Jobs, Homes, and the Right to Exist: Neighbourhood Activism in Deindustrializing Toronto and Montreal, 1963-1989

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the points of tension between dominant histories of neighbourhood activism in Toronto and Montreal between 1963-1989 and the lived experiences of locally embedded activists who organized for access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to exist in their neighbourhoods. It demonstrates how material conditions, determined by the overlapping processes of deindustrialization, post-industrial development, and the movement of capital from Montreal to Toronto, shaped how neighbourhood activists organized, who they organized with, what they organized for, and how they recorded what they were doing. Dominant narratives of neighbourhood activism during this period over-emphasize the perspectives white, middle-class, and cis-gendered male activists who benefitted from the world the sixties made. Their upward mobility, made possible through the expansion of public spending and their involvement in gentrification, gave them the time and resources to document what they were doing, elevating their perspectives in the historical record. At the same time, embedded poor and working-class, racialized, disabled, and trans activists who continued to experience the ongoing structural violence of the capitalist city also continued to collectively resist that violence. Unfortunately, their ongoing precarity denied them of the resources necessary to produce historical records to the same degree as their upwardly mobile contemporaries. By historicizing how uneven material

conditions shaped what activists were doing and how they recorded what they were doing, this thesis demonstrates how power shaped the production of neighbourhood activism history. It also presents opportunities to contest this power in the historical record.

Acknowledgements

Almost all of the writing and half of the research for this dissertation took place on the traditional land of the Huron-Wendat, the Seneca, and the Mississaugas of the Credit River. The other half of the research took place on the traditional territory of the Kanien'kehà:ka. Both lands remain home to many Indigenous peoples from across Turtle Island and I am grateful for the opportunity to think, make friends, share space with others, collaborate, research, and write on these lands.

This dissertation is very much the product of my relationships with other people who I have met in Toronto and Montreal. It was also inspired by many people who I never formally met but who made a comment at a meeting or on social media, who spoke at a rally, or who I know worked for years to keep a grassroots organization or archive afloat. This history work often goes unacknowledged and so I would like to thank all the people who are out there making history through their pursuit for justice and equity in their communities and neighbourhoods.

Over the last seven years there have been many people at University of Toronto who have helped guide my thinking and practice as a historian. Sean Mills has been a model thesis advisor who began moulding my thinking through his brilliant scholarship even before I moved to Toronto. Since arriving at U of T, Sean has been an accessible, generous, kind, and encouraging mentor, who also gave me the space to approach my PhD and my sometimes many side-projects in my own way. In my first year I was fortunate enough to have a TA assignment with Laurie Bertram, whose incredible skill for writing accessible yet deeply profound lectures inspired a deeper appreciation for Canadian history beyond the temporal and geographic frame of my research. As a member of my thesis committee, Professor Bertram has always provided

rigorous and valuable feedback. As the grad advisor when I arrived, Steve Penfold was one of my first contacts at University of Toronto and, since, has always been willing to talk Toronto history both informally and formally, and has challenged me to see nuance in my sometimes overly structural approach to history. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my external advisors Magda Fahrni and Elspeth Brown for their generous and thoughtful commentary on this dissertation.

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The idea for my dissertation initially emerged from research that I conducted as part of MA at Concordia University. While there I received (and have continued to receive) excellent guidance from my MA supervisor Steven High. Professor High helped turn me on to the history of neighbourhood activism and his commitment to remaining accountable to the people whose histories he writes has always inspired me. I would also like to thank Ted Rutland who asked me a question during my MA defense that inspired my future interests and who always took care to invite me to academic events and political actions.

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Diemer, the heart and soul behind the Connexions Archive, has also been a major supporter, intellectual inspiration, and caring friend throughout this project. Through my work on Alternative Toronto, I have had the opportunity to witness Lilian Radovac's brilliance and commitment to accountability in action. Working with Lilian, as well as with Tam Rayan, Rachele Clemente-Gottardi, Sylvia Nowak, and Jessica Lapp enriched my understanding of archives and inspired the fifth chapter of my thesis.

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Though we met partway through my PhD Christy Guthrie deserves a great deal of credit for its completion. Christy is someone who thinks deeply about the impact of her actions and work and challenges me to think more carefully about the same. Her exceptional breadth of knowledge has always astounded me, and this thesis has benefitted tremendously from our many conversations while out on walks, sitting in parks, playing cribbage, or eating dinner together. For this and for all the other wonderful things she has brought to my life I am truly grateful.

Finally, I want to dedicate this dissertation to my father Daniel Vickers who died during the third year of my PhD. He inspired me to become interested in history but more importantly he was a kind, humble, hilarious, and emotive father, and I never doubted that he loved me.

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List of Acronyms Used

AIDS Activist History Project (AAHP)

Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles (APPSC)

Blevins Association of Some Tenants (BLAST)

Business Improvement Area (BIA)

Canadian Gay Archive (CGA)

Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archive (CLGA)

Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP)

Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec (CEQ)

Centre local de services communautaires (CLSC)

Comité de développement industriel du Sud-Ouest (CDISO)

Comité pour la relance de l'économie et de l'emploi dans le sud-ouest de Montréal (CREESOM)

Commission d'initiative et de développement économique de Montréal (CIDEM)

Committee Against Street Harassment (CASH)

Company of Young Canadians (CYC)

Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN)

Conseil des oeuvres de Montréal (COM)

Defense Industries Limited (DIL)

Don Area Co-operative Homes Inc. (DACHI)

Fedération Canadienne des association indépendantes (FCAI)

Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ)

Front d'action politiques (FRAP)

Front de libération du Québec (FLQ)

Greater Montreal Anti-Poverty Co-ordinating committee (GMAPCC)

Jeunesse ouvrier Catholic (JOC)

Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT)

L'Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS)

Local Initiative Program (LIP)

Negro Community Centre (NCC)

Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP)

Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC)

Opportunity for Youth (OFY)

Point Action Citizens' Council (PACC)

Programme d'intervention dans les quartiers anciens (PIQA)

Projet d'organization populaire d'information et de regroupement (POPIR)

Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles (PEP)

Regent Park Community Improvement Association (RPCIA)

Regroupement des associations populaires du bas de la ville et de l'Est de Montreal (RAP)

Regroupement information logement (RIL)

Regroupement pour la relance économique et sociale dans le sud-ouest de Montréal (RESO)

Services d'aide à la rénovation de Pointe-Saint-Charles (SARP)

Société de développement de Montréal (SODEMONT)

Société municipal d'habitation de Montréal (SOMHAM)

Sociétés d'initiative et de développement des artères commerciales (SIDAC)

South of Carlton Community Action (SOCCA)

Street Homosexuals in Toronto (SHIT)

The Body Politic (TPB)

The Other Woman (TOW)

Trefann Court Residents Association (TCRA)

Trefann Neighbours and Tenants Association (TNT)

Introduction

Power and the Production of Neighbourhood Activism History[1]

In the summer of 2017, a group of resident activists from the neighbourhood of St-Henri in Montreal assembled in front of their local Southwest borough office to protest. Inside, their borough council was discussing the future of the Canadian Malting building along the Lachine Canal on the south border of St-Henri. When it was built in 1905, the Canadian Malting plant was part of a string of factories that spanned the length of the Canal, making it one of the most heavily industrialized areas in Canada. Like many of its neighbours, however, the Canadian Malting plant had stopped producing during the slow but consistent wave of factory closures that had devastated the surrounding neighbourhoods over the second half of the 20th century and had recently attracted the attention of private housing redevelopers. United through a community organization called À nous la Malting the protesters demanded that the city instead acquire the site and convert it to social housing. A spokesperson described that the area needed more social housing to protect poor and working-class residents who were increasingly being pushed out of the area as their former worksites were being converted to luxury condos.[2]

À nous la Malting drew from a long history of neighbourhood activism in St-Henri and the surrounding Southwest borough, wherein local working-class people and their middle-class allies fought to control neighbourhood development in the midst of deindustrialization. Soon after these protests in Montreal, Toronto neighbours and activists responded very differently to

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[1] My title borrows from the title of the book: Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

[2] Claire Loewen, "St-Henri Group Works to put Social Housing on Old Canada Malting Site," *Montreal Gazette*, July 4, 2017; Bertran Marotte, "Development Plans Dredge up Thorny Issues," *The Globe and Mail*, January 11, 2018; Claire Loewen, "Saint-Henri Group Wants to Turn Abandoned Canada Malting Site into Social Housing," *CBC News*, August 22, 2018.

the planned conversions of two similar industrial relics along their waterfront. Sitting just opposite the downtown Billy Bishop airport at the foot of Bathurst Street, the Toronto Malting Plant had once anchored a lakeside industrial zone but was closed in 1987 and had remained vacant for three decades. In 2019 the Ireland Park Foundation announced a proposal to integrate the silo into an expanded Ireland Park and to convert it into an Irish heritage museum that would greet arrivals to the airport. Already surrounded by expensive condos, their proposal was universally celebrated by the media, who reported no opposition.[3] This was not, however, the only silo redevelopment project in Toronto. On the other side of downtown at the foot of Parliament Street, Toronto's abandoned Victory Mills silo was soon embroiled in a city-wide controversy surrounding Alphabet Inc's Sidewalk Labs. Criticized as a corporate takeover of urban space, the Sidewalk Labs' proposal became a divisive issue and its supporters encountered opposition from activists, progressive politicians, and intellectuals. Several of these opponents soon formed a citizens group called the #Blocksidewalk Campaign, which the Toronto Star reported consisted of "about 30 Torontonians [who] hail from a variety of backgrounds including the high-tech sector; among them are entrepreneurs, housing and homelessness advocates, environmentalists, academics and researchers." According to activist Melissa Goldstein #Blocksidewalk wanted to "achieve a reset. To put Torontonians back in the driver's seat when it comes to decisions about our city and our future."[4]

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[3] Lauren O'Neal, "Toronto's Derelict Canada Malting Plant Will Soon Anchor a Huge New Event Space," *blog TO,* Original publication date March 21, 2019 https://www.blogto.com/sports_play/2019/03/toronto-canada-malting-plant-huge-event-space/ (Accessed November 27, 2019); Alex Bozikovic, "Toronto to Expand Ireland Park and Promises Big Changes to Lands at the Foot of Bathurst Street," *The Globe and Mail*, October 25, 2019.

[4] Isabelle Kirkwood, "CCLA Files Suit over Sidewalk Labs, #Blocksidewalk Holds Rally," *betakit,* Original publication April 18, 2019 https://betakit.com/ccla-files-suit-over-sidewalk-labs-blocksidewalk-holds-rally/ (Accessed November 28, 2019). For more on the history of the Victory Mills Silo, see Chris Bateman, "What's Happening with Toronto's Waterfront Silos?" *blogTO,* Original publication date March 21, 2015 https://www.blogto.com/city/2015/03/whats_happening_with_torontos_waterfront_silos/ (Accessed November 28,

The redevelopment plans for these three former work sites have achieved varying degrees of success. In 2020 the Sidewalk Labs project was cancelled, but the plans for Ireland Park are moving forward and discussions about the future of Canada Malting in St-Henri are ongoing.[5] I introduce them here not to assess the projects or the effectiveness of resistance strategies (or lack thereof) but because they reflect two different patterns of resistance. In St-Henri, neighbourhood activists responded to the private re-development proposal by arguing that any change should benefit the poor and working-class people who had been most affected when local factories had shut their doors. To them, St-Henri was a working-class community still shaped by its industrial past. Resistance, therefore, was structured around mobilizing local working-class people and their allies to assert that the social violence of deindustrialization and more recently gentrification was ongoing, and that working-class people should have a claim to local space. These claims were, however, also reliant on a relatively short reading of history that ignored Indigenous peoples' much longer relationship with the land in question. In 1535, French explorer Jacques Cartier noted that fisherman connected to the St. Lawrence Iroquoian village of Hochelaga had set up fishing stations in the southwest of the island that settlers would later name Montreal. When Samuel Champlain decided to develop a French settlement on the island in the 17th century, he did so on land over which the Mohawk of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy claimed sovereignty.[6] Though unacknowledged, the claims by À nous la Malting that residents

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2019). For more on the Sidewalk labs project, see the various documents on the Sidewalk Toronto website, https://www.sidewalktoronto.ca/documents/ (Accessed November 28, 2019).

[5] Daniel L. Doctoroff, "Why We're no Longer Pursuing the Quayside Project – and What's Next for Sidewalk Labs," *Medium,* May 7, 2020, accessed January 4, 2021, https://medium.com/sidewalk-talk/why-were-no-longer-pursuing-the-quayside-project-and-what-s-next-for-sidewalk-labs-9a61de3fee3a

[6] Roland Viau, "On the Ruins of Hochelaga: 1535-1650," and "An Archipelago of Trade: 1650-1701," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 1*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 54-150; Indigenous Directions Leadership Group, *Territorial Acknowledgement at Concordia University, Tiohtiá:ke/Montreal* (Montreal: Concordia University, 2017).

of St-Henri owned the Canada Malting site, therefore, remained in tension with the much longer historic and ongoing relationship between Indigenous peoples and those same lands.

In Toronto, the proposal for the Canadian Malting silo divorced it from its history as an industrial worksite, instead using it as a prop to signify something historical, Irish, and vaguely working-class. Situated in a now post-industrial present characterized by condos across from an airport connection to the world, there were virtually no nearby residents who could make claims similar to the Montreal activists. On the other side of the city's downtown, however, the Sidewalk Labs redevelopment drew opposition from numerous activist groups and influential Torontonians. Ojibwe artist Dr. Duke Redbird and architect Calvin Brook criticized Sidewalk Labs for their tokenistic consultations with Indigenous peoples, arguing that they ignored virtually all recommendations forwarded by the consultants. The Sidewalk Labs redevelopment site stood at the mouth of the Don River, and the surrounding lands had long been a site of work and settlement for several Indigenous nations. Along with the likely more significant Humber and Rouge Rivers, the Don was part of a system of waterways that made the area around contemporary Toronto a prosperous hunting, fishing, and settlement territory for the Huron-Wendat, the Petun, the Seneca, and later the Mississauga. Located just to the east of the contemporary mouth of the Don River, the Victory Mills silo stood just outside of the territory that in 1787 the Mississauga had given access to as part of the agreement that would become the Toronto Purchase, which included only the territory west of the Don. Though the British asserted that the agreed upon boundary was further east and eventually negotiated such terms for the final 1805 Toronto Purchase, the use of the Don as a Mississauga boundary line was a testament to the

river's significance.[7] The Sidewalk Labs proposal, however, did little to materially acknowledge the site's significance to the Huron-Wendat, the Petun, the Seneca, or the Mississauga. In an open letter directed to the Waterfront Board of Directors, Redbird and Brook listed a wide range of problems with the proposal and described how it only cited the last 100 years of the waterfront's history, ignoring the much longer 15,000-year history of Indigenous settlement on the waterfront.[8]

Non-Indigenous opponents of the project, however, made little reference to the more recent industrial history of the waterfront. Organized resistance to the proposed Sidewalk Labs redevelopment did include anti-poverty organizations that were linked to nearby communities, but opposition rhetoric was geared to the interests of all Toronto citizens.[9] The significance of the Victory Mills Silo on the waterfront, or what its currently derelict appearance might suggest about the recent history of the people in the surrounding area, was mostly left out of the conversation.

These reactions to the redevelopment of very similar deindustrialized sites across Toronto and Montreal could be read as reflective of different political cultures in each city. Having lived in both cities, I have noticed a tendency for people from across the political spectrum to see

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[7] Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. *Toronto Purchase Specific Claim: Arriving at an Agreement* (Hagersville, ON: Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation, n.d.); Victoria Jane Freeman, "'Toronto Has No History!' Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City," (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2010), 38-94; Jennifer Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don: An Environmental History of Toronto's Don River Valley* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 9-13.

[8] Dr. Duke Redbird and Calvin Brook, "An Open Letter to the Waterfront Toronto's Board of Directors Re: Indigenous Consultation and Sidewalk Labs MIDP Proposals for Toronto's Waterfront," (October 25, 2019), full draft attached to the article: Becky Robertson, "Sidewalk Labs Under Fire for not Considering Indigenous Community in Quayside Plans," *BlogTO*, October 25, 2019, accessed April 1, 2020, https://www.blogto.com/city/2019/10/sidewalk-labs-under-fire-not-incorporating-indigenous-communitys-recommendations-quayside-plans/

[9] Media communications issued by the #BlockSidewalk coalition can be seen on their website: *#BlockSidewalk*, "Media Releases," https://www.blocksidewalk.ca/media, accessed April 3, 2020.

Montreal as a place where radical grassroots and mass mobilization politics happen and to see Toronto as a place, in contrast, where political questions are debated in the public sphere. This comparison is in some ways hard to deny. Street demonstrations in Montreal often attract tens of thousands of people while in the much larger city of Toronto, downtown protests rarely gather similar numbers. Commenters usually attribute contemporary differences in political cultures of activism to perceived 'natural' characteristics of each city, or when forced to historicize, link them to the perceived cultural differences between French Quebec and English Canada. These explanations based on the English/French cultural difference fail to account for the ways that cultures are fluid and change over time and are inadequate for understanding the material lives and challenges faced by activists across each city. The seemingly different cultures of activism also emerged from lived experiences, that were in turn shaped by longer and broader histories of struggle.

Without these more complex histories it is easy to slip into arguments that activism in one city is simply better than the other. Or, that if activists in one city could just mirror the tactics of activists somewhere else that they would be more effective. While sharing examples of past successes is obviously useful, the assertion that the contemporary moment in Toronto or Montreal is simply the product of a series of successful or unsuccessful activist strategies underestimates how capitalism and the state have also shaped this history. Instead, this thesis looks back at the history of neighbourhood activism between 1963 and 1989 to demonstrate how activists in one initially industrialized area in each city responded to material conditions shaped by economic changes beyond their control: namely the overlapping processes of deindustrialization and post-industrial development. Though these processes were not exclusive to Toronto and Montreal, my thesis argues that the lived experiences of activists in these two

cities were uniquely entangled through the process in which Toronto overtook Montreal to become Canada's largest and wealthiest metropolitan area.

Activists in these two previously very industrial areas – the Southwest in Montreal and the East Downtown in Toronto – experienced a profound re-organization of their environments during the time covered by this thesis. The Montreal Canadian Malting, which is located in Montreal's Southwest, and the Victory Silo, which sits in a former industrial zone at the south end of the East Downtown, are both monuments to these changes. The deindustrialization of the surrounding neighbourhoods did not only mean the closure of factories. It meant job loss, abandonment, and the disruption of a local working-class social and cultural life characterized by industrial labour. Post-industrial development also did not only mean the building of white-collar office towers, it meant private residential development, gentrification, and the further disruption of poor and working-class social and cultural life near the downtown core. These connected economic changes shaped the lives of neighbourhood activists in the deindustrializing Southwest in Montreal and East Downtown in Toronto in ways that were also connected. Their cost of living, their access to work, their experiences of police harassment, their social networks, and even their ability to record their own history were all shaped by these broad economic changes. These conditions moulded and were the target of their activism.

As a process, deindustrialization and the rolling-out of a post-industrial economy did not occur evenly across these two cities. Even within cities, post-industrial gentrification transformed certain neighbourhoods rapidly and not others. There were, however, some patterns that were generalizable across cities or regions. The intensification of capital investment in Toronto generally accelerated economic change in neighbourhoods across the city. In a connected process, capital flowed out of Montreal, decelerating post-industrial change there. Though neighbourhood activists in the industrial East Downtown and Southwest initially shared

much in common, the unevenness of this post-1960s economic development across space meant that activists increasingly worked under profoundly different conditions. To put it bluntly, rent and food costs, wage rates, and the availability of work and benefits, all shaped who lived in the neighbourhood, who could afford to become active, and what they fought for. A more complex history of neighbourhood activism in Montreal and Toronto must recognize that these epochal changes affected how activists lived, learned, and acted. The pace of economic change, therefore, mattered.

To return to the stories of activism, the different reactions to the silo re-developments could also be seen through the recent histories and lived experiences of people in the surrounding neighbourhoods. On the Toronto waterfront, almost all relics of its not too long-ago industrial past have been either replaced or converted into condos, office towers, and tech start-ups, the occupants of which either welcomed post-industrial redevelopment or opposed it as against the interests of all Torontonians. Other than Redbird and Brook's criticism regarding the lack of acknowledgement of Indigenous nations' history on the land in question, most opponents of Alphabet Inc. sought to mobilize Toronto-wide rather than with locally situated stakeholders. In St-Henri, working-class people, organizations, and institutions with long histories in the area were still living through the urban changes brought on through deindustrialization. They resisted the absorption of their silo into a developing narrative of local post-industrial revitalization because it would contribute to the ongoing displacement of local poor and working-class people and their history of struggle. The weight of this recent industrial history was so strong that most local activists did not consider that their relationship to the area was made possible through previous waves of colonial displacement. In both cases activists were making history, but not entirely in conditions of their choosing.

We live in the World the Sixties Made?

Histories of neighbourhood activism in Canadian cities usually follow a common script. During the 1960s activists in different cities began to organize locally through their neighbourhoods. Early success motivated organizing in nearby neighbourhoods, which eventually grew into city-wide movements during the second half of the 1960s and successfully convinced governments to create policies that benefitted neighbourhoods. This powerful Canada-wide – including Quebec – narrative, in which resistance from below halted the destructive redevelopment plans of government and big business, has focussed on the process in which "the people" worked through their neighbourhoods to enact progressive change. The geographic and temporal contours of this neighbourhood movement narrative are both legible and convincing in part because they fit within broader narratives of the Canadian "sixties," which tend to depict the growth of social movements in or around the decade of the 1960s resulting in a distinct rupture with the past at the end of the decade or the beginning of the 1970s.[10]

There is also a second less told narrative of neighbourhood organizing that does not fit neatly into the geographic and temporal boundaries asserted by the first. This second narrative centres neighbourhood activists who responded to the material conditions around them, struggling to improve their access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to exist in their neighbourhoods. The story of these struggles did not end with the conclusion of "the sixties" and was entangled with shifting and uneven geographies that manifested in ways that were often locally specific. Activists understood these changing material conditions intimately because they

[10] Here I use "the sixties" instead of 1960s to indicate a more flexible periodization associated with the social movements and the social and cultural practices associated with the radical or counter-cultural sixties. Two books that follow this narrative of rupture at the end of the 1960s, though both with a more critical take, are: Jean-Philippe Warren, *Une douce anarchie: Les années 68 au Québec* (Montreal: Boréal, 2008); Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

felt them in their everyday lives and integrated this understanding into their activism and organizing strategies. The sixties may have motivated these activists to adopt new tactics or strategies, but it did not fundamentally alter their goals. Unfortunately, this locally focussed narrative is often misread through the script of city or nationally framed histories of sixties activism.

This thesis historicizes the production of dominant city or nation focussed narratives of neighbourhood organizing in both Canada and Quebec and identifies points of tension, struggle, and resolution, between these narratives and the ongoing organizing by neighbourhood activists who remained embedded in their local context. By looking at how activists operated in their neighbourhoods between 1963 and 1989 from the bottom up, the following chapters unsettle the established temporal and geographic boundaries of neighbourhood activism history, disentangling it from nationally framed – in both Canada and Quebec – narratives of sixties and post-sixties politics. Neighbourhood activists responded to local manifestations of broader economic changes that were uneven across Canada. This uneven development shaped peoples' political subjectivities differently across space. Knowledge of how uneven economic change shaped everyday life and politics at the neighbourhood level, therefore, adds needed complexity for understanding contemporary, on the ground politics in both places.

The following anecdote demonstrates the tendency to rely on nationally framed history to explain post-1960s historical phenomenon in Quebec and Canada and how such phenomenon might be approached differently. Over the course of the 1960s popular support for Quebec's national independence was growing, evidenced for some by the foundation and growth of the Parti Québécois, a mainstream political party advocating for national sovereignty. On April 26th, 1970, shortly before a provincial election in Quebec and amid raging public debates over the national question, the Royal Trust Company assembled nine Brinks armoured vehicles at their

Montreal offices and announced to the awaiting media that they were moving assets to Toronto. The Vice President of the company declared that they were moving resources at the request of their clients, who were anxious at the possibility of a sovereigntist party, the Parti Québécois, taking power provincially. The VP did not comment on the reason for their clients' fear but suggested that Quebeckers would read the movement of assets as representative of a more general flight of capital from the province. The following day the head of the Parti Québécois, Réné Lévesque, denounced the Royal Trust story as a media stunt that was staged to stoke fear against his party and their promise of national independence. Nevertheless, the Brinks truck story gained traction over the coming days and though on election day the Parti Québécois still emerged with 23 percent of the popular vote, the party finished with a disappointing 7 of 108 provincial seats.[11]

The Royal Trust story did not determine the outcome of the election, but supporters of the Parti Québécois have remembered it as a deciding factor. In the years since, journalists and political commentators have largely concluded that what became known as the 'coup de la Brinks' was fabricated to frighten citizens from voting for the surging Parti Québécois.[12] Evidence suggesting that the story was staged is strong but dismissing it as complete fabrication has downplayed two important elements of the story. First, the scheme was devised because it spoke to a longer-term growing anxiety about capital flight out of the province. In the two

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[11] "Des Québécois déménagent leurs valeurs mobilières en Ontario," *La Presse*, April 27, 1970; "L'affaire du Royal Trust : 'Ça a l'air d'un coup monté' - Lévesque," *La Presse*, April 28, 1970.

[12] Among those who acknowledge that the Brink's incident happened there is near consensus that it was staged. Some examples in English and French are: Graham Fraser, *PQ : René Lévesque & the Parti Québécois in Power* (Toronto : Macmillan of Canada, 1984); Pierre Duchesne, *Jacques Parizeau: Tome 1, Le Croisé, Biographie 1930-1970* (Montreal: Éditions Québec Amérique, 2001), 540-543; Mario Beaulieu et Christian Gagnon, "Les 40 ans du «coup de la Brink's» : Les libéraux fédéraux sont coupables," *Le Devoir*, April 29, 2010. This was such a massive moment in the history of Quebec that the phrase 'coup de la Brinks' is now used to describe federalists who influence, or at least appear to influence, contemporary elections through duplicitous means: Simon-Pierre Savard-Tremblay, "Montréal 2017 ou l'échec du coup de la Brink's," *Le Journal de Montréal*, November 6, 2017.

decades leading up to the 1970 election, a growing number of finance and manufacturing companies had relocated their head offices and jobs out of the province. This movement of capital had begun prior to the coup de la Brinks, continued over the subsequent decades, and was acutely felt by workers and residents who were experiencing job-loss or social disruption in their deindustrializing neighbourhoods. Second, the Royal Trust did not claim to send their assets to just anywhere; they specifically announced that the armoured vehicles were headed for the expanding metropolis of Toronto. The effect of the 'coup de la Brinks' has thus been to place exclusive emphasis on the factors that pushed capital from the province of Quebec, ignoring the pull factors emanating from Toronto and the ways that the fortunes of both cities were entangled through the movement of capital.

The story of the 'coup de la Brinks' should remind us that mainstream political debates about the 'national question' in Quebec and Canada were always entangled with broader social and economic processes that manifested differently across space. Over the years, however, the re-telling of the Brinks story exclusively as a piece of political theatre – regardless of its truthfulness – has overshadowed the fact that Quebeckers had legitimate experience-based worries that capital flight might cost them their jobs or otherwise negatively affect their lives. The ability to ignore how uneven economic change and lived social realities might have shaped voters' responses to the Brinks stunt has relied on the assumption that Quebeckers depended entirely on a nationally framed public discourse for political direction. This focus on debates amongst elected politicians at the expense of the more locally complex on the ground politics of everyday people has remained powerful in part because it affirms broader nationalist narratives of post-1960s Canadian and Quebec progress. More specifically that, during the 1960s

politicians in Canada and Quebec became more responsive to, and thus more reflective of, the will of "the people."[13]

The tendency to elevate the sixties as a watershed moment that led to definitive national progress has not gone unchallenged. Scholars, and particularly Black, Indigenous and scholars of colour have long challenged such state-centred or nationalism affirming readings of Canadian sixties progress, demonstrating instead how during the late 1960s the nation-state simply re-branded old forms of colonial dispossession, racist exclusion, and capitalist exploitation.[14] As these scholars make clear, structural oppression and systemic exclusion did not simply disappear following the social movements of the sixties. Nor did these re-branded structures of power cease to shape everyday life for people in the years since. Many of these scholars have also identified how these shifting but consistent modes of oppression have been similarly met with resistance from the people who experienced that oppression most acutely.

Historians in Canada and elsewhere have also challenged the temporal boundaries and the notion of historical rupture embedded in dominant narratives of the 1960s. Writing in the mid-1990s, American historian Alice Echols argued that "the sixties is best illuminated when embedded in a discussion of the past fifty-plus years" in order to challenge "the usual

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[13] For critiques of the continuing tendency to attribute significant weight to federal policy at the end of 1960s (in this case specifically 1969) as a moment of rupture see the articles in a recent special issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*: In order they are: Marcel Martel, "The 1969 Official Languages Act: A Turning Point, but for Whom?" *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 100 no. 2 (June, 2019): 208-222; Sarah Nickel, "Reconsidering 1969: The *White Paper* and the Making of the Modern Indigenous Rights Movement" *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 100 no. 2 (June, 2019): 223-238; Katrina Ackerman and Shannon Stettner, "'The Public Is Not Ready for This": 1969 and the Long Road to Abortion Access," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 100 no. 2 (June, 2019): 239-256; Tom Hooper, "Queering '69: The Recriminalization of Homosexuality in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 100 no. 2 (June, 2019): 257-273.

[14] Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); David Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation: Race, Sex and Security in Sixties Montreal* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012); Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Robyn Maynard, *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada from Slavery to Present* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2017).

constructions of that [post-Second World-War] era, especially the idea that the sixties represented a total rupture, a golden moment when the ideas and values of the dominant culture were banished, and that the seventies marked the end of social and political change."[15] Echols insights are equally relevant to the Canadian context, where historians have increasingly adopted a "long sixties" approach in which the temporal boundaries of the sixties are flexible enough to trace activism or other historical phenomenon into or out of the 1960s decade.[16] Still, although long sixties historiography has expanded attention beyond the moment of the late 1960s when campus and youth activism flourished and Trudeau introduced reforms to create a more "Just Society,"[17] this work has continued to affirm that there is something that marked the sixties as a coherent period or idea with a centre found somewhere in the 1960s decade. Historians of Canada's connection to the "global sixties" have convincingly argued that this coherence can be found in part through the transnational circulation of ideas and rhetoric used by anti-colonial struggles, or the New Left that increasingly influenced Canadian activists during the 1960s.[18] While this focus on ideas is certainly part of the equation, it presents some difficulties for scholars looking to extend histories of activism further into an even longer sixties. Namely that

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[15] Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The '60s and Its Aftershocks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 12.
[16] Louise Bienvenue. *Quand la jeunesse entre en scene: L'Action Catholique avant la Revolution Tranquille* (Montréal: Boréal, 2003); Joan Sangster, "Radical Ruptures : Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada" *American Review of Canadian Studies* vol. 40 no. 1 (2010): 1-21; Gregory Kealey, Lara Cambell and Dominique Clément, *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Ian Milligan, *Rebel Youth: 1960s Labour Unrest, Young Workers, and New Leftists in English Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014); Peter Graham and Ian McKay, *Radical Ambition: The New Left in Toronto* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2019).
[17] Lara Campbell and Dominique Clément, "Introduction: Time, Age, Myth: Towards a History of the Sixties," in Gregory Kealey, Lara Cambell and Dominique Clément eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 3-26.
[18] Karen Dubinsky et al., *New World Coming: The Sixties and Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009); Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); David Austin, *Fear of a Black Nation*; Joel Belliveau, *Le "moment 68" et la réinvention de l'Acadie* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014).

by stretching the importance of the strategies and ideas that gave sixties activism coherence, we risk missing the ongoing economic and social changes that motivated activists during the 1970s or 1980s to re-think, abandon, or continue to ignore the lessons of the sixties. This thesis thus contributes to an emerging scholarship that seeks to better understand historical changes emanating from the bottom-up during the "post-sixties" decades.[19] By highlighting punctuations from below that caused some neighbourhood activists to push back against local manifestations of "the world the sixties made" the following chapters contribute to a more complex picture of post-sixties urban politics.[20]

Quiet Revolutions and the Production of the Canadian and Quebec Sixties

The growing body of historical work depicting activism in the 1970s and 1980s has challenged the notion that all post-1960s activism flowed downstream from the sixties watershed. But historians are not the only producers of history. They rely on the production and preservation of historical materials, a process over which they usually have little to no control. This thesis, therefore, also explores how dominant narratives of sixties neighbourhood activism

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[19] Some examples are: Deborah Brock, *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969-1984* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2003); CourtePointe Collective, *The Point Is… Grassroots Organizing Works: Women from Point St. Charles Sharing Stories of Solidarity* (Montreal: Les éditions de remue-ménage, 2006); Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016); Bryan D. Palmer and Gaétan Héroux, *Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2017); Valerie Joyce Korinek, *Prairie Fairies: A History of Queer Communities and People in Western Canada, 1930-1985* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); Travis Lupick, *Fighting for Space: How a Group of Drug Users Transformed One City's Struggle with Addiction* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2018); Jin Haritaworn, Ghaida Moussa, and Syrus Marcus Ware eds., *Marvellous Grounds: Queer of Colour Histories of Toronto* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018); Amy Lebovitch & Shawna Ferris eds., *Sex Work Activism in Canada: Speaking Out, Standing Up* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2019); Sarah Nickel, *Assembling Unity: Indigenous Politics, Gender, and the Union of BC Indian Chiefs* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).

[20] Van Gosse, "Postmodern America: A New Democratic Order in the Second Gilded Age," in *The World the 60s Made: Politics and Culture in Recent America,* ed. Van Gosse and Richard Moser (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2003), 5.

became materially entangled with the nation-building objectives of the Canadian and Quebec state. In his book *Silencing the Past* historical theorist Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues that historians should direct their efforts toward something in between the debates over history as fact and history as narrative. Instead, he suggests that historians unearth how history has been produced, to "discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others." To do this, one must step back from academic historiographical debates for "professional historians alone do not set the narrative framework into which their stories fit. Most often, someone else has entered the scene and set the cycle of silences." According to Trouillot, before academic historians write their books there are at least three other opportunities where silences are produced: during "the making of *sources*," "the making of *archives*," and "the making of *narratives*."[21] The production of historical understandings of the Canadian sixties is, therefore, more complex than the debates between historians. It has become materially embedded at every point in the history-making process.

In Canada and Quebec, the state was instrumental to materially embedding the temporal and geographic contours of the sixties in libraries and archives. In Quebec, the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s initiated an increase in secular public spending in many different areas. The Lesage Liberal government, for example, launched the *Ministère des affaires culturelles* soon after its election in 1960 and set the stage for the creation of a more robust Québécois state bureaucracy. In 1961 the Lesage government also funded the *Parent Report* which led to a dramatic reorganization of higher education in Quebec, including the creation of the free provincial CEGEP system and the limiting of the role of the Catholic Church in education. Even after the

[21] The quotes are from page 25 and 26 but the whole introduction provides context: Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

Liberal's lost the 1966 provincial election, their Union nationale successors continued to reform public education and founded the Université du Québec system in 1969.[22] This expansion in public spending created more publicly funded jobs at the provincial level, but the dollars and the spirit behind them also trickled down to support municipal jobs.

As Jocelyn Létourneau has argued, the sectors of society that benefitted from this expansion then began working to re-orient the national collective memory to validate a narrative that served their interests. As he describes it, the march of Quebec's history toward a modern technocracy was, in fact, "Concrétement, la marche des technocrates."[23] Following the Quiet Revolution this growing class of technocrats – loosely, bureaucrats and intellectuals – constituted a discursive network that solidified the idea that the election of Jean Lesage had initiated a modern and positive rupture with the past. Through this communication activity, he argues, these diffuse actors created "un nouveau monde vécu."[24] Létourneau focusses on the intellectual work of prominent Quebeckers, but this discourse of progressive rupture was also materially produced by the masses of white-collar workers who owed their upward mobility to the expansion of the state. The people who filled these state funded jobs in different levels of government or at

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[22] Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). For more on the increase in university attendance, see Jean-Philippe Warren, *Une Douce Anarchie: Les Années 68 au Québec* (Montreal: Éditions du Boréal, 2008), 19-44.

[23] Jocelyn Létourneau employs a Habermasian definition and refers to a collection of actors (bureaucrats, intellectuals, politicians) collectively as "les technocrates." He defines these technocrats united through the "communauté communicationelle" that they built through the Quiet Revolution that produced a discourse depicting themselves as modern in contrast to the great darkness of the previous decades. Létourneau is especially interested in how this discourse rooted itself as the mainstream narrative of Quebec history that is now consumed by new generations of Quebeckers. The quotation can be found on page 76 in Jocelyn Létourneau, "Québec d'après-guerre et mémoire collective de la technocratie," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 90 (January-July 1991): 67-87. See also Jocelyn Létourneau, "Le «Québec Moderne» Un chapitre de grant récit collectif des Québécois," *Revue française de science politique* 42, no. 5 (October, 1992): 765-785.

[24] Létourneau, "Québec d'après-guerre," 69.

universities produced documentary evidence of their work, motivating a groundswell of reports, books, and correspondence that made its way into libraries and archives across the province.

Quebec's Quiet Revolution was also mirrored by a similar process in English Canada. As José Igartua has convincingly argued, English Canada had its own Quiet Revolution which also came into being during the 1960s. Though the English Canadian version was "even quieter than Quebec's revolution," Igartua argues that during the 1960s politicians and the media introduced a new form of modern civic nationalism to replace the British Protestant ethnic nationalism that had been previously dominant.[25] The terminology of an Anglo-Canadian Quiet Revolution has never caught on and the expansion of Canadian bureaucracy occurred over a longer period of time than in Quebec, but at the very least the end of the 1960s represented the peak of a dramatic increase in government spending. During the 1960s the federal government directed new spending to support Canadian intellectual and cultural production in response to fear of American influence over business and culture. Federal dollars also facilitated the rapid expansion of enrollment in the Canadian universities by passing the Canada Student Loans Plan in 1964. Expanded provincial spending on universities across Canada also created more jobs for intellectuals. As in Quebec, beyond creating many new white-collar jobs, this injection of government funding helped pay for the labour and production costs required to produce massive amounts of printed material. [26]

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[25] Igartua analyses Canadian Institute of Public Opinion Polls to ascertain public opinion on different political histories. Politicians and producers of culture likely used these and other indicators to develop the platforms, slogans and campaigns that shaped the contours of the new civic nationalism: José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

[26] Ryan Edwards, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Stephen Azzi, "The Nationalist Moment in English Canada," in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties* edited by Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément and Gregory S. Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). For more how the federal and provincial governments worked together to expand the university system during the 1960s, see Paul Douglas Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); John Vanderkamp, "University Enrolment in Canada 1951-83 and Beyond," *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education* vo. 14 no. 2 (1984): 49-62. For more on the link between

The expansion of federal and provincial bureaucracies created a wave of new middle-class jobs. Access to these jobs was, however, shaped by exclusionary practices that favoured educated white men from middle-class backgrounds. Though women were highly represented in the bureaucratic welfare state after the 1960s their pay was lower, and men continued to occupy most public facing and management positions. As Sunera Thobani argues, discriminatory practices in the education system and the labour market meant that women of colour were rarely hired into the public sector until the late 1970s and even then, upward mobility was difficult due to "gender *and* race segmentation in the labour market." These discriminatory practices were particularly exclusionary toward Indigenous women, who had to contend with the discriminatory logics of a state funded social welfare system that had been built to justify the ongoing dispossession of their communities.[27]

These Quiet Revolutions introduced a massive expansion of bureaucracies and intellectual communities that were shaped by race, gender, language, and class, which then began to produce written evidence documenting what they were doing. Though much of their document production was for internal use, some of it made it into expanding public libraries and archives that were also funded by federal, provincial, or municipal governments.[28] Beginning in the 1960s, but extending into the 1970s, Canadian academics and archivists increasingly pushed to expand archival holdings and to make them more accessible. Between 1961 and 1968, for example, the Public Archives of Canada (Pre-cursor to Library and Archives Canada) began the

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strategic funding for regional development and the development of networks of intellectuals and technocrats, see Tina Loo, *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2019).

[27] Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects*, 125.

[28] For a history of expanded public spending on archives since the early 1970s, see Marion Beyea, "Pennies from Heaven: The History of Public Funding for Canadian Archives," in *Better off Forgetting? Essays on Archives, Public Policy, and Collective Memory* ed. Cheryl Avery & Mona Holmlund (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 3-16.

production of a *Union List of Manuscripts* to document holdings in archives across Canada. This process included diffusing standardized archiving techniques and providing funding to implement these standards.[29] In the early 1970s, the influential Association of University and Colleges of Canada Commission on Canadian Studies also called for more funding for Canadian archives at all levels as an essential piece to building the field of Canadian Studies. The organizing behind this and later reports eventually motivated the state to provide more funding, some of which made its way to non-national or provincial archives.[30]

This enthusiasm for archives touched all levels, inspiring archivists to re-think their practice and make themselves more accessible and more relevant to the public. Cities and municipalities, which had previously kept their archives mostly inward facing directed more funding to professionalize and democratize their archives. In the early 1970s the *Urban History Review* published a series of articles detailing recent growth in staff and resources in city archives across Canada, including Montreal and Toronto. This growth had allegedly also attracted more visitors, leading to more writing on the history of Canadian cities and, presumably, their neighbourhoods.[31] Though concerned primarily with saving documents

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[29] Paul M. Migus, "Review of Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories. Catalogue Collectif des Manuscrits des Archives Canadiennes," edited by Robert S. Gordon and Grace Maurice, *Archivaria* vol. 3 (Winter 1976/7): 138-139; Marion Beyea, "Pennies from Heaven," 3-5.
[30] T.H.B. Symons, *To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies Vol.* 2 (Ottawa: The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1975), 69-85; Marion Beyea, "Pennies from Heaven," 3-16.
[31] The four cities covered in these archive profiles are Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Edmonton. Of the four Montreal's appeared to have had a longer history of employing professional archivists. The other three either hired their first staff person or transformed an informal position to a staff position between 1960 and 1974. They also expanded staff and began transferring materials to microfilm. Both Toronto and Edmonton also boasted large increases in archive usage, with Toronto reporting an increase from 476 researchers in 1968 to over 3,000 in 1973 and Edmonton reporting a jump from 242 researchers in 1973 to 580 in 1974: R. Scott James, "The City of Toronto Archives," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 2, no. 3 (February 1974): 2-9; R. Lynn Ogden, "News and Notes: Vancouver City Archives: A new Resource," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 3, no. 1 (June 1974): 20-25; Henri Gérin-Lajoie, "Les Archives Municipales de la Ville de Montreal," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 3, no. 2 (October 1974): 2-4; Helen LaRose, "The City of Edmonton Archives," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 3, no. 3 (February 1975): 2-7.

produced by city agencies and government, city archives also acquired some collections belonging to non-government groups including neighbourhood organizations, particularly when city officials were personally involved in organizing.[32]

University archives similarly followed these trends, turning toward professional standards and inviting the academic public in. The 1975 Report by the Commission on Canadian Studies had also recommended that the government provide funding to university archives to get "their own house in order." This funding should be used to, among other things, collect "material that is of local or regional significance or that is associated with fields of special interest to the university or to certain of their faculty." Whether this government funding was forthcoming varied across the country, but universities nevertheless began acquiring private collections with some regional relevance. As part of this, university archives acquired the private collections of individuals and organizations, including some activist groups. These acquisitions were, however, usually arranged through existing relationships between archival donors and the university, a reality that privileged the preservation of fonds accumulated by educated, and usually middle-class, people.[33]

One of the by-products of the expansion of state funding was to produce and preserve a paper trail that looked fundamentally different from before. Though much of this money went to state employees like planners and police, it also trickled down to individuals and non-governmental organizations through universities and a briefly robust set of government grants. As the following chapters demonstrate, part of this funding was claimed by activists, including

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[32] Some community connected organizations, for example, also received municipal funding and so their files were deposited in city archives. Depending on the city, some municipal politicians who maintained connections with neighbourhood groups in their constituency similarly provide a more local window.
[33] T.H.B. Symons, *To Know Ourselves*, 72-75.

those looking to support their involvement in neighbourhood organizing. Like with other forms of public spending, funding for neighbourhood activists and organizations motivated them to create and save records, but it also granted them money to spend on spaces to store their records. The 1960s surge in state funding for neighbourhood activism, therefore, initiated the production of a centrally organized, state-funded window through which to view diverse forms of activism in the archive. This opening was, however, short lived. Over the course of the 1970s public grants for neighbourhood organizing were gradually withdrawn, quietly shutting the archival window in such a way as to create the illusion that activists from many different places simultaneously stopped working. In the years since, activists and historians have used this available documentary evidence to produce histories of neighbourhood activism that have replicated the geographic and temporal framing visible in the archive.[34] In other words, the adoption of these funding streams in the 1960s and their later withdrawal over the course of the 1970s shaped the production of neighbourhood activism history, wrapping diverse local stories together into a common script of a Canadian or Quebecois sixties neighbourhood movement.

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[34] This process was complex and diffuse and will be described at length in the upcoming chapters. Some of the more recent work that has continued to reproduce these spatial and temporal boundaries are: Donald McGraw, *Le Développement des groupes populaires à Montréal (1963-1973)* (Saint-Martin, Éditions coopératives A., 1978); Louis Favreau, *Movement populaire et intervention communautaire de 1960 à nos jours: continuités et ruptures* (Montreal: Éditions du Fleuve, 1989); Robert Mayer, "Évolution des pratiques communautaires au Québec (1960-1990)," *Canadian Social Work Review* 11 no. 2 (Summer, 1994): 238-260; David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 222-267; Anna Kruzynski and Eric Shragge, "Getting Organized: Anti-Poverty Organizing and Social Citizenship in the 1970s," *Community Development Journal: An International Forum* 34 no. 4 (1999): 328-339; Kevin Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City: The Politics of Slum Housing and Urban Renewal in Toronto, 1940-1970," (PhD Thesis, Queen's University, 2001); Sean Purdy, "By the People, for the People: Tenant Organizing in Toronto's Regent Park Housing Project in the 1960s and 1970s," *Journal of Urban History* 30 no. 4 (May 2004): 519-548; Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011); Kevin Brushett, "Combler le fossé entre les deux solitudes: l'animation sociale, le développement communautaire et la Companie des Jeunes Canadiens, 1965-1975," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 23 no. 1 (August 2014): 62-81; John Sewell, *How we Changed Toronto* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2015).

This rapid influx of money to produce and preserve documentary evidence during the 1960s punctuated the historical record to such a degree that it shaped common-sensical understandings of a coherent sixties period in Canadian and Quebec history. These common-sense temporalities of the sixties were produced alongside structures of state power and not from the activists that opposed that power from below. Of course, some activists used this funding in ways that opposed state objectives, but the traces of this work in archives, nevertheless, conforms to temporal parameters controlled by the state. By analysing how power shaped the production of neighbourhood activism history over time, this thesis contributes to a body of work that has mapped how states have justified and entrenched their power through the creation and management of archives. Historians have applied these insights to read archives "along the grain" to better understand the common-sense behind past regimes of power. Alternatively, historians have also sought voices that spoke "against the grain" of the archive to reveal strategies that people used to resist these logics of power.[35] Much of this work has so far concentrated on imperial or early-state archives but could also be applied to archive production in the time and places covered by this thesis. By expanding funding for neighbourhood activism during the 1960s the state entangled those who received grants with its own objectives for inner-city redevelopment. The subsequent reduction in funding then reduced the imprint of neighbourhood activism in the archival record, a phenomenon that could – and often has been – interpreted as a reduction in activism, presumably because neighbourhood activists either

[35] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). For a broader discussion academic writing on the intersection of history, power, and the archive, see Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Art of Governance," *Archival Science* vol. 2 (2002): 87-109.

achieved their objectives or were no longer capable of organizing.[36] In this way, the power relations embedded in the distribution of state funding shaped the grain of neighbourhood activism archives.

Though the provision of state funding during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a robust neighbourhood activism archive, it also created archival silences that further marginalized historical actors who defied the state logic of its production. Poor and marginalized neighbourhood activists also organized to build community and challenge power in contexts where state-paid middle-class allies were not present or were even unwelcome. Contrary to dominant narratives of national progress, things had not gotten better for all people in Canada, and for some, the same forms of state intervention that had benefited middle-class people had made things worse.[37] Away from the logics and funding of the state, these mostly poor and marginalized activists organized to challenge ongoing state oppression and to improve lives in their neighbourhoods. This less archived work did not fit neatly into the time-period normally associated with neighbourhood activism, a periodization that over time helped to justify the eviction of long-term residents and deny their right to exist in their neighbourhoods.

The Gentrification of Neighbourhood Activism History

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[36] I believe that this process had an impact on the decline of scholarship on those affected negatively by gentrification that has been noted by geographer Tom Slater: Tom Slater, "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no. 4 (December 2006): 737-757. This perspective will be discussed more in the following section.

[37] J. David Hulchanski, Philippa Campsie, Shirley B.Y. Chau, Stephen H. Hwang and Emily Paradis, "Homelessness: What's in a Word?" in *Finding Home: Policy Options for Addressing Homelessness in Canada*, ed. J. David Hulchanski, Philippa Campsie, Shirley B.Y. Chau, Stephen H. Hwang and Emily Paradis (Toronto: Canadian Homelessness Research Network, 2009) ebook, 5-18; Bryan D. Palmer and Gaétan Héroux, *Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2017), 281-428.

Through the provision of funding the federal, provincial, and municipal state were clearly instrumental to the production and organization of archival materials in Canada, including archives of neighbourhood activism. These archived materials, moreover, have imposed certain temporal and geographic logics that entangled histories of neighbourhood activism with histories of the Quiet Revolutions in Canada and Quebec. But, by framing my research on neighbourhood organizing around one deindustrializing area in each Toronto and Montreal rather than around the nation, province, or city, this thesis asserts that the state did not alone determine how people produced history of neighbourhood activism. Since the 1960s the local consequences of deindustrialization and other forms of economic change shaped neighbourhood activism, but it also structured how this activism has been represented in archives. Though these economic changes worried politicians and other representatives of the state, they did little that might defy their ideological commitment to the supra-national logic of capitalist free markets. In fact, if anything, the state increasingly pivoted policy making and funds to support market solutions to the urban problems posed by deindustrialization. From the perspective of everyday neighbourhood activists in the East Downtown and the Southwest, both the state and capital clearly shaped their work, including their ability to record and archive what they were doing.

Neighbourhood activism collections that made it into mainstream state archives or the private collections of university and community archives had already passed through a series of systemic obstacles. Government grant adjudicators selectively helped fund the production and preservation of some activist collections and not others. Economic changes also exacerbated existing forms of precarity that prevented many activists from building archival collections, but this precarity was not evenly distributed. In the East Downtown and the Southwest, state funding and uneven material conditions produced a logic that was then articulated through the actions of a diffuse collection of individuals and interests at the local level. Politicians, businesspeople,

social workers, students, activists, salaried workers, unemployed people, and yes archivists, all engaged in local politics and with each other in ways that were shaped by these structural conditions. Only some, however, would have access to the funds, time, resources, and connections needed to produce extensive records that would be preserved in archives.

Beginning in the 1960s gentrification – along with the ongoing broader processes of deindustrialization and the rolling out of a post-industrial economy that drove gentrification – re-shaped central cities across Canada. New middle-class residents moved downtown and drove up the cost of living, displacing poor and working-class communities that had long lived near downtown manufacturing hubs. The new middle-class also brought with them financial resources, cultural capital, professional standing, and networks that were conducive to documenting history from their perspective and preserving that history in libraries and archives. This is of course not a phenomenon that is unique to this period; elites have always been more likely to have their documents preserved in libraries and archives. Many early arrivals from the new middle-class, however, worked alongside poor and working-class people in neighbourhood activist, social-service, or cultural organizations, bringing with them their capacity for documenting what they were doing. The shared interests that made these cross-class alliances possible were, however, tenuous, and became increasingly strained under the pressures of gentrification.[38]

In urban spaces, gentrification reified narratives of neighbourhood activism progress and of sixties progress more generally because it displaced the poor people who did not benefit from deindustrialization and post-industrial development and replaced them with people who did. In this way gentrification imposed its dual violence of displacing poor and working-class people

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[38] David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

and reducing their capacity to produce their own counter-histories of what happened in their neighbourhoods. In many cases gentrification literally pushed poor and working-class activists from their homes to other parts of the city or to the streets, making it difficult to sustain engagement in neighbourhood groups. Even when gentrification did not immediately displace residents, the funding and cost of producing a paper trail determined whether and how activist groups kept records. The changing cost of occupying physical space and purchasing supplies and labour were important considerations for any activist organization. Gentrification, by increasing the cost of living and occupying space, thus enforced shifts and breaks in the ways that neighbourhood organizations were able to produce and save archival records. Access to funding and cheap rent might allow an organization to produce and preserve printed meeting minutes, reports, and press releases for a period, but a reduction in funding or an increase in rent might then discontinue their ability to do so. By structuring the production and preservation of historic evidence, gentrification also imposed certain spatial and temporal boundaries on historical narratives of post-1960s neighbourhood activism.

With some exceptions, histories of neighbourhood activism in Canada have typically begun in the mid-1960s and have ended in the early to mid-1970s, with outer limits of 1963 and 1978.[39] Disciplined by the window of funding provided by the state during these years these temporal boundaries, non-coincidentally, also overlapped with the period in which new middle-class people began moving en masse to many central cities across Canada. The mid-1970s did

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[39] Claire Helman, *The Milton-Park Affair: Canada's Largest Citizen-Developer Confrontation* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1987); Kevin Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City: The Politics of Slum Housing and Urban Renewal in Toronto, 1940-1970," (PhD Thesis, Queen's University, 2001); Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011); Danielle Robinson, "Modernism at a Crossroad: The Spadina Expressway Controversy in Toronto, Ontario ca. 1960–1971," *Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 2 (June 2011): 295-322. Peter Graham with Ian McKay, *Radical Ambition: The New Left in Toronto* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2019), 209-256.

not mark the end of this mass-migration, but it marked an acceleration of gentrification in many downtown neighbourhoods. With help from government policies that were increasingly directed toward market revitalization of deindustrializing neighbourhoods, capital re-oriented itself to take advantage of the wealth moving downtown.

People in Montreal and in Toronto did not live this history in exactly the same way or according to the same timeline, but they both lived it. Though gentrification similarly affected peoples' capacity to archive everywhere, the uneven intensity of gentrification left sometimes uneven temporalities in the archival record. In the Southwest in Montreal, persistent inner-city disinvestment slowed gentrification and motivated longer-term investment from the provincial state than in cities attracting high levels of private investment, like Toronto. In Montreal, this extended the opening of the archival window further into the 1980s. Though the dominant temporalities of neighbourhood activism history were somewhat different across my two areas of research, they were produced in similar ways. In both places, dominant narratives of neighbourhood activism remained materially entangled to broader narratives of the sixties through the objectives of capital and the state.[40]

Urban Politics from the Bottom Up

In the 1960s the East Downtown and the Southwest were both industrial zones that contained several working-class neighbourhoods. Though distinct in many ways these two areas

[40] There remains more academic attention to contemporary neighbourhood organizing in Quebec, which means that its more recent history is more accessible than in English Canada. Still many of these academics identify a break in the type of neighbourhood organizing around the beginning of the 1980s: Pierre Hamel, *Action collective et Démocratie Locale: Les Mouvements urbains Montréalais* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1991); Laurence Bherer and Jean-Pierre Collin, in collaboration with Valérie Shaffer, "Urban Issues and Political Mobilization: From Subsidiary to Institutionalized Governance," in Dany Fougères and Roderick Macleod eds., *Montreal: The History of a North American City* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 379-415.

in different cities also shared much in common. Industrialists developed each as sites of manufacturing during the early industrial history of their respective cities, taking advantage of their proximity to water and railways. Over the next century or so neighbourhoods developed and grew around the continued expansion of both large and small factories. The history of this period in the East Downtown and the Southwest was, of course, never static, and was punctuated by broader moments of crisis and more gradual changes, but industrial labour and proximity to factories continued to provide coherence to local working-class life. This long history of extensive industrial production in each place also drew similar ire from social reformers in each city who worried about the moral consequences of low wages and unhealthy living condition and depicted the East Downtown and the Southwest as slums in need of middle-class uplift.[41] Because of these two factors – a deeply engrained working-class culture and the middle-class perception that each place needed uplift – it was no coincidence that these areas became early hotbeds of neighbourhood organizing. At the beginning of the 1960s, the people who lived in these two industrial zones shared at least as much in common with each other as they did with the populations of their respective cities.

The historic processes that produced these similarities have, however, been obscured through city framed histories of neighbourhood activism. As an administrative body, the Canadian city is a creation and extension of the provincial state; it develops laws, administers justice, and manages bureaucracies. Of course, cities are more than this, they are also imagined communities that frame solidarities and senses of belonging/exclusion, but these less formal

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[41] Two famous examples of this were written by Herbert Ames (1897) in Montreal and Herbert Bruce (1934) in Toronto: Herbert Brown Ames, *The City below the Hill; a Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1972); *Report on the Lieutenant-Governor's Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Control, 1934).

perceptions rarely fit neatly within city boundaries. Assuming the city as the de-facto container for urban life directs historians toward archives that re-enforce its boundaries and centre the actors, processes, and moments that give the city coherence. Urban historians must think critically about how they frame their work and be careful to avoid naturalizing the city as the only possible container of urban life. Political subjectivities emerged from local and intimate experiences in places that were in turn shaped by broader social and economic processes. These processes – including deindustrialization, gentrification, and post-industrial development – were not bounded by cities and were beyond the absolute control of municipal governments or other city actors.

The work of Marxist and other critical geographers is useful for historians seeking to frame urban history differently. Marxist geography emerged as an academic subfield during the same period as many of the activists covered in this thesis. During the 1960s and 1970s economic changes re-shaped cities across North America and Europe in ways that were difficult to understand using existing models of city growth. For decades urban scholars had drawn inspiration from the Chicago School of sociology, which had developed a concentric rings model of urban growth in which working-class immigrants slowly moved out of poor central city to more affluent suburbs.[42] Though long considered to reflect the "natural" state of cities, contributors to the Chicago school in fact developed their model using empirical data from heavily industrialized cities during a particular period. Their model thus proved limited in its ability to explain two urban phenomenon that became increasingly obvious during the 1960s and 1970s: the mass deindustrialization of North American cities and the gentrification of formerly

[42] Jan Lin & Christopher Mele, "General Introduction," in *The Urban Sociology Reader 2nd Edition*, eds. Jan Lin and Christopher Mele (New York, Routledge, 2013), 3-4.

industrial neighbourhoods through post-industrial development. Early Marxist geographers recognized the need for an alternative theory of urbanization and concluded that the urban changes that were transforming cities in different regions were connected through changing spatial relations under capitalism. They argued that for centuries urbanization had been a function of capitalism, and that recent forms of urban change were driven by capitalism's continued pursuit of surplus value under a new "regime of accumulation." Pioneering Marxist geographer David Harvey argued that prior to the recession of 1973 western urban spaces had cohered around an industrial "Fordist" regime of capitalist accumulation. During the early 1970s this began to change as capital re-oriented itself to build a new post-Fordist regime that permitted it additional mobility and flexibility. To build this new regime capital began to re-make older industrial cities to accommodate more flexible post-industrial development.[43]

Unlike earlier models of urban development, which argued that cities developed through prescribed life stages, Marxist theory was better suited to explaining why recent urban changes were uneven across space. It provided answers to questions about why some regions of North America and Europe experienced extreme disinvestment while others became boomtowns. Marxist geographers sought to explain these simultaneous processes of disinvestment and investment – as well as their effects on everyday people – as connected through the logic of capital. Neil Smith's theory of the rent-gap, for example, introduced a way to understand the then still early stages of gentrification that were driving poor people from some neighbourhoods in

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[43] These concepts are far more complicated than is permitted here and have been developed out of long-standing debates within the field of geography. For an early piece by Harvey on capitalist urban development, see David Harvey, "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2 no. 1-4 (1978): 101-131. For more on what is meant by a "regime of accumulation" and the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism (or what Harvey calls Flexible Accumulation) see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry in the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), 121-201.

select cities but not others. Smith's theory was based on a model through which capital flowed in and then out of built space in a cyclical manner to maximise returns. In the period following the Second World War, for example, capital had divested from many downtown industrial spaces. After some time, capital began to flow back into places where the rent gap – the gap between the current and potential value of the land – was sufficiently high. From this perspective gentrification was not a natural stage in a city's life but reflected an uneven process through which capital sought to gentrify neighbourhoods only where the rent-gap was suitably large. Along with several of his peers, Smith's theory helped explain how the processes of investment and divestment in real estate were not idiosyncratic to each place but were entangled through a universal logic of capital.[44]

Early work by Marxist geographers introduced new universally applicable ways to understand changing spatial relations under capitalism, but the abstracted nature of their work could not, on its own, describe the specificities of different places. During the 1980s, Doreen Massey applied this concept of uneven development to explain why feminist cultures and politics were also regionally specific.[45] Troubled by the universalizing tendency of Marxist geography that ignored how capitalism intersected with other forms of power, such as that which shaped race and gender relations, Massey expanded on this earlier work to argue the need for geographers to pay more attention to the specifics of place. But, unlike the previous generation of place studies that had assumed that neighbourhoods, cities, regions, or countries as possessing

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[44] The rent gap thesis was first introduced in the article: Neil Smith, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 no. 4 (1979): 538-548. Smith later responded to several critiques of his theory and expanded on his thesis in Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

[45] Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995). The terms space and place have long histories in the field of geography. Here I use space to describe relations between things and "place" to describe spaces have been ascribed cultural meaning.

an innate internal logic, Massey asserted the need for a progressive sense of place that recognized the ongoing "global construction of the local." This global perspective, she argued, would reveal how histories of urban places have always been entangled with more global histories, or that "what has come together, in this place, now, is a conjunction of many histories and many spaces."[46]

Though the work cited above was published over twenty years ago and geographers have written a great deal about these topics since, urban historians have much to gain from engaging with early Marxist geography. In some ways this has already happened, and the "spatial turn" has motivated historians in some fields to think more critically about how they frame their research.[47] Canadian urban historians, for example, have increasingly challenged previous tendencies to wrap urban processes in a national frame by demonstrating how specific cities also fit within transnational networks of people and ideas. Yet, while this work has challenged the hegemony of the nation, many of these studies have for the most part continued to reify the city-frame as natural.[48] Wrapping histories instead around the spatial logics and processes identified by Marxist and other critical geographers can help us to re-think the assumed overlap between urban history and the city in two connected ways. First, like other places, cities are specific but constantly changing articulations of overlapping social relations that operate across different

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[46] Quotation is from: Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39, no. 1 (1995): 190-191. For more by Doreen Massey on this topic, see Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[47] Philip J. Ethington, "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (2007): 465-493; Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and History," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no.4 (2009): 637-658.

[48] One area where historians have not fallen into this trap is in the history of race and ethnicity as well as environmental history. Two good examples of the former are: Jordan Stanger Ross, *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Lisa Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). A good example of urban environmental history is Jennifer L. Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don.*

spatial scales. As such, the meaning of individual cities is in a constant state of flux and is subject to influence from any of these scales. There are, however, other urban places that are also articulations of overlapping social relations such as industrial zones, neighbourhoods, or religious spaces. These non-city, but still urban places may reveal different desires, strategies, and agents of history that are not visible or appear irrelevant from a city-wide perspective. Second, the layers of social relations that shape one urban place also entangle it with others. Framing histories around processes that have entangled places together allows us to further break through the city-frame to reveal the true geographic contours of power-relations. Economic processes that may have been outside the control of city-hall – deindustrialization, gentrification, post-industrial investment – nevertheless shaped everyday urban life and political subjectivities.

Luckily, American urban historians have already provided several examples of how one might frame urban history differently. Much of this work has been driven by the desire to understand the historical overlap between economic change, the law, race, and property in urban space. Thomas Sugrue's ground-breaking book on post-Second World War Detroit, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, for example, launched a productive debate in which historians wrote about the origins of the crisis through a variety of regional and spatial frames.[49] In framing their

[49] The term "urban crisis" has a long and complicated history. Timothy Weaver has argued that in the United States the term has two competing significances that emerged following intense moments of racial tension and violence during the 1960s. Among conservative and neo-liberal circles, it was employed in such a way as to blame urban dis-investment on racialized "cultures of poverty" and to justify employing neo-liberal private market solutions to reverse dis-investment. The second conceptualization of the urban crises emerged from Marxist circles that used to term to describe the structural mechanisms that drove deindustrialization and disinvestment: Timothy Weaver, "Urban Crisis: The Genealogy of a Concept," *Urban Studies* 54 no. 9 (March 2016): 2039-2055. Thomas Sugrue's *Origins* uses the term urban crisis to describe the period of unrest during the 1960s, but roots this moment in longer histories of deindustrialization, disinvestment, and racial discrimination in both the workplace and housing market: Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Following Sugrue a number of other historians approached the topic in different parts of the United States using different spatial frames including the region: Robert Self, *American Babylon: Race and Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); the suburb: Becky Nicholaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) and Andrew Wiese, *Places of their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth*

research around localized intersections of more global power relations – capitalism, legacies of slavery, and the patriarchal family – these authors emphasized actors that would rarely make it into city-wide histories. This body of work also foregrounded deindustrialization as a fundamental pillar of post-Second World War politics in each city, even if those politics did not manifest in city hall until long after their stories began.

Deindustrialization and disinvestment did not only produce hand wringing among politicians and planners, but profoundly disrupted daily life in Detroit, Oakland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities across North America. Though it is dangerous to characterize these disruptions as altogether good or bad there is no question that they were jarring for the people who witnessed their seemingly solid world changing around them. Beyond re-shaping the built environment, these economic changes clashed with existing cultures that had cohered around industrial social relations.[50] Taken together, the work by Sugrue and his peers also suggests that there was no uniform urban crisis, but that capitalist economic restructuring was uneven across time and space and intersected with other more global structures of power. White-supremacy and the patriarchal family structured industrial workplaces and neighbourhoods and they also shaped the politics that emerged in response to deindustrialization, gentrification, and post-industrial development.

Though Canadians have rarely used the term "urban crisis" to refer to cities within their borders, deindustrialization did introduce a form of crisis that was felt in working-class

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Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); the neighbourhood: Amanda Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighbourhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005) and Jeffrey Helgeson, *Crucibles of Black Empowerment: Chicago's Neighborhood Politics from the New Deal to Harold Washington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[50] A great deal of work has focussed on the extent to which deindustrialization disrupted previously existing local cultures and links to places. For an excellent example, see Talja Blokland, *Urban Bonds* (Cambridge U.K., Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

neighbourhoods across Canada. The significance and contours of this crisis are evident in recent work by historians of deindustrialization working in Canada, but to date most of this work has focussed on places where the scars of deindustrialization still mark the physical landscape.[51] Even in boomtowns like Toronto where industrial ruins were quickly swept under the rug of post-industrial development, these scars remained below the surface.[52] As factories closed, the cultural institutions, social networks, and built environment that provided coherence to the East Downtown and the Southwest also changed. In the face of these profound changes, working-class people organized with their neighbours to minimize the damage to their communities and to improve their access to safe jobs and homes.

Residents in the East Downtown and the Southwest initially pursued similar objectives but following the 1960s they did so under increasingly divergent conditions. The flow of finance, banking, construction, and insurance capital into Toronto and consequently out of Montreal re-shaped each city in different but entangled ways.[53] Post-industrial capital more quickly flowed into Toronto's deindustrializing neighbourhoods like the East Downtown, bulldozing or re-

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[51] Two recent examples of local studies of deindustrialization in Canada that mirror this tendency are Steven High, *One Job Town: Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); Lachlan Mackinnon, *Closing Sysco: Industrial Decline in Atlantic Canada's Steel City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).

[52] This tendency has shaped scholarship on deindustrialization more broadly. In their summary of scholarly work on deindustrialization High, Mackinnin and Perchard argue that "[i]ndustrial decline and erasure are often studied in places where the signs of ruination are most visible, resulting in a disproportionate number of studies that focus on small or medium-sized single-industry towns, where nothing has filled the void left by departing industries. With the exception of Detroit, ground zero for the American discussion, economic change in metropolitan areas is usually understood as "urban change," privileging where people live instead of where they work." These authors also describe how working-class people in Post-industrial cities underwent a "double erasure," wherein first the factories closed, and then working-class people were displaced through gentrification: Steven High, Lacklan MacKinnin, and Andrew Perchard, "Introduction," in *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Spaces*, ed. Steven High, Lacklan MacKinnon, and Andrew Perchard (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 6.

[53] In writing an "entangled" history I am seeking to avoid a simple identification of similarities or differences across space. I am also responding, albeit in a somewhat messy way to Magda Fahrni's call for more entangled histories of Quebec and Canada: Magda Fahrni, "Reflections on the Place of Quebec in Historical Writing on Canada" in Michael Dawson and Chris Dummitt *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2009), 1-20.

developing former industrial spaces. This process was much slower in Montreal's deindustrializing neighbourhoods. The uneven pace of deindustrialization and post-industrial development profoundly affected the everyday lives of people all over each city. It was, however, in the East Downtown in Toronto and the Southwest in Montreal that new forms of neighbourhood organizing emerged to assert some control over these changes. There is no doubt that this organizing was influenced by parallel social and political movements, but neighbourhood activists' relationship to those movements was refracted through a local context that was changing rapidly. Deindustrialization meant that job sites closed, family members were fired, friends moved away, buildings abandoned, and the pace, smells, and sounds of everyday life were fundamentally altered. Depending on the pace and intensity of economic change, subsequent post-industrial investment might produce further changes such as new neighbours, building renovations, and more greenspace, but also gentrification, increased regulation of public space, and additional policing. In the East Downtown and the Southwest, whether you saw these changes as unwelcome or improvements was also political.

Conclusion

Contemporary neighbourhood activist cultures in Toronto and Montreal are rooted in history. This of course means that local activists and organizations have been shaped by experiences over time, but it also means that the struggle over neighbourhoods has always included a struggle over the production of local meaning and memory. By introducing a different way of understanding the history of neighbourhood activism in deindustrializing Toronto and Montreal this thesis identifies a possible alternative to mainstream histories of neighbourhood activism, one which recognizes that the experiences of neighbourhood activists were as complex as the neighbourhoods where they organized. Instead of asserting that the following chapters

reflect the true history of neighbourhood organizing, however, this thesis fills a silence in the dominant narrative to gesture towards the contours of power that silenced it in the first place. In other words, this thesis works against the archival grain to better understand the power relations along the archival grain. In doing so I hope it identifies some tangible pressure points that activists, historians, and archivists in Toronto, Montreal, and elsewhere can target to push back against the flattening of complex activist histories into simplistic narratives of progress.

My alternative history begins with two chapters that demonstrate how the histories of neighbourhood activism in the East Downtown and Southwest were entangled. Chapter one situates the history of each place in its economic context. Deindustrialization hit both the East Downtown and the Southwest hard in the 1960s, but the concentration of post-industrial capital in Toronto quickly filled the void while disinvestment continued in Montreal. Chapter two demonstrates how during these waves of private investment and disinvestment; public bodies began to pump funding into neighbourhood organizing through grants and financial support for universities. This funding supported the emergence of a group of white, male, new-middle class authors, academics, and journalists who wrote the first wave of retrospective accounts on 1960s organizing. It argues that these "activist-intellectuals" produced the building blocks for histories in which the only significant local organizing was that that generated city-wide appeal. The second chapter also revisits the origin stories of neighbourhood activism in each area to argue that local forms of organizing defied the more general local to city-wide narratives furthered by activist intellectuals.

The next two chapters follow neighbourhood activism out of the much studied 1960s to demonstrate how the context in which neighbourhood organizing happened in the East Downtown and the Southwest became increasingly different through uneven post-industrial investment. Chapter three links archived forms of 1970s neighbourhood activism through their

common reliance on forms of federal funding, particularly the Local Initiative Program. The eventual withdrawal of this funding and the introduction of Neighbourhood Improvement Plan dollars later in the decade represented a shift in the way that governments approached the revitalization of deindustrializing neighbourhoods, from subsidized job creation in the community sector to encouraging private investment. Chapter three also asserts that government grants not only shaped the landscape of neighbourhood activism in the East Downtown and the Southwest differently, but also the ability of activists to make and store archival records. Chapter four follows the development of strong networks of middle-class "neighbourhood promoters" who formed their own organizations with the goal of promoting the neighbourhood for economic investment. Whether or not the interests of neighbourhood promoters overlapped with their working-class neighbours was also shaped by uneven processes of investment and disinvestment.

Through these first four chapters I revisit the histories of many neighbourhood campaigns and organizations that, due to the existence of archives, have been written about elsewhere. The final chapter builds on these first four but shifts focus towards the creation of archives themselves. Using oral histories and manuscripts published by community archivists, I identify a logic that guided production of archives about neighbourhood activism in the East Downtown and the Southwest. The building and maintenance of archives costed money and so the unevenness of economic change across each area created opportunities for some organizations to archive while creating barriers for others. Beyond understanding the role that community archives played in the production of neighbourhood activism history, understanding how precarity has shaped the archival record can reveal strategic entry points for archivists and historians looking to push back against dominant activism historical narratives. The historical record is not set-in stone, and by supporting community efforts to fill some of the silences

produced between 1963 and 1989 historians can push back against the logics of power that have dominated the production of history.

Chapter 1

Whitepainters and Arson

Economic and Urban Change in Toronto and Montreal

In 1976, well known Toronto author Hugh Garner published *The Intruders*. Meant as a sequel to the author's most famous novel, *Cabbagetown*, and set in the same area of East Downtown Toronto where Garner grew up, *The Intruders* depicted a period of rapid local change. Whereas the characters in *Cabbagetown* lived in a settled working-class neighbourhood, *The Intruders* introduced a new cast of middle-class 'whitepainters,' who had bought and fixed up homes in the area ('whitepainter' refers to the white color they would paint their fences) and were quickly taking over. These intruders, moreover, did not only occupy local space, fix up homes, and increase property values, they took over local organizations and sought to mould them to fit their middle-class social and political aspirations. From a contemporary perspective, Garner's novel follows the typical script of gentrification, with archetypal higher income, educated professionals pushing out working-class people. *The Intruders* was, however, also locally specific, meant to express discontent about how urban change affected social, cultural, and political life in the neighbourhoods where the author was raised.[1]

Three years later and 540 km to the north-east, David Fennario opened his new play *Balconville* at the Centaur theatre in Old Montreal. Set in the neighbourhood of Pointe-Saint-Charles near where Fennario grew up, *Balconville* also captured a period of rapid local economic

[1] Hugh Garner, *The Intruders* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976).

change. Fennario's characters, however, experienced change in a profoundly different way than those in *The Intruders*. There were no middle-class characters in *Balconville*, and while Fennario's working-class characters did lament the disappearance of a world where jobs were more plentiful and politicians less corrupt, they still argued in a familiar way with familiar neighbours. In fact, Fennario's characters do not seem to fear middle-class intruders at all, but rather they worry about a broken step in their building that never gets fixed and the epidemic of fires that had been ravaging their neighbourhood. Unlike in the East Downtown where whitepainters were the manifestation of economic change, for the residents in *Balconville* fire and arson were symbols of neighbourhood transformation.[2]

The Intruders and *Balconville* depicted two very different local manifestations of urban change in the wake of deindustrialization. They also depicted two very different contexts within which residents felt, reacted to, and had opportunities to resist such changes. Yet, to date, academic work on post-1960s urban Canada has mostly neglected how distinct forms of urban change in different cities shaped local neighbourhood politics. Scholars of urban change and gentrification have convincingly demonstrated the existence of new-middle class migration to city centers across Canada since the 1960s and have linked this influx to patterns of gentrification over the subsequent decades. Concerned primarily with theorizing gentrification as a process, however, this work has largely ignored how uneven rates of economic change (affecting both work and home life) created different contexts within which poor and working-class people lived and organized to resist gentrification and control their future. Post-industrial economic change did shape the geographies of both Toronto and Montreal and, in doing so,

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[2] Balconville was first performed in 1979 but was published in book form in 1980: David Fennario, *Balconville* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1980).

shaped social relations and the political subjectivities of both working and middle-class people in each city. The pace and intensity of economic change in each city, therefore, mattered.[3]

As Toronto rapidly ascended to become Canada's most important post-industrial urban economy, Montreal declined as its formerly most important industrial counterpart. The locational advantages offered by Toronto's emergence as Canada's 'global city' allowed its post-industrial urban development to snowball. Office buildings mushroomed around the downtown-core to accommodate growing or newly arrived financial institutions. Montreal could not compete, and an increasing number of head offices followed the flow of capital toward Toronto. This expanding void where financial capital used to be did not only slow the growth of downtown office buildings in Montreal, it tempered the impact of new-middle class residents on the central city and opened avenues for working-class control of neighbourhood institutions.

This chapter sets the groundwork for an understanding of neighbourhood organizing in the East Downtown in Toronto and the Southwest in Montreal that acknowledges the profound impact of uneven economic change. Industry began to leave the central cities of Montreal and Toronto more rapidly in the decades following the Second World War but did not leave as a unified mass. Individual firms weighed the locational advantages found in the suburbs against

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[3] In their efforts to theorize gentrification these scholars have looked at the structural or cultural reasons that pushed or pulled middle-class people into Canadian central cities to develop stage models of gentrification that could be applied to other cities. The focus on stage models of gentrification has placed disproportionate emphasis on the agency of middle-class gentrifiers, minimizing the possibility that working-class people also shaped processes of gentrification. Much of this research has focused on the most rapidly developing urban centers in Canada, particularly Toronto and Vancouver, and then applied them to other cities. While it is true that these scholars are not historians and creating historic narrative is not their intention, in the absence of qualitative historic research on gentrifying neighbourhoods their data and conclusions tend to suggest similar experiences of gentrification in all (or at least the three largest) Canadian cities. Many of these scholars have recently come together under the *Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership* initiated by University of Toronto urban scholar, David Hulchanski. Since its inception it has been expanded to include one lead scholar from each of six cities: David Ley (Vancouver), Ivan Townshend (Calgary), Jono Distasio (Winnipeg), Alan Walks (Toronto), Damaris Rose (Montreal) and Jill Grant (Halifax). Together, these scholars have published prolifically on theories of gentrification and urban change and are known internationally, particularly Ley, Walks, and Rose. It is telling that of these three, Damaris Rose, the representative from Montreal, has most forcefully challenged the tendency to treat all Canadian cities as the same (see the next footnote for more).

those offered downtown, and their decisions to stay or leave depended on local operating conditions, including room to expand manufacturing spaces, labour and rent costs, and access to transportation networks. White collar employment expansion offset some of the loss of blue-collar jobs in both cities, but again, the pace and intensity were uneven. In Toronto, rapid population growth drove up central-city land prices at an alarming rate, sparking intense gentrification in the surrounding area including the East Downtown. In Montreal, white-collar employment also grew, but most new jobs were relatively low paid and often precarious, constituting what Damaris Rose had called the 'marginal gentrifier.'[4] All of these factors meant that the neighbourhoods in Montreal's Southwest remained primarily industrial and working-class for longer than those in Toronto's East Downtown.

Capital moves West: Toronto becomes Canada's 'Global City'

Toronto's ascendency to become Canada's largest city, in terms of population and economic activity, was a more gradual process than is typically acknowledged by economists, journalists, and historians. Most locate the decline of Montreal as beginning after 1967, the year that people from across Canada travelled to Montreal to celebrate their national centennial exposition. Expo 67 was by most accounts a tremendous success and the fact that it happened in

[4] Rose first introduced the concept of the 'marginal gentrifier' to mean a "moderate income gentrifier" in her foundational 1984 article: Damaris Rose, "Rethinking Gentrification: Beyond the Uneven Development of Urban Theory," *Environment and Planning D*, 1 (1984): 47-74. She later expanded her definition over several articles using mostly empirical data from her home city of Montreal. The particular connection between the concept of the 'marginal gentrifier' and her city of focus is perhaps most evident and therefore relevant to this paper in a book chapter that "makes the case that rather than treating marginal gentrifiers and 'marginal' advanced tertiary cities as supposed 'exceptions' to the main dynamic of gentrification, theories and empirical accounts should consider how the economic fortunes of a city and of its new middle-class might affect the process. I shall show how economic and labour market restructuring in Canadian cities bifurcated the new middle class in the 1980s and how in the Montreal case this helped perpetuate the phenomenon of marginal gentrification, as these broader tendencies intersected with particular features of Québec's political and socio-cultural climate and of Montreal's residential morphology." Damaris Rose, "Economic Restructuring and the Diversification of Gentrification in the 1980s: A View from a Marginal Metropolis," in *City Lives and City Forms: Critical Research and Canadian Urbanism*, eds. Jon Caulfield and Linda Peake (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 131-172.

Montreal suggested that it, not Toronto, sill had a firm grasp as Canada's most important city. Expo 67 also occurred amid the rapidly growing Quebec sovereigntist movement, a movement which pundits have since widely blamed for driving capital from the province. The Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale became a political party in 1963 and eventually helped form the Parti Québecois in 1968 to offer a mainstream path to Quebec independence. The Front de libération du Québec, a revolutionary group calling for a more radical form of national sovereignty, also escalated their activity in the late 1960s. By 1971, the first federal census since 1966, statistics revealed new signs of significant decline in downtown Montreal, suggesting that the recently escalating sovereignty movement was driving capital from the city.[5]

Toronto, on the other hand, was growing at a remarkable pace. The population of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) increased three times faster than the Montreal CMA between 1971 and 1976. By 1976 the national census revealed that Toronto was, for the first time, the largest CMA in the country. The census definition of CMA, however, hid the fact that the urban region in and around Toronto had long surpassed the equivalent in Montreal. In 1970, economists Higgins, Martin, and Raynauld published a report using their own definition of metropolitan area to compare the urbanized region of Montreal with a similarly defined region of Toronto. Using statistics from 1966, the economists discovered that Toronto (4.5 million) had long overtaken Montreal (3.2 million) as Canada's most populous urban region. Toronto's proximity to the booming great lakes region had, they argued, contributed to the rapid

[5] Though it would be hard to argue that the Québécois sovereignty movement was the only thing that drove capital from the province, historians who write about Montreal have tended to emphasize it as a major factor in the flight of capital from the city, neglecting the pull factors emanating from Toronto. For a recent example of someone who acknowledges the growth of Toronto but places overwhelming emphasis on the sovereignty movement push factors, see Mario Polèse, "Montreal's Economy since 1930," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 2*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 164-205.

urbanization of the city's periphery. According to their research, of the 1,681 American subsidiary companies in Canada, 632 were located in the Toronto region compared with only 187 in the Montreal region. The then dynamic economies of Chicago, Detroit, and the Ohio region accounted for a much greater percentage of American investment in Toronto, whereas Montreal relied on New York and other aging cities of the North-East. The Higgins, Martin, and Raynault report suggested that Toronto had already taken over the mantle as Canada's economic engine long before Expo '67.[6]

Most of the population growth in both Toronto and Montreal during the 1950s and 1960s occurred outside the city limits in post-war suburbs. Spurred by federal mortgage subsidies aimed at encouraging homeownership after the Second World War, many working families could, for the first time, afford to buy homes away from congested city centers.[7] To accommodate this growing sprawl that wrapped different municipalities into a single metropolitan area, the provincial governments in Ontario and Quebec created new municipal administrative structures in Toronto and Montreal, respectively. In Toronto, the Municipality of Metro Toronto or "Metro," took over the administration of highways, sewers, and water distribution in 1954. The city of Montreal had contributed to a regional administrative system since the 1920s, but this system was disbanded and replaced with the much larger Montreal Urban Community (MUC) in 1970 with the goal of consolidating service costs for the

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[6] Benjamin Higgins, Fernand Martin and André Raynauld, *Les orientations du développement économique régional dans la province de Québec* (Ottawa: Department of regional economic expansion, 1970), 132-152.

[7] The suburbs have a longer history than has often been acknowledged by historians, who have tended to see suburban development only when it resembles contemporary images of the post-war suburb. For a critique of this tendency, see Richard Walker and Robert Lewis, "Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier: Industry and the Spread of North American Cities, 1850-1950," *Journal of Historical Geography* 27 no. 1 (January 2001): 3-19. When I specify the post-war suburbs I am interested in the changes in and rapid intensification of suburbanization following the Second World War: Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montreal: Boréal, 1992), 427-457; Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

metropolitan area. Though there existed important differences between the administrative structures of the Metro and the MUC, they were both conceived to deal with the problem of integrating urban development and services across municipal boundaries.[8]

The boom in suburban housing development and the expansion of Toronto and Montreal's metropolitan administrative structures was also entangled with a more general re-organization of how people and commodities moved through Canadian cities. As cars became more affordable, middle, and working-class ownership soared. In 1945 there were approximately 1.1 million cars in Canada, by 1961 that number had almost quadrupled to 4.3 million. To accommodate these cars, provincial and municipal governments co-operated to make cities better suited to motor vehicles, expanding street networks and expressways to connect downtowns to the suburbs. In 1954, the Metro Toronto began its first urban expressway and would eventually imagine a system expanding in all directions from the downtown core. Though not all of these projects would be completed, the plan, nevertheless, expanded the capacity of suburbanites to commute to the central city along the Don Valley Parkway and the Gardiner Expressway. On the island of Montreal, the Quebec government authorized seven new expressways that opened between 1950 and 1969, and another five during the 1970s. The federal government also contributed by connecting cities across Canada to each other, opening the Trans-Canada highway to the public in 1962. City dwellers could now live further than ever from the factory or office building where they worked.[9]

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[8] Richard White, *Planning Toronto: The Planners, the Plans, their Legacies, 1940-1980* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 77-140; Jean-Pierre Collin and Laurence Bherer, "One Island, Several Cities: Montreal and its Immediate Suburbs," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 2*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 132-163.

[9] Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 129-154; Dimitry Anastakis, *Car Nation: An Illustrated History of Canada's Transformation Behind the Wheel* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 2008); Jennifer L. Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don: An Environmental History of Toronto's Don River Valley* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 139-172; Gilles Sénécal and Nathan Vachon, "Metropolitan Expansion: The Challenge of Polycentricity," in *Montreal: The History of a North American*

Manufacturing also re-located to the suburban periphery in the years following the Second World War. Prior to the 1950s, firms had built their factories around access points to sea or rail transport. With the expansion of highways and shipping systems that were increasingly geared to truck transport, firms could locate factories almost anywhere. Far from the city center, they could avoid the congested downtown core and ship their products to other cities more rapidly. The cheap available land in the suburbs also gave firms more space to build, allowing them to take advantage of new manufacturing processes that required large, single story factories. In Toronto and Montreal, new and existing manufacturing firms increasingly chose these locational advantages over those available closer to downtown.[10]

People and manufacturing jobs moved from the inner city to the suburbs across Canada, but the pace of this exodus was also determined by larger political, demographic, and economic forces that were simultaneously re-shaping central cities for post-industrial economic development. Even before the Second World War, Toronto had a significant white-collar workforce that grew through its relationship to investment in western regions of Canada and the United States. Toronto financiers were well situated to profit from capital and population growth in the Great Lakes Region and Western Canada in the second half of the 19th century. Additional capital investment in the western periphery, particularly in mining, spurred the growth of finance and insurance companies in the metropole. By financing resource extraction and western

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City Vol. 2 eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 75-105.

[10] For more on the specifics of Toronto and Montreal see later in this chapter. For a more general Canadian story, see Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 427-457 and Harris, *Creeping Conformity*, 56-73 and 129-154. Some of the theoretical work on industrial relocation that has informed my position is Richard Walker and Michael Storper, *The Capitalist Imperative: Territory, Technology and Industrial Growth* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1989); Richard Harris and Robert Lewis, "Constructing a Fault(y) Zone: misrepresentations of American cities and suburbs, 1900-1950." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998): 622-39. Richard Harris and Robert Lewis, "The Geography of North American Cities and Suburbs, 1900-1950: A New Synthesis." *Journal of Urban History* 27 (2001): 262-92.

development Toronto-based firms created a gravitational pull on Canadian and American capital, accelerating growth in the city's financial sector and creating the need for a large white-collar workforce. This concentration of financial capital in Toronto reached a critical mass in the 1950s and 1960s, profoundly re-shaping the landscape of what had previously been considered Canada's second tier city.[11]

Metro Toronto's growth in downtown finance capital and suburban manufacturing was entangled with rapid population growth driven by immigrant settlement, particularly in the years following the Second World War. In 1961, for example, 47.6 percent of all foreign-born residents of Canada and 55 percent of all post-war immigrants resided in Ontario, and the five census districts with the highest proportion of post-war migrants were all in the Toronto Metro Area.[12] This predominantly Eastern and Southern European wave of post-war immigrants settled in different parts of Toronto and worked in a variety of industries. Across Canada in 1961 the most popular professions for post-war immigrants were concentrated in urban and suburban areas and included manufacturing, personal services (including a variety of small businesses), and construction, which together totaled over 55 percent of all post-war immigrant employment.

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[11] There are several possible start dates to the rise of Toronto as a city that could rival Montreal. Scholars, however, seem to agree that the rapid growth of Toronto-based financial capital before the Second World War was driven primarily by investment in mining. Toronto was well positioned to take advantage of rail networks that extended to the western periphery of Canada. In 1898 two Toronto-based mining exchanges merged to form the Standard Stock and Mining Exchange (SSME). The SSME was eventually absorbed into the more general Toronto Stock Exchange in 1934: Donald P. Kerr, "Metropolitan Dominance in Canada," in *Canada: A Geographic Interpretation*, ed. John Warkentin (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1967), 531-555. For an overview of the different factors that favoured Toronto's growth in finance, head offices, and insurance capital over Montreal between the late 19th century and the mid-20th century, see Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, *Montréal: The Quest for a Metropolis* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 28-32.

[12] Warren E. Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population, one of a Series of 1961 Monographs Prepared for the Census Division Dominion Bureau of Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), 124.

For those immigrants who sought construction and manufacturing work, there was no better place to live than Toronto.[13]

As Metro Toronto's population and economy boomed so did its land prices. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the area surrounding the downtown core, where apartment and office towers mushroomed during the late 1950s and 1960s. Large companies like Cadillac and Meridian emerged as major players in the property development industry, and with their access to large pools of capital (as well as Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation subsidies) the developers maximized returns on valuable land by investing in multi-story apartment towers. In the fifteen years between 1951 and 1966, the number of apartments rose from 30 to 46 percent of the city's housing stock.[14] The growth of downtown apartment buildings also coincided with a massive build-up of commercial real estate. In the 1960s private and public firms raced to take advantage of the rapidly appreciating property values in and around the downtown core, building increasingly tall buildings to maximize square footage in desirable locations. Banks and other financial institutions also sought to outdo each other to stake a major claim in the downtown landscape of Canada's emerging global city.[15] Beyond the spectacle of the commercial skyscraper craze, these new office towers also filled each day with an increasing number of

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[13] All stats come from: Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration*, 93 and 211. For more on the history of the post-Second World War immigration of displaced persons with a heavy focus on Toronto, see Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006). For more on immigrants in the construction industry see this excellent public history project: Gilberto Fernandez, project lead, *City Builders*, Retrieved September 6th, 2019 from https://toronto-city-builders.org/

[14] James Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company), 122, 143.

[15] James Lemon has located the beginning of the office tower boom in 1963 with the construction of the Simpsons building and the T-D Centre. Between 1962 and 1982 the square footage of office space in the downtown core from the waterfront to Eglington Street increased from about 20 million to 50 million: Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918*, 142-145 and 160. For more on the longer history of office development in Toronto, see Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, "Building for City, Region, and Nation: Office Development in Toronto 1834-1984," in *Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto* ed. Victor L. Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 272-319.

educated, white-collar workers, many of whom broke with the middle-class trend toward suburban living and chose to live in the central city.

Toronto's rapid growth in the decades following the Second World War helped precipitate the comparative decline of Montreal. Although the Montreal Metropolitan Area continued to grow in the post-war years, almost all statistical indicators of economic standing showed that it had surrendered locational advantages to its rival. Four interrelated trends indicated that Metro Montreal's economy was heading toward decline prior to 1967. First, financial firms increasingly chose to locate head offices in Toronto over Montreal. In 1952 Montreal was still ahead, with 20 percent more financial head offices than Toronto. By 1972, however, the order was reversed, with Toronto housing 36 percent more than Montreal. In some sectors, such as insurance, firms began to re-locate head offices from Montreal to Toronto. In 1941 Montreal housed more insurance assets than anywhere in Canada, but over the next two decades 25 insurance companies moved their headquarters to Toronto with only one moving in the opposite direction. Second, Montreal lost investment in their manufacturing sector relative to Toronto. In the ten years between 1951 and 1961, yearly manufacturing investment in Montreal was on average 30 percent higher than Toronto. Between 1962 and 1966, however, it received 18 percent less. Third, Montreal lost ground on the amount of goods being shipped out of their port, albeit more to Vancouver than Toronto. In 1961 the port of Montreal still retained just over 38 percent of total traffic handled at Canadian Ports, after which it steadily declined to less than 30 percent by 1967 and just 16 percent by 1973. Finally, Toronto absorbed a rapidly increasing percentage of Canadian stock market activity. The volume of stock transactions in Toronto first surpassed those traded in Montreal in 1932, but by 1960 the two Montreal-based stock exchanges, the Montreal Stock Exchange and the Canadienne, still managed 33 percent of the value of stocks traded in Canada, with most of the rest traded in Toronto. Over the next two

decades this number continued to decline and by 1980 only 11 percent of the value of stocks traded in Canada took place in Montreal.[16]

These signs mirrored a decline in the number of immigrants who settled in Montreal in relation to Toronto. In 1961 the census recorded that approximately 182,000 residents of Montreal had immigrated in the last ten years, which was just over half as many (54 percent) as the 335,000 in the then smaller city of Toronto. By the 1971 census only 121,000 residents of Montreal responded that they had immigrated since 1965, which was now less than half (42 percent) of the 285,000 recent-immigrant residents in the still smaller Toronto. By 1981 the ratio of new immigrants who settle in Montreal since 1965 was now only 36 percent of the number who lived in the now much bigger city of Toronto.[17] Over the same period, the growing gap between the number of recent immigrants who chose to settle in each place coincided with a change in Canadian immigration policy. While still discriminatory, the introduction of the points system in 1967 made it easier for people from outside Europe to immigrate to Canada, resulting in increased immigration from the global south, particularly from Asia and the Caribbean. In 1961 the census recorded 12,400 Caribbean-born residents of Canada, in 1971 that number had multiplied by five to 68,100, and by 1981, 173,200. Over the same period the number of South Asia-born residents increased from 9,000 to 130,000 and East Asia-born residents from 43,500 to 195,500. A far greater number of these new immigrants chose to live in boomtown Toronto over

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[16] All stats in this paragraph are for the CMAs of Toronto and Montreal: Benjamin Higgins, *The Rise-and Fall? of Montreal: A Case Study of Urban Growth, National Economic Expansion and National Development* (Moncton: Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 1986), 15-17, 61; Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 448-450. On the movement of insurance companies see Donald Kerr and Deryck Holdsworth, *Historical Atlas of Canada Volume 3: Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), Plate 55.

[17] This data is somewhat inconsistent because Census Canada did not ask questions about consistent periods of immigration. The numbers from the 1961 census cover those who immigrated between 1951 and 1961, the 1971 census did not included data for the previous decade and so I used the available time frame from 1965 to 1971, and the 1981 census once again changed the way it framed questions about period of immigration (the data here corresponds to the period between 1965 and 1981). Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961, 1971, 1981.

Montreal.[18] As one journalist noted in his 1968 article on Black residents in Montreal, between 4,000 to 5,000 recent Black immigrants who then lived in Montreal intended "to settle in Montreal but (were) trying to make a stake to take them to Toronto, Vancouver, or some other city where they hope to find a prosperous future."[19]

In the lead-up to Expo '67 different levels of government pumped investment into development projects in Montreal, but this did more to temporarily hide a trend that was already underway. Public investment in projects like the Bonaventure Expressway and the Montreal Metro did not attract levels of private capital that would allow it to compete with Toronto. In the absence of such private investment, land prices near downtown Montreal remained relatively low and did not inspire a high-rise construction boom as in Toronto. Montreal remained a city of low-rise apartment buildings and fewer corporations competed to dominate the city's skyline. By the late-1980s researchers at INRS, a Montreal-based urban institute, declared that Montreal city officials and researchers needed to stop comparing their city to Toronto. They argued that the effects of deindustrialization and a lag in tertiary sector development in Montreal had made it a second-tier city, more aptly compared with Boston or rustbelt cities such as Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and Pittsburgh.[20] As in these other cities, economic and urban change in

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[18] Statistics are from a stats Canada summary report of census data: Statistics Canada, *150 Years of Immigration in Canada*, (June 8, 2016) accessed September 8, 2019, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016006-eng.htm

[19] Quote was drawn from Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now* but was originally printed in Boubacar Koné, "Être Noir," *Le Magazine Maclean*, August 1968. Williams is generally critical of Koné's statistics about the total population of Black residents of Montreal and the 4,000-5,000 number is likely inflated. Still, Williams seems to agree with the content of the quote, that many Black recent immigrants to Montreal hoped to eventually move on to a more prosperous city: Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997), 109-111.

[20] The issue of comparison was common in INRS reports but two focused on it in detail. The authors of these reports saw Boston and Pittsburgh as the models to emulate: Pierre Lamonde, *La Transformation de l'économie Montréalaise, 1971-1986: Cadre pour une problématique de transport* (Montreal: INRS-Urbanisation, 1988); 41-58, 81-100; Pierre Lamonde and Yvon Martineau, *Désindustrialisation et restructuration économique: Montréal et les autres grandes métropoles nord-américaines 1971-1991* (Montreal : INRS-Urbanisation, 1992), 9-51.

Toronto and Montreal was not only felt in the boardrooms of property and finance corporations but had a profound effect on the everyday lives of poor and working-class residents as well.[21] The remainder of this chapter will focus on the local effects of these broader economic changes in the East Downtown of Toronto and the Southwest of Montreal, demonstrating how the divergent trajectories of each city also shaped local people's access to a stable work and home life.

East Downtown, Toronto

The East Downtown has never been an officially recognized geographic area in Toronto. It is used here as a relatively neutral term to describe the space bounded by Jarvis Street to the west, Bloor to the north, the Don Valley to the east and Lake Ontario to the south. These physical borders also contain within them a series of fluid inter-locking imagined communities that, since the Second World War, have undergone a near constant process of re-constitution and flux. Over the years, different stakeholders have used place names such as Moss Park, Cabbagetown, Skid Row, the Parliament District, and Ward 7 to describe and re-define these imagined communities as they attempted to claim the authority to govern, police, and distribute resources in local space.[22] The spaces defined by these different place names have, moreover, tended to be amorphous or contested at different periods of time, occasionally referring to a space smaller or larger than the East Downtown.

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[21] For more on how the exodus of head offices from Montreal might have affected the employment landscape of Montreal and Toronto more generally, see Fernand Martin, *Montreal: An Economic Perspective* (Montreal: C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1979), 21-33.

[22] Cabbagetown has been one of the most contested imagined communities, particularly in what qualifies as Cabbagetown. Prior to 1970, most people seem to have used it to describe a loosely defined working-class area bounded by Jarvis Street to the west, Gerrard Street to the North, the Don Valley to the east and the industrial districts to the south. After 1970s, however, business owners and middle-class residents north of Gerrard to Bloor began to claim that they too lived in Cabbagetown. Over time, Torontonians have accepted a version of Cabbagetown that is north of where it once was. For more on the pre-1970 use of the place-name, see Amy Lavender Harris, *Imagining Toronto* (Toronto: Mansfield Press, 2010), 135-142.

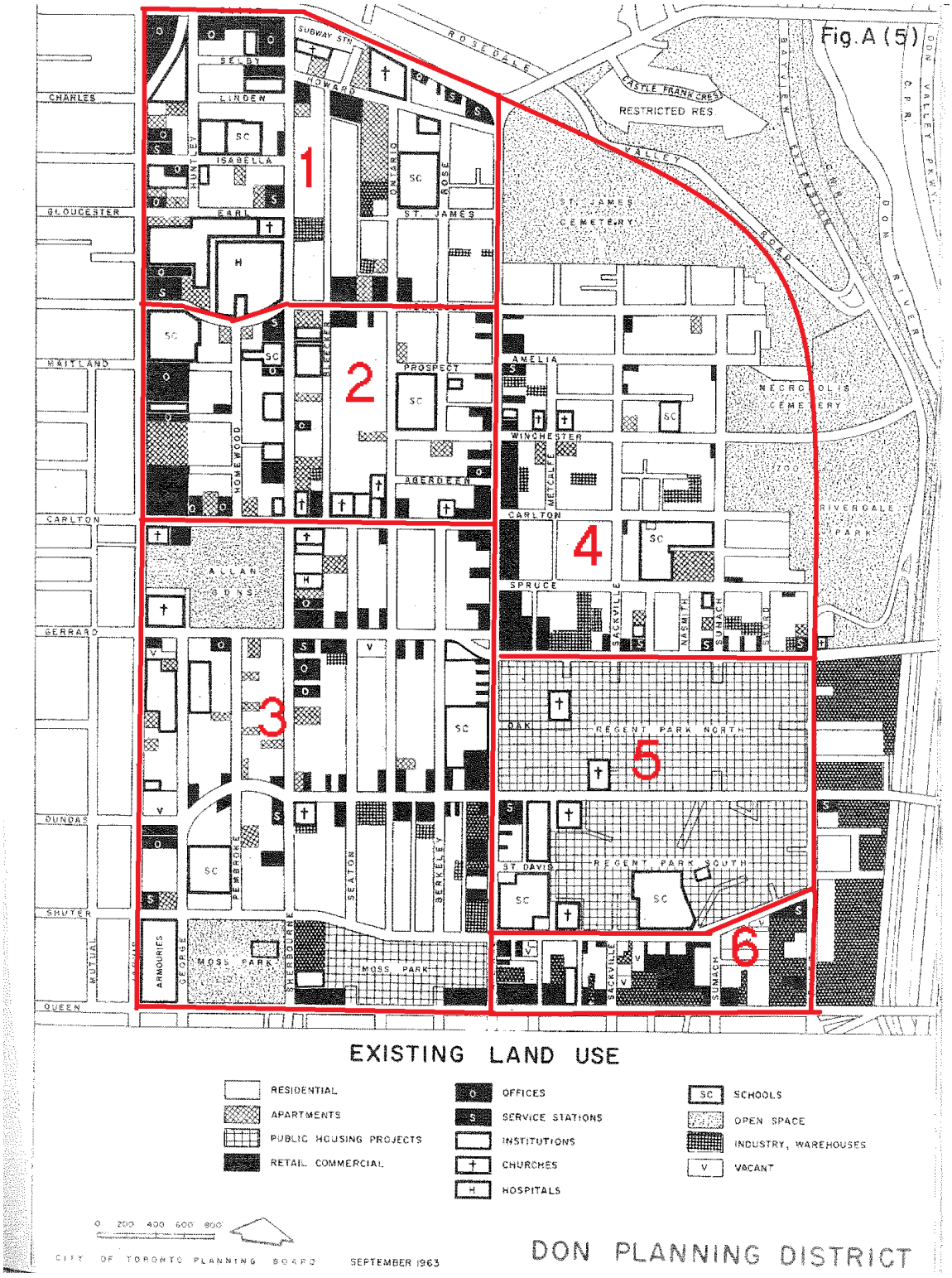

Figure 1.1: Map of the East Downtown divided into sections that represent spatial areas I will be referring to as neighbourhoods with the following names: 1) St. Jamestown 2) South of St. Jamestown 3) South of Carlton 4) Don Vale 5) Regent Park 6) Trefann Court. Source: City of Toronto Planning Board, Trefann Court Urban Renewal Scheme: Data Abstract [Toronto, On]: report (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1966), Fig A (5).

Each of these names, however, has relied on and contributed to the erasure of much longer 15,000-year history of Indigenous peoples on the land surrounding the Don River and the ongoing disputes over the legitimacy of the "Toronto Purchase."[23] Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Don River Valley was part of a system of waterways that made the area around contemporary Toronto a prosperous hunting, fishing, and settlement territory for the Huron-Wendat, the Petun, the Seneca, and later the Mississauga. Evidence of Iroquoian corn cultivation found on the land in and around current day Toronto dates back to 500 BCE and there exists archeological evidence of "hundreds of Iroquoian villages, burial sites (ossuaries), and hunting camps along the Toronto region's river systems." These villages were occupied predominantly by Iroquoian speaking Huron-Wendat and Petun communities after 1000CE and until 1649 when Haudenosaunee Confederacy defeated the Huron-Wendat, after which the Seneca established a presence in the area. Following a Haudenosaunee defeat by an alliance of Anishinaabek nations at the end of the 1600s and the subsequent signing of the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701, the Mississauga increasingly began to dominate the territory.[24]

Following the French surrender of New France, the British began scouting the land along the western shore of Lake Ontario. In 1787, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs met with representatives from the Mississauga in an attempt to secure lands for British settlement. The British and the Mississauga emerged with an agreement but soon discovered they had very different understandings of what had been agreed upon. The Mississauga left the negotiations with the understanding that they had gifted use of the land to the British in exchange for regular

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[23] This longer history is crucial for understanding contemporary disputes over which Indigenous nation(s) could claim sovereignty over the lands that were included in the Toronto Purchase. There is disagreement as to whether the Mississauga had the right to unilaterally negotiate over the rights to the land: Victoria Jane Freeman, "'Toronto Has No History!' Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City," (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2010)

[24] Freeman, "'Toronto Has No History!" 42-51. Quotation from page 44-45.

gifts in return, in line with previous agreements with the British, such as the Treaty of Niagara. The British instead saw their transfer of goods as a one-time payment for ownership of the land. The Mississauga also argued that they had only agreed for the British to use the land between the Humber and Don River. The British, however, claimed they had purchased lands surpassing these boundaries on both sides and acted accordingly. Subsequent agreements were negotiated to settle the boundary dispute but were done so under the context of a growing British military and settler presence in the region, both of which brought the threat and reality of violence, including the murder of the Mississauga Chief Wabakinine and his wife in 1796. Under these conditions the Mississauga and the British finalized the conditions of the Toronto Purchase in 1805.[25]

Even before the purchase was finalized the Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe began naming and mapping what he would establish as the town of York in 1793. Though initially located out of military considerations, the growth in settler population at York and the available waterpower provided by the Don River motivated the colonial government to grant land for the Don Mills lumber and flower mill in 1794. By 1821, the Don Mills site also included a brewery and a distillery, and by 1827 a paper mill. After the Town of York became the City of Toronto in 1834, an ever-growing number of industrialists seized upon the locational advantages of the Don Valley (a navigable waterway, the possibility of waterpower, and access to goods shipped from inland agricultural regions, and quality brick-making clay) and then added to them by pooling resources and lobbying for additional infrastructure. The rapid expansion of the railway and the concentration of rail activity in the East Downtown near the mouth of the Don

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[25] Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. *Toronto Purchase Specific Claim: Arriving at an Agreement* (Hagersville, ON: Mississaugas of New Credit First Nation, n.d.); Margaret Sault, "A Story About the Toronto Purchase," in *Indigenous Toronto: Stories that Carry this Place*, eds. Denise Bolduc, Mnawaate Gordon-Corbiere, Rebeka Tabobondung and Brian Wright-Mcleod (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2021); Freeman, "'Toronto Has No History!" 51-75; Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don*, 9-13.

further contributed to the industrial development of the area, as smaller companies were pulled into the periphery of manufacturing giants like the Gooderman and Worts Distillery. Industrial production could be found all over the East Downtown at the turn of the century, with the highest concentration along the edge of the Don Valley and in the area south of Queen Street.[26]

Though the advent of the horse-drawn streetcar in 1861 connected residents of the East Downtown to other parts of the city, people from different classes continued to live in relative proximity to their places of work. Working-class people were more prevalent in the areas closest to the dirt and noise of the factories, but the East Downtown was not a homogenously working-class area. At the end of the 19th century, upper and middle-class people occupied many of the areas larger houses and some working-class people experienced upward mobility and were able to purchase a home. Leading up to and following the First World War, however, access to housing increasingly became an issue in Toronto's poorer neighbourhoods. High rents and low wages meant that many working-class people were forced to double-up, leading to overcrowding.[27] By the time the Great Depression hit, the East Downtown contained some of the oldest houses in Toronto, many of which were falling into disrepair. Wealthy and middle-class people left the area for quieter, newer neighbourhoods further from the industrial city centre. The new owners then further converted these single-family homes into subdivided rooming houses, renting to the swelling population of single people and families looking for work (something that continued during the Second World War).[28] Although these trends affected

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[26] J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1984), 19-108; Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918*, 25; J.M.S. Careless, "The Emergence of Cabbagetown in Victorian Toronto," in J.M.S. Careless, *Careless at Work* (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1990), 309-336; Bonnell, *Reclaiming the Don*, 13-22.

[27] Careless, "The Emergence of Cabbagetown."

[28] Social reformer Herbert Bruce calculated that in 1931 there were 17,698 "surplus families" in Toronto (the difference between total households and total dwellings) and argued that this phenomenon could be attributed to "doubling up" with friends or family. He also noted that dwelling units and vacancies also increased between 1931 and 1933, conditions that indicated people could not afford to own a house and needed rental housing, incentivizing

all parts of the East Downtown, they were most obvious in the neighbourhoods bordering the more heavily industrial zones at the south and east end of the area. There, rural migrants and immigrants from abroad settled alongside more longstanding working-class communities in pursuit of work. Immortalized as Canada's largest "Anglo-Saxon slum" by Hugh Garner in his 1950 novel *Cabbagetown*, the neighbourhoods that sat in the shadows of East Downtown factories were increasingly viewed by Toronto's elite as a social contagion that needed curing.[29]

These declining housing conditions and a general prejudice toward poor and working-class people inspired social reformers to consider solutions. In 1934 at the height of the depression Herbert Bruce led a committee that produced an influential report calling for publicly assisted redevelopment in "slum" areas. Bruce described the neighbourhoods south of Carlton Street between Yonge and the Don Valley as one of two particularly "bad areas" in the city, which suffered from its proximity to the nearby industrial district.[30] Although his calls for urban renewal were initially unheeded, the growth of the post-war suburb provided further incentives to re-integrate the downtown core into a changing and growing metropolis. City planners imagined a series of expressways that would bring suburbanites downtown, two of which, the Don Valley and the Gardiner, would empty into the East Downtown and would require expanded city streets to accommodate traffic. Post-war planners dreamt that through rational planning and renewal they could transform the city into a more efficient, moral, and modern place to live, work, and

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owners to sub-divide their houses into apartments. This overcrowding lasted until the end of the Second World War. *Report on the Lieutenant-Governor's Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Control, 1934), 30-33.

[29] Hugh Garner, *Cabbagetown* (Toronto, Collins, 1950).

[30] In the Bruce Report the authors refer to the area in question as Moss Park: *Report on the Lieutenant-Governor's Committee on Housing Conditions in Toronto* (Toronto: Toronto Board of Control, 1934), 13-32. For more on how the Bruce Report was received and a nuanced reading of its long-term consequences, see Ryan George, "The Bruce Report and Social Welfare Leadership in the Politics of Toronto's "Slums", 1934-1939," *Social History* 44, no. 1 (2011): 83-114.

play.[31] Renewing the East Downtown was central to this planning vision, and in 1948 the city government broke ground on Regent Park, which would become Canada's first large scale public housing project.[32]

In 1956 city planners published a report that revealed their intentions for the rest of the East Downtown. The 1956 report reiterated previous calls for more public housing but also communicated the desire to re-organize urban space in a way that opened the city to capital investment.[33] In 1962, the city authorized the demolition of more homes to expand Regent Park and to build a second high-rise public housing complex just to the east of Moss Park. In St. Jamestown, private developers seeking to capitalize on rising land values defeated resistance from residents and used government support to evict homeowners and tenants, building a massive complex of high-rise apartment buildings in their place. In Don Vale and Trefann Court residents groups launched a very public and eventually successful resistance campaign against the proposed urban renewal schemes in their neighbourhoods.[34] Neighbourhood resistance to modernist urban renewal was also not unique to the East Downtown or even Toronto, as citizens groups across Canada increasingly opposed high-rise and highway construction, eventually convincing the federal government to discontinue its urban renewal policy. By 1970 most of the pitched battles between planners and developers on one side and East Downtown neighbourhood groups on the other had concluded or were winding down. This did not mean, however, that the economic pressure on the East Downtown had disappeared.

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[31] Richard White, *Planning Toronto: The Planners, the Plans, their Legacies, 1940-1980* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015), 142-188.
[32] Kevin Brushett, "Where will the People Go: Toronto's Emergency Housing Program and the Limits of Canadian Social Housing Policy, 1944-1957," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 2 (March, 2007): 375-399.
[33] Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC), *City of Toronto Urban Renewal Study 1956 -Short Statement* (Toronto: Cornmunity Planning Association of Canada, 1956).
[34] For a very comprehensive overview of Urban renewal and resistance to it in the East Downtown, see Kevin Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City: The Politics of Slum Housing and Urban Renewal in Toronto, 1940-1970," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2001).

Industry and Work in the East Downtown

Today, the areas surrounding the downtown core of Toronto are rarely associated with deindustrialization. Because post-industrial capital flowed in and relatively quickly replaced industrial spaces with office buildings, apartments, and condos, the current landscape does not resemble that of Detroit, Cleveland, or the other poster-cities of deindustrialization. Nevertheless, deindustrialization did disrupt the jobs, incomes, access to homes, and sense of community for residents in the East Downtown. While some were able to follow their permanent blue-collar jobs to the suburbs others could not afford to re-locate or commute every day. Deindustrialization also disrupted the informal and seasonal labour systems that had sustained workers who could not, for whatever reason, hold down a steady job. Local youth, particularly boys, who had left high school with the expectation that they would find entry-level manufacturing jobs similarly discovered it nearly impossible to get their foot in the door of the shrinking sector.

In their 1957 study on the health of manufacturing in the south part of the East Downtown, Donald Kerr and Jacob Spelt concluded that although some factories had left there was "a surprising strong growth of youth and vigour" in the area. Of the 152 local manufacturers that responded to their survey, 133 stated that they preferred downtown locations over alternatives. Those that planned on staying in the area cited a variety of locational advantages offered by their downtown location, including access to downtown markets, warehousing, and the settled network of firms that depended on one another to conduct business. Survey respondents described how the East Downtown even had some advantages over elsewhere in the central city. More than half of local manufacturers rented their space and cited cheap rent as a motivator for staying. Another advantage was that manufacturing did not totally dominate the

area, a factor that meant employees could instead eat at the many local restaurants and did not require an in-house lunchroom. Employers also benefitted from access to cheap labour, particularly a large local pool of women and new immigrants. Surveys indicated that it was easy to replace absent workers within hours, presumably due to the local prevalence of unemployed or casual workers.[35]

Over the coming years, however, the initial trickle of industry and jobs out of the area grew into a deluge. City officials became anxious about the consequences of deindustrialization, producing a series of planning reports meant to diagnose and medicate industrial decline. Today, tracking the exact pace of local deindustrialization across reports is difficult due to spotty data, shifting study boundaries, and high rates of turnover (some firms took over space from others), but the reports convey a consistent narrative of decline. For example, a 1965 study of one section of the King-Parliament industrial area indicated that of the 162 area firms listed in the city directory in 1953, only 99 remained in the city in 1963 and only 48 remained in the King-Parliament district.[36] Another study demonstrated industrial employment in the area declining from 12,109 in 1960 to 10,507 in 1964 and 9,948 by 1970.[37] Like elsewhere in the central city, East Downtown manufacturing firms cited the need for space to expand and access to suburban highway networks as the primary reason for leaving. As the bigger firms that anchored the web of industry left the smaller firms, wholesalers, and scrapyards that depended on them for survival either followed or closed.

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[35] Kerr and Spelt managed to get completed surveys from 152 of the 165 companies in the area: Donald Kerr and Jacob Spelt, "Manufacturing in Downtown Toronto," *Geographical Bulletin* 10 (1957): 5-22.
[36] Neither of these numbers necessarily indicate a net loss in jobs since it is possible that new industrial firms took over spaces from those that left during this period: City of Toronto Planning Board, *Industrial Prospects in the City of Toronto* (Toronto, 1965), 48.
[37] King and Parliament Site Office, *Industry in King-Parliament* (Toronto, 1974), 8.

Downtown land prices also began to affect manufacturers ability to turn a profit. In the mid-1970s, city planners co-operating with firms located in the King-Parliament area reported that the mixed-zoning of the area produced additional factors that drove industrial firms to close or leave:

> The most difficult problem that any planning policy for industrial firms in King-Parliament has to face is the problem of the market. Where industrial firms and residential dwellings are placed side-by-side, most industrial firms in today's land market are not going to be able to afford to purchase the vacant lot next door, or the dwelling which blocks their trucking access, because the asking price will be too high. Where office uses begin to move in to old industrial buildings and the quality of the space is upgraded to suit the needs of white-collar activities, industrial firms will generally not be able to move back in again because the rental figure will be too high.[38]

They went on to argue that local industry was being overwhelmed by the expansion of a white-collar workforce. Near the western border of the area former industrial buildings were being converted to design and newspaper offices and sound studios. To the east, the phenomenon of "whitepainting," a term the authors extended to both residential and commercial properties, was driving up rents for industrial tenants.[39]

The loss of industrial firms meant a decline in industrial jobs and the income they provided to working-class families, but the effect of deindustrialization on the area was more far-reaching. For decades large manufacturing firms had anchored a local geography and timing regiment that had remained relatively stable. Beyond actual manufacturing jobs, these anchors sustained the types of scrapyards and wholesalers mentioned above, but also the restaurants, delivery services, and retailers that catered to industrial supply-lines, logistics, and workers. One of the locational advantages cited by manufacturers was the mixed-use of the industrial district, which provided food and services to their workers. These food and retail services would have

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[38] City of Toronto Planning Board, *A Policy for Industrial Firms in King-Parliament* (Toronto 1975), 44.
[39] Ibid, 44.

also felt the ripple of industrial decline.[40] While some local people found jobs in the rapidly growing white-collar work force and service sector connected to Toronto's downtown, this growth did not benefit everyone. People who had relied on temporary or seasonal manual labour, for instance, reported increasing levels of competition. Prior to 1970, many low-income single men in Toronto relied on occasional, temporary labour to sustain themselves, which they could find through personal connections or through a casual employment agency. As localized unemployment increased, new pools of recently laid off workers contributed to the swelling numbers at casual employment agencies. In a 1978 article in the local *Seven News* Lolly Kaiser reported that the long-term casual "unskilled" workers who had traditionally used these agencies were now joined in line by wave of skilled workers at the various casual employment agencies along Queen and Dundas Streets. Lines for unemployment agencies were allegedly getting longer, with some job seekers arriving at early as 5AM.[41]

Competition for the few local jobs only increased as deindustrialization, which between 1971 and 1981 had been statistically concentrated in central Toronto, extended across Metro Toronto (which included the suburbs of Etobicoke, Scarborough, York, North York and East York) during the 1980s. Between 1981 and 1984 manufacturing employment in Metro Toronto declined from 213,000 to 184,000.[42] Caught in a national employment crisis exacerbated through deindustrialization, those who lost their jobs in the early 1980s were more likely to remain

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[40] Kerr and Spelt, "Manufacturing in Downtown Toronto."
[41] Lolly Kaiser, "Short-Term Jobs: Workers' Treadmill," *Seven News*, February 25, 1978. For more on these temporary employment agencies and their concentration in the East Downtown, see Ian Garrow, "Revisiting Homelessness on Skid Row: Structural Unemployment in the 1980s" (MA thesis, York University, 1986), 59-62.
[42] Between 1971 and 1981 employment in all manufacturing industries except knitting declined across the city of Toronto, with some of the heaviest losses in metal manufacturing and machinery. Over the same period employment in all manufacturing industries, with the exception of "primary metals," in Metro Toronto increased. Manufacturing employment increased in Metro Toronto until 1981, after which it decreased: Leon Muszynski, *The Deindustrialization of Metropolitan Toronto: A Study of Plant Closures, Layoffs and Unemployment* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1985), 11-14.

unemployed for longer than in previous years.[43] At the same time hostel and outreach workers in the East Downtown noted that the population who lived or used services in the areas marked as 'skid row' was growing and changing. Increasing numbers of youth of all genders were allegedly using skid row services and hostels, challenging the long-accepted stereotype of the aging, skid row man. Furthermore, whereas migrants from depressed regions like rural Ontario, Quebec and particularly Atlantic Canada had previously dominated skid row, many new arrivals had grown up in Metro Toronto.[44] The shift in Skid Row populations alarmed local reporters and became a political issue, but while many pundits attributed the growth of homeless youth to the rapidly changing economic base of the city, they remained confused about how to respond.[45]

Beyond the loss of jobs, the exodus of industrial production also opened the door further for middle-class in-migration. Industrial noise and pollution were some of the most important factors that kept neighbouring housing prices low. While local government had long assumed the compatibility of industrial use and working-class residence in and around the King-Parliament area, residential property developers and middle-class people insisted that industrial polluters adhere to health regulations. Altering unsafe manufacturing practices that had been allowed to persist for decades was costly for local firms, further motivating them to shut down production or

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[43] Statistics Canada measured that between 1982 and 1983 the average duration of unemployment in Ontario increased by almost a third, from 15.4 to 20.4 weeks: Muszynski, *The Deindustrialization of Metropolitan Toronto*, 27-35. Studies also showed that national and provincial figures on the time it took to find stable employment hid the fact that a small portion of the population remained unemployed for a very long period of time: Sunder Magun, "Unemployment Experience in Canada: A Five Year Longitudinal Analysis," *Monthly Labour Review* 106, no. 4 (April 1983): 36-38; Paul Grayson, "The Closure of a Factory and its Impact on Health," *International Journal on Health Services* 15, no. 1 (1985): 69-93.

[44] Garrow, "Revisiting Homeless on Skid Row," 28-53.

[45] The local newspaper for the East Downtown noticed this phenomenon during the late 1970s, publishing articles like: "Teenagers Living on skid row," *Seven News*, August 13, 1977; Roger Rolfe, "Unemployment: Ward 7 Hit Hard," *Seven News*, May 6, 1978; Ulli Diemer, "Regent Park Youth 70% Unemployed," *Seven News*, June 17, 1978. City and national newspapers began paying attention a bit later: "The New Breed of Derelict: Young People" *Toronto Star*, June 26, 1984; "City's Homeless Don't Neatly Fit Image of Skid Row," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, November 25, 1985; "Housing Needs Force Young to Toronto," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, December 5, 1985.

move elsewhere. As polluting factories left the neighbourhood, the middle-class were even more inclined to move in.

Home in the East Downtown

A new middle-class of white-collar workers began to move into the East Downtown in large numbers during the 1960s. First settling in the Don Vale neighbourhood at the north-eastern corner bordering Bloor and the Don Valley, early arrivals were attracted to the older homes, tree lined streets, and sense of community that they found in the mixed income neighbourhood. Students, artists, and academics were also drawn to affordable housing and the proximity to downtown universities and studio space. Many of these new arrivals bought reasonably priced single-family homes and began to renovate them, improving their structural integrity and accentuating their Victorian era architecture. At first, these new arrivals coexisted with longer-term residents as property values remained low, in part because of the possibility of urban renewal that still hung over the area. After the renewal plan was scrapped, however, real-estate agents began to market the neighbourhood as the next big thing, accelerating the process of what became known locally as whitepainting.[46]

In 1962 the price of property in Don Vale was only 52 percent of the average for the Toronto Metro Area. The phenomenon of whitepainting began soon thereafter, and by 1968 local housing prices had risen to 66 percent of the metro average. This increase caught the attention of real-estate speculators who began to buy local housing with the express intent to renovate and re-sell. Encouraged by this successful house flipping, enterprising real estate agents like Darryl

[46] The term whitepainter seems to have entered the Toronto lexicon through a 1964 *Maclean's* article by Harry Bruce, in which he used the term to describe the middle-class transformation of his childhood neighbourhood near St-Clair and Avenue Road north of downtown Toronto: "Glory Be, the Whitepainters are Coming!" *Maclean's*, April 18, 1964.

Kent and Terry Martel began to market the neighbourhood more generally in the mid-1970s. Joined by the newly founded Parliament Street Business Improvement Area, real-estate agents rebranded the area as Old Cabbagetown, a name once used to describe the nearby neighbourhoods that had once been described as 'slums'. The name Cabbagetown was meant to invoke pastoral feelings and to communicate to perspective buyers that Don Vale was a small village with European charm. The Old Cabbagetown marketing strategy proved to have broad appeal, and in 1973 property prices in Don Vale overtook the Metro Toronto average and by 1980 they had climbed to approximately $124,000, 164 percent of the Metro average.[47]

The term whitepainting originated in Don Vale, but the phenomenon soon spilled over its borders to other neighbourhoods. Many of the nearby Victorian era homes had been demolished through the urban renewal projects at St. Jamestown and Regent Park, but there were some blocks where older homes had survived to the south of the St. Jamestown apartment complex. These homes were not technically in the neighbourhood of Don Vale, but real-estate stretched the borders of Old Cabbagetown, using the term to reference a Victorian aesthetic rather than a

[47] The process of new-middle class gentrification and the way that it happened in Don Vale was slightly more complicated than I have allowed for here. Steve Tsimikalis has demonstrated that as early as the 1950s a few housing speculators began buying up blocks of run-down housing in certain lower income neighbourhoods. The purpose of these larger purchases was to renovate and create a concentrated zone of middle-class housing on single block. These 'pioneers' bought up and renovated housing in Don Vale before the later wave of home buyers moved in and began renovating homes themselves. Tsimikalis' research suggests that professional housing speculators preceded the arrival of the new middle-class homebuyers: Steve Tsimikalis, "The Gentrification of Donvale: The Role of the Realtor," (MA thesis, York University, 1983), 54-56. The increase in value of homes in Don Vale was also encouraged or mediated by government legislation at different levels. The 1973 federal amendment to the National Housing Act provided subsidies to home renovators through the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program and funding for neighbourhood improvement through the Neighbourhood Improvement Plan subsidy, both of which likely accelerated gentrification. In 1974, the Ontario Government implemented the Land Speculation Tax, a 50 percent tax on the increase in house value if re-sold after a short period of time. The Land Speculation Tax slowed the process on gentrification in Toronto somewhat, but was repealed in 1977: Joanne M. Sabourin, "The Process of Gentrification: The Example of Private Housing Renovation in Don Vale, Toronto," (PhD diss., York University, 1988), 175-178 and 186-190; David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43-48.

spatially bounded area.[48] The pressure created through the growth of the central business district also incentivized further high-end apartment development and motivated landlords to seek higher rents. By the early 1980s gentrification had noticeably spread to the areas west of Don Vale and further south of Carlton Street. Unlike Don Vale, which although predominantly working-class had long been a somewhat mixed income area, the South of Carlton neighbourhood sat adjacent to the most heavily industrialized parts of the East Downtown and was one of Toronto's more affordable places to live.[49]

In the 1970s South of Carlton also overlapped with much of what Torontonians pejoratively called "skid row". As the phenomenon of whitepainting accelerated across Toronto, city officials and the local middle-class grew increasingly worried about the existence of skid row, inspiring a slew of reports seeking to understand and correct the elements of skid-row that they felt needed fixing. In the East Downtown, members of the South of Carlton Community Action (SOCCA) formed the Skid-Row Sub-Committee to research and propose plans to facilitate the coexistence of the people on skid row and new middle-class residents. Research found an increase in people living on or using services located in the East Downtown. Many of these new arrivals came from poor rural parts of central and eastern Canada but increasing numbers had been displaced from elsewhere in Toronto through gentrification and the deconversion of rooming houses.[50]

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[48] Real estate interests even began to market neighbourhoods on the other side of the Don Valley as Cabbagetown 2 and Cabbagetown 3: Sabourin, "The Process of Gentrification," 33.
[49] Ley, *The New Middle Class*, 89-104
[50] The Skid-Row Sub-Committee emerged from the South of Carlton Working Committee which in turn emerged from the South of Carlton Community Action to work with city planning officials to develop a South of Carlton neighbourhood plan. The Skid-Row Sub-Committee was set up to deal with the 'problem' of Skid-Row, particularly with how to deal with "the skid-row individual": Skid-Row Sub-Committee of the South of Carlton Working Committee, *Skid Row Subcommittee Report* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1974). Middle-class people tended to use the term Skid-Row in reports like these to describe places they associated with "skid-row individuals," who they perceived to be a nuisance or a problem. In general, reports that sought to center the problems faced by poor people referred to these same people as 'roomers' or 'low-income singles.' Some additional reports describing

Table 1.1: Growth in Immigrant Settlement in East Downtown Compared to Population, 1961-1981

	Total City Population Toronto	East Downtown Population	% of Toronto Population living in the East Downtown	Respondents who recently immigrated to Toronto (years of arrival)	Respondents who recently immigrated to the East Downtown (years of arrival)	% of Toronto's total of recent immigrants who settled in the East Downtown
1961	1,824,482	40,389	2.2	335,448 (1951-1961)	5,420 (1951-1961)	1.6
1971	2,627,980	44,895	1.7	285,190 (1965-1971)	6,850 (1965-1971)	2.4
1981	2,998,947	42,085	1.4	636,740 (1965-1981)	11,270 (1965-1981)	1.7

Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961, 1971, 1981.[51]

These new arrivals from other parts of Canada were also joined by a growing number of new Canadians who settled in East Downtown. Though the area had never been quite as homogenous as was suggested by Hugh Garner's description of it as a "Anglo-Saxon slum," in the late 1960s new immigrants made the East Downtown a much more diverse place. Close to the jobs linked with the growing downtown and, at least until the mid-1970s relatively affordable, the area became a popular landing-point for many new immigrants. Inconsistency in census questions over time makes it hard to track localized immigration trends, but it is clear

poverty and housing in the East Downtown area are: Norman G. Browne, *Roomers: The Lost Race of Society; Brief, Submitted to the Ontario Housing Corporation* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1970); Norman Browne and Mary McMaster, *A Study on Roomers* (Toronto: Christian Resource Centre, 1972); Skid Row Sub-Committee, *South of Carlton Report on Rooming Houses* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board, 1974); City of Toronto Planning Board, *Report on Skid Row,* (Toronto: City of Toronto, 1977); Jeanette Keenan, *Rooming House Tenant Project* (Toronto: Christian Resource Centre, 1979); City of Toronto Alternative Housing Sub-Committee, *By Ourselves: A Case Study of Cityhome's Low-Income Singles* (Toronto: City of Toronto, 1985).

[51] Note that Census Canada was not consistent in the temporal options for period of immigration over the different census years used here. This table, therefore, demonstrates that even as the population of the East Downtown was declining in relation to the population of Toronto the percentage of new immigrants to Toronto who resided in the East Downtown increased.

from the table below that in 1971 a higher number of recent immigrants settled in the East Downtown than elsewhere in Toronto as a whole. In the East Downtown this increase in recent immigrant settlement was most pronounced in the St-Jamestown Apartments, where almost half of those who had immigrated to the East Downtown since 1965 had settled. Since this period also overlapped with the introduction of the points system, many of these new immigrants had moved from Asia, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean.[52]

The arrival of the new middle-class to the East Downtown had the dual effect of increasing the property values (and subsequently the rents) of former low-income neighbourhoods and displacing tenants through the deconversions of rooming houses into single family homes. Rooming houses had long provided affordable rental units to working-class or unemployed people across Toronto, with a particularly large quantity located in the East Downtown.[53] As nearby property values increased in areas of middle-class re-settlement, landlords found that it no longer made financial sense to rent at the low rates they could charge in their aging buildings, choosing instead to sell to willing renovators. In Don Vale, as property values increased between 1966 and 1981 the population decreased from 7617 to 4183, mainly due to the deconversion of rooming houses.[54] Across the city this trend continued into the 1980s,

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[52] In 1971 6,860 residents of the East Downtown reported that they had immigrated to Canada since 1965. Of those 3145 lived in the Census District (65) that corresponded with St-Jamestown. Additionally, of the 5320 residents of St-Jameson who in 1971 reported that they were born outside of Canada (having immigrated at any time), 1,020 (almost 20 percent) had immigrated from the West Indies and Latin America and 975 (18 percent) had immigrated from Asia (China, India & Pakistan, and "other Asia"): CHASS Census Analyser for 1971.

[53] Areas that were slated for urban renewal, like much of the East Downtown, often experienced a rapid growth in rooming houses. Large developers with the desire to build high-rise complexes bought and converted single family homes to rooming houses and then turned them over to delinquent landlords. The purpose of this practise was to drive down surrounding property values and encourage homeowners who would not sell to the developer to do so or risk having their property values diminish even further. Known as 'blockbusting' this tactic produced a glut of poorly managed rooming houses that became the ire of long-standing and new single-family homeowners. John Sewell, *Up Against City Hall* (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1972), 142-145; Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City."

[54] In 1966 owner-occupied dwellings accounted for 41.9 percent of all occupied dwellings compared with 58.1 percent tenant occupied. By 1981 owner-occupied housing accounted for 54.5 percent compared with 45.5 percent tenant occupied. Gathered from census data reproduced in: Tsimikalis, "The Gentrification of Donvale," 86-93.

and between 1975 and 1986 the City of Toronto lost just over 25,000 housing units due to deconversions.[55] Some displaced rooming-house tenants likely turned to flophouses, a term used to describe pay by the week hotels, for accommodation, but those too began to disappear. One city report found that between 1973 and 1977, the South of Carlton area lost 200 flophouse beds, a trend that the report's authors attributed to new middle-class intolerance and the related enforcement of city building by-laws. With the disappearance of low-income housing options across the city, poor, disabled, and unemployed people increasingly found no other option but to find shelter in charitable hostels or to sleep outdoors.[56]

Southwest, Montreal

As in the East Downtown, the expansion of the neighbourhoods of the Southwest also contributed to the colonial erasure of Indigenous nations from the land. Though people from various nations used the land that settlers would later name Montreal for thousands of years, more extensive permanent settlement began between 2400BCE to 1000AD. After approximately 1000AD, the St. Lawrence Iroquoians came to dominate the Montreal island and the land along the surrounding river in both directions. There, the St. Lawrence Iroquoian hunted, fished, cultivated food, and established a growing number of permanent and semi-permanent settlements. When Jacques Cartier travelled down the St-Lawrence in 1535 he encountered a large, fortified settlement of St. Lawrence Iroquoian people named Hochelaga. Located closer to the foot of the mountain at the centre of the island, the city of Hochelaga contained a population

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[55] Philippa Campsie, "A Brief History of Rooming Houses in Toronto 1972-1994," in *Rooming Houses in Toronto: Three Recent Studies* eds. Philippa Campsie, Harvey Stein, Charlotte Teeple and Kathleen Foley (Toronto: City of Toronto Housing Department, 1996), 6-7 and Appendix B.
[56] City of Toronto Planning Board, *Report on Skid Row*. For more on the history of rooming houses, flop houses and bachelorettes in Toronto since the 1970s, see Philippa Campsie, "A Brief History of Rooming Houses in Toronto 1972-1994," 1-34.

of over 1,500 residents. Beyond the fortified site of Hochelaga, Cartier also wrote about seeing fishing stations elsewhere on the island, near the rapids at the south-west end of the island that prevented European ships from moving further into the interior.[57]

Near the end of the 16th century the Mohawk and their allies in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy took control over the strategic island of Montreal. Because of the unpassable Lachine Rapids, Montreal was an important trading site with European ships, particularly in the increasingly lucrative fur trade. For the same reason it became a desirable site for French settlement, and at the beginning of the 17th century Samuel de Champlain set out to establish a permanent trading post on behalf of the French at Montreal. Due to their pre-existing fur trading alliance with the Algonquin, the Innu, and the Huron-Wendat the French assisted to drive their rivals the Haudenosaunee from the vicinity. Naming their first settlement Ville Marie, early French life on the island of Montreal was geared almost entirely to the fur trade. Though the trade was lucrative, the first years of settlement were rocky due to harsh conditions, disease, and the ongoing conflict with the armies of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Though punctuated with periods of peace, the conflict over land and trade limited French attempts to expand settlement on the island beyond the fortified city. The French and Haudenosaunee continued to fight sporadically throughout the 17th century until 1701 when both sides were able to negotiate the Great Peace of Montreal.[58]

The population of Montreal grew during the 18th century, becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan city. Large numbers of Indigenous peoples of different backgrounds had

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[57] Roland Viau, "A Sense of Place: Montreal Before Cartier," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 1*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 22-53.
[58] Roland Viau, "On the Ruins of Hochelaga: 1535-1650," and "An Archipelago of Trade: 1650-1701," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 1*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 54-150.

maintained a steady presence on the island, a number that grew significantly after 1720 with the importation of growing number of enslaved Indigenous people from the interior. Enslaved Blacks also made up a portion of Montreal's population, a number that would later increase with the influx of British Loyalist slaveowners later in the century.[59] Following the surrender of New France in 1763 to the British, and particularly after the American Revolution, an influx of English-speaking people drove up the population and anglicized place names across the city.

Peace with the Haudenosaunee in 1701 had also made it safer for the French to extend settlement further from their fortified Montreal settlement. The French began to seriously consider building a canal that would bypass the Lachine Rapids and allow European ships to pass further into the interior at the turn of the 18th century but concluded that it was unfeasible. As such, the land to the south-west of Montreal remained devoted primarily to agriculture. The urbanization driven by the influx of people and wealth extended the geographic boundaries of the city somewhat but did not spill over to the south-west until the completion of the Lachine Canal in 1825. The construction of the canal and its later expansion solved the barrier to shipping posed by the Lachine Rapids, and centered the territory to the south-west of Montreal as the shipping portal to the lands upriver from Montreal and into the Great Lakes.[60]

The neighbourhoods in what would eventually be called the Southwest grew in the shadows of some of the largest factories in Canada. Beginning in the 1840s industrialists chose

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[59] For more on the history of slavery and enslaved people in Montreal, see Brett Rushforth, *The Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Afua Cooper, *The Hanging of Angélique. The Untold Story of Canadian Slavery and the Burning of Old Montréal* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 2006); Frank Mackey, *Done With Slavery: The Black Fact in Montreal, 1760-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

[60] Roland Viau, "The Times and Trials of a distinctive Colony, 1702-1760," and "Careful Coexistence: The British in Montreal Prior to 1800," in *Montreal: The History of a North American City Vol. 1*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 151-257; Gilles Lauzon, *Pointe-Saint-Charles: L'urbanisation d'un quartier ouvrier de Montréal, 1840-1930* (Quebec: Septentrion, 2014), 11-23.

to build their factories along the newly built Lachine Canal to take advantage of shipping traffic and the hydraulic power generated by the waterflow. The Lachine Canal manufacturing hub grew rapidly over the coming decades as new and existing firms modernized and expanded to increase their production. Soon, both the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canadian Pacific located termini near the Canal, opening western markets to goods manufactured in Montreal. The expansion of industry in the area also attracted waves of low-wage workers from the rural periphery and overseas who settled in the present-day neighbourhoods of St-Henri, Little Burgundy, Pointe-Saint-Charles, and Côte Saint Paul. These mostly working-class migrants clustered around parishes, community organizations, or workplaces, a process that led to the formation of fluid ethnic enclaves in different parts of the Southwest. Although an almost entirely working-class area at the turn of the century and labelled collectively as "the city below the hill" by 19th century sociologist Herbert Ames, the Southwest always contained some level of ethnic and wealth diversity.[61]

Salaried workers made up a strong majority in the Southwest during the first half of the 20th century, but there was significant discrepancy in their wages and social standing. Certain jobs with the railroad, for instance could demand a much higher salary than assembly line work at a textile mill. The difficulties associated with commuting also meant that some petit-bourgeois doctors and business owners lived in the area. By 1920, most of the wealthier residents of the Southwest lived further from the Lachine Canal, particularly in the part of Pointe-Saint-Charles south of the railway tracks near to the Grand Trunk Terminus (later the CN yards). Ames, in fact, excluded the southern end of Pointe-Saint-Charles from his 'city below the hill' for this reason.

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[61] Herbert Brown Ames, *The City below the Hill; a Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1972), 8. For more on the early industrial history of the Southwest, see Robert D. Lewis, *Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

The concentration of middle-class residents also meant that the south of the tracks area had a higher percentage of single-family homes than the rest of Pointe-Saint-Charles, Little Burgundy, and St-Henri, all of which were dominated by tenants who rented in 'plex' style walk-up apartments. This distribution of rental and owner-occupied housing persisted for the interwar period and until at least the 1960s due to a lull in housing construction following the First World War.[62]

Like elsewhere in Montreal, in the Southwest wealth was unevenly distributed across ethnic lines. In 1921 for example, Anglo-protestants in Pointe-Saint-Charles, made much more than Irish and French Catholics, and almost double the salary of new immigrants. Industrial infrastructure and class-segregation, therefore, also shaped ethnic residential patterns. In Pointe-Saint-Charles, the typically poorer French Canadians lived near the Canal, closer to the French language commercial strips in St-Henri. White Anglo-protestants were more likely to live closer to high-wage jobs at the railyard and the commercial strip along Wellington Street. Many Irish Catholics also lived in Pointe-Saint Charles and still more across the Canal in Griffintown, which was considered the heart of Irish Montreal. St-Henri was primarily French Canadian throughout the first half of the 20th century but contained a significant English speaking Black population at

[62] Ames did not include all of Pointe-Saint-Charles in his city below the hill: "Beyond Centre Street lies the special district of Point St-Charles, which is almost an independent suburb by itself, being sustained by employment in the offices and workshops of the G.T.R. (Grand Trunk Railway). Herbert Brown Ames, *The City below the Hill*. Gilles Lauzon confirmed that this distribution of wealth was still present in 1920: Lauzon, *Pointe-Saint-Charles*, 144-197. By 1961, 87 percent of all housing in the Southwest was built before 1920 and almost all new housing was built at the extreme west of the area in a new development. In 1960 most of the housing looked as it did in 1920: Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961. For more on the boom in 'plex' style housing, particularly amongst Francophone developers, see Marc Choko and Richard Harris, "The Local Culture of Property: A Comparative History of Housing Tenure in Montreal and Toronto," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 1 (March 1990): 73-95.

its eastern edge in what is now Little-Burgundy, many of whom had first settled in the area to take jobs as railway porters.[63]

While the Southwest was not the only part of Montreal with a large poor and working-class population, by the Second World War it was perhaps the most notorious. Many of the local factories were un-unionized and sought workers to whom they could pay lower wages: young, women, recent migrants, French Canadians, and immigrant workers. St-Henri became infamous across Quebec and Canada as the setting for Gabrielle Roy's 1945 book, *Bonheur d'occasion* (The Tin Flute). The book followed the early adulthood of Florentine Lacasse as she navigated relationships, work, and family hardship in wartime St-Henri. Celebrated as a break with the Quebecois obsession with rural pastoralism and a turn towards the urban protest literature of the Quiet Revolution, *Bonheur d'occasion* was a huge success across Quebec and Canada, rooting the smokestacks and aging walk-up apartments of St-Henri and the adjacent Southwest in the Canadian imaginary as the quintessential urban slum.[64]

Industry and Work in the Southwest

Industrial production in the Southwest peaked by the end of the Second World War and began to slowly decline in the subsequent decades. After a century of production many local factories were falling into disrepair. Commonly used manufacturing processes had also become outdated and local firms argued that the area around the Lachine Canal had become too congested to expand and keep up with the growing trend towards large, single-story factories.

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[63] Dorothy Williams, *Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986: An Urban Demography* (Cowansville: Les Éditions Yvon Blais Inc., 1989), 27-76; Lewis, *Manufacturing Montreal*, 221-254. The statistics on class and ethnicity in Pointe-Saint-Charles can be found in Lauzon, *Pointe-Saint-Charles*, 144-197. For more on the high concentration of French Canadians in St-Henri, see Benoît Michaudville et al. *Les Gens du Québec: St-Henri* (Montreal: Éditions Québécoises, 1972), 3-10

[64] Gabriel Roy, *Bonheur d'occasion* (Montreal: Société des Éditions Pascal, 1945).

Development in the suburbs further encouraged factories to re-locate in search of cheap square-footage. Between 1951 and 1959, factories with 50 or more employees in St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and Pointe-Saint-Charles eliminated over 2,000 jobs, with overall numbers falling from 28, 475 to 26, 325. With its completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959, the Federal government exacerbated local industrial decline by diminishing the importance of the Southwest's most important locational advantage, the Lachine Canal. Large container ships could now travel up the St-Lawrence River towards Toronto and into the Great Lakes Region without passing local factories. Between 1959 and the year of the national exposition in 1967, the Southwest lost another 2,875 large-firm manufacturing jobs, a number that does not include what was likely significant job loss in smaller peripheral industries.[65]

Layoffs only increased in the years following Expo '67 and continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In 1988, a local research group concluded that since 1951 the Southwest had lost 75 percent of its manufacturing jobs in factories with 50 or more employees. This long decline in manufacturing had far reaching consequences for life in the area. Job loss precipitated a tremendous out-migration of residents, many of whom followed manufacturing to the suburbs. In 1951, the combined population of St-Henri, Pointe-Saint-Charles, and Little Burgundy was 83,623. By 1986 the Canadian census revealed that only 35,416 people lived in the same area. Those who remained faced exceptionally high levels of unemployment, even for a city with a higher rate than the Canadian average. Between 1951 and 1986 local unemployment rates increased from 2.2 to 19.6 percent, while the average for the city went from 1.8 to 11.3 percent.[66]

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[65] The reasons given for general economic decline and employment statistics originally appeared in a provincial government report entitled: Ministère de la travail et de la main d'œuvre, *Projet Sud-Ouest* (Quebec: 1975). These stats were reproduced in: Comité pour la relance de l'économie et de l'emploi du sud-ouest de Montréal, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic* (Montreal: CREESOM, 1989), 22-25.

[66] Comité pour la relance de l'économie, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic*, 24, 42, 61.

Along with the poor state of local housing, the lack of good job prospects dissuaded new immigrants from settling in the area. The decline in the percentage of new immigrants who chose Montreal over Toronto was even more evident in the Southwest. Between 1961 and 1981 the percentage of Montrealers who lived in the Southwest declined, but over the same time the percentage of new immigrants who chose to settle in the Southwest declined even faster. The Southwest was no longer a neighbourhood where new immigrants might find a working-class job, and so those who could afford to do so settled elsewhere.

Table 1.2: Growth in Immigrant Settlement in Southwest Compared to Population, 1961-1981

	Total City Population	Southwest Population	% of Montreal Population living in the Southwest	Respondents who recently immigrated to Montreal (years of arrival)	Respondent who recently immigrated to the Southwest (years of arrival)	% of Montreal's total of recent immigrants who settled in the Southwest
1961	2,109,506	78,792	3.7	182,000 (1951-1961)	3,475 (1951-1961)	1.9
1971	2,743,175	53,440	1.9	120,715 (1965-1971)	615 (1965-1971)	0.5
1981	2,828,349	39,931	1,4	469,490 (1965-1981)	1,270 (1965-1981)	0.2

Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961, 1971, 1981.[67]

The decline in population and mass job loss affected the pace of everyday life in the area. For more than a hundred years the workplaces along the Lachine Canal had tied the surrounding neighbourhoods together. The closure of factories transformed the Canal into an inactive barrier that divided neighbourhoods from each other. In the late 1970s, the federal government

[67] Note that Census Canada was not consistent in the temporal options for period of immigration over the different census years used here. To make up for the difficulty in tracking change over time in absolute numbers his table, demonstrates that even as the population of the Southwest was declining in relation to the population of Montreal the percentage of new immigrants to Montreal who resided in the Southwest declined even more rapidly.

undertook the long process of re-purposing the Canal into a recreational space. Although sold to the local population as a project specifically for them, stakeholders described how the project would phase out industrial activity along the canal to make it attractive to "more and more Montrealers."[68] Factory closures also effected social activities like sports leagues, adult education courses, and after-work drinks at the tavern that had long been organized around the rhythms of workplaces or unions. Even the sounds and smells of the area began to change as industrial production slowed. The whistles marking shift changes, the hum of machinery, the clang, clang, clang of the railroad cars and the smells of industrial processes that had once punctuated residents' sense of place disappeared or changed dramatically.[69]

In the Southwest, the construction sounds of post-industrial development did not rapidly replace the whir of industrial production. The relatively slow pace of Montreal's downtown growth meant that office buildings and housing development did not spill over into former industrial spaces until much later than in Toronto. In 1988, CREESOM, a local group concerned with economic development, produced a detailed report assessing the future of employment in the Southwest (including Côte St-Paul, Ville Émard and Griffintown). CREESOM reported that

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[68] As early as 1975 local municipal politician, Yvon Lamarre, took on the beautification of the Canal as a pet project. He wrote several articles in the local paper to drum up support for his vision, which he described in the following way: "In the future, we must plan on replacing any industrial concern leaving the Canal area with a non-industrial occupancy, so as to make the Canal gradually accessible to more and more Montrealers." This quote can be found in: "The Development of Lachine Canal: An Undertaking Closely Linked to the Future of Our District" *La Voix Populaire*, November 14, 1975. There was apparently some resistance to the idea of developing the Lachine Canal at the time, evidenced by an article in the *Voix Populaire* that countered the apparently prevalent skepticism that the Canal would in fact, benefit the area: "Le Canal Lachine sera Accessible à tous," *Voix Populaire*, June 3, 1975. Beyond local opposition, the process of transforming the Canal into a leisure area was long and difficult due to the involvement of several levels of government. For more on the development of the Canal as a leisure space and whether or not it has been a beneficial project for the local population, see Geoffrey P. DeVerteuil, "Evolution and Impacts of Public Policy on the Changing Canadian Inner City: Case Study of Southwest Montreal 1960-1990" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1993), 47-51; Hélène Bélanger, "The Meaning of the Built Environment During Gentrification in Canada," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 27 no. 1 (April 2012): 31-47.

[69] Piyusha Chatterjee and Steven High, "The Deindustrialisation of Our Senses: Residual and Dominant Soundscapes in Montreal's Point Saint-Charles District," in *Telling Environmental Histories* ed. Katie Holmes and Heather Goodall (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 179-210.

manufacturing was still the largest employment sector in the Southwest, making up 35 percent of all jobs with three particularly large employers: Imperial Tobacco in St-Henri (1,304 jobs), SIDBEC in Ville Émard (800 jobs) and Domglas in Pointe-Saint-Charles (700 Jobs). They also noted that while tertiary sector jobs were on the rise, most of these numbers were in the publicly owned transportation and communications sector, and were spread across a few large employers, namely Canadian National Railway and VIA Rail in the Pointe (1,715 and 900 jobs respectively) and Canada Post in Griffintown (1,500 jobs). The finance, insurance, and building sector made up only 2.6 percent of all jobs in the area, and business services, 5.5 percent.[70] CREESOM did note that some new firms had located in the area since 1982, but that the manufacturing sector still made up the largest proportion of jobs created by these new arrivals. Furthermore, and despite these new arrivals, the vast amount of former industrial territory and the 45 hectares of vacant government land to the south of Pointe-Saint-Charles had yet to be occupied by private capital. CREESOM concluded that there were signs that post-industrial development was on the rise, but that more government intervention was needed to ensure the trend continued.[71]

Home in the Southwest

The long decline of industry in the Southwest coincided with the advanced deterioration of local housing and infrastructure. In 1961, 89 percent of dwellings in St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and Pointe-Saint Charles were rental with some census tracts reporting as high as 98 percent. A large majority of these rental units were built before 1920 and were in dire need of repair. Landlords, however, had little incentive to pay for necessary renovations since they could

[70] Business services includes all activities that support businesses but do not produce commodities: marketing, research and development, human resources, etc.
[71] Comité pour la relance de l'économie, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic*, 163-250.

not download costs onto poor and working-class tenants who could not afford rent increases.[72] The city government initially did little to intervene, but in 1964 a group of priests representing fourteen local parishes collectively published a front-page article in *Le Devoir* denouncing the pitiable state of local housing. In their letter the priests denounced the fact that one half of the families in their parishes had neither bathtub nor hot water and that children were getting sick from overcrowded, dirty, and uninsulated living conditions.[73]

Residents and activists also organized to demand that the city intervene and invest money in local schools and parks. In 1963 residents of St-Henri organized through their parish and formed the Association des parents de St-Henri to demand that the Catholic School Board repair a local school building that the fire department had declared as dangerous. After some early success on the schools issue, active parents formed a second committee called the Service des loisirs de St-Henri to organize activities for children and to pressure the city to build new parks and green spaces.[74] Soon, citizens in other parts of the Southwest formed similar organizations to demand the city renovate or build the types of services that were readily available in wealthier parts of the city. On top of increased funding for schools and parks these citizens demanded that the city address poor health and safety conditions across the Southwest.

The city government finally turned its attention to the Southwest in the mid-1960s, but not in the way that residents had hoped. Motivated by the desire to integrate the city centre with the suburbs and to modernize the downtown in preparation for the upcoming National Exposition

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[72] In 1961 the south end of Point-Saint-Charles had the highest rate of homeownership (coincidently also the census tracts with the highest concentration of Anglo-Protestants) and the area along the Lachine Canal had the lowest. The two census tracts closest to the Canal in Little Burgundy had the highest tenancy rates at 97 percent and 98 percent. The vast majority, 87 percent, of housing in St-Henri, Little Burgundy and Pointe-Saint-Charles was built before 1920. Almost all the area housing that was built since 1920 was in the western edge of St-Henri close to Ville-Émard: Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961.
[73] "Des curés dénoncent l'état pitoyable de l'habitation dans secteur de St-Henri," *Le Devoir*, December 30, 1964.
[74] Michel Blondin, *Le Projet St-Henri: Description et analyse d'un projet centré sur la participation des citoyens* (Montreal: Conseil des Œuvres de Montréal, 1965), 9-16.

celebration, in 1964 the city of Montreal embarked on a period of aggressive urban intervention, including the demolition of large swaths of housing to build expressways and public housing. With help from senior levels of government, in the mid-1960s the city began construction on two expressways, Autoroute 10 and 15. Autoroute 10, also known as the Bonaventure Expressway, was built adjacent to the small working-class neighbourhood of Victoriatown, which was subsequently demolished so that Expo visitors would not have to see it when entering the city. The city demolished more housing north of the Canal beginning in 1969 to make way for the Little Burgundy public housing project. Initially proposed in 1965 to rehouse the residents of some of the oldest housing in the area, the project extended into the late 1970s and never recuperated the number of units that had been demolished. Finally, in the early 1970s the provincial government announced that it would begin construction on the 720 Expressway. The 720 effectively cutting the Southwest off from the rest of the city and required the eviction of residents from 1160 homes.[75] In total, between the 1961 and 1971 census' St-Henri, Little Burgundy and Pointe-Saint-Charles lost 21 percent of their housing units.[76]

Many of the homes that were demolished to make way for highways and public housing projects were old and deteriorating. Some residents even welcomed some of the changes, hoping that the public housing would be an improvement. Renewal, however, did not only displace people, it disrupted the physical connections that communities had built over decades. The absolute erasure of any physical reminder of Victoriatown eliminated the local fabric that tied

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[75] DeVerteuil, *Evolution and Impacts of Public*, 47-70; Michel Barcelo, "Urban Development Policies in Montreal, 1960-1978: An Authoritarian Revolution" *Québec Studies* 6 (1998): 26-40.

[76] This figure was created by subtracting the total dwellings in St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and Pointe Saint Charles in the 1971 census from those in the 1961 census and then dividing that number, 3,665, by the total number of dwellings in 1961, which was 17,690. In 1961 the Southwest was divided into 16 census tracts and in 1971 it was divided into 15, losing one whole tract where Victoriatown used to be: Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1961.

generations of working-class neighbours together. In Little Burgundy, urban renewal disproportionately displaced the homes, community institutions, and businesses belonging to Montreal's English-speaking Black community.[77] Although by the 1960s many Black Montrealers were already choosing to rent or buy newer homes in districts outside of Little Burgundy – including Côte de Neiges, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Verdun and elsewhere – urban renewal pushed out people who did not want to leave and destroyed important community hubs. The process of out-migration continued into the next decades and as historian Dorothy Williams noted in 1986, Montreal's Black middle-class were not choosing to move back into the area.[78]

Many people whose families had long resided in the Southwest moved out of the area to purchase or rent newer homes available in the suburbs. New expressway construction made it easier for suburban commuters to travel through the Southwest to get downtown, but it did little to encourage private investment or attract people back to the neighbourhood. As a result, vacant residential and commercial buildings became common in Little-Burgundy, Pointe-Saint-Charles, and St-Henri. In 1975, the provincial government funded a study on building abandonment and fires in Montreal, discovering particularly high levels of abandonment in the two Southwest Parishes included in the study. In St-Gabriel (Pointe-Saint-Charles) and St-Henri 2.7 percent of the housing stock had been abandoned, compared with 1.75 percent across the ten working-class neighbourhoods included in the study and only 0.39 percent across Montreal. Researchers also determined that incidents of abandonment were unequally distributed within neighbourhoods and were often concentrated on blocks near industrial spaces or vacant lots where houses had been

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[77] Steven High, "Little Burgundy: The Interwoven Histories of Race, Residence, and Work in Twentieth-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 46, no. 1 (Fall, 2017): 23-44.
[78] Williams, *Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986*, 61-106; Williams, *The Road to Now*, 100-174.

demolished or burned down.[79] Abandonment reduced the amount of local housing stock, particularly of low-income units, and drove up rents elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Their presence also worried residents and business-owners who were concerned with abandoned buildings as a fire and safety hazard. During the 1970s the local newspaper, *La Voix Populaire*, reported almost weekly on massively destructive and deadly fires and accidents involving buildings that were falling apart.[80]

Business owners in the area also worried that run-down buildings dissuaded people from moving in and investing in the area. In 1978, long-time St-Henri city councillor and member of the ruling Civic Party, Yvon Lamarre, was appointed as president of the city's Executive Council with a mandate to entice middle-class residents to move to the city. Known as the "merchant politician," Lamarre was a prominent local retailer and an active member of almost every business association in the Southwest. He relied on local patrons to sustain his business interests and thus also had a personal stake in reversing the out-migration from the neighbourhood.[81] As president of the Executive Council, a position second only to the mayor, Lamarre introduced

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[79] The researchers admitted that the exact numbers presented in this report are, to some extent, up for debate depending on definitions of abandonment and the difficulty of gathering data. Still, the consistency of research methods across the city suggests that the ratios between parishes are reliable: Serge Carreau, *Habitez au Québec Annex 8: Analyse du phénomène de l'abandon, son ampleur, ses causes et les possibilités d'intervention.* (Quebec: Groupe du travail sur l'habitation, 1975), 25-38.

[80] Based on scanning the headlines of every issue of the weekly *La Voix Populaire* between 1965 and 1995. The usually extreme nature of the fires that *La Voix Populaire* bothered to write about, which often cause many deaths or destroyed several buildings, suggests that many less spectacular fires did not even make it into the news. Editorialists also often published articles about the general problem of fires and abandonment with titles like: "St-Henri deviendra-t-il une ville fantôme?" April 19, 1977; Qu'attend-on pour s'en débarrasser des trappes à feu?" May 9, 1973; "Encore les taudis…La Petite Bourgogne VS Pointe St-Charles," April 20, 1976; "Situation inquiétante dans St-Henri: Trop de logements inoccupés." November 9, 1976; "On nous chauffe les foffounes: Une épidémie de feux dans le quartier," (July 28, 1977); "Il vit entre deux maisons incendiées," April 10, 1979.

[81] Yvon Lamarre was born in Côte-Saint-Paul and got his start as part-owner of a family-owned furniture store called Lamarre et Frères. By 1981 he was also the president of a chain of shoe stores called Cati Shoes. He was also a member of the following business associations: Plaza Monk, Plaza K-Mart, l'Association des marchands de Verdun, l'Association des marchands de Lachine, and l'Association des marchands de St-Henri: "Le Parti Civique de Montreal: Fiche de renseignement, Yvon Lamarre," September 1978, Montreal City Archives, CA M001 P085 D07; Barry Lazar, "Yvon Lamarre: The Merchant Politician," *The Montreal Business Report*, September/October 1981.

Opération 10,000 logement (later increased to 20,000), a plan to sell vacant land at fixed prices to private housing developers, and Programme d'intervention dans les quartiers anciens (PIQA) which funded renovations to maintain existing housing. Both programs sought to subsidize the private market's revitalization of the housing stock and attract middle-class residents back to the central city and both were disproportionately applied in the Southwest.[82]

The lack of local private investment also opened the door for neighbourhood organizations to found subsidized co-op and non-profit housing. Co-op advocates wanted landlords to make necessary repairs to their homes, but worried that they would encourage landlords to implement rent increases beyond what they could afford. To combat this tricky situation, residents and activists began to apply for new housing subsidies introduced by the federal, provincial, and municipal government to build or purchase and convert existing housing into co-operatives and non-profit housing. The federal and provincial subsidies functioned by granting cheap mortgages, which would be paid off monthly by residents in the form of rent. Because the local market for land and housing was weak, groups of people were able to purchase buildings for relatively cheap and then use government subsidies to repair them. By 1988, 9.7 percent of the total housing stock in Little Burgundy, St-Henri, and Pointe-Sainte-Charles were co-ops or non-profits.[83]

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[82] Richard Morin, *Réanimation Urbaine et Pouvoir Local: Les stratégies des municipalités de Montréal, Sherbrooke et Grenoble en quartier anciens* (Quebec and Montreal: Presses de l'Université du Québec INRS-Urbanisation, 1987), 47-51; City of Montreal, *Opération 10000 logements* (Montreal: Service de l'urbanisme, 1979). For more on the disproportionate effect of these two programs on the Southwest and how they were targeted to middle-class clientel, see Comité pour la relance de l'économie, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic,* 275-276. Also see the following Master's theses: Yvonne M. Macor, "Revitalization of the Montreal Urban Environment" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1982); Benoît Lacroix, "Analyze de l'opération 20000 logements," (MA thesis, McGill University, 1989); DeVerteuil, "Evolution and Impacts of Public Policy."

[83] By 1988, 12.7 percent of housing in Pointe-Saint-Charles was co-op and non-profit housing: Comité pour la relance de l'économie, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic*, 268-276. This number would grow over the coming years as PSC activists continued to expand Projet St-Charles. For more on Projet St-Charles, see Simon Vickers, "From Balconville to Condoville, but Where is Co-opville? Neighbourhood Activism in 1980s Pointe-Saint-Charles" *Labour/Le Travail* 81 (Spring 2018): 159-186.

Attempts by the government to revitalize the Southwest in the 1980s did cause tenants to worry about gentrification and displacement. Their worries were not unfounded, especially with such a high percentage of the population on social assistance, but speculators were simply not as interested in investing in the Southwest as they were in the East Downtown. Even municipal schemes like Opération 20,000 logements resulted in a very low-level of private investment in the Southwest. Only 26 percent of housing created in the Southwest through 20,000 logements was built by private developers, compared with 60 percent across the entire city. In the place of the private market, two municipal development agencies, the Société de développement de Montréal (SODEMONT) and Société municipal d'habitation de Montréal (SOMHAM) stepped in to build 54 percent of the housing under 20,000 logements, much of which sold at market rate. Under these conditions rents did increase in most parts of the Southwest, and the threat of displacement was real for many low-income tenants. Still, general disinvestment in the area prevented property values from spiralling out of control and few units were converted into condos or single-family homes.[84]

Conclusion

In some ways, Montreal and Toronto shared a pattern of urban change with many cities across North America and Western Europe in the years following the Second World War. The connected processes of deindustrialization and post-industrial development re-shaped central

[84] SODEMENT and SOHAM only produced 27 percent of the 20,000 logements housing units for the whole city: Comité pour la relance de l'économie, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic*, 275-276. The 1991 census found that 81 percent of housing units in St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and PSC were rental compared with 90 percent in 1971. The overall number of rental units, however, increased between 1971 and 1991, and the vast amount of new owner-occupied homes were built in Little Burgundy (600 percent increase). In 1991 the highest rate of renter occupancy could be found in St-Henri at 87 percent and the lowest in Little Burgundy at 71 percent: Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1971 and 1991.

cities and affected the daily life of residents in profound ways. This chapter, however, has sought to counter generalizable stage models of urban change by also acknowledging how the history and geographies of Montreal and Toronto were entangled through their direct competition for capital investment and the title of Canada's largest city and most important economy. The rapid concentration of finance capital and corporate head offices in Toronto created locational advantages that eventually motivated firms to leave Montreal for the greener pastures of Bay Street. Urban space in Montreal and Toronto did not simply evolve according to pre-set stages of development but were shaped unevenly by the movement of capital and jobs to Toronto.

The movement of capital from Montreal to Toronto also shaped working-class neighbourhoods and the everyday lives of residents in both cities. The arsonists in *Balconville* and the whitepainters in *The Intruders* were responding to two sides of the same long-term process of dis-investment from Montreal and re-investment in Toronto. These archetypes, moreover, did not represent minor changes. Deindustrialization profoundly re-shaped the work and home lives of residents in the East Downtown and the Southwest, creating possibilities for improving the quality of life for some people while pulling the rug out from under others. Histories of neighbourhood organizing and politics, therefore, should consider this broader context of uneven economic change. Neighbourhood organizers were not autonomous from the rapidly changing world around them, nor were they totally submissive. As we will see in the following chapters, poor and working-class residents and activists organized creatively, and often successfully, to improve their access to stable work and housing, but they did not do so in conditions of their choosing.

Chapter 2

Activist Intellectuals and the Urban Sixties Afterlife

Local and City Narratives of Neighbourhood Organizing

"Un comité de citoyens, c'est des gens qui se rencontrent pour parler et pour essayer d'arranger les problèmes du quartier."

"Les comités ont évolué. Au début, ils étaient concernés seulement par des problèmes immédiats. Ils ne sont pas partis sur une pédale idéologique, mais sur un problème concret: le centre communautaire. Mais ils sont venus à voir des problème plus globaux."

-Citizens from the Comité de Citoyens d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve [1]

The above quotations were spoken by two different members of the same citizens committee in the East-End of Montreal in 1968. Drawn from interviews by Lionel Robert, an MA student who conducted fieldwork in the area, the conflicting viewpoints reflected vastly different ideas about where the citizens' committee was headed. Robert discovered that most members of the organization (nine out of fifteen) agreed with the first quotation and participated in the organization to help their neighbourhood. The other third had a more expansive vision for local organizing, they saw their committee as part of a broader movement to transform society. The neighbourhood-oriented group included more women, tended to be older, have fewer years of education, and were entirely salaried workers. The group with more expansive intentions consisted mostly of young men, were more educated, and included two students and one

[1] Both quotations were drawn from interviews conducted at around the same time by Lionel Robert in 1968 as part of his MA thesis research. Lionel Robert, "Le comité de citoyens d'Hochelaga-Maisonneuve," (MA thesis, Laval University, 1971), 76-77. Robert did not publish the names of his interviewees but indicated that the first was said by a student and the second by someone that worked in a bank.

professor. Despite these very different political and geographic orientations (the neighbourhood vs. the "globaux"), the Hochelaga Citizens Committee continued to meet regularly and organize campaigns together.

Since the late 1960s, authors in both Toronto and Montreal have preserved the perspectives of globally oriented neighbourhood activists at the expense of those with primarily local concerns. The architects of this bias came from a generation of young middle-class men who emerged from the sixties with a newfound intellectual authority to diagnose and propose solutions to urban problems. Through their organizing, they also became connected to culturally powerful networks of city-wide activists and like-minded people. Straddling the authority of being activists with that of being intellectuals these "activist-intellectual" authors wrote about local struggles to make moral or "common-sense" arguments about what the city should look like. Many also found positions of professional authority in the world the sixties made, becoming the journalists, politicians and professors who wrote the first wave of retrospective accounts about 1960s neighbourhood organizing.

While many activist-intellectuals who emerged during the 1960s continued to challenge oppressive power structures in the years that followed, the spatial and temporal framing of their written work on neighbourhood organizing effectively relegated the voices of working-class people, particularly women, racialized people, and youth, to the margins. Activist-intellectuals in Toronto and Montreal built historic narratives in their respective cities that demonstrated neighbourhood groups evolving in stages from purely local concerns to city-wide movements. After the conclusion of the city-wide neighbourhood movement (whether it ended in victory or defeat) activist intellectuals tended to ignore local organizing that did not conform to the politics and values on which that movement had been built. Kristin Ross' concept of sixties "afterlives" is useful for understanding how and why this evolution narrative endured over possible

alternatives. In her book *May '68 and its Afterlives*, Ross argues that since the 1970s public memory in France has selectively incorporated stories of the 1968 student uprising to re-enforce a new French nationalism. Over time, the French media increasingly favoured the insider perspectives of a few Parisian student radicals, many of whom went on to become powerful public figures. According to Ross, exclusive focus on a narrative of activism produced by such powerful men "asserts that today's capitalist society, far from representing the derailment or failure of the May movement's aspirations, instead represents the accomplishment of its deepest desires" and "erases those memories of past alternatives that sought or envisioned other outcomes than the one that came to pass."[2]

The sixties afterlives of Toronto and Montreal were constructed by young, white, mostly middle-class men who lived downtown and preferred an urban progressivism brought downtown by the new middle-class.[3] This small group of upwardly mobile activist-intellectuals helped create a narrative that was convenient to the growing progressive new-middle class because it re-enforced the idea that the calls for change that emerged during the sixties could be solved through reasonable debate and politics. Sixties activism had not, however, solved systemic inequality in either city. Unequal access to resources and discrimination based on race, gender, and class continued to shape how different people approached activism in their neighbourhoods, including their access to the professional standing and platform enjoyed by activist-intellectuals. Even those activist-intellectuals who challenged the structural foundation of this new urban

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[2] Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 6.
[3] David Ley writes about the introduction of "reform" politics in cities across Canada as connected to the arrival of the new middle class to the central city. To make his argument, however, he minimizes the distinct social, cultural, and economic histories in each city that shaped the arrival of the new-middle-class differently. David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

progressivism could be accepted if their challenge emanated from the university or some other generally accepted position of expertise.

The platform provided to activist-intellectuals was not accessible to the many other neighbourhood activists who might present alternative versions of what happened. The uncritical over-reliance on activist-intellectual accounts, therefore, risks further silencing the perspectives of the locally embedded neighbourhood activists, many of them working-class parents and particularly mothers, who organized alongside activist-intellectuals but did not have the same end-goals. Furthermore, activist-intellectuals who gave attention and assistance to what they perceived as popular or working-class organizing rarely acknowledged how racism had always shaped how the state governed urban space. For example, Chinatowns in both Montreal and Toronto had long been targeted for non-consensual public and private redevelopment and it was no coincidence that the Little Burgundy public housing project was built on top of the neighbourhood with the highest concentration of Black residents in Montreal.[4] Instead, activist intellectuals expressed solidarity with "the people" or the "working-class," decisions that elevated their perceptions of the mostly white working-class people with whom they worked, as universally relevant.

Over time, activist-intellectuals published materials that took root in the local imaginaries, making up a distinct sixties "afterlife" in each city. In Toronto, activist-intellectuals who fought against urban renewal began publishing about these struggles in the late 1960s. This wave of "reform" authors celebrated the neighbourhood and demonized the developer,

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[4] Kwok B. Chan, "Ethnic Urban Space, Urban Displacement and Forced Relocation: The Case of Chinatown in Montreal," *Canadian Ethnic Studies = Études Ethniques de Canada* 18, no. 2 (Jan 1986): 65-78; John Lorinc, Michael Mcclelland, Ellen Sheinberg, and Tatum Taylor eds., *The Ward: The Life and Loss of Toronto's First Immigrant Neighbourhood* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2015); Steven High, "Little Burgundy: The Interwoven Histories of Race, Residence, and Work in Twentieth-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 46 no. 1 (Fall 2017): 23-44.

particularly drawing inspiration from local urban guru and recent arrival to the city, Jane Jacobs. In Montreal, the builders of their local afterlife were politically different from their counterparts in Toronto. Drawing from the Marxist theory of Althusser, Castells and Touraine, the Montreal authors used a structural analysis to understand spatial inequality. The only way to confront the problems that were felt in neighbourhoods, therefore, was to theoretically understand and confront the capitalist system that produced them. As such, Montreal's activist-intellectuals evaluated neighbourhood organizations based on the assumed goal of confronting capitalist structure.

The following chapter will situate the emergence of the post-sixties urban activism retrospective in its historic context. While the writing produced in each city was in many ways very different and the development and solidification of each afterlife followed different timelines, they did share important commonalities. First, in both Toronto and Montreal authors who wrote about neighbourhood organizing and the publishers who supported them were young, highly educated men. Second, activist-intellectual authors wrote about local campaigns as reflective of broader city-wide movements or political trends. Finally, while most books in each canon demonstrated appreciation for working-class people and culture, their authors evaluated working-class organizing through their own ideological perspectives. In doing so, they failed to acknowledge that most neighbourhood groups remained committed to fighting injustice and inequality in their neighbourhoods. Working-class people who assembled around neighbourhood organizations recognized that the city around them was changing. Many amongst them even felt that change was good: they wanted better homes, healthcare, jobs, and access to leisure. But they wanted, for the first time, to determine what the future of their neighbourhoods would look like.

East Downtown, Toronto[5]

In 1970s Toronto, a tightly knit group of activists and journalist based out of the East Downtown of Toronto looked back on lessons learned during the sixties to build a municipal reform movement. Having cut their teeth fighting against urban renewal in working and middle-class neighbourhoods like St. Jamestown, Trefann Court, and particularly Don Vale, young activists like John Sewell and James Lorimer seized on the momentum generated by these movements to change their city. In 1968, Sewell and Karl Jaffary, two East Downtown candidates for city council, were elected on an anti-developer platform. At approximately the same time, their neighbours James Lorimer and Alan Samuel founded a publishing house and began to circulate "reform" writing. Describing the ongoing battle between people and neighbourhoods on one side and a capitalist alliance of city government and property developers on the other, authors that published through these new presses built a canon of work that boosted the position of reform political candidates. Over time the Toronto reformers enshrined this neighbourhood vs. large-scale developer dichotomy in a new "progressive" common-sense urbanism.

This common-sense urbanism was built across different scales by many historic actors. For several decades prior to the 1960s an alliance of predominantly white and male modernist planners, developers, and politicians had been remaking central cities across the North Atlantic. In cities like New York, London, Berlin, and Toronto these coalitions worked together to clear the old and working-class industrial neighbourhoods near the downtown core and renew city

[5] Parts of this section have been previously published in the article Simon Vickers, "Trefann Court Revisited: The Activist Afterlives of John Sewell and Edna Dixon," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 53 no. 108 (October 2020): 351-371.

centres to make them more efficient for commerce and finance.[6] Residents facing displacement through renewal had always resisted from below, but the first effective challenges to the urban renewal consensus emerged in the 1960s. In New York, Jane Jacobs published her seminal book *Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961 and organized her neighbours in the East Village to challenge the development machine led by Robert Moses. Jacobs' book laid out a logical argument as to why the modernist, urban renewal city did not work, suggesting that tower blocks and highways eliminated the human interactions and networks that made cities safe, diverse, and beautiful. It also introduced a common-sense argument against urban renewal that appealed to middle-class voters who lived beyond the bulldozers' path.[7]

When *Death and Life* hit bookstores in the early 1960s it was depicted by supporters as a refreshing outsider perspective on urban planning. Jacobs was, after all, not a professional planner, and asserted throughout her life that her ideas about cities came more from observation than professional expertise. As Peter Laurence has pointed out, however, while not officially a planner, Jacobs had more than a decade's worth of experience thinking and writing about urban issues prior to publishing her seminal book. The enduring myth that Jacobs was an absolute outsider was in part a testament to the overwhelming and ongoing maleness of the planning profession. As a middle-class, white woman and a mother, Jacobs was depicted as offering a reasoned, insider, street level perspective on what sorts of cities sustained life and benefitted the people who live there. Depicting her ideas as common-sense, however, erased the fact that her

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[6] Christopher Klemek has argued that the transatlantic rise and fall of what he calls the "urban renewal order" reflects the sharing of urban ideas between cities and nations. While he does not neglect economics absolutely, he drastically underestimates the changing relationship between capital and the city in the period he studies, namely the re-organization of older cities in which industrial activity moved to the suburbs or further afield and financial capital increasingly dominated the downtown core and labour markets of major cities. Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2011)

[7] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

street-level perspective was not objective. Jane Jacobs saw the city from her perspective as a middle-class white woman and mother who would soon fit the description of a prototypical gentrifier. Depicting Jacobs perspective as universal common-sense, therefore, neglected the fact that the "sidewalk ballet" that Jacobs loved so much was shaped by enduring legacies of racism, and particularly anti-Black racism, as well as class inequality that she did not register. This systemic inequality also prevented many of her neighbours the opportunity to have their perspectives valued and published as Jacobs did.[8]

Jacobs' book had a profound effect on how people across the North Atlantic saw their cities, but resistance to renewal did not only emanate from New York. The common-sense urbanism expressed by Jacobs resonated because it was shared by a growing wave of white and middle-class people across the United States, the U.K., and Canada who were choosing the sidewalk ballet of the central city over the uniformity of the postwar suburbs.[9] In 1960s Toronto, a wave of mostly white, educated, and middle-class people began moving to former working-class neighbourhoods in the downtown core and fought alongside their new neighbours to protect their homes. Many of these new arrivals had read *Death and Life* and borrowed its language and they built a local reform movement out of homegrown resistance to urban renewal.[10] Two of the most important contributors to the reform consensus arrived in Toronto's East Downtown during this period: future mayor, John Sewell, and publisher James Lorimer.

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[8] Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Max Page, "Introduction: More Than Meets the Eye," and Peter L. Laurence, "The Unknown Jane Jacobs: Geographer, Propagandist, City Planning Idealist," in Max Page and Timothy Mennel eds., *Reconsidering Jane Jacobs* (New York: Routledge Press, 2011), 3-36.

[9] Ley, *The New Middle Class*.

[10] Richard White has criticized the mostly American authors who have attributed resistance to urban renewal in Toronto as linked to Jane Jacobs moving there in 1968. White has demonstrated that while Jacobs participated in a couple of media stunts, she contributed very little to Toronto's urban development. Richard White, "Jane Jacobs and Toronto, 1968-1978," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 2 (2011): 114-138. For a history on the origins of resistance to renewal in Toronto, see Kevin Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City: The Politics of Slum Housing and Urban Renewal in Toronto 1940-1970" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2001).

John Sewell entered the arena of Toronto politics as a community organizer and lawyer in the East Downtown neighbourhood of Trefann Court in 1966. Located just south of Regent Park, city planners first identified Trefann Court as suitable for urban renewal in the 1956 *Study of Urban Renewal*.[11] The Municipal government, however, delayed initiating the process until a decade later, by which time residents who were fed up with the constant spectre of renewal had time to organize. Because the city had declared its intention to demolish the neighbourhood, it became almost impossible for homeowners to sell their houses at value and disincentivized landlords from repairing their rental units. The Trefann Court Residents Association hired Sewell, then fresh out of law school, through the Toronto Community Union Project to help residents organize and voice their own vision for their neighbourhood. Of the five professional organizers who worked in the neighbourhood, Sewell soon emerged as the most adept at negotiating with city-hall. Deciding he could do more in power than contesting it from the outside, in 1969 he ran for city council alongside fellow East Downtown neighbourhood activist, Karl Jaffary.

Sewell and Jaffary won the two city council seats for their East Downtown Ward 7 on an anti-developer platform that emphasized neighbourhood-based planning.[12] Once there, they fought against a city hall that had routinely acted in the interests of big property developers. In 1970, Ward 7 voters once again elected Sewell and Jaffary, but this time they were joined by other reform allies. The reform wave continued in 1972 when city-wide voters selected the first

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[11] This study recommended that a large portion of East Downtown Toronto be slated for urban renewal. After redevelopment older homes would be replaced by block apartments and some by commercial towers. For more, see Community Planning Association of Canada, *Urban Renewal: A Study of the City of Toronto* (Ottawa, 1956).

[12] Ward 7 included the East Downtown of Toronto as well as the Riverdale neighbourhood to the east of the Don Valley. The boundaries were Sherbourne Street to the west, Bloor/Danforth Street to the north, Logan Street to the east and Lake Ontario to the south. Ward 7 was created out of pieces of Wards 1 and 2 in 1969 when block wards replaced the long and narrow strip wards. Supporters of changing to block wards argued that the boundaries of block wards would better reflect social/economic segregation in the city. The new Ward 7 was more homogenously working-class than the previous Ward 1 and 2 had been.

reform-affiliated mayor, David Crombie.[13] While on city council, both Sewell and Jaffary continued to work with neighbourhood groups to resist large development projects, but Sewell emerged as the clear face and voice of the oppositional reform movement, gaining notoriety for disrupting city meetings and calling out colleagues for hypocrisy. Sewell also became a prolific writer on urban issues, seeking to inform citizens about municipal politics and how they might disrupt the alliance between city-hall and developers. To distribute his writing, he relied on two upstart publishing companies founded by two neighbours in his home Ward 7: Alan Samuel's *A.M. Hakkert Press* and James Lorimer's *James Lorimer and Company*.[14]

James Lorimer moved into a house on Minster Lane in the East Downtown neighbourhood of Don Vale in 1966. Having completed a graduate degree in England, Lorimer was looking for academic work, and with his partner Myfanwy Philips began renting a newly renovated house in what was then a cheap and still working-class area. Enamoured with the working-class culture of his adopted neighbourhood and looking for something to do, he applied for and was ultimately successful in getting a grant from University of Toronto to embark on a "participant-observation" study of his new community. Lorimer used the time permitted through his grant to meet his neighbours and to get a sense of what daily neighbourhood life was like for them. During his research, the city revisited their urban renewal plan for Don Vale and finding

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[13] Whether Crombie, a municipal and urban affairs professor at Ryerson University, was a reformer is debated. From a suburban riding, Crombie certainly saw himself as a reformer and opposed certain development plans such as the Spadina Expressway and Alexandra Park, but he approached the reform cause from a more conservative "red tory" perspective and his positions often reflected his middle-class riding. Some reformers criticized Crombie for aligning himself with private developers once in office. Jon Caulfield, *The Tiny Perfect Mayor* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1974).

[14] John Sewell has written a lot on Toronto over the last five decades. John Sewell, *Inside City Hall: The Years of the Opposition* (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1971); John Sewell, *Up Against City Hall* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Press, 1972); John Sewell, *Police: Urban Policing in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985); John Sewell, *The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); John Sewell, *Houses and Homes: Housing for Canadians* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1994); John Sewell, *The Shape of the Suburbs: Understanding Toronto's Sprawl* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); John Sewell, *How we Changed Toronto* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2015).

that the threat of redevelopment was high on people's list of concerns, Lorimer became involved in a local opposition movement. In 1967, Lorimer joined neighbour Karl Jaffary in the Ward 2 rate-payers association, and later became one of the most active members of the Don Vale Residents' Association.

James Lorimer identified strongly with the reform politics of Sewell and Jaffary and advocated for their cause in print. In 1969 he began writing an urban column for the Globe and Mail, which he used to critique developer allied politicians, particularly then Toronto mayor William Denison.[15] That same year he also moved into publishing and founded James Lewis & Samuel publishers with neighbour and fellow Don Vale residents' association activist, Alan Samuel. The two soon released Lorimer's *The Real World of City Politics* (1970), which described six citizen campaigns against city hall, and a published version of Lorimer's participant-observation study of Don Vale, titled *Working People: Life in a Downtown City Neighbourhood* (1971).[16] Lorimer and Samuel also published a monthly magazine called *City Hall* in collaboration with Sewell, Jaffary and two other reform aldermen. Following their commitment to be different from the old guard politicians, the reform aldermen used *City Hall* to maintain connections with neighbourhood groups and inform like-minded citizens about the goings on in city government.[17] After Samuel left to form Hakkert, Lorimer renamed his

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[15] Lorimer and Dennison exchanged frequent barbs through *The Globe and Mail* over the course of 1969. Some examples are James Lorimer, "A Little Park the Big City Seems to have Forgotten," *The Globe and Mail,* August 18, 1969; James Lorimer, "The Fiasco Andras is Likely to Face at City Hall." *The Globe and Mail,* October 13, 1969; William Dennison, "Letters to the Editor." *The Globe and Mail,* August 21, 1969; William Dennison, "Urban Renewal." *The Globe and Mail,* November 07, 1969.

[16] James Lorimer, *The Real World of City Politics* (Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1970) and James Lorimer and Myfanwy Philips, *Working People: Life in a Downtown City Neighbourhood* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1971).

[17] *City Hall* magazine lasted from September 1970 to October, 1973. Contributors included Alderman Sewell, Crombie, Kilbourn and Jaffary.

publishing house James Lorimer and Company and continued to release books on urban issues and politics, including several written John Sewell.

Sewell and Lorimer were not the sole contributors to the developing reform consensus in Toronto, but they were at its centre. In his introduction to a 1976 compilation of articles from the Lorimer and Company published, *City Magazine*, Lorimer acknowledged the existence of a connected network of Canadian authors interested in urban issues, describing the lineage of reform thinking in the following way:

> There is in fact a school of thought which has developed since the late 1960s in Canada to which this book, *Vancouver Ltd.* and the *Citizen's Guide* all belong. It is an empirical, informal and quite non-academic approach whose roots lie in citizen organizations and "reform" groups which starting in the mid-sixties sprang up to oppose the most brutal and crude policies of city halls in a number of Canadian cities. There was nowhere for people involved in these groups and issues to turn where they could find their experiences of city politicians and city politics reflected and explained in print. The existing books on urban Canada had nothing to offer, and the literature on the United States, Britain and other countries did not speak directly to their experiences. Under considerable pressure to explain themselves and their political point of view, trying to make sense of their experiences and of the apparently inexplicable and irrational desire of city planners and city politicians to do things which hurt many ordinary people and did nothing obviously good for the city as a whole, the citizen opposition produced an analysis of urban Canada which made sense of their circumstances and experience.[18]

Lorimer followed by naming the books he considers reformist, describing a lineage in which early accounts of individual neighbourhood fights were followed by more analytic work on strategy and structure. Of the thirteen books he listed eight were specifically about Toronto and two others focus primarily on Toronto and Vancouver. Eight of the listed books were also published by either Lorimer or Alan Samuel.[19]

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[18] James Lorimer, "Introduction," in *The City Book: Politics and Planning of Canadian Cities* ed. James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1976), 6-9.

[19] The following list includes all books mentioned by Lorimer in his list in chronological order: James Lorimer, *The Real World of City Politics* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1970); David and Nadine Nowland, *The Bad Trip: The Untold Story of the Spadina Expressway* (Toronto: New Press, House of Anansi, 1970); Jack L. Granatstein, *Malborough Marathon: One Street Against a Developer* (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1971); David Lewis Stein, *Toronto for Sale* (Toronto: New Press, 1972); John Sewell, *Up Against City Hall* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1972); Graham Fraser, *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972); James Lorimer, *A Citizens Guide to City Politics* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1972); Vancouver Urban Research Group, *Forever Deceiving You* (Vancouver: Vancouver Urban Research Group, 1972); David Clark, *Rules of the Game: A Handbook for Tenants and Homeowners* (Toronto: Pollution Probe, 1972); Graham Barker, Jennifer Penney and Wally Seccombe, *Highrise and Superprofits: An Analysis of the Development Industry in Canada* (Kitchener:

Beyond publishing ties, many of the Toronto-based reform authors knew each other or ran in the same circles. Lorimer and Jon Caulfield both wrote Toronto-focussed columns for the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Citizen* respectively, and Graham Fraser, David Lewis Stein, and Janice Dineen (who Lorimer did not mention in his list but who also wrote a reform-type book about the DACHI co-op in Don Vale[20]) all wrote about urban issues and politics for the *Toronto Star* in the early 1970s. Academics at York and University of Toronto were also overrepresented amongst reform authors. Lorimer spent time as an economics professor at York University and shared a discipline with David Nowland, who was economics professor at U of T, and a home university with Jack L. Granatstein, who taught history at York University. These different contributors to the reform canon, moreover, did not only share common vocations, but provided support quotations for the back cover of each others work and thanked each other in their acknowledgements.[21]

Of the books in Lorimer's list, he cited one as particularly worthy of praise: Graham Fraser's 1972 book, *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court*.[22] A narrative of the then ongoing conflict over an urban renewal plan for Trefann Court, Fraser spent a year conducting interviews, attending meetings, and collecting primary source research to complete his book. Part ethnographic study of Trefann, part political analysis, and part historic account of the struggle,

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Dumont Press Graphix, 1973); Jon Caulfield, *The Tiny Perfect Mayor* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1974); Donald Gutstein, *Vancouver LTD* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1975); Jack Pasternak, *The Kitchener Market Fight* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1975).

[20] Janice Dineen, *The Trouble with Co-ops* (Toronto: Green Tree Publishing, 1974).

[21] Information about author backgrounds gathered from their respective books cited above and the following sources: Lorimer and Philips, *Working People*; Stephen Azzi, "Jack Granatstein," from *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2009. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/jack-granatstein/; Samantha Delaney, "Homegrown Publisher Fends of Multi-Nationals," *King's Journalism Review*, January 2011, http://thekjr.kingsjournalism.com/homegrown-publisher-fends-off-multinationals/

[22] The following case study of Fraser's book was selected in part because Lorimer's assertion that it is the best of the reform books but also because of the existence of a rich archive of primary sources materials that Fraser deposited in the City of Toronto Archive, Graham Fraser Fonds 1202.

Fighting Back explored the internal tensions that plagued neighbourhood resistance to the proposed urban renewal plan. The homeowners who founded the Trefann Court Residents Association (TCRA) were afraid that the city would not properly compensate them for their houses. As the struggle to resist the city's renewal plan dragged on, however, certain local tenants became restless with the terrible condition of their rented homes. In 1968, a group of tenants led by Pat Rice left the TCRA to form the independent Trefann Neighbours and Tenants Association (TNT). TNT accused the Residents' Association of privileging the needs of homeowners and of ignoring tenants, many of whom wanted renewal. After the split, meetings routinely erupted into personal conflicts between enemies who accused each other of catering to outside interests.[23]

Fighting Back, however, ended on a high note. In February 1970, after two years of conflict, TCRA and TNT rebuilt their common front and composed a 13-point list of demands that all sides in Trefann could agree on. After some cajoling, City Hall agreed to strike a working committee including representatives from city government and Trefann to create a new redevelopment plan. Over the next two years the Working Committee met regularly, and on March 16, 1972 city council approved a draft of the Trefann Court Urban Renewal Scheme. Fraser credited John Sewell for negotiating the truce between TCRA and TNT and identified the formation of the alliance as the turning point in the fight to save Trefann. He further credited aldermen Sewell and Jaffary with doing the political work that convinced city-hall to support the working-committee and with keeping the community planning process on course.[24]

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[23] Fraser, *Fighting Back*, 119-145. Tenants accused John Sewell of controlling homeowners and homeowners alleged that Pat Rice was a puppet of wealthy Rosedale resident June Rowlands. Both Sewell (1978-1980) and Rowlands (1991-1994) would go on to be mayor of Toronto.
[24] Fraser, *Fighting Back*, 179-253.

Fraser carefully researched the Trefann struggle to write *Fighting Back*, but its narrative structure also reflected the reform perspective of its creator. Of all the actors in Fraser's narrative, Sewell emerged as the hero. After finishing the book Fraser circulated it to friends and colleagues for feedback. Most responses were short and congratulatory, but one friend critiqued that while Fraser came "down pretty hard on a lot of people," Sewell "gets off skot free."[25] Given that the East Downtown reformers were integral to the publishing of *Fighting Back*, Fraser's admiration for Sewell (and to a slightly lesser extent Jaffary) was perhaps unsurprising. Sewell originally asked Fraser to write the book, and Jaffary used his connections with the NDP to secure funding and passed the project along to Lorimer and Samuel. Samuel ended up publishing the book through Hakkert Press, and Jaffary wrote a support quotation.[26]

Fraser also re-affirmed reform values in the way he constructed his narrative. The first half of his book explored the history of the neighbourhood and the lives of its inhabitants, depicting residents as hard-working and attached to their neighbourhood. He also described the issues that motivated people to form the Trefann Court Residents Association, particularly the issue of unfair compensation for homes and poor rental housing conditions. In the second half of his book, however, Fraser's focus exited the neighbourhood to describe what was happening with negotiations at City Hall or in the Working Committee. Fraser concluded by arguing that

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[25] The review was almost entirely positive, but the reviewer was clearly very bothered by Fraser's total praise of Sewell: Letter from John to Graham Fraser, December 31, 1972, City of Toronto Archives (henceforth CTA), Graham Fraser Fonds 1202-145328-8.

[26] In the preface to *Fighting Back* Fraser described how Sewell approached him to ask if he would write the book (xiv). In a letter from the Clifford Scotton at the New Democratic Party to James Lewis & Samuel Limited dated June 3, 1971, Scotton acknowledged that the NDP will forward a sum of $1,800 to aid in the publication costs of the book on the condition that Karl Jaffary will write a forward explaining the reasons for their involvement. In a separate letter from Karl Jaffary to Harold Wench at the BOAG foundation, also dated June 3, 1973, Jaffary requested that they also contribute $1,800 to publishing the book. Finally, in a third letter written by James Lorimer to Graham Fraser, Lorimer describes the reason why Alan Samuel decided the book should be published by Hakkert rather than JLS (James Lewis & Samuel). All letters can be found in the CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds 1202-145328-7. Jaffary's quotation of support is on the back cover of the 1972 edition of the book and Lorimer's appears in other Hakkert published books.

Trefann represented something bigger: "as the story of the urban renewal fight in Trefann Court shows, 'citizen participation,' or the broadening of decision-making so that citizens can participate in planning, is not a power that is easily won or easily exercised…It is a demand for power that is not casually conceded by those who now have it. However, the fight is a crucial one."[27] By the end of the book the people of Trefann Court no longer appeared to be fighting to defend their working-class community from displacement. They now stood in for a city-wide movement to empower all citizens.

Neighbourhood Solidarity in Trefann Court

The neighbourhood struggle at Trefann Court has since become a symbol of popular opposition to urban renewal, modernist planning, and high-rise development. Given its location just south of the towers at Regent Park, one could easily imagine its residents on the front lines of this larger battle. Indeed, many Trefann residents did not want to live in high-rise towers, but their opposition to urban renewal was not so abstract and was rooted in longer histories of local social solidarity. Many locally embedded activists had been working and raising families in the area long before the city unveiled plans for renewal and built on previously existing mutual aid networks to launch their resistance movement. This was particularly true of those who took care of the home-based social reproductive work such as preparing meals and raising children, work that fell disproportionately on the backs of working-class women and particularly mothers.[28]

Residents had also already witnessed several waves of destructive urban renewal and likely had friends or family who were displaced and undercompensated when their homes were

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[27] Fraser, *Fighting Back*, 263.

[28] For a more substantial analysis on how pre-existing mutual aid networks (formed to combat race, gender, and class discrimination) translated into broader place-based social solidarities, see Jacqueline Leavitt and Susan Saegert, *From Abandonment to Hope: Community-Households in Harlem* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

expropriated.[29] Having witnessed this recent history, Trefann residents were not entirely surprised when in 1966 the city announced an urban renewal plan for Trefann. Local homeowner and activist Edna Dixon, for example, had for years been collecting news clippings related to neighbouring urban renewal projects.[30] What residents were less aware of, however, was exactly how to mobilize a successful neighbourhood defense given the internal complexity of its more than 1,200 inhabitants. While the city saw a uniformity in Trefann that was worth bulldozing, in 1961 38 percent of 185 local homes were owner occupied with the rest made up of rentals. Of these, the city found that a greater percentage of rental homes were in "poor" condition. The square footage in Trefann was also almost evenly distributed between residential, commercial and office, and industrial and warehouse use, meaning that shop owners and non-resident workers also had a stake in the area. Finally, although the neighbourhood was overwhelmingly white, and all the activists depicted in the photos in Fraser's book appear to be white or white-passing, only about 50% of Trefann residents identified as of British descent. The other half of the population included a large number of French-Canadians, Serbian and Croatians, Ukrainians, Greeks and Macedonians. Residents quickly founded the Trefann Court Residents Association (TCRA) in 1966 to represent the neighbourhood and hired several professional organizers, including Sewell, to aid in their fight against the city's plan.[31]

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[29] Brushett, "Blots on the Face of the City," 450-484.
[30] Fraser, *Fighting Back*, p. 42.
[31] Statistics are hard to come by for Trefann Court because in 1961 it was part of a census tract that included the recently renewed Regent Park. Furthermore, the total population changed quite rapidly over the course of the 1960s so data collected from the 1971 survey conducted by the Trefann Court Working Committee may not accurately convey the 1966 make-up of the neighbourhood. The statistics on housing and land-use were found in the city's 1966 renewal plan for the neighbourhood and indicated that, in 1961, 50% of the area identified as of British descent, while "the rest were largely from other European countries." The total population in 1966 and the data about non-British residents in Trefann was compiled through a local survey in 1971. The survey, however, asked respondents to indicate the language that they spoke in the home, which does not translate exactly to ethnic make-up. City of Toronto Planning Board, *Trefann Court Urban Renewal Scheme: Data Abstract*, February, 1966, Report, Toronto, On; The Trefann Court Working Committee, *The Trefann Court Urban Renewal Scheme*, January 1972, Report, Toronto, On.

The predominantly homeowners who founded the Trefann Court Residents Association were most worried that they would not be properly compensated if their homes were expropriated.[32] The Residents Association, however, did not demand that the city withdraw entirely. Tenants and business owners recognized that public housing was needed to replace poor quality rental units and they too joined the Residents Association to negotiate for a neighbourhood plan that met their needs. In an early issue of their newsletter the Residents Association announced that they were in favour of building a public housing project to accommodate tenants but opposed the wholesale destruction of eighty single family homes. If people wanted to leave the neighbourhood, they argued, they should be able to sell to private developers on the open market rather than through a public middleman, ensuring they would get market rate for their home.[33] Residents favoured an adjusted urban renewal project that would allow residents who felt at home in the neighbourhood to stay put; neither displacing homeowners nor renovating private rental housing in such a way that would raise local rents. As local tenant leader Pat Rice described it: "When are our "highly qualified" and "professional" city planners going to realize that we are fellow human beings, that we have families and children whom we care for, that we have a way of life that we value, that the majority of us like the area and would have wanted to see it improved rather than torn down."[34] For Rice, renewal was acceptable if planners would respect the expertise of working-class residents who knew what was best for them.

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[32] Homeowners worried that their houses would be expropriated by the city as a lower cost than the going market rate, which made it very difficult for people who wanted to sell their homes. Tenants also suffered as landlords were not likely to implement costly renovations if their buildings would soon be expropriated. Homeowners' fear that they would not be properly compensated during expropriation worsened when the city forced homeowners across the Don Valley to give up their homes for below market value to make room for the Don Mount renewal project.
[33] Mike Koverko, "Redevelopment: For Whose Benefit?" *Trefann Court News* 1 no. 2, September 23, 1966, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds 1202-145335-2.
[34] Pat Rice, "Whose Planning for Whom?" *Trefann Court News* 1 no. 2, September 23, 1966, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds 1202-145335-2.

Continued attention to the concerns of local people throughout and beyond the period covered by Fraser suggests an alternative narrative to one that concluded with the triumph of citizens and reformers against urban renewal. With less attention given to City Hall, this neighbourhood focussed view Trefann's history and legacy makes clear that most of the organizers in Trefann Court were women, and particularly white, working-class, mothers who were deeply embedded in the neighbourhood and responsible for most social reproductive tasks.[35] Fraser did emphasize the impact of two women, social worker Marjaleena Repo and Edna Dixon, but most of the other women mentioned appeared as either inconsequential or obstructive. Pat Rice was one of the earliest tenant participants in the Residents Association and eventually led tenants in the organizational split after they felt that homeowners were ignoring the plight of a poor single mother who was living without heat. Margaret LeMay was also a tenant who became president of the breakaway tenant's association. These women were (sometimes controversial) leaders who frequently spoke up at meetings, but also contributed to the Residents Association in a myriad of less visible ways, such as home and block organizing, making phone calls, writing for the newsletter, and negotiating between factions within the neighbourhood.

This is not to say there were no conflicts between women leaders in Trefann. The split between the Residents Association and the Tenants Association spilled over and effected personal relationships between homeowners like Edna Dixon and tenants like Pat Rice, each of which thought the other side was being controlled by outside influences. Local leaders also

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[35] Though it is difficult to determine the backgrounds of all those involved in Trefann Court activism, all the activists for whom I have found a photograph were either white or white-passing. Racism and other forms of prejudice that shaped experiences of urban space differently undoubtably operated within Trefann Court, and perhaps dissuaded certain people from participating. One Jewish interviewee, for example, spoke at length about the violence and discrimination he and his family faced in the neighbourhood. Graham Fraser, "Interview with Howard Roher," November 23, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145331-14 & 15.

attacked the character of neighbours they disagreed with, characterizing them as bullies, alcoholics, or the stereotypical lazy welfare recipients.[36] These sometimes-nasty personal attacks, however, also obscured the fact that local homeowners and tenants were forced to negotiate a real conflict of interest. Homeowners were concerned that the city would expropriate their home for below market value, and thus initially contested urban renewal altogether. Many tenants, however, lived in run-down rental units and wanted the government to step in to enforce housing standards and subsidize rents, possibly through renewal. This tension was real and lasting, and affected the material lives of local organizers, and yet residents found a compromise despite their opposing interests. John Sewell may have helped negotiate the truce between homeowners and tenants, but it was the residents themselves who had to balance their own interests against those of their neighbours. Pat Rice, for example, described how she spent half her time acting as a referee between fellow tenants and homeowner leaders like the Dixons because even though she agreed with many tenant grievances she felt that "they [the Dixons] had their rights, same as we did."[37] Trefann women adopted most of the responsibility for this type of work.

Trefann Court women, and particularly poor and working-class mothers, also harnessed the energy from the fight back against urban renewal to launch parallel campaigns to improve their neighbourhood on their terms. In fall 1966, a sub-group of the Residents Association founded a Mothers' Committee to create a playschool for children. Co-organized by Pat Rice and

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[36] Graham Fraser's interviews often focussed on the split between TCRA and TNT and he asked interviewees what they thought of other people involved. Many interviewees clearly held personal grudges. There were also many rumours circulating about who was being manipulated by who, and which residents were alcoholics or welfare recipients and therefore could not be trusted. The organizers (including Sewell) tended to side with homeowners and used this gossip to dismiss the organizational capacity of all tenants, with some organizers referring to tenants as lumpen proletariat.

[37] Graham Fraser, "Interview with Pat Rice," October 13, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145331-25.

paid community worker Sarah Spinks, the child-care group provided services to working and non-working mothers alike. Child-care collectives such as these were undoubtably vital to getting more parents involved and helped achieve the critical mass of residents required to build a successful campaign.[38] Mothers also mobilized outside of the residents' association to create safe recreational spaces for their children. In spring 1967 a group of women who lived on Sackville Street organized a campaign to convince the owner of an empty lot at Queen and Sackville to donate the property for a park.[39] Together with some of the professional organizers these mothers built a playground with sandboxes, swings, and slides, and organized a supervision schedule.[40]

Women once again took the lead when they founded a group called the Trefann Mothers to improve education options for their children. Consisting of Noreen Gaudette, Phyllis Tomlinson, Barbara Dawson, and Eleanor Guerin, and helped by community worker Wolfe Erlichman, the Trefann Mothers assembled to fight against poor teaching at the local Park School. Trefann mothers were troubled by the disproportionate streaming of local children into special education programs at a young age, a practice that robbed them of access to more academic classes throughout their young lives. When they approached Park School teachers to ask why their children were having trouble reading, they were given answers that implied their children were intellectually deficient or that their working-class background meant they were better suited to vocational training. Unwilling to accept this limited view of their children's

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[38] "A Play-School for Children," *Trefann Court News* 1 no. 3, October 14, 1966, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145335-2.

[39] Residents were considering several different sites for recreational space. The Ward 2 Residents association, which included Marge Lemay and other Trefann Mothers, was also negotiating with the city for a property owned by Shell Canada at the corner of Sumach and Shuter. "Playgrounds for Trefann" *Trefann Court News* 1 no. 9, June 5, 1967, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145335-2.

[40] Hired organizer Sarah Spinks described how the park was initially successful, but that it eventually failed because some parents involved in the project began using it as a place to drink alcohol. Graham Fraser, "Interview with Sarah Spinks," July 26, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145331-14 & 15.

potential and recognizing that academic training was necessary to succeed as the economy trended toward white collar jobs, the Trefann Mothers joined with parents from Regent Park to advocate for reform. Through their impressive campaign the Trefann Mothers triggered a city-wide conversation about unequal access to education, which led to additional funds to fix the education gap in poorer neighbourhoods. Still unhappy with the options available to their children, however, the Trefann Mothers founded their own alternative called the Laneway School that started offering full time community schooling beginning in the fall of 1969.[41]

The women of Trefann Court used their intimate knowledge of daily life and local space in their neighbourhood to help plan for something better. Whether working through childcare groups or involved in negotiating for an adjusted neighbourhood plan, local women, and some men, sought to improve the lives of their working-class neighbours and provide opportunities for their children. In an interview conducted by Fraser in 1971, local shop owner Morton Montgomery acknowledged that women had done most of the work in Trefann. He went on to describe how women were central to creating the revised neighbourhood plan: "I'm familiar with plans. Well, when a plan drawing was brought forward I looked it over, and it looked pretty good

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[41] The Trefann Mothers were initially angered that their children were being funneled into "opportunity classes" at the local Park Elementary School in which they learned very little. They used several strategies to improve learning conditions for their children. First, they created a media campaign to shame the Toronto Public School system for inequity, which pushed the Park School to create a community council to deal with academic matters and helped secure improved funding for teacher-aides. Second, founding member Noreen Gaudette ran for school trustee. Finally, they helped found the Laneway School, which became part of the Toronto District School Board. The Laneway School offered full time schooling with accredited teachers and its policy was set by a board consisting of teachers and local parents. Marsha Cressy, "The Trefann Court Mothers and Reform in Education," Unpublished course paper submitted March 17, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145335-1. Fraser devoted a few pages to this group and argues that while the Trefann Mothers were distinct from the Residents Association there was also overlap in their goals and orientation. Fraser, however, does not mention the group after this brief description and does not revisit their impact or that of any other local groups. Fraser, *Fighting Back*, 47-50.

to me. Then the women would go over it, and saying "what about this? This doesn't look right---there's something wrong here---and they were right!"[42]

Most Trefann residents who were interviewed by Fraser identified Edna Dixon as the most important leader amongst this group of local women. Morton Montgomery went on to praise Edna for her intelligence and her negotiating skills, but also for her the way she cared for her neighbours and her community. When asked about his opposition to the initial urban renewal plan, Montgomery associated Edna Dixon with the effort for community self-preservation:

> It's [urban renewal] not supposed to hurt people…for Christ's sake it's supposed to help people! And yet so many people were worse off…And that's the central theme we've had. We're going to guarantee that no-one gets hurt. People aren't out to grab for themselves…Take Edna Dixon. She's got nothing to gain. She owns her own house. Yet she's been spending a heck of a lot of time seeing that other people don't get hurt.[43]

Unfortunately, because of Edna Dixon's reticence to be recorded, the Graham Fraser Fonds contains just a few pages of notes that Fraser wrote down after their conversations. A close reading of these notes, however, reveal Dixon's organizing connections with other local women as well as her commitment to protect her community. When asked about how the neighbourhood had changed in recent years, she responded with a list of three people, all of whom women, who were more deeply knowledgeable about the area's recent history. Fraser then asked her whether she always opposed renewal, to which she replied that she "was always against renewal" and that local organizers initially opposed renewal under any circumstances. It was only after they began to feel that expropriation was inevitable that they focussed energy on negotiating the sale price of their houses. Edna Dixon, however, did not want to leave the neighbourhood regardless of the price she received for her home. When describing her hope for a best possible outcome early in

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[42] Graham Fraser, "Conversation with Mr. Montgomery at the Dominion Tavern, after the working committee meeting," June 21, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145328-1.
[43] Graham Fraser, "Conversation with Mr. Montgomery at the Dominion Tavern, after the working committee meeting," June 21, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145328-1.

the struggle she mentioned nothing about money and stated that "I wanted to stay there at least until our kids grew up."[44]

Linda Dixon, Edna's 18-year-old daughter, described the sense of solidarity that ran through her mother's kitchen in her interview. When asked if she felt like the Trefann Court fight had brought people together she replied:

> Oh yeah! it really has. Like it's been going on for about six year now, hasn't it, and just from watching my mother, I feel. Well you always knew the people to see them, but you didn't know them by name and that. And since she got involved in it, she's met so many people, like everywhere she goes she knows somebody, she walks along the street and she talks to the people. Like they've known each other all their lives too. And even myself, I've met so many people just coming in the house and talking to my Mum and that. I mean for a while there it seemed kind of hectic you know, with the tenants association and the homeowners, but now even that doesn't seen as if it's as much hassle as it was before. Everybody knows each other more, that's the good thing about it. They want to get out and realize that, either they're going to have to smarten up a bit, or forget living around here.[45]

Unlike Graham Fraser, Linda's narrative of the last six years was not filtered through a fight at City Hall but through her own kitchen. There she witnessed a tremendous amount of solidarity and activity as her mother worked with her neighbours to collectively ensure they could stay put.[46] This image of Edna Dixon in her neighbourhood further contrasts with Fraser's own opinions on the Trefann leader. While admiring the elder Dixon's intelligence and poise he repeatedly described her as a sharp, intense, and generally terrifying woman. He did not connect with Edna in the way her neighbours did.

After returning from an evening with Trefann Court planner and fellow middle-class ally, Howard Cohen, in which they ended up talking about Edna Dixon, Fraser recorded some

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[44] Graham Fraser, "Conversation with Edna Dixon Lunch at City Hall," June 25, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145328-1.
[45] Graham Fraser, "Interview with Linda Dixon," June 29, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145331-1.
[46] Other interviewees shared similar memories of organizing through their kitchen. In Pat Rice's interview she described how early on she would host large meetings with as many as thirty local women, most of whom were on social assistance, to organize and discuss obstacles they faced due to poverty. She also said that these meetings declined because as soon as most organizing moved from homes to a local community centre, these women became afraid that middle-class organizers (she mentioned Marjaleena Repo and John Sewell specifically) might have been listening. Rice described how most local welfare recipients had to do something illegal to stay afloat and worried that middle-class organizers might report them to the authorities. Graham Fraser, "Interview with Pat Rice," October 13, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145331-25.

thoughts about how to conclude his book. He had recently confessed to a friend that what he really wanted to do was write a biography of Dixon but had decided instead to use the conclusion for a personal reflection about her impact on others. Specifically, the conclusion would "describe something of the impact that the Dixons (particularly Edna) had on nearly all the middle-class people that came into contact with them: Margalena Repo, John and Wolfe, Howard and me…and suggesting that people filter a great deal of experience the Trefann Court experience through them."[47] By concluding in this way, Fraser posited that Edna Dixon's motivations and actions could and should be filtered through middle-class aspirations.

A year after *Fighting Back* was released and with some distance from the reform machine that had promoted his book, Fraser revised some of his conclusions in an unpublished paper titled "Fighting Back----For What." In this admittedly more "pessimistic" account of what happened in Trefann, Fraser concluded that locals had not, in fact, seized power over urban development in their neighbourhood. The Working Committee had been well intentioned but ultimately had "been unable to confront the housing market and has remained isolated from the reality of the housing problem." Fraser did, however, conclude that the Trefann resistance had a lasting effect on residents' ability and confidence to plan, organize, and execute campaigns to improve their neighbourhood. Through their campaigns neighbours had also built important solidarity links that facilitated further organizing. It was these various "spin-offs" like the Trefann Mothers and the Laneway School, Fraser now argued, that were the lasting effect of fighting back.[48]

Southwest, Montreal

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[47] Graham Fraser, "Notes to Myself about the Dixons and the Conclusion," November 5-6, 1971, CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds, 1202-145328-1.
[48] Graham Fraser, "Fighting Back----For What," Unpublished course paper (April 1973), CTA, Graham Fraser Fonds 1202-145328-10.

The creators of Montreal's sixties afterlife were different from their counterparts in Toronto. First, they were predominantly Francophone and were not reformist in nature. Montreal activist authors were more politically radical and grounded their work in the Marxist and anti-colonial theory that permeated their intellectual circles and the city streets.[49] Second, their body of work is much larger and entangled with the history of the broader Quebec sixties. Looking back from the 1970s, authors wove narratives of Montreal-based activism together with the emergence of a secular Quebec nationalism, the Front de libération du Québec, and province-wide labour struggles and feminist organizing, integrating their analysis of local happenings into a more general narrative of Quebec's Quiet Revolution. Thus, while there is a strong overlap between the narrative of the Province of Quebec sixties and the Montreal sixties, the following section will focus on writing about urban Montreal, with particular attention given to writing on neighbourhood organizing. Finally, the afterlife of Montreal's sixties was more contested. For the most part, English and French language authors conversed separately, and even French language authors were less cohesive and more critical of each other than their Toronto counterparts.

Despite these differences, activist-intellectuals in Montreal resembled the Toronto reformers in that they were part of a new middle class of educated workers and were overwhelmingly white and male. Although some had grown up in working-class families, authors who wrote about urban problems and neighbourhood organizing did so with a newfound intellectual authority granted through university education. They were often active in neighbourhood groups, but they wrote for a spatially diffuse audience consisting of their activist-

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[49] Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

intellectual peers. Some organizers published reports for their colleagues and employers at the Conseil des oeuvres de Montréal (in English the Montreal Council of Social Agencies) or the Company of Young Canadians, detailing their work and assessing their impact. A great many would also complete graduate degrees during their time working with neighbourhood organizations, particularly in the fields of social work, sociology, and political science, and left behind theses, and later books, analysing the politics and efficacy of the groups they worked with. This work sometimes led to jobs at universities in Quebec where they lectured courses and supervised graduate students on organizing and urban politics.[50]

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[50]As was stated above, the group of activist-intellectuals in Montreal was much larger and more diffuse than in Toronto. To assemble my list of activist intellectuals and assess their intellectual output I did the following: First, I looked to activist-intellectuals whose work I knew or was published by larger presses and mined their footnotes. This included Jean-Marc Piotte, Pierre Beaudet, Donald McGraw and Louis Favreau. Second, I consulted a bibliography of writing on social movements and organizing that includes 752 entries written between 1960 and 1978: Pierre Hamel, Jean-François Léonard and Francine Sénécal, *Biliographie sur les mobilisations populaires à Montréal (1960-1978)* (Montreal: Notes de recherche, UQAM, 1979). From this bibliography I selected authors with more than three entries and investigated their subsequent prominent writing. Third, I looked through archival documents to locate social animators. After assembling the following list of names: Michel Blondin, Louis Favreau, Gérald Fortin, Jacques Godbout, Pierre Hamel, Lorne Huston, Jean Lavigne, Jean-François Léonard, Fédéric Lesemann, Jacques Léveillée, Louis Maheu, Robert Mayer, Donald McGraw, Jean-Marc Piotte, Lionel Robert, I located and read selected relevant books and articles that they wrote from 1960 until the present day and, for those who completed graduate degrees, ordered their Masters' and PhD theses from interlibrary loan. The following is a list of theses and published materials that I consulted in order to write this section, organized in alphabetical order by last name: Michel Blondin, "Travail et revenus des hommes âgés: étude de la condition des hommes âgés de 65 ans et plus en regard des revenus et de l'activité professionnelle dans les paroisses St-Henri et St-Irénéé à Montréal" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1964); Michel Blondin, "Le projet St-Henri: description et analyse d'un projet centré sur la participation des citoyens," Report (Montreal: Conseil des œuvres de Montréal, 1965); Michel Blondin, "L'animation sociale, telle qu'élaborée et mise en œuvre au Conseil des œuvres de Monréal," Report (Ottawa: Fédérations et conseils des œuvres du Canada, 1969); Michel Blondin, Yvan Comeau and Ysabel Provencher, *Innover pour mobiliser: l'actualité de l'expérience de Michel Blondin* (Quebec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2012); Louis Favreau, "Développement économique, classes sociales et mouvement ouvrier au Québec" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1972); Louis Favreau, *Movement populaire et intervention communautaire de 1960 à nos jours: continuités et ruptures* (Montreal: Éditions du Fleuve, 1989); Gerald Fortin, "Participation et Pouvoir," *Recherches sociographiques* 9 no 1-2 (1968); Jacques Godbout, "Le militant syndical de la Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux: essai sociologique" (MA thesis, Laval University, 1965); Jean-Pierre Collin et Jacques Godbout, *Les organismes populaires en milieu urbain: contre pouvoir ou nouvelle pratique professionnelle: rapport de recherche* (Montreal: INRS urbanisation, Université du Québec, 1975); Jacques Godbout, *La participation contre la démocratie* (Montreal: Éditions coopératives A. Saint-Martin, 1983); Pierre Hamel, "Analyse des pratiques urbaines revendicatives à Montréal, de 1963 à 1976" (PhD diss., University of Montreal, 1979); Pierre Hamel, *Logement et luttes urbaines à Montréal (1963-1976)* (Montreal: Cahier de recherche Faculté de l'aménagement Université de Montréal, 1983); Pierre Hamel and Jean-François Léonard, *Les organisations populaires, l'État et la démocratie* (Montreal: Nouvelle Optique, 1981); Pierre Hamel, Jean-François Léonard and Robert Mayer, *Les mobilisations populaires urbains* (Montreal: Nouvelle Optique, 1982); Pierre Hamel, Jean François Léonard, Francine Senécal, *Biliographie sur les mobilisations populaires à Montréal, 1960-1978* (Montreal: UQAM

The Montreal activist-intellectuals produced written histories of neighbourhood organizing that reflected two camps of disciplinary background. The first consisted of social workers who began organizing in working-class neighbourhoods in the early 1960s. These young social workers rejected traditional case work in favor of what they called social animation; a style of organizing that borrowed from both rural economic development in Quebec and the organizing strategies popularized by Saul Alinsky in the United States. Social animation was designed to teach residents how to organize to improve infrastructure and services in their own neighbourhoods. Connected to each other through parent organizations like the Conseil d'oeuvres de Montréal, social animators in different parts of the city assessed their organizing experiences and circulated them to others in their professional circles. Several of these animators

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Département de science politique, 1979); Lorne Huston, "Les intellectuels dans les groupes populaires: Étude de cas" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1975); Jean Lavigne, "Le Comite de Citoyens de La Petite Bourgogne" (MA Thesis, Laval University, 1971); Jean-François Léonard, *L'évolution de l'occupation du sol dans le Centre-ville de Montréal et les zones limitrophes (1964-1971)* (Montreal: INRS-Urbanisation, 1973); Jean-François Léonard, "Le logement: forme urbaine et espace social" (MsC thesis, UQAM, 1987); Jean-François Léonard and Pierre Hamel, *Les groupes populaires dans la dynamique socio-politique québécoise* (Chicoutimi: J-M. Tremblay, 2006); Frédéric Lesemann, "Institution, Participation, Animation: L'expérience d'une maison du quartier" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1971); Frédéric Lesemann, *Animations sociales au Québec: rapport de recherche* (Montreal: Laboratoire de recherche en intervention sociale collective, École de services social, Université de Montréal, 1972); Frédéric Lesemann, *Services and Circuses: Community and the Welfare State* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1984); Jacques Léveillée "Étude de prises de décision à la Commission des Écoles catholiques de Montréal" (MA Thesis, University of Montreal, 1965); Jacques Léveillée "Développement urbain et politiques gouvernementales urbaines dans l'agglomération montréalaise: 1945-1975" (PhD diss., University of Montreal, 1977); Jacques Léveillée, *Montreal After Drapeau* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986); Louis Maheu, "Développement industriel, problème social et systèmes d'action à la naissance du syndicalisme catholique" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1967); Robert Mayer, "Les ingénieurs-entrepreneurs canadiens-français et canadiens-anglais à Montréal" (MA Thesis, Laval University, 1968); Robert Mayer, "L'idéologie de réménagement urbain à Quebec (quartier St-Roch) et à Montréal (quartier Petite Bourgogne)" (PhD diss., Laval University, 1976); Robert Mayer, "Évolution des pratiques communautaires au Québec (1960-1990)," *Canadian Social Work Review* 11 no. 2 (Summer, 1994): 238-260; Robert Couillard and Robert Mayer, "La pratique d'organisation communautaire à la Maison de quartier de Pointe Saint-Charles (1973-1978)," *International Review of Community Development* 4 (1980): 110-119; Donald McGraw, "Les Causes de la modification de la pratique politique et idéologique des groupes populaires en milieu urbain à Montréal entre 1963-1968" (MA Thesis, UQAM, 1974); Donald McGraw, *Le Développement des groupes populaires à Montréal (1963-1973)* (Montreal: Éditions coopératives Albert Saint-Martin, 1978); Jean-Marc Piotte, "De la société bourgeoise à la dictature du prolétariat. Étude effectuée dans une perspective marxiste-léniniste" (Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1969); Jean-Marc Piotte, *Québec occupé* (Montreal: Parti Pris, 1971); Jean-Marc Piotte, *La communauté perdue* (Montreal: VLB éditeur, 1987); Lionel Robert, "Les Comité de Citoyens de Hochelaga-Maisonneuve" (MA Thesis, Laval University, 1970).

would later go on to complete graduate degrees based on their experiences and would become university professors in fields like social work and economic development.[51]

The second intellectual camp were the Marxist critics. Predominantly graduate students enrolled in sociology and political science, the Marxist critics participated in or observed neighbourhood organizations and deconstructed their motivations and tactics using social theory. As graduate students, they read French theorists who had been influenced by the May 1968 uprising and used a Marxist analysis to understand changes in urban economics, ideology, and social movements. Citing work by Louis Althusser, Manuel Castells, and Alain Touraine these politically motivated students sought to understand the developing post-industrial structural conditions and class-relations that made new urban social movements possible. These students were also profoundly influenced by Touraine's theory of "actionallisme," which laid out a method wherein sociologists could contribute to social movements as participant-observers. Touraine argued that the sociologist should use empirics to understand the meaning behind social movements, and to critique parts of the movement that deviated from that meaning. As such, the sociologist could and should help keep social movements on course.[52] In Montreal, students of Touraine approached and participated in neighbourhood organizing as part of an urban, class-based social movement. Their work in and about neighbourhood organizations also helped them to rise through the academic ranks, and many Marxist critics would go on to teach and publish from positions at Quebec universities.[53]

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[51] In this camp I would place Michel Blondin, Louis Favreau and Frédéric Lesemann.
[52] Alain Touraine, *Sociologie de l'action* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1965); François Dubet and Michel Wieviorka, "Touraine and the Method of Sociological Intervention," in *Alain Touraine* ed. by Jon Clark and Marco Diani (New York: Routledge, 1996), 55-76.
[53] In this camp I would place the following intellectuals: Jacques Léveillée, Louis Maheu, Donald McGraw, and Jean-Marc Piotte.

When looking back from the 1970s, both camps of activist-intellectuals in Montreal often disagreed over the politics and effectiveness of neighbourhood organizing during the 1960s. They were, however, surprisingly consistent in the way they narrated and periodized the evolution of neighbourhood organizing in their city. Authors identified the first phase of this history as beginning in 1963 and ending in 1968. In 1963, social animators employed by the Conseil des oeuvres de Montréal (COM) launched their first campaign in the neighbourhood of St-Henri. By 1964, particularly through the efforts of social animator Michel Blondin, citizens formed neighbourhood organizations elsewhere in the Southwest like Pointe-Saint-Charles, and by 1966 even further afield in the neighbourhoods of Saint Jacques and St-Louis. In their books and theses, activist-intellectuals remembered these early organizations for pursuing locally oriented campaigns to pressure governments to improve local infrastructure. As neighbourhood organizations spread across Montreal, they were connected through the professional organizers who orchestrated their beginnings, but the rank and file continued to work on local issues.[54]

Authors identified the second phase of neighbourhood organizing as spanning from 1968 to 1972. They defined this period by a shift amongst social animators and Montreal activists more generally toward radical politics and a structural critique of society. In May 1968, social animators held a meeting in St-Henri and invited neighbourhood activists from across Montreal. There, representatives from twenty-five organizations declared their intent to build a movement to take power in government. While this initial meeting did not produce a formal body, it generated momentum that, in 1970, resulted in the founding of the Regroupement des associations populaires du bas de la ville et de l'Est de Montreal (RAP) and then the Front

[54] All the consulted authors who periodized neighbourhood organizations began their narrative in St-Henri with the emergence of social animation. Almost all used the May 1968 meeting as the concluding date of this first phase.

d'action politiques (FRAP). Both a municipal party and a network of activists and union members, FRAP sought to unseat traditional city politicians and replace them with a democratic party of salaried workers. Between 1968 and 1972 neighbourhood organizations also shifted from demanding that the state improve local services to founding autonomous neighbourhood alternatives to state welfare. Based in a critique that identified traditional charity and welfare provision as both token and run by unsympathetic technocrats, citizen run service providers were more sensitive to local culture and social conditions. Out of this movement sprung adult education centres, legal defense committees, housing advocacy groups, and community run health clinics.[55]

The contributors to this periodization of urban activism in Montreal wrote about neighbourhood organizing as a story of evolution and expansion. Neighbourhood organizations were born to combat local poverty and exploitation, but after realizing that their problems were structural in nature, and therefore shared by neighbourhoods across Montreal, they began to build a broader base of power. They similarly depicted the growth of autonomous service providing groups as a step in the evolution of city-wide radical political consciousness. The narrative of this evolution and expansion was, however, built primarily by professional organizers and students, most of whom did not grow up in the neighbourhoods where they worked and studied and were motivated by a desire to affect broad social change. As such, the

[55] The dates that bound this second phase are a bit more disputed. Again, they almost all begin with the May 1968 meeting, but the concluding dates vary between 1970 and 1972 depending on the authors' opinion of when FRAP began to lose momentum. It is important to note that authors who wrote after 1972 wrote about subsequent phases in neighbourhood organizing, describing the period following FRAP as either defined by the emergence of the Montreal Citizens Movement or by the rise of Marxist-Leninist militants who sought to infiltrate community organizations and workplaces. Authors who write about a subsequent phase, however, rarely do so from the perspective of neighbourhoods. Even books about Marxist-Leninist organizing have tended to generalize about the types of work they were doing across Montreal.

Montreal canon on neighbourhood activism reflected one perspective, that of the activist-intellectual, and privileged a geographic frame, the city of Montreal.

Unlike in Toronto, activist-intellectuals in Montreal were more likely to be explicit in their political affinity with poor and working-class people. They were also more attuned to how ongoing class inequality in Quebec overlapped with histories of Anglo and American colonial exploitation but tended to limit that analysis to the condition of white French-Canadians.[56] Francophone activist-intellectuals usually built connections with working-class francophone neighbourhood organizations, which in 1960s Montreal meant predominantly white communities. In fact, St-Henri was chosen as the first site to test social animation in part because organizers considered it to be a poor and deteriorating neighbourhood which was "homogenous, Catholic, and French-Canadian." This is spite of the fact that at the time the Catholic francophone population, though a majority, made up just over eighty percent of the neighbourhood, with a large population of English-speaking Black residents in the north-east and Italians in the west.[57] This is not to say that Black Montrealers or those of Italian origin were necessarily excluded from the goals of social animation, but that social animators specifically targeted and wrote about geographic areas with perceived class and linguistic/ethnic homogeneity. Over the coming decades activist-intellectuals in Quebec focussed intensely on the assumed solidarities around class and language, and sometimes around gender, but rarely wrote about the possible existence of racial discrimination or even the existence of racial diversity.[58]

Even those Montreal-based authors who later criticized the role of social animators largely ignored what the locally oriented participants in these organizations were doing. In part,

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[56] Mills, *The Empire Within.*
[57] Quote translated from "homogène, catholique et Canadienne-française" found on page 6 in: Blondin, "Le projet St-Henri."
[58] High, "Little Burgundy."

this omission was due to a problem of sources. To construct a narrative of evolution and expansion retrospective authors cited the reports and analysis written by the social animators who had connected different neighbourhood organizations together. The reports and reflections of one social animator in particular, Michel Blondin, became a fundamental building block of this narrative. Often credited as the founder of social animation, Blondin moved to the Southwest of Montreal while working on his bachelor's degree in social work in the early 1960s. When the Conseil des oeuvres de Montréal chose St-Henri as the location for their first experiment with social animation they hired Blondin as someone with local experience. After some early success organizing local parents, the young social animator began to expand his efforts, helping to found organizations that advocated for improved housing and access to leisure spaces. Blondin was a prolific writer and delivered talks on social animation, recording his work, and spreading word of his method beyond the Southwest.[59] He was also one of those responsible for planning the 1968 meeting of community organizations from across Montreal that many subsequent activist-intellectuals cited as the turning point in neighbourhood organizing.[60]

Local Activism in St-Henri: For Hospitals and Against Company Unions

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[59] In Hamel, Léonard and Sénécal's 1979 bibliographie on popular mobilization, Blondin was by far the most prolific author: Hamel et al., *Bibliographie sur les mobilisations populaires*. Beyond his many reports about his work in St-Henri, Blondin also published in magazines and journals such as *Recherches Sociographiques, Participation* and *Maintenant*. Michel Blondin, "L'animation sociale en milieu urbain: une solution." *Recherches Sociographiques* 6, no. 3 (Fall, 1965): 283-304; Michel Blondin "Montréal, Terre des pauvres" *Maintenant*, no. 78 (Summer, 1968): 181-183; Michel Blondin, "Les implications logiques d'une société où il y aurait une véritable participation," *Participation*, no. 2 (October, 1968): 9. In 1968, Blondin embarked on a speaking tour of Canada, giving 10 talks on social animation between Toronto and Vancouver as well as hosting several events at Quebec universities: Michel Blondin, "Bilan de service d'animation sociale: Année 1968-1969," report (January 7, 1969), found at the *Centre de documentation sur l'éducation des adultes et la condition féminine.*

[60] Blondin organized the meeting with Jean Grenier and Jean-Marc Gareau and prepared much of the agenda and assembled the contact list. Michel Blondin, "Journée-rencontre des comités de citoyens," Agenda and Annex (May 19, 1968), Archive populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles MUA 2008-0025.01.03.13

Michel Blondin was committed to spreading what he had learned in St-Henri to other parts of the city and beyond, but there was always a gap between his theoretical and methodological insights and how residents used social animation on the ground. Social animators began documenting resident efforts to improve infrastructure and safety in their neighbourhood in the mid-1960s. Their first social animation campaign was to pressure the Catholic School Board to build a new school to replace l'école Ste Mélanie, a building that was falling apart and considered dangerous by local parents. From there, residents formed a committee to improve the conditions of and access to leisure spaces and parks. Consisting mostly of parents, these early organizations focussed on improving the lives and opportunities available to their children.[61]

In 1965, the local parents' association expanded their scope toward a more general vision of improving wellbeing in their neighbourhood. Following the release of a letter signed by parish priests condemning poor housing conditions, residents began to demand a more general renovation strategy for the neighbourhood.[62] Calling themselves "Nous St-Henri" the group of residents began to acquaint themselves with the options for urban renewal and to advocate that deteriorating homes and buildings be demolished or repaired. They insisted that any renovations should be undertaken with input from the neighbourhood and researched the possibility of building co-operative housing. Nous St-Henri also organized general assemblies to bring in new members and to expand the scope informing their vision for urban renovation. The first general meeting in spring 1965 was well attended, with 100 residents there to provide input on a neighbourhood plan. Attendees declared support for renovations but opposed high-rises and uniform row houses because they would change the feel of the neighbourhood. Residents also

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[61] Blondin, *Le Projet St-Henri.*
[62] "Des curés dénoncent l'état pitoyables de l'habitation dans le secteur de St-Henri," *Le Devoir* (December 30, 1964).

insisted that local workers should be hired to implement any renovations. The minute taker, moreover, recorded that one issue elicited particularly enthusiastic applause from the entire room, the insistence that residents be able to stay in St-Henri.[63]

The mostly parents involved in organizations like Nous St-Henri did not cease their local scale organizing in 1968. The May 1968 meeting of neighbourhood organizations from across Montreal was significant to the history of pan-Montreal neighbourhood organizing, but most neighbourhood activists in St-Henri remained focussed on improving work and living conditions for themselves, their children, and their neighbours. Beyond continuing efforts to improve infrastructure and access to leisure resources, local activists directed their effort toward two large campaigns during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The more public of these was the fight to build a new hospital in St-Henri. People living near the factories that lined the Lachine Canal had long been subject to some of the worst health conditions in the city. Yet, in the 1960s, they had to travel up the hill to McGill General or to other hospitals in the west end of the city, almost all of which were considered English speaking hospitals.[64] The local Liberal candidate had promised to build a hospital during his 1960 provincial campaign, but his party failed to deliver. In 1966, the candidate for the opposition Union nationale campaigned with the same promise, but after winning they too dragged their feet on solidifying plans. Finally, in 1968, the provincial government established the Corporation pour l'hôpital, which announced a site for the hospital. Much to the dismay of working-class francophones in St-Henri, however, the Corporation did

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[63] Michel Blondin graciously allowed me to consult his home archives. There I found two binders containing committee meeting minutes, general assembly minutes and personal reflections by Michel Blondin, corresponding to his involvement with two St Henri organizations: "Nous St-Henri" and "Reveil des citoyens de Ste-Cunégonde." The information in this paragraph came from that research: "Meeting Minutes, Nous St-Henri" (January 21, 1965-June 22, 1965), Michel Blondin Archive; "Assemblée Publique Convoquée par le Comité "Nous, St-Henri"" (March 9, 1965), Michel Blondin Archive.

[64] Christ-Roi de Verdun Hospital was the closest hospital with a French speaking staff, but critics said it was overcrowded and did not provide all the services that local people needed. Claude Larivière, "Le Patronage Politique," *Savoir Pour Agir* 4 (Montreal: Parti Québécois : Région Montréal Sud, 1970).

not elect to build the hospital nearby, but rather chose to tuck it into an industrial zone in the mostly Italian neighbourhood of Ville-Émard.[65]

Residents elsewhere in the Southwest were upset by the decision to locate the hospital in a peripheral location far from most low-income people. Many French speakers were further angered by the choice to locate the hospital in an Italian community, where they assumed most residents chose to speak English over French. Finally, opponents of the proposed location also worried that the industrial surroundings would negatively affect the health of patients. Dissenters quickly formed an opposition movement initially led by a group called the Comité Ouvrier. Founded in 1968 by Montreal-based members of the Company of Young Canadians, the Comité Ouvrier was more radical than previous citizens committees and began to organise residents around the intersecting problems of poor health, labour exploitation, and linguistic discrimination. The Comité Ouvrier founded their own ad hoc committee to gather resident input and investigate alternative sites for the hospital.[66] Other organizations soon joined the fight and thirty-five groups from across the Southwest including unions and neighbourhood, political, religious, and professional organizations signed a letter to the provincial health minister demanding that they change their proposed location. Activists also gathered a petition with more than 14,000 signatures requesting a more centrally located site. As an alternative the common front of neighbourhood groups suggested a location just behind the Atwater Market, a site that they argued was more central and closer to the poorest parts of the Southwest.[67]

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[65] Francine Arès, "Intervention d'un comité de citoyens dans les affaires sociales: le cas du complexe communautaire de St-Henri" (MA thesis, University of Montreal, 1974), 11-13.
[66] Arès, "Intervention d'un comité," 13-20.
[67] "Pétition au ministre de la Santé: Des associations de Saint-Henri protestent contre le choix du site du future hôpital" *La Presse*, December 10, 1968; "Le Comité Ouvrier de St-Henri demande aux politiciens de cesser leurs intrigues sur le choix du site de l'hôpital," *La Voix Populaire*, April 2, 1969.

The initial coalition of local organizations soon fell apart due to ideological differences, primarily between the Comité Ouvrier and the powerful but conservative professional organization, Ouest commercial et professionnel. Citizens, however, continued to fight through the new Comité de citoyens pour l'hôpital. While tactically different and less confrontational than the Comité Ouvrier, the Comité de citoyens pour l'hôpital used similar logic to push the government to re-locate the proposed hospital to the site next to the Atwater market. The hospital became a major issue in the race for a local seat in the 1970 provincial election, and the St-Henri riding responded by replacing the incumbent, once again, with a Liberal candidate. With their return to power the Liberals instituted social welfare reform through their highly controversial Bill 65 and cancelled 98 hospital plans across the province including the one proposed for Ville Émard. In their place the Quebec government announced a system of provincially controlled, but locally run, community clinics, including a new community health centre in St-Henri. The Comité de Citoyens initially denounced the new plan based on the lack of consultation with residents and because it proposed too few hospital beds. After negotiating with the government, however, in 1973 the two sides settled on the terms for a new Centre local de services communautaires (CLSC).[68]

The St-Henri CLSC was far from a new hospital, but it represented a partial victory for local activists. Equally important, moreover, was the solidarity and political education that the movement fostered amongst neighbours. During the late 1960s similar benefits also spread across local factory floors as workers began to challenge a longstanding alliance between factory owners and a "Company Union" called the Canadian Federation of Independent Associations (In French the Fedération Canadienne des association indépendantes or FCAI). The FCAI claimed to

[68] Arès, "Intervention d'un comité," 120-166.

represent workers at several factories across St-Henri and the Southwest including Toilet Laundries, Eagle Toys, and Clix Fasteners, but rank and file workers accused them of representing the interests of employers and maintaining illegal safety conditions and low wages. Initially founded and financed by employers themselves, company unions in Quebec had a reputation of using the Catholic Church and intimidation to maintain the subservience of labour.[69] In St-Henri, the FCAI represented workers in factories with some of the lowest wages and that hired casual labour from the most poorly paid demographics: French Canadian women and youth.

In summer 1968 the Comité Ouvrier began researching work conditions in St-Henri, finding that only 26 of the 96 factories in St-Henri had legitimate labour unions and five large factories were paying below the provincial minimum wage. To combat this exploitation the Comité Ouvrier created action committees to organize workers and confront some of the most offensive employers.[70] Their first target was Eagle Toys, an FCAI represented factory that was notorious for hiring mostly young workers for seasonal terms, a form of employment that made them difficult to organize and particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Located in a site formerly occupied by Dominion Textile, an employer that was also notorious for exploiting its predominantly women workers, the Comité Ouvrier found the Eagle Toys Factory to be riddled with safety violations. Workers were not required to wear goggles or protective footwear, and some of the most dangerous machines did not have protective screens. As a first step in their campaign the Comité Ouvrier assisted workers to file a complaint with the provincial labour

[69] Victor Levant, "An Historical Analysis of the Ideology and Practice of Company Unionism" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1975).
[70] "Comité Ouvrier," *Pouvoir Ouvrier: Bulletin de Comité Ouvrier de St-Henri*, 1 no. 3, October, 1968.

board. The labour board confirmed that Eagle Toys was in violation of safety regulations and mandated that they provide safer work wear and improve machines.[71]

The Comité Ouvrier was not the only organization concerned with the poor working conditions in local factories. In April 1969, a Catholic youth association called the Jeunesse ouvrier Catholic (JOC) accused employers at Toilet Laundry, who owned a factory at the extreme east end of the neighbourhood on Guy Street, of mistreating its approximately 500, mostly women, workers. According to the JOC, the FCAI represented employees were paid below minimum wage and endured unhygienic and unsafe work conditions. Seeing commonality between their struggles, the Comité Ouvrier put aside their distrust of the Catholic JOC and threw their weight behind their campaign. The FCAI confronted worker demands through intimidation and slander, particularly toward movement leader and Toilet Laundry employee, Jean Pilon.[72] With two factories on board, the Comité Ouvrier organized a protest march against FCAI intimidation and to raise support from within the community to drive them out of local factories. The protestors were met at the Eagle Toys Factory by a group of police officers who began to beat and threaten protestors.[73] The campaign against the FCAI then took a second blow after a police raid discovered "subversive" reading materials and two firearms at the address of one Comité Ouvrier activist in St-Henri. Mayor Jean Drapeau used the raids to pressure the

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[71] "Victoire à Eagle Toy pour le Comité Ouvrier St-Henri" *La Voix Populaire*, July 9, 1969.
[72] "La J.O.C. dénonce les conditions inhumaines de Toilet Laundries," *La Voix Populaire*, April 30, 1969; "La J.O.C. porte plainte et demande une enquête sur Toilet Laundries Ltée," *La Voix Populaire*, May 14, 1969; Michel Dufour, "La Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique s'occupe enfin de la jeunesse ouvrière!" *La Voix Populaire*, July 16, 1969; "La Comité Ouvrier appuie la J.O.C.," *La Voix Populaire*, July 23, 1969; "Selon le Comité Ouvrier: La FCAI doit sortir de Toilet Laundries," *La Voix Populaire*, October 1, 1969.
[73] "Marche sur Toilet Laundries et Eagle Toys," *La Voix Populaire*, October 22, 1969; "Le Comité Ouvrier de Saint-Henri se plaint de certains policiers," *La Presse*, October 28, 1969.

Company of Young Canadians to disassociate with the Comité Ouvrier, which they eventually did, cutting their source of funding.[74]

The movement, however, did not die with the funding to the Comité Ouvrier. In January 1971, a group of 30 workers founded Le Mouvement des travailleurs du Sud-Ouest to unionize local workers and drive out the FCAI. Linking community organizations with workers and unions the Mouvement des travailleurs sought help from Quebec's largest unions, the CSN, CEQ, and particularly the FTQ, to replace company unions.[75] At Eagle Toys, for instance, work conditions remained poor, and in September 1971 Diane Perron, a worker of 17 years began working with the FTQ affiliated Steelworkers to replace the FCAI. At first the union drive progressed slowly, but momentum grew after one employee lost four fingers to a machine. The FCAI once again launched a counter-offensive to keep its members, recruiting the police to keep union agitators from talking to employees and supporting the employer in isolating them on the factory floor. Union organizers countered by finding local employee addresses and approaching them during off hours to sign union cards. By November, the Steelworkers had enough cards signed for accreditation and after a bitter negotiating period acquired a new, marginally improved contract. Beyond their workplace gains, however, the workers at Eagle Toys, many of

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[74] The initial raid occurred before the Eagle Toys and Toilet Laundry protest but following the Murray Hill Taxi Company riot on October 7th. Two members of the Comité Ouvrier were arrested in response. Paul Auger, "Descente au Comité Ouvrier de Saint-Henri: deux arrestations" *La Presse*, October 10, 1969; Claude Turcotte, "Les Jeunes Canadiens: Si Ottawa ne bouge pas, Montréal recourra à d'autres initiatives – Drapeau et Saulnier" *La Presse*, November 29, 1969; Louise Cousineau, "Le Comité Ouvrier de St-Henri se défend contre les attaques de M. Saulnier," *La Presse*, December 3, 1969; Louise Cousineau, "Le Comité Ouvrier de Saint-Henri poursuivra son œuvre sans la CJC," *La Presse*, December 4, 1969; Pierre Renaud, "Letter to Claude Vidal on subject of Projet St-Henri," (December 15, 1969), Library and Archives Canada, Company of Young Canadians fonds, RG 116 Box 117 File 537.

[75] "Le mouvement des travailleurs du sud-ouest (Montréal)" *Agence de presse libre du Québec* no. 10.2, 1971; "Front commun des travailleurs contre la F.C.A.I.," *Agence de presse libre du Québec* no. 28, 1971; "Réunion du front commun des travailleurs contre la FCAI et les syndicats de boutique," *Agence de presse libre du Québec* no. 33.11, 1971.

whom were young women, succeeded in inspiring similar drives in three other local factories: Thomas Bonar, Lumiray and Canada Fibre Can.[76]

By the late 1960s, it was already clear to the people of St-Henri that things in their neighbourhood were changing. What their future would look like, however, remained unknown. Like the residents of Trefann Court, activists in St-Henri were motivated by an attachment to their neighbourhood and a desire to see it improved. Local activists were likely emboldened as the city-wide neighbourhood movement picked up steam behind FRAP, and were disappointed by the municipal party's eventual dissolution, but throughout the drama of the sixties their activism remained firmly embedded in their relationships with neighbours and their attachment to neighbourhood.

Conclusion

In the absence of work by historians on the period following the Canadian sixties, the work of activist-intellectual insiders has too often been accepted as the entire story. Though some activist-intellectuals poured hours of work into these campaigns and likely remained embedded in the neighbourhoods where they organized, their writing rarely reflected this ongoing relationship. Activist-intellectuals in both cities wrote for their peers, and as they gained notoriety in the world the sixties made, their perspective and peer group expanded from the neighbourhoods where they worked to the city as a whole. In their attempts to synthesize trends in neighbourhood organizing from this shifting and perspective, a generation of authors in Toronto and Montreal favoured city, provincial or national commonalities in neighbourhood organizing over local distinction. Lost through an exclusive focus on their writing, therefore,

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[76] "Eagle Toys: Majorité aux Métallos," *Agence de presse libre du Québec* no. 34, 1971; Benoît Michaudville et all, *Les Gens du Québec 1: St-Henri* (Montreal: Éditions Québécoises, 1972), 56-59.

were the more intimate interpersonal relationships and attachment to place that kept locally oriented activists engaged in their neighbourhoods during and after the sixties.

Most people who organized in places like Trefann Court and St-Henri did not end up with a platform to write about it. Women and working-class youth, both of whom were often dominant in organizing circles, did not have access to the same platform to document and distribute their perspective. In fact, it was precisely the lack of opportunity in the world that the sixties made that motivated residents to continue organizing. For many working-class people in both neighbourhoods there was simply no choice but to keep going. As their formerly industrial neighbourhoods transformed dramatically, and without consultation, working-class and otherwise marginalized people in both the East Downtown and the Southwest struggled to carve out or at least maintain space for themselves.

Chapter 3

From Local Initiative to Neighbourhood Improvement

Publicly Funded Neighbourhood Organizing in the 1970s

In early 1973 neighbourhood workers in cities across Canada learned that they would likely soon lose their jobs due to federal cuts to the Local Initiatives Program (LIP). Unwilling to role over and accept their fate, on May 4th approximately one-hundred protesters gathered outside of the local LIP offices on Bay Street in downtown Toronto. Most of the protesters worked for independent social service providers in their Toronto communities, but were connected through the fact that their organizations were dependant on LIP funding. Brian Robinson, a spokesperson for the group, told the *Globe and Mail* that the recent cuts to the Local Initiatives Program would eliminate 3,000 jobs and deny services to the over 100,000 people who depended on them. The protest did not elicit an immediate reaction from the grant's supervising body, the Ministry of Manpower and Immigration, but it did spark protests in other cities. One month later and 500 kilometers to the east, 55 people occupied the Local Initiative Program offices at 505 Dorchester Street West in downtown Montreal. The organizers, most of whom were also employees of LIP funded organizations, demanded that the federal government extend all LIP funded projects and requested a meeting with Robert Andras, the minister of Manpower and Immigration. Spokesperson for the group, Vaughan Dowie of the Little

Burgundy Information and Referral Centre, described to the press that they too worried about how these arbitrary cuts would lead to job loss and a reduction in essential social services.[1]

As these connected protests suggest, during the early 1970s documented forms of neighbourhood activism in Toronto and Montreal shared much in common. Deindustrialization had begun in each place, but with some exceptions, gentrification had yet to flip working-class neighbourhoods near the downtown core for the benefit of middle-class people. Governments also continued to fund many of the organizations that were staffed, and in some cases led, by the long-standing working-class residents. Beginning in the mid-1960s but continuing into the 1970s the federal government funded similar neighbourhood-based projects across Canada, and in some cases provincial and municipal governments also followed suite. These government dollars were, of course, not just given away and required that organizations prove their value by demonstrating their fiscal responsibility and how they benefitted the communities they served.

Government funding, therefore, left behind a legacy of neighbourhood organizing in two ways. First, these funding dollars helped sustain organizations that defended the interests of poor and working-class people who wanted access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to exist in their neighbourhoods. Though there were sometimes strings attached organizations could apply for government funding from different sources to rent property, pay salaries, purchase administrative supplies, and provide services for their neighbours. This was particularly true in deindustrializing neighbourhoods because the Local Initiative Program was designed specifically to create jobs in areas of high unemployment. Second, they created an archival window through which to view

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[1] "100 Protest LIP project cancellations," *The Globe and Mail*, May 5, 1973; Linda Cahill, "Extension of Grants Sought: Police end LIP office sit-in," *The Gazette*, June 7, 1973; Roger Renaud, "Compte rendu de l'occupation des locaux P.I.L. le 6 Juin 1973," Letter to D. Toupin (June 7, 1973) Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG118, 1985-86/071 GAD Box 118 File 3440-14-2. For more on LIP protests around the country, see Jennifer Marguerite Keck, "Making Work: Federal Job Creation Policy in the 1970s," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995), 153-286.

neighbourhood activism. Some, though not all, of the organizations that received these grants were overtly or covertly political, and documented their organizing in reports, meeting minutes, and press releases. Funding also helped organizations to purchase the infrastructure needed – property, typewriters, filing cabinets, or boxes – to maintain archival records over longer periods of time. This ensured that certain organizations would leave behind archival traces and that much of it would end up in government archives. It also meant that as funding decreased, so to did the archival traces of neighbourhood organizing.

This chapter follows the history of publicly funded neighbourhood activism immediately following the "hot" period of the late 1960s and early 1970s. This topic is not entirely new; historians and activists including Sean Purdy, Anna Krusynski, Eric Shragge, the Courtepointe Collective, and William Langford have all written more detailed versions of several of the stories below.[2] This chapter differs from their work, however, in that it seeks to link these various forms of neighbourhood organizations – both their similarities and differences – through broader political and economic processes. Over the course of the 1970s the initially similar forms of neighbourhood organizing across my two areas of research became increasingly dissimilar as their goals and capacity conformed to the changing realities around them. Rapidly expanding gentrification in the East Downtown made it difficult for poor and working-class people to

[2] Each of these books and articles offer more robust narratives of individuals or collections of neighbourhood organizations. There are definite overlaps in their work and mine but unless otherwise cited my writing is based on my own engagement with archives and primary sources: Anna Kruzynski and Eric Shragge, "Getting Organized: Anti-Poverty Organizing and Social Citizenship in the 1970s," *Community Development Journal: An International Forum* 34 no. 4 (1999): 328-339; Sean Purdy, "By the People, for the People: Tenant Organizing in Toronto's Regent Park Housing Project in the 1960s and 1970s," *Journal of Urban History* 30 no. 4 (May 2004): 519-548; CourtePointe Collective, *The Point Is-- Grassroots Organizing Works: Women from Point St. Charles Sharing Stories of Solidarity* (Montreal: Éditions du Remue-ménage, 2006); Will Langford, "'Helping People Help Themselves': Democracy, Development, and the Global Politics of Poverty in Canada, 1965-1979," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2017). I have also written previously on one of the forms of activism written about below: Simon Vickers, "From Balconville to Condoville, but Where is Co-opville? Neighbourhood Activism in 1980s Pointe-Saint-Charles," *Labour/Le Travail* 81 (2018): 168-170.

participate in neighbourhood organizing and, in many cases, pushed them out of the area altogether. At the same time, the federal government withdrew funding for neighbourhood organizations and expected a reticent Ontario Progressive Conservative government to fill the gap.[3] Facing mounting costs and declining revenue many neighbourhood organizations in the East Downtown simply could not stay afloat. In the Southwest, the slower pace of gentrification reduced the threat of resident displacement, meaning that local organizing efforts maintained a greater level of continuity. Furthermore, as the federal governments withdrew its funding for neighbourhood organizing, the newly elected Parti Québécois introduced new funds in their province that could be used to support local organizing.

The provision and withdrawal of the Local Initiative Program and the later introduction of new neighbourhood grants mediated the ways that deindustrialization and post-industrial development shaped the terrain on which neighbourhood activists operated. Even those organizations that did not receive grants had to contend with the fact that many of their allies did. Due to their dependence on funding, some activists may have been less likely to participate in radical action, fearing that it would lead to the loss of grants. The diversion of local grant funding toward more market-oriented neighbourhood improvement projects (which will be discussed more in the next chapter) marked a swift turn toward neo-liberal solutions to deindustrialization and unemployment. Without a central federal granting agency to generate archives documenting pan-Canadian activism, the connections between neighbourhood

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[3] Premier Bill Davis led the Progressive Conservatives between 1971 and 1985. Though the Davis PC's had not yet become the fully neo-liberal austerity driven party that emerged during the 1990s, it appealed to similar values of fiscal responsibility and accountability. While the PC's did introduce some provincial supplements to federal Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation Grants, their tendency toward central control meant they put strict conditions on how these funds would be allocated and what they could be spent on. Their 1974 "Community Sponsored Housing Program," for example, provided additional funds to co-operative housing, but only if controlled by bureaucratic institutions. Ontario Ministry of Housing, "Housing Ontario/74: an Initial Statement of Policies Programs and Partnerships," (Toronto: Ministry of Housing, 1974), 20.

organizations in different cities also seemed to disappear. As we will see in the final chapter, this narrative of decline was not altogether true. Even without government funding poor and working-class neighbourhood organizations continued to fight for access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to stay in their neighbourhoods.

LIPs and NIPs

Histories of neighbourhood organizing in Canada have benefitted from the archives created through these funding streams. Those historians who have made connections between neighbourhood organizations in different places have, however, so far focussed almost entirely on the Company of Young Canadians (CYC).[4] Established in 1966 through the federal Company of Young Canadians Act, the CYC was an independent crown corporation that supported community development projects across Canada. These youth driven projects were mandated to follow several established principles in order to "address the economic, social and cultural needs of communities."[5] In the context of the 1960s, many young activists interpreted this mandate broadly and used government funding to push for more radical change, such as the pursuit of working-class power or Quebec independence.[6] Because this organizing was federally funded, CYC employees in rural and urban spaces across Canada left behind an extensive archive that was deposited at Library and Archives Canada. These archives are accessible and cover organizing drives that were geographically dispersed across the country.

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[4] Kevin Brushett, "'Federally Finances Felquistes': The Company of Young Canadians and the Prelude to the October Crisis," *Québec Studies* 55 (Spring/Summer, 2013): 77-99; Kevin Brushett, "Combler le fossé entre les deux solitudes: l'animation sociale, le développement communautaire et la Companie des Jeunes Canadians, 1965-1975," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 23 no. 1 (August 2014): 62-81; Langford, "'Helping People Help Themselves'"
[5] Carrie A. Dickenson and William J. Campbell, "Strange Bedfellows: Youth Activists, Government Sponsorship, and the Company of Young Canadians (CYC), 1965-1970," *European Journal of American Studies* 3 no. 2 (Special Issue: May 68, 2008): 1-22.
[6] Brushett, "'Federally Finances Felquistes.'"

What has been less documented is how, during the 1970s, the Liberal federal government experimented with several other means of funding neighbourhood projects. The Department of Manpower and Immigration's Local Initiative Program, for example, provided yearly grants to community organizations with the goal of creating jobs in areas of high unemployment. The LIP grants differed from CYC projects in that they were directed more toward neighbourhood services than for mobilizing local populations to solve their own problems. Still, many organizations that received LIP grants employed working-class people to work alongside grassroots organizing efforts. As the stories of protest that began this chapter indicated, however, the opportunities provided through the LIP grants were short-lived. By the mid 1970s what had been conceived of as a program to offset soaring unemployment appeared not to be working and had become a liability for the federal government.[7] Furthermore, the politics of several LIP granted neighbourhood organizations appeared antithetical to the Liberal political project and many organizations had begun to demand more funding. Most early LIP projects were also not developing into self-sustaining employers, which critics argued meant they were not conforming to their stated purpose of reducing unemployment.[8]

Over the course of the 1970s the federal government attempted to gradually step away from funding oppositional neighbourhood organizing. First the Department of Manpower and Immigration tried to restrict funding only to municipalities with unemployment rates above 6.8 percent. Designed to sweep the rug from under the highly organized urban LIP projects, this change favoured projects in smaller cities or rural communities since it measured unemployment across entire municipalities, diluting extremely high unemployment in certain neighbourhoods

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[7] The Canadian unemployment rate increased from 3.9 percent between 1965-1969 to 5.7 percent between 1970-1974 to 7.3 percent between 1975-1979: Jennifer Marguerite Keck, "Making Work: Federal Job Creation Policy in the 1970s," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995), 356-358.
[8] Keck, "Making Work," 153-215.

with near universal employment in wealthier parts of cities. Activism by groups like those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter fought back and were able to temporarily squeeze more money out of the government, but this was short lived. At the end of 1973, the federal government introduced new criteria that reduced funding to some of the more politicized receivers of LIP grants by prioritizing new projects and requiring that all projects also seek external funding. These new criteria were meant to favour entrepreneurial projects and bring the program more in line with traditional employment plans that favoured the private market. These amendments were accompanied by an overall reduction of the LIP pot. The grand total of $235 million that was distributed in 1972-1973 was reduced to only $73 million in 1973-1974 and $79 million in 1974-1975. Some neighbourhood organizations survived, but money was getting increasingly tight.[9]

As the department of Manpower and Immigration reduced its funding to neighbourhood organizations in areas of high unemployment, the federal Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation introduced a new form of neighbourhood grant as part of their 1973 amendments to the National Housing Act. Designed in part to replace a previous low-income housing strategy based on urban renewal and public housing, the new National Housing Act provided subsidies to individuals or groups to purchase and renovate older homes as well as to purchase property to convert to co-op housing. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation also introduced the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP), a program that awarded grants to neighbourhoods for beautification and infrastructure projects. Though offered through a different federal office – housing instead of Manpower and Immigration – the Neighbourhood Improvement Program

[9] Keck, "Making Work," 153-215; Donald E. Blake, "LIP and Partisanship: An Analysis of the Local Initiatives Program," *Canadian Public Policy – Analyse de Politiques* 11 no. 1 (Winter 1976): 17-32.

resembled the Local Initiative Program in that it sought to download funds onto neighbourhood level decision makers. The shift in federal funding from LIPs to NIPs, however, also reflected a more general change in how the federal government invested in neighbourhoods. LIP grants were designed to create jobs in areas of high unemployment, which in the early 1970s favoured projects in depressed rural areas and urban deindustrializing and working-class neighbourhoods. Inspired by budding post-industrial development in older neighbourhoods like those in Toronto's East Downtown, the introduction of NIP grants sought to accelerate improvement "in a manner which meets the aspiration of the neighbourhood residents and the community at large." Though these goals appeared to encourage neighbourhood stability, in places where developers and middle-class people were already displacing long-standing working-class communities, new residents increasingly directed improvement funding toward their own interests.[10]

East Downtown, Toronto

The Local Initiative Program initially invested large sums of money in the East Downtown. *Seven News*, a local community paper, reported that in 1971 the federal government had funded around 25 projects which employed 163 people in Ward 7, the Ward that included the East Downtown as well as Riverdale on the other side of the Don Valley. The projects that received funding ranged from arts and culture organizations like the Toronto Free Theatre, to embedded neighbourhood organizations like the Regent Park Community Improvement Association and the Don Vale Centre, to activist organizations with a broader mandate such as

[10] Deborah Lyon and Lynda H. Newman, "The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, 1973-1983: A National Review of an Intergovernmental Initiative," Report (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1986), 7-22. Quote on page 8.

the Downtown Action Project and the Injured Workmans Consultants.[11] These organizations then provided jobs and services to an area with a very high rate of unemployment. That same year the federal census reported that the East Downtown had an unemployment rate of 13.3 percent, almost double the Toronto-wide rate of 6.9 percent. Unemployment was even higher in certain parts of the East Downtown, particularly in Regent Park, Trefann Court, and the South of Carlton neighbourhood. In South of Carlton over a quarter of all men and 12 percent of a much smaller number of women were unemployed.[12] Many of these unemployed men and women met and potentially organized through LIP funded project like Open Door, which operated out of the All Saints Church on Sherbourne Street and provided social space and resources to find housing or work.[13]

It was likely not coincidental that the first meeting of the group that would go on to organize the protest at the LIP offices on Bay Street met at All Saints Church, or that many of the founding members of this LIP project coalition operated out of the East Downtown.[14] There, politicised neighbourhood organizations that had gained momentum and developed networks during the 1960s sought to use LIP grants to continue and expand on their work to improve access to safe homes, jobs, and the right to stay in their neighbourhoods. Though these basic goals remained throughout the 1970s, the intensification of gentrification made it harder for poor and working-class organizers to stay in the neighbourhood. The withdrawal of LIP grants hit a local community of organizers that was already in crisis and the introduction of NIP grants did little but exacerbate that crisis.

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[11] "Local LIP Programs Part of Metro-Wide extension Drive," *Seven News*, April 28, 1972; Department of Manpower and Immigration, "Preliminary Index of Projects Extended to September 30, 1972, Ontario Region," (June 1972), LAC, RG118, 1985-86/071 GAD Box 118 File 3440-14-1.
[12] Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1971.
[13] Charlie Rolfe, "LIP is Doing Good Work," *Seven News*, May 26, 1972.
[14] "Local LIP Programs Part of Metro-Wide extension Drive," *Seven News*, April 28, 1972.

Regent Park Improves Public Housing[15]

The neighbourhood that capitalized the most on public funding for neighbourhood organizations was Regent Park. As a neighbourhood made up entirely of public housing, residents had long negotiated with governments to set rent scales and provide necessary repairs. But, in the late 1960s Regent Park residents increasingly sought to expand local control over the maintenance and development of the Park. In 1968 a small group of Regent tenants founded the Blevins Association of Some Tenants (BLAST) which began meeting in members' units to discuss their concerns with their housing. Out of this organizing emerged the Community Improvement Association. Initially the Community Improvement Association sought to build a community centre and improve relations between tenants and with management in order to "build a better society for our children in Regent Park with regard to all areas of human rights, education, recreation, culture and relaxation."[16] In 1969 the Regent Park Community Improvement Association (RPCIA) applied for and was granted almost $70,000 from the Department of National Health and The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation to achieve a series of objectives including to arrange governance meetings, communicate to management the needs of Regent Park residents, and to set up fundraising programs to expand services and projects in the community.[17]

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[15] This section is based on my own primary source research unless otherwise indicated. I would, however, like to acknowledge the excellent work of Sean Purdy on this same subject. My thinking has been assuredly influenced by Purdy's work, and much of our analysis is complementary. His piece is more expansive and includes input from oral history interviews: Purdy, "By the People, for the People."

[16] Regent Park Community Improvement Association, *By the People: A Summary for the People*, Edited by J.W. Frei and Linda Haggerty (Toronto: Regent Park Community Improvement Association, 1975), 2, CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-8.

[17] Regent Park Community Improvement Association, *By the People: A Summary for the People*, 2-5, CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-8.

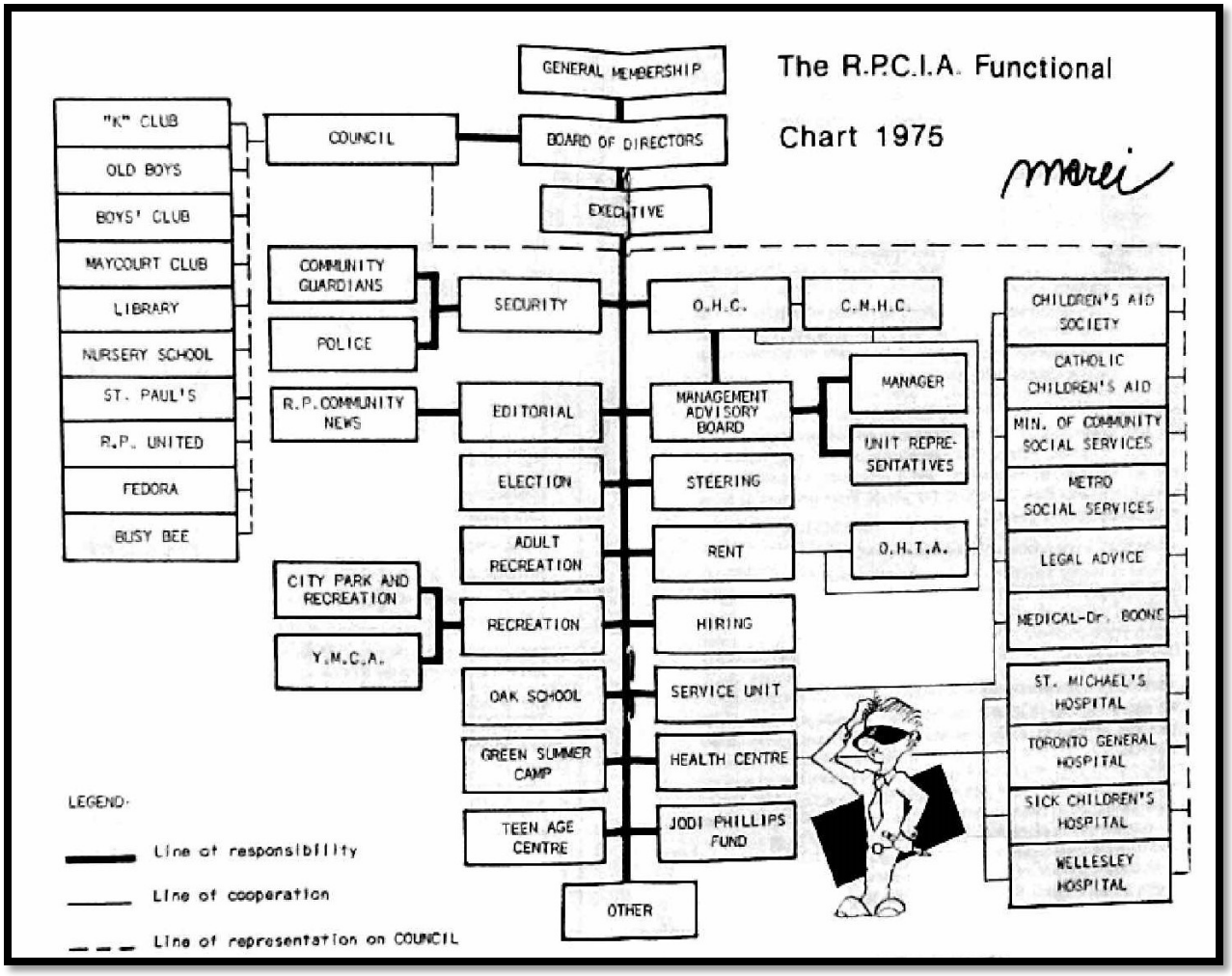

Figure 3.2: 1975 Chart of Regent Park Community Association administration and responsibilities. Source: Regent Park Community Improvement Association, By the People: A Summary for the People, Edited by J.W. Frei and Linda Haggerty (Toronto: Regent Park Community Improvement Association, 1975), 11-12, CTA, John Sewell Fonds: 1306-145907-8.

The RPCIA was governed through general meetings where members elected a small executive, as well as a representative for each of twenty housing units in the Park. These elected officials then designed and helped secure funding for a range of "off shoot" organizations that provided local services. In the early 1970s these off shoot organizations expanded rapidly, creating a complicated form of local governance. To provide health and social services to the neighbourhood the RPCIA created the Regent Park Health Centre and the Service Unit, the latter which offered a nursery school and addiction counselling. They also hired a community-controlled security division called the Community Guardians, which by the end of 1972 had

seven employees. In 1971 RPCIA founded a Teen Centre and the Oak School Committee to provide space for and advocate for their children. In order to publicize the activities of these off-shoots and announce elections or volunteer opportunities the RPCIA established the *Regent Park Bell* newsletter (later renamed the *Regent Park Community News*), which was distributed to tenants around the Park. The newsletter was also used as a mouthpiece for tenant positions when they opposed actions taken by their provincial landlords.[18]

These off-shoots applied for their own funding through government grants, including the Local Initiatives Program. Between 1972 and 1973 the teen centre received $37,225 in LIP funding, the service unit $29,563, and the Oak Street School Committee $53,360.[19] In 1973 Regent Park's provincial landlord, the Ontario Housing Corporation (OHC), contributed additional funds for an experimental tenant management system. The tenant management system involved setting up a committee of tenants and OHC representatives that was tasked with making certain management decisions. The provincial funding also paid the salaries of twenty-four employees.[20] Together these sources of funding helped create a robust network of local services which had considerable reach in the area. In a survey of 120 residents, researchers found that while only 38 percent respondents had "much" or "some" involvement in the RPCIA, of the 71 residents who were asked if they felt the RPCIA represented tenants, 49 (69 percent) said yes and only 3 (4 percent) said no, with the rest giving an answer labelled "qualified" or "not applicable." 81 percent of all respondents also stated that they read the local newsletter.

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[18] J.W. Frei and Linda M Hagarty, *By the People: Joint Report on Self-Evaluation and Evaluation Studies of Activities of the Regent Park Community Improvement Association During the Period 1969-1973* (Ottawa: Department of Health and Welfare, 1973), 29-50.
[19] Frei and Hagarty, *By the People: Joint Report*, 28.
[20] Purdy, "By the People," 538.

Residents responded particularly positively to the health committee and to various recreation programs and facilities.[21]

In the first half of the 1970s the RPCIA used government funding to dramatically expand a system of locally managed and staffed facilities and services. But studies of the RPCIA services rarely accounted for the growing diversity within the Park and the possibility that not everyone benefitted equally from RPCIA programming. The above survey excluded tenants who had arrived at the Park within the last year, many of whom would have been recent immigrants. The researchers in charge of the survey acknowledged that "the face of Regent Park is changing," describing how 25 percent of survey respondents were born outside of Canada and the British Isles. But they did not break down satisfaction rates by ethnicity, race, or country of origin.[22] This omission reflected the almost complete absence of any RPCIA documentation on the racial and ethnic diversity or the possibility of racial discrimination in Regent Park. Though Regent Park had always been a diverse place that many new immigrants called home, between 1971 and 1981 the percentage of Regent Park (including a small area directly to the south) born outside of Canada increased from 22 percent to 38 percent, while the overall population of the area decreased. New immigrants from the Caribbean and Asia made up a large portion of this increase.[23] A 1975 survey of children who attended schools within Regent Park reported that between 10 to 20 percent of local students were of Chinese origin, ten percent were born in

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[21] This survey included 120 respondents who were selected at random from buildings distributed around the park. Because the report was meant to assess improvement over time, respondents were only approved if they had lived in Regent Park for a minimum number of years: Frei and Hagarty, *By the People: Joint Report*, 54-74 and 93-104.
[22] Frei and Hagarty, *By the People: Joint Report*, 51-53.
[23] Tract 31, the census tracts that included Regent Park South in 1971 and 1981 also include the much smaller populations of Trefann Court. As a result, this data may be somewhat off. Still the relatively small size of Trefann means that I am confident this data represents a general trend. The increase in residents who were born in the Caribbean and Asia was particularly evident in Regent Park South (including Trefann Court) where in 1981, 36 percent of residents who were born outside of Canada were born in Asia and 13 percent were born in "other America": Data from CHASS Census Analyser for 1971 and 1981 for Toronto census tract 30 and 31.

Caribbean nations, and a smaller but growing percentage were of Indian or Pakistani heritage. Though data on the country of origin of local migrants from the Caribbean went unrecorded, statistics for the city of Toronto in 1981 and anecdotal evidence suggest that Jamaicans and Trinidadians likely made up a majority of Caribbean migrants who called Regent Park home.[24]

Over the same period the RPCIA governance also became more diverse as a growing number of Black residents, particularly from the Caribbean, rose to positions of authority. Henry Francis, for example, grew up in a working-class family in Antigua and received an engineering degree in England. He moved to Regent Park with his family in 1968 and soon became active in the RPCIA. In August, 1972 he was named the RPCIA's first "unit rep of the month," and a few months later became the director of the Adult Recreation Centre.[25] In 1974, recent arrival to Regent Park via Trinidad and Tobago and champion of the tenant management system, Harold Jackman, took over the role as manager of unit representatives from each building. Jackman served as manager for several years and under his leadership built a strong network of unit representatives from across the Park.[26] Black women were also fundamental to the building of tenant organizations in Regent Park, though for likely gendered reasons the specifics of their

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[24] The data about the schools was gathered as part of something called the *Every Student Survey* from 1975 and was cited in the following report: Henry Clarke, John Woodroof and Lois de Shield, *A Study of Cultural and/or, Racial Conflicts in Regent Park,* Report (Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1976), 2. The Toronto-wide data was gathered from a 1981 census report which recorded that of the 1,095,555 residents of Toronto's urban core that were born outside of Canada, 54,370 (5 percent) were born in Jamaica, and 21,450 (2 percent) were born in Trinidad and Tobago. Statistics Canada, "Table 8," in *1981 Census of Canada: Volume 2 – Provincial Series, Ontario: Population; Language, ethnic origin, religion, place of birth, schooling* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984). Sources from the 1970s consistently lumped migrants from countries in the Caribbean together as regional migrants. I am also distrustful of some reported indicators of national origin asserted by the media or institutions populated primarily by white researchers. For example, in the above report by the Toronto Board of Education the authors label a group of youth in Regent Park as Jamaicans. Though it is possible that many of that group were from Jamaica, this label was drawn from speaking to rival groups of youth who may have been using the term to refer to their Black peers who they presumed to be immigrants.

[25] Mary Bilan, "Unit Rep of the Month," *Regent Park Community News*, August 1972; "Adult Recreation Centre," *Regent Park Community News*, January 1974.

[26] Harold Jackman, "Rise Up – Regent Parkers," *Regent Park Community News*, June, 1974; Harold Jackman, "Tenant Management," *Regent Park Community News*, April 7, 1976; Purdy, "By the People," 537.

backgrounds were often overlooked in the *Community News*. Virginia "Ginger" Gibbons was a celebrated unit representative who joined *the Regent Park Community News* editorial committee in 1972 and frequently contributed articles for publication. In 1973 Gibbons was appointed as Regent Park's Tenant Ombudsperson with the responsibility of assisting any tenant with housing, workplace, or legal issues, and later became the secretary of the tenant management scheme. Olga Burnett was elected as secretary to the RPCIA executive in 1973, and in 1974 was integral to negotiating the ambitious and expansive tenant management scheme with the Ontario Housing Corporation.[27]

These Black working-class leaders helped build an expansive system of local governance in Regent Park and empowered its increasingly diverse resident population to collectively shape their neighbourhood. The RPCIA, however, did not exist in a bubble, and Regent Park was not devoid of the same white-supremist attitudes that permeated Toronto and Canada more generally. This racism resulted in the growth of overt hate organizations like the Edmund Burke Society, the Western Guard, and the Ku Klux Klan, which became more active in Toronto during the first half of the 1970s.[28] Racial discrimination also permeated bureaucratic and state delivered services, and shaped the experiences of racialized Torontonians at schools, workplaces, hospitals, and in their neighbourhoods. Still, newspapers reporting about Regent Park during this period almost never mentioned race or racism. According to an interview-based report released in 1976, increasing levels of diversity had created tensions between residents which have

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[27] "Unit Rep. of the Month," *Regent Park Community News*, July 1972; "Do you Need Help," *Regent Park Community News*, September 1973; "Olga Burnett was Elected Recording Secretary," *Regent Park Community News*, November 1973; Janet Ross, "From the Desk of the President," and "O.H.C. & R.P.C.I.A. Sign Contract," *Regent Park Community News*, June 1974.

[28] For more on the Edmund Burke Society and the Western Guard, see Stanley R. Barrett, *Is God a Racist: The Right Wing in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Malgorzata Kierylo, "'Equality Now!': Race, Racism and Resistance in 1970s Toronto," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2012), 222-306.

resulted in "occasional fights and acts of violence," but that tenants accepted these tensions as "a natural phenomenon."[29]

Though largely ignored in public facing documents, information on racism and anti-immigrant discrimination in Toronto was available. In 1973 the Brotherhood Community Centre Project (BCCP), an umbrella organization representing 38 Black organizations in Toronto, released a report as part of a "process which can deal with all the problems of the Black community of Metropolitan Toronto." Drawing from organizations that represented long-standing and newcomer Black communities in the inner-city, the report identified discrimination in access to education, workplaces and unions, rental units, and homeownership in predominantly white neighbourhoods. They also reported frequent incidents of police harassment toward Black Torontonians. The BCCP recommended an ambitious program to improve upon these situations and included a detailed budget to pay for the required salaries and resources.[30]

A local, Black-run publication, *Contrast*, also reported extensively on anti-Black racism in Toronto and Canada more generally during the early 1970s. Founded in Toronto by Al Hamilton in 1969, *Contrast* included the tagline "Serving the Black Community Coast to Coast," and reported on a variety of topics including, art, events, business, and local and international politics. *Contrast* also frequently printed stories on embedded racism in schools and government services and on the frequent racist threats and acts of violence directed at *Contrast* and other local Black led organizations.[31] The paper also reported on the difficulties experienced by Black

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[29] Clarke, Woodroof and De Shield, *A Study of Cultural and/or, Racial Conflicts*, 4. For more on broader Canadian resistance to acknowledging how racism shaped access to public services and resources, see Malgorzata Kierylo, "'Equality Now!': Race, Racism and Resistance in 1970s Toronto."

[30] The Brotherhood Community Centre Project, *A Manual for Servicing the Needs of Toronto's Black Community* (Toronto: John Andrews Architects, 1973). For a broader picture of how Toronto-based communities identified racism and proposed alternatives during the 1970s, see Malgorzata Kierylo, "'Equality Now!': Race, Racism and Resistance in 1970s Toronto."

[31] "Community Protests Recent Assaults," *Contrast*, May 17, 1972; "Statement from Black Community Leaders," *Contrast*, May 17, 1972.

youth, who were commonly harassed by the police and reported that teachers, classmates, and neighbours often denied welcoming access to schools and recreational facilities.[32]

Though *Contrast* reported primarily on neighbourhoods in the West End of downtown, Black youth in Regent Park also encountered harassment from police and white neighbours for using public space.[33] These tensions boiled over in early June, 1976, leading to a series of conflicts between white and Black teens centred on a baseball field in North Regent Park. As a later report on the matter concluded, the exact details of the series of incidents that took place over several days following June 5th were impossible to ascertain given conflicting accounts of what happened. The report, however, described how groups of white teenagers had historically controlled the recreation fields on both sides of Regent Park and prevented Black people from using them. In spring 1976, however, a group that reports identified as Black Jamaican youth had begun to play soccer on a baseball field that was often vacant, to which white teens responded with racist hostility. Little was done to ensure that the field could be used by all residents and on June 5th a white youth named Craig Crouse was stabbed on the arm, requiring 65 stiches.[34]

Worried about the potential for a larger conflict, residents planned a meeting for June 7th to discuss the rising tensions. They were, however, too late. That day a fight broke out again over the baseball diamond during which a second white youth was stabbed. White youth responded by chasing Black teens with baseball bats. Later that afternoon a group of white youth assembled outside the house where Altoa and Gertrude Keane, both Black and of Jamaican origin, lived

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[32] "Youths Claim Police Abuses, *Contrast*, June 18, 1969; "Alexandra Park Youths say: 'Police Violence not Black Riot,'" *Contrast* July 31, 1969; "Police and Black People," *Contrast*, September 20, 1970; "Police Brutality," *Contrast*, September 18, 1971.

[33] One youth who went to Castle Frank High School in the East Downtown described that he tried to avoid the hostile environment at school but would then encounter police harassment on the street. Harold Hoyte, "Growing Discontent Among Black Youth: Toronto Headed for Conflict," *Contrast*, March 17, 1972.

[34] A man named Raleigh Owen Austin was later arrested for a stabbing, but it is unclear if it was for the same incident or if Austin was found guilty. Warren Gerard, "Boredom, Heat led to Violence Regent Park Residents Say," *Toronto Star*, June 9, 1976.

with their six children. Afraid for her family, Gertrude called the nearby police station, but no one came. Suddenly, the white youth began pelting the house with rocks and eventually broke into the house. Gertrude and her family were not seriously injured, but the assailants succeeded in terrorizing the family and destroying the contents of the house. Scattered fights continued to break out across the Park into the evening, as the Western Guard, a well know white-supremist organization, worked to spread rumours, and incite further violence against Black residents. Fortunately, by the evening the worst of the conflict had died down as residents worked to dispel rumours and the police dispersed the crowds.[35]

In the aftermath of the June 7 incident various groups tried to control the message about what had happened that day. The Police, representatives of the RPCIA, and some residents of the Park downplayed the racial divisions underlying the conflict. Instead, they blamed the heat, outside agitators, or the boredom associated with youth unemployment.[36] The OHC manager of Regent Park North, Michael Maloney, argued to the press that the underlying conflict was in fact cultural. According to Maloney, Black residents who were born in Canada remained neutral, and that it was "Caribbean kids" who fought with white youth, many of whom he assumed were "agitators from outside the project."[37] Though it was likely true that these additional factors played a role, anti-Black racism was the undeniable cause of the conflict. The above-mentioned Toronto School Board report found that there was a strong feeling of racist resentment against

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[35] There are some details in the report that conflict with newspaper coverage released in the aftermath of June 7th. Newspaper reports described that the meeting did in fact happen on June 7th and that conflict erupted when a youth brandished a knife but does not mention anything about a second stabbing. Clarke, Woodroof and De Shield, *A Study of Cultural and/or, Racial Conflicts*, 4-6; Arthur Johnson and Darryl Dean, "Regent Park Whites, Blacks Trade Threats: Knife Scare Scuttles Racial Violence Meeting," *The Globe and Mail*, June 8, 1976; Warren Gerard, "Boredom, Heat led to Violence Regent Park Residents Say," *Toronto Star*, June 9, 1976.
[36] Arthur Johnson and Darryl Dean, "Regent Park Whites, Blacks Trade Threats: Knife Scare Scuttles Racial Violence Meeting," *The Globe and Mail*, June 8, 1976; Warren Gerard, "Boredom, Heat led to Violence Regent Park Residents Say," *Toronto Star*, June 9, 1976; "Cooling Tempers," *The Toronto Star*, June 9, 1976.
[37] Arthur Johnson and Darryl Dean, "Eight Charged in Regent Park Fights, Area Calm last Night with Tight Security," *The Globe and Mail*, June 9, 1976.

Black residents, particularly from the Caribbean, as well as people from India and Pakistan, and that racial slurs were not uncommon in local schools. Several white respondents accused people of colour of hoarding the local resources that were in increasingly short supply, particularly jobs, recreational facilities, and housing. The report concluded with several recommendations that included combatting racist language in schools, encouraging students of different backgrounds to get to know each other through sport, and for the promotion of multicultural events in Regent Park. They also concluded that to avoid further incident they needed to help all youth in Regent Park with job preparedness and to gather work experience. To implement these recommendations, they recommended that the Ontario and federal government provide additional funding to local programming.[38]

These recommendations unfortunately coincided with a period in which the government de-funded neighbourhood organizations through the withdrawal of LIP funds. These cuts had been creeping for some time – after receiving a total of at least $40,000 in 1973, the RPCIA received approximately $27,000 in 1974 and $26,000 in 1975 – but the RPCIA discovered they would be totally cut off from LIP funding near the end of 1976. The local newspaper reported that these cuts would hurt the *Regent Park Community News* and the teen centre, the latter of which ran counter to the recommendations of the June 7 incident report.[39] For a time they were able to make up some of this money elsewhere and neither the newsletter nor the teen centre disappeared immediately. The RPCIA also negotiated to expand their self-management scheme

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[38] The report emphasized joblessness, lack of housing, and lack of resources over structural racism as causing the conflict. Nevertheless, the report clearly communicates that racism fundamentally shaped how many white residents understood these things. Clarke, Woodroof and De Shield, *A Study of Cultural and/or, Racial Conflicts*, 4-6

[39] Special Programs Information Group, Department of Manpower and Immigration, "Approved Projects as of 15, March 1973" (March 15, 1973), LAC, BAN 2016-00222-0, Box 15, No File Number, Canada Works – Local Initiatives Program; Norman G. Browne, "Sixteen Local Initiative Projects Approved" *Seven News*, December 21, 1974; "LIP cutbacks hit Regent Park," *Seven News*, December 4, 1976.

with the Ontario Housing Corporation, creating dozens of jobs for Park residents including thirty-four full and part time laundry attendants. Unfortunately, the new scheme caused some controversy regarding who filled these jobs, which the OHC used as an excuse to scale back their contribution of funds in 1977.[40]

In 1978 the negotiations between the RPCIA and their OHC landlords broke down over the tenant management scheme. The OHC stalled negotiations claiming that they would only commit to a month-to-month contract with paid employees. On the other side of the table tenant workers requested a 6 percent raise to match the increasing cost of living. According to the RPCIA, since 1974 the wages of employees covered under the tenant management agreement had increased by only 26 percent, whereas cost of living had gone up between 40 to 50 percent. Tenants also worried about a proposed change to rent structures that would further increase the cost of some units by as high as 50 percent. The OHC refused the pay raise and so on July 4th the RPCIA tenant workers voted to go on strike. Building unit managers, laundry attendants, and newsletter distributors withdrew their labour and set up picket lines around laundry rooms. The province responded by hiring "scabs" from local high schools to run the laundry facilities. RPCIA tenant workers attempted to convince the scabs not to cross the picket lines and held out until the end of summer, but ultimately conceded that their work action had been ineffective. They sent a letter to the OHC describing their intent to return to work on the terms of the previous contract, but soon learned that there were no jobs to return to. The OHC decided to abolish the tenant management scheme altogether.[41]

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[40] Purdy, "By the People," 538-539.
[41] Regent Park Community Improvement Association, "R.P.C.I.A. fights O.H.C." *Regent Park Community News* Special Issue, July 14, 1978; "Regent Reps Strike OHC," *Seven News*, July 15, 1978; "Regent Strike in Limbo," *Seven News*, August 26, 1978; Ulli Diemer, "OHC Cancels Tenant Program Following Dispute with Employees," *Seven News*, September 8, 1978.

The RPCIA continued to function after the tenant management plan was discontinued, but it did so in an environment of government funding scarcity. This withdrawal of funding meant the discontinuation of some local services and jobs, making life more difficult for residents who depended on them. Not all tenants, however, lamented the discontinuation of the Tenant Management Plan and the funds it supplied. As Sean Purdy points out in his article on RPCIA organizing, several residents blamed the tenant management scheme for sowing disunity between tenants and dampening the potential for confrontational tactics. They hoped the RPCIA would conclude the 1970s without the same level of dependency on government bodies that did not share tenant interests. This was perhaps true, but with the reduction of funding also created a break in the archival record. With their links to certain government bodies severed, Regent Park activists either reduced their efforts to keep records or simply did not deposit them in formal government archives. This post-1978 archival scarcity makes it difficult to follow RPCIA activities after 1978. Perhaps non-coincidentally, 1978 is also the concluding year of Purdy's study of the RPCIA.[42]

South of Carlton Refuses Neighbourhood "Improvement"

Throughout the 1970s, neighbourhood organizers in Regent Park benefitted from the fact that public housing residents were at least marginally sheltered from the gentrification that was going on around them. Elsewhere in the East Downtown, however, activists were forced to contend with the reality that their once working-class neighbourhoods were being quickly engulphed in a sea of gentrification. As low-income tenants in neighbourhoods like South of

[42] Sean Purdy wrote his PhD dissertation about Regent Park, which cover the period from 1949 and 2001. Sean Purdy, "From Place of Hope to Outcast Space: Territorial Regulation and Tenant Resistance in Regent Park Housing Project, 1949-2001," (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2003). His article on RPCIA, however, concludes with the withdrawal of the tenant management scheme. Purdy, "By the People," 519-548.

Carlton were forced to move due to rent increases or the conversion of rentals into single family homes, those neighbourhoods lost some of their base for future poor and working-class peoples' organizing. Furthermore, as more middle-class people moved in, neighbourhood organizations became increasingly vulnerable to middle-class takeover. At the same time, the federal government changed the way it distributed neighbourhood funding. The introduction of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program marked a shift in government strategy from offsetting the hole left by deindustrialization – through job-creation and social service provision – and toward the promotion of market driven post-industrial development. This reorganization of funding also shaped an emergent narrative that positioned middle-class organizers concerned with neighbourhood improvement as the natural inheritors of the neighbourhood movement.

The construction of this narrative did not, however, go uncontested. In the South of Carlton neighbourhood poor and working-class residents spoke back to processes that threatened to erase their ongoing presence. As the part of the East Downtown with the highest percentage of very low-income residents, many of whom lived in rooming houses, the area had a lot to lose. In April 1970, a group of residents met to discuss problems in their community. At the top of the list of worries was the fear that developers might turn their interest toward the South of Carlton neighbourhood without paying attention to the issues faced by low-income residents. Attendees agreed that some sort of collective action was needed to improve the neighbourhood without displacing long-term residents and founded South of Carlton Community Action (SOCCA) to organize residents around local issues. Their initial mandate was to improve traffic safety in the

area, to organize block-meetings with residents, and to engage with the city planning board to discuss planning and development.[43]

Later that year SOCCA members were able to take advantage of the wave of organizing activity that accompanied the re-location of the Central Neighbourhood House to a new building at 349 Ontario Street. Technically a "settlement house" the Central Neighbourhood House had offered different forms of programming to residents of the East Downtown since 1911. The relatively spacious 349 Ontario Street was the first location built explicitly for the Central Neighbourhood House and soon became a hub for local organizing. The following year in 1971 the Executive Director noted the massive effect of federal granting agencies like the Local Initiative Program and the Opportunity for Youth (OFY), describing the location as "a popular hunting ground for young people looking for a place to work out their service plan or develop their initiative." Apparently, the Central Neighbourhood House itself had also been able to cash in on the federal program, allowing them to ensure that "some of the salary money paid to the O.F.Y. and L.I.P. personnel remained in the area." The president described the House as "over-flowing with activity" and "along with the expansion of the in-house programme has come the use of the house by various community groups and involvement of the House by various community organizations." SOCCA was one of these community organizations and likely shared several members with the other three: the 320 Seaton Street Tenants Association, the Moss Park Apartments Community Association, and the Don District Council of Public Housing Tenants' Association. Together these organizations represented a significant number of poor and working-class members.[44]

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[43] Central Neighbourhood House, "Annual Report" (1970), CTA, Central Neighbourhood House Fonds, 1005-149132-48.
[44] Central Neighbourhood House, "Annual Report" (1971), CTA, Central Neighbourhood House Fonds, 1005-149132-49.

By the end of 1971 residents in the South of Carlton neighbourhood noticed signs that developers were interested in their neighbourhood. Having witnessed the destructive impact of both urban renewal and whitepainting, local activists determined a proactive approach was needed to make sure current residents could stay in their homes. In January 1972 SOCCA organized a meeting at the Central Neighbourhood House to devise a plan. There, attendees confirmed that "concern over the South of Carlton area rests mainly with people's lack of security about the future of the area," which was "producing all kinds of problems for people starting from what is the future for our homes to streets which are unsafe at night." Part of the problem was that the existing official plan for the city of Toronto had designated the entire South of Carlton area as high density. Residents therefore voted unanimously to urge the Toronto Planning Board to launch a new planning study of the area in consultation with residents.[45] Whereas the old plan had encouraged re-development and negated the value of existing neighbourhood resources the new plan would make neighbourhood stability for existing residents a central pillar of neighbourhood improvement. After the city planning office consented to developing what would be a local "Part II Study," SOCCA activists began assembling a slate of community representatives to guide the study to fruition.[46] Named the South of Carlton Working Committee, this group of residents worked with city officials to create a neighbourhood plan based on the principle that they maintain the "low rise intimate character of the

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[45] Ethel Proulx, "Letter to the City of Toronto Planning Board," (January 18, 1972), CTA, Matthew Lawson Fonds, 388-527896-4.

[46] It was called Part II study because it would amend the previous Official Plan which was called Part 1: City of Toronto Planning Board, *Official Plan for the City of Toronto Planning Area, As Approved by the Minister of Municipal Affairs Oct. 1, 1969 Part I* (1970).

neighbourhood for existing residents and efforts should be made to improve the physical and social conditions of the neighbourhood."[47]

Residents of South of Carlton elected representatives from different stakeholder positions to the Working Committee in 1972, including homeowners, renters, businessmen, and local politicians.[48] Over the next two years the make-up of the working-committee shifted in a less formal way as members kept up with a sometimes-intensive schedule of meetings. During this time, the members also organized and helped implement expressions of their planning work including establishing the large non-profit Dundas-Sherbourne housing complex and completing a variety of sub-committee reports. By 1974 they began to draft their revised neighbourhood plan, which was published the following year. In this draft plan the Working Committee laid out a number of suggested changes to the previous plan including, amongst other things, limiting building height, maintaining the existing stock of low to moderate income housing (including assisted housing), and improvements to health care and other amenities in the area. The Working Committee then presented these principles to the community at a general assembly, and a released a final copy of the plan after consultations with the neighbourhood.[49]

The final draft of the neighbourhood plan offered general guidelines for neighbourhood development, but it did not regulate exactly how development would proceed nor did it earmark funds for specific projects. Local activists knew that to maintain low to moderate income housing they would need some form of public subsidy and so during the planning process they

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[47] Ingrid Smith, "South of Carlton to Elect Local Committee on Planning," *Seven News*, March 3, 1972. Quotation is from: Ron Jenkins et al, *Skid-Row Report*, Report (February 25, 1974), 1, CTA, Michael Goldrick Fonds, 1329-119.
[48] Specifically, the working-committee consisted of "three occupant home-owners, three tenant families, two single roomers, two institutions, three businessmen (one a developer), one absentee landlord, the four local aldermen, a member of the Planning Board and a chairman." City of Toronto Planning Board, *Preliminary Neighbourhood Plan: South of Carlton* (April 1975), i-iii.
[49] City of Toronto Planning Board, *Preliminary Neighbourhood Plan: South of Carlton* (April 1975); City of Toronto Planning Board, *Final Neighbourhood Plan: South of Carlton* (April 1976).

also sought out public funds. In 1974 the federal Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation assigned $420,000 of its newly minted Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) to the South of Carlton neighbourhood. As per the conditions of the NIP program the provincial government and the municipal government would provide an additional $420,000 split evenly between them. Upon learning about the NIP funds South of Carlton activists organized a community meeting attended by approximately fifty residents to determine how to spend the money. Early in the meeting local businessman (and non-resident) Patrick Shibley, suggested they devote the NIP funds to typical beautification projects that would allegedly benefit everyone, like improving laneways and streetlamps. Shibley was overwhelmingly rebuked by those who recognized this type of beautification without low-income housing as the road to gentrification. Several residents in attendance instead advocated for using the money to purchase housing and then renovate them over time and re-sell them to non-profit groups that could not afford to do the work themselves. Homeowner and long-time SOCCA activist, Ethel Proulx, eventually synthesized these sentiments in a motion mandating that most of any NIP funds should be used to purchase non-profit housing. Her motion was adopted unanimously.[50]

The federal government, however, refused to acknowledge their motion. The minister in charge of the fund, Barney Danson, objected to the use of "NIP funds for housing subsidies," arguing that "it is most important to preserve the integrity of NIP and to use allocated funds for its primary function of improving deteriorating neighbourhoods." NIP funds were, according to Danson, for improvements to public infrastructure such as fixing lampposts or roads and planting trees. He went on to suggest that they apply for other subsidies from the Canadian Mortgage and

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[50] The motion read "A greater proportion of N.I.P. funds be allocated to purchase non-profit housing for the South of Carlton areas and some N.I.P. funds be allocated to neighbourhood improvement." Found in, "Minutes of the Public Meeting Held Monday, April 29, 1974, to Discuss the South of Carlton Neighbourhood Improvement Program," (April 29, 1974), CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-5.

Housing Corporation designed to acquire and develop cooperative and non-profit housing.[51] The federal government had introduced co-op and non-profit housing subsidies through their recent 1973 amendment to the National Housing Act. Meant as an alternative to building public low-income housing, the government subsidized the purchase of properties by a "third sector" representative, either a co-op or a non-profit, who would then pass on those savings to their members or tenants. Because the subsidy was designed to help third sector organizations to buy property on the open market, however, the scheme was inappropriate for housing very low-income people in areas where property was valuable. The South of Carlton Working Committee knew this, arguing that because of the high cost of housing in the area the subsidy for buying co-op housing was not enough to ensure rents would remain accessible to low-income people. To make sure housing remained accessible to all existing residents they needed additional subsidy that could be made available through NIP funds.[52]

Whether NIP funds could be used to subsidize low-income housing became a sticking point in negotiations between the South of Carlton Working Committee and the NIP administrators. South of Carlton activists even leaned on allies to apply pressure, but Danson would not budge. Rather then back down in April 1975 the South of Carlton Working Committee decided to leave the federal money on the table. Without additional subsidy for non-profit housing, they told the local newspaper they felt that "NIP funds for area beautification would only further increase property values and displace more long-term residents of the

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[51] Barney Danson, "Letter to Ethel Proulx," (October 16, 1974), CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-5.

[52] In a report by South of Carlton Activists they described how "C.M.H.C. criteria require that the per unit cost of a non-profit acquisition not exceed $33,000. The average cost of a family home in South of Carlton however is considerably higher than this. In fact, today it is impossible to find a family unit on the market in South of Carlton for $33,000. The purpose of these criteria, which is to keep rents down is laudable, but the impossibility of meeting these criteria suggests the need for a program of deep subsidies for non-profit housing. Our N.I.P. proposal is an attempt to develop such a proposal." From: South of Carlton Working Committee, "Brief on the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme," (March 1, 1975), 4, CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-5.

neighbourhood."[53] The Toronto city government ended up issuing a much smaller grant to help purchase and subsidize homes, but that paled in comparison to the over $900,000 they had been owed through the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.[54]

The rejection of NIP funding reflected SOCCA's recognition of the tension between market driven neighbourhood improvement and the maintenance of low-income housing. Their actions did not, however, stop the influx of middle-class homebuyers into the neighbourhood, who soon came to dominate SOCCA's membership. By 1976 the Board of Directors at the Central Neighbourhood House noted the rapid arrival of new neighbours and remarked that they were now dominating SOCCA meetings. In a complete turnaround from the campaign to prevent neighbourhood improvement without low-income housing, SOCCA was now forcefully against a new residential building proposed by a local non-profit housing corporation called the Donwest Neighbours Group. Apparently SOCCA members criticized Donwest Neighbours Group and the Central Neighbourhood House for "helping and thus attracting and keeping in the neighbourhood people whom the new neighbours considered undesirable."[55] This change in the membership of SOCCA, and the resulting shift away from solidarity with poor and working-class tenants, eventually strained its relationship with the Central Neighbourhood house. In 1977

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[53] Janice Prince, "South of Carlton Opts Out of NIP Program," *Seven News*, April 12, 1975.
[54] On October 10, 1974 the Toronto City Council voted to grant $132,000 to be used by the South of Carlton Area "to be used as requested by the community," this money was later matched by the Provincial Government and would be given to the South of Carlton neighbourhood in addition to the NIP grant. South of Carlton Working Committee, "Brief on the Neighbourhood Improvement Programme," (March 1, 1975), 4, CTA, John Sewell Fonds, 1306-145907-5; The South of Carlton Working Group began spending the money from the Toronto City Council over the summer of 1975: Andrew Dupa, "South of Carlton TIP a Success," *Seven News*, November 29, 1975.
[55] Central Neighbourhood House, "Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Directors," (October 5, 1976) and Central Neighbourhood House, "Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting," (October 19, 1976). Both can be found in: CTA, Central Neighbourhood House Fonds, 1005-149133-62.

representatives from the Central Neighbourhood House severed their long-standing relationship.[56]

Southwest, Montreal

Neighbourhood groups in the Southwest of Montreal also applied for and were successful at winning Local Initiative Program grants. Even before the introduction of the LIP grant in the early 1970s, many activists in the Southwest were supported by the federally funded Company of Young Canadians. As historian Kevin Brushett has shown, these CYC activists were heavily influenced by the struggle for Quebec independence, and many were directly associated with the more radical Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). While these activists did aspire for a Québec libre, they also organized locally. In the late 1960s they helped found the Comité Ouvrier de St-Henri, which, as we saw in the previous chapter, was central to the struggle to build a French language hospital in St-Henri. These activists were also openly militant and soon became a liability for the federal Liberal party. In 1970 the government decided to reduce the CYC budget, a decision that drastically limited the capacity of CYC activist in the Southwest.[57]

A reduction in funding did not, however, kill the networks and energy the Company of Young Canadians and other neighbourhood organizers had built over the 1960s. In the early 1970s these activists cobbled together budgets from various funding sources to build a robust network of community organizations across the Southwest. Embedded in different neighbourhoods, these organizations formed coalitions and responded to what they perceived as the needs of each community. The founders of these organizations also remained connected

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[56] Cabbagetown-Regent Park Museum, "Toronto's Central Neighbourhood House: 100 Years on the Making," *Virtual Museum*, accessed August 8, 2019, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_stories/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=00000818&sl=9530&pos=1&pf=1.
[57] Brushett, "'Federally Finances Felquistes.'"

through their common goal of building a base of local working-class power and through their search for funding to do so.

Unlike in Toronto's East Downtown, over the course of the 1970s reductions in federal funding to neighbourhood organizing was, at least in part, replaced by the province. Provincial support for community health clinics through the CLSC system (1974) and additional funds for co-operative housing (1977) were two ways that provincial parties spent funds to pull the energy produced by the last decade's worth of neighbourhood organizing into their purview. This provision of funding to neighbourhood groups was not unique to Quebec, but resistance to the provincial co-optation of local control helped ensure that, at least in the Southwest, provincial funds could be used to support local organizing. The income that the provincial governments provided to neighbourhood activists in the Southwest also went further than it would have in Toronto. Property remained relatively cheap in the Southwest, making it easier to sustain neighbourhood organizations through the constant flux of public funding.

The Parallel Institute and Community Economic Development

In Pointe-Saint-Charles a former provincial director for the Company of Young Canadians, Peter Katadotis, soon moved on to help create the Parallel Institute. Founded in 1969, the Parallel Institute was a community economic development corporation that became a hub for organizing in the area, particularly amongst the English-speaking community. Inspired by similar projects in American cities like Columbus, Chicago, Rochester, and Los Angeles, and by the intellectual work of Herbert Gans in Boston, Parallel sought to build community control over local service providing organizations in a specific neighbourhood.[58] They would then pay for

[58] In their founding document they mention the *East Central Citizens Organization, Inc* in Columbus, the *West Side Community Development Corporation* in Chicago, *F.I.G.H.T.* in Rochester, and *Operation Bootstrap* in Los Angeles. They also quote Gans throughout the document. Parallel Institute, "Proposal for a Community Economic

this work by setting up local profit-making industries with the goal of building a community development fund. Though Parallel would initially animate these efforts they planned to withdraw and turn the corporation over to a community council after four years.[59]

The Parallel Institute selected Pointe-Saint-Charles to begin their experiment, and eventually moved into an office in the basement of the United Church run St-Columba House.[60] Parallel activists chose Pointe-Saint-Charles because they thought that the relative balance between English and French speaking residents and local pride in neighbourhood would minimize linguistic tensions and allow for a class-based movement. As further justification they also argue that "some of the forces of deterioration, e.g., severe land speculation, are absent, or weak and could probably be checked."[61] Presumably this low level of speculation, and the resulting low cost of land, would permit the corporation to launch their community economic development without breaking the bank. Still, they needed money to get things off the ground and applied for several government grants. In 1970 they received a large pot of funding through a loan from a Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation pilot project to purchase and renovate homes. Seeing this as an opportunity to launch an experiment in community developed housing they used the funds to create a local organization, which they called Loge-Peuple. Over the next few years, Loge-Peuple worked to improve local housing without increasing local rent. To do this they relied on the labour of students who were enrolled in the McGill School of Architecture's Community Design Workshop. Led by assistant professor Joseph Baker, the

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Development Corporation in a Depressed Urban-Area, Appendix A," (1969), Bibliothèques et Archives National du Québec (BANQ), Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/21, 015.13.

[59] Parallel Institute, "Proposal for a Community Economic," 7-11, BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/21, 015.13.

[60] It is unclear if Parallel immediately occupied offices at St-Columba House or if they moved there later on. Parallel Institute for Community and Regional Development Montreal, "Mission Planning, Budgeting, and Education for Block Grant Application," (April 18, 1978), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/20, 012.13.

[61] Parallel Institute, "Proposal for a Community Economic," 11, BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/21, 015.13.

Community Design Workshop sent its students into neighbourhoods to create collaborative projects with residents, including creating plans for housing renovations. Those who worked with Loge-Peuple then passed on renovation contracts to a local organization called "Les industries des travailleurs de Pointe St. Charles Ltée" that had also been set up by Parallel but was run by local workers. To pay the builders' wages Parallel successfully applied for LIP grants.[62]

Launched in August 1971, workers involved with Les industries des travailleurs also did more than just renovate homes. Parallel designed Les Industries to absorb former industrial workers and they sought contracts to produce manufactured goods. In 1971 they inherited a contract to build 100 boats for the provincial Minister of Tourism, Hunting and Fishing as well as a second to build household furniture. Initially a small affair with just four workers Les Industries set up production in a two-story building along Grand Trunk Street. The successful application for the LIP grant in 1972, however, dramatically increased their capacity, allowing Les Industries to hire an additional thirty workers. Unfortunately, this rapid growth also created problems as workers – who spoke both English and French – were learning how to self-manage a viable business while on the job. The cost of building the boats also ended up surpassing their selling price, creating a sense of precarity that exacerbated tensions amongst the workers and between themselves and the Parallel Institute organizers. Facing these immense financial and organizational pressures, Les industries des travailleurs folded in 1972.[63]

Their ill-fated experiment with Les industries de travailleurs was a set-back for the Parallel Institute but they did not disappear. In the early 1970s Parallel had begun working with

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[62] Loge Peuple, "History of Loge Peuple" (1972), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/21, 036.57.
[63] Groupe de recherches économique, *Coopératives de production, usines populaires et pouvoir ouvrier* (1979), 45-56, UQAM, Collection de publications de groupes de gauche et de groupes populaires, 21P-900:02/39.

other English-speaking welfare recipients and anti-poverty organizations through the Greater Montreal Anti-Poverty Co-ordinating committee (GMAPCC). Using funds available through LIP grants, GMAPCC was a broad-based movement of poor people that launched campaigns and engaged in direct action to advocate for welfare recipients and improve social services.[64] Building on their work with GMAPCC, Parallel organizers began working with residents in Pointe-Saint-Charles to organize block committees. United under the title the Point Action Citizens' Council (PACC), this federation of local block committees fought individually and together for "decent housing, good schools, proper medical care, enough money to live decently and enjoy life."[65] To help them in their campaigns Parallel acquired funds through the GMAPCC to pay three organizers (One full-time and two part-time) including Katadotis. These paid PACC organizers worked with residents to build a broad local network and achieved an impressive list of victories by applying direct-action pressure to landlords, businesses, police, and politicians.[66]

In 1975 the GMAPCC folded due to tensions between volunteer welfare recipients and the paid professionals who often guided decision making. As Anna Krusynski and Eric Shragge have demonstrated, paid organizers, usually men, did not fulfill their stated goal of working themselves out of a job.[67] Following the dissolution of GMAPCC, PACC co-founded a new coalition of neighbourhood organizations called the Neighbourhood Action Committee. Without

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[64] Kruzynski and Shragge, "Getting Organized: Anti-Poverty Organizing," 328-339.
[65] "Are we a Bunch of Communists? Or Are we Trying to Help People?" (Exact date unknown, between 1973-1975), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/20, 012.12.
[66] From November 1972 to January 1976 PACC organizers recorded fifty-four victories. These victories tended to be local in scale, like forcing a landlord to renovate rental units or reduce local speed limits. Pointe Action Citizens' Council, "Pointe Action Citizens' Council (PACC) – Victories" (1974), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/23, 020.02. Because the money for salaries came from a $40,000 fund issued by GMAPCC it is likely that PACC organizer salaries originated from LIP grants. "Some Facts about Parallel Institute," (1972), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/33, 022.07; Parallel Institute for Community and Regional Development Montreal, "Mission Planning, Budgeting, and Education for Block Grant Application," (April 18, 1978), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/20, 012.13.
[67] Kruzynski and Shragge, "Getting Organized: Anti-Poverty Organizing," 334-336.

access to the same government funding that had supported GMAPCC, the new Neighbourhood Action Committee relied on monthly donations from its member organizations, each of which organized fundraising events to finance their own organizing. As its name would suggest, the Neighbourhood Action Committee also dropped the exclusive focus on anti-poverty organizing, perhaps to attract a broader membership base including middle-class people with the ability to donate more time and money.[68] This new funding model gave member organizations like PACC new autonomy and eliminated the cause of some internal tension but the process of fundraising was both time consuming and not as lucrative. Because of this, by 1981 PACC no longer existed. Though there is no archival record stating exactly why PACC folded, in the final meeting for which minutes made it into the archive those in attendance discussed the difficulty in keeping the Neighbourhood Action Committee afloat and the poor attendance at a recent action associated with their welfare campaign.[69]

The Company of Young Canadians and Young Workers

If Pointe-Saint-Charles was the epicentre for community economic development in Montreal's Southwest during the 1970s, St-Henri was the landing point for neighbourhood-based labour politics. Activists in St-Henri did not ignore economic development and service provision altogether. Following on the heels of 1960s social animation, Le Projet d'organization populaire d'information et de regroupement (POPIR) advocated for residents on issues like housing and health as well as workplace issues. POPIR also launched two manufacturing co-ops that resembled those set up by the Parallel Institute, one of which, the l'Association coopérative de

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[68] James Muretich, "Montreal Citizens' Groups Form New Coalition," *McGill Daily*, March 2, 1977.
[69] "PACC Monthly Meeting," (June 13, 1979) and "PACC Leadership Meeting," (November 26, 1979) both found in Fonds St-Columba House, BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/23, 021.05.; "Initial Session with Saint Columba Staff" (Jan 12 or December 1st, 1981), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/26, 028.11.

production les amis du Québec, won a LIP grant of almost $125,000 to pay the salaries of a biker gang called the "Dead Men" to make toys.[70] The Company of Young Canadians also maintained a presence in the area, first in Little Burgundy and then in St-Henri. Led by Clara Chicoine, the CYC co-operated with Parallel and POPIR to provide services like consumer co-ops and youth programming. But, both POPIR and the CYC also worked with other union and neighbourhood activists whose focus was aimed squarely at workplace politics. Together, activists and rank and file workers launched a series of campaigns to unionize some of the most exploited workers in the city.

Co-operation between neighbourhood organizers and rank and file workers did not begin in the 1970s. Will Langford has demonstrated how during the late 1960s local CYC activists formed the Comité Ouvrier to assist local workers to kick the Fédération Canadienne des associations indépendantes (FCAI) – a company union that maintained a cozy relationship with factory owners – out of St-Henri. After the federal CYC office reduced local funding at the end of the decade, this formal relationship was temporarily severed. Nevertheless, worker organizing continued in their absence, and in 1972 several young workers from two factories, Eagle Toys and Lumiray, requested that the CYC help them to organize fellow workers. The young workers asserted that their employers and others like them across St-Henri relied heavily on young and marginalized labour. The FCAI, which retained a heavy presence in St-Henri factories, did little to protect these young, precarious, and seasonal workers, resulting in frequent violations of labour laws.[71]

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[70] Information Service, Department of Manpower and Immigration, "Preliminary Index of Projects Extended to September 30, 1972," (June 1972), LAC, RG118, 1985-86/071 GAD Box 118 File 3440-14-1; Benoît Michaudville et al. *Les Gens du Québec: St-Henri* (Montreal: Éditions Québécoises, 1972), 82-85.
[71] Langford, "'Helping People Help Themselves,'" 172-212.

The workers who approached the CYC had already been organizing internally and benefitted from their involvement with the Maison des travailleurs. Launched in 1972 and co-ordinated by long-time St-Henri activist Jacques Couture, the Maison des travailleurs was a physical space made up of three houses close to the Eagle Toys factory. Couture was already something of a local activist celebrity and had built strong ties to neighbourhood organizations throughout the Southwest, several of which also contributed to the Maison de travailleurs.[72] Beyond Couture, the Maison des travailleurs used a LIP grant of $35,000 to employ fifteen people who provided a variety of services to local workers including a day care centre and a cafeteria. Located near several of the areas most exploitative workplaces, the Maison cafeteria functioned as a social space where workers could meet in their off hours to discuss their problems and organize.[73] As was typical of the lowest paying factories, women were the majority in several of the surrounding workplaces, and many of them had additional child-care responsibilities that made it more difficult for them to get involved in shop-floor politics. The daycare thus provided a valuable resource to young women activists, freeing them to attend organizing meetings and to make sure that women workers were not sacrificed during union negotiations.[74]

Seeing an opportunity to work with an already mobilized group of workers and frustrated by their organizing work in nearby Little Burgundy and Pointe-Saint-Charles, in 1972 the local CYC office re-located all organizers in the Southwest to St-Henri. At least one of the incoming

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[72] Beyond the Company of Young Canadians Jacques Couture also worked with POPIR activist Benoît Michaudville to launch and run the Maison des Travailleurs. Clara Chicoine, "La Maison des Jeunnes Travailleurs de St-Henri" Letter to Peter Broadhead (March 20, 1972), LAC, RG116, Volume 114, File 521.
[73] "Saint-Henri possède sa maison des travailleurs," *Le Devoir*, January 28, 1972; Clara Chicoine, "Maison des Jeunes Travailleurs de St-Henri," Letter to Peter Broadhead (March 20, 1972), LAC, RG116, Volume 114, File 521.
[74] Women made up between 65 and 70 percent of the workforce at Lumiray and 70 percent of the workforce at Eagle Toys. Eagle Toys would later become *Coleco* so in some sources it is referred to as such: "Lumiray: Bilan d'une lute" *Québécoises deboutte!* 1 no. 5 (April, 1973): 18-23; "Femmes En Luttes à Coleco," *Québécoises deboutte!* 1 no. 6 (June 1973): 42-51.

organizers, Jocelyne Brault, had already contributed to worker organizing with Les Industries des Travailleurs in Pointe-Saint-Charles and was, presumably, brought in due to her experience organizing workers.[75] With increased capacity CYC activists assisted young workers from the Lumiray factory in several ways. Lumiray and other nearby factories often ignored health and safety and labour laws, in part because the young workers they employed did not know their legal rights or the services that were available to them. Owners also threatened workers that bringing in a union would force them to shut down the factory. The CYC thus organized educational meetings to identify to workers when their employer was violating the law and where they could seek help with understanding and protecting their rights. These sessions were well attended (on average forty people) and went beyond simply informing individual workers. They were also designed to train workers on how to target organizing efforts and how to structure information campaigns. Due to increased levels of surveillance at the Lumiray factory and the desire to build a broad movement across different workplaces in St-Henri, the CYC also helped participating workers to publish a newspaper about workplace issues and the unionization drive.[76]

Women workers were central to the interconnected union drives at Lumiray and at Eagle Toys. As one group of feminist workers from Lumiray later described, it was a woman from Eagle Toys who convinced the Steelworkers to begin the Lumiray union drive, but male workers and labour union representatives soon took over most of the negotiations. Women activists though continued to organize rank and file workers and challenged the tendency for the

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[75] Clara Chicoine, "Le retrait de la Companie des Jeunes Canadien du front logement dans la Petite Bourgogne" Letter to members of Perspective '80 (April 25, 1972), LAC, RG116, Volume 118, File 541; Langford, "'Helping People Help Themselves,'" 200-202.
[76] Clara Chicoine, "Field Staff Recommendations : Les Jeunes Travailleurs de St-Henri," (Date Unknown, likely 1972), LAC, RG116, Vol. 114, File 521.

negotiating team to withhold information. They were instrumental to publishing the workplace newspaper and set up information campaigns within the factory to keep people informed. When the negotiating team brought back a contract without enough wage increases, women activists organized a work stoppage, successfully forcing their negotiating team back to the table. By 1973 Lumiray workers, represented by the United Steelworkers, approved their first union contract with their employer. Though they encountered slightly different challenges at Eagle Toys, women organizers followed a generally similar trajectory of disseminating information and organizing fellow rank and file workers.[77]

The CYC was not leading the charge at Lumiray and Eagle Toys, but they were part of a network of organizers that assisted rank and file workers to organize themselves. Having developed a strategy for assisting workers at Lumiray and Eagle Toys the CYC workers sought to spread their efforts to other factories. CYC and rank and file organizers next turned their efforts toward the Simmons mattress factory, and again set up information networks and a newsletter. This time they also concentrated efforts at building a co-operative cafeteria, perhaps to create a space for workers to meet beyond the factory floor and focussed explicitly on engaging women workers. The CYC helped set up an information committee that consulted with women to better understand the problems they faced both inside and outside the factory. Using this data, they led information sessions about birth control, abortion, and how to contest the unique barriers faced by women in the workplace and in their unions. [78]

Though their small team of organizers had helped build considerable momentum around young workers in St-Henri, in 1974 the Company of Young Canadians withdrew its funding. The

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[77] "Lumiray: Bilan d'une lutte" *Québécoises deboutte!* 1 no. 5 (April, 1973): 18-23; "Femmes En Luttes à Coleco," *Québécoises deboutte!* vol. 1 no. 6 (June 1973): 42-51.
[78] "Bilan: Projet Les Jeunes Travailleurs de St-Henri, Octobre 1973 à Février 1974," LAC, RG116, Vol. 114, File 521.

same networks of young rank and file workers likely continued to organize through their workplaces or in their communities following the dissolution of the local CYC, but if they did, they do not seem to have left behind publicly accessible archives. That same year the once coordinator of the Maison de Travailleurs, Jacques Couture, launched a mayoral campaign as part of the Montreal Citizens' Movement party. Though Couture remained connected to local organizations during his mayoral campaign and during his later 1976 campaign for provincial office, these additional responsibilities would have taken him away from on the ground organizing.[79] So, while it is also unclear whether the Maison de Travailleurs continued to operate beyond 1974, with the eventual dissolution of the LIP grants it is unlikely they could have continued to pay the wages of their fifteen workers or the rent for their three buildings.

The Province Steps in, the Clinique Communautaire and the Growth of Co-op Housing

The most durable form of neighbourhood organizing in the Southwest was through assemblages of community-controlled service providers. Though connected with other forms of activism, organizing around local service provision persisted well into the 1980s. This was in part because as the federal government withdrew from funding neighbourhood organizations, the Quebec provincial government expanded spending to pull the neighbourhood movement into their political purview; first through the creation of a centralized system of community health centres and then with the expansion of funding for co-operative housing. Attempts to formalize the relationship between the provincial government and community services did not, however, go unopposed. In Pointe-Saint-Charles activist service providing organizations refused to relinquish local control.

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[79] For more on Jacques Couture and his political career see Martin Croteau, "L'implication sociale et politique de Jacques Couture à Montréal de 1963 à 1976," (MA thesis: Université du Québec à Montréal, 2008).

Beginning in the late 1960s, activists set up a variety of community-run services in Pointe-Saint-Charles including an adult education centre, a community legal clinic, and a community health clinic called the Clinique communautaire. Perhaps the most famous of the three, the Clinique communautaire was founded by a group of students from McGill University who believed that the health system ignored the relationship between poor health and poverty. The founders secured the initial start-up costs for the Clinique from an American foundation and set up at the intersection of Knox and Charlevoix Street. After some initial hesitation from the local population to use the Clinique, the founders came to accept that local poor and working-class residents were in the best position to direct the clinic on how to confront local health problems. So, in 1970 the Clinique communautaire incorporated with a new administrative council that consisted primarily of citizens.[80]

With a relatively large budget, the assurance of community control, and a broad mandate that recognized the relationship between health and wealth, the Clinique communautaire quickly became an important node for service groups and activists in Pointe-Saint-Charles. Beyond providing services this network of activists ran campaigns and staged actions to demonstrate the linkages between social conditions and public health. For example, in 1971 when the Greater Montreal Anti-Poverty Coordinating Committee occupied welfare offices in downtown Montreal to demand a more humane welfare system, the Clinique communautaire organized a solidarity hunger strike to demonstrate how welfare cuts would affect public health. These inter-organizational links became increasingly important during the Clinique's own struggle for

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[80] Jacques Godbout and Nicole V. Martin, *Participation et Innovation: L'implantation des Centres locaux de services communautaires (C.L.S.C.) et les organismes communautaires autonomes* (Montreal: Notes de Recherche I.N.R.S.-Urbanisation and Les Cahiers de L'ENAP, 1974); Anne Plourde, "Démocratisation des institutions et des pratiques en santé : L'example historique des cliniques populaires," *Nouvelles pratiques sociales* 26, no. 1 (Autumn, 2013): 231-246.

autonomy. In 1971, the Quebec government introduced Bill 65, a new law that would create a system of community health and social work clinics called Centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSC) across Quebec. Local activists did not approve of this top-down approach and launched a wide-spread information campaign in the neighbourhood. After a series of consultations with other neighbourhood organizations a general assembly of over 230 residents mandated the Clinique to negotiate for CLSC funding but with certain conditions, the most important of which was the maintenance of neighbourhood control.[81] In order to retain room for oppositional politics, activists linked to the Clinique decided it was also necessary to establish a *Maison de Quartier*, as a separate entity through which activists would fight to improve social conditions – intervening in housing, work, leisure, and environment – that were connected to local health. The Maison de Quartier would also seek funding from external religious social services funders so to avoid tying its political orientation to government funding.[82]

The Clinique communautaire eventually succeeded in retaining neighbourhood control while acquiring access to provincial CLSC funding. This victory was crucial to the maintenance and expansion of the Clinique but also meant that its budgetary survival was now tied to the whims of the provincial government. Still, the establishment of the Maison de Quartier as an

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[81] The vote to adopt the stance of yes to CLSC funding, but with conditions, was approved with 223 votes for and only 5 votes against and 5 abstentions. Jacques Godbout and Nicole V. Martin, *Participation et Innovation: L'implantation des Centres locaux de services communautaires (C.L.S.C.) et les organismes communautaires autonomes* (Montreal: Notes de Recherche I.N.R.S.-Urbanisation and Les Cahiers de L'ENAP, 1974), 207-210.

[82] "Historique du Comité de Negociation de Pointe St-Charles Face au CLSC," 1980, Archive Populaire de Pointe-Saint-Charles, McGill University Archive, 2008-0024.01.07.351. The idea for the *Maison de Quartier* grew out of its precursor the Centre Communautaire de Pointe Saint-Charles, which was first founded by several different social service groups that sought to pool resources in 1967. The Centre Communautaire was eventually transferred over to citizen control in the early 1970s with several new members including a Legal Aid Clinic, the Clinique communautaire, and a LIP funded organization called "Pain su'a planche." A general assembly of residents decided to transform the Centre Communautaire into the Maison de Quartier in 1972. The Maison de Quartier was first funded by a $60,000 grant by the Fédération des Oeuvres. Godbout and Martin, *Participation et Innovation*, 171-176.

autonomous organization provided an alternative venue for oppositional political action. Unlike the Clinique communautaire, which for the most part operated bi-lingually, the activists who made up the Maison de Quartier initially put themselves "prioritairement à la disposition des travailleurs francophone."[83] Over the coming years the Maison de Quartier focussed its energies in three fronts: labour, information/reflection (including publishing a journal), and housing/neighbourhood management, but at the request of their general assembly prioritised housing. Unfortunately, they soon found that their diverse portfolio was contributing to a drift toward a form of bureaucratic reformism. In 1975 the Maison de Quartier produced a series of self-critiques describing how their intellectualism and collaboration with other militants and reformists had distanced them from their primary goal of building a mass movement of working-class people. To correct their misstep the organizers at the Maison decided to focus more succinctly on the issue of housing and to build a bi-lingual tenant movement that would eventually join with others across the city. They announced their intent to organize tenants around a rent freeze, a reduction in water tax, and against evictions and housing discrimination. Through these campaigns they would unite tenants who were currently organizing in isolation in their co-ops, public housing units, or other neighbourhood organization, into a single movement for the right to housing.[84]

While the Maison de Quartier was decidedly against participation in mainstream politics, the 1976 election of the Parti Québécois paved the way for new wave of funding for local

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[83] Robert Couillard and Robert Mayer, "La Pratique d'organization Communautaire à la Maison de quartier de Pointe Saint-Charles (1973-1978)" *International Review of Community Development/Revue international d'action Communautaire* 4 no. 4 (Fall 1980): 111.

[84] Couillard and Mayer, "La Pratique d'organization Communautaire," 110-119; Maison de Quartier, "Summary : Synthesis of Analysis of the Maison de Quartier," Archive Populaire de Pointe-Saint-Charles, McGill University Archive, 2008-0024.01.07.272.; Maison de Quartier, "Le programme de lutte pour le droit au logement," January 1977, Archive populaire de Pointe-Saint-Charles, McGill University Archive, 2008-0024.01.07.272.

housing activism. The Parti Québécois ran on a platform that centred co-operative and community development in several sectors, including labour, finance, and most relevant to neighbourhood organizing in Pointe-Saint-Charles, housing.[85] To fulfill their commitment to co-op housing development, in 1977 the provincial government launched additional subsidies to those offered by the federal National Housing Act, including start-up capital to establish co-ops and funds to reduce the rental cost of individual co-op units. The province also began paying housing professionals to lead perspective residents through the process of founding co-operatives.[86] Though they were hired to provide technical expertise to groups of residents, many of the Montreal-based co-operative housing professionals had roots in the same participatory architecture and planning movement that had inspired projects like Loge-Peuple earlier in the decade. Following from this tradition, they rejected the provincial government's position that they focus on completing as many co-ops as possible, instead committing themselves to building a democratic movement of working-class people, linked together through a web of co-operative housing.[87]

By 1977, Loge-Peuple had already helped create a sizeable co-op housing sector in Pointe-Saint-Charles, making it an ideal place to build a co-operative movement. Later that same year, a small group of housing professionals and local co-op residents took advantage of these provincial subsidies to found Services d'aide à la rénovation de Pointe-Saint-Charles (SARP). SARP provided technical assistance to groups of residents looking to found co-operatives, but

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[85] Parti Québécois, *Le programme électoral du Parti Québécois* (1976), 251-252.
[86] In Quebec these housing professionals were and are called Technical Resource Groups, or Groupes de Ressources Techniques and are often referred to as GRTs: *Rapport Annuel* (Québec: Société d'habitation du Québec, 1977): 20.
[87] Ruth Fincher and Susan Ruddick, "Transformation Possibilities Within the Capitalist State," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 7, no. 1 (March 1983): 64-67. For more on these housing professionals, their links to the provincial government and to the broader co-op housing movement, see Vickers, "From Balconville to Condoville," 168-170.

like elsewhere in Montreal the housing professionals maintained the hope that co-op housing development could be the basis for a renewed movement of poor and working-class people. Charles Guindon, a particularly active housing professional with SARP and a recent graduate of Université de Montréal's architecture program, was also committed to the principle of community control over co-op development. In 1978 he joined with local tenant organizers – many of whom had likely left the recently disbanded Maison de Quartier – and co-op housing activists to establish the Regroupement information logement (RIL), a body responsible to a neighbourhood-wide general assembly that would guide the work of housing professionals and advocate for local co-op development.[88]

With these additional subsidies and the lack of significant private market speculation SARP was able to work with local activists to expand co-op housing in the neighbourhood. By 1982 co-op activists had founded sixteen co-ops housing 221 residents.[89] Many of these co-ops were founded by renters who wished to re-organize their apartment buildings into newly renovated co-operatives. Founded in 1976, the Rozel Co-op was a typical example. That spring, a group of renters on Rue Rozel decided to use government subsidies to buy their building and found a co-op. The group of renters were all low-income and several were on social assistance. They decided to pursue co-op conversion because their landlord had been trying to sell their apartment building for several years and in the meantime had ignored necessary maintenance. The Rozel co-op succeeded in convincing the owners of six triplex apartment buildings including eighteen apartments to sell and began the process of renovating the individual units. A total of 83

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[88] Regroupement information logement de Pointe-Saint-Charles, Groupe de ressources techniques bâtir son quartier, and Société d'habitation du Québec, *Le logement social à Pointe-Saint-Charles bilan et perspective*, report (1999), 8-9. For more on Guindon, see Vickers, "From Balconville to Condoville," 168-170. For more on the dissolution of the Maison de Quartier in early 1978, see Couillard and Mayer, "La Pratique d'organization Communautaire,"110-119.

[89] "Liste des co-operatives d'habitations," May 1982, APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.05.552.

people lived in the apartments and remained put during renovations, actively contributing to the work. During this time, the most active members worked to inform their neighbours about what was happening and what it would be like to live in a co-operative. Able to secure subsidies from different levels of government totalling $163,000 the tenants acquired a loan for the remaining $175,000, which would be collectively paid in the form of rent over the next thirty years. In 1979 their rent worked out to only $90 per month per renovated unit with an average unit size of 1,400 square feet, $145 with utilities.[90]

Though there is no specific rental data for the mid 1970s, $145 with utilities was significantly cheaper than the 1981 average cost of rent and utilities for the census district surrounding the Rozel co-op, $209.[91] The combination of a stagnant real-estate market (as demonstrated by the landlord's inability to sell) and the additional subsidies available through the province, tenants in Pointe-Saint-Charles were able to fix up apartments while maintaining stable rents that very low-income people could afford. Tenants also were able to decide themselves how to conduct the renovations to ensure that all members could stay in their homes for the duration. The process of founding and planning the co-op provided the opportunity for poor and working-class tenants to organize together to collectively take control of their housing.

Conclusion

In 1981 the staff of the Saint Columba House met to determine how to move forward with organizing in Pointe-Saint-Charles. They first wrote down a list of organizations, past and present, and then crossed off those that no longer existed. The remaining organizations were few

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[90] "Cooperative d'habitation de la Rue Rozel de Pointe St-Charles," BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/21, 013.09.

[91] Data for Montreal census district 74, which covers the area surrounding Rue Rozel, and was gathered from CHASS Census Analyser for 1981.

and included only one explicitly English-speaking organization, the Neighbourhood Action Committee (NAC).[92] In the brainstorming session that followed they came up with several reasons as to why so many local organizations had fallen apart, the top two of which related to the withdrawal of government funding. Still, although many local neighbourhood organizations had dissolved due to the withdrawal of federal funding others in the Pointe remained, surviving on provincial subsidies, funding from private organizations, or pure sweat equity. These organizations also benefitted from relatively low land prices, conditions that did not cause the widespread displacement of the poor and working-class people who ran them.

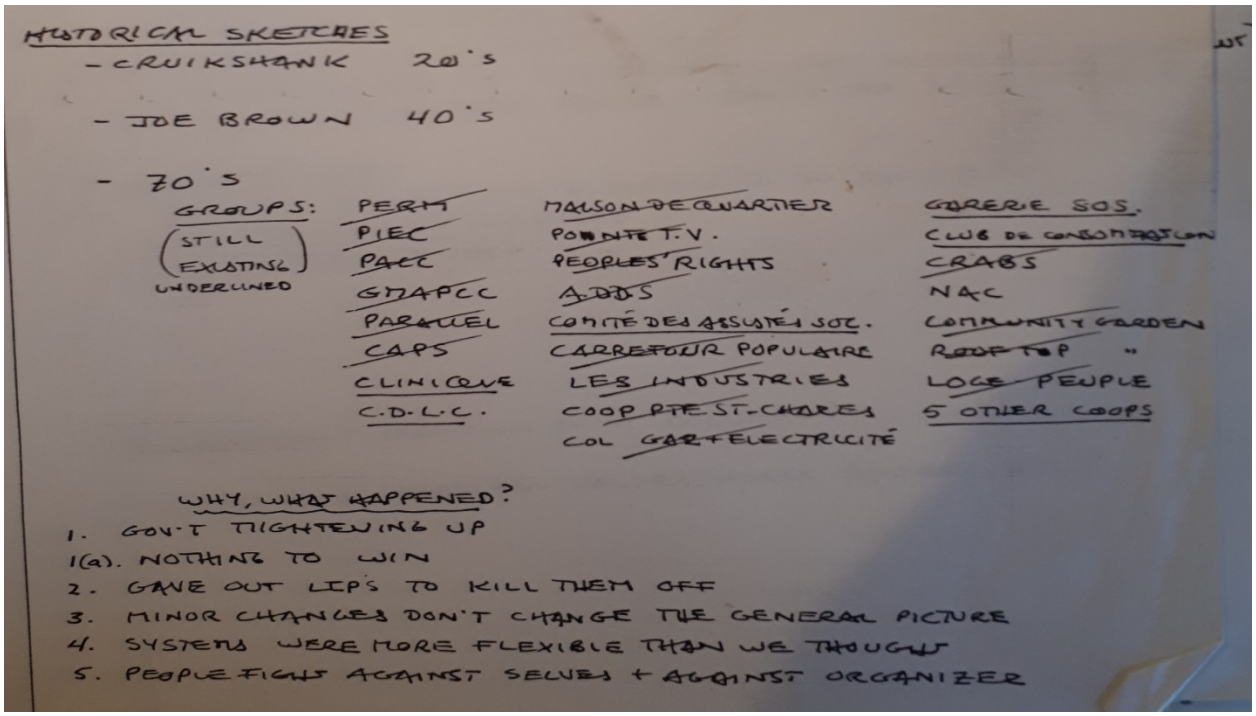

Figure 3.2: Record of Brainstorming Session at the Saint Columba House. Source: "Initial Session with Saint Columba Staff" (Jan 12 or December 1st, 1981), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/26, 028.11.

[92] Several of the remaining organizations engaged or at least accommodated English-speaking residents, but it is telling that the mostly English-speaking staff at St-Columba House wrote some names in English and some in French. The acronyms mentioned in the photo that I have not covered so far in this chapter are: (PERM) Point Equal Rights Movement, (PIEC) Point Improvement Education Committee, (CAPS) comités d'action politique, (CDLC) Conseil de développement du logement communautaire, (ADDS) Association de défense de droix sociaux, (CRABS) No information. For more on these organizations, see CourtePointe Collective, *The Point Is-- Grassroots Organizing Works*.

A brainstorming session focussing on the East Downtown in 1980 would have produced similar results. The flurry of activist activity that had accompanied the introduction of the Local Initiatives Program in Regent Park and the Central Neighbourhood House was no more. Some organizations like the Regent Park Community Improvement Association and South of Carlton Community Action survived, but many were increasingly dominated by middle-class members in pursuit of market-driven neighbourhood improvement. This trend toward market-driven improvement was not universal, but as we will see in the next chapter, the context of increasing land prices nevertheless shaped how poor and working-class neighbourhood organizations sought funding and fought for access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to stay in their neighbourhoods.

Chapter 4

Making Space for Consumers

Local Elites and Neighbourhood Organizing

In September 1975, the Old Cabbagetown Business Improvement Area hosted the first of what would become an annual neighbourhood festival. Scheduled to coincide with the launch of a "clean-up, paint-up, renewal project," the festival was to involve eager residents and neighbourhood organizations in its planning and execution. Local news coverage suggested that the festival had been a resounding success and indicated that next year the festival would be even bigger and better. In 1976, the Business Improvement Area (BIA) announced that their second festival would have a theme. Fitting with the growing interest in the history of the area, particularly amongst new homeowners who had been drawn to its Victorian era architecture, the BIA announced a theme of the 1880s. Like the year before, the festival would be a celebration of the neighbourhood, but this time the merchants would wear "old tyme" costume. The late 19th century theme was replicated the following year when the festival revolved around a "town square" and included a presentation by a local historian about the Victorian era history of the neighbourhood.[1]

[1] "Big Festival Planned by Parliament Merchants," *Seven News*, Sept 6, 1975; "September 26 & 27, Parliament Street Comes Alive!" *Seven News*, Sept 20, 1975; "Parliament Street Festival Planned," *Seven News*, Sept 11, 1976; "1880's Era is Theme of Parliament Festival," *Seven News*, Oct 23, 1976; "Cabbagetown Cultural Festival," *Seven News*, July 30, 1977; Mary Rosen, "Cultural Festival a Cabbagetown Hit," *Seven News*, Sept 24, 1977.

Over the same timeline, Montrealers annually descended on St-Henri for its Fête Populaire de St-Henri. In 1975, the third iteration of the festival attracted thousands over a five-day period. Small businesses and local neighbourhood and arts organizations helped plan and execute the festivities. As in Cabbagetown, participants organized games, curated historic exhibits, and helped promote beautification efforts in the area. Unlike in Cabbagetown, however, the Fête Populaire de St-Henri was sponsored by local industry, in this case Imperial Tobacco. The main events of the Fête Populaire had always taken place in front of the Imperial Tobacco factory, and in 1975 the organizers commissioned Jean Angelo, an artist employed by Imperial who had designed a massive mural inside the local factory, to create the Fête logo. For the rest of the 1970s the Fête continued to be a major attraction and in 1978 organizers introduced the kid friendly l'ourson henri as the St-Henri mascot. L'ourson henri was a bear who wore a leather work apron to pay homage to the local history of the leather tanning industry. Formerly known as St-Henri-les-Tanneries, St-Henri owed a lot to its long history as a site of manufacturing, a legacy that Imperial Tobacco carried in the present day.[2]

The historic themes of the Old Cabbagetown and the Fête St-Henri festivals say a lot about each area. As urban sociologist Talja Blokland has argued, neighbourhood festivals are not neutral; their historical narrative making "help define community needs," whilst drawing boundaries that "weaken the voices of those with other needs."[3] Local commemoration is, therefore, a site of struggle, where different stakeholders compete or co-operate to define community needs. In the Southwest and the East Downtown business interests co-operated with residents and neighbourhood organizations to celebrate their neighbourhoods' histories. These

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[2] "Saint-Henri est en fête," *La Presse*, August 16, 1975; "Les fête à St-Henri," *La Presse*, August 18, 1975; "Bonne fête, mon chum! Des festivités populaires à Saint-Henri," *La Presse*, August 12, 1978.
[3] Talja Blokland, "Celebrating Local Histories and Defining Neighbourhood Communities: Place-making in a Gentrified Neighbourhood," *Urban Studies* 46, no. 8 (July 2009): 1594.

histories were also mobilized with an eye to the future and tied historic community spirit to contemporary campaigns to beautify the area. Indeed, the buy-in from some funders and organizers was based specifically on their desire to promote the area for investment. For these neighbourhood promoters, organizing a community festival helped legitimize their claims that they were in the best position to improve their neighbourhoods.

While festival organizers in both areas mobilized historical narrative with an eye toward future improvement campaigns, the histories that they mobilized were different. The Fête St-Henri celebrated the continued importance of industry in the area. Imperial Tobacco was a major donor to the festival and celebrations of local history focussed on the area's importance as a site of manufacturing. For Fête organizers, St-Henri and the surrounding neighbourhoods were defined through their ongoing industrial culture, evidenced by the support of local firms as well as its proud working-class population. The key to future improvement, therefore, would be to re-invigorate this long and proud history. The Old Cabbagetown Festival organizers, however, ignored the area's recent industrial past. Most Torontonians already associated the name Cabbagetown with a blue-collar working-class area, so the name "Old Cabbagetown," signified something earlier. Promoters of the festival ignored the way that the area had long been shaped by industrial work and working-class culture, focussing instead on the Victorian era architecture of local homes. Their organization of events was meant to appeal to the recent wave of home renovators who felt they were restoring their neighbourhoods to its more natural, pre-industrial state.[4]

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[4] Carolyn Whitzman has demonstrated a similar process in the Parkdale neighbourhood in the west-end of Toronto. Carolyn Whitzman, *Suburb, Slum, Urban Village: Transformation in Toronto's Parkdale Neighbourhood, 1875-2002* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

These festivals happened only once a year, but their themes also reflected the everyday material and cultural context through which different neighbourhood stakeholders co-operated or clashed to assert their vision for community needs. As a form of place-based organizing, neighbourhood groups have often been sites of cross-class alliance. Premised on the idea that working, middle-class, and elite stakeholders share common interests by virtue of being neighbours and sharing a history, many neighbourhood organizations have actively worked to blur the lines between class distinction in order to improve the neighbourhood, ostensibly for everyone.

Scholars and activists are divided on whether these cross-class neighbourhood alliances can, in fact, represent the interests of poor and working-class people. Some have suggested that middle-class activists have provided valuable skills and political connections that have made neighbourhood organizing more effective.[5] Critics have demonstrated how wealthier neighbours have presented their own class interests as good for everyone, ignoring how campaigns for neighbourhood improvement or economic development have had the effect of increasing property values and intensifying gentrification.[6] My research introduces nuance to these opposing positions and helps understand how cross-class neighbourhood organizations have functioned across space. Yes, middle, and upper-class residents often have their own interests at

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[5] Much of this work does not confront the issue of interclass solidarity directly, but nevertheless ignores overlaps between cross-class neighbourhood organizing and gentrification. Many of the books in the reform canon described in Chapter 2 fall into this category as well as other books that fall within the tradition of Jane Jacobsian neighbourhood organizing and share her aversion to government driven planning, see Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961); Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (New York: Random House, 1969); Jane Jacobs, *Systems of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics* (New York: Random House, 1992).

[6] Scholars of gentrification have demonstrated how 1960s co-operation between middle-class and working-class neighbourhood organizations often collapsed under the pressure of gentrification. The models are useful but have been developed with rapidly gentrifying cities in mind and are assumed to function similarly across space: David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jon Caulfield, *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

heart when advocating for neighbourhood improvement, and yes, increasing property values is often one of their desired outcomes. But poor and working-class people have also wanted improved access to better jobs and homes, provided that these improvements did not push them from their neighbourhoods. The resulting inter-class tension—between the desire to increase property values and the desire to not be displaced—is mediated by the broader context of property markets and economic development and is not absolutely controlled by any individual stakeholders. The possibility of inter-class co-operation within neighbourhood organizations thus cannot be divorced from the surrounding economic context. In some contexts, middle-class improvement campaigns have been compatible with working-class interests in others they have not.

As previous chapters have demonstrated, property markets in the East Downtown of Toronto and the Southwest of Montreal began to look very different in the 1970s. The uneven process of deindustrialization and the rolling out of a post-industrial economy also shaped the interests of middle-class and elite members of each area differently. In both the East Downtown and the Southwest, business, and property owners, which I will henceforth refer to as 'neighbourhood promoters,' worked together through local organizations to 'improve' their neighbourhoods to make them more attractive to consumers. The targeted consumers in the East Downtown and the Southwest were, however, different. In the Southwest, local elites continued to view their neighbourhoods as primarily industrial and working-class. While they may have wanted to attract a new middle-class clientele, recent economic disinvestment made it difficult. They, therefore, advocated for improved access to industrial jobs and affordable housing to improve local incomes and re-invigorate local commercial strips and housing. In the East Downtown, the intense capitalization of the downtown core incentivised local homeowner and business associations to push for development that appealed to a new, wealthier class of resident.

To complete the transition, local neighbourhood promoters worked to build the area's profile as a place that was safe for further post-industrial investment. To do this Old Cabbagetown neighbourhood promoters actively worked to expel human reminders of the area's industrial and working-class history.

East Downtown, Toronto

Neighbourhood organizations in the East Downtown became sites of inter-class co-operation during their 1960s struggles against urban renewal. Once the federal government rescinded the threat of urban renewal, however, the landscape of neighbourhood organizing became more complicated as residents, business owners, and politicians increasingly focussed on private market-driven revitalization. Some middle-class people continued to co-operate with their poor and working-class neighbours and many, at least initially, attempted to protect residents from displacement. Others saw benefit in increasing property values and actively organized to accelerate the gentrification process. These homeowners and businessmen became adept at using neighbourhood organizations as tools to exclude people whose presence, they felt, suggested that the neighbourhood was not improving. Through these organizations they re-invented the names, boundaries, and histories of their neighbourhoods to justify their interventions to regulate local space.

Neighbourhood promoter organizing in the East Downtown during the 1970s was strongest in Don Vale. There, homeowners' associations organized to oppose the development or maintenance of low-income housing in two related ways: the elimination of existing rooming houses and the prevention of future low-income housing development. Philippa Campsie has argued that the campaign against rooming houses was born out of a lasting association between roomers and the phenomenon of blockbusting. During the 1960s, developers looking to assemble

land often began by buying a few properties with the express intent of allowing them to fall into disrepair; a practise that was undertaken to drive down local property values and motivate resistant neighbours to also sell for cheap. This tactic was obviously resented by residents resisting renewal and helped solidify the notion that rooming houses were a temporary placeholder full of transient residents. But the association between roomers and transiency was not always justified.[7] In 1969, an influential and extensively researched report confirmed that most residents of rooming houses spent large portions of their lives in the same building.[8]

Many local homeowners, nevertheless, developed the opinion that rooming houses were a contagion that was antithetical to neighbourhood improvement. Debates about the safety of rooming houses only mounted after a series of fires in the early 1970s. In 1972, rooming house resident Gig Yun was killed in a fire on Dundas Street. In the subsequent months 20 more Toronto residents died in similar ways. Although these deadly fires were by no means the first in Toronto's history, the changing class-dynamic of the area inspired increased media coverage and motivated politicians to act. City council and the South of Carlton Skid Row Committee each produced a report addressing the issue. Both agreed that many roomers lived in fire traps but warned that the cost of making them safer might motivate rooming house owners to sell, eliminating an important form of housing that was accessible to lower-income people. Ignoring these warnings, in 1974 the city passed two bylaws that required rooming houses to obtain a license that would be renewed only if the building met certain health and safety standards.

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[7] Campsie's report without bibliography is available online here: http://www.ontariotenants.ca/research/rooming-houses.phtml. Professor Campsie, however, graciously provided me with a PDF of the report with full bibliography. The PDF describes that the full version with bibliography must be requested from the city of Toronto Housing Department's Resource Information Centre: Philippa Campsie, *A Brief History of Rooming Houses in Toronto, 1972-94* (Toronto: Rupert Community Residential Services of Toronto Inc., 1994), 1-7.

[8] The report was published the following year. Norman Browne, *Roomers, The Lost Race of Society: Brief Submitted to the Ontario Housing Corporation* (Toronto, City of Toronto Planning Board, 1970).

Predictably, just three years after the bylaw was passed, the Toronto Star reported that almost half of the rooming houses in the city had closed.[9]

In the East Downtown, city intervention in rooming houses also reflected the will of a growing group of powerful neighbourhood promoters who favoured single-family homeownership. In the early 1970s Don Vale homeowners founded a new organization called the Don Vale Property Owners Association. Unlike the slightly older Don Vale Association of Homeowners and Residents, the Property Owners Association excluded tenants and fought to protect local property values. To achieve their desired end of "environmental control and area stability" they advocated against all forms of rental housing, presumably because tenants would be less invested in the general improvement of the area. To this end, they not only worked to close rooming houses, but fought against building co-op housing for tenants who were being displaced.[10]

In 1974 a group of neighbourhood organizations from around the East-Downtown founded the Don Area Co-operative Homes Inc. (DACHI) to build subsidized co-operative housing. One of their first projects was in the rapidly gentrifying Don Vale neighbourhood and involved converting a group of 39 houses into a co-operative. Many nearby residents advocated for the project to maintain a "social-mix," but the Property Owners Association was strongly opposed, claiming that the DACHI proposal was ill-planned and was simply an opportunity for the government to meddle in the neighbourhood. Their opposition was also clearly anti-tenant, as many who came out to meetings to oppose the project argued that they would not have a problem if the co-op scheme led to residents gaining equity in the project. Although the DACHI plan

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[9] Campsie, *A Brief History of Rooming Houses*, 1-7.
[10] Janice Dineen, *The Trouble with Co-ops* (Toronto: Green Tree Publishing Company, 1974), 16-17.

eventually passed, the Property Owners Association rallied significant opposition and emerged from the fight with new determination to re-make the neighbourhood for propertied interests.[11]

In the wake of the battle over the DACHI co-op the Property Owners Association began to advocate for their neighbourhood to be designated as a historic conservation district. In their proposal they argued for the historic merits of the area, leaning hard on the local Victorian architecture that real-estate agents had begun to covet. An interest in history was, however, not the only thing that motivated this group of neighbourhood promoters. In their letter to the mayor announcing their intent to begin the process of securing historic conservation status they emphasized the need to maintain local stability, which they argued necessitated "fixed zoning," that favoured "single family dwellings and the exclusion of subsidized housing." In their view property speculation did not negatively effect stability, as they also asked for a special clause in their application "that the designation could not have any effect on real estate transactions."[12]

The Don Vale Property Owners Association was also not the only group using neighbourhood history to justify the displacement of poor and working-class people. In 1974 a group of merchants began planning a Business Improvement Area for the Parliament Street corridor. The resulting plan, which was eventually adopted, centred on the invention of a local brand meant to provoke a new sense of community around the shopping district. For a title, the BIA appropriated the name of the working-class area directly to the south, Cabbagetown, much

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[11] Ronald R. Kepes, "DACHI Proposal Railroaded through council," *Seven News*, February 23, 1974. The quotation was drawn from Janice Dineen's coverage of the meeting in which the DACHI project was approved by Don Vale residents: Dineen, *The Trouble with Co-ops*, 23-34.

[12] Letter from Maureen E. Penno to the Mayor of Toronto, April 19, 1975. Found at the City of Toronto Archive (CTA), Janet Howard Fonds, 1346-148197-5. The Don Vale Property Owners Association sought to use the Ontario Heritage Preservation Act (1974) to become a heritage conservation district, which would give the city government some power to prevent the destruction of some old buildings. George Rust-D'Eye, Frank Bugala and Robert Stacey, *The Ontario Heritage Act-1974 and its Possible Effects on Don Vale: A Report by the Don Vale Association of Homeowners and Residents' Committee to Study the Possible Effects of the Ontario Heritage Act, 1974 on Don Vale* (1975), CTA, Janet Howard Fonds, 1346-148197-5.

of which had been demolished over the previous three decades. They then added "Old" before Cabbagetown to distinguish the new Business Improvement Area from the recent past of the working-class area. The firm in charge of creating the plan justified the name as a trigger for pastoral nostalgia. They argued that this new identity would orient the business district toward the values that had inspired new, wealthier residents to buy in the neighbourhood. The firm also identified the need to assert this corporate identity at every opportunity, recommending the BIA design a flag, install signs, create a newsletter and, most importantly, host an Old Cabbagetown festival once a year. Using a leafy green cabbage as their symbol, the new BIA re-assigned the meaning of the vegetable from a food grown by working-class people to a lush plant signifying distance from the central city. By inventing a new, Old Cabbagetown, the BIA sought to erase the recent, industrial, working-class history of the area, and hearken back to an imagined village community.[13]

The creation of the Old Cabbagetown corporate brand, however, could not erase recent history. The Parliament Street corridor had long anchored consumer and leisure in the area and included many of the private and public spaces where long-time residents hung out and socialized. For decades, this had included the unemployed or casually employed men that the city associated with 'skid row,' many of whom were also precariously housed and therefore spent more time in public space.[14] The Board of Managers of the BIA was horrified that the feeling of pastoral nostalgia was being disrupted by the single "skid row" men who loitered along Parliament Street. The BIA cared little about who these men were or why they spent time

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[13] Old Cabbagetown BIA, "Cabbagetown Merchants Stage Two-Day Festival to Celebrate the Future," Press Release (Toronto: 1975) CTA, Janet Howard Fonds, 1346-148538-11; Allen Cupples and Associates LTD, "The Cabbagetown Renewal: A Plan of Action Developed and Designed for the Ward 7 Businessmen's Association," Report (Toronto, June 1974) CTA, Karl Jaffary Fonds, 1309-145494-27.
[14] Ian Garrow, "Revisiting Homelessness on Skid Row: Structural Unemployment in the 1980s" (MA thesis: York University, 1986)

in the area, referring to them collectively as "transients" and "winos," and assuming they were in the neighbourhood to drink.

In 1976 the Old Cabbagetown BIA began a campaign to evict these men from the street. In a letter addressed to the Liquor Board of Control of Ontario, two local city aldermen and the chief of police, the BIA described the high concentration of "winos" some of whom had allegedly become "vicious." The problem, they argued, was caused by the many drinking establishments that would illegally serve men who were already drunk while the police stood by. In order to fix the problem the BIA requested that the Liquor Control Board withdraw the licences of the offending businesses until they ceased their illegal practise and "stop selling to those people who obviously can be categorized as the drunk and the wino."[15] By using this language the BIA revealed that their problem was not limited to people who were currently drunk, but that their understanding of "drunks" and "winos" extended to all people that they thought looked like they might habitually drink. Getting rid of drunks and winos was code for getting rid of people who did not fit the BIA's image of a respectable neighbourhood.

City Councillor, Janet Howard, responded to the letter by explaining the illegality and inefficacy of arresting or deporting these men to other parts of the city. She agreed, however, that panhandlers were a problem, albeit one that should be fixed by building low-income housing. Howard also wrote a second letter to the Toronto Chief of Police, scolding the department for allowing the serving of liquor to drunks and panhandlers to persist.[16] Meanwhile the BIA continued their campaign. In October 1976, they submitted a front-page article to the local paper announcing their intent to broaden their campaign. The article quoted BIA president Bart Davis,

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[15] Carl Orbach, "Letter to Liquor Control Board of Ontario," (Toronto: October 15, 1976) CTA, Janet Howard Fonds, 1346-148538-11.
[16] Janet Howard, "Letters to Carl Orbach and Chief of Police Harold Adamson," (Toronto: October 22, 1976) CTA, Janet Howard Fonds, 1346-148538-11.

who positioned the "winos" as contagion, claiming that they "deteriorate the area" and were responsible for a slow-down in the real estate market. He also threatened to set up pickets at offending liquor stores and, if nothing was done, to hire private security to defend the area.[17]

As it would turn out, the BIA would not need to hire their own security because through their prodding the police began to come on side. A month later the Old Cabbagetown BIA took out a large add in the same paper thanking the police for aligning themselves with residents and shop owners. They also explicitly thanked the Chief of Police, Harold Anderson, for appointing Inspector William Dixon to the 51 Division to help "eliminate unsavoury characters on the street."[18] How Inspector Dixon would eliminate these characters was not explicitly mentioned but the next issue featured several outraged replies to the purported alliance. Don Weitz, a community health worker, compared the BIA to fascists, sarcastically suggesting that "we should just send all our undesirable 'unsavoury characters' to community-controlled concentration camps." Another letter writer wrote directly to the editor, shaming him for giving a platform to "the speculators and real-estate agents who see great profit in driving the poor and the helpless out of Cabbagetown," and to "eliminate Cabbagetowners from Cabbagetown."[19]

Regardless of exactly what the Old Cabbagetown BIA hoped the police would do, their use of the descriptor "unsavoury character" communicated who they felt belonged in the area and who did not. Left purposely vague, the BIA assumed that people who shared their middle-class vision for an improved neighbourhood that enhanced property values would understand. As was clear in their internal correspondence the Cabbagetown BIA saw poor and working-class "winos" as one barrier to improvement. Vague and pathological terms like "unsavoury

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[17] "Merchants Want Liquor, Wine Stores Closed," *Seven News*, October 23, 1976.
[18] "Old Cabbagetown Advert" *Seven News,* December 18, 1976.
[19] Robert L. Olson, "Old Cabbagetown ad criticized," *Seven News*, January 15, 1977; Don Weitz, "Who are these "unsavoury characters"?" *Seven News,* January 15, 1977.

character," however, could just as easily be applied to anyone that did not fit with Don Vale's mostly white, new middle-class residents' image of a revitalized Old Cabbagetown. The marketing agency that suggested the Old Cabbagetown name identified Victorian pastoral nostalgia as the key to attracting these and other middle-class consumers, requiring a uniformity of design that would suggest a small-town Main Street.[20] Though not stated explicitly, this marketing strategy was rooted in a white colonial nostalgia that would separate a shopping experience on Parliament Street from the perceived danger, noise, immorality, and chaos of the modern heterogenous city. This work of affirming that Parliament Street was now part of Old Cabbagetown, therefore, required that the BIA not only reflect the desires and anxieties of their sought after white-middle class patrons, but to protect them from encountering the people and experiences that might disrupt their colonial fantasy. The term "unsavoury character" was, therefore, loaded with racist and gendered anxieties that were never explicitly acknowledged, but were understood by those drawn to the Old Cabbagetown aesthetic. By inviting the police to get rid of unsavoury characters, local neighbourhood promoters hoped to limit access to bodies that they felt encouraged private investment.[21]

This early campaign against "winos" resembled things to come as the police re-oriented themselves to assist neighbourhood promoters in gentrifying the neighbourhood. Their new attention to neighbourhood groups, however, did not mean that police harassment of people they deemed unsavoury was a new phenomenon. In fact, the local 51 Division had long held a

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[20] Allen Cupples and Associates LTD, "The Cabbagetown Renewal: A Plan of Action Developed and Designed for the Ward 7 Businessmen's Association," Report (Toronto, June 1974) CTA, Karl Jaffary Fonds, 1309-145494-27.
[21] In many ways the Old Cabbagetown aesthetic hearkened back to the Victorian "age of light, soap, and water" described by Mariana Valverde in her book of the same name and sought to create a similar feeling of moral purity through gentrification. Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada: With a New Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). For more on the whiteness of Cabbagetown compared with its neighbouring neighbourhoods, see Doreen Fumia, "Divides, High Rise and Boundaries: A Study of Toronto's Downtown East Side Neighbourhood," *Ethnologies* 32, no. 2 (2010): 257-289.

reputation as a particularly brutal precinct. Later described as a "punishment station" by a Toronto Life columnist because it was the place to send problem cops, many residents alleged that the 51 Division followed their own rules.[22] For several decades residents who found themselves in the 51 Division, as well as the downtown 52 Division, complained that it was commonplace for local officers to stop people on the street and subject them to the Cherry Beach Express. Immortalized by the 1984 song by Pukka Orchestra of the same name, the Cherry Beach Express was a practice by which patrol officers would apprehend pedestrians and drive them to the nearby Cherry Beach.[23] Those who took a "ride" on the Cherry Beach Express described how police would either drop off people who were drunk (sometimes in freezing weather) to find their way home or beat them to elicit confessions.[24]

The 51 Division had developed this reputation in what had long been an overwhelmingly working-class area. During the 1970s, however, middle-class residents and organizations increasingly leaned on politicians and police to re-orient themselves toward enforcing neighborhood improvement campaigns by regulating public space. As the phenomenon of whitepainting spread throughout the area, neighbourhood promoters complained that the presence of sex workers and their clients on the street was making the area unliveable. In her

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[22] "The Punishment Station (51 Division)" *Toronto Life* 30 no. 1 (Jan 1996), 45-55.

[23] Pukka Orchestra released their song "Cherry Beach Express" in 1984. The Toronto Police Department tried to suppress the song from radio play but in doing so helped promote the single. Pukka Orchestra, "Cherry Beach Express," (1984), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-QfdHPoU300. Pukka Orchestra specifically names the 52 Division as the perpetrators of violence in their song, but there were also rumours that the 51 Division engaged in the practice as well and in 1996 a man named Thomas Kerr launched a suit in which he claimed members of the 51 Division had taken him to Cherry Beach and beat him. This case was eventually settled out of court and the police admitted no wrongdoing but paid damages. Jane Gadd, "Homeless man wins battle with the police," *The Globe and Mail*, January 25, 2003.

[24] Other than the Kerr case mentioned above there is very little hard evidence about the existence of the Cherry Beach Express. The comments written on several recent news articles written on the subject are, however, littered with people who claim that they or a close friend were taken down to Cherry Beach and beaten or left there. John Bodner has argued that even if it was an urban legend that "one "truth" of these narratives is that they function as a critique of the uneven power relations between certain citizens and the police, specifically the troubling practices of the 51 and 52 Divisions." John Bodner, "Cherry Beach Express: Rumour and Contemporary Legend Among a Homeless Youth Community in Downtown Toronto," *Contemporary Legend* 6 (2003): 89-118.

book *Making Work, Making Trouble,* Deborah Brock demonstrates how middle-class residents in the East Downtown and elsewhere helped generate a cross-Canada moral panic through their opposition to sex workers who worked near newly middle-class homes. These neighbourhood promoters founded powerful lobby groups that pushed police and governments to create and enforce legislation that would drive sex workers from their gentrifying neighbourhoods.[25]

Street soliciting in an area known as "the track," an area bordered roughly by Bloor, Yonge, Carlton, and Sherbourne Streets, became a major news story in the late 1970s, but the presence of sex workers soliciting clients on East Downtown streets was nothing new. Brock points out that sex workers had been working in what had been a very working-class area for years. It was only with the deindustrialization of the area and the rolling out of a post-industrial development (along with middle-class settlement) that outsiders began to scrutinize their work conditions.[26] At the turn of the 20th century many sex workers in Canada worked out of indoor brothels in or near segregated vice areas that were tolerated by the authorities. Though experiences in these areas were varied and malleable and their existence was to some extent dependant on shifting local public and political attitudes, they created conditions under which brothel madams and involved workers could create norms and assert some control over their working conditions.[27] In a map created by a class led by Laurie Bertram tracking spaces

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[25] Deborah Brock, *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
[26] Brock, *Making Work*, 57-58.
[27] For more on the internal workings of segregated districts, see Andrée Lévesque, "Commercial Sex: Prostitution," in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939*, trans. Yvonne M. Klein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 117-135; Rhonda L. Hinther, "The Oldest Profession in Winnipeg: The Culture of Prostitution in the Point Douglas Segregated District, 1909-1912," *Manitoba History* 41 (Spring 2001): 2-13. In her study of early 19th century Montreal, Mary Anne Poutanen concludes that even prior to 1850 sex work was for the most part concentrated in parts of the city, but asserts that these areas were used in diverse ways by different people. Sex workers, therefore, relied on maintaining relationships with local officials and neighbours in order to avoid harassment by authorities. Mary Anne Poutanen, *Beyond Brutal Passions: Prostitution in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

associated with sex work in Toronto between 1865 and 1915, researchers used court and newspaper reports to identify seven addresses in the East Downtown where sex workers allegedly worked. Though paling in comparison to the dozens of locations in the downtown core, these East Downtown sites were concentrated in the area south of Queen Street and suggest there were perhaps several other establishments nearby that did not draw similar coverage in court or press records.[28] The scrutiny of white, middle-class moral reformers produced periods of insecurity for those who benefitted from these districts, but sex work remained a vital part of social and economic life in and around downtown Toronto.[29]

In the years immediately following the Second World War up until the 1970s Toronto sex work rarely made the news, and the few articles where it did tend to be about vice more generally. Legal scholar John Lowman has speculated that this lack of coverage was in part because many Toronto sex workers began working out of hotels and relied on a peripheral network of cabdrivers and hotel staff to bring clients to them. While certainly not without risk such a network would have relied on the organization and maintenance of workplace norms and rules that those involved in sex work could use to their advantage. The lack of coverage during the 1950s and 1960s in the press also suggests that the police were less likely to arrest sex

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[28] Laurie K. Bertram and her seminar "The Oldest Profession in Canada," *Sex Work in the Queen City: Mapping Prostitution in Toronto 1865-1915*, Digital Map, Toronto, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/StoryMapBasic/index.html?appid=434765ad4688479d80ae67a841aef5ee (Accessed April 20, 2020). For more on the creation of this map, see Laurie K. Bertram and her seminar "The Oldest Profession in Canada," *Canada's Oldest Profession: Sex Work and Bawdy House Legislation*, Online Exhibit, 2016, https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca/exhibits/show/bawdy (Accessed April 20, 2020).

[29] Mariana Valverde wrote a pioneering history on moral reform in the late 19th and early 20th century, though it focused more about the race, gender, and class logics used by moral reformers at the time and less about how their actions affected the lives of sex workers. Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925: With a new Introduction* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008). Joan Sangster argues that during the interwar period the moral reform movement declined somewhat, and that a certain stability returned to sex work as the authorities once again pursued a strategy of geographically concentrated toleration. Joan Sangster, "Prostitution and Promiscuity: Sexual Regulation and the Law," in *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 85-130.

workers perhaps because of informal agreements between police and those involved in sex work.[30] This tolerance, however, had its bounds, as evidenced by a police raid of two Jarvis Street hotels in 1960. Though few specific details were provided the police reported that they had been watching the Warwick and Westmoreland hotel for some time and eventually descended to arrest twenty women and two hotel waiters on vice charges.[31]

Middle-class moral reformers across Toronto re-invigorated their crusade against sex work during the late 1960s and 1970s. Reacting to the perceived sexual permissiveness of the 1960s politicians, police, religious organizations, and the media increasingly focussed their scrutiny on indoor sex work, particularly on the concentrated and growing sex-industry on downtown's Yonge Street. Depicting Yonge Street as reflective of their city's moral compass, protesters and their establishment allies worked to shut down, or at least make it more difficult for sex work businesses to operate.[32] In the midst of this city-wide campaign to "clean-up" Yonge Street, a second front of anti-sex work organizing emerged from the East Downtown. There, many of the mostly middle-class recent arrivals to the area began to complain that they were being harassed by Johns who had been cruising the area. In the early 1970s, *Seven News* published an article describing how local women were being mistaken for prostitutes in and around the commercial strips along Carlton, Bleeker, and Sherbourne Street. These complaints were initially dismissed by the police, who responded to questions by stating that prostitution

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[30] There is a significant gap in historical literature on policing the sex-trade or the lives of sex workers. To date most of the scholarship tends to end around the Great Depression and then pick up again during the 1970s when sex worker organizations became more public facing. Sarah Beer, "The Sex Worker Rights Movement in Canada: Challenging the 'Prostitution Laws'" (PhD diss.: University of Windsor, 2010), 6-17. John Lowman identified the same gap in the news coverage of sex work during the time: John Lowman, "Deadly Inertia: A History of Constitutional Challenges to Canada's *Criminal Code* Sections on Prostitution," *Beijing Law Review* 2, no. 2 (June 2011): 33-54. Sangster also recognized this general decline in public interest of sex work during the 1950s. Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women*, 128-130.

[31] "Raid Two Hotels Arrest 20 Girls," *The Toronto Daily Star*, February 11, 1960.

[32] Daniel G. Ross, *Remaking Downtown Toronto:Politics, Development, and Public Space on Yonge Street, 1950-1980* (PhD diss.: York University, 2017), 118-201.

"was a fact of life in Toronto."[33] This sort of police response was typical of the police in the 1970s, who argued that the 1972 repeal of laws permitting them to charge sex workers as vagrants had made it impossible for them enforce the will of neighbourhood promoters.[34]

Residents who complained about sex workers and their clients in the East Downtown were able to assemble a broader base of support after the tragic murder of Emanuel Jaques in 1977. A twelve-year-old boy from Regent Park who earned money as a shoe-shine boy, Jaques was found dead on a roof on Yonge Street. Three of the four men who were eventually charged with the sexual assault and murder of Jaques worked as doormen at Charlie's Angels, the body rub parlour near where the young boy's body was found. In the immediate aftermath much of the media blamed the tragic murder on the "immorality" that had been left to fester in the downtown core, particularly along Yonge Street. Pointing to the fact that Jaques was killed by men who worked at a body rub parlour, conservative activists and the police launched a re-invigorated crusade against the rights and wellbeing of LGBTQ+ people and sex workers. In the coming months, the police raided dozens of sex work establishments and other businesses they deemed immoral. Brock describes how these raids swept the rug out from under hundreds of men, women, and trans sex workers who had worked in these private establishments and drove them to seek clients on the street. Much of this street solicitation moved slightly east toward the East Downtown in the area bordered by Bloor, Yonge, Carlton, and Sherbourne Streets called "the track."[35]

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[33] Norman G. Browne, "Vigilantes to Protect Female Residents Mistaken for Hookers," *Seven News*, May 26, 1972; "Seven News gest Action on "hookers,"" *Seven News*, June 9, 1972.
[34] In 1972 the federal government amended the section 164 (1) (c) of the criminal code, which had allowed the police to charge sex workers as vagrants. For more, see Brock, *Making Work, Making Trouble*, 29-33. For the response of the police in Toronto see pages 42-43. The police that communicated with city alderman and neighbourhood promoters about their complaints similarly argued that this change in legislation had made it impossible for them to displace sex workers.
[35] Ross, *Remaking Downtown Toronto,* 186-183; Brock, *Making Work*, 34-43 and 51-59.

The panic that followed the Jaques murder strengthened the calls from middle-class neighbourhood promoters in the East-Downtown to displace sex workers from their neighbourhoods. As in cities elsewhere in Canada these mostly homeowners also became increasingly organized, forming lobby groups to bring politicians and police on side. During the 1980s home and business owners wrote large numbers of letters to their local politicians requesting that something be done to curb street solicitation near where they worked or lived. While some of these letter writers advocated for legislative changes such as the decriminalization of indoor sex work, most treated sex workers like a nuisance that should be policed off their street, particularly in areas where property values were increasing.[36] Small neighbourhood organizations in the East Downtown also coalesced around advocating for increased police attention to street solicitation. The Homewood Residents' Association, for example, was one of the most prolific letter writers to city officials calling for increased police presence and reminding politicians that "(C)ity tax revenue per acre is highest in the areas presently blighted by street prostitution."[37] In the South of Carlton neighbourhood a group called The Work Committee on Street Prostitution began a letter writing campaign amongst residents on Ontario Street asking the federal government for tougher laws on street solicitation. Their stock letter was transparent in its worry about property values, specifically naming the area as containing "expensive renovated homes interspersed with a few older rooming houses" and that the presence of street solicitation "has effectively slowed or stopped the sale of houses."[38]

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[36] In a 1977 survey of 108 residents around the Isabella and Huntley, conducted by then city councillors Dan Heap and Allan Sparrow, most respondents advocated for increased policing. Offices of Dan Heap and Allan Sparrow "Prostitution Activities in Isabella/Huntley Area," Survey (November 24, 1977), CTA, Dan Heap Fonds: 1327-461975-13.

[37] Tom Morris, Chairman of the Homewood Residents Association, "Letter to John Sewell" (June 30, 1982), CTA, John Sewell Fonds 1306-143781-13.

[38] "Open Letter to John Crosbie, Minister of Justice" (May 1, 1985); Joanne Campbell, "Letter to Residents of Ontario Street," (May 1, 1985); Harold Rubbra, "Letter to residents of Ward 7," (May 1, 1985). All letters found in CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds: 1594-138857-4.

These letters motivated John Sewell, Jack Layton, and Joanne Campbell, three city aldermen that represented Toronto's downtown and East Downtown, to organize a series of neighbourhood meetings to discuss possible solutions. These meetings were opportunities for neighbourhood promoters to meet with politicians and the police and to influence the regulation of public space in their neighbourhoods. Given that those attending these meetings were powerless to change the law they served more to pressure police and politicians to focus on particular "problem" areas, normally in places where wealthier residents expected officials to protect their property values. A popular outcome was for aldermen to suggest and sometimes help to implement a change in traffic patterns to make it more difficult for clients seeking sex to cruise in areas where residents were complaining. This solution was usually coupled with a commitment by the police to increase their presence and harassment of sex workers on the streets in question.[39] Occasionally complainants would respond positively to these measures, but others reported that they simply motivated sex workers and their clients to nearby streets.[40]

Sex workers also did not respond passively to these attempts to displace them. In the late 1970s a group of sex workers founded Better End All Vicious Erotic Repression (BEAVER), the first of several public facing sex worker led organizations that protected workers from police and citizen harassment, organizing that will be covered more in the next chapter. The perspective of sex workers themselves was, however, noticeably absent from these meetings with local citizens. The involvement of the police and the hostility of local homeowners likely dissuaded sex

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[39] For minutes of a series of meetings hosted by John Sewell and Jack Layton in 1982, see CTA, Jack Layton Fonds 1361-140026-1. For minutes hosted by Joanne Campbell, see "Neighbourhood Meeting: Prostitution in the Berkeley, Seaton, Ontario St. (Carlton and Gerrard)," (July 19, 1984) CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds: 1594-138857-4.

[40] For example, a letter to the Metro Toronto Board of Commissioners from a resident of Pembroke Street stated, "It appears that rerouting traffic in the Isabella/Gloucester area and on Maitland Street has been successful in curtailing street prostitution in those areas. Unfortunately, it appears that all these persons are now working outside my front door." Willian B. Hussey, "Letter to John Campbell, Executive Secretary of the Metro Board of Commissioners of Police," (October 23, 1986). For this and other letters like it, see CTA, Jack Layton Fonds 1361-140026-12.

workers from attending, but the fact that many sex workers were stakeholders as both residents and workers does not seem to have been considered. Still, sex workers refused to relinquish the places where they worked or their right to occupy space. One of the frequent complaints by local homeowners was that sex workers and their clients assembled in groups and were making noise, or that they defended themselves when confronted by residents. Focussing exclusively on perceptions of their own safety and property values, these complainants did not seek to understand the nature or demands of local sex work.[41] When sex workers asserted their right to work from a familiar location, they did so to protect incomes and worker safety. Few attendees at these meetings seem to have considered the possibility that sex workers might apply this knowledge and help find solutions to their complaints. Neighbourhood promoters simply did not see sex workers as compatible with their version of an improved neighbourhood. Nor were they willing to consider the longer history of sex work in the area or how this recent "crisis" of street solicitation coincided with the phenomenon of whitepainting.

Neighbourhood promoters pushed politicians and police to crack down on "winos" and street solicitation as an attempt to make local public space conform with their vision of market-driven neighbourhood improvement. In areas with high concentration of public property, most notably in Regent Park, working-class residents had some protection against gentrification. There, the police of the 51 Division sought to regulate and contain behaviour they saw as incompatible with the rapidly changing surrounding area. Located within Regent Park at 30 Regent Street, the 51 Division had long been at odds with local youth, but as the area around

[41] In one letter an E.W.G. Chick described how the police needed to "focus on and identify those organizing the girls – there is no question but that there is an organization as the girls are on a regular rotation basis." The author does not, however, consider the meaning of this organization other than to thwart attempts at policing. E.W.G. Chick, "Letter to Jack Layton RE: Gloucester Street, Toronto," (August 30, 1983) CTA, Jack Layton Fonds 1361-140026-1

them became more diverse their approach to youth surveillance and policing became increasingly racialized.[42]

After the 1976 racism motivated conflict in Regent Park described in the previous chapter, a police liaison group set up "Project 51" to facilitate dialogue between the people of Regent Park and the police. Project 51 was, however, soon discontinued because the local community did not appear to want to participate in the police driven dialogue.[43] This refusal to participate in mediation at the behest of the police was not surprising considering many police officers mimicked and contributed to the racist behaviors that had sparked the 1976 incident in the first place. In fact, William Dickson, the same officer who was thanked by the Cabbagetown BIA for helping to remove unsavoury characters from the street, was later accused of racial discrimination in an Ontario Human Rights Tribunal case over a 1976 incident involving a fellow officer of South Asian descent. Although the complaint against Dickson was eventually dismissed, the proceedings revealed a pervasive culture of racist harassment and name-calling within the 51 Division, particularly toward Black and Brown officers.[44]

The 51 Division undoubtably carried these racial prejudices into the field. Black youths in the area around Regent Park frequently reported the police for racist harassment (both verbal and physical) and in 1982 150 people met at the Parliament Street Library to form the Regent

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[42] In 1970 the 51 Division hosted a meeting with local youth at the Central Neighbourhood House wherein youth complained that the police were not being honest in how they approached youth and complained that certain police officers often repeatedly harassed certain teenagers who had not committed a crime. "Youth, Police discuss issues," *Seven News*, July 17, 1970. In 1974, members of the Regent Park Community Improvement Area complained to city officials that police from the 51 division had raided a dance for local youth. Witnesses described two officers bursting in on the heavily supervised event and demanding to see identification cards. They then put one teen in handcuffs and when a second protested the officers threw him to the ground and began to hit him. The race of the assault victim was not mentioned but the fact that the police were willing to engage in such heavy-handed tactics in a crowded room full of witnesses suggests that this type of behavior was not uncommon. Janet Ross, "Letter to Inspector Marks, Station #51," (July 11, 1974), CTA, John Sewell Fonds 1306-145907-8.
[43] Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner, "Regent Park Report," (January 1985), 1.
[44] "Ahluwalia v. Metropolitan Toronto Board of Commissioners of Police, Board of Inquiry, 1983 Ontario Human Rights Commission, BOI 185. Found online: https://archive.org/stream/boi185/boi185_djvu.txt

Park Committee Against Police Harassment. The founders of the committee reported frequent experiences of verbal and physical harassment, particularly toward Black youth, and called for "a truly independent review of police activities." The committee began to track complaints against the 51 Division, noting that police frequently stopped Black youth for no reason. Tensions escalated after a local youth named David Baxter died in police custody. The coroners report described the reason for death as a drug overdose, but many Regent residents did not trust the police explanation. The Committee Against Police Harassment began circulating a poster that depicted a police officer aggressively grabbing a Black youth, to which officers within the 51 Division responded with accusations of outside agitation. These renewed tensions led to a public complaints commissions inquiry which found that police frequently patrolled Regent Park playground areas in anticipation of crimes and they often used racist slurs when referring to Black residents. Residents also reported that the police targeted Black residents more than white ones and that they tended to pursue Black suspects with excessive numbers and with excessive force.[45]

The Toronto police did not suddenly become racist in the 1970s and Regent Park was not the only place where police racism was a problem. But, as the area around Regent Park was gentrifying, the police harassment of Black youth (particularly after the 1976 conflict) was also shaped by racist assumptions that their mere presence might signify local decline. Historian Sean Purdy has demonstrated how since the 1950s the media increasingly stigmatised Regent Park as a slum without recognizing how government disinvestment from the housing project contributed to this image. Purdy also links this disinvestment to the federal government's anxiety about how

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[45] Regent Park Committee Against Police Harassment, "Public Statement," February 9, 1984, CTA, Jack Layton Fonds 1361-1400260-12; Office of the Public Complaints Commissioner, "Regent Park Report," (January 1985).

to reconcile the existence of public with private housing, an anxiety that apparently motivated the federal government to avoid building public housing units that were "too nice."[46]

As was described above, organized homeowners in Don Vale often spoke of the incompatibility of subsidized housing with their neighbourhood, an opinion that was re-enforced by their proximity to a large public housing project that the government seemed to want to fail. Though rarely mentioned by Cabbagetown residents, their southern border of Gerrard Street also marked the boundary between their overwhelmingly white neighbourhood and the increasingly diverse Regent Park. Though the census did not include detailed questions about race and ethnicity, by 1986 only 5 of 4,398 (0.1 percent) residents in Cabbagetown identified as Black compared with 745 of 6,741 (11 percent) residents in Regent Park.[47] As Regent Park became more diverse during the 1970s the pre-existing racism within the 51 Division complemented the aspirations of neighbourhood promoters who sought to build separation between their neighbourhood and the stigma the media attributed to Regent Park. The over-policing of Regent Park, particularly of Black residents, therefore, was also about surveying and containing bodies that middle-class neighbourhood promoters who lived in the surrounding area saw as less compatible with neighbourhood improvement.[48]

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[46] Sean Purdy, '"Ripped Off" By the System: Housing Policy, Poverty, and Territorial Stigmatization in Regent Park Housing Project, 1951-1991," *Labour/Le Travail* 52 (2003): 45-108.

[47] The 1971 and 1981 census included very limited selection options for race and ethnicity. Census respondent were also far more likely to identify as Chinese, South Asian, and Indigenous in Regent Park (19, 1.5, and 1.1 percent respectively) than in Cabbagetown (6, 0.2, and 0.3 percent respectively), though this disparity was greatest for those who identified as Black. This data is from CHASS Census Analyser for 1986.

[48] For more on how the neoliberal "organized abandonment" of the state since the 1960s, how it coincided with the opening up immigration in Canada, and how this abandonment penalized Black people in particular, see Robyn Maynard, *Policing Black Lives: State Violence in Canada From Slavery to the Present* (Halifax & Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2017), 71-81. For more on the ways that anti-urban renewal organizations like those that took root in Cabbagetown reproduced longer histories of Black exclusion and anti-Black racism, see Ted Rutland, *Displacing Blackness: Planning, Power, and Race in Twentieth-Century Halifax* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 165-203. For more on the specific boundary between Cabbagetown and Regent Park, see Luisa Veronis, "Exploring the Margin: The Borders Between Regent Park and Cabbagetown" (MA thesis: University of Toronto, 1999).

This anxiety over the alleged incompatibility of a large public housing project with private market driven 'improvement' also spilled over into city-planning practices. Following the report by the police complaints commission, activists, bureaucrats, and police formed the Advisory Committee on Police-Community Relations in Regent Park. The Advisory Committee had a broad mandate and included many stakeholders who sat on subcommittees that addressed issues like youth employment and trespassing.[49] Members of the Advisory Committee also set up a "Private Space" subcommittee to create planning solutions to alleviate community-police tensions. According to members of this subcommittee, many of the incidents between police and community were sparked by misunderstandings over what qualified as public and private space. Because public housing tenants did not have access to adequate private outdoor space, they would often drink or barbecue outside, bringing them into conflict with police enforcing city bylaws. As a solution the Private Space Subcommittee imagined a series of fences surrounding the high-rise buildings of Regent Park South that would delineate a specific private space area for the residents of each building. These imagined private yards would be surveyed and cleaned by residents themselves and create a physical barrier between the supposedly problematic behavior of residents and the policing of public space.[50]

The Private Space Subcommittee did include three community members, but they were outnumbered by professional city employees, including city planners and representatives from the Metro Toronto Housing Authority. They stated that they were motivated by complaints by residents about problems in Regent Park, but their proposed solutions emerged from the

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[49] See report with Appendices: Regent Park Advisory Committee on Police-Community Relations "Package for Meeting with Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations," (May 28, 1986), CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds, 1594-138855-9.

[50] Sub-Committee on Private Space, "Initial Work and Recommendations for Future Work," (August 30, 1985); Subcommittee on Private Space, "Draft Proposal: Development of Private Space Within South Regent Park," (January 23, 1986). Both found in CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds, 1594-138855-9.

subcommittee itself. The proposed Private Space Subcommittee pilot project also involved appropriating sections of All Saints Square, a large public space in Regent Park South, to build private yards next to the five surrounding high-rise buildings. The subcommittee assumed the community would approve of these renovations, but they also proposed a survey to make sure that residents agreed with their plan.[51] To their surprise the answer was a resounding no. Even before the survey results came in, residents of several high-rises organized building meetings and requested that the Regent Park Residents Association oppose the conversion of public to private space. According to the Residents Association these tenants did not want more private spaces because it would "reduce the amount of public space that is used by the whole community," and were unhappy with "with the fact that Mr. Smith [a member of the subcommittee] had acted on his own analysis of the needs of the Regent Park people without significant input by the residents."[52] The eventual survey results confirmed this opposition; the 475 respondents were "overwhelmingly against separate space."[53]

In the context of rapid market driven gentrification neighbourhood promoters were anxious to make public spaces conform to their vision of improvement. This meant celebrating the allegedly pastoral, middle-class values of the new "Old Cabbagetown" and rejecting the recent past of working-class "Cabbagetown." Simply re-branding their neighbourhood through festivals and flags though did little to persuade long-term residents to consent to a vision of neighbourhood improvement that was in some cases literally driving them from their homes.

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[51] Subcommittee on Private Space, "Draft Proposal: Development of Private Space Within South Regent Park," (January 23, 1986), CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds, 1594-138855-9.
[52] Charles Smith was an activist who was employed by the Office of Multicultural and Race Relations at the City of Toronto, and was active member of the Private Space Committee. Angela Crichlow and Vance Latchford, Co-Chairs of the Regent Park Residents Association, "Letter to Ms. Rosanna Scotti, Director of the office of Multicultural and Race Relations," (May 13, 1986), CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds, 1594-138855-9.
[53] Regent Park Advisory Committee on Police-Community Relations, "Meeting Minutes," (September 2, 1986), CTA, Joanne Campbell Fonds, 1594-138855-10.

Neighbourhood promoters thus sought to persuade the regulators of public space: police, planners, and politicians, to help re-make the neighbourhood in their image.

Southwest, Montreal

When neighbourhood promoters in the Southwest thought about how to revitalize their neighbourhoods, they imagined something very different from their counterparts in Toronto. Business owners, politicians, and homeowners certainly wanted to improve their neighbourhood and were also motivated, at least in part, by their own economic interests. But, as evident by their choice of blue-collar mascot L'ourson Henri, neighbourhood promoters continued to celebrate their recent and ongoing history as an industrial and working-class neighbourhood. With a diminished pool of clients, most of whom had little disposable income, local businesses struggled to survive. Worried that the area would become a ghost-town, neighbourhood promoters organized through social clubs, business organizations, and political parties to improve their neighbourhoods. They sought first to slow job-loss by making the area attractive to industry and housing developers, and second, to beautify the neighbourhood to make it more attractive for new residents and shoppers. Post-industrial capital and workers were not, however, flowing into St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and Pointe-Saint-Charles. These neighbourhoods remained overwhelmingly working-class throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, and while blue-collar jobs were not necessarily plentiful, they remained the primary option for most residents of the Southwest. Given this context, neighbourhood promoters sought to reverse the decline in their industrial neighbourhoods instead of re-imagining them as post-industrial spaces.

By 1970 the local elite in the Southwest operated through a series of business and charitable institutions that had persisted for decades. In 1972, St-Henri activist Benoît Michaudville identified a distinct group of local elites who controlled the political machine.

These wealthy business owners, politicians, and religious leaders had consolidated and asserted their power through their involvement in local charitable organizations such as the Corporation du Foyer St-Henri, Club St-Denis, and the Knights of Columbus. Business owners and their friends further promoted their collective economic interests through the local association of businessmen: L'Ouest commercial et professionnel. The local newspaper also contributed to a local narrative that justified the leadership of local elites. Each month Jean-Jacques Mercier, editor of *La Voix Populaire* and member of L'Ouest commercial et professionnel, would name one of his friends the "L'homme du mois." Local politicians like city councillor Yvon Lamarre and provincial representative Gerard Shanks rose to power through many of these same voluntary and charitable organizations. Their political fortunes were both dependant on and responsive to the needs and opinions of these groups.[54]

Throughout the 1970s neighbourhood promoters increasingly coalesced around a single voice in municipal politics, Yvon Lamarre. Lamarre was born in the neighbourhood of Côte Saint Paul in 1935 and grew up in the area. After graduating with an economics degree from the Université de Montréal, he began working for his family's business, Lamarre & Frères furniture stores. Lamarre entered city politics in 1966 after he wrote a series of articles condemning Jean Drapeau for ignoring the poor state of housing in the Southwest. Drapeau was allegedly impressed by his organizing ability and asked him to run for his Civic Party. From there, the young Lamarre rose up through the party ranks, becoming the vice-chairmen of the executive council in 1974 and the chairmen in 1978, a position second only to that of the mayor.[55] Later in life, Lamarre described his motivation for entering politics as rooted in his experiences growing

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[54] Benoît Michaudville et al., *Les gens du Québec: St-Henri* (Montreal: Éditions Québecoises, 1972), 15-19.
[55] Barry Lazar, "Yvon Lamarre: The Merchant Politician," *The Montreal Business Report*, September/October, 1981, 22-25.; "Le Parti Civique de Montreal: Fisha de renseignements Yvon Lamarre," September, 1978, found in the Fond Yvon Lamarre: Ville de Montréal (VDM) CA M001 P085 D07.

up and running his store in the Southwest. The Montreal Gazette summarized his story in the following way:

> "In the years he grew up here, Lamarre saw neighbors [sic] leave one after the other for a better life in the suburbs. Once-thriving factories were shuttered up, leaving the highest unemployment rate in the city in their wake. The flight of shopkeepers to suburban shopping malls drained the blood out of the main shopping drag in the area, Notre Dame Street."[56]

Even as the chairmen of Montreal's executive committee, Lamarre continued to manage his retail empire in the Southwest, and remained connected to local business associations, social clubs, and the editorial staff of *La Voix Populaire*.[57] *La Voix* frequently reported favorably on Lamarre's efforts to revitalize the area, giving him a column called "Échos de la ville" to communicate directly with their readers. Through this column, Lamarre provided updates on how his policies would positively affect the Southwest, connecting his initiatives with what he argued was Montreal's biggest priorities: the revitalization of housing, commercial areas, and industry.[58] By reversing the decline of industry and housing, he argued that the Southwest and other deindustrializing neighbourhoods in Montreal could bounce back. True to his business-like approach to municipal politics, Lamarre sought to achieve this by attracting private investment. To make the area attractive for investment Lamarre organized with and was the mouthpiece for a group of neighbourhood promoters who, above all, sought public subsidy to reverse decline.[59]

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[56] Ingrid Peritz, "The Man who Might be Mayor: To Understand Yvon Lamarre Visit his Fiefdom in the Southwest," *The Montreal Gazette*, May 3, 1986.

[57] As of September, 1986, Yvon Lamarre lived on Rue Briand on the border of Côte Saint Paul and Ville Émard and could be found on most days at his furniture and appliance store at 3723 Notre-Dame West: Ingrid Peritz, "The Man who Might be Mayor: To Understand Yvon Lamarre Visit his Fiefdom in the Southwest," *The Montreal Gazette*, May 3, 1986.

[58] Yvon Lamarre, "Notre première préoccupation: le logement. Notre plus grande inquiétude: le développement industriel," from the Echos de la ville collumn, *La Voix Populaire*, February 28, 1978.

[59] Lamarre strongly urged Montreal's business community to advocate at different levels of government to open the city up to business by investing in public projects and reducing taxes and government interference in business. Yvon Lamarre, "Montreal, Déjà Demain," Speech given at the Montreal Chamber of Commerce's annual congress (June 15, 1979), found in Fond Yvon Lamarre: VDM, CA M001 P085 D03.

At the municipal level, Lamarre and his Civic Party created the Commission d'initiative et de développement économique de Montréal (CIDEM) in 1979 to consult on new plans for urban revitalization and economic development. Governed by a body of 92 of the city's "economic leaders," CIDEM sought to facilitate housing, industrial and commercial development in the city.[60] In that same year, the city also introduced Opération 10,000 logements (later increased to 20,000 logements) as a plan to attract middle-class people back to the central city. The plan enabled the city government to sell or rent land to private housing developers who would agree to build housing units within a specified cost range. Explicitly designed to build affordable housing for middle-class residents, 10,000 logements was to reverse the population exodus from aging and deindustrializing neighbourhoods.[61]

To make neighbourhoods more attractive for middle-class resettlement Lamarre and other neighbourhood promoters in the Southwest also used beautification funds to hide decline. Each year between 1978 and 1981 local merchants worked with different levels of government to spruce up their commercial districts. These campaigns for the most part involved modest cosmetic upgrades of sidewalks and the installation of planter boxes along the street. In 1981, however, the city government divested some responsibility for beautification when they legislated their own form of business improvement areas called Sociétés d'initiative et de développement des artères commerciales (SIDAC). Modelled after BIAs in Ontario, SIDAC's permitted business owners in a particular area to assemble collectively and collect a tax that each

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[60] Jean-François Léonard and Jacques Léveillée, *Montréal After Drapeau*, (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986), 60-68 and 110-114.

[61] Léonard and Léveillée, *Montréal After Drapeau*, 110-114. With its large pool of vacant land, the Southwest was an ideal target for the housing program and by 1988 had accounted for 16.5 percent of all program associated housing units: Geoffrey Paul DeVerteuil, "Evolution and Impacts of Public Policy on the Changing Canadian Inner City: Case Study of Southwest Montreal" (MA thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1993), 62-64.

business within the area was mandated to pay. These funds could then be used to improve collective infrastructure or promote the area.[62]

Both Opération 10,000 logements and beautification subsidies were designed to attract middle-class residents and shoppers back to the central city, but Lamarre acknowledged that for most of his constituents' housing was only one sign of decline. Ongoing deindustrialization had precipitated the recent out-migration and caused high levels of unemployment. Lamarre, therefore, emphasized re-industrialization as a central pillar to revitalization. In 1978, Southwest representatives from all three levels of government (Lamarre from the city, Jacques Couture the province, and Gérard Loiselle the federal government) announced the formation of the Comité de développement industriel du Sud-Ouest (CDISO) to combat local deindustrialization. Open to local firms, the CDISO was a forum to discuss how to keep factories in the area and to pressure different levels of government to create pro-industry policy and subsidies.[63] With the formation of the municipality-wide CIDEM the next year, this Southwest model was expanded to cover the entire city and given formal power to introduce policy and subsidies.[64]

The move to facilitate privately driven urban revitalization and economic development spoke to Lamarre's persona as a business first politician, but it also reflected the will of a strong coalition of neighbourhood promoters and local voters of various income levels who routinely and overwhelmingly elected Lamarre to city council. In the five elections in which he ran for

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[62] Alain Bourget, "Le Dame Fleurie? La rue Notre-Dame choisie pour un pilote d'envergure," *La Voix Populaire,* March 12, 1978; "Les rues Notre-Dame et Monk entrent dans la campagne de revitalisation," *La Voix Populaire*, March 27, 1979; Yves Lachance, "A une semaine des Floralies: L'Opération 1,000,000 de fleurs est lancée," *La Voix Populaires,* May 13, 1980; "Assemblée d'information pour la SIDAC St-Henri," *La Voix Populaire,* March 3, 1981.

[63] Jean-Jacques Mercier, "Un comité de développement fondé par les industriels de la région," *La Voix Populaire,* April 4, 1978.

[64] In the early 1980s the Municipal Government founded a rash of new bodies to carry out industrial renewal including the Programme de cooperation industrielle à Montréal (PROCIM) which created and issued bonds and funded property tax relief and the Programme de renovation d'aires industrielle de Montréal (PRAIMONT) which provided funds for infrastructure renovations. Léonard and Léveillée, *Montréal After Drapeau*, 110-114.

office between 1966 and 1982 he won an average of 77 percent of the total popular vote in an overwhelmingly working-class district, and never won less than 68 percent.[65] He also never lost, instead leaving politics before the 1986 election. There were some neighbourhood organizations in the area that opposed Lamarre, but he maintained strong connections to many mixed-income residents' groups like the Association des Parents de St-Henri, who were enthused by Lamarre's commitment to improving local infrastructure. Such was the electoral base commanded by Lamarre; because the area was only minimally gentrifying and blue-collar re-industrialization was a central component of Lamarre's plan, most working-class people could agree with neighbourhood promoters that local revitalization was a good thing.[66]

These overlapping interests sometimes motivated neighbourhood promoters and working-class residents to stand together, organizing against factory closures and for better access to low-income housing and public health resources.[67] Beginning in the late 1970s, business associations that operated around commercial strips became the major drivers of this inter-class neighbourhood alliance as they fought to compete with the growing number of suburban shopping centers. From their position on the edge of the city of Montreal, Southwest business associations feared that suburban shopping centres would divert local consumers away from their

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[65] Linked from a digital exposition on the city of Montreal website called *La démocratie à Montréal : de 1830 à nos jours*: City of Montreal, "Résultats électoraux 1833-2005," http://www2.ville.montreal.qc.ca/archives/democratie/democratie_fr/expo/savoir-plus/index.shtm (accessed May 16, 2019)

[66] In a meeting in 1976 organized by the Association des Parents de St-Henri Lamarre described the city's plan to co-operate with the provincial and federal government to subsidize housing renovations, thus incentivising landlords or homeowners to fix housing and bring it up to code without significantly raising rents. Some in attendance did raise the point that even with subsidies renovations could have the effect of increasing property taxes or motivating landlords to de-convert subdivided apartments, both of which might displace low-income tenants. Lamarre, however, fielded the question sufficiently that the reporter covering the event described it as a "total success." "M. Yvon Lamarre et la subvention à la restauration," *La Voix Populaire,* November 9, 1976; Robert Leduc, "100 personnes à l'Eden: Yvon Lamarre parle de restauration," *La Voix Populaire*, November 23, 1976; Michel St-Germain, "Réaménagement du Quartier St-Henri Nord," *La Voix Populaire*, April 19, 1977.

[67] Such a coalition existed around the St-Henri Hospital campaign discussed in chapter 2.

stores and services.[68] To fight back they mobilized people across the Southwest and leaned on Yvon Lamarre to prevent nearby commercial developments. They positioned themselves as pro-jobs, insisting that new shopping centres would force local stores out of business and workers out of jobs, and that re-industrializing was, in fact, the best way to offset high unemployment. Through petitions, lobbying, and demonstrations, business associations and their allies helped build consensus around a development model that they felt would reverse decline.

The most involved business association led campaign became known as the Shopping Centre Affair and involved opposition to the re-zoning of industrial land for commercial use. In the Southwest, the first of these controversies involved the Defense Industries Limited (DIL) lands in the city of Verdun. Bordering Pointe-Saint-Charles in a separate municipality just outside the city limits, the DIL lands had once housed a massive inter-war munitions industry. After 1950, the federal government sold the land to a collective of industries employing approximately 4,000 people. Firms, however, left the area in increasing numbers over the next thirty years, and by 1978 *La Voix Populaire* reported that only 200 people worked at the one million square foot site that was now 75 percent empty.[69] In 1979, the Verdun city council introduced a proposal to re-zone the DIL industrial land for commercial use. The land was ideally suited for a suburban shopping centre that would cater to inner-city residents, and the Verdun city council moved to sell the land to a developer that planned to build a Super Steinberg shopping centre. Business associations located on the nearby commercial strips of Wellington, Centre, Notre-Dame, and Monk Street, who were understandably worried about the potential of

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[68] "La Plaza St-Henri désire redorer le nom de la "Dame"" *La Voix Populaire*, November 18, 1975.
[69] "On veut un parc industriel sur la site de la D.I.L." *La Voix Populaire,* September 11, 1979.

lost business, quickly mobilized as the Merchants of the Southwest to contest the re-zoning and sale.[70]

With their friends at *La Voix Populaire* the Merchants of the Southwest launched an intensive local media campaign against re-zoning. They argued that while a new shopping centre might create a few jobs, it would also run independent stores out of business, which employed 8,000 across Verdun, St-Henri, Côte St-Paul, Ville-Émard, and Pointe-Saint-Charles. They further argued that they should use municipal funding to redevelop the area into a modern industrial park and attract new factories, something they alleged would create between 3,000 and 5,000 new industrial jobs. *La Voix Populaire* supported this position, publishing a series of articles siding with local merchants and celebrating the recent industrial past of the land in question, suggesting that re-industrialization would be in keeping with the area's blue-collar character.[71] This line of argument resonated well with the largely working-class population of the Southwest and Verdun that was suffering from high levels of unemployment. To harness this popular support, the merchants organized their own referendum, setting up booths in their businesses where residents could choose between industrial or commercial zoning. For two weeks in early October, 14,464 people allegedly voted, with 85 percent declaring their support for industrial use.[72]

In the wake of the vote the provincial Minister of Urban Affairs intervened, demanding a study to assess the local impact of re-zoning.[73] The mayor of Verdun responded by temporarily

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[70] "1,000,000. de pi. Carrés à utiliser mais comment???," *La Voix Populaire,* September 4, 1979.
[71] "1,000,000. de pi. Carrés à utiliser mais comment???," *La Voix Populaire,* September 4, 1979; "On veut un parc industriel sur la site de la D.I.L." *La Voix Populaire,* September 11, 1979; "Pour ou contre le projet de la D.I.L.? A vous d'aller voter." *La Voix Populaire*, October 2, 1979.
[72] "Pour ou contre le projet de la D.I.L." *La Voix Populaire,* October 2, 1979; "Au sujet de la D.I.L. dernière chance pour voter," *La Voix Populaire,* October 9, 1979; "D.I.L. victoire des marchands du Sud-Ouest." *La Voix Populaire,* October 23, 1979.
[73] "D.I.L. victoire des marchands du Sud-Ouest." *La Voix Populaire,* October 23, 1979.

withdrawing the proposal, but two years later re-introduced the issue while a second shopping center was proposed further west in the neighbouring municipality of Lasalle. With the proposals to convert nearby industrial land mounting, local business associations shifted tactics and began to pressure local provincial politicians to take a side.[74] In an article in *La Voix Populaire* the Merchants of the Southwest suggested that business owners and citizens opposed the anti-democratic process by which several corporate giants could unilaterally transform the neighbourhood. They pointed out that the law required consultations only with people in the municipality where re-zoning took place, a process that excluded impacted businessowners and workers in adjacent municipalities. To fix this problem they, and their Montreal-based municipal ally Yvon Lamarre implored the province to put a moratorium on all new shopping centres in Quebec.[75] While the provincial government did not go so far as to halt development, soon thereafter the Mayor of Verdun announced that he was now in favor of re-zoning the land for residential use, suggesting that he had reason to believe the provincial government would now provide subsidies for residential development.[76]

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[74] The Merchants of the Southwest were not the only business owners in Montreal worried about the conversion of industrial land for commercial use. In a highly public fight on the other side of the city business owners and neighbourhood organizations in Rosemont successfully convinced the city of Montreal to abandon a proposal to re-zone the Shop Angus industrial yards for commercial use. The city instead re-zoned the area for residential use and co-operated with other levels of government to build 2587 subsidized non-profit and co-operative housing units. Unfortunately, the Merchants of the Southwest could not take advantage of a sympathetic Montreal municipal government as both Verdun and Lasalle were separate municipalities. For more on the fight against commercial re-zoning in Rosemont, see Société Canadienne d'hypotheques et de logement, *Reamenagement de terrains Angus-Montreal* (Quebec 2015), https://www-cmhc-schl-gc-ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/fr/prin/celoab/celoab/reou/stetcaloab/idloab/rere/rete/index.cfm.

[75] The Merchants of the Southwest strongly opposed provincial Bill 125, which required that consultations be open only to very local stakeholders. "Les marchands du Sud-Ouest font front commun dans l'affaire de la D.I.L.," *La Voix Populaire*, February 17, 1981; "Construction d'un centre d'achats à Ville LaSalle: Une autre guerre à finir pour les marchands du Sud-Ouest," *La Voix Populaire,* February 24, 1981; "La construction de centres d'achats dans le Sud-Ouest: Les conseillers municipaux doivent s'impliquer," *La Voix Populaire,* March 17, 1981; "L'affaire des centre d'achats: Les commerçants du Sud-Ouest exigent une enquête," *La Voix Populaire,* March 31, 1981; "La Ville de Montréal s'implique dans la'affaire des centres d'achats: Le gouvernement provincial dira-t-il OUI à la demande d'un moratoire sur les centres commerciaux faite par Yvon Lamarre," *La Voix Populaire,* April 28, 1981.

[76] "L'usage du terrain de la D.I.L.: Le maire Lucien Caron a changé d'idée: une première victoire pour les marchands," *La Voix Populaire,* June 2, 1981. The DIL lands would eventually be re-zoned as residential and housing developers built 400 new units on the former industrial land including approximately 100 subsidized co-

While the Merchants of the Southwest were able to mobilize people in their neighbourhoods to pressure politicians, they were less successful at maintaining consensus within their ranks. As part of their plan to re-vitalize the working-class neighbourhoods, Montreal's Civic Party introduced legislation that empowered business associations to self-govern their commercial strips in 1980. Like BIAs, Sociétés d'initiative et de développement des artères commerciales, or SIDACs, acquired the power to gather mandatory taxes from services and businesses in their territory. Seizing on the momentum of anti-shopping centre organizing, the municipal government hoped that they could divest some responsibility for commercial strip re-vitalization to local merchants. Unfortunately, SIDACs did not take off in Montreal as they had in Toronto.[77] In the Southwest, merchants already feeling the pinch from the recent out-migration of consumers likely could not afford the additional taxes. New middle-class consumers had not moved into their neighbourhoods in numbers that warranted investing large amounts of their time and money on collectively re-vitalizing their commercial strips.

In May 1981 Plaza Monk in Ville Émard set out to form their own SIDAC and invited Yvon Lamarre to speak at their founding meeting. Lamarre spoke at length about competition from suburban shopping malls and described how SIDACs were the solution because, ultimately, it was up to business districts to make themselves more attractive to consumers. He also argued that this was possible because consumer tastes were shifting back toward the "qualité, l'exclusivité et le service," available at smaller businesses.[78] After a month of consultation the city formally constituted the SIDAC and implemented the additional tax on local businesses.

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operative units. Denis Gravel and Hélène Lafortune, *Verdun: 125 and d'histoire, 1875-2000* (Montreal: Société de recherche historique Archiv-Histo Inc., 2000), 256-265.

[77] Léonard and Léveillée, *Montréal After Drapeau*, 65-67.

[78] Quotation by Yvon Lamarre part of a speech reprinted in the following article: Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Un grand moment pour les marchands de la Plaza Monk: Dépôt de la requête officielle pour constituer en SIDAC," *La Voix Populaire*, May 19, 1981.

Almost immediately, however, an oppositional coalition of business owners led by Carlo Gatti began collecting signatures to dissolve it. Gatti argued that the taxes were too high for most business owners to survive and that the pool of money did not sufficiently benefit smaller business owners. The controversy over SIDAC Monk boiled over at a meeting to formally dissolve in 1982, where the police had to be called in for fear of a riot. When the assembly finally voted 87 members voted to dissolve while only 67 voted against. The 87, however, fell 8 votes short of the 50 percent of all registered members needed, meaning SIDAC Monk survived.[79]

In 1982 the municipal government acknowledged that many struggling businesses simply could not afford SIDAC fees and legislated a new subsidy of up to $50,000 per year for five years. These new funds, however, did not eliminate opposition.[80] In 1983, the plan to form SIDAC Notre-Dame in St-Henri was met with hostility when a group of approximately fifteen merchants from the west end of the neighbourhood declared they wanted to form their own business association. A dépanneur owner who spoke for the dissenting merchants explained their desire for an independent, voluntary business association as because a SIDAC Notre-Dame would be dominated by businesses on the east side of the neighbourhood. Merchants in favour of forming a SIDAC responded dismissively to these complaints, but the truth was that many

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[79] "Une nouveau ère de prospérité s'ouvre avec la création de la SIDAC Monk," *La Voix Populaire*, June 30, 1981; Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Nous avons engagé deux avocats pour défendre notre cause," *La Voix Populaire*, December 15, 1981; Jean-Pierre Trudel, "La presque totalité des marchands-membres étaient présents à l'assemblée: 87 votent pour la dissolution de la SIDAC Monk…les dissidents à 8 votes de leur but," *La Voix Populaire*, February 23, 1982.

[80] St-Hubert was the first street to form a SIDAC in Montreal and experienced the most public controversy. At a meeting held in April 1982 a faction of business owners on St-Hubert tried to pass a motion to dissolve the SIDAC, and 105 members voted with them. They accounted, however, for only 26 percent of all merchants in the SIDAC area and thus failed: "Soutenue par 74% de ses members: Une autre SIDAC survit à une motion de dissolution," *La Voix Populaire*, April 27, 1982. Soon after the St-Hubert vote the city determined that they could not expect SIDACs to survive on member generated taxes initially, and that they would have to subsidize them; "La Ville adopte un programme pour accélérer le développement des SIDAC," *La Voix Populaire*, August 31, 1982.

business owners across the Southwest were not that interested in founding SIDACs.[81] That same year the municipal government organized the first of several information sessions on how to form and take full advantage SIDACs in the Southwest. Drapeau and Lamarre invited the over 550 business owners from Rue Notre-Dame, Monk, and Centre to the event, but apparently only about 40 bothered to show up. The editor of *La Voix Populaire* was deeply bothered by the poor showing and used his editorial to reprimand local business owners, calling their indifference to improving their neighbourhood deplorable.[82]

It is possible that some of the business owners were indifferent but the intense involvement in recent organizing suggests that many business owners did not see SIDACs as economically beneficial. The argument that businesses could pool money to offset commercial strip decline likely rang hollow to many given the scale of deindustrialization and the deterioration of infrastructure. Small business owners knew that most of their customers lived and shopped locally already, and without an influx of new residents who demanded 'beautified' shopping districts, the cost and effort required to form a SIDAC would have appeared unwarranted.[83]

The resistance to SIDAC's suggested that many local business owners saw little reason to shake up commercial practices that they had used for decades. Their neighbourhoods were changing, but their clientele remained predominantly local blue-collar families. This was clear in the blue-collar branding of festivals like the Fête Populaire de St-Henri, but it was also evident in

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[81] Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Le conflit ÉCLAT au grand jour: Une 2é Association de marchands sera formée sur la rue Notre-Dame,"*La Voix Populaire*, April 26, 1983.
[82] "L'exode vers les centre commerciaux de banlieue: Le commerce montréalais perd $250 millions par année," *La Presse*, April 12, 1983; Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Une indifférence déplorable," *La Voix Populaire*, April 26, 1983.
[83] A report published in 1983 revealed that shopping centres were less of a draw for Montreal-based shoppers than many had thought. In fact, the Montreal city centre diverted more shoppers from peripheral neighbourhoods like those in the Southwest. Still, the report found that most Montreal residents still travelled by foot and did most of their shopping locally. "L'exode vers les centre commerciaux de banlieue: Le commerce montréalais perd $250 millions par année," *La Presse*, April 12, 1983.

the relationship between local neighbourhood promoters and the police. Like their counterparts in Toronto, neighbourhood promoters in the Southwest also worried about crime. In the late 1970s and early 1980s *La Voix Populaire* frequently reported on the problem of juvenile delinquency and petty crime.[84] These anxieties, moreover, were shared by neighbourhood promoters and working-class residents alike, who saw youth committed vandalism and petty theft as representative of neighbourhood decline. Like middle-class residents in Toronto these Montreal residents organized to increase the policing of local public space.[85] This call for police action did not, however, reach the same level of moral panic as in Toronto, and neighbourhood promoters in the Southwest of Montreal did not, at least initially, openly advocate for the arrest or expulsion of neighbours.

During the 1970s *La Voix Populaire* frequently lamented the alleged increases in local vandalism and juvenile delinquency. In 1979 the director of the police division for Little Burgundy and Pointe-Saint-Charles, Gilles Bourgouin, acknowledged that this problem was serious, but emphasized that they were not dealing with hardened or career criminals. Instead Bourgouin downplayed the scale of these crimes and argued that they were motivated by economic and social circumstances. He also expressed frustration at the level of local vandalism, particularly on the bike path along the Lachine Canal, but stressed that the police could do little to eliminate this sort of crime.[86] This lackadaisical response understandably did not assuage the

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[84] *La Voix Populaire* published very little on policing or petty crime until the late 1970s and it became a common topic beginning in the early 1980s. Louis Pellerin, "Petite Bourgogne et Pointe St-Charles un sérieux problème de délinquance," *La Voix Populaire*, December 4, 1979; Yves Lachance, "Pour la sécurité des marchands: Visite et conseils des policiers," *La Voix Populaire*, October 7, 1980.

[85] In the mid-1970s a neighbourhood organization in Pointe-Saint-Charles called the Pointe Action Citizens Council (PACC) pushed for the police to assign "beat" policemen in their neighbourhood. PACC consisted primarily of working-class members who were "alarmed at the increase in muggings, purse snatching and petty theft in our area.": Ann White for the Police Committee (PACC), "Letter to Constable Custeau" (November 18, 1975) Fonds St-Columba House, Bibliothèques et Archives National du Québec, P611 2007-07-001/3, 008.05

[86] Louis Pellerin, "Petite Bourgogne et Pointe St-Charles un sérieux problème de délinquance," *La Voix Populaire*, December 4, 1979.

worries of local merchants, and in 1981 business owners in St-Henri eventually convinced the city to assign two beat policemen to patrol Notre-Dame Street. *La Voix Populaire* celebrated their arrival as well as their combined 43 years of experience. These more senior officers were assigned to deter crime and would visit businessowners to consult on how to make their establishments more secure. Assigned to two different sections of Notre Dame, these beat officers functioned primarily as consultants and did not police the area 24 hours a day. Unlike in Toronto, these beat policemen were there primarily to improve store security systems, not to (at least explicitly) cleanse the area of a specific type of undesirable that shop owners associated with criminality.[87]

Following from these early efforts to download security onto businesses, in the early 1980s the Montreal police department introduced Tandem as a crime prevention strategy that would elicit community support in surveillance and educating neighbours about crime prevention. By the end of 1982, St-Henri, Pointe-Saint-Charles, and Little Burgundy had all begun organizing volunteer quadrant committees to implement the "surveillance des quartiers." Quadrant captains were appointed in January 1983, but by September of that same year representatives announced that although over 1,000 volunteers had signed up, the plan was suspended until it could be implemented more effectively. Although the coordinator did not provide specific reasons for the failure, he described how social conditions in St-Henri and Pointe-Saint-Charles required different approaches than in the West-Island, a wealthier suburban part of the region where the program had allegedly worked. In the meantime, local leaders stated that they would concentrate on implementing a program called "Diversion Juvenile," which

[87] The *Voix Populaire* described the purpose of the new police as mostly to inform shop owners on how to prevent crime and commented on how they often were seen chatting with local residents: "Deux policiers en action: 43 ans d'expérience sur la rue Notre-Dame," *La Voix Populaire*, October 28, 1980.

sought to occupy at risk youth with services and activities.[88] The temporary suspension of the Tandem surveillance program in favor of an approach that provided activities and training to youth suggests that local organizers understood that recent waves of juvenile crime were related to high levels of poverty and unemployment.

This understanding was rooted in the fact that most people living in the Southwest remained working-class and many had children of their own. Though researchers noted an increase in middle-class people living in the Southwest during the 1980s, these numbers were primarily concentrated in one area of newly built housing at the east end of Little Burgundy closer to downtown. In St-Henri and Pointe-Saint-Charles, residential populations continued to decrease during the first half of the 1980s. Of those who remained, few owned their house or condo, with owner occupied housing making up less than twenty percent of dwellings in 1986. Though renters may have been worried about crime, they were not as concerned with property values and there is no evidence that homeowners formed organizations to represent their interests. Local organizations instead remained overwhelmingly committed to providing access to resources and services to working-class people.[89] Given the relative lack of newcomers to their neighbourhoods, the still predominantly working-class residents and their organizations

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[88] Police and government officials presented Tandem to educate people on how to keep their homes safe and to commit to watch out for their neighbours. It also, however, tacitly encouraged civilians to organize the surveillance and policing of their neighbourhoods. Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Opération Tandem: On sait ou, quand et comment les voleurs opèrent…au mois de novembre, on veut vous dira pourquoi et peut-être même qui!" *La Voix Populaire*, September 21, 1982; Chantal Auger, "Avec l'Opération Tandem: Les citoyens ne seront plus à la merci des bandits!" *La Voix Populaire*, October 26, 1982; Jean-Pierre Trudel, "L'Opération Tandem démarre dans Pointe St-Charles et la Petite Bourgogne," *La Voix Populaire*, November 2, 1982; "Capitaines de quadrilatère demandés pour l'Opération Tandem," *La Voix Populaire*, February 1, 1983; "Ce qu'est et ce que n'est pas le programme Surveillance des quartiers," *La Voix Populaire*, March 15, 1983; "Afin de trouver des solutions plus efficaces: L'Opération Tandem suspendue temporairement dans Pointe St-Charles et St-Henri" *La Voix Populaire*, September 13, 1983.

[89] Comité pour la relance de l'économie et de l'emploi du sud-ouest de Montréal, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic* (Montreal: CREESOM, 1989), 32-35, 61-62, 70, 268-284.

would have been more likely to understand who these juvenile delinquents were and less inclined to call for the additional policing of their neighbours' children.

This is not to suggest that the Montreal police were any gentler or that they did not selectively harass certain people from spending time in public space. Though rarely acknowledged by the local paper, race certainly shaped residents' ability to move through and feel safe in different parts of the Southwest. Vietnamese youth, most of whom had moved to the area with their parents as refugees, reportedly encountered multiple incidents of racism at a school in St-Henri including threats of violence. These racist threats eventually exploded into a brawl that left one Vietnamese boy and one white Quebecker with knife wounds. This incident of sensational violence was met with shock from local white residents but was surely preceded by more commonplace acts of bigotry.[90] Black residents in the Southwest had been experiencing and resisting forms of discrimination including restrictions to their local mobility for centuries. During the 1980s local Black youth faced frequent harassment and the denial of service by transit authorities. The police did little to assist the situation and helped enforce racialized boundaries by harassing Black youth in the area. Though not oriented exclusively toward the Southwest, the Little Burgundy-based organization the Negro Community Centre (NCC) reported frequent incidents of police harassment toward Black youth across the city. In one report the NCC provided detailed descriptions of several incidents in which the police refused to believe that Black people were Canadian Citizens and detained them to "verify their immigration status." Other incident reports confirmed the tendency for police officers to ignore it when Black people were the victims of crimes or to assume that they brought it on themselves. Many of these

[90] Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Un climat de violence provoqué par le racisme court à la polyvalente St-Henri," *La Voix Populaire*, October 2, 1982; Jean-Pierre Trudel, "Une graine de racisme," *La Voix Populaire*, October 5, 1982.

incidents also involved police entering the scene in disproportionate numbers and with weapons needlessly drawn.[91]

Though careful not to directly address the enforcement of longstanding racist practices in the Southwest, neighbourhood promoters absolutely celebrated the politicians, police, and other institutions that maintained them. Unlike in Toronto, however, Montreal's neighbourhood promoters did not demand a similar re-organization of policing to re-make their neighbourhoods until the very end of the 1980s, when a Canada-wide moral panic about drugs targeted Little Burgundy.[92] Before then, many of the demands of the police from neighbourhood promoters, such as for more beat police officers, suggested a desire to maintain existing social structures and not to re-make them for a new class of resident. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that local neighbourhood promoters fought against the kind of re-branding that had justified intensified police presence in and around Cabbagetown. During the 1980s housing developers used the 20,000 logements program to build a large quantity of market-rate housing in Little Burgundy. Like elsewhere in the Southwest, private developers were hesitant to invest in the area, and only contributed a portion of the units, the rest of which were built by city run development agencies. Worried by the lack of private investment, the city took it upon itself to change the name of the area around the new development to Georges-Vanier in order to disassociate from its reputation

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[91] "Recommendation of the Negro Community Centre Inc to the Public Security Council of the Montreal Urban Community," (May 28, 1979) folder 8, box HA04139, NCC Fond, Special Collections, Concordia Library; Steven High, "Little Burgundy: The Interwoven Histories of Race, Residence, and Work in Twentieth-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* vol. 46 no. 1 (Fall 2017), 25-26. The over-policing of Black youth had long been built into the Montreal and other Canadian police department's DNA: Maynard, *Policing Black Lives*, whole book but particularly 40-50.

[92] Maynard, *Policing Black Lives*, 92-101; High, "Little Burgundy," 25 and 40. For more on the police tactics to use the "war on drugs" to evict people from the Little Burgundy see: Kiley Goyette, "Urban Governance After Urban Renewal: The Legacies of Renewal and the Logics of Neighbourhood Action in Post-Renewal Little Burgundy (1979-1995)," (MA thesis: Concordia University, 2017): 71-102.

as a "sector for public housing."[93] The name George-Vanier commemorated a local man of Irish and French-Canadian descent who had risen through the military ranks to become an international diplomat and then Governor General.[94] Though undoubtably a man of historical importance, the re-branding of the neighbourhood also served to minimize the area's history as a home for Black and working-class people. The proposed name change did not go unchallenged. The local Parti Québécois submitted a letter to *La Voix Populaire* asking why city government would "want to erase an era, a history, a heart of country for a hundred people?"[95] Nevertheless, Lamarre and other city officials proceeded with the new name to encourage private investment.

Though these new houses did not immediately displace low-income residents long-standing neighbourhood organizations worried that conflict might arise in the future. In 1987 a coalition of neighbourhood organizations met to consider the threat posed by these new single-family homes. At their meeting, the coalition criticized the city government for favouring market housing and worried that the new concentration of middle-class homeowners might become antagonistic to the charitable services used by poor and working-class people in the area. Though most organizations in attendance served very low-income people and were not middle-class neighbourhood promoters, it is telling that they directed their scorn toward the city and not the homebuyers themselves. The minute taker of their meeting recorded that their problem was "a direct outgrowth of a development policy which favors the growth of condo's [*sic*] and other types of private-sector housing stock and a corresponding de-emphasing [*sic*] of the development

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[93] Translated from "Secteur de HLM": Yvon Laberge, "Montréal entend changer l'image et le nom de la Petite Bourgogne," *La Presse*, January 7, 1981.
[94] Jacques Monet and Danny Kucharsky, "Georges Vanier," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* February 14, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/georges-phileas-vanier.
[95] Translated from "vouloir effacer une époque, une histoire, un coeur de pays pour une centaine de gens." Conseil exécutif de l'association du Parti Québécois du Comté de Sainte-Anne, "Le PQ Ste-Anne s'oppose au changement de nom de la Petite Bourgogne," Letter reprinted in *La Voix Populaire*, February 3, 1981. For more on this topic, see Goyette, "Urban governance after urban renewal," 58-62.

of low-income and affordable housing stock" and that the attendees had decided to bring their concerns to the municipal government. The city wanted private market revitalization, but the homebuyers or other neighbourhood promoters had not yet been compelled to organize to re-make the surrounding area in their image. Even the city's top-down attempts to re-name the neighbourhood to encourage private investment eventually failed. The local press occasionally used the name Georges-Vanier, but Little Burgundy was used much more often. By 1990 activists in Little Burgundy began to motivate the city to officially abandon the George-Vanier name altogether.[96]

The municipal government's ineffective campaign to re-brand Little Burgundy to attract private investment reflected the more general sense that the Southwest remained an industrial and working-class area. As in Toronto, neighbourhood promoters in the Southwest demonstrated consistency in their efforts to 'improve' their neighbourhoods. They wanted to attract investment and sought government subsidy to do so. They also wanted to organize local stakeholders to help offset crime and beautify the neighbourhood. Because the population was still overwhelmingly working-class, and many local businesses owners and neighbourhood elites depended on their support, working-class people were considered compatible this improvement. Local neighbourhood promoters, therefore, did not oppose affordable housing and argued in favour of maintaining industrial jobs. They were also unable (at least immediately) to implement SIDACs and did not encourage policing programs designed to re-make their commercial strips for a new type of consumer. It is not that many businessmen and other neighbourhood promoters did not

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[96] "Community Development Meeting Held at Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre," (October 15, 1987), Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond, folder 3, box HA04139. The proceedings of this meeting are documented in Goyette's MA thesis. Goyette also notes the lack of private developer investment in the area and describes how the city eventually sought to rebrand the neighbourhood. Goyette, "Urban governance after urban renewal," 58-62.

want to ‘improve’ their neighbourhoods for a new class of resident, but that given the local economic reality, they simply could not make it happen.

Conclusion

The pace of deindustrialization, post-industrial development, and gentrification was not the sole determinant of social relations in the East Downtown or the Southwest. Longer and spatially broader histories also influenced how neighbourhood promoters made choices. But, during the period covered in this chapter, the terrain on which these broader histories played out in the East Downtown and the Southwest was shaped by localized manifestations of uneven economic change. How neighbourhood promoters felt about these changes influenced who they co-operated with and who they opposed. In the East Downtown rapid post-industrial development and the corresponding gentrification of the downtown core solidified a rift between working-class people who wanted to stay and neighbourhood promoters who organized for commodified neighbourhood improvement. In the Southwest, the slow pace of private investment created the opportunity for working-class people to sometimes organize alongside neighbourhood promoters without the same fear of displacement. In both cases neighbourhood promoters made decisions that reflected their interests, but not in conditions of their choosing.

Chapter 5

The Cost of Producing Neighbourhood Activist History

Uneven Development in Community Archives

Figure 5.1: Poster produced by the Kabbagetown Blackpainters (1979) next to poster produced by Projet St-Charles (1985). Source: Kabbagetowne Blackpainters, *Cabbagetown Cultural Festival* (Toronto: 1979). Connexions Archive; Comité St-Charles, *Découvrons ensemble notre passé, notre présent et organisons notre avenir* (Montréal: 1985). Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, McGill University, MUA 2008-0024.01.05.22

The above posters were produced and distributed in response to urban and economic change in their respective surrounding neighbourhoods. The first was circulated by a group of residents and activists using the name the Kabbagetowne Blackpainters in the newly branded Cabbagetown in 1979, just a few weeks before the local Business Improvement Association were to host their annual festival. The creator designed it to look like an official festival poster but filled it with tongue in cheek references to ongoing gentrification. After listing several of design characteristics that had been celebrated as characteristic of the Cabbagetown real estate boom, the creator of the poster made the explicit connection between local boosterism and gentrification, inviting readers to attend the festival to "see us evict tenants and sandblast their house." Likely assuming that not everyone would read their poster that closely, the Kabbagetowne Blackpainters purposefully included the wrong festival dates at the bottom of the poster.[1] The second poster was produced in 1985 by Projet St-Charles, an organization working to build low-income co-operative housing for the residents of Pointe-Saint-Charles. The poster depicts a train moving forward through time; most recently it passed through an industrial period, but the defining feature of the present remains unknown. The question mark suggests that there was yet to be a definitive post-industrial direction for the neighbourhood but based on the information in the poster one can assume that its creators hoped to fill the question mark with co-operative housing.[2]

The content of these two posters reflects something about the state of neighbourhood politics in their respective communities as they entered the 1980s and how these politics were related to localized manifestations of broader urban and economic change. On their own,

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[1] Kabbagetowne Blackpainters, *Cabbagetown Cultural Festival* (Toronto: 1979). Connexions Archive.
[2] Comité St-Charles, *Découvrons ensemble notre passé, notre présent et organisons notre avenir* (Montreal: 1985). Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, McGill University, MUA 2008-0024.01.05.22

however, they tell us little about organizing strategy or the people involved. For that, historians must search around in the archive to find contextual information about the organizations that produced them. But what if the archival record is uneven? What if some documents stand alone while others are surrounded by well organized archives? Such is the case with these two posters. The first was located in a file cabinet at the Connexions Archive in an office along Bloor Street in Toronto. Surrounded by documents that were also relevant to the life and work of the poster's creator, community archivist and former editor of *Seven News* Ulli Diemer, none of its neighbouring documents communicated anything further about the Kabbagetowne Blackpainters. The poster has since been uploaded to a digital archive named Alternative Toronto along with some brief context written by Diemer.[3] The second poster is located in the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles that is currently at McGill University. It is surrounded by a massive collection of textual documents produced mostly by a housing organization in Pointe-Saint-Charles – Regroupement information logement – that spans 970 folders and several decades. This housing collection sits next to an even larger set of documents produced by the local community clinic and another related to an adult education centre and an anti-poverty group. Though only one of these archives contains sufficient background information, the nature of the archives themselves tell us something about 1980s neighbourhood organizing in each place.[4]

This thesis has, so far, followed a history of neighbourhood organizing in one area in Toronto and Montreal out of the 1960s and into the early 1980s. As was pointed out in the third

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[3] Ulli Diemer, who is also the manager of Connexions, produced this poster. I found the poster while volunteering at Connexions and then contributed it to the Alternative Toronto archive where I later worked as a research assistant. To see more background on the poster by its creator see its page on Alternative Toronto: https://www.alternativetoronto.ca/archive/items/show/49

[4] I first encountered the poster of the train as a research assistant for Steven High during my Master's degree at Concordia University. For more on the dimensions and current state of the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles see: https://archivalcollections.library.mcgill.ca/index.php/popular-archives-of-pointe-st-charles-fonds

chapter, the history of these places was entangled in part because the provision of public funding made it more possible for neighbourhood organizations to maintain continuity and to produce and preserve textual collections. Federal dollars, therefore, supported a particular type of neighbourhood organizing bureaucracy AND the eventual preservation of its files in mainstream public archives. Without these sources of revenue some neighbourhood activists sought funding elsewhere to build continuity and keep archives, such as through dues or alternative public or private grants. Others, however, eschewed or were denied the stability of consistent funding, and worked instead through less formal and less expensive channels. Decisions on how to deal with these options shaped how neighbourhood organizations produced and saved textual records and continues to have resonance in contemporary archives of neighbourhood organizing.

Beyond government funding, local material conditions in both the East Downtown and the Southwest also shaped the landscape of publicly accessible archives. As the once similar industrial neighbourhoods of the East Downtown and the Southwest in the 1960s increasingly diverged through uneven post-industrial development, so to did the production of archives. The intensity of gentrification in the East Downtown meant that profit driven neighbourhood promoters like those who organized the Cabbagetown Festival took over many neighbourhood organizations during the second half of the 1970s. Housing costs and additional policing also further marginalized poor and working-class activists who were seeking access to safe jobs, homes, and the right to stay in their neighbourhoods. In spite of these pressures, certain efforts to produce and preserve archives of local organizing persisted, and several local collectives succeeded in founding archives that still exist today. In the Southwest, ongoing deindustrialization persisted with relatively little post-industrial development to take its place. Disinvestment relieved some gentrification pressure, allowing more continuity between the 1970s and 1980s, both in how people organized and how they recorded and preserved records of

organizing. The expansion of Quebec's provincial funding also relieved some of the costs of organizing and archiving, but these funds were linked to the economic development goals of political parties influenced by the Quiet Revolution. These funds were thus likely more accessible to French language organizations that reflected the values of these governments.

This chapter shifts the focus from how deindustrialization and post-industrial development shaped neighbourhood organizing to how it shaped the production of neighbourhood organizing archives. In doing so it follows from archivist Terry Cook's assertion that there is an important difference between theorizing the 'archive' and studying the construction of the brick-and-mortar 'archives' where people like Cook work and where many historians do their research.[5] Maintaining these publicly accessible textual archives requires material investment: money for rent, supplies, labour, and numerous intangibles depending on the nature of the archive, and their survival are thus based on historically contingent material conditions. This is particularly the case when there are fewer reliable sources of public funding, as was case when the federal government began to withdraw financial support for neighbourhood organizing in the late 1970s.

At first glance there appear to be more and larger publicly accessible archives depicting grassroots neighbourhood organizing in the Southwest than in the East Downtown during the 1980s. The continued expansion of the Quebec provincial state and comparatively cheap land in the Southwest helped make this so. What exists in the archive does not, however, reflect all that happened. Activists in both places worked and organized in ways that were historically significant but operated in conditions that were unfavourable to archiving. This was particularly

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[5] Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *Canadian Historical Review* 90 no. 3 (September 2009): 497-534.

the case for racialized, poor, disabled, LGBTQ+, and sex-worker activists who faced additional threats of arrest and violence.[6] Still, in both places, records of 1980s activism also exist in peoples' basements or memories, some of which are now becoming publicly accessible through digital and oral history archiving projects. I will describe several of these newly public facing archives in this chapter, but, as my period of focus concludes at the end of the 1980s, I will focus on what their contents tell us about the connection between neighbourhood activism and the production of archives during that decade.

Archive, archives, and collections

First, the complexity of the word "archive" demands that I describe how I will be using the term and why. In the following sections, I use the plural "archives" (or "Archive" with a capital A when describing a specific singular archive) to refer to "those brick-and-mortar institutions broadly concerned with the tasks of acquiring, preserving, and making accessible records of enduring value."[7] In using this definition I am not asserting that broader definitions of archives are invalid, and I recognize that within archival studies there are complex debates about what constitutes an archive. The reason I have chosen this more formal definition is that it helps convey both a repository of historical documents and the material processes – the expenditure of human labour and rent costs for an accessible physical space – needed to make those documents accessible to researchers like me. In the context of this chapter this use of the term is also useful

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[6] Syrus Marcus Ware, "All Power to All People? Black LGBTTI2QQ Activism, Remembrance, and Archiving in Toronto," *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 4 no. 2 (2017): 170-180. When using my own voice, I have chosen to use the acronym LGTBQ+, which it the acronym most used by the archives I consulted. Since I did not conduct much research beyond these archives my use of LGBTQ+ is in part a decision to acknowledge the inclusions and existence of possible silences produced therein. Since different people and organizations have included more or fewer identities in their acronyms when describing their work or advocacy, I have written the acronym used by that person or organization.

[7] Rebecka Taves Sheffield, "The Emergence, Development and Survival of Four Lesbian and Gay Archives," (PhD diss.: University of Toronto, 2015), 4-5.

because it helps link the growth and/or survival of archives to their ability to find funding and cheap rent. At times I also refer to something that I call a collection by which I mean a group of textual documents accumulated by an organization or individuals because of their utility to that organization or individual. A collection may now sit in an archive, but its internal logic remains specific to the organization or individual that created it.

In this chapter I describe how brick-and-mortar archives depicting neighbourhood activism in the East Downtown and the Southwest were shaped by uneven economic context. I also argue that the types of histories of 1980s neighbourhood activism that have been foregrounded in these archives were also shaped by this material context. Of course, the process of archiving necessitates leaving some things out, and will always produce a partial picture of what happened. But the form of this partial picture – what ends up in the archive and what does not – is not entirely random and reflects a material logic that is readable. To trace the contours of the histories in these archives, I identify several documents that suggest alternative narratives to those that dominate these brick-and-mortar archives. In other words, I present these sources that go against the archival grain to make the archival grain clearer. Although these against the grain sources only demonstrate fragments of larger and more complex narratives, it is important to remember that these alternative narratives can and are being told by activists and scholars that are embedded in the movements that these documents represent.

East Downtown, Toronto

The 1980s is often left out of histories of Toronto activism. This is in part an omission that is bigger than Toronto. Lilian Radovac fits the 1980s gap in Toronto within a broader tendency across North America to leave a gap between the apparent end of activism associated with the sixties and the beginning of an anti-globalization movement during the 1990s.

Exceptions to this rule have been for the most part concentrated in specific regions, particularly New York. This broader North American timeline of activism has taken hold in Toronto, where dominant city narratives have emphasized broad narratives of progress and growth over the agency of everyday people. As someone who was embedded in Toronto's LGBTQ+ anti-authoritarian scene in the 1980s, Radovac knew this dominant narrative was lacking and launched Alternative Toronto to counter conservative or liberal histories of Toronto and to weave its local history into broader historical geographies of post-sixties struggle.[8]

The 1980s gap in Toronto, however, also has a local story. Toronto's history has mirrored the gaps in broader North American activist history timelines because it is a place where rapid and aggressive post-industrial investment shaped the production of history in ways that resembled other North American post-industrial boomtowns. This rapid growth motivated Toronto boosters to draw from and contribute to broader neo-liberal narratives of market centred progress, narratives that proliferated across the Atlantic world during the 1980s and marginalized more complex local histories in different places. Post-industrial growth also produced precarity and displacement, two phenomenon that disrupted everyday people's capacity to challenge mainstream narratives. As in other cities where investment flowed freely, in Toronto gentrification displaced people and organizations, motivated the destruction or renovation of buildings, and made it hard to keep physical records in one place. In the East Downtown, community organizers, newspapers, and archives all scrambled to bring in funds and pay rent within an increasingly unforgiving property market. Post-industrial investment thus did not only

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[8] Lilian Radovac, "Re/mediating the Archive: Building Alternative Toronto," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* vol. 32 no. 1 (November, 2017): 97-110.

transform the physical landscape, it made it harder to produce and preserve evidence that those changes did not benefit everyone.

Uneven material conditions shaped individuals' and organizations' capacity to keep collections that may someday sit in archives. As we saw in the previous chapter, people in East Downtown experienced displacement and precarity differently. In the pursuit of gentrification neighbourhood promoters and their police allies also excluded, harassed, and assaulted people using logics that were racist, sexist, transphobic, classist, and ableist. These forms of additional violence added to the precarity of certain people and collectives, some of whom were, in fact, doing the most to prevent further displacement. Reflecting on words by Monica Forrester, a Black trans activist who has organized in Toronto for several decades, activist and scholar Syrus Marcus Ware has argued that these processes of violence did make it harder for certain people to keep the types of things that often end up in archives. But as Ware argues just because people did not accumulate things does not mean "we don't have an archive and things to remember." Even community archives perpetuate silences, and by shifting our attention toward alternative temporalities and geographies of resistance we can better recognize the material conditions and politics that produced those silences.[9]

Community Publications and the Production of Archives

In government run archives there are fewer traces of the history of neighbourhood organizing in the East Downtown as one nears the 1980s. As mentioned in previous chapters this timeline corresponds with a reduction in public funding for neighbourhood organizing as well as increases in the cost of space and labour. In the City of Toronto Archive, the collections that

[9] Quotation from page 175, but paragraph based on the whole article; Ware, "All Power to All People?" For more on Ware's interview with Forrester see later in this chapter.

have been preserved are more likely to depict the bureaucratic everyday decisions required to maintain charitable status, pay the bills, and manage space. Minute takers occasionally mentioned an activist group using their space and sometimes an organizational record keeper inserted a pamphlet along with a copy of their Board meeting minutes, but these isolated materials were rarely accompanied by further explanatory documents.[10]

Mainstream public archives were not, however, the only bodies with an interest in preserving history. During the 1970s activists launched several community publications that eventually expanded to archive their movements more broadly. Three of these publications turned community archives – Connexions, the ArQuives, and the Canadian Women's Movement Archive – still exist today, and together their histories illustrate how material conditions shaped the archival landscape of neighbourhood organizing in the East Downtown. With the expansion of neighbourhood grants like the Local Initiative Program and others, the 1970s was a period of growth for the community and alternative press. Prior to the expansion of these community grants many smaller groups published newsletters on the simpler Gestetner printing machine. Capable of producing small batches of newsletters with rougher production quality, gestetner machines required comparatively minimal capital and labour. Funding through LIP and other community grants paid to produce large runs of publications with a more complex layout. The more complex production process of a publication like *Seven News,* which at its height produced more than 20,000 copies per run, required more space, labour, and bureaucratic structure.

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[10] The City of Toronto Archive is massive, and I obviously could not do a thorough sweep of everything in the archive produced during the 1980s. I, therefore, base this claim on several rounds of key word searches on their digital database as well as a thorough scan of the footnotes of all secondary literature that I could find. These searches led me to go deeper in several records produced by charitable organizations such as the Howard Chapman Fonds which includes several documents produced by the All Saints Church and the Street Haven at the Crossroads Fonds. The Alderman fonds which included large collections of neighbourhood organization material during the 1970s also contained relatively little during the 1980s. The Joanne Campbell Fonds (which has never been processed on the online database), has some material pertaining to neighbourhood organizations, but most was produced by more middle-class neighbourhood promoters (see chapter 4 for more).

Possibly without those in charge realizing it these more complex production techniques began to produce extensive collections of printed material.[11]

A complete run of *Seven News* as well as a collection depicting its administrative history currently sits at the Connexions Archive. Like other community-based archives that emerged from the East Downtown during the 1970s, Connexions grew out of a publication that accumulated records over time. In the mid-1970s, activists from across the country met at a series of consultations and decided there was a need for a central publication that would communicate the overlapping work they were doing in their respective communities. Launched out of Toronto in 1975 by a group of religiously affiliated anti-poverty activists doing work in the South of Carlton area, the resulting publication, which would later become Connexions, functioned as newsletter of available activist resources in Canada. Groups from across the country began sending their reports or other materials to the newsletter's office on Bond Street, where the collective in charge would publish a newsletter – initially called *Canadian Information Sharing Service* – detailing their contents. The first issue was twenty-one pages long and included detailed explanations of thirty-seven resources from across the country, each of which had presumably been sent to them by their creators.[12] Even though eventual archivist Ulli Diemer maintains that he thought "they (the founders) kind of explicitly decided in the beginning that they would not be an archive so they wouldn't have to collect all this stuff," that eventually "all the stuff collected nonetheless" and they soon began to resemble an archive.[13]

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[11] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 00:12:00
[12] Canadian Information Sharing Service, *Canadian Information Sharing Service: Pilot Copy* (February, 1976), Connexions Archive Online, https://www.connexions.org/CxLibrary/01.htm; Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 01:17:30.
[13] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 01:23:30

When Diemer eventually came onto the scene as a paid staff in 1982 the publication, that was by then called *Connexions*, was facing funding shortfalls. Though *Connexions* had always relied on funding from religious groups and had survived earlier cuts to federal grants, falling church attendance over the last decade had reduced the amounts that the United, Anglican and Catholic churches were willing to contribute to community-based projects like theirs.[14] Nevertheless, Diemer was able to cobble together various funding sources to keep the publication running, something that was made easier by their low staffing and relatively stable location which was now at the Trinity-St. Paul's United Church on Bloor Street and Walmer Road. *Connexions* remained there until 1992, after which it was forced to leave and transferred its now substantial archive to a storage locker at Christie and Davenport in Toronto. Diemer relaunched the publication in 1995 and began putting material online in 1996. Under constant threat of eviction, the Connexions Archive has since relocated to several locations, but Diemer has miraculously been able to grow its online presence while the physical archive has remained in storage.[15]

Connexions' survival since the 1980s has been made possible in no small part through Ulli Diemer's ability to find grants and to get work done on very little; skills that he developed while keeping *Seven News* afloat in the years prior to joining *Connexions*. *Seven News* – which has been a foundational source for this thesis – originated in and was about the East Downtown and its files were luckily brought into the Connexions Archive by Diemer. Already in its sixth year when Diemer joined the staff in 1975, *Seven News* was one of several ward-based newspapers created by activists associated with the neighbourhood movement. It launched in

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[14] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 01:28:00
[15] Ibid, 01:26:00

1970 with minimal funding and experienced a precarious first couple of years under collective management. After receiving some funding for a paid editor position in 1971 *Seven News* incorporated in 1972 and began a run of years characterized by comparative stability that was maintained through several rounds of successful LIP grants to pay staff and the relatively cheap rent that they enjoyed at 80 Winchester Street in Don Vale.[16]

By 1976, however, cuts to government grants left the staff of *Seven News* – now with five paid positions – in difficult financial shape. That same year the Board promoted Ulli Diemer to the position as editor. Diemer had some experience working at University of Toronto's student paper *The Varsity*, and quickly got to work to keep the financially strapped newspaper afloat.[17] Under Diemer's leadership *Seven News* diversified its sources of funding, applying for a variety of still available grants, selling advertising, asking for membership dues, and running fundraisers and lotteries to help pay the bills. They also recruited more volunteers to write and work on the paper. Though these efforts prolonged the life of the newspaper, the ongoing gentrification of the surrounding area made it increasingly difficult to survive. According former to staff writer Lisa Horrocks, the newer local businesses that catered to "whitepainters" did not tend to purchase advertising space in what was then a paper that usually sided with the working-class. To make do, Horrocks described how *Seven News* "moved twice and was unable to pay its rent in either place," and that the staff often went without pay.[18]

In 1982, Diemer left *Seven News* and soon thereafter the Board of Directors discontinued the paper due to understaffing and financial pressure. After a short hiatus it was brought back into production under the leadership of a group of middle-class residents. To build their

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[16] Lisa Horrocks, "Seven News: The Story of a Community Newspaper," *Connexions Archive* (1984), published online at https://www.connexions.org/SevenNews/Docs/Horrocks-SevenNews.htm
[17] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 00:02:00
[18] Lisa Horrocks, "Seven News: The Story of a Community Newspaper."

advertising income this new set of editors shifted focus away from poor and working-class issues toward subjects that would attract advertising like "the arts; history; individuals and general interest topics." This second try at *Seven News,* however, also failed after a short run and the paper was bought by an individual in 1985 and re-launched as the *Cabbagetown-Riverdale News.*[19] Though the new paper claimed to follow in the footsteps of *Seven News* and was therefore still "Toronto's oldest community newspaper," the new name, ownership model, and location – it moved across the Don Valley to Riverdale – also reflected another step away from its history of critical, and sometimes politically risky, content.[20]

Through Diemer, a full run of *Seven News*, as well as administrative documents and related files currently sits at the Connexions Archive. It is an incredible source and provides local context and continuity for some of the more fragmentary source material found in Connexions and other archives. Unfortunately, as another casualty of government cuts and gentrification, Connexions' *Seven News* collection does not span beyond the mid-1980s and by then was more a tool of neighbourhood promoters than grassroots organizations. This overlap – between public funding cuts, a move toward middle-class ownership, and a rupture in the archival record – was/is not coincidental and is a traceable pattern among community organization collections and archives.[21]

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[19] Lisa Horrocks, "Seven News: The Story of a Community Newspaper"; Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 01:05:20.

[20] Ulli Diemer describes this shift as a move toward publishing articles about businesses that have also published ads in the paper, demonstrating a direct link between attracting advertising and newspaper content. Simon Vickers, "Interview with Ulli Diemer," October 22, 2019 01:04:00. There is also a noticeable difference in between the issues published before 1982 and those published afterward. In the issues I have read the *Cabbagetown-Riverdale News* was rarely critical and almost always promotional. The first six issues of *Cabbagetown-Riverdale News* can be found on the Seven News digital archive: https://www.connexions.org/SevenNews/CabRivNews/CabbagetownRiverdaleNews.html

[21] The Seven News digital archive was designed as a teaching tool. I was conducting research at Connexions during the digitization process and contributed most of the key term summaries on the Seven News Archive which can be found here: https://www.connexions.org/SevenNews/

Figure 5.2: The new staff at Cabbagetown-Riverdale News transport their archive across the Don River, literally losing records along the way. Source: "Image" Cabbagetown-Riverdale News, September 17, 1985.

The ArQuives also emerged from activist publications in the East Downtown during the 1970s and faced similar challenges as *Seven News* and Connexions. Founded in 1973, the Canadian Gay Liberation Movement Archive – later the Canadian Gay Archive, then the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archive, and today the ArQuives – grew out of the publication *The Body Politic* (TBP). *TBP* was founded in 1971 by a collective of that included several former writers for the counter-culture publication *Guerrilla* who brought with them the experience of

producing a magazine.[22] Always a precariously situated publication, the makeup of *TBP* changed over time, but its core-producers remained predominantly middle-class, white, cis-gendered gay men, though several white-women contributors were also crucial to the publication's success. This race, gender, and class privilege provided just enough space, time, and flexibility for affiliated activists to remain involved for extended periods of time.[23] Fueled by volunteer labour, occasional grants, and increasingly through advertising, *TBP* eventually gained international renown as a gay publication and ran consistently until 1987. Over the course of its run, *TBP* published over 130 issues in regular intervals with articles on local and international politics, culture, history, and activism. Much of this writing sought to push boundaries and did not shy away from controversial issues, and more than once became the object of intense public scrutiny and police surveillance and harassment. As such, funding from more mainstream sources was constantly under threat and the collective rarely enjoyed moments of financial stability. To accommodate this precarity the publication moved office several times, taking with it a growing organizational collection.[24]

The Canadian Gay Liberation Movement Archive began with and shared a long history with *The Body Politic*. Founded by *TBP* collective member Jearld Moldenhauer and managed by Ron Dayman, the Archive was initially a deposit for *TBP* materials. After a brief stint in the Dayman's basement the Archive moved to 193 Carlton Street in 1974, a space it shared with *TBP* and the Gay Alliance Towards Equality. At this new location archivists re-named their

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[22] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Alan Miller and Tim McCaskell," November 27, 2019 00:18:00
[23] Ed Jackson, "The Raid on *The Body Politic*," in Stephanie Chambers, Jane Farrow, Maureen Fitzgerald, Ed Jackson, John Lorinc, Tim McCaskell, Rebecca Sheffield, Tatum Taylor, and Rahim Thawer eds. *Any Other Way: How Toronto Got Queer* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2017).
[24] Several former writers and members of the Body Politic collective have written about the history of the magazine. Tom Warner, *Never Going Back: A History of Queer Activism in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Tim McCaskell, *Queer Progress: From Homophobia to Homonationalism* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2018).

growing collection the Canadian Gay Archives (CGA) and began to accept a broader range of materials covering domestic and international contemporary gay activism. They also began seeking documents that helped recover a longer gay and lesbian history that stretched back before the origins of the gay liberation movement in the late 1960s.[25] In 1976 the CGA moved once again to accompany *TBP* to its new office in a cheap industrial loft apartment on Duncan Street.[26] At the Duncan Street location, the Archive collective of volunteers formalized their filing system and produced a series of bibliographies under the informal leadership of archivist James Fraser. They also began publishing a newsletter, called *Gay Archivist*, which updated researchers about the contents of the Archive and consequently grew its profile.[27]

This period of growth was interrupted by a police raid on the last day of 1977 that targeted both *TBP* and by extension the CGA. Even though the CGA was a separate entity, making the police warrant for *TBP* questionable, the police tore through its files and stole parts of the Archive.[28] The police raid did not destroy the Archive, but it did provide incentive for the CGA to distance itself from *TBP*. Even with the theft of their archival materials – which according to long time archivist Alan Miller was not returned until eight years later – the CGA entered the 1980s with at least nine shelves and two filing cabinets of books and documents. They were also still growing and moved into a larger independent space in the same building, where their rent was covered by another organization called the Pink Triangle Press. In 1980 the CGA incorporated as a non-profit and was eventually granted charity status, though only on appeal after it was initially denied, opening it to more donations which would henceforth be tax-

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[25] For more on the archive's orientation toward recovering gay history, see Danielle Cooper, "Beyond Liberation: Conceptualizations of History at the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives," *Left History* 19 no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2015): 9-24.
[26] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Alan Miller and Tim McCaskell," November 27, 2019 00:32:00
[27] Rebecka Taves Sheffield, "The Emergence, Development and Survival," 57-61.
[28] "Archives in Fourth Year," *Gay Archivist* 1, May, 1977; "Police Raid Archives," *Gay Archivist* 2, May, 1978.

deductible. Distancing itself from the more overtly political *TBP* also made the CGA more palatable to government granting agencies. In 1983 it received a grant of just over $17,000 which paid for a computer and other supplies.[29]

Though the CGA legally disconnected itself from *TBP* in the early 1980s, its shared history with the publication continued to shape how the CGA built its collections. As was stated above *TBP* was run predominantly by middle-class, white, and cis-gendered gay men. While members of *TPB* collective forwarded a more expansive vision of radical gay politics, the common positionality of their core members shaped the contours of their collective political orientation.[30] For example, the majority of *TPB* collective members took an extreme position on anti-censorship, and in 1985 *TPB* knowingly published an overtly anti-Black racist classified advertisement in-spite of protest from queer organizations including Lesbians of Color, Zami, and Gay Asians of Toronto. The process through which *TBP* collective chose to run the ad, moreover, demonstrated an internal culture that marginalized people of colour who challenged the enduring whiteness of their collective – there was only one person of colour on the collective in 1985 – and their political perspectives.[31] Because of their recent decision to distance themselves from *TBP*, the CGA had no direct connection to the decision to publish the advertisement, but the archive and *TBP* had emerged and grown within the same network of gay spaces and organizations that were dominated by middle-class, white, and cis-gendered men. As

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[29] "Police Raid Archives," *Gay Archivist* 2, May, 1978; "The Body Politic Index," *Gay Archivist* 3, June, 1979; "Charitable Status Denied," *Gay Archivist* 4, September, 1981; "Incorporation," *Gay Archivist* 4, September 1981; "New Office Space," *Gay Archivist* 4, September, 1981; "Archiving in the '80s," *Gay Archivist* 5, September, 1986. The details of the police raid and the CGA's rent situation were explained in the following interview: Simon Vickers, "Interview with Alan Miller and Tim McCaskell," November 27.

[30] Ed Jackson, "The Raid on *The Body Politic*," in Stephanie Chambers, Jane Farrow, Maureen Fitzgerald, Ed Jackson, John Lorinc, Tim McCaskell, Rebecca Sheffield, Tatum Taylor, and Rahim Thawer eds. *Any Other Way: How Toronto Got Queer* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2017); Juan Carlos Mezo González, "Contested Images: Debating Nudity, Sexism, and Porn in *The Body Politic*, 1971-1987," *Left History* 23, no. 1 (2019): 28-61.

[31] David S. Churchill, "Personal Ad Politics: Race, Sexuality, and Power at *The Body Politic*," *Left History* 8, no. 2 (2003): 114-134.

an archive that relied on volunteer labour, existing archivists often recruited friends or acquaintances from these networks to complete the growing amount of labour required to keep the archive afloat.[32] The CGA thus foregrounded the perspectives of a relatively privileged sub-section of the gay community but presented their perceptions of what happened as reflective of the entire Canadian gay experience. Therefore, by not actively confronting the racism, sexism, and transphobia, that shaped the broader network of organizations and spaces to which they belonged, the CGA ended up relying on a network of volunteers with a relatively narrow view of the history or present of queer Toronto.[33]

The practice of recruiting friends to contribute volunteer labour in the archive instead of hiring staff was in part a response to the ongoing precarity of the CGA as they continued to expand. For the remainder of the 1980s the CGA grew and moved twice more, first to a space on Wolseley Street in 1984 and then to an office at 464 Yonge Street in 1988 where it paid its own rent for the first time.[34] This expansion was reportedly enabled by a steady stream of financial donations, which accounted for 70 percent of its funding in 1984-1985. These financial donations were matched by a continuous stream of collection donations, particularly by activist organizations. In its newsletter from 1988, the CGA announced the reception of donations from several Toronto-based organizations including Right to Privacy Committee Toronto, Gays and Lesbians Against the Right Everywhere, Lesbian and Gay Pride Committee of Toronto, Lesbians and Gays in Health Care, and the AIDS Committee of Toronto. The latter two of these organizations reflected CGA's growing relationship with the AIDS committee of Toronto, which

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[32] For several examples of how new volunteers were recruited through existing relationships, see Rebecka Taves Sheffield, "The Emergence, Development and Survival," 57-61.
[33] For a critique of the ArQuives and more on the broader history of Queer of colour histories of Toronto, see Jin Haritaworn, Ghaida Moussa, and Syrus Marcus Ware eds., *Marvellous Grounds: Queer of Colour Histories of Toronto* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018).
[34] Simon Vickers, "Interview with Alan Miller and Tim McCaskell," November 27, 2019 00:32:00

funded the production of a 1985 bibliography titled *Medical, Social, and Political Aspects of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)* and would eventually become the Archive's neighbour on Yonge Street.[35]

Beginning in the late 1970s and continuing through the 1980s the Canadian Gay Archive felt the same financial pinch as many other neighbourhood organizations based out of the East Downtown of Toronto. The Canadian Gay Archive was able to pay for its expanding rent through the tax-exempt donations it received from businesses and individual supporters as a registered charity, a particularly viable source of income as money continued to flow into the surrounding area including the Gay Village. These donations have remained the primary source of income for the Archive in the years since the 1980s, which has allowed the Archive to expand its square footage and holdings. In the year 2000 it received almost $50,000 dollars in financial donations, with only $12,000 coming from grants and other sources. These sources of funding were needed as rent increased. The Archive first paid its own rent in the late 1980s and by 1993 was paying $20,000 in yearly on rent and utilities, well over half of its annual budget. By the year 2000 it was paying approximately $32,500 in occupancy costs and announced that to continue to expand another move might be needed, one that would cost between $700,000 and $1,000,000.[36] Their run of housing precarity was, however, softened in 2006 when the Children's Aid Society offered, for one dollar, an old Victorian house at 34 Isabella Street to

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[35] "Archiving in the '80s," *Gay Archivist* 5, September, 1986; "A Great New Downtown Location," *Gay Archivist* 6, June, 1988; "New Acquisitions of Archival Records," *Gay Archivist* 6, June, 1988; "AIDS Collection," *Gay Archivist* 6, June, 1988. In addition to the above sources, I was able to fill in some gaps with the generous help of long time ArQuives archivist Alan Miller, who provided me with a chronology of the different locations occupied by TBP over the years as well as some of the more major financial and governance decisions: "OLA Superconference – Rainbow Bridges/Chronology," (January 28, 2016).

[36] The Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, "C.L.G.A.: What's New," insert likely included with issue of *Lesbian and Gay Archivist*, October 1993; "Decisions, Decisions! Archives Outgrow our Current Space," *Lesbian and Gay Archivist* 23, November 2001; "Auditor's Report," *Lesbian and Gay Archivist* 23, November 2001. For more on this history of precarity, see Rebecka Taves Sheffield, "The Emergence, Development and Survival," 71-92.

what had by then been renamed the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives.[37] In its current form – now called the ArQuives – the Archive maintains a large collection of organizational materials depicting LGBTQ2+ activism from the 1970s to the present day as well as an extensive collection of smaller indexed vertical files. Though for much of its history it was explicitly a "Canadian" archive and much of the activism depicted in these textual files was framed through national movements, the ArQuives also contains files related to organizing in the surrounding area.

Though less explicitly tied to the East Downtown, The Canadian Women's Movement Archive is a third example of a community archive with historic links to an activist publication. Frustrated by the lack of engagement or even hostility toward lesbian issues in women's liberation circles, in 1972 a group of lesbian feminist women founded *The Other Woman* (TOW) as a women's liberation magazine that included lesbian content. Perhaps even more precarious than *TBP*, from the beginning the collective relied on a shoestring budget that was supplemented by generally overworked volunteers. To offset these costs, the collective moved into the basement of a home at 195 Seaton Street in 1973 in the East Downtown. For a short period, an Opportunities for Youth grant issued by the federal government produced the funds to hire staff at modest salaries. Beyond this brief period of relative security, *TOW* relied on several other funding strategies – including magazine sales, donations (many from collective members), and hosting fundraisers – and cut costs by relying on volunteer labour, working from peoples' homes, and occasionally sharing resources with the nearby *TBP*. In 1976 the magazine moved again, this time into a shared space at 342 Jarvis along with the Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT)

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[37] The ArQuives, "The ArQuives House Tour – 34 Isabella Street," (Last updated April 2019). A copy of the tour was provided by archivist Alan Miller.

and the Three of Cups coffee shop, where the relatively cheap rent was split among the different tenants.[38] Despite these efforts, expenses and frequent turnover produced insecurity, which was particularly felt by the few working-class members of the collective. In 1977, *TOW* published a letter of resignation from long-time editor and backbone of the paper Pat Leslie describing how a general ignorance of class difference within the feminist movement has excluded and overburdened those whose "whole life is based on survival."[39] Without Leslie's leadership *TOW* soon ceased to publish.[40]

Following her resignation Pat Leslie transferred the files accumulated over the years by *The Other Woman* to her apartment and began building what would become the Canadian Women's Movement Archive. Though it does not appear that Leslie lived in the East Downtown, she seems to have maintained connections with LOOT and the building at 342 Jarvis until it closed in 1980.[41] The Canadian Women's Movement Archive grew but remained in Leslie's home until 1983 when Leslie and several others succeeded in accessing a Canada Community Development Grant, which provided the necessary funds to move to an address at Spadina and College Street. From their new location near University of Toronto they grew and organized the Archive and made its collections available to researchers. The Archive remained in that location

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[38] In one document by LOOT uploaded to the RISE UP! Feminist archive it mentions that by 1979 that the rent at 342 Jarvis was still relatively cheap at $300, or $425 with utilities. Lesbian Organization of Toronto, "Flyer advertising dialogue a lesbian dialogue titled LOOT, the Community, and 342 Jarvis," found at RISE UP! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism, accessed January 23, 2020. https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/wp-content/uploads/loot-lesbiandialogue342Jarvis-toronto.pdf

[39] Pat Leslie, "Letter of resignation: to whom it may concern," *The Other Woman* 5 no. 1 (January-February 1977).

[40] I would like to thank Julia Pyryeskina for sharing her excellent close analysis of how *The Other Woman* survived for as long as it did: Julia Pyryeskina, "Becoming *The Other Woman:* a History of a Toronto Feminist Newspaper, 1972-1977," Unpublished MA paper. For more on LOOT see Becki L. Ross, *The House That Jill Built: A Lesbian Nation in Formation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[41] Leslie mentions being given files to add to her archive during an interview with the LOOT task force in a 1978 article in *The Body Politic*: Pat Leslie, "Behind Open Doors," *The Body Politic* 43, May 1978.

until 1992 when the collective donated its materials to the University of Ottawa, where it still resides today.[42]

The mandate of the Canadian Women's Movement Archive oriented its collection toward a national women's movement, but its early history and the histories contained within its collections were nevertheless shaped by localized manifestations of broader economic changes. The lack of grants, the growing expense of space, and the mounting cost of living for volunteers are all visible in their collections related to *The Other Women* and LOOT. Leslie gave up part of her apartment and much of her time to preserve the Canadian Women's Movement Archive when similar collections were likely disappearing due to lack of funding and growing rent prices. The transfer of the Archive to its more permanent space near University of Toronto in 1983 was then facilitated by the involvement of more middle-class women with academic backgrounds, something that apparently alienated some working-class and precarious members.[43] The move to Spadina Street also produced physical distance between the Archive and the East Downtown neighbourhoods whose cheap rents had, for a time, provided partial shelter from the funding shortfalls that were so common for a grassroots organization.

None of these three archives – Connexions, The ArQuives, and The Canadian Women's Movement Archives – were intended to be neighbourhood archives. Each was connected to a publication that was launched by organizers with the desire to spread the grassroots connections they had built during the 1960s beyond their local networks to build national movements. The production of each publication also created an archive, as those involved accumulated and saved the materials required to publish of a magazine and received resources from similar

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[42] Stacey Loyer, "Preserving Records, Creating Memories, Shaping Research: Inside the Canadian Women's Movement Archive," MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 2006, 10-25; "Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA)," Archive Description, https://biblio.uottawa.ca/atom/index.php/canadian-womens-movement-archives
[43] Loyer, "Preserving Records, Creating Memories, Shaping Research,"11-13.

organizations across Canada (and sometimes internationally). Over time these archives accumulated collections that together asserted a history of nationally coalescing activist movements, particularly during the 1980s. Behind these nationally framed histories, however, remained the histories of local networks of people and material conditions that continued to shape the everyday lives of archivists and activists alike.

Vertical Files, Activist Ephemera, and Memory

The three community archives explored above have obvious differences, but their common origin stories tell us something about the connection between funding, expenses, and the ability to build organizational collections and eventually public facing archives. The material conditions necessary for archiving have shaped an underlying meta-narrative about what constituted historically significant neighbourhood activism – defined by the physical space their collection now occupies in an archive – that was linked to an organization's ability to accrue funds and to manage an extensive bureaucracy. Though never stated explicitly and not universally true, fiscal responsibility and proximity to funding, donations, or gifts of space, has been rewarded with the ability to build larger collections, which have taken up significant space in these archives. These factors have influenced neighbourhood organizations' ability to produce more complete collections spanning long periods of time, something that can be easily confused with historical significance. Of course, this broader funding driven narrative is not the only story. Each of these archives was built out of consistent, long-term struggle, and their collections reflect the work of countless volunteers that sacrificed their time and sometimes their safety to preserve these histories of struggle. Like all archivists, however, they also produced archival silences that have had a lingering affect on narratives of post-1960s activist history. Fortunately,

these silences are not absolute, and have been challenged both within and outside each of these archives in the form of vertical files, activist ephemera, and activist memories.

The ArQuives has several large collections reflecting the history of LGBTQ2+ organizing in Canada, but it also has a massive archive of vertical files organized by subject. These files vary in size, some as small as a single document, and sometimes include newspaper articles to provide context. It is in these vertical files that one can find flashes of broader organizing campaigns that were less compatible with large collection building. The Street Homosexuals in Toronto (SHIT), for example, were gay anarchists that sought to link their struggle against police repression to broader campaigns against "the oppression caused by state or exploitative economic systems." Included in their vertical file at the ArQuives are several flyers that were likely passed out at rallies or circulated through activist networks. These flyers warn fellow activists about police infiltration in their movement and suggest tips and resources for how to resist the police. In the Committee Against Street Harassment (CASH) vertical file there is one flyer that would have been distributed to sex-workers detailing their rights and announcing several services offered by CASH, including a help hotline, legal advice, advocacy, and group support. The CASH file also contains a press-release describing the purpose of the committee and its roots in a previous organization called BEAVER. Though neither of these vertical files contains more than a few pages of documents, both suggest a much larger network of activists who met, worked to create and print materials, and who offered important support to their respective communities. Because each organization opposed police harassment, however,

both were unlikely to receive significant funding or were worried that documenting their movement to thoroughly would result in police reprisal.[44]

More recently, several digital archives have emerged that have focused more on documenting activist ephemera – the flyers, posters, photos, films, art, etc – from the 1980s than the internal collections of organizations. Though not exclusively about the East Downtown, activists can contribute items from their home collections to Alternative Toronto, a "digital community archive of Toronto's alternative cultures, scenes and spaces of the 1980s and 1990s." As of February 18, 2020, there were twenty-one different collections contained on Alternative Toronto, each of which – with a couple of exceptions – contain ephemera that has been collected and saved in someone's home. Most of the contributions to the Archive have reflected a single action or event but together they suggest robust networks of artists and activists that organized through scenes, activist houses, or collectives, but did not necessarily keep records of everything they were doing. For example, though the Street Homosexuals in Toronto vertical file at the ArQuives is relatively small, when considered alongside the collections in Alternative Toronto it becomes clear that they were part of a much longer and extensive history of queer anarchist organizing in the city. Even though the documents contained in Alternative Toronto did not

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[44] I was directed to these vertical files by Lilian Radovac while working for the Alternative Toronto digital archive. I then requested that the ArQuives allow me to upload digital reproductions of these records to Alternative Toronto and was granted permission. The following are citations first for the ArQuives followed by the web address to see the digitized collection on Alternative Toronto: Committee Against Street Harassment, "Pamphlet" (undated), and "Press Release" (April 26, 1979) Committee Against Street Harassment Vertical File at the ArQuives; Street Homosexuals in Toronto, "No More Shit, Gays Fight Back," (undated), "Infiltrator" (undated), and "A Survival Guide for Street Actions and Demonstrations," (June 6, 1981) Street Homosexuals in Toronto Vertical File at the ArQuives. All five documents can also be found in the ArQuives Collection on Alternative Toronto: https://www.alternativetoronto.ca/archive/collections/show/20. The press release does not state what the acronym BEAVER stands for but in a chapter about their history Maggie's states that it stood for Better End All Vicious Erotic Repression. Maggie's, "Maggie's: Toronto Sex Workers Action Project," in *Sex Work Activism in Canada: Speaking Out, Standing Up*, eds., Amy Lebovitch & Shawna Ferris (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2019), 223.

always align with those of more mainstream funded organizations, the activists that created them nevertheless did contribute to the history of the East Downtown and Toronto more generally.[45]

Another digital archive with more specific links to the East Downtown is the AIDS Activist History Project (AAHP), an online archive devoted to the "history of AIDS Activism in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Halifax." By far the largest of the four collections, the AAHP Toronto collection primarily consists of photos or documents related to actions conducted by the group AIDS Action Now. More recently, however, those behind the Archive have begun to upload digitized material from the personal collections of activists who organized around the AIDS crisis from different positionalities and organizing strategies.[46] For example, several uploaded documents produced by the Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP), demonstrate the significance of sex-worker activism in linking the criminalization of their work and gentrification in the East Downtown. As CORP activists fought back against discriminatory legislation that cut into their profits and made their work more dangerous, they also mobilized against Cabbagetown homeowner "vigilantes" that the legal system had given free-reign to harass and even attack sex-workers. In a series of letters and press releases CORP described a situation in which homeowners, organized through the South of Carlton Residents Association, had begun patrolling their neighbourhoods and harassing sex-workers and their clients. To make matters worse, a judge had even begun sentencing their clients to do community service under the supervision of the South of Carlton Residents Association or pay a fine to their

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[45] As mentioned in the previous footnote I worked for Alternative Toronto while writing parts of this thesis as a research assistant. Alternative Toronto was launched by Lilian Radovac in 2017 and it can be found here: https://www.alternativetoronto.ca/archive/

[46] The uploaded documents in the AIDS Activist History Project still do not cover the range of different organizations that worked on AIDS education, prevention, treatment, and advocacy for people with AIDS. One document from 1993 uploaded to Alternative Toronto includes a list of 33 organizations that provided resources and advocacy for people living with AIDS. Slightly less than half of these seem to be community organizations. From All Walks of Life, "1993 Partners," (1993), OPIRG Archive Collection on Alternative Toronto, https://www.alternativetoronto.ca/archive/items/show/509

organization. A situation made even more grotesque because the sentence supervisor was apparently a realtor with interests in the area.[47]

The result of the CORP campaign against vigilante harassment is unclear from the relatively few items uploaded to the AIDS Activist History Project. These documents and those around them, however, suggest a much larger network of sex-worker activists and their allies were organizing and information gathering behind each of these items in the Archive. Histories and biographies written by and about sex-worker activists who were there also help to situate these individual items within the broader history of sex-worker activism in the East Downtown, Toronto, and Canada. In her account of the history of Toronto sex-work activism in the 1980s and 1990s, activist Valerie Scott describes how resistance to gentrification was essential to sex worker organizing, stating that "(d)isplacing a group, any group, of people destroys their ability to communicate important information to each other, and this displacement meant that sex workers could no longer work together to keep each other safe."[48] The success and expansion of formal sex-worker organizations over the course of the 1980 – along with CORP, activists also founded Maggie's, the Prostitutes' Safe Sex Project, and others – demonstrates that sex-workers were on the front lines of anti-gentrification activism in the East Downtown.[49]

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[47] For more on CORP and their activism to make their work safer through de-criminalization, safer-sex education, and anti-gentrification organizing, see Deborah Brock, *Making Work, Making Trouble: Prostitution as a Social Problem* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Maggie's, "Maggie's: Toronto Sex Workers Action Project," and Valerie Scott, "WHOREISTORY: Time Capsules of Toronto Sex Work Activism, 1983-1998," in *Sex Work Activism in Canada: Speaking Out, Standing Up*, eds., Amy Lebovitch & Shawna Ferris (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2019), 220-231 & 232-261. The sources named in the above paragraph are: Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes, "Response to Toronto Star Journalist Frank Jones – CORP Statement," (1987) From the personal collection of Andrew Sorfleet found at AIDS Activist History Project: https://aidsactivisthistory.omeka.net/items/show/786; Ryan Hotchkiss, "Cabbagetown Gentrification and Anti-Prostitution Measures – CORP Letter to Ian Scott, Attorney General," (December 16, 1987) From the personal collection of Andrew Sorfleet found at AIDS Activist History Project: https://aidsactivisthistory.omeka.net/items/show/784.

[48] Scott, "WHOREISTORY: Time Capsules of Toronto Sex Work Activism, 1983-1998," 237.

[49] Maggie's, "Maggie's: Toronto Sex Workers Action Project," eds., Amy Lebovitch & Shawna Ferris (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2019), 220-231.

Though sex-worker resistance to gentrification shaped the landscape of neighbourhoods in the East Downtown, they did not produce the same types of large textual collections as other more bureaucratic organizations. Beyond the financial restrictions that made archiving 1980s neighbourhood activism difficult, keeping textual records could also be dangerous. Police used textual evidence to further discriminate against activists, a danger that was felt in particular by racialized and trans activists. Reflecting on an interview with Monica Forrester, a Black trans woman and organizer in the sex-worker community, and Chanelle Gallant, a Toronto-based sex-worker and organizer, Syrus Marcus Ware describes the barriers that prevented some activists who were central to 1980s organizing from "keeping the kinds of objects that mainstream archives value as proof of value/worth."[50] In the interview Forrester described how much or her early activism revolved around conversations and planning on the street and that "(N)obody thought about archiving things because no one really thought we'd live past thirty."[51] Ware argues that Forrester's contributions to early sex-worker organizing against gentrification and sex-worker stigma had been largely left out narratives of LGBTQ activism that focus on the mostly white community groups associated with the Gay Village. As Ware and Forrester make clear, many of the activists who best understood the consequences of structural change and its relationship to systemic violence had more pressing concerns than building an organizational archive.[52]

Southwest, Montreal

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[50] Ware, "All Power to All People?," 174.
[51] This quote was from the interview printed here: Syrus Marcus Ware interview with Monica Forrester and Chanelle Gallant, "Organizing on the Corner: Trans Women of Colour and Sex Worker Activism in Toronto in the 1980s and 1990s," in *Marvellous Grounds: Queer of Colour Histories of Toronto*, edited by Jin Haritaworn, Ghaida Moussa, and Syrus Marcus Ware (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018), 24.
[52] Syrus Marcus Ware interview with Monica Forrester and Chanelle Gallant, "Organizing on the Corner," 23-34; Ware, "All Power to All People?"

The building and saving of textual records in the Southwest also required space and money. Persistent disinvestment in the area, however, meant that space was more widely available and less costly. The massive decrease in the local population since the 1960s also opened additional space for occupancy by neighbourhood organizations and their collections. Churches, schools, and other public buildings that had once served dense industrial neighbourhoods witnessed the dwindling of the local populations. As we saw in the previous chapter, beginning in the 1980s the Montreal and Quebec governments were increasingly concerned that private capital was not investing in the area and began subsidizing development. Some of this money found its way into the hands of neighbourhood organizations, which provided additional financial security. This funding was not, however, divided evenly, and was most available to those groups that could easily present themselves as legibly connected to specific neighbourhoods.

Of the three neighbourhoods in the Southwest – St-Henri, Little Burgundy, and Pointe-Saint-Charles – Pointe-Saint-Charles emerged as the place where well-organized neighbourhood activists were best able to build a model of neighbourhood development. This success provided stability to local organizations and funded the production and preservation of their organizational collections. These well-preserved collections now sit in the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles (APPSC) and are an excellent window into how Pointe-Saint-Charles activists were so successful. The presence of large, long-running organizational collections should not, however, determine historic significance. Activists in Pointe-Saint-Charles succeeded in producing jobs and homes for residents while protecting them gentrification, but so did activists in other neighbourhoods who did not have access to the same level of resources. Funding helped produce neighbourhood organization collections in Pointe-Saint-Charles, which through their literal material weight now dominate the archival landscape of the Southwest. The success stories

contained in the APPSC therefore risk overwhelming narratives of local organizing and organizations that, because of material conditions beyond their control, did not or could not produce or save the same level of textual records.

A Big Empty Building and the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles

Near the end of 1986, staff at the Montreal branch of the Archives nationales du Québec noticed an accumulation of water coming from leaky pipes in their building at 100 Rue Notre Dame Est. Worried that the water leaks at the old building might get worse and compromise their rare collection the staff notified their superiors. Things did not soon improve and after some more serious incidents in January of the next year the Archive quickly concocted a plan to move its collection. By February 2nd, the Archive began moving its ten-kilometer-long collection to the Charles-Lemoyne school in Pointe-Saint-Charles, approximately four kilometers away. Over the next three weeks a team of trucks apparently made a total of 450 trips back and forth between the two locations, moving the entirety of the Archive's contents at a cost of $86,000 into its new home in Pointe-Saint-Charles.[53]

The fact that such a massive government archive was so quickly able to find a space suitable to hold 10km of documents in Pointe-Saint-Charles is telling. Its new home, the Charles Lemoyne school, was built during the late 1960s with the intention of housing almost 2,000 high school students. Though the school was meant to open in 1970, classes did not begin on time due to lack of the supplies. The school did open soon thereafter, but in the context of a declining local population. The Catholic School Board that managed the school eventually replaced the high school with a much smaller primary school, leaving a large portion of the original building

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[53] *Les Archives nationales du Québec, 1986-1987*, Annual Report (Quebec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1987), 18; "Le déménagement des Archives nationales: une facture de $86,000," *Le Devoir*, February 17, 1987.

unoccupied. This space remained vacant when the Archive nationales du Québec began looking for a space to move its collections.[54]

The Archives nationales du Québec called Pointe-Saint-Charles home for a decade but continued to look for a more appropriate space. In 1997 the Archives nationales announced intentions to move its holdings in Pointe-Saint-Charles a new location closer to downtown on Viger Street.[55] When the news spread that they would be vacating the space at Charles-Lemoyne, a group representing various organizations began planning to take over the lease. Together nine community groups were able to secure a large grant from the municipal and provincial government for development projects, which they used to renovate and rent the vast space from the Commision scolaire de Montréal for $73,000 per year, a cost that the perspective renters considered relatively cheap. This rent was then divided amongst the tenants based on square footage. Calling the new community hub "Maison Saint-Charles" the new location would allow local organizations, including the newly formed Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, to pool their expertise and resources.[56]

Founded by local activists in 1997, the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles (APPSC) grew out of the realization that many local neighbourhood organization collections were in poor shape. After organizing a film festival to celebrate their decades long history of struggle, those involved decided to create something more permanent and began applying for

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[54] "A Pointe St-Charles La Polyvalente Charles-Lemoyne une Réalité de 3 Millions!" *La Voix Populaire*, October 18, 1967; Jean-Luc Duguay, "Les parents s'inquiètent: 1,400 élèves sans école à Pointe-Saint-Charles" *Le Devoir*, September 22, 1970; Angèle Dagenais, "Déménagement en catastrophe" *Le Devoir*, February 3, 1987.
[55] Claude V. Marsolais, "Les Archives nationales du Québec iront dans l'ancienne École des HEC," *La Presse*, April 22, 1997.
[56] Maison St-Charles "Meeting Minutes and Budget for Maison St-Charles," (December 5, 2000) APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.349.1; Bâtir son quartier, "Projet de relocalisation de La Maison Saint-Charles," (December 11, 2000), APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.349.2; "Bail entre la Commision scolaire de Montréal et la Maison Saint-Charles," (February 26, 2001), APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.349.1.; Maison Saint-Charles, "Assemblée général," (October 3, 2001), APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.349.1

grants to process and better preserve these collections. When the space at Charles-Lemoyne became available APPSC organizers recognized an opportunity to locate these records in an accessible space and joined with other local organizations to make up the Maison Saint-Charles. Building further on this momentum APPSC organizers also secured several grants including multi-year funding from the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman family worth $30,000 per year. Along with other grants, this money allowed them to purchase supplies, hire a permanent archivist, and pay their part of the rent.[57]

With the acquisition of space and funding the APPSC began to process local neighbourhood organization collections. In order to limit themselves to a manageable workload the group targeted six collections, prioritizing the collections of older organizations that had kept their records in a manageable state. Those that made the cut were two housing organizations, Bâtir son quartier and the Regroupement information logement, a legal aid organization called Les Services juridiques de Pointe-Saint-Charles et Petite Bourgogne, an adult education centre called Le carrefour d'éducation populaire, the local community clinic, and the long-standing Anglophone organization the St-Columba House. They then went about communicating with these organizations and coordinating the transference of their collections from their respective locations to the Maison Saint-Charles. In 2000 the APPSC began receiving mountains of textual, visual, and audio-visual records from these various organizations and embarked on the task of organizing them into manageable archived collections and exhibitions that would encourage popular education on local histories of struggle.[58]

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[57] Les Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, "Rapport annuel 1999-2000," (November 1, 2000); APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.383; Les Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, "Rapport annuel 2000-2001," (October 29, 2001); APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.381.

[58] The St-Columba House archive was a pilot project, which I believe was transferred to the same ANQ (Later named BANQ) archive that was once housed in Pointe-Saint-Charles. The rest have remained with the APPSC. For more on which archives the APPSC chose to process and how see: Les Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles,

This process proved work-intensive and expensive, and eventually the board of the APPSC determined it would need to find a new home for the Archive. In 2008 the APPSC board negotiated its transfer from Pointe-Saint-Charles to the McGill University Archive. Though this transference to an institutional archive was not ideal, it meant that after the immense work that local activists invested, the Archive remains safe, organized, and accessible to researchers. Through its various collections APPSC activists produced an archive depicting a long running continuous window into the history of local neighbourhood organizing and an alternative perspective of the history of Pointe-Saint-Charles.[59]

The existence of such a lengthy and well-organized neighbourhood archive suggests a long, locally cohesive bridge between the origins of the neighbourhood movement in 1963 and the founding of the Archive in 1997. A deep dive into these collections, however, also reveal many of the same tensions that drove the wedge between middle and working-class neighbourhood activism in 1980s Toronto. These tensions, however, appear comparatively minimal under the collective weight of the vast Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, which was assembled to support a broader meta-narrative of collective struggle, resilience, and triumph in Pointe-Saint-Charles. As such, visible spots of disagreement and tension in the Archive seem to resolve themselves in the name of local solidarity and collective action. Of course, the mandate of the APPSC was explicitly celebratory, but this meta-narrative pre-dated the idea of the Archive and had been embedded in the process through which each

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"Rapport annuel 1999-2000," (November 1, 2000); APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.383; Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, "Dépot des Archives populaires de Pointe Saint-Charles: Fonds Carrefour d'éducation populaires de Pointe Saint-Charles," (2003) APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.290; Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, "Fonds Clinique communautaire de Pointe Saint-Charles," (2003) APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.287; Les Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles, "Rapport annuel 2000-2001," (October 29, 2001); APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.1.1.381.

[59] McGill University Archive, "Description of the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles Fonds," Online Fonds Description, https://archivalcollections.library.mcgill.ca/index.php/popular-archives-of-pointe-st-charles-fonds, accessed March 2, 2020.

neighbourhood organization built its collection. The ability of these organizations to survive over almost four decades – some of them in the same location – and build archives also depended on available funding and material conditions that changed over time and were beyond the control of local activists. These conditions allowed some neighbourhood organizations to keep records documenting their everyday activity. Today, these records are a valuable window into several hard-fought histories of struggle and demonstrate the tremendous work of several generations local activists. Like all archives, however, the APPSC has also produced silences.

Neighbourhood Development in 1980s Pointe-Saint-Charles

In the broader context of the APPSC, the beginning of the 1980s marked the increased co-operation of various organizations under the banner of a representative council called Action-Gardien. Under the umbrella of Action-Gardien local organizations co-operated, shared resources, and launched campaigns to assert local control over neighbourhood development. This was not the first time that an organization in Pointe-Saint-Charles sought to drive local development – the Parallel institute had attempted something similar at the beginning of the 1970s – but this second wave was different in that it occasionally co-operated with government and business to achieve a common goal. Worried by the municipal government's centralized efforts to "revitalize" their neighbourhood during the early 1980s, two organizations emerged to assert local control over development in 1984: Projet St-Charles and the Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles (PEP).

Local co-operative housing activists founded Projet St-Charles to shield low-income residents from the anticipated rent increases that would accompany municipally driven improvement. In the early 1980s the municipal government launched something called the Programme d'intervention dans les quartiers anciens (PIQA) to "progressively bring the older

areas back into the mainstream of urban life and the city economy."[60] Pointe-Saint-Charles was one of the neighbourhoods selected for intensive renovations and municipal employees began the process of inspecting buildings and planning renovations. Worried that these municipally driven interventions would accelerate gentrification, local activists opposed PIQA and began to plan an alternative way to improve the local housing stock without raising rents. In 1984, housing activists introduced Projet St-Charles, a strategy to renovate and convert or build 500 low-income co-operative housing units over the next three years. With help from their local team of provincially funded housing professionals, Projet organizers planned to accumulate grants and subsidies from all levels of government to renovate housing while keeping rent low. Activists also envisioned co-operative housing as a venue for building a mass-movement of working-class people. Perspective co-op residents were to participate in Projet St-Charles mobilization efforts, and in doing so, become politicized and trained to participate in a broader co-operative movement. Together with this broader movement, co-op residents in Pointe-Saint-Charles could then pressure different levels of government for further subsidies.[61]

Projet St-Charles was massive endeavour that lasted for approximately a decade and involved dozens of paid workers and volunteers working together to create and fill co-operative housing. Though Projet St-Charles did not proceed exactly according to plan – Projet militants soon discovered that many vulnerable residents were more concerned with securing stable housing than joining a housing movement – local activists succeeded in creating a significant number of non-market housing units in the neighbourhood. The efforts of Projet St-Charles activists and their housing professional allies also helped preserve some level of continuity

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[60] Yvonne M. Macor, "Revitalization of the Montreal Urban Environment," (MA thesis, McGill University, 1982), 111.
[61] Simon Vickers, "From Balconville to Condoville, but Where is Co-opville? Neighbourhood Activism in 1980s Pointe-Saint-Charles" *Labour/Le Travail* 81 (Spring 2018): 159-186.

among local activists. New housing units provided relative security to long-time poor and working-class residents, allowing them to stay in the neighbourhood and freeing up some time for activism that might have been otherwise spent on struggling to keep up with rent. Because Projet St-Charles was not only about advocating for more social housing, but also securing and managing funds, building/renovating housing, and selecting perspective tenants, they also kept extensive records.[62]

Along with housing, many local activists were also concerned with deindustrialization and the ongoing disappearance of jobs. These activists were able to align their goals with those of mainstream politicians and were successful at accumulating funds, which helped support the production of reports and required extensive record keeping. The Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles (PEP) emerged out of local push for community controlled economic development in Pointe-Saint-Charles. Unhappy with municipally driven revitalization projects like PIQA, which seemed to favour re-purposing industrial spaces rather than revitalizing them to create jobs, local activists appealed to then provincial labour minister, Pauline Marois, for help. After some convincing, Marois granted PEP with $70,000 to build a plan for local economic development.[63] To manage this money several local community organizations worked to incorporate the Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles as a non-profit that would sit under the umbrella of Action-Gardien. After several months of research and consultation PEP produced a series of recommendations that emphasized the need to set up industrial workplaces to create jobs for unemployed people, create a new industrial park, and support the efforts of

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[62] Vickers, "From *Balconville* to *Condoville*."
[63] "Pauline Marois a tenu sa promesse: Pointe-Saint-Charles reçoit une subvention de $70,000," *La Presse*, June 22, 1984.

Projet St-Charles to build co-op housing.[64] Presumably impressed by PEP's preliminary work, in 1985 the provincial Office of planning and development gave the group $150,000 for operations and $100,000 to launch new private businesses. PEP used this funding to create its own plan for the neighbourhood and began injecting money into local businesses.[65]

Over the coming years PEP experienced some growing pains but continued to receive injections of money from the provincial government and was able to launch and support several local businesses in Pointe-Saint-Charles and the surrounding neighbourhoods.[66] Their efforts, however, could not offset the job loss caused by the ongoing deindustrialization of Southwest. In 1988 PEP joined with several other community organizations in the Southwest, as well as government, and business representatives, to found the Comité pour la relance de l'économie et de l'emploi dans le sud-ouest de Montréal (CREESOM). Together this committee produced an extensive report about the poor state of the local economy and several solutions to fix it including the preservation of industrial zones along the Lachine Canal.[67] Given that these new recommendations stretched beyond the boundaries of Pointe-Saint-Charles, in 1989 PEP rebranded to become the Regroupement pour la relance économique et sociale dans le sud-ouest de Montréal (RESO) and stretched their mandate to include the entire Southwest. In total

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[64] Gilbert LeBlanc, *Dossier : Situation Socio-Économique Quartier Pointe St-Charles*, Report (Montreal : Programme Économique Pointe St-Charles, 1984) APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.05.21.

[65] Jean-Marc Gareau, *Le Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles 1983-1989: La percée du développement économiqe communautaire dans le Sud-Ouest de Montréal*, report (Montreal: Institut de formation en développement économique communautaire, 1990); BARDAT, *Un Schema pour la communauté de Pointe Saint-Charles Proposition pré-finale : Présentée par BARDAT aux organismes communautaires de Pointe Saint-Charles*, Report (Montreal: BARDAT, 1986), APPSC, MUA 2008-0024.01.05.36.

[66] According to Jean-Marc Gareau, in 1986 PEP agreed to an annual budget of $100,000 per year beginning in the 1988-1989 fiscal year. This additional funding, however, included the requirement that the organization also raise funds locally. For the 1989-1990 fiscal year PEP joined with similar organizations from around Montreal and succeeded in convincing the provincial government to give them $150,000 and the municipal government to give them $50,000. For more on funding and the growing pains mentioned above see: Gareau, *Le Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles*, 6-18.

[67] Comité pour la relancement économique et de l'emploi du Sud-Ouest de Montréal, *Sud-Ouest diagnostic*, report (Montreal, 1989)

government bodies responded to the recommendations of the CREESOM report by allegedly contributing $500 million dollars to its recommendations over five years, five million of which RESO would administer directly.[68]

Projet St-Charles and PEP were run by different groups of people and did not work in direct collaboration, but they resembled each other in their efforts to acquire government funding that could be used to locally manage development. Their ability to secure such funding reflected an overlapping interest between neighbourhood promoters and politicians who wanted to reinvigorate the local economy and activists who wished to build working-class community control over local redevelopment. Localized deindustrialization and disinvestment was distressing for most residents and they presented a united front to local government for help. The relatively low cost of housing and commercial space in Pointe-Saint-Charles also meant that the money they received went further than it might have in neighbourhoods undergoing periods of investment. As such, each of these organizations was able to, at least for a time, offset some local job loss and genuinely improve access to safe housing and the ability for residents to stay in their neighbourhood.

All these factors also produced relative amounts of stability within local neighbourhood organizations, which in turn, facilitated the building of private collections. Funding allowed for and sometimes required the production and preservation of reports, press releases, meeting minutes, posters, budgets, payrolls, correspondence, and other textual documentation. It also paid the rent for the office spaces where neighbourhood organizers worked and where they stored their record collections. Collections that were well organized and complete when in 1997 the call

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[68] Gareau, *Le Programme économique de Pointe Saint-Charles*, 1.

went out that local activists were going to build a neighbourhood archive. In the case of PEP, direct collaboration with different levels of government meant that much of their work also made it into more formal government libraries and archives. In this way the forms of neighbourhood activism that received government funding have also come to dominate archives with collections on neighbourhood organizing.

Complicating Success Narratives in the Southwest

The history of struggle depicted in the Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles had a real impact on people's lives. Victories often translated to homes and jobs for residents and protected them from displacement. It is also significant, however, that these collections survived through the significant disinvestment still going on around them during the 1970s and 1980s. Though property was relatively cheap in Pointe-Saint-Charles compared to neighbourhoods in the East Downtown, many buildings were old and in desperate need of costly repairs that were unlikely to happen without some sort of public or private investment. Without these repairs the physical spaces occupied by neighbourhood organizations and their archives were more vulnerable to fires, floods, and other structural hazards. Even with their ability to secure government funding it is incredible that so many neighbourhood organizations in Pointe-Saint-Charles were able to protect such complete collections.

During the 1980s government subsidies were made available to organizations like Projet St-Charles and PEP to offset disinvestment, but these funds were not available to all people in the Southwest equally. Anna Kruzynski, a social work scholar who was integral to the building of the APPSC, recognized that most histories of community organizing in Quebec have been written by men who have rarely acknowledged how the histories they write reflected broader patterns of race, gender, and class inequality. As part of her dissertation project Kruzynski and

her organizing partner Isabelle Drolet organized two working groups of women with long histories of organizing in the area – one francophone one anglophone – and began conducting life stories with the participants. Through her conversations with local women activists, Kruzynski, found that women were in fact the backbone of neighbourhood organizing in Pointe-Saint-Charles. As one participant communicated, the lack of recognition of women organizers reflected broader gendered distinctions between "women's stuff" and "important stuff" amongst some local organizers. Several women in the anglophone group also discussed "how it was mostly women who participated in kitchen meetings, how paid organizers were often men, about how women were terrified to break with traditional gender roles, and about the lack of recognition of the women's community work by men in general."[69] The fact that men were more likely to get paid for their work in the neighbourhood also meant that their professional male voices were more likely to be elevated in neighbourhood organization collections and later the textual files at the APPSC. Through their working groups Kruzynski and Drolet challenged the gendered logics that were so central to neighbourhood organization hiring practices and the creation of neighbourhood organization collections by conducting life story interviews. These interviews were then deposited in the APPSC, providing additional depth to the history of local organizing was never recorded in neighbourhood organizing collections. Together Kruzynski, Drolet and their working groups also organized something called the CourtePointe Collective and published a book on the history of struggle in Pointe-Saint-Charles based and archival research and these interviews.[70]

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[69] Anna Kruzynski, "Du silence à l'affirmation: Women Making History in Point St. Charles," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2004), 105.
[70] Kruzynski, "Du silence à l'affirmation"; CourtePointe Collective, *The Point Is… Grassroots Organizing Works: Women from Point St. Charles Sharing Stories of Solidarity* (Montreal: Les éditions de remue-ménage, 2006).

Interventions by the Courtepointe Collective provided additional grassroots complexity to the histories of endurance and struggle contained within the APPSC. Still, the stories they tell fit within a distinctly local and celebratory history of continuous activism since the 1960s. The size, timeframe covered, and continuity of the APPSC and the interventions by the Courtepointe Collective add additional weight to this distinct history. The contents of the APPSC were not, however, produced solely through local struggle. The collections that make up the APPSC were also a product of government funding. Elsewhere in the Southwest, neighbourhood organizations were unable to secure the same levels of funding, a discrepancy that shaped the creation and accessibility of archival records unevenly across space. There are, for example, fewer publicly accessible archives with collections depicting neighbourhood organizing in St-Henri or Little Burgundy. Collections related to activism in these neighbourhoods that are accessible, moreover, were never organized together under a single neighbourhood focussed archive and often concluded after federal grants were rolled back during the mid-1970s.[71]

The Negro Community Centre (NCC) collection in the Concordia University Archives and Special Collections is one organization with links to Little Burgundy that defies this logic. It is one of the most complete archived community organization collections in the Southwest outside of Pointe-Saint-Charles. Unlike many of the organizations that donated their collections to the APPSC, however, during the 1980s the NCC were denied the funding necessary to repair their aging building in Little Burgundy. Occupying a physical space in the St-Henri/Little Burgundy area for almost seventy years from 1927 to 1998, the NCC collection depicts the history of one of the longest standing community centres in the Southwest. With consistent

[71] In St-Henri there is a historical society called the Société Historique de St-Henri, but they tend to deal more with the industrial period and have very little related to neighbourhood activism. For more about the archives that covered 1970s activism see the footnotes in previous chapters.

funding from one of Montreal's charitable umbrella groups for almost its entire history, community members and activists involved with the NCC were able to run a variety of programs, mutual aid societies, education services, publications, and campaigns, much of which left behind records; first in the basement of Union United Church on Atwater Street and after 1955 in a location several blocks to the west on Coursol Street in what would later be called Little Burgundy.[72]

Beginning in the 1970s, the NCC expanded its reach by distributing funding to services and organizing beyond the Southwest to respond to the reality that Black Montrealers were increasingly living elsewhere in the city. Economic and urban changes to the surrounding area during the 1960s and 1970s – such as highway projects and urban renewal – were particularly disruptive to areas in the Southwest with high concentrations of Black residents. The Little Burgundy urban renewal project in the Southwest, for example, replaced many of the streets, buildings, and institutions that had long been at the centre of Black neighbourhood life, and displaced many Black residents. The closure of worksites and the general disinvestment in the Southwest also motivated many English-speaking Black Montrealers to join the exodus of people from the Southwest to the growing suburbs. Though the NCC survived the wave of state renewal and maintained its space on Coursol Street, the resulting decrease in the local Black population motivated the Centre to direct its funding to Black led organizing and initiatives outside of the neighbourhood during the 1970s. This funding helped launch initiatives and fund organizing in

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[72] The charitable umbrella group that funded the NCC changed over time. The NCC applied to join The Montreal Council of Social Agencies and its Financial Federation which later became known as the United Red Feather Society, and after 1974 was funded by Centraide. For more on the history of the NCC and its relationship to funding, see Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997). For more on the history of the fonds, see Alexandra Mills, Désirée Rochat, and Steven High, "Telling Stories from Montreal's Community Centre Fonds: The Archives as Community-Engaged Classroom," *Archivaria* 89 (Spring 2020): 34-69.

other parts of the city where Black Montrealers were moving: Notre Dame de Grace, Côte-des-Neige, and Lasalle, all of which also produced records that now sit in the NCC collection.[73]

In the early 1980s, these different neighbourhood-based initiatives became independent and the NCC once again focussed more attention on its Little Burgundy-based programming. Though 50 percent of its members now resided outside the neighbourhood, local organizers continued to launch to programs and projects including a new publication directed toward Montreal's English-speaking Black community, *Afro-Can*. All of this happened, however, under conditions of increasing precarity as their charitable funders – now Centraide – decreased the NCC's annual funding during the early 1980s and insisted that it have say over administrative and hiring decisions. NCC representatives who sought explanations for why Centraide rejected certain budget requests discovered Centraide representatives to be defensive or evasive. In their summary of one meeting in 1984, NCC representatives discussed Centraide's refusal to commit to steady funding and its denial of the request to hire a new program director. After requests for an explanation the Centraide representatives apparently walked out of the room. In a follow up meeting the president of Centraide accused NCC representatives of bringing an "atmosphere of confrontation" and explained that the reason they had denied funding for a program director was because Centraide had not been properly consulted. When pushed on this point at a later meeting the president apparently began commenting on the personalities of several NCC board members and once again suggested that NCC's funding was not secure. The NCC's board of directors became understandably worried about Centraide's erratic and non-transparent approach toward their funding, discussing possible reasons at their meetings. Directors agreed that Centraide

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[73] Williams, *The Road to Now*; Steven High, "Little Burgundy: The Interwoven Histories of Race, Residence, and Work in Twentieth-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* vol. 46 no. 1 (Fall 2017): 23-44.

representatives were relying on racist stereotypes when assuming NCC representatives were seeking confrontation. They also discussed the tendency for Centraide to compare their actions with other organizations that served the English-speaking Black community, suggesting they should follow a standard set by organizations with completely different needs. Finally, and somewhat contradictory to the previous point, the NCC board of directors cited Centraide's "persistence in considering the Centre as being merely a 'building in the Little Burgundy Area,'" rather than an organization that provided programming for members who lived across the city.[74]

Funding insecurity weighed heavily on the board of the NCC and led to some difficult conversations among the Board of Directors.[75] The NCC, nevertheless, continued to provide programming to its members and to participate as stakeholders in the Little Burgundy neighbourhood. In 1987, the NCC participated in a meeting of English-speaking community organizations that served "low-income and disadvantaged sectors that of Little Burgundy," to discuss the issue of ongoing displacement and to share information. The organizers of the meeting cited the "rapid renovation and gentrification of Little Burgundy" as the object of concern, specifically mentioning the "dramatic migration of the low-income residents to the Côte-des-Neiges and other low-income rent districts." All the groups in attendance cited worry about the changing demographics of the area, particularly in light of financial struggles. Two of the other four groups in attendance – Unity Boys and Girls Club and the Good Shepard Centre – also cited recent troubles with Centraide as a cause for worry. In both cases Centraide was apparently pushing these organizations to justify their funding in the face of shifting clientele or

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[74] Quotation is from: Board of Directors of the NCC, "Meeting Minutes," (February 14, 1984), Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond, folder 24, box HA04176. The rest of the discussion in this paragraph was found in Board of Directors of the NCC "Meeting Minutes," (February 14, 1984; November 27, 1984; February 12, 1985; April 9, 1985) all in Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond, folder 24, box HA04176

[75] Board of Directors of the NCC, "Meeting Minutes," (April 9, 1985), Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond.

risk losing funding. The Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre reported that it required "extensive renovations" but wondered whether it made sense to "throw good money after bad" given the direction that the neighbourhood was going. Together, the worries of these five English language organizations spoke to a similar process. After, in some cases, decades of successful programming under Montreal's English language charitable umbrella, Centraide now expected these organizations to account for and adapt to the last two decades of intense economic and urban change. This, even though these organizations served some of the longest standing residents of the area and had little control over these recent economic changes.[76]

These changes – whether consciously or not – were particularly disruptive to the local Black community and their organizations. The representative from the NCC concluded in their notes of the meeting that along with the gentrification of the area the accelerated reduction in the local Black population required a specific response. Together with other neighbourhood organizations the representative argued that the NCC should commit to ensuring that the Black community have a say in local development and that they not allow it to be "the exclusive preserve of the more affluent newcomers."[77] Unfortunately, that same year the NCC faced an additional hurdle when a portion of one of the building's walls collapsed. Dorothy Williams describes how the Centre was able to fix the wall soon thereafter, but the collapse exposed the reality that major repairs were needed. Along with funding restrictions, the need for repairs forced the NCC to reduce its staff and services at the site on Coursol Street. By 1989 the NCC relied completely on volunteer labour and the building closed for good several years later.[78]

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[76] "Community Development Meeting Held at Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre," (October 15, 1987), Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond, folder 3, box HA04139.
[77] "Community Development Meeting Held at Tyndale St-Georges Community Centre," (October 15, 1987), Special Collections, Concordia Library, NCC Fond, folder 3, box HA04139.
[78] Williams, *The Road to Now*, 142.

During the 1990s the NCC board made several attempts to raise the money necessary to repair their building. Amid these efforts in 1998 the NCC asked the Concordia Library to keep the 100 boxes that made up their collection safe with the hope that they would take it back when they were able to make the repairs. Unfortunately, unlike in Pointe-Saint-Charles the various levels of governments did not extend the necessary funding, and in 2013 the NCC officially transferred their collection to Concordia University. It was made accessible to researchers several years later with the assistance of students involved in a class on local history. Containing NCC records produced between 1927 and 1989, the collection illustrates the long history Black activism and organizing through the NCC as well as how it shaped Little Burgundy and Montreal more generally. While this legacy persisted into the 1980s and beyond, the parts of the NCC collection produced during that decade also speak to a persistent precarity forced on them by their funders. By the end of the decade this defunding had not only placed the existence of the NCC in jeopardy, it also produced uncertainty around the location and preservation of its unique organizational records.[79]

Countless hours of labour by associated activists made the preservation of both the APPSC and the NCC collection possible. There were, however, many more underfunded or unfunded groups in the Southwest that were unable or unwilling to preserve records of their organizing. In the context of large-scale deindustrialization groups of people across the Southwest assembled in their kitchens or on their streets to organize mutual aid. In the APPSC, for example, there are indications that block committees had formed in Pointe-Saint-Charles.

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[79] For more about the history of the NCC fonds and about the class – organized by Alexandra Mills, Désirée Rochat and Steven High – that processed it see: Mills, Rochat, and High, "Telling Stories from Montreal's Community Centre Fonds," 34-69. The students in this class helped process parts of the archive and produced several reflections on the archive and its contents which can be found here: http://cohds.com/ncc/.

These various block committees ran campaigns to force the city to improve their neighbourhoods, leaving behind details of these campaigns in the records of their funded umbrella organization the Point Action Citizens' Council. These block committees were successful at organizing and executing campaigns, but there is little textual evidence in the archive about how they organized or the relationship between active members. Missing is evidence of the pre-existing neighbourly and mutual aid relationships that made mobilizing for these campaigns possible. The importance of these relationships was made clear during a citizens convention in 1977 wherein organizers pushed back against centralization and emphasized the need to host more meetings at the block level. Though the proponents of these move did not elaborate on the reasons for decentralization they were supported by those in attendance, presumably because they felt it was a more effective way of organizing.[80]

Block committees were important because they reflected pre-existing relationships and common knowledge of extremely local space. While lack of funds led to the dissolution of the Point Action Citizens' Council in the early 1980s, there is no reason to assume these local solidarities did not continue without being archived. Furthermore, though I have found little textual evidence of similar block organizations in St-Henri or Little Burgundy during the 1980s, that certainly does not mean they did not exist there too. In the context of the massive social rupture that accompanied deindustrialization, poor and working-class residents likely turned to systems of mutual aid that did not or could not leave behind formal records. Layoffs at the different local factories also meant that more local workers likely earned money through less formal and sometime illegal means to pay the bills. As in Toronto, these mostly cash workers

[80] Pointe Action Citizens' Council, "Pointe Action Citizens' Council (PACC) – Victories" (1974), BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/23, 020.02. and Point Action Citizens' Council, "PACC Citizen Convention," (1977) BANQ, Fonds St-Columba House, P611 2007-07-001/22, 018.03.

would have organized, assisted one another, and shared information to avoid police scrutiny, but the possibility of police reprisal likely meant that keeping records was dangerous. This would have been particularly the case for youth, racialized, and trans workers who were more frequently the target of police harassment. Though overshadowed by a broader narrative of neighbourhood organizing success in Pointe-Saint-Charles, these less formal solidarity organizations also provided access to safer jobs and homes, and protected neighbours from displacement.

Conclusion

In the East Downtown and the Southwest material conditions did not only shape neighbourhood politics, they also shaped neighbourhood activists' ability or desire to keep collections and eventually archives. The two posters that I introduced at the beginning of this chapter are thus interesting both for their content and for their relationship to the documents that surround them. In the East Downtown, the intensity of gentrification and precarity exacerbated the struggles of many local activists, particularly those who experienced additional police harassment because of their race, gender, sexuality, ability, and class. This precarity made it harder for activists to keep well organized and consistent records of their work and has resulted in fewer large collections finding their way into archives. In the Southwest funding and the relative lack of precarity made it possible or necessary for some organizations to build large continuous organizational collections. This was particularly the case in Pointe-Saint-Charles where local activists were able to secure large amounts of funding for economic development.

To some this chapter may be frustrating in that it does not tell a complete story about what happened in either place during the 1980s. What it does do, however, is to demystify the material logics that shaped the building of collections depicting neighbourhood activism. They

were produced in ways that, while never uniform, followed particular patterns that are both readable and tell us something about the negotiated relationship between the needs and wants of local activists, the local material conditions over which they had little control, and the desires of governments. Large neighbourhood organization collections signify that their creators either had access to cheap space or that they were able to position themselves as reflecting values that were palatable to government funders. Small or disorganized neighbourhood activist collections may mean several things, but their size should not be conflated with historic significance. The government, after all, spent money to encourage post-industrial development and gentrification. Given this context, it is entirely possible that smaller unfunded or underfunded archives might indicate the forms of activism that have been most effective at combating this logic.

Conclusion

The End of the 1980s in Neighbourhood Activist History

In February 1990, *Toronto Star* columnist Leonard Shifrin penned a scathing critique of the new Progressive Conservative federal budget. The budget contained some sweeping changes, including restrictions to federal Unemployment Insurance as well as freezes in funding to universities and legal aid. The budget also proposed a limit on Canada Assistance Plan contributions to certain provinces, effectively eliminating any possibility that welfare would keep pace with cost of living. Though this austerity budget had far reaching consequences for people across Canada, Shifrin described it as having disproportionately "targeted the poor." Concluding that "(a)fter years of chipping away at the universality and claiming benefits should go only to those in need, the Tories decapitate the one program that is totally targeted to the poor." That February, Quebeckers were also left reeling from the same catastrophic austerity budget. Claude Picher from *La Presse* described the budget as a time bomb that downloaded expenses onto the unprepared province. Worried primarily about how the Quebec government would be forced to make up the difference, either by raising taxes or reducing spending, Picher also lamented a sudden reduction in federal spending for public housing. Whether this austerity budget represented a decapitation or a timed explosion, both authors agreed that it was ushering in a

distinct and catastrophic break with the past. A break that would be felt most by those who were already struggling in their homes and neighbourhoods across the country.[1]

These cuts to public funds did not only penalize individual working-class people. By incentivising free-market solutions to urban problems, neo-liberal austerity shaped social relations in places like the East Downtown and the Southwest and how people organized in those neighbourhoods.[2] The resulting fightback by poor and working-class people against the austerity policies represented in this budget (along with the related ratification of the Canada-US Free Trade agreement and the advent of a nationwide recession in 1989) thus seemed like an appropriate bookend to a history of how material conditions shaped neighbourhood activism. Many others have also used the period around 1989-1991 to mark a resurgence of activism to contest state austerity and globalization.[3] It would, however, be a mistake to forward the end of the 1980s as an even or complete break in the history of neighbourhood activism. During the 1970s and 1980s, the provision and withdrawal of funds and the cost of land and labour

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[1] Claude Picher, "La bombe à retardement," *La Presse*, February 21, 1990; Leonard Shifrin, "Budget Batters the Poor," *The Toronto Star*, February 26, 1990. For more on the 1990 budget, cuts to the Canada Assistance Plan, and its effects on the poor see: Bryan D. Palmer and Gaétan Héroux, *Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016): 295-304.

[2] Since neo-liberalism is a multi-faceted process and depended on intellectual work at various scales, it is difficult to locate its exact history within Canada. Still, cuts to federal budgets were certainly accelerated during the Mulroney years with 1989 as a defining moment. Georges Campeau, *From UI to EI: Waging War on the Welfare State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005): 127-147; Boudreau et all., *Changing Toronto*; Greg Suttor, *Still Renovating: A History of Canadian Social Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016): 111-151; Palmer and Héroux, *Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History*, 292-304.

[3] This rupture is particularly dominant in English language narratives for many of the reasons already pointed to in this thesis: that the slower pace of post-industrial development in Montreal meant that organizations there were able to maintain more continuity during the 1970s and 1980s than in large rapidly developing English speaking North American cities like New York and Toronto. The "rupture" of 1990 makes less sense in the face of this continuity. The 1990s can be a useful starting point for understanding broad commonalities between social movements across space (for example to understand the genealogy of the 2011 occupy movement in the WTO protests in Seattle, the Zapatista movement in the mid-1990s, and other global events) which are linked through their common resistance to globalization and neo-liberalism. For more on these dominant temporalities see Lilian Radovac, "Re/mediating the Archive: Building Alternative Toronto," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 32 no. 1 (November, 2017). These dominant temporalities have, however, also been reproduced in some local histories. In Palmer and Héroux's otherwise excellent book on the rebellious history of Toronto's poor, for example, coverage of poor peoples' activism during the 1970s and 1980s is very short compared with the deep coverage of the 1990 until 2015. Palmer and Héroux, *Toronto's Poor: A Rebellious History*, 273-429.

punctuated histories of neighbourhood activism differently in the Southwest, the East Downtown, and elsewhere in Canada. In each place there were moments between 1970 and 1989 that were just as important, if not more so, to the local organizing landscape – the closure of a factory, the founding of a co-op, the formation of a block committee – that were based in material realities that did not overlap entirely with government policy. These more complicated and layered local histories produced different contexts through which local people encountered austerity policies and influenced how they organized, why they organized, and who they organized with.

There are, nevertheless, broad established temporalities of activism history that continue to discipline how outsiders see locally specific manifestations of struggle, replicating the tendency to depict "the period between 1970 and 1991" as a "revolutionary dead zone."[4] Narratives of urban activism that begin with 1990s often centre organizations that became the public face of the anti-austerity fightback, such as the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) in Toronto and the Front d'action Populaire en réaménagement urbain (FRAPRU) in Montreal. These organizations and their allies confronted the neo-liberal logics of the governments, and through their collective struggle they successfully mitigated the harmful effects of some spending cuts. This apparent resurgence of activism could also, however, be interpreted as a resurgence in activist visibility and record keeping. The public facing anti-austerity campaigns run by groups like OCAP and FRAPRU captured the attention of mainstream media, politicians, and academics, which collectively produced large amounts of written work testifying to their significance.[5] While this public-facing activism undoubtably had an important impact, the

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[4] Lilian Radovac, "Re/mediating the Archive: Building Alternative Toronto," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 32 no. 1 (November, 2017), 99.

[5] In Ontario this was in part because several activists associated with OCAP became prolific writers about neo-liberalism and austerity in Ontario. This work pushed back against the rhetoric of Mike Harris' "common-sense

attention it has received has obscured the longer histories of organizing in rooted communities produced through struggle, histories that activists within OCAP and FRAPRU were also a part of. These less documented communities of organizers continued to support one another and to survive as the government withdrew support during the 1970s and 1980s, developing radical alternative forms of mutual aid to fill the void. Though not always in obvious opposition to austerity policies, these activists nevertheless resisted the hostile neo-liberal restructuring of local space and fought for an alternative that did not exclude them.

This pattern of certain moments overwhelming longer histories of neighbourhood activism should be familiar to those who have read the preceding chapters. Between 1963 and 1989 neighbourhood activists in the Southwest in Montreal and the East Downtown in Toronto made history, but their work has not been equally represented in historical narrative. During the period covered, activists continuously struggled alongside their neighbours to shape the physical landscape of their shared space, improve access to safe homes and jobs, and affirm their right to exist. Through their activism, they also produced knowledge about the urban spaces where they lived and worked. They named neighbourhoods, mapped boundaries, wrote articles, built

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revolution" and the growing electoralism within the mainstream labour movement. John Clarke has been a particularly prolific voice in this debate and has written a great deal about anti-poverty organizing and austerity from his position as an organizer with OCAP. Much of this more recent work dating back to 2008 can be found on *Socialist Project* here: https://socialistproject.ca/author/john-clarke/. He has also written several retrospectives of this history including: John Clarke, "Fight to Win," *Labour/Le Travail* vol. 50 (Fall 2002): 383-390; John Clarke, "OCAP Marks its First Twenty Years, *Socialist Project: The Bullet* (2010); John Clarke, "Organizing in Crisis: Ten Years After the OCAP March on Queen's Park" *Upping the Anti* (2010). Though different in many ways from OCAP, as a large body that represents housing interests across Montreal and even the province, FRAPRU has similarly challenged neo-liberal rhetoric and austerity measures in Quebec. FRAPRU has existed since the late 1970s and thus reflects a greater level of continuity in histories of anti-poverty organizing, but like its counterparts in Ontario it emerged as a primary voice against austerity, and activists associated with FRAPRU wrote a great deal about the dangers of austerity politics and the need for people to organize against associated cuts. For some of their more recent work see here: https://www.frapru.qc.ca/documents/. These activists have also worked with the Groupe d'études et d'action urbains to author several histories of FRAPRU. Groupe d'études et d'actions urbains, *Dans la rue… Depuis 30 ans et pour longtemps. L'histoire du FRAPRU 1978-2008* (Montreal: Groupe d'études et d'actions urbaines, 2008); Groupe d'études et d'actions urbains, *Le FRAPRU a 35 ans* (Montreal: Groupe d'études et d'actions urbaines, 2013); Front d'action populaire en réaménagement urbain (FRAPRU), *Quarante and au Front : Seule la lutte paie!* (Montreal: FRAPRU, 2019).

archives, and created informal and formal bodies that asserted claims to local space, all of which depended on prior historical connection and/or knowledge. Their production of local knowledge then set the terrain for subsequent waves of activism; following a dialectic pattern in which activism produced knowledge and knowledge produced activism. This pattern was and is constant but its legibility to outsiders has always also been shaped by existing power relations that elevated certain perspectives in official histories of neighbourhood activism while barring others.

The power relations that shaped the production of neighbourhood activist histories have manifested differently across space, but they have never been so complicated as to be unknowable. The production of history has a material and comprehensible history in both the Southwest and the East Downtown. Some neighbourhood activists produced documentary evidence of their work, and built publications, archives, and other commemorative projects to record their history. Their work did much to re-shape the historical landscape of their neighbourhoods, and through their coalition building, their city and sometimes their country. Still, for the most part the ability to shape historical narrative in their neighbourhoods depended on access to funding, resources, and exposure that was not equitably distributed. As this study has shown, the inequitable distribution of power and resources had long been embedded in local space, but between 1963 and 1989 this distribution shifted along with traceable patterns of post-industrial investment and industrial disinvestment. These structural conditions elevated the significance of a generation of young, middle-class, white, and cis-gendered male activists while silencing countless others.

So, what is the actual significance of forwarding the end of the 1980s as a rupture in the history of neighbourhood activism? While not wishing to delegitimize the valuable forms of activism that allegedly emerged at this time, insisting that the 1990s ushered in a renewal of

activism foregrounds a narrow understanding of the work produced by coalitions of activists that rose to challenge government policies. Introduced to the public because of their opposition to mainstream policy decisions, these activists have been remembered and recorded through the policy decisions they opposed, and not for their reliance on pre-existing activist networks and knowledge built through longer histories of struggle. Centring these histories of austerity fightback inevitably silences much of the difficult and dangerous work of building, supporting, and maintaining communities that has been less documented in the media and in institutional archives.

Libraries and archives necessarily generate silences; they simply cannot record everything. But I assert that the production of silences in neighbourhood activism history were and are not random, but are connected to complicated and uneven, but nevertheless legible, structures of power. This is true even in spaces where the impulse to produce history initially emerged from radical politics. Furthermore, these structures of power were never absolute, and previously marginalized activists have continued to take advantage of the cracks to improve representation in local histories. Places like the Southwest and the East Downtown have never been static or coherent and intervening in historic narrative has always been a part of local activism. Historians can learn from this type of radical grassroots history making and should see it as inspiration to challenge dominant temporalities in national, provincial, or city histories that fail to account for the fact that everyday people never stop making history. But, if we wish to partake, we must learn to approach this work with the humility of understanding that we are

always catching up to everyday people, whether they call themselves activists or not, who have already laid the groundwork for new, more radical, histories.[6]

[6] My understanding of a radical history draws from Doreen Massey's radical history of place described here: "Perhaps a really 'radical' history of place would be one which does not try to present either simple temporal continuity or only spatial simultaneity with no sense of historical depth. A way of understanding which, in the end did *not* try to seal a place up into one neat and tidy 'envelope of space time' but which recognised that what has come together, in this place, now, is a conjunction of many histories and many spaces." Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39, no. 1 (1995), 191.

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P611, Fonds St-Columba House

Centre de documentation sur l'éducation des adultes et la condition féminine

General Collection

City of Toronto Archives

7, Howard Chapman Fonds
338, Street Haven at the Crossroads
388, Matthew Lawson Fonds
1005, Central Neighbourhood House Fonds
1202, Graham Fraser Fonds
1306, John Sewell Fonds
1309, Karl Jaffary Fonds
1327, Dan Heap Fonds
1329, Michael Goldrick Fonds
1346, Janet Howard Fonds
1361, Jack Layton Fonds
1594, Joanne Campbell Fonds

Connexions Archive

General Collections

Concordia Library, Special Collections

Negro Community Centre Fonds

Library and Archives Canada

RG116, Company of Young Canadians Fonds
RG118, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds

Montreal City Archives

CA M001 P085 D07, Fond Yvon Lamarre

McGill University Archives

Archives populaires de Pointe-Saint-Charles

Michel Blondin Home Archive

General Collections

Université du Québec à Montréal, Service de archives et de gestion des documents

21P, Collection de publications de groupes de gauche et de groupes populaires

University of Ottawa Archives and Special Collections

10-002, Canadian Women's Movement Archives Fonds

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