricted to relocation in more affluent neighbourhoods, but can

also be an issue when moving from one public housing development to another.

There is evidence that some of the barriers that exist between relocated public housing residents and their new neighbours do abate over time (Kleit 2001; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum 2000), but it is difficult to determine what kind of time frame is required and, presumably, it is different in every situation. Much of the literature surrounding relocation deals with residents who are relocated indefinitely, without the intention of returning to the redeveloped public housing development from which they came. Yet, the temporary nature of relocation for those wishing to return is likely a significant factor in the ability of residents to integrate into their new neighbourhoods during the relocation period. Clampet-Lundquist describes how relocation "fostered a sort of limbo" for families that intended to return to the public housing after redevelopment (2004, 437). She suggested that residents viewing new neighbourhoods as temporary arrangements might be more reluctant to put energy into building new relationships.

From her study of a public housing redevelopment in Philadelphia, Clampet-Lundquist (2004) also suggests that a correlation exists between the length of time spent living in a particular public housing development and difficulty experienced with relocating to a new neighbourhood. While public housing residents on the whole may have an especially difficult time with relocation, longtime residents are likely to have stronger ties to their old neighbourhoods and more difficulty adjusting to new ones. She notes that of those in her sample who spontaneously mentioned feeling depressed after relocation, all had lived in the development for 14 years or more (Clampet-Lundquist 2004). Similarly, Talen (1999) writes that length of residence in a neighbourhood results in stronger social ties and is a strong contributor to sense of community. In her study of scattered-site and clustered public housing residents in Montgomery County, Maryland, Kleit (2001) concludes that there is a positive association between length of time in a new neighbourhood and a series of social ties and neighbourhood relations. Evidently, time is a significant factor both in terms of time spent in public housing before relocation as well as during relocation.

In their study of original residents of the HOPE VI program, Popkin et al. (2004) identified a series of barriers that confronted relocating public housing residents. Among them, they note "many HOPE VI residents were coping with multiple physical and mental health problems that often left them overwhelmed and thus less able to cope with the stresses of relocation" (Popkin et al. 2004, 404). Indeed, the researchers found that HOPE VI residents reported mental health problems at a rate 50% higher than the national average. Accommodating those with physical or mental health issues—as well as families with large numbers of children or elderly heads of household—complicate the search for appropriate replacement housing. Also, the stress of moving aggravates the already stressful situation of living in poverty (Popkin et al. 2004; Turner 1998).

2.2.2 Effects of Relocation on Children

Literature related to the effects of relocation on children suggests that there can be both positive and negative consequences associated with housing mobility. Turner (1998) describes how access to new, non-poor neighbourhoods can assist in breaking the cycle of poverty for families and children. She notes that neighbourhood conditions are significant in determining individual outcomes and influence factors related to education, employment, teen sexual activity, and crime. She also points out that "families with the most limited resources may be the most vulnerable to neighbourhood conditions" (Turner 1998, 375). To illustrate this point, Turner uses an example of how parents who do not have high levels of education may not be able to effectively compensate for the low quality of a public school in a neighbourhood. In fact, it has been demonstrated, in the United States, that schools and services in the vicinity of public housing tend to be sub-par (Popkin et al. 2004). Therefore, children moving to new neighbourhoods through relocation could in fact also gain access to better neighbourhood resources.

From her research in a Los Angeles County MTO program, Pettit (2004) determines that neighbourhood context is a significant factor in helping children form social connections after

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relocation. She notes that high crime rates in a new neighbourhood can impede social interaction among relocated children because of the tendency among parents to shelter their children in such environments. At the same time, she discovered that children moving to safe, non-poor neighbourhoods had established social connections within a year of relocation. She also concludes that relocation is easier for younger children than it is for teens; in most cases, teens have established more significant relationships and make the transition with less support as they are "negotiating independence from their parents" (Pettit 2004, 290).

Despite the potential for better schools and services in neighbouring communities, the specific needs of children relocated from public housing developments may not be met. Popkin et al. (2004) note that more than 50% of children in public housing have a reported behavioural problem. Therefore, schools in the area may already have services in place to address this, while schools in new neighbourhoods may not have the same level of support. Similarly, new neighbourhoods may not have the same level of low- or no-cost activities available as that which are commonly found in public housing neighbourhoods. This can reduce the level of participation in activities among children from low-income families (Pettit 2004).

2.2.3 Effectiveness of Public Housing Redevelopment

A fundamental reason for the redevelopment of public housing is to create healthier and safer communities that improve opportunities for public housing residents. Planners and policy makers believe that the integration of public housing residents in mixed income communities will alleviate social problems as well as yield improvements in both life chances and economic self-sufficiency for residents (Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Turner 1998; Wilson 1987). This rationale is applied to both the redevelopment of public housing as mixed income communities as well as the voucher system that seeks to scatter public housing residents among neighbourhoods with low poverty rates.

Currently, there is some evidence to support the idea that the integration of public housing residents with more affluent neighbours does in fact have positive outcomes (Boston 2005; Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Cunningham 2004; Kleit 2005 & 2001; Popkin et al. 2004; Rosenbaum & Harris 2001; Turner 1998). A study by Rosenbaum and Harris (2001) in Chicago demonstrates that families relocating to low poverty neighbourhoods feel more secure and safe in their new neighbourhoods than families relocating to neighbourhoods with similar levels of poverty or those remaining in public housing. While many of the families participating in Rosenbaum and Harris' study had moved to more affluent neighbourhoods as part of the MTO program, and therefore received additional services such as mobility counselling, even those who only received a voucher reported marked improvements in their new neighbourhoods, including lower levels of "public incivility, widespread idleness, and crime and violence" (Rosenbaum and Harris 2001, 204).

Similarly, Popkin et al. (2004) found that moving to mixed-income neighbourhoods had advantages with respect to safety and housing quality, although they report little evidence suggesting that life chances or economic self-sufficiency have been greatly enhanced. Still, their findings indicate that residents who moved to neighbourhoods with the least amount of poverty experience the greatest benefits in relocation. This is consistent with Clampet-Lundquist (2004) who discovered that those relocating within public housing lose the most. On one hand, they lose social support networks, while on the other they gain nothing by moving into demographically similar neighbourhoods. However, what is not clear is how temporary relocation potentially counteracts the benefits of moving to new neighbourhoods and whether those residents choosing to relocate outside of public housing are less likely to return. These two points are especially pertinent to the Regent Park relocation because 40% of phase 1 residents remained in Regent Park, and an estimated two thirds want to return to Regent Park after redevelopment (TCHC 2006, KI03, KI05[8]).

Recently, the benefits of the HOPE VI program as a whole have been brought into question. Critics wonder whether the modest benefits experienced by residents participating in HOPE VI even warrant the continuation of the program. In fact, in 2005, U.S. Congress authorized only $150 million towards the HOPE VI project with no recommended budget for the program in 2006. This is a sharp contrast to the over $4 billion that was spent between 1992 and 2001 (Boston 2005). Goetz points out that "the benefits of HOPE VI have chiefly been place-based: reclaiming particular neighbourhoods, reducing criminal activity in those areas, and significantly upgrading the physical environment" (2005, 409). He also mentions that, when considering these benefits, it is necessary to bear in mind "the millions of dollars spent on the demolition and redevelopment of the sites" as well as "the disruption to households and social support networks by displacement and relocation" (Goetz 2005, 409).

An exhaustive study of public housing residents in Atlanta by Boston (2005) is one of the few empirical studies demonstrating economic benefits to residents involved in the HOPE VI program. Boston contends that residents using vouchers as well as those resettling in mixed-income housing projects experienced economic benefits more significant than those remaining in conventional public housing projects. He argues in favour of the HOPE VI program, suggesting that it has put relocated residents in better neighbourhoods as well as improved their socioeconomic status.[9] Low return rates among residents participating in the HOPE VI program also suggest that they may be faring well in their new neighbourhoods and that new employment opportunities exist (Popkin et al. 2004). Despite the fact that around 64% of HOPE VI residents relocate with the intent to return (Cunningham 2004), average return rates have been below 50% (Popkin et al. 2004).[10]

2.3 Social and Place-Based Dimensions of Public Housing Redevelopment

A comprehensive understanding of the revitalization of public housing on residents requires insight into both social and spatial dimensions. Social capital is a conceptual tool that has been utilized by

researchers in the past in examining the success or failure of poverty deconcentration programs and the redevelopment of poor urban neighbourhoods (Bothwell et al. 1998; Briggs 1998). It proves especially important in the case of public housing because redevelopment efforts and poverty deconcentration objectives in general are firmly rooted in the principles of social capital. Still, despite the grave importance of the social impacts on public housing residents during redevelopment, there are also place-based considerations that should not be neglected (Manzo & Perkins 2006). Of particular importance is place attachment—essentially the degree to which residents emotionally engage with their home and neighbourhood. Another consideration is the notion of redeveloping public housing as a "contested space," in which various stakeholders apply conflicting and contradicting meanings to the space (Gotham & Brumley 2002). Combining an analysis of both these social and spatial dimensions of public housing redevelopment provides a more complete context for understanding the experiences of relocating residents.

2.3.1 Social Capital

The term social capital has only recently become firmly entrenched in the sociological discourse, although the themes contained within this conceptual tool have been around for quite some time (Portes 1998; Putnam 2000). Robert D. Putnam alludes to at least six different occasions in which the term and concept of social capital appear to have been independently invented, but points to James Coleman's 1988 article *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital* as putting the term "firmly and finally on the intellectual agenda" (Putnam 2000, 20). Likewise, Alejandro Portes (1998) dates the concepts of social capital back to Durkheim and Marx, but credits both Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu with its current interpretation and popularity.

Bourdieu's introduction of social capital first appeared to the English-speaking world in *The Forms of Capital* in 1986. Here, Bourdieu defines social capital as:

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership of a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (1986, 248-9).

Bourdieu notes that capital has been almost exclusively understood as a "mercantile exchange" in which *interest* in economic theory has simultaneously and inevitably created *disinterest* in other forms of capital (1986, 242). Bourdieu defines capital as accumulated labour, and points out that economic labour is only one form of capital. Beyond its most common interpretations, capital can express itself—or, perhaps more accurately, disguise itself—in other forms. He identifies cultural capital and social capital as two other forms that are both transferable to and transferable from economic capital.

Coleman's introduction of the term in 1988 treated it in a similar fashion, although curiously with no reference to Bourdieu (Portes 1998). Coleman introduced the concept to make up for what he saw as deficiencies in prior efforts at describing and explaining the social world. He mentions the tendency of many sociologists to see "the actor as socialized and action as governed by social norms, rules and obligations" (Coleman 1988, S95). Coleman notes that such an approach neglects the "engine of action" which would give the actor purpose and direction. On the contrary, Coleman says that the tendency among economists is to see the actor motivated independently and guided solely by self-interest. In this case, the approach neglects the social context that is not only important in the functioning of the society, but in the economy as well (Coleman 1988).

As a result, Coleman's introduction of social capital tries to reconcile these deficiencies and take into account both the notion of self-interest and the influence of social structures. He proposes that social capital be defined by its function as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors—

whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure" (Coleman 1988, S98; Portes 1998, 5). Like Bourdieu, Coleman saw social capital as one of three forms of capital that facilitate productive activity.[11]

Ten years after Coleman, Alejandro Portes (1998) reviewed the origins and applications of social capital and, in the process, provided perhaps the most useful definition of social capital for the purposes of the research proposed here. Portes writes, "social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (1998, 6). Portes distinguishes the place of social capital from other forms:

> whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage. (1998, 7)

In positioning social capital as an intangible source amongst the more conspicuous economic and human capital, Portes is consistent with predecessors Bourdieu and Coleman. However, his treatment of the benefits and drawbacks of accumulating social capital is more sophisticated given the evolution of the concept at the time of Portes' writing.

There are three beneficial functions that Portes points to in reviewing the literature on social capital. First, he explains how high amounts of social capital can lead to social control. In this case, social capital functions to take advantage of tight community networks, rather than formal institutions or overt controls, to ensure appropriate behaviour and compliance with the law, among other things. Conversely, low social capital can result in radical or extreme behaviour that would deem such formal institutions necessary in order to enforce rules. Secondly, Portes explains how social capital functions as a source of family support. The emphasis here is primarily on children who benefit from the strong social capital possessed by intact families capable of providing attention, resources and support for the education and personality development of their offspring. Lastly, Portes explains how

social capital can provide benefits through networks beyond the family. In this case, social capital can garner benefit—often socioeconomic in the form of employment or mobility—through the right network of connections with people or groups beyond the immediate family (Portes 1998).

Crucial to Portes' explanation of the consequences of social capital is the inclusion of those that are both positive and negative. He notes that the term has previously been used to highlight almost exclusively positive consequences, although negative results can in fact arise; he mentions four of those negative consequences. First, tight networks, based on ethnic or religious similarity for example, can benefit a certain group while simultaneously restricting others' access to the group and so leaving them at a disadvantage. Secondly, the continued opportunity of certain successful individuals could be restricted by the excessive claims of others who operate within their social network. Thirdly, strong social capital that functions as social control, helping to provide safety and trust in a group, can also restrict personal freedoms because of increased pressure on individuals to conform. Lastly, and importantly, is the negative consequence of accumulated social capital among a group that operates in opposition to the mainstream, perhaps as a result of long-term marginalization and exclusion. The result of this is what Portes refers to as "downward levelling norms," where socioeconomic gain or conformity to the mainstream is frowned upon. This attitude is reinforced and strengthened within a group and can serve to undermine the norms or rules set in place by other members of society. Portes writes, "sociability cuts both ways. While it can be the source of public goods…it can also lead to public 'bads.' Mafia families, prostitution and gambling rings, and youth gangs offer so many examples of how embeddedness in social structures can be turned to less than socially desirable ends" (1998, 18).

2.3.2 Forms of Social Capital

There have been various interpretations on how interaction and exchange in various relationships have direct implications on social capital. For Bourdieu (1986), the value of social capital exists in

the accumulation of all forms of capital amongst the members of a particular network. Thus, for an individual actor, the volume of social capital "depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to who he is connected" (1986, 249).

For others, different forms of relationships among different individuals and groups impact the value and form of social capital that emerges. Coleman (1988), for instance, first introduced the positive implications of what he called the "closure of social networks". He argues that within a network where actors share strong ties with each other, but are relatively cut off from other actors, there lies a greater potential in establishing effective norms and building trust. The consequence of closure is that multiple actors who share dense relations can reinforce one another to ensure that each individual actor adheres to specific norms recognized by the group. The individual can then be trusted not only to recognize these norms, but also to fulfil obligations and satisfy expectations for fear of being ostracized (Coleman 1988; Portes 1998).

In his book *Structural Holes*, Ronald S. Burt (1992) describes social capital in terms of creating benefit-rich networks for an individual. Unlike Coleman, who stresses dense networks, Burt sees value in sparse networks because of their ability to provide an actor with new information. He writes, "everything else constant, a large, diverse network is the best guarantee of having a contact present where useful information is aired" (Burt 1992, 16). In this approach, dense networks are not only seen as redundant in terms of the information they provide, but equally stifling in terms of their potential to expose an actor to new networks (and, therefore, new information).

The differing approaches of Coleman and Burt[12] can be found in two forms of social capital discussed by Robert D. Putnam in his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000). Here, Putnam distinguishes between bonding and bridging as the two primary forms of social capital.[13] Bonding is more closely associated with the dense ties explained by

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Coleman—ties that reinforce group identity, build trust, and promote reciprocity. Putnam alludes to ethnic enclaves as a good example of where bonding social capital can benefit actors by providing "crucial social and psychological support for less fortunate members of the community, while furnishing start-up financing, markets, and reliable labor for local entrepreneurs" (Putnam 2000, 22). On the other hand, bridging social capital is closer to that discussed by Burt in terms of gaining access to new information and resources. Bridging refers to networks that connect diverse groups of people and therefore facilitate "linkage to external assets" and "information diffusion" (Putnam 2000, 22). Xavier De Souza Briggs (1998) most succinctly distinguishes the two forms when writing that bonding social capital is about "getting by" and bridging social capital is about "getting ahead."[14]

It is important to note that these two forms of social capital are often overlapping but not interchangeable. Putnam writes, "bonding and bridging are not 'either-or' categories into which social networks can neatly be divided, but 'more or less' dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital" (Putnam 2002, 23). Furthermore, certain individuals tend to have an abundance or scarcity of each form of social capital depending on their social status. Campbell and Lee (1992) determined that there is a connection between neighbourhood relations and social status. In their study of Nashville, Tennessee neighbourhoods, they concluded that individuals of a higher socioeconomic status were more socially integrated and had larger contact networks, but also maintained less intimate relationships. On the other hand, those from a lower socioeconomic class had fewer contacts but more intense relationships. They determined that "the limited opportunities of the economically disadvantaged beyond the neighbourhood mean that they rely more heavily on neighbours for friendship and support" (Campbell and 4, 1073). Xavier De Souza Briggs expands on this notion, demonstrating that contacts useful for bonding might be ineffective for bridging: "if I am among the chronically poor in America, those who help me get by can sometimes do relatively little to help me get ahead." (Briggs 1998, 179)

2.3.3 Social Capital, Mobility and Public Housing

Social capital is a key factor in arguments for deconcentrating low-income households; it is at the core of decisions to redevelop distressed public housing and, similarly, a factor in American efforts to scatter poor households throughout suburban neighbourhoods with Section 8 vouchers. Clampet-Lundquist writes,

> families are relocated from severely distressed public housing in the hope that their lives will improve as a result of moving out of an area of concentrated poverty. Although their human and financial capital remain the same, their social capital may change, based on their new surroundings. (2004, 416)

She mentions that the assumptions made by policy makers when designing the HOPE VI program were that residents would make the choice to relocate to better neighbourhoods that would provide new opportunities and that new social ties would lead to economic self-sufficiency. Choosing non-poor neighbours would arguably expose residents to more affluent neighbours, who would in turn bring "either employment opportunities, working and diverse lifestyles, a community without concentrated social problems, productive civic engagement, or standards of behaviour that are indicative of access to opportunity" (Kleit 2001, 412).

Despite the auspices of the HOPE VI program, Goetz (2005) argues that residents are not choosing non-poor neighbourhoods, but rather ending up in the same neighbourhoods or other low-income neighbourhoods. Furthermore, in his study in Minneapolis (2002), he noted that cultural and language barriers impede social integration in new communities and that the transition may be more difficult for some public housing residents than others. Kleit (2005 & 2001) points to contact theory, which suggests that positive interactions are most likely when they involve individuals of equal status.[15] Introducing poor residents into non-poor neighbourhoods might not then achieve the intended results and, additionally, could create tensions between different groups. Thus, the question becomes: when does 'social diversity' become 'social polarization?' (Slater 2004)[16] In the U.S.,

return rates to redeveloped public housing that is not mixed income are higher than return rates to those projects aiming to incorporate diverse social classes (Popkin et al. 2004), suggesting a preference among public housing residents to live solely among other residents of a similar socioeconomic status. This is consistent with Goetz (2005), Clampet-Lundquist (2004), and Turner (1998), who note that relocated residents using Section 8 vouchers, and without mobility counselling, often choose to live in similarly poor neighbourhoods or cluster together. Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum (2000) found that residents relocated as part of the Gatreaux program experienced more interaction with their neighbours but less friendliness than did those residents remaining in public housing. Furthermore, residents moving to the suburbs were more likely to experience negative incidents, such as harassment, racial epithets, or exclusion.

While a great deal of attention has focused on the advantages of integration and the social capital accrued from building relationships with more affluent neighbours, little has been written on how social capital is impacted by severing relationships through relocation. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) pointed to the fragility of social capital, relative to human or economic capital. He argues that social capital is maintained and reinforced through exchanges and the strength of this capital is contingent upon the frequencies of these exchanges. Even more importantly, the value of social capital exists in the exchanges themselves and cannot be possessed by a single individual:

> [Social capital] is a thing owned jointly by the parties to a relationship. No one player has exclusive ownership rights to social capital. If you or your partner in a relationship withdraws, the connection, with whatever social capital it contained, dissolves. (Burt 1992, 9)

This is particularly relevant to the relocation of public housing residents because relocation potentially threatens the time and energy some residents have spent building social capital amongst one another. On one hand, it threatens the frequency by which exchanges take place, and, on the other hand, it severs connections which, in themselves, contain social capital.

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At the same time, the social capital existing in these relationships could potentially be harmful. Coleman (1988) argues that closed social networks are particularly effective in establishing social capital in the form of social norms. The degree by which public housing residents are isolated from outside social networks has been well documented (Kleit 2005 & 2001; Vale 2002; Bothwell et al. 1998; Turner 1998; Sewell 1994; Coleman 1985), and suggests that the ability to establish normative behaviour is therefore stronger within this relatively closed group. Recalling Portes' (1998, 17) argument that a "historical experience of exclusion" can result in "downward levelling norms"—a sort of social control that can lead to undesirable public behaviour and stymie socioeconomic gain—the value of the social capital possessed in some relationships becomes problematic. Relocation, arguably, is an opportunity for some residents to exclude themselves from embeddedness in a social structure that has negative consequences.

In his pioneering study in West End Boston, Gans (1962) demonstrates awareness of the positive and negative effects that social structures could have on the lives of area residents. In his study, he recommends that policy makers remain not only cognizant of the perceived advantages of urban renewal, but also the impact that such programs have on the social lives of residences.

> Renewal proposals that call for the relocation of an entire
> neighbourhood should be studied closely to determine whether the
> existing social system satisfies more positive than negative functions
> for the residents. Should this be the case, planners must decide
> whether the destruction of this social system is justified by the
> benefits to be derived from renewal. (1962, 329).

Despite this recommendation four and a half decades ago, the literature evaluating HOPE VI programs continues to focus on the benefits experienced by residents after relocation and often overlooks the costs, demonstrating a significant caveat in any comprehensive understanding of the impacts of relocation on public housing residents. In particular, socioeconomic gain after relocation seems to be the measuring stick of the projects' success and a way to validate the HOPE VI program

in general. This is perhaps most evident in Boston's (2005) study in Atlanta, where he concludes that the socioeconomic gains experienced by relocated residents justify the continuation of funding for the HOPE VI program.

2.3.4 Place Attachment

Up until this point, scholars of public housing redevelopment have directed their attention largely to social phenomena such as neighbourhood relations (Kleit 2005, 2001), sense of community (Bothwell et al. 1998), neighbourhood ties (Clampet-Lunquist 2004), children's social connections (Pettit 2004), and socioeconomic impacts (Boston 2005). These studies have explored the social worlds of residents as they move through relocation and, in some cases, resettlement, and have provided critical insight into the HOPE VI program and efforts to deconcentrate poverty across the United States. Spatial considerations have also been examined, albeit in many cases to determine the impact of different physical environments on social interaction (Kleit 2005, 2001; Talen 1999; Bothwell et al. 1998). Manzo and Perkins (2006) note that studies on neighbourhood revitalization efforts often focus on the ability to attract economic investment or to build social cohesion and control, but often neglect the role of place-based effects such as place attachment. Like early phenomenologists Relph (1976) and Norberg-Schulz (1980), Manzo & Perkins further argue that social interactions do not happen in the abstract and therefore cannot fully be understood without an understanding of the importance of place.

Place attachment refers to the emotional connection between an individual and a physical space. The term can be defined as "an affective bond between people and places. It includes different actors, different relationships, and places of varying scales" (Manzo & Perkins 2006, 337, citing Altman and Low 1992). These bonds are established and reinforced through regular encounters with the physical environment and neighbours who share that space (Brown et al. 2003). Furthermore, attachment can be a sentimental or an emotional experience and individuals are not

necessarily completely aware of their own place attachments (Theodori 2000). Relph (1976) notes

that depending on the purposes, experiences, or intuitions of an individual, place attachment can

occur at a scale anywhere from a nation to a neighbourhood to a home. Place attachment can also

influence individual or group behaviour and be a motivating factor for involvement in community,

resolving conflict, and building consensus (Manzo & Perkins 2006).

While the term place attachment refers broadly to emotional connections to place, place

identity and place dependence are two significant concepts that contribute to a deeper understanding

of place attachment. Proshansky et al. define place identity as:

> a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of…
> cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives.
> These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes,
> values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behavior and
> experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical
> settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being.
> (1983, 59)

More succinctly, Manzo & Perkins summarize place identity as "those dimensions of the self that

develop in relation to the physical environment by means of a pattern of beliefs, preferences, feelings,

values, and goals" (2006, 337). Relph (1976) describes home as an integral part in the formation of

place identity. He notes that "home is not just the house you happen to live in" but rather "an

irreplaceable centre of significance." Furthermore, "home is the foundation of our identity as

individuals and as members of a community" (Relph 1976, 39). The development of place identity is

based on the collective past experiences of an individual and begins in the earliest processes of

childhood socialization. Significantly, Proshansky et al. mention that a change in ones physical

environment also results in a change in the "social roles and social attributes of the person and

therefore in his self-identity" (1983, 80). Through these cumulative personal experiences in place,

individuals acquire "a sense of belonging and purpose which give meaning to his or her life"

(Proshansky et al. 1983, 60). In this sense, place identity has a constitutive dimension in an

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individual's life, informing their value system, beliefs, and behaviour. An example of how place

identity turns into action is provided by Manzo & Perkins, who suggest that the places that form

individual identities and values are also places where individuals are more likely to engage, "whether

it be to maintain or improve them, respond to changes within them, or simply to stay in that place"

(2006, 337).

Place dependence is defined as "an occupant's perceived strength of association between

him- or her-self and specific places" (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 457). Place dependence can be

arrived at idiosyncratically, through direct experience with the environment, or through

communications with others about the meaning of place. While place identity is about the

constitutive dimensions of place in an individual's life, place dependence is about the potential of a

place to meet the objectives of an individual. The quality of a place or, better put, an individual's

satisfaction with a place, is derived from their own judgements about how that place "facilitates their

goals and activities" (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 459). In this sense, there is primarily an evaluative

and utilitarian function to place dependence relative to the needs and goals of the individual

(Theodori 2000; Guest & Lee 1983).[17] Furthermore, the value of a place can be measured by the

degree to which it can better address the needs of an individual relative to other places. Stokols &

Shumaker point out that this is particularly important in those case of "people who are relocated

because of business transfers or urban renewal projects" because they may be slow to adapt to a new

environment where strong links to their past environment persist (1981, 462).

Evidently, place dependence and place identity, two components of what can broadly be

defined as place attachment, are not mutually exclusive terms and they have been used

interchangeably in the past (Theodori 2000). However, together these terms help explain both the

functional and emotional relationships between people and places in order to proceed with a better

understanding of place attachment. Furthermore, it is necessary to point out that just as social

relations do not happen in the abstract, place-based relations also have a social dimension. Manzo &

Perkins (2006) describe attachment to place as a combination of physical attachment ("rootedness")

and social attachment ("bondedness"). Together, rootedness and bondedness form "a general

affective feeling toward the place of residence, in its physical as well as its social dimension"

(Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001, 279).

The most common unit of analysis for place attachment is the individual, although attachment

can also take place at the group level (Manzo & Perkins 2006; Theodori 2000; Stokols & Shumaker

1981). Brown et al. (2003) determine that individuals experience higher levels of attachment to their

home than they do to their block or neighbourhood. Similarly, Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) find that

levels of attachment at the home and city level are higher than that of attachment at the

neighbourhood level. Proshansky et al. mention that home is the "place of greatest personal

significance" in one's life (1983, 60) and Relph describes home as "the point of departure from which

we orient ourselves and take possession of the world" (1976, 40). In their research in Santa Cruz de

Tenerife, Spain, Hidalgo & Hernandez (2001) conclude that degree of attachment varies relative to

age and sex, with females and individuals in older age groups having higher levels of place

attachment than males and younger individuals, respectively. They further conclude that social

attachment is greater than physical attachment at all scales (home, neighbourhood, and city), but

found no indication of varying attachment levels among individuals of different social classes.

Brown et al. (2003) find that homeowners, long-term residents, and non-White or Hispanics have

higher levels of place attachment than their counterparts. They also find that a feeling of security

helps to foster place attachment and those individuals having a lower fear of crime, less perceived

incivilities on their block or observed incivilities on their property, and living in neighbourhoods with

greater social cohesion and control also have a higher level of place attachment. At the same time,

Proshansky et al. (1983) point out that individuals can develop strong place attachments with poor physical settings if they have strong social connections in that specific place.

While length of residence is a factor in forming social ties within a neighbourhood (Clampet-Lunquist 2004; Kleit 2001; Talen 1998), so too is time a factor in cultivating stronger attachments to place. Tuan writes,

> A person in the process of time invests bits of his emotional life in his home, and beyond the home, in his neighbourhood. To be forcibly evicted from one's home and neighbourhood is to be stripped of a sheathing, which in its familiarity protects the human being from the bewilderments of the outside world. As some people are reluctant to part with their shapeless old coat for a new one, so some people—especially older people—are reluctant to abandon their old neighbourhood for the new housing development (1974, 99).

This reluctance to part with an old neighbourhood over time might also be, in part, based on place dependence. Stokols & Shumaker (1981) point out that the more time an individual spends in one neighbourhood the less likely they are to see other neighbourhoods as viable alternatives for their activities, therefore strengthening their dependence. Tuan notes that, beyond length of residence, "awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place" (1974, 99).

Individuals are generally unaware of their place attachments (Manzo & Perkins 2006; Proshansky et al. 1983; Stokols & Shumaker 1981; Relph 1976). Proshansky et al. (1983) point out that place attachment has largely been understood to be an unselfconscious experience, which complicates efforts to communicate its full meaning. However, Relph (1976) notes that even if most individuals remain largely unaware of their psychological connections to place, these connections are no less important and remain profoundly significant. Stokols & Shumaker mention that individuals are not "continuously and self-consciously monitoring their transactions with places," but:

> [place dependence] becomes relevant when circumstances occur that
> heighten the occupants awareness of their associations to places.
> Periods of abrupt environmental change, relocation, and very
> pleasant or unpleasant experiences with places are all circumstances
> that could bring issues of place dependence to the fore. (1980, 458)

Similarly, Proshansky et al. (1983) note that an individual's relationship with place might not be obvious to them in their day-today lives, but their sense of place becomes apparent when it is threatened.

2.3.5 Meaning and Place in Public Housing

Place does not simply mean location; place is something that brings meaning to an individual's life (Norberg-Schulz 1980). Our identities are on one hand shaped by places (Proshansky et al. 1983; Norberg-Schulz 1980), while, on the other hand, places themselves are "present expressions of past experiences and events and of hopes for the future" (Relph 1976, 33). It is this dynamic that serves to reinforce place identity and imbue place with meaning (Proshansky et al. 1983; Norberg-Schulz 1980). Proshansky et al. note that the "meaning of spaces and places are not universally shared" (1983, 67). Rather these meanings are derived from individual experiences with the physical environment and subject to each person's own attributes and connections with that place.

At times, differences between individuals' or groups' attachment to place, and the meaning they prescribe to that place, can cause conflict. Gotham & Brumley (2002) describe how competing meaning over a space can result in what they refer to as a "contested space." They refer specifically to public housing slated for redevelopment as an example where "various residents, tenant groups, and housing-authority officials claim to represent the "community" and duel over competing and contradictory meanings of public-housing space" (2002, 280). Furthermore, they add that many of these officials and residents have "widely different ideas about what a place should be" (2002, 282). Similarly, Gans (1962) notes that neighbourhood redevelopment efforts in a poor Boston neighbourhood in the 1960s were embedded with middle class values and a preoccupation with

housing that was "decent, safe, and sanitary." In Gans' opinion, the relocation process in this area "failed to consider the need of moving institutions and social systems in which people live" (1962, 323). As a result, tension was created between the middle-class professionals administering the relocation and neighbourhood residents who neither saw their area as a slum nor wanted relocation.

In some instances, the meaning of a space for some can then be challenged by the objectives of other stakeholders associated with that space. For instance, Vale (2002) points out that past and current approaches to public housing developments have demonstrated a desire not only to assist, but also to reform public housing residents. Additionally, Goetz (2005) points out that critics of the HOPE VI program have viewed public housing redevelopment as largely ineffective and in some cases perceive it as subsidized gentrification. In this respect the significance of place itself, in the eyes of residents, can be compromised as it is unlikely that they all share similar objectives about reforming or gentrifying their neighbourhood. Similarly, Gotham & Brumley point out that, "in the public eye, inner-city public housing is a 'refuse space' characterized not merely by physical marginality but also by social, political, and economic marginality." They define refuse spaces as "sociophysical spaces that carry low social status, often stigmatizing inhabitants with pejorative titles" (2002, 268). Wright (1997) points out that refuse spaces can exist within the centre but still be invisible to those not directly affected by the space. In this sense, outsiders may apply a very different meaning to the space than those residents who live there and share a more intimate relationship with the space.

Wright (1997) also notes that class-based rifts are more likely to result when persons with wealth enter a poor neighbourhood and disrupt the "sense of place." He adds that gentrifiers can be particularly oblivious to how their presence affects others in a neighbourhood because they have their own interpretations and objectives in terms of meaning and place. At the same time, public housing residents can be vulnerable to these disruptions because, due to considerations regarding access and

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affordability, they may be more limited than the rest of the population about where they can live (Gotham & Brumley 2002) and therefore have greater place dependence (Stokols & Shumaker 1981).

Manzo & Perkins point out that understanding place attachment can aid in resolving conflict and building consensus in a particular place. They argue that, from the perspective of planners or decision makers, "it is essential to get to the root of the emotional relationships to place in order to understand people's reasons for blocking or facilitating certain community-based efforts" (2006, 340). They add,

> Consensus building can include more explicit explorations of place meaning and attachments among different community stakeholders. If consensus building is about examining assumptions and producing shared values in a joint learning process, then that process should include careful consideration of the underlying place attachments and meanings that are at the root of people's reaction. (Manzo & Perkins 2006, 341)

Similarly, Gotham & Brumley note that space needs to be reconceptualized as an "active force that creates and recreates social relationship" rather than simply a geographic area, or a "container" (2002, 283). They emphasize the multiple meanings and dimensions of space and add, "explaining why the urban poor act as they do in particular situations is impossible without understanding how space plays a major role in constituting those situations" (Gotham & Brumley 2002, 283).

2.4 Research Implications

A review of the empirical research primarily on the HOPE VI program in the United States reveals a number of effects of relocation on public housing residents, but no consensus as to the socioeconomic benefits of relocating to new neighbourhoods or resettling in new mixed-use neighbourhoods. It is important to note that a few key distinctions separate the HOPE VI program from the Regent Park revitalization. Most importantly, in relocated residents from Regent Park are moving almost

exclusively to other RGI buildings in the TCHC portfolio, whereas poverty deconcentration efforts and Section 8 vouchers in the United States attempt to move residents into nieghbourhoods with lower levels of poverty. Also, the large majority of Regent Park residents intend on returning to the redeveloped Regent Park (KI03, KI05), whereas the HOPE VI program has experienced relatively low return rates, often below fifty percent (Cunningham 2004). Despite these differences, however, the empirical literature on relocation and redevelopment does raise some of the more salient issues that public housing residents can face with relocation. It is largely with these effects in mind that methodological decisions for this study were made. Furthermore, a review of the literature on social capital and place attachment indicates that these theoretical frameworks are strategic tools for examining social and place-based impacts of relocation on residents.

Chapter 3
RESEARCH METHODS

The proposed redevelopment of Regent Park is scheduled for six phases and is anticipated to take twelve to fifteen years from its inception in 2005. For both residents and the local housing authority, TCHC, this redevelopment introduces a number of challenges never before confronted on such a scale in Canada. It is history in the making. The outcome of this project will not only affect current and future residents of Regent Park, but will likely have impacts on public housing residents and housing authorities across Canada and beyond.

In this chapter, I will begin with a brief outline of the research objectives followed by a discussion of the strategies I used to gain access to the Regent Park community. Then I will outline, in some detail, the various approaches to sample recruitment that were employed throughout the course of the research, and the relative success of each approach. A discussion of the research instruments, including the interview guides for both residents and key informants, will follow, along with a discussion on data collection and analysis. I will also provide information on the characteristics of the sample and efforts to have a continued presence in the Regent Park community in the future. Finally, the chapter will close with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

3.1 Research Objectives

Regent Park and its residents have historically been a magnet for researchers from a variety of academic disciplines, including history, social work, education and planning. The redevelopment currently underway has prompted renewed research interest, as the entire neighbourhood will undergo drastic modifications, with immediate consequences for residents and neighbours, and longer-term implications for the city as a whole. The first phase of redevelopment and associated relocation of residents involves two key social planning research questions: 1) what are the impacts of relocation

on the lives of members of those relocated low-income households? and 2) what lessons have been learned about the relocation process that may inform the five subsequent phases?

The primary research method that was identified before beginning fieldwork for this study was to complete semi-structured interviews with at least 20 relocated households, ideally a mix of those relocating in and around Regent Park as well as those moving further away. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, it was considered important to recruit a sample characterized by diversity in household size, age, and ethnicity. Of particular interest were families with children, as it was anticipated that relocation might have a more significant impact on these households. At the same time, the difficulty associated with contacting residents meant it was not feasible to be overly specific in selecting the sample. All study communications with residents was necessarily in English.[18] In the absence of external funding to hire interpreters, the study sample was limited to households with at least one member who spoke and understood English. In addition to the score of relocated households, I also hoped to interview six to eight key informants throughout the summer. Professor Laura Johnson supervised this research and her Research Assistant, Clarissa Nam, provided research assistance.

The research presented here will hopefully serve as the initial stage in what will be a longitudinal, qualitative study of the experiences of Regent Park residents during both relocation and resettlement. As a result, this research is exploratory. It employs the use of an intensive, semi-structured interview with residents in order to decipher the more salient effects of the initial stage of public housing relocation. This research also involves a set of interviews with key informants from the community, representing the housing authority, local organizations and agencies, which help to contextualize the research.

3.2 Gaining Access to the Neighbourhood

In the summer of 2005, I visited Regent Park for the first time in order to photograph the six buildings slated for demolition as part of phase 1 of the Regent Park Revitalization plan. I returned in February of 2006 with a video camera in order to capture the events taking place at the demolition ceremony, which was attended primarily by politicians, the media, and a handful of residents. Toronto Mayor David Miller took down the first bricks from a third storey apartment at 470 Dundas Street, officially commencing the demolition of phase 1 of Regent Park.

Prior to beginning this research in the summer of 2006, Professor Johnson contacted TCHC to secure their permission to conduct the research, to request office space on site, and to refer us to initial contacts within the housing authority and the local community. TCHC agreed to provide office space in the Regent Park Neighbourhood Initiative (RPNI) building at 415 Gerrard St., in the centre of Regent Park North. This office had previously been the relocation office and was used for this purpose by TCHC from April to November of 2005. Therefore, it was also the location in which most residents of phase 1 came to select their new housing for the relocation. The office was important for my research, not only because it provided convenient access to a number of interviews, but also because it helped establish my legitimacy in the community.

For much of the spring and summer of 2006, I worked from this office, along with Research Assistant Clarissa Nam, and participated in various events in Regent Park in order to enrich my understanding of the community as well as maintain a visible presence and make contacts. I attended a luncheon for senior residents relocated from phase 1, where I was given an opportunity to speak and introduce the study. I also attended a festival for the South Asian community within Regent Park, as well as a meeting between residents and the architects for the principal RGI building in the phase 1 redevelopment. Most significantly, I volunteered to assist with Sunday in the Park, an annual event that takes place in Regent Park North. After attending a few meetings, I was given the responsibility

of documenting the event on video. This experience not only helped increase my visible presence in Regent Park, but also provided a way for me to make a contribution to the community.

The luncheon for seniors and the Sunday in the Park event were both successful experiences in terms of learning more about the community, advertising the study, and establishing new contacts with residents. Overall, however, efforts to get involved in the community did not yield all of the positive results originally hoped for. For instance, the feeling of being an outsider meant that there was some reluctance to engage with residents at events such as the South Asian festival. Also, I was met with at least some degree of suspicion and skepticism at both the architects' meeting and the first meeting for Sunday in the Park.

The skepticism surrounding my place in the community is understandable given the amount of research that continues to take place in Regent Park. Some residents and representatives of community agencies expressed concern that the neighbourhood was being "over-researched." The residents' organization RPNI did in fact arrange a meeting with various community agencies, this research team, and at least one other academic researcher, in an effort to coordinate research so that residents were not overwhelmed. Of particular concern was research that could potentially be redundant and place unnecessary demands on residents. From that meeting, it was difficult to ascertain to what extent the community was in fact being over-researched. Still, it was apparent that there were elements of this study that overlapped to some degree with a resident survey distributed by TCHC in the spring of 2006, the information on relocated residents being collected by a representative of the Christian Resource Centre (CRC), efforts by the media to explore resident experiences of relocation, and, potentially, information needed by other community agencies. Throughout my research in Regent Park I tried to remain cognizant of the potential burden that all of this research interest might have on the lives of relocated residents.

3.3 Sample Recruitment

I requested, but was denied, access to TCHC's listing of names and contact information for relocated phase 1 residents. This necessitated using alternative methods to access the target population, and invite their participation in the study. However, TCHC did provide contact information for a number of key informants that were interviewed for this research.

The first method used to recruit relocated residents for this study was through the use of a poster that gave details on the study as well as my contact information. The poster was a non-intrusive way to attract residents who would be willing to tell their stories of relocation. Assisted by suggestions from community agencies, I identified key areas in and around Regent Park to display the 11" x 17" colour posters advertising the study (see Appendix B). I received permission to hang posters at all of the intended locations, including the CRC, Regent Park Community Health Centre, and Regent Park FOCUS as well as two TCHC-owned apartment buildings in the vicinity of Regent Park and a local video store. The poster included tabs with my contact information that could easily be torn off.

I received a phone call only a few hours after putting up a poster at the CRC, but would receive only three more responses to the posters throughout the rest of the summer. The comparatively high number of tabs removed from each of the posters suggested there were potentially more residents interested in participating in the study than the number that actually contacted me. A poster beside an elevator in one TCHC apartment building was destroyed within the first week and a replacement was posted in the laundry room. Later in the summer I placed posters in the local branch of the public library at Parliament Street and at an apartment building in the nearby St. Jamestown housing development. Posters were also placed in TCHC buildings in North and East Toronto, in an effort to recruit relocated residents further from Regent Park who I understood had been relocated to these buildings.

Following each interview, participants were asked for the contact information of any other relocated residents who might be interested in participating in the study. This snowball sampling method was used for both residents and key informants and, in both cases, was effective in leading to more people and more information. Furthermore, it allowed residents to be selective in providing the contact information of those that they believed would be willing to participate. Resident participants were often eager to assist, but that assistance was limited if they did not know the contact information or last names of other relocated residents who previously were their neighbours. On occasion, participants gave the name and contact information of the resident who had originally led me to them, suggesting that, at times, I was operating within relatively closed social circles. In the end, however, the snowball sampling method yielded a number of contacts.

My interaction with local agencies and interviews with key informants helped me to establish credibility in the community and make new contacts. Through these interactions I was given contact information for more relocated residents. Staff from RPNI was very helpful in this respect and provided contact information for three relocated residents. Also, staff from two other agencies, the Yonge Street Mission and Neighbourhood Legal Services, directly sought the permission of relocated residents and passed on their contact information to me. Furthermore, when dropping in at Regent Park FOCUS to check on a poster, I encountered and spoke with a relocated resident directly. Making contact with residents through agencies was a non-intrusive and reliable method of expanding participation in the study. It provided me with the contact information for relocated residents who had either demonstrated interest in participating in the study or who were judged by agency staff to have a likelihood of participating. Furthermore, connections with the agency provided credibility when contacting the residents.

The most aggressive—and most successful—participant recruitment approach was simply talking to people within Regent Park, describing the research project, and inviting the participation of

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those who met the criteria. I used this intercept survey approach primarily along "the Boardwalk" in

Regent Park North, where there is the highest volume of pedestrian traffic. Rather than trying to

integrate myself into the community, as I had tried to do unsuccessfully at events such as the South

Asian festival, I donned a University of Waterloo T-shirt, carried a clipboard, and spoke directly with

residents. I hoped that passers-by would know of potential participants for the study and provide their

contact information. This was, in fact, the case with some people to whom I spoke. However, I was

also surprised to come in direct contact with relocated residents from four different households, all of

who were willing to participate in the study. As anticipated, a number of people did not know of, or

were unwilling to provide, the contact information of relocated residents. A language barrier also

prevented me from communicating clearly with everyone that I approached.

At *Sunday in the Park*, I set up a table alongside vendors, politicians, and community

agencies in an effort to draw more attention to my research. I attached a poster to the table, had

smaller flyers to hand out, and also had a sign-up sheet on hand for anybody interested in

participating. I circulated through the event with a clipboard in order to inquire about potential

participants with those people who may not have noticed the table. During the day's event, I received

the contact information of three relocated residents as well as a number of other inquiries regarding

the objectives of the research.

Along with the recruitment strategies mentioned above, I was able to locate participants

through several other unconventional methods. I was given the unit numbers of relocated residents

during casual conversation at two TCHC buildings. This first occurred while asking to display a

poster in one building, and the second while searching for a relocated resident in a different building.

Another approach was to browse newspaper articles that focused on residents' experiences of

relocation. Many of these were archived at the Parliament Street Public Library and were easily

accessible. From these articles I was able to find names of some relocated residents and I located

their contact information through the Internet. I was also fortunate enough to come across one interview through a local deli where I was discussing the study. The owner of the deli had another customer working at a local office who had mentioned that her mother had been relocated as part of the phase 1 redevelopment. I was directed to the office and later to the relocated resident.

Through the combination of these recruitment methods I was able to attain contact information for members of 39 relocated households. Of these 39, I was able to contact, arrange, and complete personal interviews with members of 21 households. *Table 3.1* illustrates the relative success of each of the recruitment methods in yielding completed interviews. Some residents demonstrated an interest in participating, but it was not possible to arrange a convenient time to complete their interviews. I maintained phone contact with some relocated residents for months without being able to find a suitable time to conduct an interview. On a few occasions, residents did not show up for interviews or phone calls were not returned. I took this as a sign that the resident was not really interested in participating. Only two residents were straightforward about their preference not to participate and told me so directly.

Table 3.1 – Recruitment Strategies for Residents[19]

Recruitment Method	Contacts	Interviews
Poster	4	3
Snowball	8	4
Agency	6	4
Intercept – Direct contact	4	4
Intercept – Indirect contact	6	1
Sunday in the Park	3	2
Building Superintendent	4	1
Newspaper	3	1
Neighbourhood Connection	1	1
TOTAL	**39**	**21**

Setting up key informant interviews did not pose as great of a challenge. Suggestions from other key informants as well as my own knowledge of the project and the community easily directed me to the people whom I eventually interviewed. I was granted interviews with all of the key informants that I contacted, although re-scheduling of interviews was necessary on a few occasions. Professor Johnson contacted one key informant and arranged that interview directly. Similarly, I was able to speak with a personal contact associated with the redevelopment who helped to arrange another key informant interview on my behalf.

3.4 Research Instruments

Three interview guides were prepared prior to beginning research in Regent Park—one for key informants, another for relocated residents, and a third for relocated residents under the age of 18 (see Appendix C). A pre-test of these interview guides in Waterloo demonstrated that some questions could be more open-ended. Accordingly, slight revisions were made before the interview guide was presented to the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo or formally used in the research. The interview guide for key informants was the most flexible and was, in fact, adjusted for every interview according to the person being interviewed and their relationship to the Regent Park redevelopment (see Appendix D). On the other hand, few modifications were made to the resident interview guide throughout the duration of the research. The interview guide for relocated residents who were minors was not used, as the youngest participant was 18.

The scope of the resident interview was quite broad and was designed to allow participants freedom to talk about the issues that were most relevant to their own experiences of relocation. As a result, the interview guide included questions relating to the relocation process, comparison of households' new and former units, and ideas about the redevelopment in general. Questions were also designed to be open-ended and were not conducive to "yes" or "no" responses. For example, a question such as, "how does your new home compare to your old one?" could yield any number of

responses depending on what criteria the participant used to measure the difference—whether it be issues relating to social ties, access, maintenance, or something completely different. Questions were also designed to facilitate discussion on residents' previous experiences in the neighbourhood, current experience in their relocation unit, and thoughts about and expectations for the future of the neighbourhood; it was assumed that each of these periods would affect, in different ways, residents' experience with relocation. Furthermore, the interview guide asked about residents' plans to return to the area and what time frame they anticipated for the redevelopment of phase 1. These questions were designed to shed light on the impact of relocation on residents when relocation is perceived as temporary. Clampet-Lunquist (2004) noted that such relocation can preclude integration into a neighbourhood, but by and large the literature has not distinguished temporary and permanent relocation and related effects. A question relating to residents' preferences for changing or not changing the name of Regent Park with redevelopment proved informative in getting a sense of residents' levels of attachment to Regent Park and perceptions of the neighbourhood overall.

Modifications to the resident interview guide were only made as particular issues began to arise that were more significant than originally anticipated. The first and most important issue that required more attention was residents' access to friends and neighbours. As I began to give more consideration to examining the effect of relocation on the social capital of residents, the question of access to neighbouring became more important and questions related to safety and frequency of interaction were introduced. Additionally, early interviews resulted in a number of comments relating to health effects of residents during relocation and the maintenance of their new units upon moving in. The consideration that residents gave to these issues was largely unforeseen and so was not originally made part of the interview guide. However, formal questions relating to both health effects and maintenance issues were introduced about halfway through the research period, although they were sometimes addressed in earlier interviews in relation to other questions.

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Key informant interviews were designed to provide a context for the research and some degree of expert knowledge into the relocation and redevelopment plans. The interview guide for key informants reflects this objective, although significant modifications were introduced for each interview. The basic questions outlined in the key informant interview guide focus on the process of relocation and redevelopment as administered by TCHC. Particular questions were added when there was uncertainty or misunderstanding about a certain detail, or if a specific question arose that was pertinent to the interviewee and their relationship to the redevelopment. As a result, each key informant interview guide was unique and, given the various capacities in which participating key informants were associated with the Regent Park revitalization project, deviated from the original interview guide to different degrees. Additional questions pertaining to the role of residents in the relocation and redevelopment process and changing the name of Regent Park were often brought up in key informant interviews as well as resident interviews.

The choice to use a semi-structured interview was made because the method is appropriate for qualitative and exploratory research of this kind. Bryman (2001) notes that, through the use of the interview, qualitative researchers can attain rich and detailed answers and emphasize the interviewee's point of view rather than reflect the researcher's concerns. In this study, the use of the semi-structured interview allowed residents to respond to open-ended questions with a discussion of the issues that they felt were most important, thereby minimizing the biases and preconceptions of the researcher. Through the course of the interviews, I made a concerted effort to limit any interjections of residents' responses to the rare occasions when questions were unclear or misinterpreted.

The interview was also an effective method because of the use of video in both the recording of research data and dissemination of research results. Data collected from interviews is easily captured and represented through video and it is a format that most people are accustomed to viewing. Video also provides depth to an interview that cannot be replicated through transcriptions or even

audio recording. Such things as tone, body language, and emotional reactions are important to an interview, but hard to accurately understand and convey, as they are limited to the observational capacity of the researcher. Through the use of video, the audience would have the added aural and visual dimensions through which to interact with the research data itself.[20]

For both resident and key informant interviews, I asked all participants to sign a consent form for voluntary participation in the study, the use of anonymous quotations in this thesis, and the use of whichever recording method was employed during their interview (see Appendix E). Participants agreeing to have their interview videotaped were also asked to sign a waiver form, to allow the videotaped interview to be shown publicly. Signing this waiver form meant that the anonymity of the participant could be compromised if their face appeared in a video that was shown publicly, and participants were informed accordingly before being given the form. The same consent and waiver forms were used for both relocated residents and key informants. In addition, participating residents were given an information letter regarding the study prior to the interview (see Appendix F). In most cases, this letter was given to residents when they were first contacted, well ahead of their interview. The Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo approved all of these documents, along with the interview guides, in April of 2006, before beginning research in the field. A subsequent Ethics modification granted approval for use of the recruitment poster.

3.5 Collecting Data

All participants were given the choice of the interview location as well as their preferred recording method. I tried to encourage participants to choose the location that would be the most accessible and most comfortable for them. For residents, this often meant their homes, and for key informants it meant their offices. I also had a preference for videotape over other recording methods because of the intention to use video in the presentation of the research. Video recording also proved to be the

easiest method by which to transcribe, and was therefore encouraged, even when participating residents did not want their videotaped interview shown publicly.

Two thirds of the relocated residents participating in the study preferred to be interviewed in their homes. Three of the other interviews took place on outdoor benches in Regent Park, two took place in my Regent Park office, one was conducted at the CRC, and another in a hotel restaurant in downtown Toronto. Interviews taking place in residents' homes provided additional information about their new units and proved helpful when they tried to demonstrate a point related to the physical conditions of their home. All interviews were conducted in person and I spoke with anywhere between one and four members of a household at a time. On average, interviews lasted approximately one half hour, with the shortest interview being about fifteen minutes and the longest over two hours. Interviews with key informants were done in person and took place at the various offices of the participants, with only one exception, where it was more convenient for the participant to come to my office in Regent Park. These interviews took between one half hour and one hour to complete.

I attended most interviews with Research Assistant Clarissa Nam, who assisted with data collection according to the preferred method of participants—videotape, audio recording, or note taking. For the most part, residents were welcoming, hospitable and spoke freely; at times, we were offered beverages and engaged in casual conversation. On occasion, residents were more reserved and remained skeptical of the research. In particular, some residents were concerned about the relationship between my project and TCHC, and seemingly feared that criticism of relocation or redevelopment might jeopardize their future housing eligibility. I did my best to assure residents that this would not be the case, although it was clear that some residents were more reticent in interviews than others. In many cases, resident participants became more comfortable with the interview as time passed. As a result, some important comments were made by residents following the interview, when conversation became more casual. Most residents were surprisingly comfortable with video or audio

recording equipment present, although on a few occasions there was a marked difference in their comfort level after the video camera was turned on.

It was evident from fairly early on in the research that it would be problematic to use video in the dissemination of research results because the majority of participants declined to have their interview videotaped, and others did not want the video shown publicly. In total, only one third of residents consented to a videotaped interview that could be shown publicly. Therefore, attempts to present only video from the research would not provide a fair representation of all residents who participated in the study. On the other hand, nearly all key informants agreed to have their interviews videotaped and also signed waiver forms agreeing to the presentation of their interviews publicly. The only exception was one informal key informant interview early in the research process, which was documented through note taking. *Table 3.2* shows the breakdown of data recording methods in relation to both relocated residents and key informants.

Table 3.2 – Participant Preferences for Data Recording

Recording Method	Relocated Households	Key Informants
Videotape with waiver	7	6
Videotape without waiver	2	-
Audio recording	6	-
Note taking	4	1

3.6 Sample Characteristics

The residents of the 21 households that participated in this study were a diverse group in terms of age, gender, ethnic background, and household size. There was representation from households that remained in Regent Park, relocated to nearby TCHC buildings, or dispersed further out in the GTA. Similarly, there was at least one participant household from five of the six buildings that were demolished as part of phase 1. It was my intention to recruit a diverse sample such as this, even though I was aware that it would be impossible to attain a random or representative sample based on

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the recruitment strategies employed in this research. Ultimately, more effort was dedicated to

attracting residents who would expand the diversity of the sample and help refine ideas rather than

simply contributing to the sheer size of the sample.

Resident participants in this study ranged in age from 18 to being in their late 60s, although

participants often represented households where there were children or teenagers younger than 18

who did not wish to participate. Of the residents interviewed, three were under the age of 25 and five

were over the age of 55. Thirteen of the interviews were with households with children under the age

of 18. On occasion, I was able to speak with these youth residents for a brief amount of time, but a

child under 18 never represented a household during an interview. Of the 21 interviews, there were a

total of 26 adult residents over the age of eighteen that were formally interviewed. Of these, 15 were

female and 11 were male.   Four of the interviews were with single residents who live alone and four

of the interviews were with single parents who have their children with them some or all of the time.

Table 3.3 shows the breakdown of the household size of the sample relative to that of Regent Park

and that of households involved in the phase 1 relocation.

Table 3.3 – Household Sizes in Regent Park[21]

Household Size	Sample	Regent Park	Phase 1
1	24% (5)	3.4%	31.9% (123)
2	24% (5)	9.7%	16.1% (62)
3	10% (2)	16.4%	16.1% (62)
4	10% (2)	28.1%	20.2% (78)
5	19% (4)	21.1%	12.7% (49)
6	5% (1)	10.8%	1.6% (6)
7	5% (1)	5.5%	1.0% (4)
8+	5% (1)	5.0%	0.5% (2)

The ethnic backgrounds of the 21 households represented in the sample were diverse, as are

the ethnic backgrounds generally throughout Regent Park. TCHC has recorded significant

demographic changes in Regent Park over the last ten years with the arrival of a large number of immigrants to the area. Their own statistics demonstrate that more than half of the newest immigrants in the area are from Mainland China and Bangladesh. The majority of the other immigrants are from Vietnam, Somalia, Jamaica and Sri Lanka (TCHC 2004). At the same time, TCHC has noted a significant reduction in Regent Park residents that speak English as a first language. While this study primarily appealed to the English speaking population based on the recruitment methods chosen, a number of interviews were with households representative of the recent immigration to the area. This included four households from Sri Lanka, three from Somalia, and two from Bangladesh. Although Regent Park has a large Chinese population, no Chinese residents were interviewed as part of this study.

Six of the interviewed residents were Canadian-born and English-speaking and three were English-speaking and from the Caribbean. The average number of years that these households had lived in Regent Park was 28.3 and 28 years, respectively. This is significantly longer than the average of the sample, which is 15.9 years, and the average of other foreign-born residents, which is only 6.7 years. I interviewed five residents that had lived in Regent Park for longer than 30 years, with the longest being 46 years, and five residents who had lived there less than five years, with one household moving to Regent Park only one year before the relocation. The median time period was eight years in Regent Park.

One third of the households in this study had at least one working adult. This is consistent with the neighbourhood overall, as TCHC data indicates that approximately 36 percent of Regent Park households earn their primary income from employment (TCHC 2004). All seven of these working households were families of two adults and at least one child. A total of 13 households had children in school or day-care, but the children from only one of these households were forced to

change schools because of the relocation. At least one third of the sample had one or more members

of the household with a disability that required special consideration with their housing.

The majority of the residents in the sample relocated to other units in Regent Park. There are

two explanations for why such a high proportion of this study's participants were residents who had

relocated within Regent Park: 1) most of the recruiting for this study took place in Regent Park, and

2) a significant number of residents did in fact relocate within Regent Park. While it was my

intention to achieve a sample similar to the relocation destination pattern of phase 1 as a whole,

residents who were dispersed in surrounding neighbourhoods were significantly more difficult to

contact. Of the eight households that were not relocated within Regent Park, all were in different

buildings various distances from Regent Park. Of the 13 households remaining in Regent Park, two

were relocated from North Regent Park to South Regent Park. *Table 3.4* illustrates the relationship

between the relocation destinations of those residents participating in this study and the overall

relocation destinations for phase 1 residents as a whole.

Table 3.4 – Relocation Destinations of Phase 1 Households[22]

Location	Sample	Overall
Regent Park	62% (13)	40%
Surrounding Neighborhoods	33% (7)	48%
Other Neighborhoods	5% (1)	8%
Outside TCHC Housing	0% (0)	4%

Similar to patterns of relocation destination, I sought a diverse group of residents from each

of the six buildings that were demolished as part of phase 1. While I did interview residents from five

out of the six buildings, I also interviewed significantly more residents who had moved from 347

Parliament, and, to a lesser extent, 41 Oak. I did not interview any residents from 540 Dundas and

conducted only one interview with a former resident of 208 Dundas. There were two participants that

were relocated from each of 248 Sackville and 470 Dundas. While snowball sampling may have

played a part in the uneven distribution from each of the buildings, it was a difficult variable to control in any case. A survey conducted by TCHC following the relocation yielded some similar patterns of participation among the different buildings, suggesting perhaps a propensity on the part of residents of certain buildings to participate more than others. Also, the total number of units in these buildings was an additional factor. 347 Parliament and 41 Oak were both larger buildings; therefore, there was a greater likelihood that they would provide more participants. *Table 3.5* shows the breakdown of both this sample and that from the TCHC survey, as well as the total number of units in each of the buildings.

Table 3.5 - Phase 1 Building of Relocated Households[23]

Building/Sample	Sample	TCHC Survey	Total Units
347 Parliament	57% (12)	20%	72
41 Oak	24% (5)	24%	109
248 Sackville	10% (2)	20%	72
470 Dundas	10% (2)	10%	48
508 Dundas	5% (1)	15%	72
540 Dundas	0% (0)	7%	47

Key informant interviews were conducted with a variety of individuals who had been directly involved with the relocation and redevelopment of Regent Park. This sample was clearly more intentional and was designed to provide a number of different perspectives on the changes taking place in Regent Park. One informal key informant interview was conducted with a member of the RPNI prior to formally beginning the research. Three of the key informants interviewed for this study were staff from TCHC that had significant knowledge of the relocation process. An interview was also conducted with a representative of the CRC, who had regular contact with relocated residents, and another from Neighbourhood Legal Services, who had insight into the legal rights of phase 1

residents. A final key informant spoke on behalf of the Daniels Corporation—the builder and co-developer of the phase 1 redevelopment of Regent Park.

3.7 Data Analysis

All audio and videotaped interviews with relocated residents were transcribed using a word processor so that they could be imported and coded using the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. Interviews requiring note taking as the recording method were in most cases typed on computer at the time of the interview and so were immediately ready to be used in NVivo. The video from key informant interviews and seven resident interviews was transferred to a password-protected computer at the University of Waterloo to provide easy access to the data in its original form.

After all the interviews had been imported into NVivo, each was given a separate identification code—a letter between A and U—to help randomize the interviews and remove the names of the participants. This allowed me to share data without revealing the identity of the participant and also allowed me to more objectively analyze the interviews insofar as I did not immediately recognize who the participant was.

After successfully randomizing the order and disguising the identity of the interviews, I browsed five of the twenty-one interviews in order to identify some of the relevant concepts that I could use in the coding process. With these concepts in mind, I then began the process of open coding each of the 21 interviews. The open coding process resulted in the creation of 81 separate nodes. Along with creating the various nodes, I summarized each interview in a series of point-form notes and also recorded the attributes of each sample household. The second time through the material I read the passages in each node and made a codebook, consisting of a description of each node and a relevant example. At the same time, I made sure each passage was in the appropriate node and made sub-nodes or moved passages when necessary. I made a series of self-reflexive notes in order to record this part of the coding process. Going through the material a third time, I returned to

the transcribed interviews and looked for any additional passages that could be coded. In the process, I made some additional nodes and made the necessary additions in the codebook. The fourth time through the material, I grouped the nodes—or concepts—into categories. The coding and categorization of the data collected was a means of reducing broad amounts of data into something more manageable and comprehensible. From the codes and categories I was able to reflect on the significance of the research as well relate it back to the literature and research objectives. I went through the material a fifth time in order to find specific quotations that could be used in the thesis itself.

3.8 Ongoing Presence in the Community

Following the completion of the final resident and key informant interviews, thank you cards were distributed to participants; those in the local neighbourhood were hand delivered and others were mailed. I also took this opportunity to get signatures for outstanding consent and waiver forms in the few cases where they were not attained at the time of the interview.

A key concern among Regent Park residents and agencies alike is that individuals, groups, and institutions come to the neighbourhood to conduct research, but do not return to provide any information from their research to the Regent Park community. As a result, I resolved early on that a printed copy of this thesis would be stored at RPNI upon its completion. All participants will be contacted upon the completion of this thesis and given information on how to access it if they are interested. Furthermore, there is still an interest in creating a video production of this research that could be shown to a select audience. The Parliament Street Library, adjacent to Regent Park, has suggested that a video could be shown there. In any case, there will be a concerted effort to make this research part of a longitudinal study that will demand further research in Regent Park and a continued presence in the community.

3.9 Limitations

The primary shortcomings of this study relate to the representativeness of the sample. As described above, a number of challenges involved in sample recruitment prohibited the selection of a large or representative sample. Inevitably, the various approaches taken to attract participants influenced who was eventually interviewed, although in different ways. While the small sample size prohibits generalizing the results of this study to the entire population of relocated Regent Park residents, the qualitative methods chosen here aimed to bring significant depth to the data collected from personal interviews. To this extent, the diversity of the sample in terms of residents' age, ethnocultural background, family structure, building of origin and relocation destination were of fundamental importance. Nonetheless, it is important to discuss how the recruitment strategies employed in this research affected the sample size and characteristics.

Snowball sampling was an ideal approach for this study because of the obvious difficulty I faced in contacting residents. This method did not provide the number of contacts that I had anticipated, but, in many cases, relocated residents were an excellent source of knowledge on where to find other relocated residents. Of the four interviews that resulted from snowball sampling, all four residents were from the same building and from the same ethnic background as the resident who provided the contact information. This was an obvious limitation of the snowball method, as I was searching for a diverse sample. However, it was also understandable because of the likelihood that residents would be acquainted with their former neighbours as well as people who have similar backgrounds and speak the same language.

The poster campaign and canvassing in Regent Park limited the potential to attract residents relocated to surrounding neighbourhoods. While I did make an effort to hang posters at select buildings outside of Regent Park and talk to people at TCHC buildings in other neighbourhoods, these efforts went largely unrewarded. My regular presence in Regent Park increased the likelihood

that I would meet residents relocated in Regent Park. More specifically, it increased the likelihood that I would meet residents relocated in Regent Park North. I also commonly went to my Regent Park office during regular working hours, which may have decreased the possibility that I would engage with certain residents working similar hours.

I spoke English when approaching people in Regent Park, produced only English versions of the poster, and was generally understood to be conducting research exclusively in English. I did not have a budget for translations into the other seven languages used by TCHC for their communications with residents. I recognized that this language-barrier would be a limitation; the fact that more than 60% of Regent Park residents have a first language other than English suggests that many households were potentially excluded from participating. However, a number of residents whose first language is not English are able to speak it, and such residents represented approximately half of the sample.

It is also important to note that the resident interview guide was an evolving document and therefore not all residents were asked the same questions. The interview guide was created based on what was assumed to be the more pertinent issues concerning relocation, based largely on prior knowledge of the redevelopment as well as review of the relevant literature. It was expected that the interview guide would remain flexible as more information was gathered from residents and new issues began to arise. While the interview guide did remain consistent for the most part, questions were added throughout the course of the research and interviews in the latter half were often longer and more in depth. In particular, discussion on health effects was more common in later interviews. Furthermore, residents who were interviewed in the latter half of the study were asked more questions about neighbourhood contacts and interaction than were residents interviewed earlier.   The degree to which residents were concerned about maintenance issues was largely unforeseen at the time in which the interview guide was created. It was only after completing a number of resident interviews that

questions about maintenance were asked regularly and, in many cases, considerable time was spent discussing the issue.

The accuracy of the statements of some residents and key informants also raises a concern about limitations to this study. Just as the researcher's own preconceptions and biases inevitably play a role in the research process, so too is the research affected by the vagaries of residents' and key informants' interpretations of events. Residents did at times provide information that conflicted with the relocation policy, key informants, or other residents themselves. Also, on a few occasions, they were inconsistent in their answers, claiming things that were either contradictory or highly unlikely. Some residents also demonstrated concern that their interview responses could jeopardize their relationship with TCHC and affect housing decisions in the future. As a result, there were likely instances in which information was withheld, despite my best efforts at assuring residents that the research was being conducted independent of the housing authority and that all personal information would remain completely confidential.

Chapter 4
RESULTS

Personal interviews with relocated residents from phase 1 of the Regent Park revitalization provide the primary source of data analyzed. Interviews with key informants from the community are another data source. While the sample of relocated residents is relatively small (n=21), it is a diverse group in terms of sociodemographic background and the circumstances of each participant's relocation. These study participants' experiences and views of the relocation process are quite varied. The information that they provide contain valuable insights into the relocation process from the perspective of those who are into their first year of living the relocation experience.

This chapter will describe the results of the 21 resident interviews and 7 key informant interviews as they apply to a number of topics related to both relocation and redevelopment. It will begin by looking at residents' perspectives of the relocation process as administered by TCHC. Secondly, this chapter will detail residents' experiences in their new homes and neighbourhoods and discuss what resident interviews suggest are the more salient effects of their first year of relocation from phase 1 of Regent Park. Lastly, this chapter will look at residents' attitudes toward the redevelopment of Regent Park in general, their participation in the redevelopment process, and their hopes and expectations for Regent Park after redevelopment.

4.1 Relocation Process

According to TCHC, residents of phase 1 of the revitalization of Regent Park were notified of the relocation approximately one year before the process began (KI03). Public meetings were held and newsletters distributed prior to the commencement of the relocation process to inform and engage residents. A total of 370 households and 1160 people were moved as part of the phase 1 relocation, between April and October of 2005 (KI03). Selection of a relocation unit operated on a first come,

first serve basis. Households were given information on all available units in the TCHC portfolio and asked to choose a suitable relocation unit. Upon choosing a unit, households were given one week to inspect the premises and confirm whether that would be their unit of choice. In the event that a household declined the unit or did not respond following the one-week period, that unit was then offered to the next household on the list. Households were permitted to view as many units as they wished as long as they made their selection before the end of the relocation period—a period of about six months. Alternatively, households could have completed a form outlining their preferences for a relocation unit and TCHC staff would recommend an available unit accordingly. Households could decline no more than two of the recommendations made by TCHC staff (TCHC 2006 & 2002).

Upon selecting a relocation unit, households terminated their former lease and signed a new lease as well as a contract with TCHC that included a right to return (TCHC 2002). Legal aid was provided by a local agency and available to all residents with questions concerning their legal rights with respect to the relocation. However, only about 10% of residents consulted legal aid before signing their contract, a much lower percentage than was anticipated. This low percentage was most likely because TCHC did a good job with the relocation and people were generally quite excited about it or because residents "just didn't get it" (KI04). However, language barriers were most likely not a factor as contracts and information pertaining to the relocation were offered in the eight major languages of Regent Park.[24] In the *Tenant Agreement for Regent Park*, TCHC outlined a commitment to providing moving assistance as well as the payment of any public transit fares necessary for viewing available units outside of the Regent Park area. Furthermore, they agreed to cover costs associated with the disconnection and reconnection of utilities, including phone, cable, hydro, Internet, and the forwarding of mail. In this agreement, TCHC also states, "everyone who is relocated from a unit in Regent Park will have the right to move back into Regent Park when their

unit has been rebuilt, approximately two years from the day you move to your temporary unit"
(TCHC 2005, 4).

4.1.1 Line-Ups

The relocation office opened on April 18th of 2005 to all phase 1 residents who were to be relocated
over the following six months. The office was located in the center of Regent Park North at 415
Gerrard Street.[25] The first come, first serve policy resulted in a long line outside of the building the
morning that the relocation office opened. One resident recalled how he lined up at around two
o'clock in the morning on the day that the office opened and was approximately 35th in line (R14).
Another resident arrived even earlier:

> I was the first one in line at the first day at midnight—myself and
> [another resident]. She has now passed away. We were pretty much
> the first ones there every night. We got up at midnight and stood in
> line. All night long. Didn't know what was coming up the next day.
> Froze to death. All through May. (R21)

Other residents said that people began to line up at eleven o'clock the night before the office opened.
The line-ups continued for some time until TCHC changed their policy a few weeks into the unit
selection process; in order to alleviate the long lines, the process was changed "to allocate certain
days to certain bed sizes, in effect segmenting the phase 1 population to deliver better service"
(TCHC 2006, 9).

The competition for unit selection was exacerbated by the fact that many phase 1 residents
wanted to relocate within Regent Park, although there were only a limited number of units available
(TCHC 2006 & 2002). One resident explained:

> I was actually in line, here at the office, at 3 o'clock in the morning.
> By 6 o'clock there was 200 people in line waiting to take their choice
> and this was my first choice that was on the list and I grabbed it
> because I wanted to stay here.

And while many residents sought relocation within Regent Park, specific buildings were also high in demand. For instance, one building, in particular, was preferred among families with children because of its proximity to the elementary school and to shopping facilities (R07, R14, R18).

Line-ups outside of the relocation office were a source of stress and anxiety for a number of phase 1 residents, many of whom believed these line-ups to be part of an unorganized and unfair process. One resident explained, "you just come, and the security they just give you a number and stuff, but they are not actually organized. Well, they are just like pushing and shoving each other" (R17). Another resident reported a similar experience:

> The second time that we lined up was the official thing. They had little tents and doughnuts and everything. Made it the media type thing. But the third time, it was a riot. Literally fistfights. People pushing into the doors, everything. We had security and police. It was very nasty. (R21)

For another resident, a single mother with three children, the process was also unorganized and unfair:

> Yeah, I don't think it is good idea waking up and lining up. The system is kind of [pause] the system is kind of African. That is how, back home, we used to do it. You line up and there is no system. This is now, technology and everything, they know. It is not safe for everybody. Even I had to wake up early in the morning, 4 o'clock, to line up. (R07)

Because of her three young children, she could not easily find time to make it to the relocation office: "I went the first day, I filled in the form…I couldn't find anything, the day I went. I can't make it; wake up early in the morning to line up. First come, first serve: That is why I end up the last." In fact, her family was one of the last to leave their building. In the end, she said, she made a request to the relocation office—"give me anything"—because she felt unsafe in the nearly vacant building.

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Other single mothers with children expressed similar frustrations with the first come, first serve process because they did not have the time required to wait in the long lines (R18, R21). Families with one or more working adults experienced similar problems with the line-ups (R13, R19, R20), as did at least one resident with a mobility disability (R16). In many of these cases, residents did not relocate to the area to which they had originally wanted to go. In one case, a single mother of three hoping to relocate in Regent Park eventually settled for a large apartment nearly 22 kilometres away (R18), despite her claims that she went regularly and repeatedly to the relocation office. In several instances, residents missed school or work in order to wait in long lines at the relocation office (R13, R15, R17).

Some residents believed the first come, first serve process to be a fair approach to unit selection—even if they themselves found the line-ups to be problematic (R15, R17). There were also some residents who did not seem to be inconvenienced with the line-ups and were able to secure a relocation unit fairly quickly (R01, R02, R15). One resident mentioned how the anxiety about the relocation itself caused people to take unnecessary measures with respect to lining up early. In addition, she observed that even people who were not part of the relocation process came to the line-ups out of curiosity (R09). It was also suggested that the line-ups were a result of people being "panicked and scared" and "not understanding the process" (R16).

4.1.2 Choosing a Relocation Unit

Beginning about one year before the relocation, TCHC was able to maintain a number of vacant units in Regent Park North and Regent Park South to accommodate a good portion of the households that preferred to relocate within the existing neighbourhood. Of the twenty-one households participating in this study, six households relocated to the first unit that they selected—all in Regent Park. Two other households had TCHC select a unit for them and another two were largely able to circumvent the formal relocation process by finding available units in Regent Park on their own. The experiences

of the remainder of the participating households varied considerably, although in some cases it is evident that these households did not relocate to their preferred unit, or even a preferred neighbourhood.

There are a few possible explanations as to why a household was not able to find a suitable relocation unit in their preferred area. In some cases, households were at a disadvantage because they did not have sufficient time to dedicate to the task. This includes the time necessary to wait in the aforementioned line-ups, as well as the time necessary to view units. Some residents described a preference to relocate outside of Regent Park, but could not find the time necessary to look for units in other neighbourhoods, either because of their children, work, or a combination of both (R05, R13, R14, R19, R20). Another resident complained that building superintendents showing apartments were not punctual: "They may say one o'clock in the afternoon, and you'll be sitting there until three o'clock in the afternoon. When you have a lot of people out that are disabled, sitting out there waiting, it's pretty hard" (R21).

Along with the first come, first serve process, the *Tenant Agreement for Regent Park* states, "when tenants come back they will be able to choose their permanent units. Tenants will make their selection in the order that they left their old units. The tenants who leave first are given first choice of units to return to." While this may have been an incentive for households to begin the relocation process early, it also put additional pressure on certain households that were already limited in their time. For one resident, a working mother pregnant with her fifth child at the time of unit selection, the relocation process placed demands on her family's time that could simply not be met:

> R20 - I wish that they give more time, more organized. Like you
> can't go 3 o'clock in the morning and these people, they don't have
> work or they don't have anything to do, they can go and wait in line.
> Somebody, they even sleep in front of the office, and we are treated
> like animals, it is not good. They are fighting in the line up, even the

security is fighting you, they treat you is not good. I just want to tell
them that I am choosing this building so when I go inside the office,
they say, 'oh you are on the waiting list.' I put my name in many
building but I didn't get called for the others. And then I gave up, it
is August and I have to move because they said, if you didn't move
before October 28th, you don't get the chance to come back. And
they will force you after that.

I - So you felt kind of pressured to just pick a place and move?

R20 - There is pressure and not enough time to look, treat you good
or to think about children. Some people working and the time is not
good. They don't have to say, you first move, you first come back.
It's not right because they are going to move you and everybody is
moving, they should consider that we move and if we want to come
back we can come back. Not first move, first come back or first
come, first serve.

The household felt pressure to act quickly not only because they hoped for a better selection of
relocation units, but also because they wanted to have preference upon returning to Regent Park
following the relocation. In the end, the household ended up making a choice quickly and relocated
to a unit that was not well suited to their needs.

Another possible explanation for why residents may have failed to secure a suitable
relocation unit is because they did not fully understand the process or that it was not compatible with
their needs. In some cases, residents had drastically different interpretations of the relocation process.
One resident, who received her first choice, summarized the process similar to how it was intended by
TCHC:

[The relocation process] was simple. You had a date set up, you went
over and they gave us a list of what was available and you picked. I
was available for one-bedroom, so you just look through the one-
bedroom apartments and you pick which ones you want to look at.

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You go look at them and then you go back to the office, you tell them that you like it. So they set it all up for you and you get the apartment, if no one else took it. If someone else checked it off too, then you had to wait a week to see if they didn't want it. (R09)

On the other hand, another resident saw the process as flawed, misleading and more difficult for some than others:

The process that they had sucked. It wasn't realistic…the time frame that [you] needed to be able to pick where you are going to live and to have time to access [it]…I thought that they basically gave us the impression that all available units in TCHC, all empty units—not all empty subsidized units—*all empty units* will be allocated to shift the phase 1 residents. And then the process that they did, they started the list, residents who are living with medical illness were lined outside, like lined up in the middle of the night. (R16)

Residents also had different expectations for relocation. One young resident described how the relocation process, and especially the line-ups, posed a considerable problem for her family. As a result, the family simply took the first unit they viewed in order to prevent any "hassles" in the future (R06). Another resident said, "some of them took longer than everybody but if you know what you want then you know what you want. Some got too picky." However, there were some households with a multiplicity of needs, and those residents had to negotiate various, and sometimes incompatible, preferences when selecting a relocation unit. This was apparent in a number of interviews, especially with working families and households in which a member was physically disabled (R13, R14, R16, R19, R20, R21).

At the same time, some residents did not feel enough information on the units was provided at the relocation office:

They could not tell you the square footage. They could not tell you the closet space. They have all these schematics, drawings. They

have all this stuff. They just had to research in order…to put [it] up

on the website. But there was nothing. It was just a giant guess that

you were going to. (R21)

A similar concern was raised by another resident:

They just threw us a booklet and it's like, well your booklet doesn't

tell us…which floor the Laundromats are…the book doesn't tell us

where we get our groceries in the neighborhood. Are groceries

going to be more expensive? I have to shop at Dominion instead of

No Frills. (R16)

These issues appeared to be of more concern to those resident participants whose capacity to view

many units was constrained by either time demands or a mobility disability.

4.1.3 Communication

Communication between TCHC and residents was an important part of the relocation process in order

to inform and engage residents and to assist in unit selection. TCHC prepared newsletters and held

community meetings, and staff also maintained regular contact with residents as they moved through

the relocation process. Newsletters and meetings were translated into the eight major languages of

Regent Park, and TCHC hired relocation staff capable of communicating in different languages. The

Tenant Agreement for Regent Park also states that daycare would be available at all public meetings.

Nearly all participating households in this study agreed that TCHC did a good job of

informing residents about the relocation and issues pertaining to the redevelopment of Regent Park.

A discussion with one resident summarizes the common sentiment among participants in this study:

I - Did TCHC do a good job of communicating with you about what

their plan was, about relocation and redevelopment?

R09a[26] - Oh yeah, we got letters like, months ahead. Well, a year

ahead about the move out.

R09b - Oh, they did it too eagerly, they were telling people like months ahead.

R09a - But it was good!

I - Were there a lot of meetings to go to?

R09b - Yep, there were.

R09a - I didn't go to them all, I only went to one because they gave us enough information in the letters that we received in the mail.

Also, residents speaking a first language other than English were appreciative of TCHC's effort to provide translation at both meetings and in newsletters (R13, R14, R17). Still, a few residents thought they were at times given inaccurate information (R01, R08, R21) and other residents believed they were well informed, but they did not necessarily trust all the information that was provided (R16, R20).

While most residents claimed to be well informed through meetings and newsletters, in some cases, residents did not believe that there was an opportunity for them to participate actively with the decision making process around relocation. One resident explained:

There was a meeting but they are just telling us about the plan. I don't think anybody was talking about their opinions. You just ask about questions about whatever meeting you go and whatever concerns you have. That's their plan and in their plan you will ask any questions and they will answer. That is how it went in the meeting. (R07)

One relocated resident claimed that when residents did have a chance to contribute, their opinions "went on deaf ears" (R21). Another resident echoed this sentiment, saying, "this isn't about a resident-driven process, it was never about a resident-driven process…people would suggest stuff all the way along and they would say, 'yeah that's a good idea, let's implement that.' It never got implemented" (R16). From both the resident and key informant interviews it is difficult to discern to

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what extent residents' opinions were in fact incorporated into the decision making process. However, it is apparent that at least some of the participants in this study perceived TCHC's efforts to engage residents as primarily a token gesture, or, according to one resident, "something they do because they have to" (R07).

At the same time, many residents were reluctant to get involved at all. One longtime resident said, "we get letters when the meetings come up. I don't go to them that much though, but we get letters when the meetings come up. If I think it's important I'll go" (R10). Meetings in Regent Park, following the relocation, have also been inconvenient for those families who have moved from the area. A resident relocating over a kilometre outside of Regent Park, explained, "I didn't attend these meetings, I am busy and it was like 7 o'clock, the last meeting was 7 and my children just finish 6:30 computer class and we are tired and we have to go home" (R20). Still, other residents appreciated the effort that TCHC made in informing them and helping residents become part of the process: "we had a lot of meetings, we had meetings every second week or so, explaining to us what the buildings were going to look like. And we had the big ceremony [that] we all participated in, we can take a hack at the first building, which was really interesting" (R01).

While residents largely praise TCHC's efforts to communicate with residents prior to the relocation, there were some concerns expressed about communication efforts following the relocation. With the relocation office closing following the relocation of all phase 1 residents, many relocated residents did not know where to direct their questions or to acquire information not contained within newsletters:

> So, they have this relocation office. They've closed it down because
> they've relocated everybody and then they're going to reopen it to
> accommodate phase 2. But there's no one to call. If you had a
> question, if you wanted to know if there was an upcoming meeting,
> is there something at City Hall. When is the planning phase? When

is the architectural design coming out? You know, people are interested in all this. (R16)

Similarly, another resident who is struggling with a number of issues following the relocation, said,

And now, the relocation office is closed, so you cannot go to complain, nobody will help you. At least they can put some connection to contact to these tenants….that is why I can't move. I am stuck. I am just waiting and I hope they finish soon….and if you go to my manager's office, they say, 'we don't know'. If you go to the Regent Park office, they don't know too. They should have an office open, to contact with the people that they moved out. You know, just for contact, they can put one person at least for one day. (R20)

While residents relocated outside of Regent Park could contact their new local Community Housing Office, providing they knew how, it was not clear that this office would be able to handle questions directly related to relocation or resettlement in Regent Park.

Only two participants identified the closure of the relocation office as an important factor in maintaining communication with TCHC, although a number of residents expressed uncertainty about various issues relating to the redevelopment of Regent Park that might have been addressed by the continued operation of a relocation office. Many residents were uncertain about the relocation time frame as well as resettlement plans for those residents wishing to return to Regent Park. Rumours also circulated regarding the type of buildings that were to be constructed in phase 1 and the number of RGI units that would be made available—much of which contradicted the information provided by key informant interviews. When demolition slowed down at one point, one resident reported that the project had run out of money and that it would not be continued (R17). Another resident claimed that demolition had been postponed because of the discovery of a dead body in one of the half demolished buildings (R21).

4.1.4 Fairness

TCHC aimed to ensure that the phase 1 relocation was an equitable process and that all relocated

residents had a similar opportunity to find a suitable unit for relocation (TCHC 2002). TCHC has

acknowledged that the first come, first serve process works "in theory," but, in reality, disadvantages

residents who cannot access the relocation office at prescribed times or cannot endure long waits.

They have also identified "the elderly, households with young children, the physically challenged,

[and] those who work or have other commitments during the prescribed work schedule" as groups

that were at a disadvantage (TCHC 2006, 11). These groups, however, likely comprise the vast

majority of households in Regent Park. 16 of the 21 participant households in this study could be

placed in one of these groups. Not surprisingly then, similar observations about the limitations of the

first come, first serve approach were made by participants in this study: one resident believed seniors

should have been given priority in relocation (R02), two other residents described their own difficulty

with the process as single mothers (R07, R18), another resident believed that the process did not

accommodate the disabled or seniors (R21), while still other residents identified the line-up as

problematic for working families (R13, R19).

Some households identified a number of issues that they believed left them at a serious

disadvantage when having to choose a relocation unit. One resident explained,

> …it wasn't fair. You have to line up to get there, to get the
> apartment, from 3 o'clock at night and I can't go at 3 o'clock. I have
> to feed my kids and then have to drop them to school, to go line up
> then I have to go to work at 11, I come back at lunch time and I still
> didn't get inside the office to choose the apartment. And all these
> apartments I look at before, somebody refuse it before me. So when
> my name comes they call me. When I see this, I saw the kitchen is
> big and I said, 'okay,' no more left at Regent Park, it's close to work,
> I can walk, but it's still far. It's still too hard for me. Like the baby,

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she was 1 month old, I go there outside in the snow, 6 times a day,

just to pick up and drop off, it was so hard…because I am a mother

and I am working so it's hard for me, between work and home and

the children, it was so hard. (R20)

For some residents in similar situations, not being able to devote sufficient time and resources to

finding a relocation unit resulted in a hasty decision that was not necessarily best for the household.

This particular resident said she realizes that she did not give enough consideration to selecting a

relocation unit and made a decision she now regrets.

A likely unforeseen phenomenon that challenged the fairness of the relocation process was

what some residents referred to as "favouritism" amongst residents hired as staff by TCHC.

Approximately one quarter of households participating in this study accused the staff of giving

preference to another household based on personal relationships between staff and other households.

Residents who discussed the possibility of favouritism also indicated that this might have been based

on ethnic similarities between staff and residents:

R05a - We had bad experience for this because there is something

happening behind this in the office, they have some official problem.

Because first we choose this apartment and then after that one lady

she said that we can't because officially someone came and they

request for this apartment. So there is [pause] fighting for this

apartment. And unfortunately, we didn't get this one.

I - So it was kind of first come, first serve…?

R05a - It's not first come first serve, it's different one. We are the

first one but I think their friend or somebody after they came and

they got it

R05b - They are favouring them, favouring their own community.

Other residents discussed the issue more directly:

No, you had one or two, and everybody wanted to see that one or two. People would go only if that person specifically was on at that day. And I think that there's a lot of racial discrimination involved. There was a lot of racial discrimination. I lost an apartment because of that. I know that for a fact. I also know of another person that lost an apartment because it was a friend of the person that was doing it…. After a few weeks of going in and out of this office, racial tensions were created. It was very evident that it was there. (R21)

Other residents made similar comments about personal connections, one suggesting that staff was "engaging in misconduct," (R06) and another claiming that there was "lots of cheating" (R20). While it is difficult to determine to what extent resident staff did in fact favour certain households—of a similar ethnic background or otherwise—these allegations were a source of frustration for some residents. In all cases where favouritism was discussed in an interview, the topic was raised by the participant and not suggested by interview questions.

4.1.5 Moving

Moving service for phase 1 residents was provided by TCHC, with a few exceptional circumstances where residents moved themselves. In addition, TCHC covered most expenses related to the move, as well as for disconnecting and reconnecting the utilities. Opinions of the move varied by household with a series of factors affecting each household's moving experience. During the move, a number of residents lost items or had items broken, and, consequently, were disappointed with the TCHC-appointed moving company:

That is very bad because the movers, they break our table…I think they thought it was iron or metal or something, they dropped our table. And they are clacking on the floor, that is very bad. The move was very bad. I don't know, I don't complain because the housing

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may…but the move was bad. They should care, they should wrap

with some cloth or something, but they didn't do that.[27] (R14)

Another resident claimed, "some stuff, it broke, like the coffee table. My TV, it doesn't work when I bring it back here. But it's too old, the TV, but for 7 years I used at [my old apartment]." Similarly, a senior resident claimed that the movers caused her "stress" and "aggravation." This was largely a result of items that were lost during the move: "when I got moved, the person who moved me from here, I had a big buggy and they lost it. You know I had a lot of stuff with me and I know it was moved from over there because I've seen them put it in the van and what happened, I don't know" (R04). Another household had items broken, but thought they were insured. However, the items were not replaced and the family was not reimbursed (R06).

Another difficulty that some households experienced with the move was miscommunication with TCHC about specific details. One resident, who referred to the moving experience as "a horrifying nightmare," had her moving date postponed twice. When she did move, her new apartment had not been prepared because the superintendent was unaware of the moving date (R21). Another resident claimed that a misunderstanding at the relocation office meant that, after packing and preparing for the move, her family discovered that the apartment they thought was theirs had instead been given to someone else. This was discovered when she called to hook up their cable and was told by the cable company, "someone is already living there." She explained, "they already gave the house to someone else, then we had to look for another place so it was kind of messed up. So it took us another month to move, but we already packed everything." The family eventually did find another unit and reported that the move itself went very well (R17).

Pests, such as cockroaches and bed bugs, proved to be a serious problem for a small number of households. In some cases, these pests were transported from one household to another by way of the same moving truck. One resident claimed that her previous unit was free of pests, but she

anticipated that a problem would arise when sharing a moving van with other households that she knew had pests. She approached other residents prior to the move to ask them to help prevent the spread of pests:

> I said, 'look, you got to bag your stuff. And then pack it in boxes and launder your stuff before you come.' I mean, I did laundry before I came and I did everything the way it was said in this book, the moving manual. Because I happen to have a wooden chair and they get into the cracks. And I guess they got into the cracks of this wooden chair and that's where they were contained, in this chair. But I just went crazy. I just went nuts. I mean, I got the stigma: 'Okay, you come from Regent Park.' It wasn't a very nice thing to be labeled when you move into a new place. (R21)

Within the first few days she had to have her apartment fumigated. Another resident experienced a similar problem with pests following her move, but for a different reason. As one of the last residents leaving her building in phase 1, she recalled that the number of pests began to increase considerably as other households moved out. When she moved to her new unit, she carried a number of these pests with her and therefore encountered a similar problem after the move (R07). One resident said he was aware of the potential pest problems that could arise, but was unsuccessful in voicing his concerns to staff at the relocation office, who were "inconsiderate, rude, and disrespectful." In the end, the family bought their own supplies to try and kill the cockroaches before moving, but ultimately brought these bugs with them to their new unit (R13). Another resident claimed that the moving boxes supplied to all phase 1 residents were stored in the basement of a building that TCHC "knew was infested to the point that bedbugs were crawling around during the day, off the walls and along the hallway" (R16).

As with other aspects of the relocation process, some households encountered more difficulty with moving than others. In the case of one household, the move was a straightforward process:

> R09 - The whole move was just good and simple, they did
> everything else for us. They brought us the boxes, they got us the
> truck, they paid for the cable, paid for the move, the phone.
>
> I - Did you have any other expenses?
>
> R09 - Nope…Nothing, and they did everything. All you had to do
> was pack, well even if you couldn't pack, they got people to pack for
> you. Like [for] the older people.

In fact, nearly all participating households agreed that their moving-related expenses were covered adequately by TCHC. One resident joked about a cheque she received for a minor expense of less than ten dollars (R10). Another resident, however, claimed that he had to cover expenses related to changing his Internet account and at least four residents moved to buildings where they now have to pay hydro, something for which they were not responsible in Regent Park (R10, R16, R18, R21).

4.2 Residents' Experiences in New Homes and Neighbourhoods

As mentioned, a total of 370 households were relocated from phase 1 of Regent Park. Of these 370 households, 40% relocated within Regent Park, 48% moved into surrounding neighbourhoods, 8% moved to other neighbourhoods throughout the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and 4% left TCHC housing altogether (TCHC 2006; See Appendix G). Of the 21 participating households in this study, 13 (62%) relocated within Regent Park, 7 (33%) relocated to surrounding neighbourhoods, and 1 (5%) moved to another neighbourhood further out in the GTA. Thus, in some cases, residents relocated only a few blocks from their old homes, while in other cases they relocated to entirely new neighbourhoods. A host of other variables, such as new neighbours and the size and condition of the new unit, contributed to the unique experiences of each relocated household.

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4.2.1 Accessibility

Many residents described accessibility as one of Regent Park's best attributes because of its location in downtown Toronto. Despite the fact that Regent Park is almost exclusively a residential neighbourhood, many residents believed that they had easy access to nearby services, shopping, schools, and public transportation. One resident said of Regent Park, "it was very good living there…you have everything there, like stores, supermarket and everything. It is very convenient to live there" (R11). Another resident found it very convenient to be in the "downtown core" where she could easily access shopping and the wheel-trans bus (R21). A senior resident in Regent Park said access to the Regent Park Health Centre and other neighbourhood health services is one reason that she never wants to leave the area. She added that, from Regent Park, "I can walk up here to Parliament [street], No Frills [grocery store], shop, everywhere. You [can] go to Gerrard Square, on the streetcar, anywhere."

In most cases, households relocating within Regent Park did not experience significant changes with respect to accessibility. Some households reported no changes at all, while others referred to what were admittedly minor details such as now having to carry groceries up stairs (R06, R08). At times, access to particular services improved, as was the case with one household and access to daycare (R05). Indeed, accessibility was a factor in many households' decisions to remain in the neighbourhood. One family chose to stay in Regent Park because it was a central location for accessing work and school, and there is good public transit in the area (R06). Another family cited access to schools, groceries, and local organizations as influences in their decision to stay in the neighbourhood (R19). Similarly, one household decided to stay in Regent Park because of "convenience" and "accessibility" (R13).

Residents relocating to other neighbourhoods often encountered unforeseen difficulties in accessing things that were nearby in Regent Park. Shopping, in particular, proved to be a

considerable difficulty for some residents in their new neighbourhoods. One resident who moved

approximately three kilometers outside of Regent Park, to a more affluent downtown neighbourhood,

mentioned that stores in her area are too expensive. She still prefers shopping in the more affordable

stores close to Regent Park: "if you want dresses or shoes, everything is down there [in Regent Park],

you can go to the stores and all those things." She was particularly put out by the fact that the

supermarket in the neighbourhood is more expensive:

> Oh yes, one thing that I find that is not convenient: there is no
> supermarket around here. And if I went to the store, you can't buy,
> poor me, cannot buy anything in there because it's so expensive. I
> still have to go in Regent Park to do my shopping, like grocery, and I
> have to take a taxi up and I have to pay $8 for the taxi charging me
> from there to here. (R11)

Another resident relocating to a similar neighbourhood also expressed dissatisfaction with having to

shop in a more expensive supermarket (R16). Similarly, one resident noted that, while she still shops

at the discount supermarket close to Regent Park, she has to travel a much further distance (R20). For

a resident relocating about six kilometres away from Regent Park, there is "nothing" in her new

neighbourhood, and she continues to go to Regent Park to use the community centre and health

services in the area (R21).

Access was of considerable importance to many single-parent and working families because

of time limitations. For one working mother, the relocation made it very difficult to travel to and

from work and for her children to travel to and from school. Her new home is only about one and a

half kilometres away from her old home, but the difference has been significant, especially because

she has small children:

> Sometimes, I have to wait for [my children] so I don't come back
> home. Like the computer program, before they go by themselves,
> it's just at Gerrard and Parliament. [Now,] I have to wait there or

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stay in the park until they finish and then I come home. That was so
hard for me, especially with the baby. That's why I regret that I
come here. It's many places, even the daycare, it's too far; even the
after school programs, I have to wait outside the school until they
finish and I bring them back, because it's not worth it…to come
home and then go again. Some of my children finish 3:30 and other
one finish like 5 o'clock or 4:30. (R20)

As a result of relocation, she has also had to remove her children from an evening program at her
mosque in Regent Park because it is too difficult for her to get there after the traveling she has to do
during the day. At the same time, another resident who moved to a one-bedroom apartment, that is
also about one and a half kilometres from Regent Park, said access to services in Regent Park has not
changed. She has more time, and no children, and said she does not mind the extra ten minutes it
takes to get to Regent Park (R09). Another resident, who is a senior and does not have children,
relocated to an apartment six kilometres away from Regent Park and still found it "easy" to return to
the Regent Park neighbourhood for shopping and health services (R10).

One relocated resident, and also a single mother of three, has had difficulty adjusting to her
new neighbourhood, which is over twenty kilometres from Regent Park. An important reason as to
why she would like to return to Regent Park after redevelopment is to be closer to the services that
she uses. She has had to find new schools for her children, who also no longer attend their homework
club or programs at their mosque in Regent Park. She also used to attend employment workshops in
Regent Park, and does not know where to find similar services in her new neighbourhood (R18).
Other single-parent and working families relocating within Regent Park have also mentioned
difficulty with the added time it takes for their children to get to school (R08, R14, R19). This is
partly because phase 1 was adjacent to one of the neighbourhood schools and, as a result, all relocated
households in Regent Park are now further from this particular school. One resident described how,
previously, neither him nor his wife were able to pick up their child at school because he was at work

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and she was at home with their baby. However, his wife was able to watch from their apartment window across from the school as a teacher would help their child cross the street. Since being relocated, the mother has had to go to the school everyday to pick up her child (R13).

4.2.2 Relationships with Friends and Neighbors

Many households had developed close ties with their neighbours and other members of the Regent Park community while living in phase 1. After relocation, these households were dealing with not only new neighbours, but also with the dispersion of former friends and neighbours to different areas in the city. This was more difficult for some than others. Only a few residents participating in this study mentioned that they had made friends in their new neighbourhood. One resident who had been successful in making new friends moved six kilometres outside of Regent Park:

> I was surprised out here, you walk down the street and everybody
> kind of says 'good morning' or 'hello' and…you don't get it down
> there [in Regent Park] unless you know the person. But I love it up
> here…I make friends quickly, I still have my old friends down there
> when I go to the clubs and stuff like that but, with me, it doesn't
> matter where I go, I make friends. (R10)

One teenage participant also said that she has met new people, although some of her old friends moved away: "our neighbors, we were so close to them, but now they are in Scarborough, so it's kind of hard. But I think I made more friends now than before, because I am getting around this area" (R17). Another resident said she has maintained contact with her old friends and has also met some new neighbours: "yeah, [my friends and I] still have contact, but they are far away. I have a couple of neighbors beside me also. Yes, we do help each other but it takes time. It takes time to get to know each other" (R07).

Still, some residents, both inside and outside of Regent Park, have not met many neighbours after relocation and have struggled to maintain contact with old neighbours. For one family, they

have not met many new people in the building and most of their friends have "spread out everywhere" (R19). Another resident claimed his family no longer has the connection with the neighbours that they used to have. Furthermore, the friends that they used to see everyday, they now see "maybe once a week" (R15). According to one resident who relocated outside of Regent Park, residents were "more friendly" in Regent Park than in her new neighbourhood: "you could go outside and sit and your friend or somebody you knew, would come by sit and talk and have a conversation. But here people don't even want to say 'hi' to you in the elevator" (R09). Another resident said she does not feel safe in her neighbourhood and this has prevented her and her children from meeting new people:

> No, I don't like the people who live in this area. [The adjacent
> building] is all bachelors and singles, like men, only single and most
> of them men, and I can't trust my children to walk through that
> building. And this one here, I don't know, everybody, in the evening
> they go outside and they are together but I don't go, I don't talk with
> them. I just walk by myself. (R20)

She also added that her children are too shy to meet new kids in the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, one resident said her kids are dealing with the relocation better than she is, although she is still concerned that they spend a lot of time in the house. She mentioned that they used to have a lot of friends in Regent Park, and wanted to stay in the neighbourhood, but the family was unable to find a suitable unit. She also said she does not know anyone in her new neighbourhood and still travels the twenty-two kilometres back to Regent Park to be with friends (R18). Other residents moving out of the neighbourhood said similar things. One resident feels very isolated in her new unit: "I don't know anyone in this building, after a year and a half. No one. I know them to see them and say hello to. I've been to tenant meetings and said hello. I know a few faces and a few names, but no one" (R21).

The importance of social ties with neighbours varies considerably among residents. One relocated couple said that they consider their family to be the first priority, with friends and neighbors coming second. They added that as long as their family is together, they are happy (R08). Two senior residents relocating outside of Regent Park said they were never close with their neighbours even though both had lived in the neighbourhood for a long time (R03, R11). At the same time, many residents helped one another and depended upon their neighbours for various things. When comparing the family's old building to their new one, one resident said, "it's better in the other building, because all the people in our culture, they were in the whole building. And if we are to go out somewhere…it's easier because they can just drop us off" (R14). One single mother of three explained how her and another family from her old building alternated bringing the two families' children to a local after school program. Now she has twice the amount of trips to make, as the other family relocated to a new neighbourhood. This same resident also mentioned that she was able to leave things, such as her baby's stroller, in the hallway outside of her old apartment, because she knew her neighbours. The stroller was stolen when she left it in the hall of her new apartment (R07).

One resident said she believes she has coped well with the relocation because she has extended family and a good support system. In her opinion, it is residents who don't have this support or "who don't have family" that are most in need of the support of their friends and neighbours. Indeed, interviews with residents from one building, consisting of entirely bachelor and one-bedroom apartments, suggest that smaller families might rely more on this support. While it is not certain to what extent each of the residents living here had family and friends outside of their building, their comments indicated that this building created a uniquely supportive environment. Resident participants from this building commonly referred to the group of people living here as a "family." One resident said, "the entire building was 109 units, and it was like an entire family. Everybody knew everybody; everybody knew who was supposed to be in that building, who wasn't

supposed to be in that building. It was like a little community in itself" (R21). Another resident lamented,

> the building I was in before, it was like a family, we were all
> together, we had a rec room where we sat and met every
> morning…and now it's just [fallen apart]. Like, all the people that
> were at my building…are now gone. So it's hard to keep control of
> where they are and talk to them. It's really sad, to see it go. (R01)

Similarly, for another resident, the residents in this building were "just like one big, big family, everybody pretty much knew everybody. We had a big common room where we sat and played cards and did different things together, had coffee together" (R02). One longtime resident of the building perhaps explained it most eloquently:

> we weren't just a bunch of people all living in the same building.
> We were friends who became extended family, who'd become allies,
> supports for each other and…what made us so great was that we
> actually were a network of people that needed and supported each
> other [everyday]. (R16)

Some residents of this building also talked about their desire to move as a group, rather than as individuals, and some hope to return to the redeveloped Regent Park in close proximity to their former neighbours (R16, R21).

The comments of residents from this building suggest that what was lost with the scattering of neighbours was not just friendships, but a much more important support system that most do not have in their new apartments. For some residents, the close bonds with their neighbours gave them a sense of security in their old apartments and, since moving, they have not felt safe. One resident said of his new unit, "it's not my home, it's not my community, it's not my family, it doesn't feel safe yet" (R16). For another, changing neighbourhoods has been:

very stressful and lonely because, as I said before, [the old building] was the better building for us. We were family there, we were always together, we were always playing cards, every night we had something different going. The building I live in now is full of crack heads. It's ridiculous. You can't keep your door open [or] they walk in. (R01)

Comparing her old apartment to her new one, one resident observed her separation from her neighbours as part of a series of new challenges she faces after relocation:

[my old building] was a community. It was [more easily] accessible. You were in the downtown core. It was, for me, a lot better. Friends-wise, everything like that. I could just get on a scooter and go anywhere that I needed to go. Here, I have to use a bus, the wheel-trans bus, because I can't even go shopping. We had a grocery store just up the street. Even though there's one here, there's a massive hill, and I can't get up and down the hill. That's what I miss. I'm socially isolated here too. That's the one thing I miss about being down there. (R21)

Another resident said, "I've made a couple of new friends but they will never take place of my old friends. They are younger, you know, they are not in my age bracket" (R02).

4.2.3 Apartment Size

Relocation allowed many families to move to larger apartments, providing them with much needed extra space. For some residents, this was a decisive factor in their choice to relocate to particular buildings. One resident especially was very pleased with the much larger apartment that she moved to in Regent Park, not far from her old building:

I went over here to [the relocation office], and they asked me and I said, 'there is an apartment, I've seen this apartment available'…so they said they'd check it out and they called me over and said, '…we have your apartment for you' and I went over to see it and it was

beautiful. Nice and big. The living room is almost double the size,
kitchen is double the size, my bedroom is double the size. It's
gorgeous and I love it. (R04)

Other residents chose to move to larger units in neighbourhoods outside of Regent Park, sometimes

resulting in inconveniences or dissatisfaction with the new area. One resident said she does not like

her new neighbourhood, but is happy with the much larger apartment she has there: "I like the

apartment, it's bigger than Regent was, but that's the only thing I like here is the apartment" (R09).

Another resident feels the same:

The apartment itself is a thousand times better. It's larger; it's one of
the biggest units there is in TCHC. Because I have a thirty-foot
solarium right there, that runs the length of the apartment and I have
two walk-in closets and two major regular closets. I think it's 950
square feet, which is good, because the average is 800 or 850 square
feet. Amenities? Again, isolated. I have to go all the way to the
Danforth, or all the way down to Gerrard to go to the corner store if I
wanted a loaf of bread. So, for me, there's nothing. It's very
isolated. (R21)

For another resident, the choice to move to a larger apartment more suitable for her family's needs

resulted in other inconveniences that made relocation difficult. Both her and her children find the

new, larger apartment much more comfortable, but they also feel isolated and far removed from the

people and services that were a part of their lives in Regent Park (R18).

Relocation has provided some households with units that are better suited to their families'

size. In some cases, households were on a waiting list for an apartment with more bedrooms and the

relocation simply accelerated the process of moving the household into a home more adequate for

their needs. This was the case for one couple that had been waiting for a two-bedroom apartment

since the birth of their first child: "Yes, of course [our new apartment] is bigger. I was in one

bedroom, now it's two bedroom. And this apartment is nice…we requested for two bedroom

actually, but before they can't because they have long process and lots of people waiting" (R05). One resident, with joint custody of one child, was able to move from a one-bedroom to a two-bedroom apartment in order to provide her son with his own room (R21). Another resident moved her family of five from a two-bedroom to a three-bedroom apartment when relocating, but still preferred her old apartment because of its convenient location (R19). Similarly, a single mother of three was able to move from a two-bedroom to a three-bedroom unit, which provided her children with more space, although she mentioned that she also does not like the new building (R07). One resident did not have the same good fortune, as she was pregnant with her fifth child during the relocation process, but was still only entitled to a three-bedroom unit at that time. Since the family plans on returning, her five children as well as her and her husband will now likely spend the duration of the relocation period in a three-bedroom apartment (R20).

4.2.4 Maintenance

Maintenance of units in Regent Park has been a contentious issue for many residents in the past. Participating households in this study complained that maintenance staff have historically been very slow to respond to residents' concerns in Regent Park. One longtime resident said, "like something to fix, you tell them, you call them and tell them and they don't come right away. You have to be calling two, three times before they come." At the same time, there were significant maintenance issues in the phase 1 buildings of Regent Park that caused many residents aggravation. Pests, for example, were a serious issue for some residents. Other residents have complained of people urinating in stairwells and of maintenance staff not cleaning the hallways.

For households remaining in Regent Park, many of these problems persist after the relocation and, in some cases, have gotten worse. One family relocated to another building in Regent Park with a pest problem far worse than in their previous apartment. Furthermore, the family does not think that the pest control measures used to exterminate cockroaches have been effective. In addition, one

member of the household complained that dust problems in the new house kept him up at night (R15).

Similarly, a resident relocating in Regent Park with his wife and five children noticed a problem with

dust and the ineffectiveness of pest control, and hoped that these problems could be remedied with the

redevelopment:

> First thing, the old buildings, they have lots of dust, they never clean
> the dust even though they are suppose to vacuum the dust, like in the
> private buildings. I think once a year or I don't know when, but they
> never do that in this building and I think with the new building, it
> will be cleaner and nicer place, and very clean. And the cockroach,
> like, in this building, they came and put some poison for the
> cockroach, but not even one cockroach died, I think. (R14)

Maintenance issues are also now a serious concern for another household that relocated to a high-rise

building in South Regent Park, although they had not been an issue in their old building:

> R19a - They don't clean that much, you know, the elevator and
> everyday they pee…It's not good, it just smells! And they don't
> clean the hallway! …I went on vacation [for] a month and I don't
> think they ever clean the hallway. I see the hallways and they don't
> mop the floor, never! They don't clean; it's not fair.
>
> R19b - And this one, a lot of cigarette.
>
> R19a - Yeah, before they clean the stairs but now, they don't clean.
> For a long time, oh yeah, it's not good. I don't know if somebody
> complain about that to the office or what, I don't know.
>
> R19b - It's better, if they kind of put in cameras and the door over
> there….
>
> R19a - And the security, I don't see security. They must be walking
> around the security but they must be staying in just one place and
> that's it because I don't see any security around.
>
> I - At [your old building], this stuff didn't happen? It was cleaner?

R19a - Yeah, the cleaner is very good. They always clean
everyday…I don't know, in here, they don't clean at all.

The family also said that they were ashamed to bring friends and relatives to their new home because of the maintenance issues. They sometimes cleaned the halls or elevators on their own if they were expecting visitors.

For residents leaving Regent Park, some have encountered similar maintenance problems and others have noticed significant improvements. One resident, for example, said that she has holes in the walls of her new apartment as well as a pest problem (R20). Comparing her old building to her new one, another resident said:

[my old building in Regent Park] was a hellhole…roach-infested,
bug, mouse. I spent my entire life filling cracks with silicone. It's
literally, if you literally talked to people from [my old
building]…they'll say, 'yeah, she's the paranoid one with the freezer
for an apartment,' because I had an air conditioner blasting all the
time. You couldn't breathe in my unit because it was so hermetically
sealed because I can't stand bugs and anything like that, which is a
godsend here; there's nothing. It's an amazing building. But it's just
so isolated, that's the problem. (R21)

One other resident said she has had very few maintenance issues in her new apartment and finds pests to be less of a problem since moving out of Regent Park (R18).

A major issue for relocated residents, regardless of whether they relocated within Regent Park or moved to other neighbourhoods, was the condition of their unit at the time of the move. Many residents complained that their apartments were not cleaned or prepared for them before moving in. One resident said he contacted TCHC three weeks before his move about maintenance problems related to the sink and windows in his new unit; when he moved in, these issues were still not resolved. He claimed the unit was not ready for him and his family to move in to when they had

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to move (R14). Two other residents did not think that anyone had cleaned their apartment before the move, and that the condition of the units had possibly deteriorated while sitting vacant (R06, R20). One family had a broken pipe in the bathroom that wasn't fixed for two weeks after they moved in and, like a number of households, mentioned having to clean the unit before moving in. This family also had to postpone their move into their new unit because of slow progress on a bathroom door that was supposed to be widened to accommodate a wheelchair. Furthermore, upon moving into the unit, the family reported that the gas for the stove had been turned off. This problem was not resolved for one month, a period in which the family of eight was forced to eat regularly at restaurants (R15). One resident said that her family anticipated that their new unit would not be cleaned, despite the claims of TCHC. The family was able to acquire keys well before the move in date in order to clean what this resident called a "big mess" (R17). Two other residents said they have friends who have also complained about the condition of their units at the time they moved in (R13, R14).

One resident in particular had had serious maintenance issues since moving into Regent Park. When his family moved to the neighbourhood in the late 1990s, they moved to a 6th floor apartment without glass in the windows. He described the condition of the apartment as "horrible" and was concerned about the safety of his children. He said since moving in, he has consistently fought with the landlord in order to have any maintenance issues addressed. Upon relocating to another unit in Regent Park, he continued to have maintenance problems and struggled to get anyone to come to his unit. He criticized the maintenance staff at TCHC extensively because of their treatment of him and other residents; he felt that Regent Park residents are treated unfairly overall because they live in subsidized housing and do not have as much choice about where they can go. He also said he does not believe that this would be tolerated in a private building and thought that TCHC needs to find a way to make maintenance staff accountable. He added, "they treat tenants like animals, not like human beings" and believes the situation is "very, very sad" (R13).

According to TCHC's evaluation of the relocation, "feedback from both staff and tenants suggest that maintenance of units was an issue" (TCHC 2006, 6).[28] TCHC suggest three contributing factors to the maintenance issue: 1) "Organization restructuring of maintenance positions during the relocation which had an impact on maintenance work especially in Regent Park"; 2) "Vacant units being held in Regent Park many months leading up to relocation. Vacant units that were originally in good condition deteriorated over time and needed to be attended to a second time"; and 3) "A gap between the move-in standard and tenants' expectations when they were shown units that were not in move-in condition." But, significantly, these maintenance issues and the performance of maintenance staff have a demonstrated affect on residents' overall opinion of TCHC. It is apparent that, in some cases, residents perceive slow response times of maintenance staff or the poor conditions of their units as indications that TCHC is not mindful of the needs of residents—a factor that may also affect other aspects of the relationship between residents and TCHC.

4.2.5 Time

Participant households in this study had all been relocated for approximately one year at the time of being interviewed. Among these households, most wanted to exercise their right to return, but there was considerable uncertainty about when they would actually be able to do this. The *Tenant Agreement for Regent Park* states, "everyone who is relocated from a unit in Regent Park will have the right to move back into Regent Park when their unit has been rebuilt, approximately two years from the day you move to your temporary unit" (TCHC 2005, 4). This projected two-year time frame is likely inaccurate, however, given the progress of the redevelopment at the time of writing. Even at the time of relocation, most residents were told that it would be mid-2008 when the first phase would be complete, and now, many residents predict it will be even longer. A representative for the developer responsible for building phase 1 suggested that the first building in the development—a 22-

storey apartment for RGI households—could be completed around December of 2008, at the earliest (KI06).

Not knowing when phase 1 will be complete has been stressful for some residents. One resident is concerned that the age of her child at the time of her return to Regent Park will affect her eligibility for a one- or two-bedroom apartment. She adds,

> I never had to do this. I don't like uncertainty, I never have. I like to
> be in control of anything and everything. And, unfortunately, I can't
> do that here. There's a lot of questions: What's happening? Do I
> buy this? Will it fit into the next apartment? Do I want to purchase
> something larger? Am I going to have enough room? Do I need to
> buy this? Is there going to be enough room? Stressful. It's all
> stressful. (R21)

For residents who do not trust what TCHC says about the plans for redevelopment or for relocation, there existed uncertainty and some confusion about both the time frame and whether or not all residents will be allowed to return. One resident said,

> I don't think that as many Regent Park people will get in phase 1
> because they plan on selling the houses. They are going to build so
> many houses, I forget how many it was now 'cause we had it written
> down and they are going to sell them all. So how is a person renting
> going to get in to a house if they are going to sell them back in the
> first phase? (R02)

Even though this resident had long been a supporter of the redevelopment, she does not believe that TCHC will honour the right to return:

> I - Part of the agreement is that every person relocated from phase 1
> has the right to return.
>
> R02 - Yes, but I don't believe that's going to happen.
>
> I - No?

R02 - No, none of us believe that's going to happen.

The uncertainty about returning is complicated by the fact that many residents talk with one another and rumours spread quite quickly in the neighbourhood. One resident is concerned about her family's right to return because "everybody is saying that [TCHC is] lying and they are not going to bring us back" (R20). Another resident felt misinformed about when residents will return:

> I - Were you satisfied with the amount of information received from [TCHC], ahead of time, throughout the process?
>
> R01 - Yeah, it was good, but now there's so much lies.
>
> I - Lies?
>
> R01 - Like, they said we'd be back in a couple of years, now we just find out that we are going to be back in four years…Now, they are saying…four years before we get back because of asbestos problem.

Other residents don't think enough units will be built. One resident said, "first, I think they said they were going to be replacing 300-something RGI units when they redevelop phase 1, now I heard it's less than 180" (R16).

For other residents who are very uncomfortable in their relocation units, there is constant anxiety about when the buildings will be done and who will be allowed back in. These households are eagerly awaiting the redevelopment of phase 1, and there is a sense that their lives are being temporarily put on hold. Indeed, one resident said she has felt "stuck" since relocating. She added, "I am giving it time, only two years, if they didn't move me by two years, and if they didn't keep their promise, I have to move by myself because I can't live in this area." She was also concerned about what specifically will be built in phase 1 and felt she was not well informed: "they told me, oh we don't have a 4-bedroom, we didn't build, you have to wait until phase 2. That is what scares me too because I don't think there will be enough four-bedroom…that's why they should contact the people

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in phase 1" (R20). Another resident in a similar situation said she is hoping that they will be done on time, in 2008. However, she worried that she may not be allowed back in because her family was one of the last to move out and will therefore be one of the last to choose a unit upon returning. If there are not enough three-bedroom units, she worried that she might not get in (R18).

The uncertain time frame for redevelopment causes some families more stress than others. For instance, one family of three relocating within Regent Park is not very concerned with the length of time it takes to rebuild the buildings: "I don't think they can finish in two years. It takes time. We have no problem, we have no rush." They said they are happy with their new apartment and predict it could be as late as 2010 before the buildings will be complete (R05). Other residents had little doubt that TCHC will keep their word on the right to return: "Oh, it's like a lot of other people too, they tell us, 'you are not going to get back in there anyways, they lied to you' but they gave us a written contract." This resident also had faith that the redevelopment will take place on schedule: "Well they said I should be back there by 2008, by spring I think…well I've been watching and, yeah, they are getting along pretty good." (R09)

4.2.6 Health Effects

Many residents believed that there were health effects directly related to the relocation. Some residents experienced this first hand while others were aware of friends or neighbours who had experienced changes to their health with relocation. For the most part, these residents believed that health related effects were induced by the stress of both the relocation process and of moving to a new neighbourhood. One senior resident said she will not return to phase 1 after the stress of her first relocation:

> R04 - When I was talking to my worker, she said, 'after the buildings
> get redone, I can go back' but I would rather stay where I am
> because I am not going to live another ten or twelve years before

they get it all finished. I'd rather stay where I am because, when I

moved in last September or October, I had a lot of stress because

they come in and brought the boxes over and then they came over

and the housing said [I had not packed]. I had not done it because

nobody helped. My legs all broke out in rash, I had to go to the

doctor's, she gave me some cream, that wasn't healing up, so I ended

up at, just before Christmas time, I ended up going to [the hospital].

They put me on medication. And they had to send a nurse in

everyday. I was on intravenous feedings, I was on intravenous for a

week, I had to carry it around with me…my legs were red rock from

about my knees down, both my legs.

I - Just from the stress?

R04 - From stress, yes, and aggravation you know, the movers have

given me.

Other residents experienced depression with the relocation. One resident who had lived in Regent

Park for almost 40 years, said that he tried to participate in the relocation, but it was too hard for him:

"After the first few meetings, I just stopped going because I got so depressed. I was put in to the

hospital because of it" (R01). Another resident said he experienced the "emotional stress of being in

isolation" when he relocated outside of Regent Park. He said, "it's hard for me. If it wasn't for some

of my friends that come and visit me and call me, I think for the first four months, four or five

months, nobody even heard from me" (R16). Another resident referred to the process as "very

stressful" and said she could not sleep at night because of her nervousness about finding a new house

(R18). Similarly, one resident said, "it was just very stressful. Even at night, I can't sleep, most of

the night, I can't sleep for the first 7 or 8 months and until now" (R20).

Other residents say that the conditions in their relocated unit have affected their health. In

some cases, these changes have been positive. One senior resident claimed that she was getting more

exercise since being relocated:

Just walking up and down, the hallway here for one thing and then
every morning I get out and walk down to the newspaper store, get a
newspaper and come back…Until somebody said there was a hill, it
never bothered me, but now I know there is a hill. But you know,
it's good; it's good for me. I just got all my tests done, the doctor
said I am doing fine, my health is fine. Heart's good. (R10)

Another resident saw her health problems reduced after her relocation to another unit in Regent Park: "fortunately for me, when I moved, my health got better instead of worse, because I was spending a lot of time in the hospital. But, since I moved here, I haven't spent one day in [there]" (R02). Other residents experienced negative health effects in their new units. One resident, who moved to a building adjacent to the construction site, said both her and her son had been getting ill because of paint peeling on the walls of the apartment and dust coming into the apartment from the nearby construction site. She added that neither of them were sick before the relocation (R12). Another resident claimed that the basement in her new unit was not clean because maintenance staff did not clean basements of townhouses before residents moved in. She said that, upon moving to the unit, she became sick because of "the very dirty" basement (R18).

Both moving and the relocation process were difficult for some residents that had existing health issues at the time of relocation. One resident with respiratory and mobility disabilities said, "I am supposed to be looking after my health stuff and making me do all this other stuff, it's like a full-time job! It's exhausting. It makes it a lot harder to take care of my health" (R16). Another resident insinuated that the relocation was more difficult for those who had health problems: "it was stressful for me to move, even though I wanted to move. I still found it stressful because of my health. A lot of people younger are not well either. Seniors are sick and even if they wanted to move, it's stressful for them" (R02).

Some residents also claimed that relocation was a factor in the death of some phase 1 residents during the relocation process. Speaking of the relocation, one resident said,

> R21 - Three people have died over this that I know of.
>
> I - [Do you think their deaths were] connected with relocation?
>
> R21 - One of them I know for a fact was, because she was under so much stress. And the lady that I sat out with, [stress] basically caused her in as well. Had some degree to do with it. But there was a lady that died prior to going because she was so…[she] just had a heart attack. Just couldn't take it anymore. Stress. Even before, she was out there standing in line and everything. There's a few. I know there was one in another building, she had a heart attack over it too.

Another resident also believed that the stress of relocation was a factor in the death of residents that were acquaintances of hers:

> I know personally, one woman, there was so much stress when she moved, she wound up in the hospital and she had a heart attack and she died. Or she had cancer rather. She got stressed out and I think the cancer killed her sooner than it should have. Because she didn't even look sick when we knew her and it wasn't a year after; she was just stressed and you know and I don't think she even had herself packed. And another guy, he damn near committed suicide because he had to move. Because of the stress of having to move, he almost committed suicide. So you know, on the seniors, it was a lot of stress; more than anybody else. (R02)

For another resident, the issue of death was a very personal issue because of the recent passing of one of his parents:

> R01 - both my parents have died here…my mom, she died in [the old building I used to live in]. It's going to be hard to see that building being torn down.

I - She lived there for a long time?

R01 - My mom would have been a 50-year resident in Regent Park and she was really against the redevelopment. She said she didn't want to ever see it and she never did.

This resident believed that both "stress" and "loneliness" were factors in the deteriorating health and death of some residents. He mentioned that residents from his building died prior to the relocation and others have died since being relocated.

A key informant with first hand knowledge of relocated residents indicated that some residents from phase 1 did pass away during the relocation process (KI02), but to what extent this was connected with the relocation is difficult to ascertain. One resident thought that the connection between the death of phase 1 residents and relocation had more to do with people talking than anything else:

This one guy…told me that three people have died since they moved out. Okay! But it wasn't because of that. They had cancer before, you know. But he's blamed that it's because they have had to move out of Regent. They are not going to die because you have to move out of Regent; they might be a little bit depressed. (R09)

Another resident agreed that other residents have, in some cases, exaggerated the situation:

Somebody will tell you that a couple of people died when they moved, but that's not the case. It's just heart-breaking that they didn't have the family support; they didn't have the support. One lady said, 'well, so and so died because she moved from Regent Park' and I said, 'that's a whole lot of baloney.' She had cancer; she had sickness and whatever else. If you are sick with something like that, of course it's one of the things that goes against you. (R10)

One spiritual leader in the community suggested that talking about death is a way for residents not only to grieve for the loss of people, but also for the loss of the community itself. He suggested that

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residents' discussion of death, even that which seems like exaggeration, is part of a grieving process for the loss of what was phase 1 of Regent Park (KI02). The rumours mentioned by two residents about a body found in the concrete of one of the buildings, and therefore delaying its demolition, may be another manifestation of this grief.

4.3 Residents' Perspectives on Redevelopment in Regent Park

Plans to redevelop Regent Park have been discussed for well over two decades (TCHC 2002). In many cases, residents led the campaign for redevelopment in Regent Park, but earlier initiatives failed to receive the necessary support to begin the process. However, in 2002, with the creation of the TCHC and the transfer of responsibility for assisted housing from the Province of Ontario to the City of Toronto, new possibilities for redevelopment were explored (TCHC 2002). TCHC hired consultants to engage community members about the redevelopment process and found "virtually all residents saw the community in need of revitalization" (Meagher and Boston 2003, 41). A comprehensive Revitalization Study based on community engagement resulted in a proposed plan for the revitalization of Regent Park. This study provided, among other things, the framework for the redevelopment of the neighbourhood and the design guidelines to be implemented (TCHC 2006).

Previous unsuccessful efforts at redeveloping Regent Park have left some residents wary of the current plan. Results from the recent community engagement study found that "a history of disappointments…has resulted in a predominant mood of mistrust and disengagement" (Meagher & Boston 2003, 5). For longtime residents of Regent Park who have participated in or supported the redevelopment efforts, seeing the first phase underway is an encouraging step:

> Well for me, I never believed it because we tried it about 10 or 15
> years ago and it didn't come off the pages and all of a sudden,
> Toronto Housing took over and it got to go. But you still don't
> believe it until you are ready to go. In fact, I didn't believe it until I

> got my apartment ready to go because I didn't pack nothing until
>
> about a week before I had to go. (R10)

Similarly, another longtime resident who relocated within North Regent Park said, "a lot of people didn't think this would happen" (R04). She also took satisfaction in being able to watch the demolition and construction from the window of her new unit (R02). Some residents remained less optimistic and don't know whether or not the process will go according to plan: "Are they going to do whatever they want? I don't know what they are going to do. Until I see it, I don't believe it because they change their plan so often" (R07).

4.3.1 Resident Support for Redevelopment

According to two phase 1 residents, both of whom lived in Regent Park for more than three decades but relocated to other neighbourhoods in Toronto, the Regent Park neighbourhood has declined in recent years. One resident recalled that, at one time, the neighbourhood was a good place for bringing up children, but that over the years it began to develop problems with crime and drugs (R09). Another resident, having raised both her children and grandchildren in Regent Park, agreed that the neighbourhood was a good place for kids in the past, but not necessarily now. She mentioned that the neighbourhood has changed "quite a lot," especially in the last ten years. She also cited the decline of the neighbourhood as the main reason that she chose to relocate outside of Regent Park (R10).

Many phase 1 residents did not feel safe in Regent Park before the relocation and some continue to worry about their security in the neighbourhood. A young female resident said she does not feel safe in the area, especially in her new apartment:

> …strangers just come inside [the buildings]. Once I was just going to
>
> school in the morning, and I was opening the staircase door and
>
> someone is just sleeping there so I cannot go through that, I have to

go around and go to the next staircase. It's your building and you should feel safe. At around night time, especially around Sunday night time, you should not be around the staircase, people just do stuff. (R17)

Since moving to Regent Park only a few years ago, she says she "realized how bad it is…it's scary, I have to get used to it, but it's hard." Many residents say the crime problems in Regent Park are partly a result of other people coming into the neighbourhood and not just Regent Park residents themselves. One resident, a father of three young children, mentions that there are frequently kids doing drugs outside of his apartment, but he does not think they live in the neighbourhood:

This Regent Park is not good for any people, not even for adults or kids because we should be allowed to move to safer place. But, I don't know why these people from outside…[the] rich people, they come in, almost destroy our community and place here, but they never live here, they live outside. The rich people, even the young ones, I don't know who, they come here, they smoke here, in the hallways, we can see. (R14)

From her experience of living in Regent Park for more than 30 years, another resident believed that a lot of the crime in Regent Park came from outsiders who are attracted to the neighbourhood because the physical design makes it easy for them to elude police:

[Regent Park] was put out badly. It was made badly; there were no through-streets. So when crime or anything happened, people knew, kids knew how to [get away]. But, you know what the funny thing is, if you find that a long time ago, a lot of the trouble that started, it wasn't from the people from the park. It was from the outside, I say 50% was from outside. (R10)

Another longtime resident agreed that some of the problems, especially with drugs, came from people outside of Regent Park. But, she also believed that some residents were involved and this helped to

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give the neighbourhood a bad reputation: "you do have a few that are like that, but the whole park ain't like that. There is always one or two" (R09).

Residents also cited the deterioration of buildings in Regent Park as a factor in the decision for redevelopment. One resident said simply that Regent Park "was falling apart." She points out that there were problems with elevators and plumbing and that the walls and foundations were beginning to crack (R09). Another resident put it bluntly:

> the stairs needed to be done, the wiring needed to be done, fire had to
> be put up to code…and that costs money. And every time each one
> of the buildings had to be done, it would cost a lot of money and
> people will fix patch of grass here, patch of light here and it costs
> money. And a lot of people couldn't understand that and I guess
> tearing everything down and plumping down something new is much
> better. (R10)

Another resident thought that the building conditions were "terrible," and for this reason, she was a supporter of the redevelopment (R03). Other residents saw safety issues as an important reason for redeveloping the neighbourhood. One resident, for instance, only eighteen years old and relatively new to Regent Park, said of the redevelopment plan: "It's good. I think by doing this, they are cleaning up the area, because there's a lot of gang stuff going on, and by building a new place…they are going to clean it up, hopefully." She added, "around night time, it's not really a good area to be around, right? So, when they build the high rise…[there] will be more guards and everything so it will be a more safer place to walk" (R18).

Some residents explained that they did not see the redevelopment of Regent Park as a collaborative effort between residents and TCHC. Rather, as was the case with decisions related to relocation, some residents felt that the real decision-making was made without them. One resident did not believe that there was space for residents' opinions when it came to design considerations:

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they already had their architect. You can't have a piece of property,

I don't care who you are, sell it, have an architect come in, and tell

that architect how he is supposed to design it. It's his vision.

Because we had specific needs for the disabled. Like, why do the

cupboards have to be so high? It would be better to have a little bit

larger bathroom. We were trying to accommodate what everybody

wanted. One storage closet as opposed to scattered closets. If this

could all be incorporated. Would it be better if a person who had

special needs going in that they could opt to have a shower stall as

opposed to a bathtub? But no architect is going to listen to that. So

it was a waste of time. I sat through hours and hours of meetings

coming up with all these plans and different needs. One thing they

came up with, 'Oh everybody wants a seniors buildings.' 'What?'

How did you get that out of six hours of meetings that everybody

wants a seniors building built? So, they want to do what they

wanted. They want to control the population that's going in there.

Seniors don't have children that hang around…so, all these people

with all their nice half a million dollar townhomes don't have to deal

with unruly children. (R21)

However, two participating senior residents did support the decision to have an apartment building

exclusively for senior residents. While both disagreed with the final building design, which puts the

seniors on the top 14 floors of a 22-storey tower, they did actively express their preferences to TCHC

at community meetings prior to the finalization of the plans.

Some residents believed that the interests in gentrifying the Regent Park neighbourhood

superseded the best interests of residents. One resident said that the desire to rebuild Regent Park as a

mixed-income neighbourhood was not a decision made by residents:

they are trying to pass off that, moving us, [redeveloping] Regent

Park and making it more gentrified and more mixed classes is going

to be better, but it's really about the dollar bill. And the cost of that

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> dollar bill is human lives and that's exactly what's happening.
> Nobody wants to see it stop, everybody is supporting, and some
> people are just like, they are resigned to the fact that you know what,
> it's going to happen whether I fight it or not. And every little battle
> we've taken on, with what little bit of extra energy we have to
> expend, has been just trying to get them to understand that you are
> hurting us. You are hurting us because you're not listening to us and
> you are hurting us because you pretend that you are listening to us
> and then don't take the things we tell you under real consideration.
> (R16)

This resident also believed that the community engagement process was more about informing rather than engaging:

> it was really about manipulating residents into a fast assimilation of
> this process. Basically, it's going to happen, you don't really have
> any choices, but they are presenting it in this way, and I don't
> remember anyone actually coming to me and saying, 'hey we really
> want to gentrify Regent Park and we want to sell off like, 250 000
> square feet to a private developer for private ownership, and we are
> going to jam you all up in this building.'

These comments suggest a more manipulative process rather than a collaborative one between TCHC and residents.

In the past, relationships between the housing authority and residents of Regent Park have not always been good. Maintenance issues, misinformation, and the treatment of residents by some relocation staff have further affected this relationship, leaving some residents frustrated with TCHC. Some residents have resented things such as the landlord granting permission for film and television programs to be shot in their buildings in Regent Park, without their permission. One resident found irony in the fact that the phase 1 buildings were renovated only after residents moved out, in order to accommodate film and television crews: "they are using those building for [a television

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program]…and using them for movies. And before we never got our places painted, and now they are painting them up real beautiful. That's why I think it's funny." Some residents were also angry about the asbestos problem in phase 1 buildings, something they say they were not adequately informed about while living there. One resident claimed not to know anything about the asbestos problem until after relocation (R01), while another said, "they sent us a notice like two years [after they knew]. The notice that came, it just said, 'asbestos has been found in your building, don't disturb any of the walls, da da da da…" (R16). So, for some residents, decisions regarding the redevelopment are part of an ongoing struggle between the housing authority and the rights of residents in Regent Park. Even though some residents may support the redevelopment, they may also resent instances when they are not able to influence decisions over their own community or other times when they feel powerless because they see their position in the community as subordinate to that of the housing authority.

4.3.2 Demolition of Phase 1 Buildings

The decision to demolish all of the original buildings in phase 1 was not an easy decision for all residents to accept, regardless of their support for the redevelopment as a whole. One resident would have preferred renovation to redevelopment and would have liked to see all of the original buildings remain:

> I - Do you think overall that this revitalization was a good idea?
>
> R01 - No it's a bad idea. Right from day one I said it because they could have, what they should have done to me is, they should have took one building, tore it all out, gutted it all out, fixed it all up and got us back, it would have been much cheaper…to me.
>
> I - So kind of go building by building?
>
> R01 - Go building by building and just move us out for three or four months, paint it up, fix it up. It would've been nice. The apartment I

> had…was an excellent apartment. It was a real good building. Like
> I said before we had the rec room, where we met up everyday…

In fact, the building of which this resident speaks was one of Regent Park's newer buildings, having been completed in 1959, two years after the rest of Regent Park North (KI02). The building had also been donated by William C. Dies, one of the original members of the Housing Authority of Toronto and an active member of veterans' organizations, in order to house residents that were blind, amputees, war veterans, seniors, or disabled (KI02; Rose 1958). Another resident, while very supportive of the redevelopment as a whole, also did not like to see this particular building taken down:

> Well, that one particular building that we were talking, I don't think
> that should have went down. I think they should have fixed that,
> could have been cheaper than tearing it down. Because that was the
> last building built so it wasn't that old. That's the one building that
> they should have kept up because it was a younger building and I
> don't think there was much damage and they could have repaired it.
> It would have been cheaper for them to repair that than to tear it
> down. (R02)

From the perspective of TCHC, however, ongoing maintenance costs were a significant expense and a reduction in these costs was part of what made the possibility of redevelopment a financial reality (KI01, TCHC 2002).

In any case, it seems apparent that residents were more interested in the significance of these particular buildings themselves than such pragmatic concerns as the affordability of renovation. One resident explained, "I'd like to see [the buildings] stay standing because I've been here since I was a baby, and obviously this is home and this is what home looks to me." Another longtime resident made a similar connection between the buildings themselves and what home means to her:

there's a lot of buildings to go down, a lot of memories, I mean those

bricks and walls can tell a lot of stories. But to me, I think, Regent

Park will still be called my home, my best home, and my only home

really. That's where I got my education, my kids got their education

from there, so, to me, I am sort of the wrong person to say…bad

things about Regent except for repairs and stuff like that, but those

are minor things.

One resident joked, "my building is still up. Every time I pass by it I say, 'hi, how are you?'" (R11). Another resident found leaving her old home to be "very sad." She said, "I feel like my attachment, I was living there for 9 years, I had two of my kids there, I feel very sad when I start packing up, kind of part of you" (R07). One younger resident mentioned how he misses his old building and often finds himself walking there mistakenly on his way back from college, rather than to his new unit a few blocks away (R15).

One representative from a community agency in Regent Park addressed this connection among phase 1 residents and their old buildings. He has photographed each of the six buildings in phase 1 and collected bricks from them as they are taken down. He intends to provide each relocated resident with an 8" x 10" photo of their former building, a brick with the date that their building was taken down, as well as a calendar with various photos of Regent Park and its people. For some residents of phase 1, this has been a very meaningful gesture. One resident enthusiastically explained, prior to the demolition of her building, "I've got a picture at home where they show the building where I was, and you can actually see the apartment where I use to live in and when they tear that down…they will give me a brick with the date on" (R04). In one instance, a picture of a resident's old building was framed and on display in her new unit (R09), and bricks, photos and calendars could be found in the units of other relocated residents as well (R10, R14, R18).

4.3.3 Returning to Regent Park after Redevelopment

Residents from phase 1 have varying assumptions about what Regent Park will be like after redevelopment. This issue is important to most phase 1 residents, as an estimated 60-70% want to return (KI03, KI05). Of the 21 households interviewed in this study, 15 stated that they would like to return, 4 were unsure, and 2 households, both of whom had relocated to other units in Regent Park, stated a preference to stay where they were, rather than move into the new buildings being constructed in phase 1. Two participating households also moved into phase 2, meaning that they will be forced to move upon the completion of phase 1, and would like to move into the new phase 1 buildings.

Many of the residents interviewed were optimistic about the future of Regent Park and expressed hope that the redevelopment, and especially the mix of uses and incomes, will present new opportunities and help to address some of the current problems with crime and drugs. One resident was pleased with the effort to integrate the neighbourhood into the city: "I think it will be better. It won't be an isolated little community, sort of within stone walls. It will be opened up; it will be just like a regular neighbourhood, with one RGI unit here and there" (R21). Another resident hoped that the redevelopment will bring new opportunities for work and better educational services for her children (R20). Similarly, another family anticipated that it could become a better place to raise their young daughter, without "prostitution and drug dealings" (R08). One resident, who has been the victim of multiple thefts in the neighbourhood, looked forward to a safer Regent Park, with new job opportunities:

> In terms of security I am hoping that it will change. As the buildings
> are new, there will be more security. In our buildings, there is no
> cameras, no security, so there is drug going on, everything going on.
> I hope now that there will be cameras and more security. I am
> hoping that it will be better. I am hoping. And also jobs. (R07)

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Likewise, another resident, and single mother of three, was primarily concerned with security and believed that the redevelopment should, in fact, make things safer. She did not believe that new residents to the area would tolerate crime (R18). One younger resident expressed her hopes for a safer neighbourhood, although she feared that if the same "bad" people come back, there will not be a change and the hassle of relocation will have been all for naught (R06).

For other residents, the new buildings themselves are sufficient incentive to return to Regent Park (R19, R21). One family was excited at the prospect of living in a new home: "You know, when…the building is built, my wife and I plan to go over there because that is my first time to live in the new apartment or a home" (R19). A representative from the developer responsible for building the new Regent Park expected "a large percentage" of residents to return for this reason alone: "the community that will be rebuilt as part of this revitalization will be spectacular. I would be surprised if people don't take the opportunity to come back to this new community" (KI06). One resident expected that the main advantages of the redevelopment will in fact be entirely cosmetic and dismissed the notion that redevelopment will bring real changes to the neighbourhood: "It's not going to be different. It's going to be same. Same people here and the same troublemakers [that are] here now will be back. It's not going to change; all it's going to do is make it look better, nicer houses. The clientele is not going to change" (R02). In terms of her opinion on the current redevelopment plan, she said, "It's okay. All you can do is change the look of the park, I mean, they are not going to change nothing else. As much as they want to, they are not going to change anything else."

Another resident relocating within Regent Park and actively involved in the community also did not expect significant positive change, although for different reasons. He suggested that the current plan does not sufficiently integrate RGI units with market units because these households will live in different buildings. He also feared that putting so many RGI families into one building could present problems. Furthermore, he mentioned having worked with RPNI on the social development

plan for the Regent Park revitalization and demonstrated concern that, despite the best intentions, it may remain more of a "theoretical" plan than a "practical" plan. At the same time, he believed that the redevelopment could help address the stigma of the neighbourhood and hoped that new local businesses could provide some opportunities for residents (R13).

Other residents were not looking forward to some changes that will result from the redevelopment, especially in terms of gentrification. One resident stated his opinion bluntly, "I am not going to go back to the new phase. I think it's going to be more for the rich than the poor this time" (R01). He added, "what I heard was, it's going to be a more high-class building and I think we are going to end up paying hydro, cable and all that. It's going to be double and I don't think I can afford it to stay here. And I am not happy here no longer." Another resident agreed that many residents won't come back for similar reasons: "I don't think too many people will come back if they are going to build condos and stuff like that, I know a lot of people don't like stuff like that. And I don't think too many people will come back to the Park" (R04). According to another resident, many people also believe there is a hidden agenda behind the redevelopment and that some residents won't get back in (R13). Two other residents speculate that the co-existence of low-income renters and more affluent homeowners will create problems, especially in terms of crime (R08, R15).

Some residents also expressed the belief that if competing interests exist among RGI renters and homeowners, it will be the renters' interests that will come second. As one resident pointed out, the redevelopment is "going to completely shift the demographics of the area" (R16). Indeed, the proposed 60/40 split of market and RGI units will not only deconcentrate poor households in the area, but also effectively make RGI households a minority in the neighbourhood. One resident worried that the promise to replace all RGI units will change with time, as homeowners begin to move into the neighbourhood:

> You're going to find that in the second phase, the third phase, [there]
> is going to be even less [replacement RGI units] because those
> people that bought these houses for half a million dollars or whatever
> they're going to…be at these meetings, going "no, we don't want
> this there." And they're going to have the right, because they're
> paying the taxes. (R21)

Another resident said that he believes the changing demographics will compromise some community agencies' ability to deliver service: "[agencies] get their government funding because they are working with people living in poverty. But what happens when we start shifting the number of people in poverty [and it] becomes lower and lower? They don't get some of their funding." A representative from a local community agency agreed that agencies, such as his and many others, will have to reconsider service delivery following the redevelopment, but made no suggestion as to whether or not less services would be available to RGI households in the future.

4.3.4 Changing the Name of Regent Park

In the interviews, all residents were asked about their opinions on changing the name of Regent Park after the redevelopment. To some respondents the issue seemed trivial and they did not express an opinion one way or the other. Others, however, stated a firm opinion either in favour of or against a name change, and for reasons that are telling about residents' relationship with the neighbourhood. Key informants were also asked about the possibility of a name change, but most gave no indication about whether or not this will in fact happen. One key informant predicted that, as Regent Park begins to integrate with the surrounding neighbourhoods, the actual name Regent Park will take on less significance: "I don't think the name itself will be actively replaced, but I think that if you were to ask someone 30 years from now, 'where is Regent Park?' They would have a hard time finding it" (KI06).

The possibility of losing a name, however, threatens the meaning that some residents' apply to the neighbourhood in many similar ways as the demolition of the buildings. One resident adamantly opposed a name change:

> No, I don't think they should change the name. Regent has to be in there somewhere, I don't care where you put it...have it Regency or whatever but it has to be left in there. I think so because to take that name away, you are taking a lot of people's memories away. (R10)

Some residents seemed strongly opinionated about the name, although did not elaborate why. One resident, for instance, opposed the name change, saying simply that she "loves the name Regent Park" (R02). Another resident, who was relatively indifferent to most details of the relocation and redevelopment, was visibly disturbed by the suggestion of a name change. She quickly responded, "no, they shouldn't change the name. That's Regent Park! Why do they want to change the name?" (R11). Finally, another longtime resident, said, "I'd like to see it [remain] Regent Park because this is our home"—a comment that suggests a name change could complicate how low-income RGI households see their place in the redeveloped Regent Park.

It is interesting to note that the strongest support for keeping the name came from longtime residents of Regent Park. Not one of the eight residents who had lived in the neighbourhood for more than 15 years wanted to see the name Regent Park changed after redevelopment, although one resident was somewhat indifferent to the possibility (R09). On the other hand, only three of the thirteen residents who had spent less than fifteen years in Regent Park thought that keeping the name was a good idea. Most significantly, one resident thought the redevelopment provided an opportunity for the name Regent Park to evolve with the changing neighbourhood. He emphasized changing the stigma associated with the name and not the name itself. He also believed that if the name changed, the old neighbourhood would always be remembered negatively by outsiders because of the stigma that is currently associated with the name Regent Park (R13).

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Only four resident participants in total thought that changing the name of Regent Park was a good idea. These four were all relatively new residents in Regent Park and saw changing the name as a step towards improving the image of the neighbourhood to outsiders. One resident spoke about how the connotations of the name affect her outside her neighbourhood: "I used to go [work] at other places…and when I say I live in Regent Park, people go, 'oh Regent Park?' They get different, like shocking or something. So maybe if they change it, it will be better" (R20). Another resident has had similar experiences and said the name should be changed "because right now, when you say Regent Park, it has a bad name. So…I think they should change [it] because every time I go to school, I say I live in Regent and they say, 'isn't that a bad area?' That's how everyone's opinion is" (R17). Another resident suggested that the name Regent Park could be applied to a part of the redeveloped neighbourhood, a building or a street for example, but that the name of the new neighbourhood overall should change. She said, "It's something new, it needs a new start. Can't dwell on the past on that point" (R09).

Chapter 5
DISCUSSION

In its broadest description, this study aims to learn about the experiences of residents relocated from phase 1 of Toronto Regent's Park revitalization project. The redevelopment of Regent Park is an unprecedented event in the history of Canadian public housing primarily due to the size of the development and the scope of the relocation. In the next ten to fifteen years, more than 2,000 households with 7,500 residents will be moved from their homes to allow for the rebuilding of a completely new neighbourhood. This study seeks to shed light on the experiences of some of the first households to participate in the relocation. In the process, there is also an opportunity to make recommendations for future phases of relocation in Regent Park and other possible relocation projects in other public housing developments in Canada and elsewhere.

The results of this study come primarily from personal interviews with members of 21 different households, all of who had been relocated for approximately one year at the time of their interview. The relatively small sample does not allow for the opportunity to generalize the results of these interviews, but the data collected from this small and diverse group of phase 1 residents does provide a means for recognizing the more salient experiences and impacts of relocation. In particular, these interviews provide insight into residents' experiences with the relocation process, a process that was easier for some than others. They also shed light on the transforming social worlds of residents during the relocation and the related impacts of these changes. Finally, the interviews reveal important place-based experiences among residents, especially with respect to place attachment and adapting to current and anticipated changes in the neighbourhood itself.

5.1 Residents' Experiences with the Relocation Process

The variation in responses among participants in this study regarding the relocation process suggests that some households were more prepared for relocation than others, and that the relocation process itself was better suited for certain households than for others. In some cases, households' experiences with the relocation process were affected, for better or for worse, by details very unique to their situation. At other times, particular impacts of the relocation process were more widely experienced and a part of the relocation experience for numerous households. The resources available to households at the time of relocation, specifically in terms of time available to dedicate to the process, was significant as a household's ability to secure a suitable relocation unit was instrumental in their experience of relocation. Residents' relationships with TCHC, especially with regards to maintenance and interactions with staff, were also significant factors that contributed to the relocation experience. These relationships affected residents' levels of trust in the housing authority and, consequently, were important in relieving or adding to the stress and anxiety of relocation.

5.1.1 Resources for Relocation

Research demonstrates that the difficulties associated with living in poverty can make relocation an especially difficult process for some public housing residents (Kleit 2005; Popkin et al. 2004; Turner 1998). In most cases, households living in poverty have limited resources available to them and are more likely to have financial constraints, health issues, or limited social networks that potentially complicate relocation (Vale 2002; Bothwell et al. 1998; Wilson 1987). Furthermore, these households often have less real choice about where to live because of the limited availability of affordable housing (Gotham & Brumley 2002) and their limited access to different environments (Stokols & Shumaker 1981). As a result, public housing residents may have an especially difficult time dealing with different aspects of both the relocation process and the relocation itself.

Results from the relocation evaluation conducted by TCHC (2006) as well as the interviews with resident participants in this study indicate that significant problems were encountered with the first come, first serve process of unit selection. The degree to which households had the time necessary to wait in line-ups or view different units severely restricted their potential for finding a suitable relocation unit. Single parent and working families, especially those with young children, expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the first come, first serve process because of their own time constraints. For many residents, the pressures of time resulting from the first come, first serve policy, as well as the policy guaranteeing priority for returning to a rebuilt Regent Park according to the sequence by which tenants vacated their original units, introduce additional anxiety to an already stressful process.

Nonetheless, the relocation evaluation report by TCHC suggests that more phase 1 households (49%) recommend continuing with the first come, first serve process than changing to any of the other strategies listed in the survey (2006, 18-19). Furthermore, it can be assumed that the first come, first serve process was instrumental in motivating households to address relocation immediately; in this sense, the relocation was successful because all households were relocated by the specified date and there were no forced evictions. However, the opportunity to discuss this process with residents in interviews reveals a more nuanced assessment of the impact of the first come, first serve process than do simple percentages of the residents' expressed preferences. Significantly, interviews suggest that residents not adequately capable of dealing with the first come, first serve process, or relocation in general, experience impacts that accumulate with the relocation process rather than end once unit selection is complete. Furthermore, there is an indication that those with the most limited resources (especially time) going into the relocation process are also most vulnerable to the effects of relocating to a unit that does not meet their needs.

Within this limited sample, residents with sufficient time to line-up and view units and those who had a greater knowledge of various neighbourhoods in the city were better prepared for the relocation process than those who did not have the same resources. Many residents expressed a desire to stay in Regent Park, but those units were limited (TCHC 2002). As a result, some residents wanting to stay in Regent Park had to relocate elsewhere. Two residents mentioned their preference to stay in Regent Park but ended up moving to other neighbourhoods in part because of their limited time to dedicate to finding a relocation unit. Both households moved to units that they selected, but now say that they regret those past decisions (R18, R20).

In one case, the household moved to a larger apartment in a neighbourhood with which they were unfamiliar. The limited time and knowledge of other neighbourhoods by this single-parent family made unit selection a daunting process. Since relocating, the family has had limited access to programs, friends, and services that were available to them when living in Regent Park; the family is eagerly anticipating the redevelopment so that they can move back to the area (R18). In another case, the household was severely restricted in their ability to handle the relocation process. The family of six was expecting a fifth child and had two working adults, one with a very demanding work schedule. The mother described how her husband was unable to assist in viewing units because of his work schedule, and, as a pregnant mother of four also working part-time, she was understandably restricted in her own ability to view units. Line-ups and viewing units were considerable obstacles to overcome and she admitted to not giving proper consideration to all of the impacts of her relocation decision. She added that this was partly because the household felt pressured by the time constraints, especially because her family wanted to resettle in Regent Park and worried that if they were not among the first to move out they might not have the option to come back. After failing to find a unit in Regent Park, she chose to move to a neighbourhood about one and one half kilometres from Regent Park. The move has placed further demands on her limited time as she is further from work

and her children are further from school. Both her and her family have experienced considerable

difficulty with relocation and they remain worried about whether they will be able to return after

phase 1 is complete because they were among the last residents to move out of their building.

These two examples are instances when households slipped through the cracks of the

relocation process and found themselves relocated to neighbourhoods that were not suitable for their

needs. The limited resources that each household had going into the relocation process contributed to

hasty decision-making and poor choices. In the case of both these households, and one in particular,

the same factors that made the relocation difficult have also exacerbated their struggles in their new

neighbourhood and have further created anxieties about their right to return to the redeveloped Regent

Park. In other words, insufficient resources to make proper relocation decisions led to bad choices,

which in turn created further demands on these households, demands they were less prepared to

handle.

5.1.2 Communication and Trust

Failed redevelopment efforts and broken promises made to the Regent Park community in the past

have resulted in what Meagher & Boston call a "healthy skepticism" (2003, 7) by which residents

respond to good news. The most obvious manifestation of this skepticism is the degree to which

residents do not trust what the housing authority says are their plans for relocation and

redevelopment. This distrust theme was recurrent in resident interviews and pertained to anxieties

about their right to return, uncertainties about the time frame of the relocation, and speculations about

ulterior motives of the redevelopment itself. As a result, it was directly related to residents'

experiences of relocation and their sense of security about their future. Three significant factors that

further augment distrust among Regent Park residents are: an ongoing history of maintenance issues

in the neighbourhood, unfairness or favouritism during the unit selection process, and the level in

which residents felt they were able to contribute to the decision-making process with respect to

relocation and redevelopment.

Residents repeatedly referred to maintenance issues occurring in Regent Park before, during, and after the relocation. Of particular concern were the response times and accountability of maintenance staff as well as the condition of relocation units at the time of residents' moves. Residents' perceptions of irresponsible maintenance policies in the neighbourhood reflect poorly on overall perceptions of TCHC. Like maintenance staff, residents hired by the housing authority during the relocation process effectively become the face of the TCHC. The degree to which these staff or other TCHC staff "engage in misconduct," as one resident put it (R06), also reflects upon TCHC. Allegations of racism and favouritism during unit selection therefore further contribute to the pervasive skepticism of the housing authority and threaten the relationship between residents and TCHC.

Residents in this study nearly all agreed that they had been well informed, although they had different interpretations as to the degree to which residents were able to participate with decision-making. To this extent, it is not clear how successful TCHC was in their efforts to fully engage residents (Meagher & Boston 2003; TCHC 2002). Some residents observed the process as one-sided, and even manipulative (R07, R13, R16, R21). Some of these residents also doubted whether or not TCHC would honour their right to return, or whether the same number of RGI units in phase 1 would be built. For example, one resident said, "that's their plan and in their plan you will ask any questions and they will answer." At the same time, she demonstrated her skepticism about the redevelopment: "Until I see it, I don't believe it because they change their plan so often" (R07). Comments like this are telling about residents' interpretation of their role in the process and how it potentially affects their trust of TCHC in general.

On the other hand, some residents who supported the redevelopment, and either felt that their opinions were heard or were generally not interested in participating, appeared less concerned about

TCHC not following through with promises. In some cases they viewed the relocation as a necessary evil and, to this extent, seemed less insecure and anxious about the future (R05, R09, R15). These differing opinions among residents suggest that consensus-building prior to relocation could be a factor in helping to reduce residents' anxieties about the relocation process. In particular, an inclusive process could help to establish a more widely held perception that residents are part of the relocation process rather than their seeing relocation as something that TCHC is "doing to them." While efforts by TCHC to engage the community do appear to be extensive (TCHC 2006 & 2002; Boston & Meagher 2003), it is also apparent that these efforts were not successful in engaging all residents.

It is important to point out that residents' trust in TCHC[29] has real effects in the experience of relocation, especially for the majority of relocated households that hope to return to a rebuilt phase 1. Where residents are trusting of TCHC, they are less likely to feel anxious about their right to return, or to feel uncertain about whether or not TCHC will follow though with its commitment to building RGI units. However, TCHC's policies and the actions of its staff are carefully scrutinized by residents in the neighbourhood, in part because of the housing authority's poor reputation with residents in the past (Meagher & Boston 2003). This perhaps makes TCHC an easy target for residents' criticisms, but it also suggests the considerable importance of disseminating accurate information and maintaining regular communication with residents, especially during a process such as this. Maintenance issues and the performance of TCHC staff also have added importance for this reason. In the future, the time frame of the relocation and the success of the resettlement in Regent Park will further influence this relationship between TCHC and residents.

5.2 Social Impacts of Relocation

For most households, relocation means that they find themselves in entirely new social situations, even if the distance of their move was relatively small. Households are faced with the challenge of integrating with new neighbours while, at the same time, coping with the separation from their old

neighbours and friends. In some cases, this change was welcomed by residents who claimed not to have close relationships outside of their own household (R08, R09, R11) or simply wanted their own space (R04, R10). At other times this change had a more profound effect on residents' experience of relocation. With few exceptions, resident participants in this study had not met many of their new neighbours after relocation, regardless of whether their new unit was inside or outside of the Regent Park neighbourhood. At the same time, many residents were separated from their old friends and neighbours, who had served as a source of support.

5.2.1 Integration in New Neighbourhood

Resident participants in this study had been relocated for approximately one year at the time of their interview. In this time, few residents mentioned that they had met their new neighbours or had made friends in their new area. Some residents living outside of Regent Park described their situations as socially isolated; these residents returned regularly to Regent Park to be with old friends (R16, R18, R21). Residents remaining in Regent Park commonly compared the social environments in their old and new buildings and, almost always, preferred the old to the new.

Residents also mentioned a number of barriers they faced in integrating into their new neighbourhood. Some simply believed that the people in their new neighbourhood were not friendly or that it was a more impersonal environment (R09, R15, R19). Others felt unsafe in their new neighbourhoods, which resulted in some reluctance to engage with other residents (R01, R16). This was especially true in the case of families with children, where children were discouraged from interacting with others in the neighbourhood because of a perceived safety risk (R14, R20). This appears to be consistent with Pettit (2004) who pointed out that high crime rates can impede social integration because parents tend to shelter their children. Furthermore, residents cited different ages (R02), different family structures (R21), and different ethnic backgrounds (R14) of their new neighbours as further barriers to social integration in their new neighbourhood.

Clampet-Lundquist (2004) found that the stigma associated with being from a particular public housing development can have negative consequences for relocated residents, even those relocating from one public housing development to another, and make it difficult for some to integrate into a new neighbourhood. The stigma associated with being a resident of Regent Park (Purdy 2003) was an issue for at least one resident participant in this study, although it is not certain to what degree this affected her integration into her new neighbourhood. She mentioned that she "got the stigma" of being from Regent Park shortly after moving in and having to have her apartment fumigated (R21). Additionally, a newspaper article linking rising crime rates in an East Toronto neighbourhood to the Regent Park relocation provided another indication of the relationship between stigma and relocation (Archer 2006). It is also interesting to note that some Regent Park residents also have highly generalized opinions about other TCHC-owned properties in the surrounding area, including different perceptions about the North and South neighbourhoods in Regent Park, and this affected their own relocation decisions regarding places they didn't want to go (R02, R04). However, of the two participating households moving from North Regent Par to South Regent Park, neither described any problems resulting from the change of neighbourhoods (R13, R19).

Perhaps the most important factor affecting the integration of residents into their new neighbourhoods is the amount of time they have spent there. In their study of the Gautreaux program, Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum (2000) discovered that barriers to integration into a new neighbourhood abate over time, a similar conclusion made by Kleit (2001). However, in neither case is there an indication of what kind of time frame can be expected. Significantly, Clampet-Lundquist (2004) discovered that, after two years of relocation, most families relocated from public housing in Philadelphia had not yet rebuilt social ties comparable to their former neighbourhoods, regardless of whether they remained in or left public housing. Also, she noted that those residents seeing their new neighbourhood as temporary could be more reluctant to build friendships during relocation. This

appeared to be the case with some residents who were eagerly awaiting the redevelopment, and, in some cases hoped to be re-united with old friends when they resettle in Regent Park following the redevelopment.

5.2.2 Bonding and Bridging Social Capital in Relocation

Efforts in the United States to rebuild public housing as mixed-income neighbourhoods through the HOPE VI program as well as efforts to deconcentrate poverty through scattered-site Section 8 vouchers both emphasize the need to bring public housing residents into contact with more affluent neighbours. It is argued that these connections will introduce poor residents to positive role models and new employment opportunities, among other things (Kleit 2001). Similarly, Clampet-Lundquist (2004) points out that the motivations and the anticipated outcomes of these projects are fundamentally based in building the social capital of public housing residents. As a result, previous research efforts on these programs have largely focused on residents' abilities to make new social ties after relocation (Kleit 2005 & 2001; Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Cunningham 2004; Pettit 2004; Popkin et al. 2004). What has largely been overlooked in the academic literature is how the severing of relationships through relocation affects residents' experiences of relocation.

Results from this study suggest that the previous relationships of many phase 1 residents among their friends and neighbours had formed an important social support system that has not yet been achieved in new neighbourhoods. In some cases, these social networks provided an important form of bonding social capital that helped residents with day-to-day activities—the "getting by" as discussed by Briggs (1998). Residents from one building alluded to their feeling of being a "family" and relying on one another for support. Other residents mentioned issues of trust, such as leaving items in the hallway of a building (R07) or having others help bring children home from school (R13). Furthermore, residents mentioned getting rides from neighbours (R14) and sharing responsibility for bringing children to after school programs (R07). These are the subtle benefits of

bonding social capital that depend upon frequent contact and proximity in order to be sustained (Burt 1992; Bourdieu 1986). As a result, they are threatened by the severing of relationships and scattering of residents. Paradoxically, it is the benefits of these bonds in particular that could prove especially valuable in coping with the stress and additional demands placed upon households during relocation.

On the other hand, the role of bridging social capital—understood as gaining access to new resources and information (Putnam 2000; Burt 1992)—did not appear to be a significant part of the relocation process, especially relative to the objectives of scattered-site relocation in the United States. There are a few reasons for this, with the most obvious being that most residents did not show signs of making new connections in their new neighbourhoods, thereby making it unlikely that they could use relationships with new neighbours for "getting ahead" (Briggs 1998). Furthermore, few residents in this study were actively pursuing those things generally considered to be advantageous through bridging social capital, especially job opportunities (Burt 1992). Lastly, unlike the poverty deconcentration efforts in the United States through the Section 8 voucher, the Regent Park relocation moved most residents to other buildings in Regent Park or other RGI buildings in surrounding public housing neighbourhoods, and therefore did not expose them to more affluent neighbours.

While bridging social capital did not appear to play an important role in the relocation one year into the process, it is intended to be a factor in the redeveloped Regent Park. Like mixed-income public housing redevelopments in the United States, the redeveloped Regent Park will provide a means for middle class homeowners and RGI renters to co-exist in one neighbourhood. However, the degree to which this will provide new opportunities for RGI households is questionable. Previous literature on redevelopment, as well as the responses of residents in this study, suggests that a series of barriers could prevent extensive interaction among these groups. One resident believed that the segregation of homeowners and renters from building to building will preclude integration (R13). Another suggested that class-based differences could result in polarization and promote crime (R15).

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Other residents felt that the new neighbourhood will be a "place for the rich" (R01) and that RGI residents will be marginalized (R16, R21). Contact theory further suggests that interactions are most positive when they are between people of equal status (Kleit 2005 & 2001). Goetz (2005) also points to cultural and language barriers as impediments to integration in new communities. Indeed, the degree to which many phase 1 residents have not yet met new neighbours after relocation suggests that integration after redevelopment may be a long process.

5.3 Place-Based Impacts of Relocation

Interviews for this study with relocated residents from phase 1 of Regent Park were conducted as the first physical transformations of the Regent Park neighbourhood were taking place, namely the demolition of the phase 1 buildings. The demolition of these buildings was difficult for some residents to observe because of their own attachments to the neighbourhood. Some residents discussed an emotional attachment to the physical space of Regent Park, which in itself represented "home" or memories and experiences of times past. As residents discussed the drastic physical changes envisaged for the neighbourhood, they revealed uncertainty about their own place in the redeveloped Regent Park. The importance of the redevelopment being a collaborative process re-surfaced as some residents were critical of what they believed to be their subordinate role in the decision-making process. Ultimately, questions about who this neighbourhood belongs to and who this neighbourhood is for demonstrate the emergence of Regent Park as a "contested space" (Gotham & Brumley 2002; Wright 1997).

5.3.1 Place Attachment

Literature on place attachment suggests that "emotional connection to place" (Manzo & Perkins 2006, 339) is largely experienced unconsciously (Proshanksy et al. 1983; Stokols & Shumaker 1981; Relph 1976). An individual's awareness of place attachment becomes apparent when it is threatened

(Proshansky et al. 1983) or during "periods of abrupt environmental change, relocation, [or] very pleasant or unpleasant experiences with places" (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 458). Thus, the literature suggests that the redevelopment and relocation of Regent Park may augment residents' awareness of their place and relative place attachment—something that may have been largely concealed in the past.

The comments of some residents participating in this study demonstrate they are closely attached to the physical space of Regent Park, which in some cases has been their home for decades. The notion of Regent Park as "home" was raised by a few residents, most poignantly by one resident who had lived in the neighbourhood his whole life: "I've been here since I was a baby, and obviously this is home and this is what home looks to me" (R01). Another longtime resident stated, "Regent Park will still be called my home, my best home, and my only home really" (R10). These comments reflect the degree to which some residents are "rooted" in the community, and perhaps share Relph's view of home as an "irreplaceable centre of significance" (1976, 39). Within the limited sample of this study, results suggest that longer time spent in the community was a factor in developing strong attachment. Length of time as a factor in social or physical attachment is also consistent with the findings of Clampet-Lundquist (2004) in Philadelphia, Kleit (2001) in Maryland, and Brown et al. (2003) in Salt Lake City. Significantly, the two participants in this study who most strongly opposed the planned redevelopment of Regent Park had each lived in the area for over three decades and were the only two residents to have spent their early childhood years living in the neighbourhood.

Residents sometimes made comments that brought life to the inanimate physical environment of Regent Park: "those bricks and walls can tell a lot of stories" and "every time I pass by [my old building] I say, 'hi, how are you?'" (R11). This exemplifies the way in which some residents engaged emotionally with the physical environment of Regent Park. Another resident mentioned, after the death of his mother in one of the phase 1 buildings, that "it's going to be hard to see that

building being torn down." Furthermore, one resident added that the buildings contained "memories" (R10) and another resident said that, after nine years, Regent Park becomes a "part of you" (R07). Such comments are indicative of feelings of place identity and represent one of the forms in which people and place are inextricably linked. In this case, the sadness felt by residents in leaving their neighbourhood was also, in part, sadness about losing a part of themselves (Proshansky et al. 1983).

In their study on place attachment, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) did not find different levels of attachment among different social classes. However, Stokols & Shumaker suggest that those living in poverty may be more place dependent because they are "severely limited in their access to different environments" (1981, 460). As a result, mobility for low-income households is likely to be more difficult because these households are less equipped to deal with changes in neighbourhood. For example, some relocated residents from phase 1 discussed how they were unhappy with having to use a more expensive grocery store in their new neighbourhood (R11, R16), a concern that might not be shared by more affluent households. Other families depended on living in close proximity to public transit in the downtown core because they did not have vehicles (R06, R21). Furthermore, with limited social networks outside of public housing (Kleit 2005; Campbell & Lee 1992), it was not likely that relocation would result in residents moving to a new neighbourhood where they know their neighbours. Thus, many residents are place dependent in that they may not see other neighbourhoods as capable of supporting their activities and goals in the same way as Regent Park (Stokols & Shumaker 1981).

Place attachment can also be established and reinforced through regular interaction with neighbours who share the same space (Brown et al 2003). Close personal connections and loving relationships, for instance, can help form strong positive attachments to place, regardless of neighbourhood quality (Proshansky et al. 1983). The strong social connections among residents of one building, to the extent that they regarded one another as "family," may have helped to cultivate

strong attachments to place. In fact, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) demonstrate that social

attachment is a greater source of place attachment than is physical attachment in a neighbourhood.

One resident demonstrated strong social attachments with a number of residents in Regent Park,

where he had lived most of his life.   At the same time, he said of his new unit, "it's not my home, it's

not my community, it's not my family" (R16). This situation is indicative of an instance in which

attachment to a former neighbourhood can be a barrier to integration in a new neighbourhood.

Similarly, Stokols & Shumaker suggest that adaptation to a new environment will be slow when

people "still perceive themselves as strongly linked to their previous or past environments" (1981,

462).

5.3.2 Renegotiating the Meaning of Place

Explicit anxieties about gentrification, the changing demographics of the neighbourhood, and the

changing role of community agencies in the future reflect a broad concern among residents about the

place of RGI households in the redeveloped Regent Park. On one hand, residents fear that there is a

hidden agenda among other stakeholders in the community that precludes their interests (R13), and,

on the other hand, some residents simply fear that their power in the neighbourhood will gradually be

curtailed with the increasing presence, and indeed majority, of more affluent homeowners.

Furthermore, for some, the redevelopment decisions in general, and the relocation process

specifically, were a reminder of residents' subordinate role in the decision making process, despite

what seem like laudable efforts on behalf of TCHC to make this a collaborative process.

TCHC has acknowledged the effectiveness of resident organization in the community and

with previous revitalization efforts; *The Regent Park Revitalization Study* reveals: "The Regent Park

community has a powerful history of involvement in neighbourhood activities and engagement in

decisions about how to improve the community" (TCHC 2002, 11). However, there is some concern

that deconcentrating RGI households through densification could also be a means of diffusing the

political capacity of RGI households in the neighbourhood. The redevelopment calls for a 60/40 split of market rate and RGI households, respectively, thereby rendering RGI households a minority in a neighbourhood that many residents feel is rightfully theirs. Furthermore, some residents see this mix as a precursor to class antagonisms and even more crime in the neighbourhood (R13, R15). Others anticipate the rights and interests of RGI households to gradually diminish as homeowners get a stronger foothold in the area (R21). In any case, a serious challenge will confront RGI residents and their ability to organize effectively after redevelopment.

Many residents feel they are already being sidelined in the decision-making process as the interests of the housing authority, developer, and other stakeholders converge on the neighbourhood. Their views of the neighbourhood closely resemble the notion of "contested space" (Gotham & Brumley 2002; Wright 1997) where different groups "duel over competing and often contradictory meanings of public-housing space" (Gotham & Brumley 2002, 280). At the same time residents are witnessing drastic changes to the physical environment of Regent Park, often symbolic of their place in the community and representative of past experiences and events (Relph 1976). As a result, some residents feel they are losing their place in the community. One resident, who does not plan on returning to the redeveloped phase 1, said, "I think it's going to be more for the rich than the poor this time" (R01). Another resident didn't think many residents will return because they don't like "condos and stuff like that" (R04). It is compelling that one key informant suggested that the extensive discussion surrounding death—discussion observed both by himself and through interviews in this study—was part of a grieving process for the loss of community. Indeed, residents' perspectives on changing the name further indicate that there is a desire, among some, to preserve those things that are symbolic of their place in the community.

Similar to other aspects of the relocation experience, resident participants in this study had varying levels of attachment to the community, as well as different anxieties about their place in the

redeveloped Regent Park. Certainly, some residents anticipated a better place for RGI households in Regent Park following the redevelopment, as well as a safer neighborhood and more opportunity. On the other hand, some residents remained more skeptical and more concerned about the dynamics of the neighbourhood in the future. Curiously, some of the residents who demonstrated the strongest attachment to Regent Park, and had lived in the neighbourhood the longest period of time, mentioned that they did not plan to return to the phase 1 redevelopment or were unsure about this at the time of the interview (R01, R04, R16). Furthermore, two residents who had actively contributed to redevelopment efforts in Regent Park in the past also said they were unsure of their plans to return. This seems counterintuitive given that some of these residents were also unhappy in their relocation unit and would presumably be more satisfied in Regent Park. They also deviate from the majority of relocated residents, both in this study and according to TCHC, who want to return.

Chapter 6
RECOMMENDATIONS

Results from this study indicate that the experiences of relocation vary considerably from household to household. They further suggest that particular needs and available resources as well as a host of social and place-based experiences can affect households during relocation. The following six recommendations result from these research findings. These recommendations are designed for future public housing relocation and redevelopment policies, both in subsequent phases in Regent Park and for similar projects in other locations. Furthermore, recommendations numbers three through six pertain to future research directions on the topic of public housing relocation and redevelopment.

1. Revise the first come, first serve process of relocation

When considering policies for the phase 1 relocation, TCHC set out to develop an approach that was both fair and effective. TCHC's goal was a fair process where "those affected are treated in a manner that is just, respectful and that takes into account the special circumstances of each particular household, without favouritism towards particular households or group." They wanted an effective process in the sense that it "leads to the overall goals of the proposed redevelopment most efficiently" especially in terms of "budgetary parameters" (TCHC 2006, 55). TCHC acknowledged that "in theory" the first come, first serve process was suited to these objectives, although "in reality" certain groups were disadvantaged because of their limited access to the relocation office (TCHC 2006). As a result, in their evaluation of the relocation, TCHC also identified the first come, first serve process as a problem.

The recommendation of this study is therefore somewhat redundant, but does confirm that the problems with this particular process are significant. Some residents saw this as an unfair process

because of their limited time commitments. Single-parent and working families with small children are one group who might be especially disadvantaged by the process. Other residents thought that the line-ups were a particular problem with this process. While seniors and residents with disabilities were identified as groups that had difficulty with the process, a number of other types of households also talked about their struggles with the line-ups. Some residents mentioned that this process added additional stress to the relocation process.

Nonetheless, TCHC suggests that the first come, first serve process is still the preferred approach after 49% of their survey respondents were in favour of continuing with this process over a series of other options. However, in depth qualitative research with relocated residents suggests that the negative impacts of this process can potentially be more dramatic. As suggested by the experiences of two residents in particular (R18, R20), households who are least able to deal with the first come, first serve process may also be the households that have the most difficulty with moving to an unsuitable relocation unit, specifically if it is located outside of Regent Park. Furthermore, those households disadvantaged by the first come, first process continue to feel impacts throughout the duration of the relocation process; not only are they negatively affected by unequal access to available relocation units, but they are also susceptible to the negative consequences of an equally stressful return policy that gives preference to the first households to move out of Regent Park.

There may not be an easy alternative to the first come, first serve process because it is difficult to account for special needs on a household by household basis. It is encouraging to note that phase 1 residents did observe improvements in the process when the policy was changed to accommodate different household sizes on different days, thereby reducing the length of line-ups. Furthermore, the success of mobility counselling and search assistance programs as part of the MTO program in the United States (Turner 1998) suggest further measures that could be taken to try and

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ensure households are matched with a relocation unit suitable to their needs, while potentially reducing some of the stress associated with relocation at the same time.

2. Strengthen relationship between residents and housing authority

Interviews with both residents and key informants reveal that there are a number of problems in the relationship between public housing residents in Regent Park and the housing authority, particularly in terms of trust. A history of broken promises and unfulfilled redevelopment plans in the neighbourhood, events that largely preceded the amalgamation that formed TCHC in 2002, have left some residents wary of any plans for the neighbourhood (Meagher & Boston 2003). More recently, a series of maintenance issues in Regent Park buildings and alleged favouritism among TCHC-hired relocation staff have further aggravated this relationship. In some cases this has resulted in a general distrust of TCHC, including their policies for relocation and redevelopment. This distrust has had the added effect of increasing stress and anxiety during relocation, as residents remain uncertain about whether or not policies and plans will be carried out.

The Regent Park revitalization project provides an excellent opportunity for TCHC to strengthen their relationship with residents. In many cases, the actions of TCHC staff are scrutinized by residents, who inevitably depend on these individuals in a number of capacities, including for maintenance issues and the administration of the relocation process. The degree to which these staff and residents are able to foster strong relationships can positively affect the security residents feel as they move through the relocation process. Furthermore, the degree to which TCHC ensures an equitable process and responds to residents' needs and suggestions could further strengthen this relationship. An equitable relocation process will be increasingly important for phase 2 households as most will likely prefer to move to the redeveloped phase 1 portion of Regent Park in order to avoid an additional move in the future. It is unlikely that there will be sufficient units to accommodate this demand thereby making this relocation very competitive.

Communication between TCHC and residents should be regular and reliable. Residents' uncertainty about their right to return and the timeline of the redevelopment is a source of considerable anxiety. At the same time, when this information is not readily available, the gap appears to be filled with rumours that spread quickly throughout the neighbourhood (KI01, KI02). Some phase 1 residents suggested keeping the Regent Park relocation office open throughout the duration of this process, even if only for one day a week. By doing so, TCHC might be able to offer more frequent and accurate communication with residents as well as better handle immediate concerns related to relocation.

3. Give more consideration to both benefits and costs of relocation and redevelopment

Research on the relocation of public housing residents has largely focused on the degree to which residents have been able to garner benefits through relocation. Therefore, the discussion of relocation has largely centred on residents' experiences in their new neighbourhoods, especially in terms of building social ties, improved living conditions, and socioeconomic gain (Boston 2005; Goetz 2005 & 2002; Kleit 2005 & 2001; Clampet-Lunquist 2004; Cunningham 2004; Popkin et al. 2004, etc.). What has largely been overlooked are the strong attachments that some residents have to their former neighbourhoods, attachments that are both physical and social. This study not only sheds some light on the nature of those attachments, but also demonstrates the potential of these attachments to have real effects on residents' experiences of relocation.

In some instances, it is assumed that the perceived advantages of poverty deconcentration or public housing redevelopment compensate for the potentially disruptive process of relocation. In other words, the ends justify the means. However, this argument is incomplete if the effects of residents' separation from place, in both its physical and social dimensions, are not fully understood. As it stands right now, there is little consensus among researchers as to the actual benefits accrued by public housing residents through poverty deconcentration and public housing redevelopment (Goetz

2005; Popkin at al. 2004); at the same time there is even less understanding about the short and long-term implications of residents' separation from their neighbourhood. A complete understanding of the impacts of public housing relocation and redevelopment will necessarily consider both the benefits of moving to a new neighbourhood as well as the costs of moving from another neighbourhood.

4. Consider social and place-based aspects of relocation and redevelopment

Results from this research suggest that social capital and place attachment are effective frameworks by which to pursue future research in public housing relocation and redevelopment. Furthermore, making the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital can be an effective mechanism for illuminating particular benefits and weaknesses of different social structures. At the same time, examining place-based impacts on relocation should be encouraged, as this has largely been absent in the relocation literature to date (Manzo & Perkins 2006). A better understanding of place attachment and relocation might help to introduce further measures that could assist residents in the future. The work of one community member who distributed pictures, souvenir bricks, and calendars to phase 1 residents, was perceived as a meaningful gesture and similar efforts could be beneficial in the future.

5. Perform longitudinal analysis of residents' experiences with relocation and resettlement in Regent Park

The research presented here describes the experiences of 21 residents at one point in the relocation process. It was conducted as the first part of what is hoped to be a longitudinal study of residents' experiences with both relocation and resettlement. Continued research is particularly important in offering a more complete picture of the relocation experience and fully assessing the degree to which this process impacts residents' lives. Furthermore, a longitudinal study in Regent Park would provide more insight into the significance of time as a barrier to integration within a new neighbourhood (Clampet-Lunquist 2004) and help differentiate temporary and permanent relocation.

6. Further examine the health effects of public housing relocation on residents

Health considerations are increasingly becoming a part of the planning discourse. To this extent, the relocation of residents in Regent Park offers an opportunity for further research into this topic. A number of residents relocated from phase 1 reported adverse health effects that they believed were associated with the relocation itself. Even more remarkable was the discussion on the death of residents in Regent Park that some residents also associated with the stress of relocation. These connections remain speculative, but understanding them is crucial to grasping the short- and long-term effects of relocation. At the same time, some residents noted an improvement in their health since being relocated. The expected improved living conditions in the neighbourhood after relocation, including a system of parks, new recreational facilities, and environmentally friendly building design, may also bring health benefits to residents in the community. An understanding of the relationship between health and relocation and redevelopment will help policy makers learn more about building healthy neighbourhoods and could perhaps mitigate adverse health effects in future relocations.

Chapter 7
CONCLUSION

This research focuses on the experiences of households relocated in phase 1 of Regent Park. This was the first of six phases in an unprecedented public housing redevelopment project in Canada that will not be complete for many years. Results show considerable variation in the relocation experiences of participating households, influenced by a number of complex variables. In some cases residents moved to bigger and better homes, were able to acquire a much needed extra bedroom for their family, or had improved access to services in their new neighbourhood. At the same time, some residents became socially isolated after relocation, had maintenance issues in their new apartments, or moved to an inconveniently located neighbourhood. In some cases residents' experiences of relocation were complicated by strong place attachment to their old neighbourhood or the loss of supportive social structures that could have been especially important in dealing with the stress of relocation. While this study does not provide results that are generalizable, it does provide a key first step in identifying issues pertinent to the relocation experience as well as suggesting directions that could benefit from future research.

Results from this study suggest that the ability of residents to secure a suitable relocation unit was crucial to their experience of relocation. Households' capacity for finding the right unit was largely determined by the resources they had to dedicate to the process of unit selection and the needs of their household. In instances where households were unable to find a unit suitable to their needs, their experience of relocation was often negatively affected because of isolation, access to services, or other reasons. Furthermore, the households that were least prepared for the redevelopment process were often the ones who were most at risk of the negative consequences of ending up in a relocation unit not well-suited to their needs. This was most evident where families had limited time to dedicate

to lining up and viewing units and, as a result, relocated to inconvenient locations, which then put additional strains on their time. As a result, many residents did not see the first come, first serve process as equitable and in some cases believed it added stress to an already stressful process.

Most residents believed they were well informed about the relocation process and thought that TCHC did a good job communicating with them through newsletters and public meetings. Residents whose first language was not English were appreciative of efforts to translate relevant relocation and redevelopment material into seven other languages. At the same time, some residents did not feel that the relocation or redevelopment process was collaborative. They believed that TCHC informed rather than engaged residents in many cases, and that space was limited for the suggestions and opinions of residents. As a result, some residents were more skeptical of TCHC and, in some cases, had considerably more anxiety about TCHC's relocation and redevelopment plans for the future. In some cases residents' mistrust of TCHC resulted from other issues as well; in particular, residents mentioned irresponsible maintenance policies and staff showing favouritism and preferential treatment during the unit selection process of relocation.

This research also shows that, after one year, the residents participating in this study are not making connections in their new neighbourhoods at all comparable to those they had in their former neighbourhoods. This is consistent with other research on public housing relocation in the United States (Kleit 2005 & 2001; Clampet-Lundquist 2004). This study also identifies a number of barriers to residents' integration in a new neighbourhood. Of these, the temporary nature of relocation is most remarkable because it provides a means of differentiating the experiences of short-term and permanent relocation, a distinction not often made in prior research on relocation. This could also provide a means of distinguishing the effects of different relocation programs across North America, namely those of short-term public housing relocation like that of phase 1 in Regent Park, and those of

long-term or permanent relocation programs such as scattered-site Section 8 housing vouchers in the United States.

This study demonstrates the importance of differentiating forms of social capital when discussing objectives and outcomes of public housing relocation. Furthermore, it suggests that the severing of relationships and scattering of households through relocation can, paradoxically, jeopardize bonding social capital beneficial to residents as they encounter the stress and demands of relocation itself. Coping with and adjusting to this loss could be an important part of public housing residents' experiences of relocation, although this has been largely overlooked by research up until now. The research presented here does not identify bridging social capital as a key component of temporary public housing relocation. However, bridging social capital is an important component of the redevelopment project overall and results from this research indicate potential barriers to bringing middle-class homeowners and RGI renters together in the redeveloped Regent Park, especially in the short term.

This research also indicates a series of place-based impacts affecting the relocation experiences of phase 1 residents. Dealing with various levels of place attachment was one identifiable part of residents' experiences in relocation. Some residents demonstrated strong emotional connections to the neighbourhood, which were likely heightened by the demolition of phase 1 buildings underway at the time of the interviews. It appears that these attachments, where they are strong, also served as barriers to integration in new neighbourhoods. Furthermore, attachment was a factor in residents' efforts to re-negotiate the meaning of place in the neighbourhood as it begins to transform. The meaning that residents apply to this place is further challenged by other stakeholders, suggesting that Regent Park is becoming a "contested space." Residents showed both enthusiasm and anxiety about where they see their own place in the redeveloped neighbourhood.

A series of recommendations were made as a result of the research findings. These are pertinent to the planning of subsequent phases of redevelopment in Regent Park, public housing relocation and redevelopment policies in general, and future research on the topic. It is suggested that the first come, first serve process be reconsidered as it disadvantages some groups and causes considerable anxieties for those with limited time to dedicate to the relocation process. Secondly, it is recommended that the housing authority, especially in the case of TCHC, work to strengthen its relationship with residents. This is especially important where there is a history of conflict or distrust. Thirdly, it is recommended that future redevelopment projects and research on the topic provide more consideration to both the costs and benefits of relocation and redevelopment. It is suggested that significant attention has been paid to the end result of redevelopment, while the means in which this result is achieved have been largely overlooked. Fourthly, it is recommended that both social and spatial considerations be made when evaluating relocation and redevelopment projects in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the impacts on residents; social capital and place attachment are identified as two appropriate frameworks by which to pursue this analysis. A fifth recommendation points to the need for continued research on relocation and resettlement in Regent Park as part of a longitudinal study. Such an approach would be instrumental in understanding how residents' experiences change over time and could further develop ideas presented in this thesis. Lastly, this research indicates that there is a need to further evaluate the health effects on residents of public housing relocation. This was a prominent issue in resident interviews, but the relationship between health and relocation remains underdeveloped.

Finally, this study does not aim to undermine or attack what have been laudable efforts by multiple stakeholders, including TCHC, in developing a comprehensive plan for the revitalization of the Regent Park neighbourhood. Rather it attempts to identify issues pertinent to phase 1 residents' experiences of relocation and perceptions of redevelopment, and hopefully, if only in a small way,

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make a contribution to the widespread efforts of residents, community agencies, TCHC, and other stakeholders in this historic undertaking. It also aims to contribute to the academic literature on relocation and public housing redevelopment. To this end, it provides among the first studies in Canada on the subject, which is significant given the different approaches to public housing redevelopment across North America.

Appendix A
Video Introduction

This appendix is a video file titled "Breaking Ground: Redevelopment and Relocation in Toronto's Regent Park."

The file name of this video is "BreakingGround.mov".

If you accessed this thesis from a source other than the University of Waterloo, you may not have access to this file. You may access it by searching for this thesis at http://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca.

Appendix B
Recruitment Poster

RELOCATED?

MAY 2006

If you have been relocated as part of the Phase I redevelopment in Regent Park, we would like to hear your story!

A research team from the University of Waterloo is interested in documenting the stories of Phase I Regent Park Residents' experiences of relocation. If you would be interested in hearing more about this project and in having your voice heard, please call Rick Schippling at 416-___-____, or drop by our office located at 415 Gerrard St. E (RPNI building).

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo

Appendix C

Resident Interview Guide

Introduction: This interview asks about the experiences of relocation to and settlement in a new neighbourhood. I am interested in your own opinions—there are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to decline to answer any questions or parts of questions you do not wish to answer. And please add any comments or information that you think would help to describe the experience of moving while your home is being rebuilt. This interview should take about half an hour to complete.

1. A) How many people are in your household? Describe their ages and relationship to you.
   B) How long did you live/have you lived in Regent Park?
   C) Where did you live before moving to Regent Park?

2. How would you describe your residence in Regent Park before you were relocated?

3. A) When did you move from that home in Regent Park?
   B) Was the location that you moved to your first choice? If not, what would you have preferred?
   C) Is your new home suitable for your household's needs?

       If not, is there a housing type or size or location that would be more appropriate?

   D) How would you describe the Regent Park Phase 1 relocation process as administered by Toronto Community Housing Corp?

       i) Do you feel you were given a fair opportunity to choose the destination where you moved?
       ii) Were you satisfied with the amount of information you were given about alternative accommodations that would be available?

4. In terms of moving expenses, what costs were covered by TCHC? Were there any additional expenses to you or your household? If yes, please specify.

5. How does your new home compare to your old one (size, amenities, convenience, etc.)?

6. Has your access to any of the following been affected by your relocation, for better or worse:
   A) Friends/Neighbours? (Have you made new ones? Maintained old ones? What about any children's relationships with friends?)
   B) Children's schools? (Has there been an effect on your children?)
   C) Children's access to programs including: child care, sports, arts, music, dance, or other activities?
   D) Services or facilities? (Doctors offices, parks, shopping, etc.)
   E) Community organizations?
   F) Workplaces?
   G) Places of worship?

7. Overall then, how does your new neighbourhood compare to your old one?

8. A) Do you plan to return to (the part of) Regent Park (where you used to live) once it is redeveloped?
B) How do you think Regent Park will be different after redevelopment? How do you think it will be the same?
C) Do you think that redevelopment is a good thing for Regent Park?
D) Some people have suggested that the redeveloped Regent Park be given a new name. Do you think that is a good idea or a bad one? What might be the advantages of changing the name? What would be the costs?

9. A) Did you feel you were well informed about the relocation process?
B) Were you given an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process of the redevelopment and relocation?
C) How would you describe your own level of involvement in this process?
D) How long do you expect to live where you live now?

10. A) How would you characterize your overall experience of relocation (easy/difficult/stressful, etc.)?
B) Are there any ways that it could have been improved?

11. Do you know of any other individuals or families, who were part of the Phase 1 relocation, who might be interested in talking with me about their experiences? [If any referrals] may I use your name in contacting them?

        Name: _____

        Contact info: _____
                               _____

        Name: _____

        Contact info: _____
                               _____

12. I would like to thank you very much for your time and participation in this study. Can you please ensure that the following contact information is accurate, so that I may be able to contact you in the future:

        Name:_____

        Address:_____
                        _____

        Phone:_____ Alt. #:_____

        Email: _____

Appendix D

Key Informant Interview Guide

Introduction: This interview asks about the process of relocation and resettlement of residents in phase 1 of the Regent Park redevelopment. I am interested in your own opinions—there are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to decline to answer any questions or parts of questions you do not wish to answer. And please add any comments or information that you think would help to describe the relocation process. This interview should take about half an hour to complete.

1. A) What has been your association with the Regent Park relocation/redevelopment project?
   B) For approximately how long have you been involved with the Regent Park revitalization project?

2. What were some of the main objectives in the redevelopment and relocation process?

3. What do you see as some of the strengths of the relocation program that was implemented at Regent Park?

4. Have there been any lessons learned from Phase 1 of this program?

5. Were there any models in mind that informed the relocation/redevelopment process at Regent Park?

6. Moving one's household can be challenging. Do you know what services were offered to Phase 1 residents to ease their relocation and resettlement?

7. Can you suggest any other individuals who are knowledgeable about the Phase 1 relocation, who might be interested in speaking with me about this topic? [If any referrals] may I use your name in contacting them?

   Name: _____

   Contact info: _____
   _____

8. I would like to thank you very much for your time and participation in this study. Can you please ensure that the following contact information is accurate, so that I may be able to contact you in the future:

   Name:_____

   Address:_____
   _____

   Phone:_____ Alt. #:_____

   Email: _____

Appendix E
Consent Form

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Rick Schippling of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio or video taped to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at

.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Participant Signature: _____

I agree to have my interview audio taped.

Participant Signature: _____

I agree to have my interview video taped.

Participant Signature: _____

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

Participant Signature: _____

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____   Date :_____

If participant is a minor:

Legal Guardian Name:_____ (Please print)

Legal Guardian Signature:_____   Age (If participant is a minor)_____

_____

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Appendix F

Information Letter

June 2006

Dear Phase 1 Regent Park Resident:

This letter is being sent to you to seek the participation of you and/or your household members in a study of the Phase 1 relocation at Regent Park. As part of my Master's thesis at the University of Waterloo, I am researching the story of the Regent Park revitalization from the perspective of residents in the first phase of the relocation.

Toronto's Regent Park is one of the oldest and largest public housing projects in Canada and is home to some 2000 households. The current redevelopment plan calls for 6 phases to be completed over a period of 12-15 years. The Phase 1 redevelopment, currently underway, has resulted in the relocation of 380 residents. This study will follow the relocation experiences of approximately 20 of those relocated households and will collect the residents' stories of relocation in their own words. Residents will be interviewed about various aspects of the revitalization plan, including the design of the new housing, the changes in nearby services, and the amount of disruption to their lives.

Participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 30 minutes in length at a time and place of your convenience. With your permission, the interview will be audio or video taped to assist the researcher in the collection of data. Also, and only with your permission, some information could be used as part of a documentary video. Otherwise, your anonymity and all information you provide are considered completely confidential. Furthermore, participation in this study will have no effect on tenants' housing eligibility.

If you would like further information regarding participation in this study, please contact me, **Rick Schippling**, at   or by email at   . You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Laura C. Johnson, at   or   .
I hope that the results of my study will be of interest and benefit to those involved in the Regent Park redevelopment as well as other residents of Regent Park who will be relocated in the future. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for considering this request.

Yours sincerely,

Rick Schippling

Appendix G

Relocation Distribution of Phase 1 Residents

Regent Park (40%)
Surrounding Neighbourhoods (48%)
Other Neighbourhoods (8%)
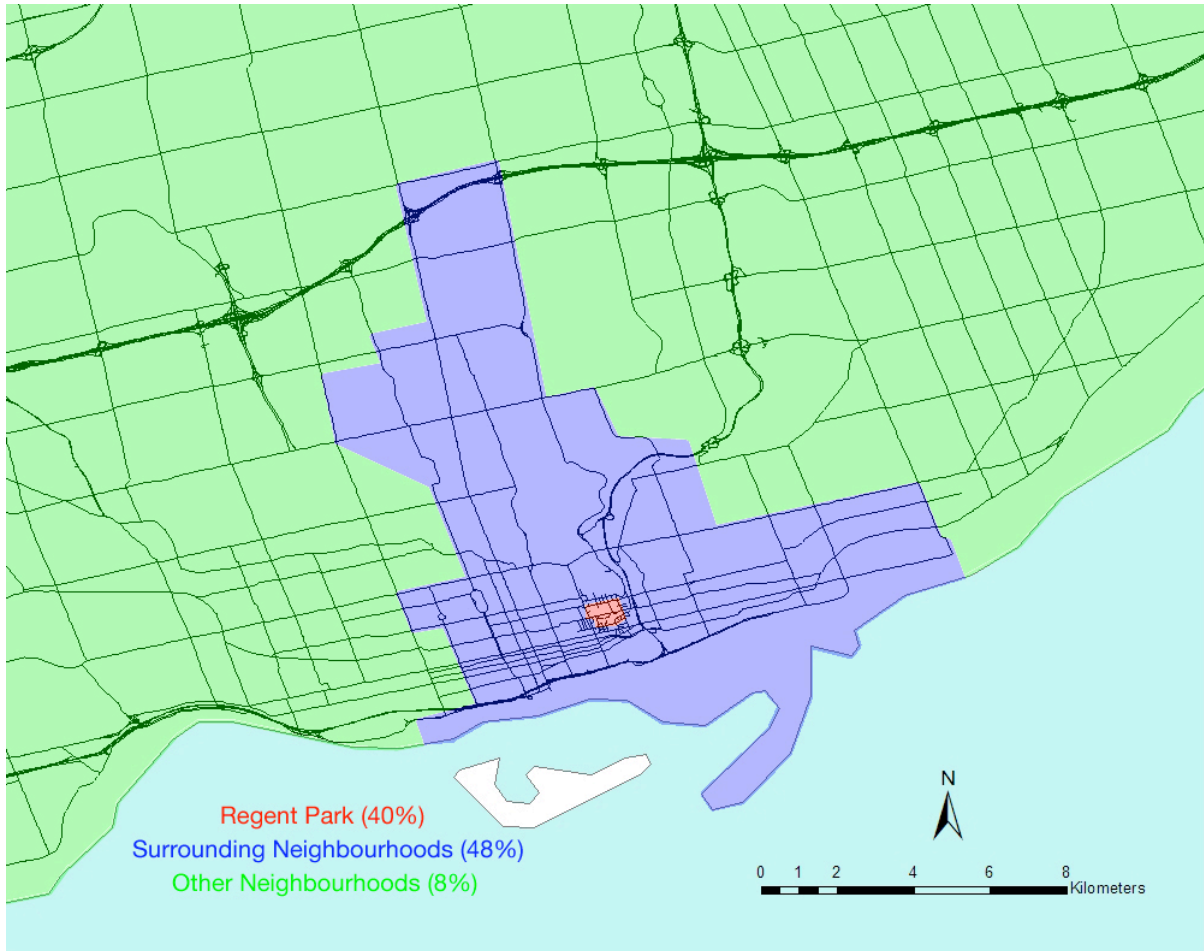
NOTES

[1] The transition to community-based non-profit and cooperative housing came into effect with amendments made to the National Housing Act of 1973. According to Van Dyk (1995, 818), large public housing developments at this time were already characterized as "ghettos" and various reviews in Canada, the U.S. and the U.K. had identified "physical and social decline."

[2] Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation was originally called the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and was set up in 1946 (Harris 1999).

[3] For a more complete understanding of Le Corbusier see his *The City of To-morrow and its Planning*, first published in 1924 and translated into English in 1929.

[4] Radiant city was a concept by Le Corbusier (1887 - 1965), which evolved from Ebenezer Howard's (1850 - 1928) influential Garden City concept introduced at the turn of the 20th century.

[5] Coleman's (1985) recommendations are consistent with and influenced by both Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) and Oscar Newman's *Defensible Space* (1972).

[6] The Section 8 voucher in the U.S. was a result of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, which aimed to provide subsidized rent in new or renovated buildings and offer certificates to households renting units in the private market (Vale 2002). It was widely used as part of the Gautreaux program beginning in 1976. This program helped to integrate poor black families into predominately white suburbs after courts ruled that the Chicago Housing Authority had engaged in systematic and illegal segregation (Rubinowitz and Rosenbaum 2000). Currently, it is often used as the preferred relocation method for residents from public housing developments slated for redevelopment in the U.S.

[7] Smith (1995) mentions that Strathcona Heights is non-profit rather than public housing, but also notes that the circumstances facing the development at the time of renewal were similar to that of public housing stock. The development was a product of the postwar period, was encountering high operating costs, and "physical and social obsolescence were becoming problems" (Smith 1995, 924).

[8] "KI--" refers to key informant interviews and "R--" refers to resident interviews along with a random number assigned to each of these interviews. An "I" is used to indicate interviewer (the author of this thesis) when quotations from interviews contain dialogue.

[9] The validity of Boston's results was called into question by Goetz (2005), who claimed that his conclusions were misleading and still did not demonstrate a significant benefit for original residents of the HOPE VI program.

[10] Fewer units as well as new eligibility criteria have been additional factors affecting residents wishing to return to HOPE VI projects in the United States (Popkin et al. 2004). According to TCHC, these should not affect the relocation of residents in Regent Park because an equal number of RGI units will be built and all residents who enter the relocation process are provided with a right to return.

[11] Bourdieu mentions three forms of capital, that of economic, cultural, and social capital. He offers a fairly elaborate analysis of cultural capital, dividing the term into three forms: the *embodied* state, referring to "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body"; the *objectified* state, referring to "cultural goods" such as dictionaries, books and works of art; and the *institutionalized* state, which could be understood as a diploma or degree recognizing academic achievement (Bourdieu 1986, 243). While there is consistency between Bourdieu and Coleman in the use of both economic and social capital, there lies a distinction in the third form of capital, which Coleman refers to as *human* capital. As Portes (1998) points out, Coleman's use of human capital most closely resembles that of embodied cultural capital for Bourdieu.

[12] Burt points to Mark Granovetter's *The Strength of Weak Ties* (1973) when discussing the benefits accrued from sparse social networks.

[13] Putnam believes the terms bridging and bonding originated with Ross Gittell and Avis Vidal in *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (1998).

[14] Briggs (1998) uses the terms social support and social leverage in differentiating forms of social capital. However, these terms can be considered synonymous with bonding and bridging, respectfully.

[15] For more on contact theory, see Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1979).

[16] Slater (2004) cites this question, asked originally by Damaris Rose in her article "Economic Restructuring and the Diversification of Gentrification in the 1980s: a View from a Marginal Metropolis." Here, Rose writes, "Where, one might ask, does 'social diversity', with its usually positive connotations, end, and where does the more ominous-sounding 'social polarization' begin?"

[17] For further elaboration on the distinctions between the evaluative (also referred to as place satisfaction) and emotional (also referred to as place attachment) relationships between people and places, see Guest and Lee (1983) and Theodori (2000).

[18] Research Assistant Clarissa Nam and I were also prepared to conduct interviews in either Korean or Spanish, if necessary, but the opportunity did not arise.

[19] The distinction here between intercept with direct contact or indirect contact refers to whether I approached and spoke with a relocated resident (direct) or whether I approached and spoke with a resident who gave me the name of a relocated resident that was an acquaintance of theirs (indirect).

[20] The multi-dimensional properties of video were understood to be important when it was still considered a possibility to disseminate most of the research findings with video. As this possibility become more unlikely, the significance of video as a data collection method decreased.

[21] Data for household size in Regent Park is from TCHC (2004) *Regent Park Community Services and Facilities Study*, page 14.

[22] The categories used here are consistent with those commonly used by TCHC. "Regent Park" refers to any unit in either Regent Park North or Regent Park South; "Surrounding Communities" refers to TCHC Community Housing Units (CHUs) 10-16, which exist within a region in Toronto bordered approximately by Spadina St. to the east, Lawrence Ave. to the north, and Victoria Park Ave. to the east; "Other Neighbourhoods" refers to units outside of the region mentioned above, namely CHUs 1-9 and 17-26; and "Outside TCHC Housing" refers to those who left RGI housing altogether (TCHC 2006).

[23] "TCHC Survey" refers to the *Regent Park Redevelopment Phase 1 Relocation Evaluation Report* completed by TCHC in May of 2006. The survey was sent to 370 relocated households and received 104 responses—a response rate of about 28%. Also note that, for the sake of comparison, the household size for this study's sample is based on the number of members in the household at the time of relocation, as it is with the TCHC survey. Two of twenty-one households in the sample experienced an increase of one member to their household since their move in 2005 and the remaining households maintained their size.

[24] The eight major languages of Regent Park are English, Bengali, Vietnamese, Chinese, Tamil, Somali, Spanish and French (TCHC 2005).

[25] Following the relocation of all phase 1 residents by November of 2005, the relocation office at 415 Gerrard Street closed. The space later became the research project office for this study.

[26] The letters 'a' and 'b' are used to differentiate members of a household in instances where more than one member was interviewed and their comments appear in the text. In instances

where more than one member was interviewed, but the comment of only one member appears in the text, no letter is used and no differentiation is made.

[27] This quotation also demonstrates some residents' reluctance to voice their dissatisfaction with TCHC or any part of the relocation process as they feared that it could affect future housing eligibility. In this case, the resident was clearly upset over having items broken during the move, but was reticent about sharing his opinions. This behaviour was common in this particular interview, despite reassurances that anonymity would be preserved and that opinions could not affect residents' rights to return or housing eligibility in general. However, this apprehension on behalf of some residents was a limitation of this study and, presumably, TCHC's evaluation of the relocation as well.

[28] Surprisingly, the TCHC Evaluation Report reported that only 17% of tenants disagreed or strongly disagreed that their unit was in a good condition when they moved in. The same percentage disagreed or strongly disagreed that their unit was clean. These percentages seem inconsistent with the "feedback from both staff and tenants" heard by TCHC as well as the overwhelming dissatisfaction with the maintenance and cleanliness of units expressed by resident participants in this study.

[29] I refer to TCHC here, but this could be extended to include other decision-makers such as local politicians and investors in the neighbourhood.

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