



THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY, HALIFAX, CANADA

AFRICVILLE RELOCATION REPORT
SUPPLEMENT

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Chapters 6, 9, and 10 of a manuscript presented to McClelland and Stewart Limited for publication under the title Africville: Relocation and Social Change in a Canadian Black Community.

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September 15, 1973

The Honourable Harold M. Huskilson
Minister of Social Services
Province of Nova Scotia
P.O. Box 696
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Dear Mr. Minister:

In their preface to the *Africville Relocation Report* the Co-Directors of the Study, Dr. Donald H. Clairmont and Dr. Dennis W. Magill, indicated their intention to undertake further work beyond the scope of the official report completed in July, 1971. They have done so in conjunction with the Institute of Public Affairs and incorporated the results in Chapters 6, 9 and 10 of a manuscript prepared for publication in book form by McClelland and Stewart Limited.

I have pleasure in transmitting herewith the appropriate number of copies of these chapters as an official supplement to the *Africville Relocation Report* July 1971.

The supplement will shed additional light on the development of Africville as a social problem, the life after the relocation, and the social policy implications of the relocation.

Yours sincerely,

Guy Henson
Director

GH/a

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CHAPTER SIX

AFRICVILLE AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

"It was lovely, lovely. They talk about Peggy's Cove but I am going to tell you, it was the most beautiful sight you would want to see - Africville. You get on the hill, and look over the Bedford Basin in the fall of the year, say from October to around December, and that was a sight to see, especially at twilight when the sun is sinking over the hills at Bedford ... And another thing, during the war ... when the convoys were in the Basin, there was another beautiful sight. It was one of the most beautiful spots I've been in, in Nova Scotia. *And the City didn't develop it.* Africville should have been developed years ago when labour was cheap. Africville would have been a pretty sight. *Why didn't they do it? There is only one meaning I can put to it. Because Black people was living out there.*" (Italics added.)

-Tape-recorded interview with an Africville relocatee.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Africville was referred to as a "community of intelligent young people, much is expected of them."¹ In 1957 a field representative of a national human rights group visited Nova Scotia's Black communities; she referred to Africville as "the worst and most degenerate area I have ever seen." This chapter attempts to explain how such a dramatic change, discounting some overstatement in the 1957 characterization, took place with the result that Africville became "a social problem" and, consequently, "ripe for relocation". Basically, two processes account for the peculiar development of Africville. On the one hand there was an external process of "encroachment" by the various levels of government and by private economic interests which aborted Africville's possibilities as a potentially fine residential area. Railways, city disposal yards, and fertilizer plants were situated in and around the Africville community. One relocatee, reacting angrily to the mistaken but widely held idea that Africville residents were mostly squatters, pointed to these developments and observed: "They said the people in Africville encroached on the government, but I would say the government encroached on the people."

The other important process was an internal one that "ate away" at Africville's potential from the inside. Winks, while perhaps misleading concerning the origin of the community, aptly

refers to this process:

"From the 1870s to the 1930s the condition of the negro Canadian declined. Nova Scotia Negroes in particular fell into a chronic state of depression, and they were soon trapped in the classic pattern of a vicious cycle: badly educated and often physically ill, they were unable to find steady employment and, unable to find employment they were in no position to rid themselves of ignorance or disease. Slums developed around Halifax, first in the harbour-hugging self-segregated community of Africville and later in the middle of the city."²

The classic cycle to which Winks refers led to a continuing deterioration of the community, a development most apparent in the period after the First World War but rooted in earlier socio-economic conditions and opportunities. * Manifestations of this decline of Africville include its reputation in later years as a deviance service centre, its becoming a haven for underachievers in the struggle of life as a consequence of migration patterns (both immigration and emigration), and its segmentation into cliques and different life-styles.

These two processes, external and internal, were not, of course, unrelated. To a significant degree they underline the kind of negative exchange which, from the point of view of Africville residents, characterized their relationship with the broader society. City Council did little that was positive for Africville and, on the whole, was unresponsive to petitions and requests from its residents. Expectations of White authorities concerning Blacks framed the opportunity context for the latter; Africville residents came to recognize their marginality and functional autonomy, reciprocated by not biding certain City rules and directions, and adjusted their coping behaviour.

Early Beginnings

The Africville settlers, seeking to create a new life away from the hardships and privations of the refugee settlements in Hammonds Plains and Preston, quickly established themselves on Bedford Basin. They began by clearing lots and building shelters (at least some of which were log shelters). The 1851 census shows that several Africville settlers had improved

* During the period to which Winks refers, the process of urbanization and industrialization, and the organization of the Canadian economy in terms of new staples, meant that many areas and economic pursuits experienced relative economic decline. Canadian Blacks, living mostly outside the emerging growth centres, suffered a considerable diminution of opportunities. Prejudice and discrimination abetted this relative decline.

acreage and acquired a few farm animals. The approximately eighty residents were laying concurrently the basis for church and school in the community. A Baptist congregation was formed in 1849 and, although few adults could both read and write, residents' recognition of the value of education was evident in a petition that they addressed to the Legislative Assembly in 1860, requesting funds to obtain the services of a schoolmaster:

"[Your petitioners] look forward with much pleasure to the day on which the school master shall commence his delightful tasks in imparting instruction, not only to the infant mind, but also to those who have obtained the years of maturity and have not had the means of education.

"Your petitioners could send at once twenty-five children to school and in the winter season a greater number: but they feel that they must continue to suffer the evils of ignorance and their concomitant vices, unless they are assisted by their benevolent friends, as it is not in their power to meet the expenses of supporting a school."³

The fact that Africville residents sought a "separate" school was not a plea for racially segregated facilities. The petition is understandable in view of Africville's relative isolation from the rest of the city and the discrimination against Blacks in the Halifax area. As late as 1881, Halifax Blacks petitioned the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia to rescind a decision of the Council of Public Instruction, Halifax, to exclude "coloured" children from the common schools.⁴ The Africville petitioners of 1860 apparently did not receive any governmental assistance for their school. Not until 1883 did the Halifax Board of School Commissioners grant school privileges to Africville, and City Council provide land for the Board to erect a new building to replace the old school building which was "unfit for winter use".⁵ The reference to the old school house is an indication of the community's improvisation - as early as 1872, a resident (a Black man from Hammonds Plains, who had married into the Africville community) undertook the instruction of Africville children, first in the old church building and later in a private residence.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, residents opened two little penny stores. In later years, a post office and a social club were added to the community's organizations. Social life during the first fifty years revolved around the church. Very old relocatees reminisced happily about picnics and ceremonies associated with the church. They related stories of their parents riding on horseback through the "woods" around Africville; they talked of skating on Bedford Basin and of riding the trains into the North Street Station. One elderly respondent remarked, "Yes, I have enjoyed my life." In general, the older relocatees referred to these early years as good years; they recalled the greater independence of residents and the greater well-being of the community, in contrast to their experience in the later pre-relocation period. One woman, who had been a teen-ager in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, observed, "I didn't see no

hard life all the time I was comin' up." Another respondent, when pointing out how clean and solid the older Africville homes used to be, emphasized that "they [the Africville settlers] never had no help from the City to keep it clean neither." This latter comment alluded to the governmental and industrial build-up in the area which ruined Africville as a prime residential site.

Encroachment

Situated on the Basin and along Campbell Road, a secondary and infrequently used route connecting Halifax and the eastern part of Halifax County, Africville in 1850 was an idyllic rural setting. The scene was soon shattered by the roaring of trains and the buzzing of industries. The population of Halifax grew from 21,000 in 1851 to 47,000 in 1911. In the late nineteenth century, the expanding Africville community was being confronted by an industrial complex that gravitated towards Bedford Basin and reduced Africville's potential as a superior residential area. The forward thrust of this industrial development consisted of a large oil plant/storage complex⁶, a bone-mill manufacturing fertilizer⁷ on the shoreline several hundred yards to the west of the settlement, a cotton factory and a rolling mill/nail factory back on the hill overlooking Africville⁸ and, along the eastern shoreline, a slaughterhouse and a port facility handling coal. Encircling these operations in turn were a tar factory, a shoe plant where leather was tanned, another slaughterhouse, several stone-crushing industries, and a foundry. Most of this economic activity developed in the area surrounding Africville long after the Black Refugees had settled along Campbell Road.

Intermixed with the industries and businesses encircling the community was a considerable amount of vacant land owned primarily by the City and the Railroads. Trains passing through Africville on several tracks enjoyed a significant increase in passenger and freight traffic in the late nineteenth century.⁹ City service facilities were also prominent in the area; in 1853 Rockhead Prison was established approximately one hundred yards away on the hill above Africville, and the "night-soil" disposal pits for the city were located on the eastern edge of the settlement in 1858. In the 1870's the City's Infectious Diseases Hospital was built on the hill and about one and one-half miles beyond it was the northern-most reach of the sprawling, open, city dump. In 1905 a Trachoma Hospital was built to the west of the prison. The noise of trains and industry, the smell of the city's disposal pits, and the presence of imposing prison and hospital "fortresses" irritated the residents, signalled the future development of the area, and set in motion the cycle of deterioration that led to Africville's being labelled as a

slum.

The relative isolation of Africville from the rest of the city was reduced with the development of railway systems in Nova Scotia* around the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1853 the Nova Scotia Railway Company was incorporated,¹⁰ and within two years the Bedford Basin track, which paralleled Campbell Road and passed through Africville, was constructed.' This construction required the acquisition of some Africville land and the removal of some buildings; it resulted in the first of a series of relocations to which the Blacks were subjected. This first experience of Africville residents with forced relocation was not pleasant; in 1855, the Board of Railway Commissioners reported:

"Difficulties have arisen during the past year, in adjusting the damages due to parties whose land has been taken by the Commissioners. None of the parties have been paid ... cases of hardship have already occurred."¹¹

Some Africville claimants did not receive compensation, in money and nearby land, until five years later and then only after petitioning the Legislative Assembly.¹²

By 1912 two additional railway tracks passed through Africville: one, to freight goods to and from the cotton factory located above Africville; the other, to combine rail lines into a consolidated system.¹³ For the latter, acquisition of Africville land and the movement of buildings were once again required.¹⁴ At least five Africville properties were expropriated and the residents compensated. Subsequent to 1912, a new railway line was built bordering the western side of the Halifax peninsula, and the railway tracks through Africville declined in importance as passenger lines. Even with this decline in importance, however, the Africville tracks were still valuable for potential industrial development. At the outset of the Second World War, and with Halifax a major wartime port, Canadian National Railways (originally the Intercolonial Railway) constructed the Basin Yard, which resulted once more in the movement of a number of Africville residents.¹⁵

There is little doubt that the presence of railway tracks in close proximity to waterfront property increased the importance of the Africville land as an industrial site. Certainly the railway development through and around Africville affected the community's aesthetic image. The more

* It was the dream of Nova Scotia's famed Joseph Howe to have an intercolonial railway join the British North American Colonies. Failing to win support from Britain, in 1852 he embarked on a policy of supporting the construction of local lines to be built and operated by the Nova Scotia Government.

obvious consequences - noise from passing trains, layers of soot (before the change to diesel engines in the 1950's), and the inconvenience and danger of traversing railway tracks in order to visit a neighbour or to attend school - do not require special comment, although it may be noted that at least two Africville residents were killed by trains passing through the community. The long-range consequences of the railway's presence were reported by a Civic Planning Commission as follows:

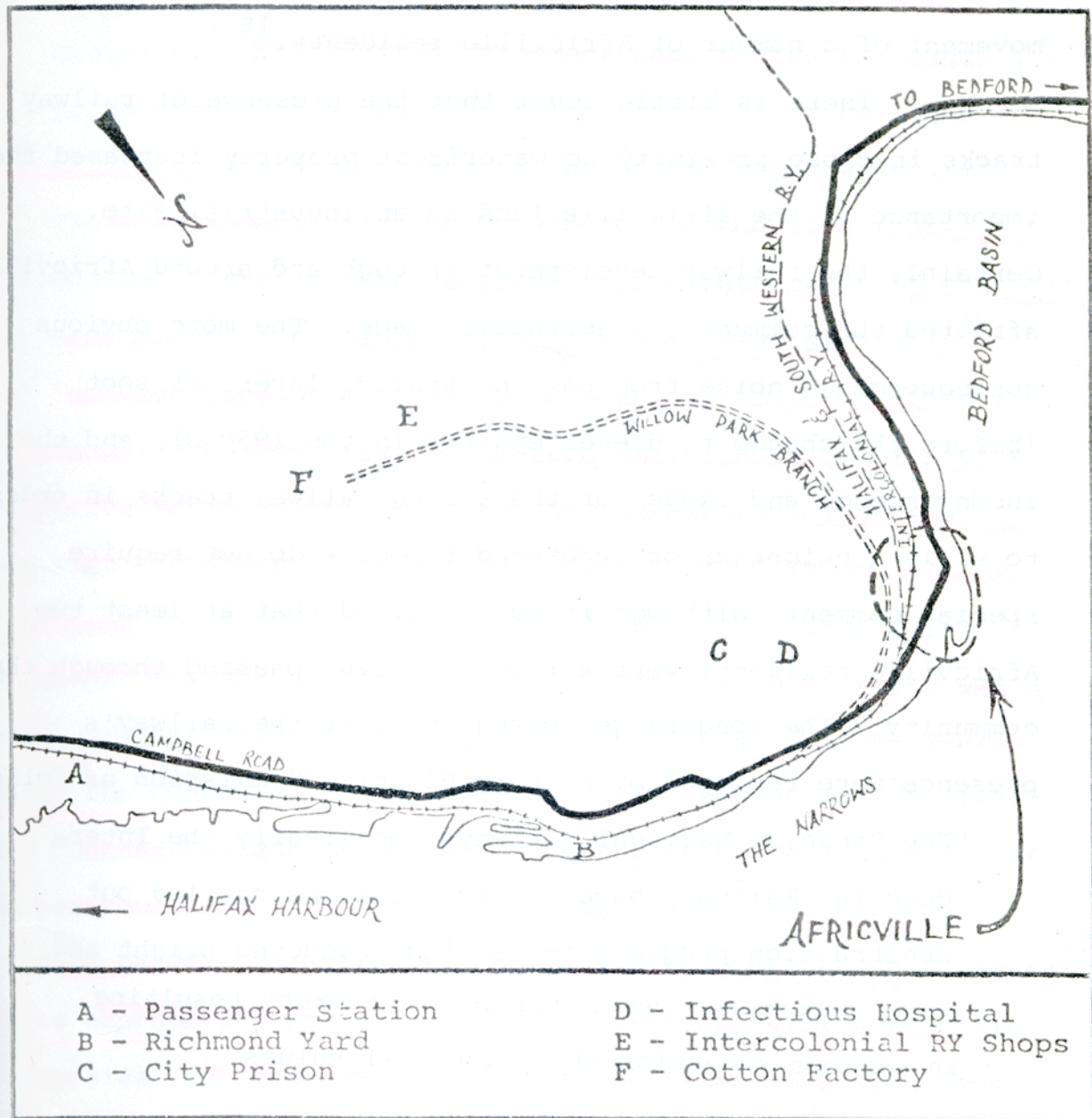
"The Canadian National Railways, originally the Intercolonial Railway, have on two occasions carried out construction programs in Halifax producing blight and decay spreading over large areas, thereby resulting in serious reduction of residential values.

.....

"The first development was in the north end of the city, with passenger terminals at North Street. Previous to the construction of these terminals, the northeast slope of the city [near, but not including Africville] constituted a major high-class residential district. After this development many residents found it desirable to change their location to the south end of the city and along the shores of the North West Arm. The area in question steadily deteriorated as a residential district, the southern and western parts of the city becoming the most valuable residential section."¹⁶

The City of Halifax owned sizeable property close to the community and was in a favourable position to bargain with industries seeking land. Minutes of the Halifax City Council show that, in addition to using the area around Africville as a location for City facilities not tolerated in other neighbourhoods, the eventual industrial use of Africville land was a matter of long-standing implicit intent. This "policy" was a reason for Council's neglect of Africville residents. In 1907 City Council decided to acquire property at the northern tip of the peninsula and resolved to purchase "the Tully property situated between the slaughter house and the Colored Settlement"¹⁷ and to expropriate property within the community of Africville. An appraisal was made of seventeen Africville properties owned by fifteen residents; the report did not list the number of "renters" or "squatters" that may have lived in Africville, but members of City Council had complained previously of squatters on contiguous, City-owned property.¹⁸

Although City Council passed a resolution to expropriate Africville land, the land was not purchased. Yet, after 1907, the City of Halifax owned property to the south, east, and west of the Black community. Eventual industrial use of the land remained Council's intent, as is indicated in the following reply in 1915 to a company interested in expanding its operations in the



Railway Tracks Through Africville: 1912

- Drawn from sources supplied by
Public Archives of Nova Scotia

area:

"The Africville portion of Campbell Road will always be an industrial district and it is desirable that industrial operations should be assisted in any way that is not prejudiced to the interests of the public; in fact, we may be obliged in the future to consider the interest of the industry first."¹⁹

Around the same time an oil company made a bid to increase its holdings in the area for construction of a refinery. In support of its proposal, the company wrote: "The acceptance of our proposal would level up and change the present part of the City known as Africville and establish in its place an Industry."²⁰ The proposal specified that Africville residents would receive one thousand dollars per acre for the twelve acres they possessed and that the City would receive more in taxes from the company than it had been receiving from the Black residents.²¹ The Board of Control, excited by the prospect of "an Industry", wrote to City Council as follows:

"Realizing that the carrying through of the proposal under consideration would have certain advantages for the City, we would recommend that, if it were necessary, we exercise the legislation which we now have for the expropriation of part or the whole of the property known as Africville."²²

Despite considerable negotiation, no major industrial development forced the relocation of Africville people in these war years. This was not due to lack of effort by City officials, nor to special concern for Africville residents; throughout the negotiations there is no mention in the Minutes of City Council concerning what might have happened to Africville residents had the land they occupied been expropriated, nor what their wishes may have been.

After the "happy days" of the First World War, Halifax, and Nova Scotia generally, experienced decline in an economic depression that began in the 1920's. The Second World War, like the First World War, was a major population and economic stimulant. By the war's end, Africville had passed from being a neighbourhood on the outskirts of the city, and suburbia itself had shifted beyond the peninsula and outside the city limits. By 1956 the population of Halifax had reached 93,000, a more than fourfold increase since 1856, and within the same city boundaries. The metropolitan area was also growing rapidly between 1940 and 1956 metropolitan Halifax gained an additional 60,000 people. It was in this context of increased population and economic growth that an ever-present threat to Africville was finally translated into action. The Africville population more than doubled in the period after the First World War.

An explosion in Halifax Harbour, in December 1917, almost obliterated the north end of

the city*, and created an occasion for rebuilding much of the area around Africville. But the fundamental pattern of industrial and governmental encroachment referred to earlier continued unabated. Many small industries and businesses collapsed in the years following the First World War as Nova Scotia became a satellite of "metropolitan" economic interests based in Central Canada and the United States. The tar factory, the shoe factory, the oil plant complex, the nail factory/rolling mill and several slaughterhouses disappeared from the Africville neighbourhood.²³ The bone-mill and the O'Leary Coal Company, which flanked the Africville shoreline on the west and the east respectively and provided much of the occasional wage labour of its residents, were also phased out between the wars. But other industries took their place; prior to the relocation a cooperative abattoir was established on the site of the old bone-mill and, in the 1930's, a Canadian Industries Limited plant was constructed near the O'Leary Coal Company. Another stone-crushing plant opened, in 1931, southeast of Africville. A huge tower of the Nova Scotia Light and Power Company became subsequently a background feature of the easternmost Africville homes. Small industries and businesses, warehouses and oil tanks were scattered throughout the surrounding area.

In the period after the First World War, the City and other levels of government continued to be prominent in the Africville area. Additional railway tracks were laid through the community,

* Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Africville, that part of Richmond fronting on the Basin Shore, would appear to be directly in the line of the explosion, but it was sheltered by the curve of the shoreline and by the higher ground of Richmond. None in the community was killed, although several were seriously injured. One Africville woman, nine years of age at the time of the explosion, recalled that she and her parents had been injured. Another Africville lady related, "We lived up on the hill then . . . our home wasn't destroyed but the explosion blew out windows and doors and damaged the roofs. That happened to all the houses up where we lived. Further down the slope the same thing happened to the larger houses. But the smaller buildings, the shacks, they were all blown down. My son had a bad cut over his eye but none of the rest of us received a scratch. One man from Africville was killed. Actually, he was from Hammonds Plains. He went down to the pier to watch the ship burning, just before it blew up." Several hundred people gathered on the docks to watch the fire and were killed or maimed when the ship exploded. Thomas Raddall in his story "Winter's Tale" related how a dray of dead Africville Negroes was observed in the wake of the explosion. Mr. Raddall, in personal communication, noted that his account was based on his personal experience and that the sergeant in charge of transporting the dead bodies had said specifically that the Negroes came from Africville. None of the older Africville residents believed (1969) that any Africville person had been killed in the explosion.

and on the far western side of the Africville shoreline the Nova Scotia Department of Highways expanded its work plant and supply depot in the direction of Africville. The City-owned hospital²⁴ and prison facilities on the hill overlooking the community remained operational. Between wars the night-soil disposal grounds and the Infectious Diseases Hospital were phased out but in the early fifties the City moved its large open dump into Africville, a mere three hundred and fifty feet from the front door of the westernmost group of houses; two years later, the City opened an incinerator some fifty yards beyond the south boundary of Africville.

The City still possessed for economic development a large amount of vacant land in the Africville area. Despite the development indicated above, the area did not emerge as a major industrial site. This fact had more to do with the nature of the Nova Scotian economy and the metropolitan-satellite relationship mentioned already than to the policies and wishes of the City leaders. City Council records show that there was considerable talk about attracting new industries. The principal push for economic development was coming, however, from the waterfront side of the settlement. Port facilities in the south end of Halifax were being used to capacity, and it was becoming apparent to City Council that Halifax's economic growth would spring more from its harbour facilities than from industry.

Minutes of City Council document a continuing pre-occupation with the potential industrial use of the Africville land. In 1916, upon request of Africville residents, City Council allowed the use of City-owned property as the site for a new church in the community; the lease granted was short-term and contingent, reflecting a recommendation made to Council by the City engineer:

"It is not desirable that the City should part with any of its property in Africville for any such purpose, as it is probable that in the near future, all property in this district will be required for industrial purposes, and it will be abandoned as a residential dis-district."²⁵

In 1938 the City turned down a request from a Halifax citizen to purchase City-owned property; once again the City engineer reminded Council of the area's economic possibilities.

"The lot applied for is one of the few locations at Africville not built upon, where there is any considerable area lying between the road and the shoreline. In my opinion it should be retained by the City as a possible site for a small manufactory or in the alternative, as a part of a plan for...the possible future demolition of the small buildings now standing on the Africville property."²⁶

In 1945, a Civic Planning Commission submitted to City Council a plan calling for the

removal of the Africville settlement. The Commission stated that, given the removal of the City prison, the abattoir, and Africville, the cleared area could become "a most desirable residential section".²⁷ Again no reference was made to the wishes of the Africville people and, again, nothing happened to the proposal, but in 1947 Halifax was rezoned and Council approved the designation of Africville as industrial land. That same year a major fire occurred in Africville and seven homes were destroyed. This crisis resurrected the question of extending water and sewerage services to the Black settlement. The issue became enmeshed with the larger question of relocation, and still another alderman pointed out that the "property could be cleared in case some industry might want to go there."²⁸ This time Africville residents were consulted. They expressed a strong desire to remain in the area and /^{to} work with the City in developing it as a residential area. City Council authorized the borrowing of funds to provide water and sewerage services, but the services were never installed. A few years later, in 1951, upon a request from an Africville resident to lease some City-owned property in the area, the Commissioner of Works reiterated, this time more cautiously, the City's intent to develop the area as an industrial site:

"This area is zoned for Industrial development, but at this time it is difficult to say just when Industrial development will take place along this area."²⁹

As the 1950's unfolded, discussions in City Council concerning the industrial potential of the Africville site increased in quantity; qualitatively an observer could detect a new sense of imminent relocation. The City's placement of an open dump and incinerator in the Africville area was clear evidence of its unwillingness to see the site as residential. A former mayor of Halifax during the 1950's reported that the "official" thinking on Africville during the period proceeding relocation was that "unless there were very strong, clear advantages to the community as a whole by going on the side, shall we say, of the industrial developers, you would be very cautious about removing these people unless they themselves wanted to go." Since most of the industrial and port plans advanced in the pre-relocation period were vague and long-term, and since Africville residents wanted improvements but were on the whole opposed to relocation, despite a plethora of plans concrete discussion of relocation did not emerge until 1961.

Making Out - Economically

Over the years, most Africville members of the labour force found employment as unskilled labourers and in low-paid service work. As cleaners, waste collectors, porters and stevedores, they scrubbed the city's floors, carted away its waste, toted its travellers' baggage

and shouldered its cargo. Yet an important historical process was operating in the occupational sphere. The Africville labour force became progressively characterized by less diversification, less entrepreneurial activity, and greater unemployment. There was also a tendency for residents with relatively better occupational potential to emigrate and, especially in later years, for Africville to attract persons with poor occupational prospects.

Blacks settled originally in Africville in order to obtain wage labour and to benefit from the cheaper cost of land at the edge of the city. The Halifax area experienced some economic stimulus in the mid-nineteenth century, but the so-called "golden age" did not last long. The American Civil War ended, and the reciprocity treaty was terminated. Completion of the Intercolonial Railway links between the Maritimes and Central Canada failed to provide the markets Nova Scotians had anticipated. Consequently, there were rough times economically in Nova Scotia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the Halifax economy stagnated. Numerous Africville residents, like their Black and White counterparts elsewhere in the Maritimes, emigrated to the United States. Examination of the genealogical charts (p. 139) provides a striking illustration of such mobility. The West, Wilcox, Wallace and Quinn families in the second and third generations at Africville were considerably depleted by emigration to the United States. One relocatee, born in 1874, when asked about work in his youth, noted that "there wasn't much work going them. Not much work going." It was not uncommon for Africville people to seek short-term employment, beyond Halifax County, as maids and fruit-pickers. The Halifax economy began to improve in the years preceding the First World War, and during the war there was an economic boom; older Africville relocatees referred to these war years as "the happy years".

The work activity of Africville residents over the past one hundred and twenty-five years has reflected two general factors, ecological context of the community and Black-White social relations. The latter channelled Blacks into specific occupations such as labourer, domestic, and porter; the former provided the context for their "making out", in that they found employment in the area immediately surrounding their settlement, which they supplemented through gardening, fishing in the Basin, and salvaging from the nearby dump.

Between the founding of the community and the First World War, most Africville male adults were listed on official documents of the period (such as the census rolls and deeds) as

either yeomen or labourers.* There were several craftsmen - mainly coopers and masons, both occupational specializations of Blacks in Halifax County - and several small contractors and "truckmen". The latter occupation was presumably the horse-and-wagon forerunner of autotrucking; The truckmen carted earth, lumber, baggage and, most prominently, night-soil disposal. An elderly relocatee who did such "truck-work" explained:

"A lot of Halifax didn't have no sewers; they used outdoor water-closets before they had water-closets in the houses. The men who had horses and carts went during the night to clean them. The carts were made of a special kind of wood, you know. The rule was that it could only .be done after midnight, when everybody was off the streets. You couldn't haul along North Street until after midnight. They dumped it is pits at the Rockhead."

The well-known participation of Africville men in carting the city's night-soil and garbage was congruent with the fact that the disposal grounds for the night-soil were on City-owned property running along the eastern edge of the community from below the Rockhead Prison (see map, p. 125) down to the Basin; the city dump during this period was perhaps two miles beyond the hill overlooking Africville.

Given the rocky, non-arable land at Africville, it is not surprising that few residents engaged in farming. In the 1871 census only one very elderly man gave his occupation as "farmer". Since several Africville men carted materials, there were a few horses and barn-like structures in the settlement. During this period cows, geese, chickens and pigs, while not plentiful, were part of Africville's ruralism. The only market production consisted of several modest-scale piggeries, another specialization of Blacks in Halifax County. Many persons in Africville attempted to grow garden produce for home consumption. Subsequent to the First World War, the truckmen became obsolete, virtually all farm animals disappeared from Africville, and the combination of land scarcity, rocky soil, and hopelessness brought gardening attempts to an end.

Located on Bedford Basin, Africville residents were well situated for fishing and port-related employment. Elderly relocatees were unanimous in referring to the abundance of fish in the Basin prior to the First World War. No one in the history of the community ever listed his occupation as "fisherman" nor was fish marketed, but occasional fishing was part of the

* In the *1871 Census of Halifax*, 36 per cent of the men of "African" ethnic origin for whom occupational categories were listed were labourers; surprisingly, 22 per cent were recorded as seamen; most of the remaining were truckmen, porters, masons, coopers, carpenters, or barbers.

traditional Africville life style. Over the years, a number of Africville men worked on ships, mostly on an intermittent basis. This line of employment, never engaging a major number of Africville men, continued beyond the Second World War. Ships sailed regularly to both the United States and to the West Indies in the nineteenth century, and contacts established were perhaps important in facilitating the heavy emigration to the United States in the pre-war period and in accounting for the fact that, over the years, a trickle of West Indian seamen and sailors settled in Africville. At least a dozen West Indian males married into the community; in this way new elements were introduced into the culture of the Refugee Blacks.*

Africville residents were able to obtain employment in several of the industrial and governmental operations functioning in their neighbourhood. Most of the work available to them was of the unskilled labour type, paying low wages. One elderly relocatee, asked about jobs at the various plants in the area consistently replied, "Oh yes, Africville men worked there, but only as ordinary labourers, not tradesmen." The largest employers were a bone-mill fertilizer plant and several coal companies. Both men and women found employment in the former, "the women sewed the bags and the men carried them"; older relocatees noted that this employer was known to "hire anyone who could carry a bag". Coal companies also provided a large portion of available short-term employment: "The freighters arrived every few weeks providing a burst of hard work, then a week or two of leisure." Relatively few residents found employment in the other neighbouring industries and businesses. Most of this economic activity was small scale although a nearby cotton factory was reported to have a work force of several hundred. One or two Africville men worked as butchers in the several slaughterhouses that dotted the Africville landscape prior to the First World War; an elderly respondent indicated that her father did short-term contract work at a local tar factory. No more than a handful of men ever found employment at the oil plant, cotton factory, and foundry encircling the community.

In line with Black-White social relationships and expectations, a significant number of Africville people worked as domestics, cleaners, and porters. The *1871 Census of Halifax* listed an "African" female working force of approximately seventy-five, all but a handful being

* The significance of this migration of West Indian seamen for the Black culture of Nova Scotia has never been studied. Perhaps because the migration was a trickle through time, and apparently a matter of random individual movement, the group and its cultural importance have received scant attention. The comprehensive *1871 Census of Halifax* indicated that virtually half the seamen of "African origin" had been born and raised in the West Indies.

employed as servants and washerwomen. Several of the very old Africville women spoke of cleaning "in most of the homes in Richmond before the explosion [1917]"; some of their mothers also had worked as domestics in this north -end section of Halifax. Government institutions in the Africville area and throughout the city hired Africville women to clean and to cook; several Africville women worked at the hospital and prison overlooking the settlement. In the nearby industries and businesses, it was not uncommon to find Blacks involved only in the cleaning of the buildings. Employment as railway porters began well before the First World War, but became more numerous in later years; through this work Africville Blacks discovered the Canadian cities to which they began to migrate in significant numbers after the First World War.

In the years following the First World War and up to the time of relocation, socio-economic conditions in Africville worsened. Economically the gap between its residents and other Haligonians widened. Unemployment and underemployment became part of the Africville life style. The skilled trades of cooper, mason, butcher and shoemaker, although never widespread, disappeared entirely. The entrepreneurial small contractors also vanished. The bone-mill, an economic mainstay of the community into the depression, with its seasonal low-paying work (sewing and carrying fertilizer bags from December to May) was subsequently phased out. For Africville women, work outside the community became exclusively domestic/cleaning labour; for the men, intermittent work on the coal and salt boats was the basic work activity and the job of porter, when full-time and regular, marked the upper limits of occupational achievement. These three chief employment lines had been established prior to the First World War, but subsequently they became both absolutely and relatively more extensive; as the Africville population grew and as migration sifted the relative achievers from the under-achievers, with Africville increasingly becoming the home of the latter, the work force became less differentiated and the occupational opportunities more limited. A few men found employment at the Canadian Industries Limited plant which opened a few hundred yards from Africville in the late 1930's and, after the Second World War, a few men obtained regular, average-paying jobs at the government-operated dockyards. About the time of relocation, an abattoir was opened on the site of the the old bone-mill and provided some employment opportunity. Such limited variation did not obscure the underlying process: as society became more industrialized, the occupational sector more skilled, and white-collar and second- and third-generation Canadians elsewhere occupationally more mobile, the Africville work force became increasingly typified, to use a Marxian concept, as "lumpen-proletariat".

The increasingly poor economic conditions of Africville residents after the First World War

relate to more than employment opportunities. The possibilities of "making out" by supplementing wage work with limited farming, garden produce, and fishing also lessened. A City ordinance in 1915 forbade the keeping of swine within City limits; thus while the City continued to pour its night-soil on Africville's doorstep, the residents had to forego the piggeries of their ancestors. The chickens, geese, and other fowl also disappeared. For a variety of reasons, garden produce could not be grown. The pollution of Bedford Basin reduced the quality, quantity and variety of available fish and made fishing for food less productive as the years went by, although some persons continued to fish as late as the relocation. "Making out" to supplement wage work focussed on collecting (and occasionally pilfering*) the spillage of trains loaded with coal and other materials and on foraging from the nearby city dump.

In 1959, the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, conducted a survey of socio-economic conditions among Blacks in Halifax. Data from this survey, recalculated and revised,** point out clearly that underemployment and low earnings characterized the work world of Africville residents in the immediate pre-relocation period. Table 2 indicates that only roughly a third of Africville's labour force had regular work (that is, a scheduled work life); less than a third had full-time work. Except for the postmistress and the keepers of two small stores, all the women who reported significant work during the year proceeding the survey had worked as domestics in Halifax. As shown in Table 3, employment was more diverse among the male labour force. Most men, employed as stevedores or labourers, worked well under fifty weeks a year even when they were regularly employed.

* Few residents engaged in this activity. One who did observed proudly that before a train passed through the community, it could be thoroughly sacked. The Director of Welfare, who had a high estimation of the resourcefulness of Africville residents, pointed out that some lived by their wits. They "lived by their wits" because, in part, little welfare assistance was given to them.

** The revised and recalculated data on Africville employment and income differ from those presented in the Institute report of 1962 (*The Condition of the Negroes*). In the latter report, Africville boundaries were misread and non-Africville persons were included in the -tables; moreover, a significant number of Africville residents, for one reason or other, were by-passed by the 1959 survey team. The tables reported in the present study depict accurately the pre-relocation socio-economic conditions.

Table 2

Africville Work Force 1958^a

	Male		Female ^b	
	#	%	#	%
Regular Work	29	35	15	40
Irregular Work	24	29	10	26
Unemployed	20	24	10	26
No Data ^c	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	82	100	38	100

a. Data from 1959 survey by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University.

b. Data refer to women defining themselves as being in the labour force.

c. Additional information suggests that the persons for whom there are no data would be distributed/^{evenly} among the other categories.

A handful of males were employed regularly as cleaners and a similar number had secure/semiskilled, dockyard jobs; persons in this latter activity were referred to as "civil servants" by many of the other residents. A few males were tradesmen - all mechanics. Two Whites living temporarily in the community were members of the armed forces.

The considerable dependence on stevedoring and general labouring meant that most of the available occupational opportunities revolved around casual employment. The report of the Institute of Public Affairs in 1962 noted that "many jobs relating to stevedoring and cartage during Halifax's winter shipping season may provide some work during a week and yet not a full week's work".³⁰ For example, one Africville man reported in 1959 that while he received \$1.65 an hour from working the coal boats, he usually handled one boat per week, a twelve-hour job. Much of this casual labour was seasonal; coal, salt, and grain boats had to be worked when the St. Lawrence River was frozen. While at least ten Africville males were union members, even this group did not obtain steady seasonal employment; Africville males were not on the top of the list when work became available. A few Africville males charged discrimination concerning

Table 3

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED

AFRICVILLE RESIDENTS, 1958^a

	Regular Work		Irregular Work	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Porter	4	-	5	-
Domestic/Cleaner	6	12	-	10
Stevedore/Labourer	8	-	17	-
Clerical	-	3	-	-
Tradesman	3	-	2	-
Dockyards	6	-	-	-
Armed Forces	2	-	-	-

a. Data as in Table 2. This table excludes the unemployed and the "no data" group.

union membership. The other factor which contributed to the casualness of this line of work was the pattern (not restricted to Africville men) of working a few days, then drawing one's pay and "living it up".

Africville residents have long had a reputation for strewd salvaging off the dump; for them, this was really a subsistence, survival activity. Only two persons in 1959 had access to a small truck for carting junk obtained from the dump; others had to collect materials, pile it in one spot, and then rent a truck to pick up their collection and take it to the junkyards. The economic significance of the dump was much exaggerated both by some residents and some City officials. It provided a convenient, even sanguine, popular explanation of how Africville residents "made out", given their considerable unemployment and underemployment.

Table 4 indicates that over 40 per cent of the work force earned less than \$1,000 in 1958. The severity of poverty in Africville is brought into sharp relief when we compare Africville data with the larger Halifax situation. Approximately 7 per cent of males and 13 per cent of females in the 1951 Halifax labour force reported a 1950-earned income of less than \$1,000; nearly a decade later, 32 per cent of males and 60 percent of females in Africville's labour force were

earning less than \$1,000 a year. One Africville male, with macabre humour, noted, "When I filed my income tax report for \$125, they [tax officials] were amazed." Large households and having

Table 4
EARNED INCOME, AFRICVILLE WORK FORCE, 1958^a

	Male		Female	
	#	%	#	%
Under \$1000	26	32	23	60
\$1000-\$1999	16	20	8	21
\$2000-\$2999	21	26	-	-
\$3000-\$3999	9	10	-	-
\$4000 plus	1	1	-	-
No data	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7^b</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	82	99	38	100

a. Data as in Table 2.

b. Four of the seven were unemployed and likely to have earned less than \$1,000 in 1958.

Table 5
EARNED INCOME, AFRICVILLE HOUSEHOLDS, 1958^a

	#	%
Less than \$1,000	27	34
\$1,000-\$1,999	14	18
\$2,000-\$2,999	14	18
\$3,000-\$3,999	10	12
\$4,000 plus	6	8
No Data	<u>9^b</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	80	100

a. Data as in Table 2.

b. Auxiliary information indicates that the nine cases would be distributed evenly among the income groupings

boarders was, at least from one point of view, a way of adjusting to this situation. Nevertheless, about one-third of the households (Table 5) reported a total earned income in 1958 of less than \$1,000; in half the sixteen households where the total earned income was \$3,000 or more, there were multiple wage earners.

In addition to earned income, transfer payments were crucial to the survival of Africville residents. In 1959 some fifteen persons lived on pensions, and several households depended considerably on the meagre family allowance payments. Unemployment insurance was helpful, but a major problem was to continue in employment long enough to establish eligibility. Surprisingly few Africville residents received welfare assistance.³¹ Economic prospects for Africville youth were not promising. Half the unemployed persons in Africville in 1959 were in the 15-29 age category, and few of the employed worked a full fifty weeks. One older resident emphasized this problem, observing that "I know there are some here who are no good and they make it bad for the rest, but there are several around who are fine young men who want work".

Despite such a depressing employment and income situation in Africville, the 1959 survey indicated that most respondents were optimistic about the future for the children and reported the belief that things would be easier for new additions to the labour force. This belief may have reflected an underlying sentiment that things could hardly get worse. Several respondents pointed to a decline in racial discrimination as a major factor in their optimism; one male observed that "everything has changed", and a female noted that "you see coloured girls working downtown ...if we'd only had that break". The majority of respondents did not refer to discrimination but, rather, they emphasized educational improvements as the reason for their optimism concerning the future.*

Making Out - Educationally

It was noted above that early Africville residents, without significant government assistance until 1883, made an effort to provide their children with educational opportunity. Subsequent to 1883, Africville had its own one-room schoolhouse and outside teachers of varying training and ability. As the number of pupils increased, eventually it became necessary for the City to add an additional classroom in 1934. The Africville school was segregated;

* A few of the more upwardly-mobile residents did not share in this general optimism. They believed that youth would find employment opportunities even less available.

virtually all the pupils were Black, although, as many residents were quick to point out (and as school registers confirm) a few White children attended intermittently since approximately 1890, a consequence of their parents' taking up temporary short-term residency in Africville.** The teachers over the years were predominantly Black although several Whites taught at the Africville school for short periods.*** Until 1933 none of the teachers had obtained formal teacher training, although the schoolmaster during the period 1902-33 was considered to have been "dedicated to the education of his people".³² After 1933 the quality of teaching would appear to have been average if one judges by rank of licences held by teachers and their formal training.³³

Inadequate data make it difficult to assess the segregated Africville school in the early years. Discipline was considered a problem by several teachers³⁴ and attendance was generally much less than the enrollment; until 1920 the average attendance never exceeded two-thirds of the enrollment, and not until 1945-50 did the average attendance rise to approximately four-fifths. In the pre-First World War period several Africville children went beyond the elementary level and attended the nearby Richmond School. According to some relocatees, such children received a less than cordial welcome from the White pupils ("They were chased home with rocks and sticks.") and Africville children stopped attempting to attend the school. Judging by the educational attainment of the older Africville residents at the time of relocation, it would appear that the quality of education in subsequent years was poor and that Africville, relative to other parts of the city, declined educationally. It appears from migration data that the slightly better-educated children would have left the community upon, or shortly after, leaving school. Virtually all of the generation that graduated from Africville to other schools in the 1920's did not remain in Africville. A number of parents during these years migrated to places such as Montreal and Toronto, partly to see that their children received better educational and occupational opportunities.

Recalculated and revised data from the 1959 survey by the Institute of Public Affairs reveal that males and females who were out of school had similar educational attainment. For both categories, slightly more than forty per cent obtained Grade VI or less. Only four males and

** The pattern was clearly that White families lived in Africville for only a year or two. Consequently, while a number of White children attended the school during its eighty years of existence, few attended for more than one school year.

*** Whites taught at the school primarily in the first and last twenty years of its existence. In the interim a West Indian born male and his children did most of the teaching.

one female had reached Grade X.* Perhaps what is more significant (in these date) is evidence that out-of-school youth living at home had not obtained an education appreciably better than that of their parents. None of the former obtained more than a Grade IX schooling and virtually all reached only Grade VII or VIII; fully sixty per cent reached Grade VII or less. This pattern of stagnation and relative decline (in contrast with developments in the broader society) was common among Blacks throughout Nova Scotia.³⁵

The situation in 1959 for those Africville children still in school did not appear much more promising than that for their parents and older siblings. After 1953 Africville school-children were transported by bus to schools outside the settlement. Due to geographical factors the children attended schools in more prosperous working and lower-middle-class neighbourhoods. Given their poor educational background, the Africville pupils were obviously at a relative disadvantage. The data revealed that over sixty per cent of the Africville children were behind in educational achievement; that is, they were older than they should have been for the grade level that they were in.** Such a pattern is even more striking, given the liberal age-grade classification employed in analyzing the data (i.e., it was allowed that the starting age for Grade I could be either six or seven years), and the fact that those children in the "right" grade for their ages were largely concentrated in Grades I, II and III. Only one of the school children was beyond Grade VII. Commenting on this situation, a former Africville resident observed in 1969 that, when bussed to outside schools, many Africville children never entered a normal educational situation; they were moved into auxiliary classes set up for slow learners and the children who went into auxiliary never graduated from these classes; "today there are many Africville young adults walking the streets, the end result of this system." Less than a handful of children bussed to outside schools finished high school.

While the out-of-school population in 1959 did not have significant educational achievement and while the prospects for the children still in school were dim, most respondents were optimistic about the future for their children. The authors of the Institute report did not share this optimism. They concluded their analysis of the 1959 educational data by observing

* There were available data for 140 persons in the out-of-school category. A close examination of the cases for which no data existed, indicates that the basic patterns remain valid.

** Intelligence tests given to Africville school children in 1959 indicated that almost half scored less than 85, or in the low-normal range or below (see *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*, p. 19). Deprived children are usually at a disadvantage in standard intelligence tests.

that "the probability of Negro receptivity to increased education is very slim." One factor that may have accounted for the respondents' outlook was their feeling that the closing of the Africville school and the transportation of children to the "city" schools presaged an inevitable improvement in educational opportunity. Most parents regarded this change as progressive and believed that, consequently their children were receiving an education as good as that being received by other city children. The Africville respondents of 1959 placed considerable store in education as the key to their children's attaining a life better than their own. They did not share the view that the children could not succeed in school, but they exhibited frustration and confusion regarding the fact that their children were doing poorly in the "better" educational environment. In fact the most frequent spontaneous complaint made by Africville respondents to members of the 1959 research team concerned not housing nor water/sewerage, but education. They complained about transportation problems, since their children had to climb the hill to get to school (a fact which they contended interfered with the children's motivation) and a few complained about alleged discriminatory acts by the schoolteachers. One of the older, better-educated leaders in the community expressed discerningly the unarticulated feelings of a number of residents when she complained that "the schools expect little of coloured children and fail to whet their appetites for accomplishment and self-advancement."

While the Institute report contended reasonably, under the circumstances, that education was not the answer to "Africville problems", respondents did not take this position. Being relatively powerless, lacking in resources, and often politically unaware as a result of historical neglect and deprivation, what solution other than education could they suggest? Education "had" to be the key to improvement - it was part of society's official morality to emphasize education; it was something that they, themselves, might perhaps be able to do something about, even if it were no more than telling children to "get it". Respondents did not think that their children were inherently inadequate and they perceived facilities as being available; small wonder that they experienced frustration and confusion. Still they clung stubbornly to education as the key; but it was a hope, not a fact.

Relationship with the City

Africville residents observed that, as long as they could remember, the City had been threatening to relocate their community. One relocatee, born in 1883, asserted, "Ever since I was old enough to understand, they were talking about relocation. They talked about it so much that we thought it would never happen." A middle-aged relocatee reported that when she was a

child, "they used to come around every year or every other year and take a census and then they would raise a campaign to take over Africville and move the people". The cloud of relocation appeared eventually to have sapped the vitality of the community; certainly in later years it induced people to refrain from investing in the construction and up keep of their homes. As for the City, its relocation orientation to Africville was perhaps a key factor in not responding positively to the needs and wishes of Africville residents and to the despoliation of the area.

A contemporary American sociologist has defined powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks."³⁶ Such powerlessness was prevalent among Africville residents in the immediate pre-relocation period. One very old but still sprightly Africville relocatee conveyed this feeling in her remark that:

"We had our land. We paid our taxes. And Jee-zus Kuh-rist, they got bothering us, and they finally got the place. Well, you come into this world with nothing and you go out with nothing ... We never had no peace anyway, so maybe it [the relocation] is all for the best. The City [was] tormenting us. And now they've got it [the Africville land]Look, if they hadn't got it, I'd still be there livin' and jumpin' ... dammit! Still, what can you do ... getting yourself all messed up with insults."

Among Africville residents it was common to use the metaphor of the City as "a big machine". As one of the deacons at the Africville church observed:

"The government is a powerful machine to fight against. They will use their power to defeat you. That is why I was one of the first families to move from Africville [at the time of relocation]."

Powerlessness may be understood as being, at the community level, a "social and cultural formation, arising from processes which can only be studied as they work themselves out over a considerable historical period."³⁷ In this sense, powerlessness is an emergent historical phenomenon, a function of factors that extend over several generations. Furthermore, it appears that collective memories of earlier and different times, when powerlessness was perceived to be comparatively inoperative, would be necessary in order to provide a perspective within which decline and futility could be located. We have documented above the long-term operation of factors such as poverty, racism, and City neglect in the case of Africville. Among older Africville relocatees, especially those born and raised in Africville, frequently there were found retrospective idealizations concerning the community's capacity to deal with City authorities. One elderly relocatee observed, for instance, that, "If the old generation was around, they [the City] never would have got it [the Africville land]"; other relocatees related

stories concerning how, in times past, Africville residents had blocked relocation attempts by the City and how City officials reportedly had indicated to these sturdy residents that once they had "died off, Africville would definitely go." Such observations and reports of past conversations are largely idealizations in the sense that virtually from the founding of Africville its residents, were in fact, unable significantly to influence City policies towards Africville. , The idealizations are understandable; Africville was a stronger, more viable community in times past, and the threat of relocation, though always present, was not translated into action until the 1960's. The idealizations brought into sharper focus the powerlessness felt by residents, particularly the older ones, at the time of relocation. Perhaps, too, these idealizations provided a psychological compensation facilitating the residents' silent, though often grudging, acceptance of the relocation.

Powerlessness developed and in later years the relationship between City authorities and Africville residents was a negative-exchange relationship. Rainwater, referring to poverty and deprivation in American cities, observed that the poor "learn that in their communities they can expect only poor and inferior service and protection from such institutions as the police, the courts, the schools, the sanitation department, the landlords and the merchants."³⁸ Poor Blacks in North American society learn such lessons more quickly and more sharply. Throughout Africville's one hundred and twenty-five years of existence, marginal and relatively powerless Blacks often had to put up with conditions that residents else where in the city would not tolerate. In 1858, the night-soil deposit pits were moved from the south end of the-city, upon petition to Council by the area's residents; they were relocated to the Afrcville area.³⁹ In 1903, the location of a Trachoma Hospital was protested by nearby residents and Council passed a motion "to remove the Trachoma hospital ... to some isolated place in the outskirts of the city ";⁴⁰ the hospital subsequently was removed to the hill overlooking Africville. In the early 1950's, the open city dump had to be relocated. A suggestion that it be placed in one particular area was not acted upon when an alderman protested that residents there would not tolerate it;⁴¹ the dump was relocated to Africville.

From the standpoint of services, Africville residents received so little that they felt they did not belong to the city. In everyday conversation, residents distinguished sharply between their own settlement and the "city". Police protection was sought at a crucial juncture in the community's development, but it was not forthcoming. The roads into the community were unpaved and, plus the fact that snowplow service was inadequate, often made it difficult to be mobile in wintertime and to obtain deliveries. Until 1940 much of the north end of Halifax

surrounding Africville was unpaved; after that year pavement went as far as, but not into, Africville.⁴² Houses within the settlement were reached by a network of small and twisted private driveways. As late as 1955 an alderman was raising in Council the need for snowplow service to be provided to Africville.⁴³ One Africville resident, referring to the question of why the City did not build roads or provide adequate snow and garbage service, replied in a religious idiom common to relocatees born and raised in the community:

"You tell me! The day is coming when everybody has to reckon. God is not asleep, you know. Takes quite a while for him to act but when he does, it is really tremendous. He will act soon."

It is common for areas facing relocation threats to undergo a cycle of deterioration. Africville residents, especially those termed below as "oldliners" and "mainliners",⁴⁴ often pointed to this implication of the City's orientation to Africville. They observed that, by not applying standard City ordinances to Africville, and by allowing some people, especially around the time of the Second World War, to squat on government property, the City facilitated the growth of Africville as a slum and allowed the impression to develop that everyone in the settlement was a squatter. One relocatee related how, aware of vacant City land in the Africville area, "I went to the City years ago to see if I could lease some land for the children to play on, but they wouldn't sell or lease it." Other residents reported similar experiences; one man who sought a building permit for expansion of his facilities reported that he was told by officials, "Oh, you're from Africville, you don't need to bother about a permit." It is clear that the City did little to facilitate orderly residential development. Its policy attenuated the viability of the community and was a factor in the emigration of many of the more ambitious residents and in the immigration of opportunists. A local newspaper editor, familiar with the Africville situation for several decades, observed that "It [Africville as a slum] has grown because civic authorities were blind when it came to the question of building supervision."⁴⁵ The Director of Welfare, familiar with Africville since 1947, observed how "I made many trips up there. I usually went along with _____ [the] sanitary inspector, and he was quite negative when he started. Towards the end, he saw poor people striving to better themselves but not getting any encouragement from government or anyone else."⁴⁶

Under these circumstances it is understandable that a sense of powerlessness and alienation developed in the Africville community. A brief rejuvenation of protest and petitioning took place in the mid-1930's, occasioned by the return of several strong leaders. During this period Africville residents obtained their own post office (prior to the 1930's they had to walk several miles to obtain mail), succeeded in having a few street lights installed in their community,

and received street numbers; the latter was psychologically quite important, for it enabled people to give an address other than Africville, thereby avoiding some of the stigma that outsiders attached to the name Africville. The rejuvenation was of short duration, and no fundamental change took place in the orientation of City authorities towards Africville. Subsequently, protests and petitions faded* and the seemingly irreversible historical decline continued. Residents lacked trust in City officials because, as one relocatee put it, "they had been stung so many times; the older people had a real memory for these things." Some residents struck back by not paying taxes, but this action appears not to have disturbed City Council; in fact it facilitated City authorities remaining impervious to the history of negativism on the part of the City and perhaps, from the perspective of some officials, justified that policy.⁴⁷ The relationship between the City and Africville can be stated in terms of three considerations - water and sewerage facilities, Africville's deviance service centre, and the dump.

Water and Sewerage

One of the more blatant examples of City neglect towards Africville is the fact that the area never obtained water and sewerage services. In the middle of the nineteenth century most, if not all, residential areas of the city were without these services. In 1852 City Council agreed to assist in constructing a common well in the Africville area⁴⁸ and, in 1909, in response to a petition from Africville residents. City Council approved a motion calling for repair of the well.⁴⁹ By 1909, many areas of the city had indoor plumbing, as did the hospital and prison on the hill overlooking Africville (in fact, the pipes in the latter institutions drained north towards Africville). The question of extending these services to Africville arose often over the years, but nothing was done. Africville residents appear to have resigned themselves to the situation, for City Council Minutes contain no reference to protest or petition in the years after the First World War. During the mid-1930's, as part of an effort to rebuild their community, a delegation of Africville residents petitioned the mayor for water service. A relocatee who was a member of the petitioning group reported:

"We saw the mayor. The promise was that if the people would pay so much the

* In the 1950's, after the Africville school was closed, residents did petition for bus service for their children.

City would build water lines as far as the foundations of the houses and then the people would have to put in the rest of the pipes. The City promised to reconstruct the road and the side roads. But nothing happened."

In 1944 City Council discussed at length the extension of services to Africville; specific proposals and motions were advanced,⁵⁰ but the issue was referred to committee and subsequently lost somewhere in the administration. In 1947, City Council's Public Health and Welfare Committee reopened the matter and recommended the extension of water service to Africville.⁵¹ In Council, discussion of services became enmeshed with the larger question of whether Africville should be relocated. At a public meeting called to discuss the relocation proposal, Africville residents expressed a desire to remain in Africville and pledged their cooperation "to any move made by the City to improve conditions there."⁵² Following this meeting, detailed feasibility studies were conducted, and in 1948 Council passed a motion authorizing the allocation of \$20,000 to bring both fire and domestic water service into the settlement.⁵³ Once again the matter became lost in the City bureaucracy and Africville residents, when they were relocated in the 1960's, were still without the water and sewerage services made obligatory by City ordinance. When asked what happened to the Council's resolution, the Director of Welfare (1969) recalled that he had proposed the extension of such services in 1947 and that he, too, was baffled; he speculated that the probable reason for the City's not supplying the services was that "they wanted Africville out. Just what the real concern was I don't know, but I don't believe it was concern for the people themselves."⁵⁴ The Director of Health Services was also asked what happened to the 1948 Council resolution; although he had been in Health Services during the time in question, he too was ignorant of reasons to account for inaction; he pointed out, however, that "the argument always was that it was so expensive to blast through rock to put a water line down there, and the days of the settlement were numbered. It was always felt that the people should be relocated somewhere and it wasn't worth the cost of putting in water for the time that they were to be there. This seemed to be the thinking all the time that I knew of Africville."⁵⁵

The issue of water and sewerage facilities manifests clearly the historical relationships between the City authorities and Africville. In the period after the First World War, particularly in the 1940's and the 1950's, community morale did seem to be sapped; the people clung to their chief resource, their land, but apparently they lacked the leadership and community viability to petition effectively and to contest the negative consideration received from the City. The water and sewerage issue also points to the problem of understanding how power functions at City Hall; no action was taken, despite a Council resolution, and apparently neither the Director of Welfare nor the Director of Health Services had knowledge or power concerning implementation.

Even the mayor in the period 1947-48 subsequently expressed puzzlement over the lack of follow-through in relation to the Council's resolution.⁵⁶ Obviously there was little internal or external advocacy at City Hall on behalf of the Africville residents.

Lack of water and sewerage facilities had serious implications for the life and health of Africville residents. Contamination of wells was a constant problem and periodically newspaper headlines made the larger Halifax public aware of the fact. In the decade before relocation there were four major wells in Africville and several shallow wells, most of which were between ten and twenty-five feet deep and poorly constructed. When bacterial counts were above acceptable limits, City authorities posted signs advising residents to boil water before using it. In summer, many wells dried up. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the privies were often improperly constructed and inadequately maintained. If all this were not enough, the Africville residents had to cope with the outflow of drainage from pipes running down to Bedford Basin from the hospital and prison on the hill overlooking the community; the pipes were underground, but after crossing the tracks drained at low-tide into an open sewer.

It is remarkable, in view of the water and sewerage situation (and the presence of the nearby dump), that health was not a continuing crisis in Africville. An outbreak of three cases of Paratyphoid "B" occurred in 1962⁵⁷ but, according to residents as well as the Director of Health Services for Halifax, on the whole health problems were kept in check. In the late 1950's public health nurses reported that, although many Africville children were thin and undernourished, the incidence of disease was as low, if not lower, than the city average.⁵⁸ In 1964, after another test had revealed that wells were contaminated, the local newspaper reported:

"That the contamination of wells in Africville is of long standing is shown by the fact that there have been no serious outbreaks of disease in the district. According to health authorities this indicated that, from infancy on, children have been exposed to water-borne disease germs. As a result they have built up a resistance."⁵⁹

Shortly after this newspaper article appeared, the City put water tanks supplied with City water in Africville. By this time the relocation had been announced, and several families had already been relocated.

A related hazard was fire. In 1948, when the extension of sewerage and water service to Africville was being discussed, the fire chief pointed out that fire service was as necessary as domestic service.⁶⁰ City firefighters not only had difficulty getting into the unpaved and unplowed Africville area but, once there, they could do little without equipment to draw water

from the Basin. The wooden homes burned quickly. In 1957 three children died in one such fire. Throughout the years, fires ravaged the settlement. In 1923, 1930, 1937 and 1947 fires destroyed a number of homes. Some relocatees had seen at least two of their Africville homes burn to the ground. The effect of these experiences, needless to say, did not tend to improve the quality of subsequent house construction in Africville.

The Dump

In the mid-1950's, City Council resolved that the open city dump be moved to the Africville area. This action illustrates well the negative exchange system that characterized the relationship between Africville and City authorities. Little consideration, if any, was given to the wishes or opinions of Africville residents. The latter, having learned what to expect, from City authorities, did not protest the dump's relocation; they silently "accepted it" and some residents, in adjustment, tried to take advantage of the situation by the illegal salvaging of usable and saleable materials.

After the Second World War, the old rubbish heap within walking distance of Africville began to exceed its capacity. Council discussed a number of alternate sites. One alderman contended that a possible site in Fairview (a community then outside city limits) would be unacceptable to residents there;⁶¹ another alderman stated that "the dump should not be there [at its old site] . . . it is a health menace".⁶² Council agreed finally that the open dump should be relocated to Bedford Basin, at a point one-half mile west of Africville and some three hundred and fifty feet from the front doors of the westernmost groups of homes. There is no reference in Council Minutes to a concern for the health of Africville residents, nor is there mention of protest by residents.

In 1957, after the dump had been moved to the Africville area, Council discussed the complaints of residents (presumably including some Africville people) concerning "hordes of rats" in the area of the dump; Council members were informed by the City Manger that the City was going all it could but the problem was "partially unsolvable" until an incinerator was built to consume combustible materials.⁶³ Two years later the incinerator was built just beyond the dump area but, for a variety of reasons including occasional breakdowns of the incinerator, rats continued to be attracted to the dump area.

Some Africville residents, like other Haligonians, had salvaged materials from the old open dump. When the dump was placed on their doorstep, Africville residents increased their

salvaging activity; this greater usage and the dump's proximity to Africville resulted in strong public identification of Africville with the dump, although at no time did Africville residents constitute a majority of those who exploited the dump. Only a few Africville males regularly "worked the dump", but another handful or so (and some youths) occasionally supplemented their meagre incomes by salvaging metals that could be sold at junkyards two or three miles from the settlement. According to long-time employees at the junkyards and at the city dump, a diligent Africville salvager might earn a maximum of ten dollars a day. One old man filled his yard at Africville with junk and when necessary, he would cart five or six dollars worth to the junkyards. A younger man who migrated to Africville in 1951 and was without regular employment noted, "I used to collect junk; could make thirty dollars a week. Just enough to keep from starving. Now and then someone would get nabbed by the cops." The latter statement also points to the fact that it was illegal to salvage without a licence. Occasionally the policy would make arrests. In 1956 the Chief of Police observed that, if his department were to be effective in the matter, police must be given "authority to arrest without warrant".⁶⁴ Interviewed in 1969, employees at the dump observed that in general they had never bothered to call the police since the latter were reluctant to do anything about illegal salvaging. An Africville relocatee confirmed this pattern, noting that dump officials would phone the police only "if we were acting up or grabbing stuff off the trucks as they came in." The fact that small-scale illegal salvaging was tolerated by the authorities, reflects again the functional autonomy granted Africville residents in consequence of official reluctance to expand the resources necessary to control such behaviour.

While few residents engaged in salvaging for commercial profit, many took advantage of the nearby dump to obtain, again illegally, usable household materials such as wood, nails, paint, furniture, and even clothing. Sometimes when the incinerator broke down and foodstuff was deposited at the open dump, a few Africville persons, along with many other Haligonians scavenged for items such as tins of fruit juice. One Africville resident, referring to smashed tins of canned food, pointed out "you should have seen all the good food that came to the dump. We used to watch for Canada Packers' and Swift's trucks especially. Now they'd rather burn it than give it away." Africville's undeserved reputation for scavenging enraged the majority of its residents, who drew the normative line at the occasional salvaging of personally usable goods. The authorities' winking at the salvaging and scavenging that did occur perhaps assuaged guilt feelings concerning the plight of the residents. Often too, it appeared to justify a City practice of doing nothing positive at the welfare level. The City's Department of Welfare, noted for its

stringency in assisting the needy, applauded the stereotype the resourceful Africville resident who, rather than seeking welfare, scrounged amidst the squalor of the dump. The Director of Halifax's Welfare office, familiar with the Africville situation since 1947, expressed a high regard for its residents, "I never found anyone in Africville that I would call a lazy man." He told the following story in illustration of this resourcefulness:

"I can give as an example a woman who told me she was coming in the week following and she came in looking as spiffy as anyone on Fifth Avenue and she said that everything I got from inside to out I got on the dump'; and it was a credit, she looked charming and very much in style.

"Most of them [Africville people] did this sort of thing. They could pick up old dresses and things off the dump and wash them and remodel them, the coloured people have a flair for style, and sew them and press them and look like a million dollars."

Dependence upon this kind of resourcefulness entailed, unfortunately, risks to health as well as occasional legal sanction. Families unable or unwilling to obtain welfare assistance sometimes salvaged truck and car batteries for fuel in their stoves; in one such case, a mother and her four children were hospitalized as a result of lead poisoning caused by burning batteries salvaged from the dump. The husband explained, "I got no money for coal and wood; people got to burn something to keep their families warm." The local newspaper headlined the incident "Africville Families Poisoned ", and noted further that at least five other families were similarly dependent on discarded batteries for fuel.⁶⁵ Scavenging was not widespread, but it was hazardous for the few residents who engaged in it. In one instance, three middle-aged transient residents of Africville (none of whom was born and raised there) died by drinking a home-brew that contained duplicating fluid found at the city dump.⁶⁶

Although Africville residents did not request that the dump be located at their doorstep (in fact, placement there was a telling illustration of the City's lack of concern) in subsequent years public definition of the situation painted an exaggerated picture of Africville residents as profiteers of, and encroachers upon, the dump. The survival-oriented behaviour of those residents who did scavage and salvage was ironically reinterpreted as being the *raison d'etre* of the community itself. For instance the Managing Editor of a local newspaper, attending a meeting of the Housing Policy Review Committee, contended in 1961 that "if the City dump was eliminated or policed more efficiently, part of the desire of some of the people living at Africville to stay there would be eliminated as a number of them make their living by scavenging on the dump."⁶⁷

Some residents did believe that, in view of the City's relocating the dump to Africville, a positive exchange might be City assistance in establishing a cooperative salvaging company among unemployed and underemployed Africville males. The Welfare Director of Halifax believed that it was a good, constructive idea ("I think a fence around the dump and a franchise granted in some businesslike way, these people could have made a living for many years") and noted that he had raised it several times with City authorities. Nothing ever came of it; such a positive exchange would have been inconsistent with City practice towards Africville.

Deviance Service Centre

Minority group members, if oppressed and discriminated against, often find a mode of adjusting to their situation by performing less desirable and sometimes illegitimate services for the majority group. Moreover, the minority group members often acquire under these conditions a certain functional autonomy; that is, not sharing fairly in society's wealth, they are allowed a range of behaviour in their neighbourhoods by the authorities that would not be countenanced elsewhere. Such indulgence by the authorities reflects not liberality but, rather, a view that the minority people are "different" and a reluctance to expend resources adequate to effective control of the undesirable behaviour in these areas. This model applies aptly to Africville and to the reaction of Halifax authorities.

It appears that even prior to the First World War it was known in Halifax that Africville, being away from the rest of the city and public surveillance (and, perhaps, away from public concern), was a place to go for bootleg booze and, conviviality. One very elderly relocatee observed that his grandfather had kept "quite a bar, well-stocked with kegs of rum and the works. The sailors used to come in-and buy from him. After a while he drunk himself to death. Put himself on the bum, you know." The proximity of Africville to the dockyards and general port activity meant that a pattern was soon established whereby Africville became a deviance centre. Such a development was congruent with the fact that occupationally these Blacks were employed in the service sector, carting away excrement and cleaning the homes of other Haligonians.

It is problematic how extensive and how accepted by Africville residents such bootlegging was prior to the First World War. The war produced a major stimulant to this line of service, causing many Africville residents to write Halifax City Council advising it that the community's well-being and reputation was being destroyed and requesting police surveillance. The petition,

dated June 1919, read:

"We, the undersigned ratepayers, do hereby make application for better police protection at Africville. We base our application on the following grounds: that a police officer seldom or never visits this district, except for a warrant or subpoena; the conditions that now prevail here are worse than at any time before; that these lamentable conditions tend to turn the majority away from the good teaching which they have received; that there is now an utter disregard of the Lord's day by many residents; that there are many persons, strangers in our midst, living openly in a state of debauchery, which must corrupt the minds of youth for we are more or less subject to our environment; that there is nightly confusion, carousal and dissipation which disturb the peaceful night; that these carousals have been the centres for spreading infection throughout the village; that we believe, if this disgraceful state of affairs continue there will be some grave crime or crimes committed.

"Our earnest desire is that your Honourable Body, in this period of reconstruction, carefully consider our application so that the omission of the past may be rectified and by your assistance the evil influences now at work may be greatly reduced; then shall we be better able to train the young in the way of good citizenship and place the village on a better plane of Social Welfare."⁶⁸

The Africville petitioners were told that "the City Department has no spare men to send such a distance."⁶⁹ It was recommended that "the residents of the Africville district form their own police department and anyone they appoint to act as a policeman, the Mayor would swear in as a Special Constable ... In the event of any serious trouble being reported the Chief is always in a position to send a squad to this district."⁷⁰

The petition, and the response of City authorities to it, may well be taken as signalling the end of a particular phase of Africville's history, that phase in which much was expected of community residents and Africville's potential as a good residential district was still possible of realization. Residents themselves detected a qualitative change, a new emerging equilibrium, in the community. Their reference to "strangers in our midst" foreshadowed the trend of opportunists and "down-and-outers" who moved into Africville in later years. The response of City authorities illustrates well the kind of negative freedom that they granted the residents; nothing positive was done for the community by City Council, which was always busy figuring out what to do with the land on which Africville residents were located.

As the years went by after the First World War, Africville's reputation as a deviance service centre continued to grow. The predictions of the petitioners of 1919 were borne out as the bootlegging and conviviality gave way to a definition of Africville as a raucous, hazardous place. The process was gradual and incremental, in the wake of the First World War and its aftermath, a new temporary equilibrium was reached inside the community and between the

community and the rest of Halifax, an equilibrium characterized by a higher visibility of Africville's peculiar service role. This new phase was described by a former Africville resident who migrated from the community prior to the relocation:

"There were more white people than there were coloured in the community. This is a fact. They came and stayed to eat and sleep. And they had their drinks. Some who came down were very prominent people. And they had their drinks. Nobody was ever robbed there or anything until the . . . and them came down there. Look, these well-to-do people came down to Africville...they had their drinks, gave us a quarter . . . a quarter was a lot of money in those days, you know . . .and moved on. And when they got drunk and tired and fell down on the road and went to sleep, they would be carried into somebody's house and looked after."

Concurrent with worsening economic conditions and continuing city neglect, the deviance aspect of Africville became less tolerable, as alluded to by the above respondent. One Black outsider observed that "just before relocation the younger ones [in the Africville community] would rob a man when he drank. But a few years back, Africville used to be a wonderful place to go on a drunk. You could flop your head anywhere." Another Black non-Africville Haligonian in referring to these latter developments noted that "the people of all sorts used to go to Africville. It had a kind of attraction because it was kind of weird; no law enforcement. One went out there at one's own risk. It really was the other side of the tracks." Most Africville residents who complained of these changes identified the turning point, from "acceptable" deviance service centre to potentially dangerous place, as being around the Second World War, when Africville received a complement of migrants displaced for the mid-city area. One man observed:

"The war [the Second World War] came along and the scruff from the city, both Black and White, descended on Africville to join with the Africville sinners to form an unholy alliance and turn Africville into a no-man's land, while the city administration worked on unmindful."

Another relocatee ascribed Africville's stigma to this in-migration:

"The changes were that a lot of people who didn't belong there came and moved in . . . Something happened at that time that never used to happen in Africville, because men came from the city and all around the place. They would come out there in the summer time and they would drink and get drunk . . . After the strangers started to move in there, people [who] came out there started to get robbed and all that kind of stuff, and the blame would go on Africville. But it was not the people from Africville doing those things It gave Africville a bad name, it gave it a real bad name. Knocking out people, robbing people, that never had a stigma, until they came out."

A relocatee who had moved into Africville in the early 1930's echoed this sentiment:

"Things were nice in Africville until they started clearing Gerrish and Creighton Streets [during the Second World War] and people came down to Africville. Squatters, bootleggers and thieves came down, got old boards from the dump and built a shack. Those...were the wildest crew you ever seen. Dangerous, drinking and fighting all the time."

White authorities with some intimate contact with Africville occasionally reiterated this observation concerning a drastic decline in Africville life-style and also occasionally linked this development with in-migrants during and after the Second World War. One alderman noted that "the class that settled [in Africville] after the war sort of ruined the area."

There is no doubt that the community changed during its last several decades, but it is too simplistic to explain this development in terms of the relatively small number of later in-migrants. It would be more realistic to see these people as opportunists who, having virtually nowhere else to go, gravitated towards a rapidly deteriorating Africville because of its possibilities for cheap housing, relative freedom and autonomy and because of contacts established previously with its residents. Most of the outsiders who eventually settled in Africville had, for several years previously, been coming to Africville to drink and to party. Obviously they reinforced the drift of Africville towards a more blatant and hazardous deviance service centre. The pervasiveness of the simplistic model of change proffered by respectable Africville residents and some White authorities is understandable. Participant models usually are more preservative than explanatory. Respectable Africville residents did not wish to be painted with the same brush as those residents who participated most in "unacceptable behaviour" and, consequently, placed the responsibility for such behaviour primarily with "outsiders". City authorities could find comfort perhaps in a model that interpreted "Africville's problem" in terms of the personality of some of its residents rather than in the historical unfolding of the consequences of City policies, racism, and socio-economic depression. The facts point, however, to the 1919 petitioners' correctness of vision. The relatively small number of in-migrants in the early 1940's neither introduced the deviance service centre nor did they constitute its sole Africville membership.

With the aftermath of the Second World War, a final pre-relocation equilibrium phase was reached within the community and between it and the broader society. Africville became regarded by outsiders as harbouring a risky deviance service centre and being a model of social disorganization. Blacks elsewhere in Halifax advised their children not to go near the community; middle-class Whites advised their friends that Africville was an interesting but dangerous place to visit. Inside the community according to outsiders and some Africville residents, there was a decline in morale:

"The character of the area had gone down and the character of some of the people who lived there had changed too. Instead of being a good type of citizen as they were prior to the thirties, they seemed to deteriorate to an extent that they just didn't care; certain activities went on there that didn't lend anything to the area."

Yet it would be unwarranted to see the state of affairs in Africville as socially disorganized and to exaggerate the deviance that occurred. The official crime rate over the past forty years was not particularly high, and only a handful of Africville males were sentenced to prison. The Director of Health Services in Halifax reported that, while venereal disease was not uncommon in Africville in the post-Second World War period, usually the same one or two handfuls of persons were the only residents involved. Moreover, outsiders continued, at little risk, to visit Africville for booze and conviviality right up to the time of relocation. One frequent Black visitor observed: "Everybody had a good time. More bootleggers than you could shake a stick at. Girls available for a good time." A White visitor reported that he and his colleagues at the dockyard always went on payday to the community for "drinking and carousing" and that "it was rough, but if you weren't looking for trouble, it wasn't bad." Other Black and White outsiders frequenting the community underlined this observation, indicating that the risks were no greater than one would expect from drinking and carousing.

Africville residents themselves indicated that they experienced little sense of danger while living in the community. Even those heavily involved in these activities reported that few acts of violence occurred. Africville remained a small community where most residents were related by kinship ties. Adjustment in the community to this higher level of deviance took the form of segmentation of groups and activities. The community did lose its cultural and structural simplicity and homogeneity, but adjustments were made, and Africville was not an unpredictable social jungle.

Social Differentiation

By 1959 the Africville population had grown to approximately four hundred. As Table 6 reveals, almost half the residents were under fifteen years of age, a figure considerable greater than the twenty-seven per cent under fifteen in Halifax as a whole.⁷¹ This finding reflected the existence of large families in Africville. About one-third of the population was between the ages of fifteen and forty-four. There was a slight excess of males in the forty-five-plus age category, evidence of the pattern of transients often finding a home in this relatively hidden corner of Halifax.

Table 6

POPULATION OF AFRICVILLE, 1959^a

Age	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
0 - 14	96	48	95	50	191	49
15 - 29	34	17	36	19	70	18
30 - 44	30	15	31	16	61	15
45 - 59	29	14	22	11	51	13
60 plus	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	201	100	193	100	394	100

a. Data as in Table 2.

Although Africville was always a Black community in the fullest sense, both demographically and culturally, since before the turn of the century it was not unusual for a few White families to be living there. Older relocatees could list a large number of White families who had lived in Africville at one time or another. Both relocatees' observations and school registers confirm that the pattern was for the White families to remain in the settlement for only a year or two, while they were trying to secure housing elsewhere. There appears to have been no intermarriage with Africville families. In 1959 there was one large, poor, White family living in Africville; the family remained for three years. In the decade preceding relocation, the Whites who lived in Africville were mostly middle-aged and elderly transients who found toleration and inexpensive accommodation in the community. In 1959 there were nine such persons, most of whom had been living there for several years and previously had been regular visitors to Africville. For the most part they were unattached, hard-drinking, and without regular employment. In addition, in 1959 there were six racially mixed families; half of them were common-law relationships of doubtful stability and five of the six fathers were White "outsiders".

Often Africville residents spoke with pride of the fact that they tolerated and accepted all kinds of people; their statements pointed to a humaneness and commendable behaviour presumed to be in marked contrast to the way that they themselves were treated by City officials and others. Given residents' sense of marginality, and the stigma associated with Africville, it is

not surprising that sometimes they used the presence of Whites as a means to assert the value of the community. Nevertheless, the Whites remained marginal in the community both in their own eyes and in those of the residents. The Whites owned neither land nor buildings. In most of the common-law relationships the women were referred to by their maiden names by other residents and the homes were regarded as "belonging" to the women.

Most residents of Africville had been born and raised in the community and had ancestral ties there dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century. As Table 7 indicates, in 1959 seventy-five per cent of the population were life-long inhabitants and over seventy per cent of the household heads either had been born in Africville or had lived there for more than twenty years. Virtually all the White residents had been living in the community for less than ten years. Table 8 shows the previous place of residence for those persons not born and raised in Africville. The vast majority of these persons were Blacks who had come from other Black settlements. Most of the household heads emigrating to Africville from "other Halifax County" and "other Nova Scotia" either married into the community or had relatives there; a handful of men from the West Indies also married into the community. Adults not raised in Africville, when asked in 1969 why they had moved there, typically gave one or more of the following reasons: "marriage", "friends there", or "easier to make out in Africville." One White man who had married an Africville woman gave as his reason for residing in the settlement the discrimination he found in Halifax and the heckling he anticipated receiving had he lived in Navy married quarters.

The rootedness of the Africville population at the time of relocation was evidenced not only by length of residence but also by migration pattern. Only a handful of those adults with a life-long residence in Africville reported ever having left the community for a significant period of time. Fully eighty-five per cent of the relocatees born and raised in Africville had never lived elsewhere.⁷² Usually if the relocatees had lived for some time in other places, they had gone to Montreal, a place to which a significant number of Africville residents had migrated since the First World War. While other cities, such as Toronto and Winnipeg, received Africville migrants, Montreal not only was the principal destination but also it was the city about which Africville residents romanticized. Several former Africville persons had attained modest success in Montreal, and many residents appeared to share the view of a young woman who contended that "it's much easier for coloured persons in Montreal."

Table 7

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AFRICVILLE, 1959^a

	All Persons		Household Heads	
	#	%	#	%
Life	293	75	39	49
20 Years or more	31	8	18	22
10 – 19 years	15	4	7	9
5 - 9	12	3	6	8
0 - 5	25	6	7	9
No Data	<u>18^b</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	394	100	80	100

a Data as in Table 2

b Ten of the eighteen were boarders, and several were children

Table 8

PREVIOUS PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF IN-MIGRANTS, AFRICVILLE, 1959^a

	All Persons		Household Heads	
	#	%	#	%
Halifax	22	22	7	17
Other Halifax	22	22	12	29
Other Nova Scotia	27	27	9	22
Other ^b	13	13	10	24
No Data	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	101	101	41	100

a Data as in Table 2.

b. Five of the thirteen persons came from other provinces in Canada and five from the West Indies.

While the data indicate clearly that Africville was a highly stable community, it is obvious that there was an overlay of transiency which often misled casual observers into thinking it a community of drifters. In addition to the six per cent of the residents circa 1960 who had resided in Africville for less than five years, there were a few persons who "drifted in and out" for short periods of time. Moreover, in the period after the Second World War, Africville's reputation as a deviance service centre attracted a significant number of visitors, especially on weekends and in the summer. The overlay of transiency can be shown by comparing the Africville population in 1959 and 1966. Between these years there was little net numerical change and, socially, the changes primarily involved people not born and raised in the community.⁷³

Table 9 shows that close kinship ties among the poor and relatively stable Africville population were manifested in household structure. Less than forty per cent of the households in 1959 had "nuclear" families. Approximately one-fifth of the households were extended family in structure. It was common for an older couple to "take in" a grandchild or nephew; this made sense in terms of available household space and provided, as well, pleasure and "labour supply" for older couples. It appears, also, that this pattern developed, in many instances, from mutual affection between the older persons and the children. The inability to retain this pattern and relationship in the post-relocation period was a source of grief to several older residents. The remaining one-third of the households was divided evenly among childless couples, older single persons and single-parent families. In roughly ten per cent of the households, excluding the extended-family variants, boarders were present.

Table 9 also indicates that in 1959 there were eight single-parent households. Twelve additional single-parent families were integral subunits of other households. All but one of the twenty single-parent families were headed by a female. The large proportion of such families indicates both instability of the marital relationship (a pattern related to high underemployment and low earned income) and the supportive function of a tolerant extended-family system.* It may be noted that the frequency of single-parent families in 1959 was in sharp contrast to their rarity in Africville in previous generations (genealogical chart, p. 139), another indication perhaps of the decline of community viability. Information supplemental to the 1959 survey revealed that in this pre-relocation period at least seven nuclear families were borderline single-parent

* "Tolerant" does not mean that this situation was preferred. Female heads of single-parent families often were embarrassed, and their parents disappointed in their marital status.

families; that is, the family was large, the husband an irregular contributor to household income, and his presence intermittent and unpredictable. Where marriages did break up, the pattern was for the spouse more rooted in the community to remain there and for the partner to leave.

Table 9
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, AFRICVILLE, 1959^a

		#	%
Nuclear Family ^b		35	44
Basic	29		
Variant	6		
Childless		9	11
Basic	6		
Variant	3		
Extended Family ^c		16	20
Basic	8		
Variant	8		
Single Parent ^d		8	10
Basic	5		
Variant	3		
Single Person ^d		8	10
Basic	6		
Variant	2		
No Data		<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Total		80	100

a Data as in Table 2.

b The variant cases refer to marital relationships that are common-law or to households where boarders are present.

c In seven of the variant cases the household structure consists of an older couple plus a grandchild or nephew.

d In the variant cases boarders are present.

Due to close kinship ties and a sense of historical continuity held by many Africville persons, there emerged social distinctions based on length of residence and whether one had

been born in Africville. Whites were clearly marginals, living in Africville at the good will of some of the residents. Blacks who were neither raised in the community nor married to someone who had been, were also marginals; they reported that they were looked upon as outsiders (although treated well) and that they felt they were outsiders. Non-Africville Blacks who married into the community, especially if they had lived there for a significant number of years, were more likely to be involved in the church, the repository of community tradition, and were able to speak out on behalf of the community. Yet even among persons who had-lived in Africville for twenty or thirty years, there was often a sense of being an outsider. All residents evinced considerable sensitivity regarding the settlement's historical continuity. In terms of the self-consciousness of its residents, Africville was unquestionably a community.

Despite the small size and the kinship-based structure of the Africville settlement, important social distinctions existed in the immediate pre-relocation period. To a considerable extent the distinctions followed the four-fold differentiation noted above in terms of birth and length of residence in the community. Supplemental factors of differentiation included life-style and housing status. There were chiefly four groupings differentiated by residents. One grouping, the *marginals/transients*, consisted of virtually all the White residents plus Blacks without kinship ties or land and housing claims in the community; these persons typically rented and were uninvolved in Africville church activities. A second set of persons, the *mainliners*, consisted of Blacks who had married into the community and were, relatively, the socio-economic elite; typically these persons had lived in Africville for a significant period of time, had regular employment, and had property claims in Africville. Some of these persons participated prominently in church-related activities and were community leaders. Thirdly, there were *the oldliners*, a set of persons with kinship ties in Africville dating back to the 1840's. Some of the older persons in this grouping were heavily involved in church activities and in their younger days had been leaders in the community. The fourth grouping is more difficult to typify, so it has been labelled the *residual* set. It refers to Blacks who were not able to claim ancestral ties in Africville beyond the last quarter of the nineteenth century and who were less well-off than the mainliners and typically were uninvolved in church activities. Many persons of this residual set did not have land claims in Africville, and some had squatted there as late as the early 1940's.

This fourfold social differentiation was related to a residential distinction. In the 1950's there were three separate areas of Africville (see map, Africville Area-1964) as identified by residents. The westernmost set of homes was referred to as "around the bend"; land and dwellings in this area were owned by the old-line residents living there, but the inhabitants were

mostly marginals/transients; in this area were found the poorest-quality Africville homes and many of the frequenters of Africville's deviance service centre.* A second residential area was the main settlement (divided by railway tracks into the "basinside" and "the hill"); this area was generally conterminous with the original Africville boundaries, featured the highest-quality housing in the community, and was peopled chiefly by the mainliners and the oldliners. Finally the area in the southeastern corner of Africville was often referred to as "Big Hill" or "Big Town". This area housed, chiefly, persons in the residual grouping referred to above. It, too, was a centre for much of the bootlegging-conviviality that went on in Africville. There were approximately ten households in the area.

Much of the increase in squatting that occurred in Africville in the two decades before relocation took place in the "Big Town" area. Mainliners and respectable oldliners, frustrated by the decline of the community and the lack of public understanding of their oppression (as reflected in the stigma that outsiders associated with the name *Africville*), often vehemently denounced the "Big Town" residents and drew a distinct line between that area and the rest of Africville. An elderly oldliner, formerly a leader in the community, observed of some "Big Town" residents:

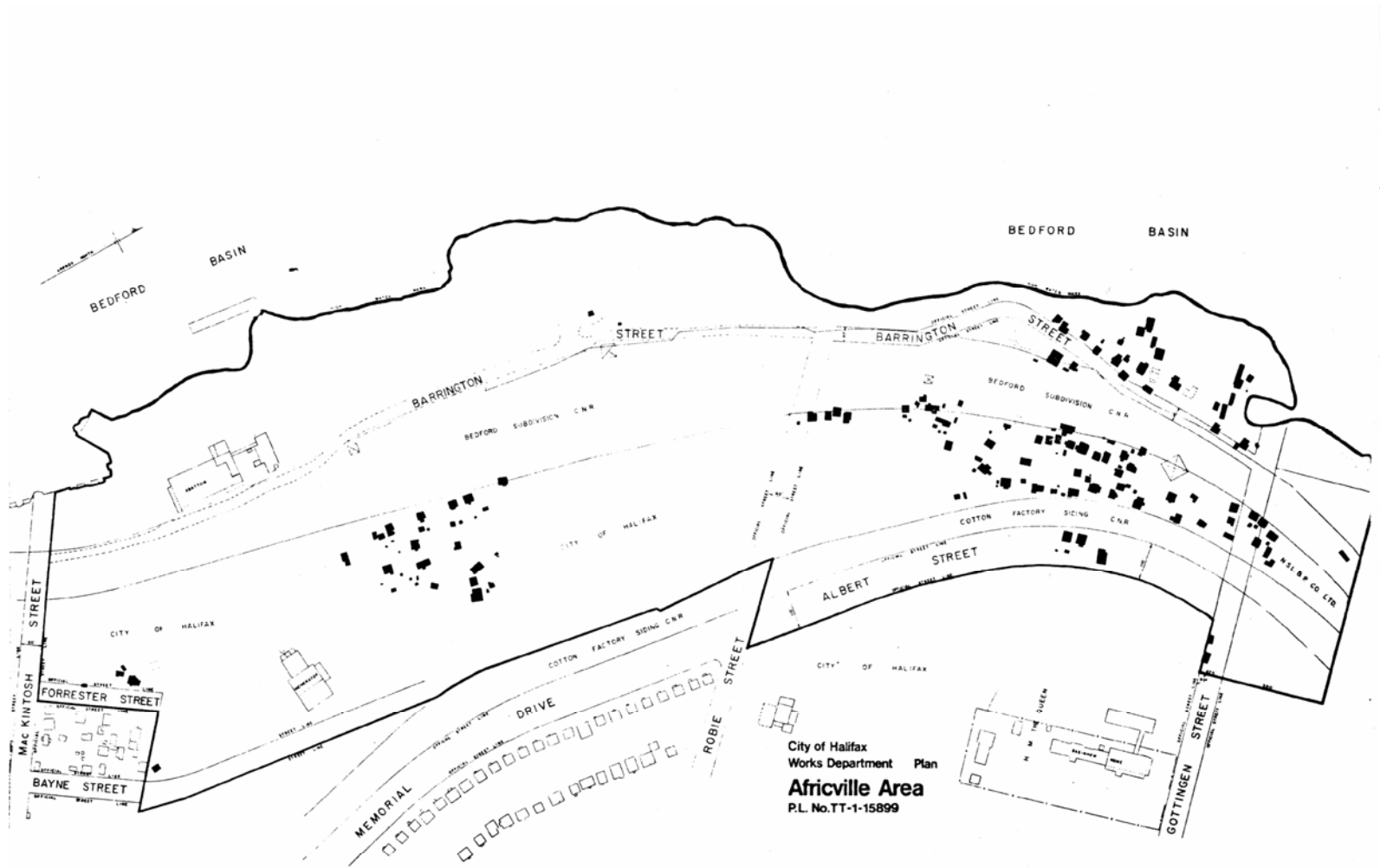
"They were cast-offs from other places who came to Africville because no other place would have them. They would come with some cock-and-bull story and maybe someone would take them in; then they would build little shacks."

One young, regularly employed, oldliner noted:

"That [Big Town] was the baddest part of Africville. People there were always in trouble with the law and gave everybody else a bad name. I remember when someone got killed in Big Town. The police came down and herded everyone up like a bunch of cattle. This is how Africville would get a bad name."

Mainliners and respectable oldliners quite often reported that outsiders' perception of Africville (it was a wild place, its residents were squatters, its residents worked the dump) was in fact only applicable to "Big Town" (and, to a lesser degree, to the area "around the bend"). They were often at pains to differentiate themselves from the "Big Town" residents, and not without reason. White officials such as the Director of Welfare and the Director of Health did appear

* Some middle-aged respondents indicated that as early as the 1920's the area "around the bend" was a locale for bootlegging and conviviality; accordingly, it was differentiated from the basinside area, and parents in the latter area advised their children not to go there.



Africville Area-1964

more knowledgeable about "Big Town" residents, and many of their observations of Africville life did refer specifically to this group.* Then, too, ordinary Haligonians visiting the community for booze would interact primarily with some of the "Big Town" residents. Moreover, several residents of this area were open, resourceful, and hard-living people readily acknowledging their squatter status and candid about their life-style. Having received little in life, they did not believe they had "to eat humble pie" all the time. To some degree, unlike the mainliners and respectable oldliners, they were rebels, although rebels without politics. Yet they had "respectable" aspirations and, when relocation came, virtually all went into home-ownership; unfortunately, most later lost their homes. This "Big Town" characterization made by the mainliners and respectable oldliners was perceived by residents there as a kind of "put down", but most residents of "Big Town" still reported that they got along well with other Africville people. Indeed it was difficult for the mainliners and respectable oldliners to maintain a hard line of distinction, since some of the "Big Town" residents had roots in Africville dating back to the turn of the century and even some of the Second World War squatters had married into the oldline families. When pressed by interviewers on the matter of "Big Town" differentiation, mainliners and others would modify or withdraw the vehemence that they expressed concerning most residents of that area and, instead, confine it to one or two households. Thus, they did not challenge most "Big Town" residents' right to be in Africville and appeared to think that, for the most part, the residents were coping with managing a hard life and^{managing} as well as they could under the circumstances.

Some insight into social distinctions made in Africville and their significance for the community's response to relocation in 1962 can be deduced by examining data gathered in 1959 concerning residents' orientation towards Africville. Table 10 indicates that, of the sixty household heads for whom data were available, the majority liked living in Africville and were reluctant to move. This group has been labelled "the committed" and stands out in contrast to the group referred to as "the mobile", persons disliking Africville and willing to move.

* Welfare records indicate that, apart from this grouping, only a handful of Africville residents received occasional welfare assistance prior to relocation. Similarly, the principal venereal disease carriers were in this grouping.

Table 10
 COMMUNITY ORIENTATION OF AFRICVILLE
 HOUSEHOLD HEADS, 1959^a

	#	%
The Mobile (Dislike Africville and willing to move)	15	18
The Ambivalent (Like Africville but willing to move)	7	9
The Committed (Like Africville and reluctant to move)	38	48
No Data	<u>20</u>	<u>25</u>
Total	80	100

a. Original data as Table 2.

Examining the social attributes of the mobile and the committed,^{*} it was found that the former contained a larger percentage of basic nuclear family households (73% to 33% among the committed), a larger percentage of full-time regularly employed household heads (70% to 33%) and a much smaller percentage of Africville-born household heads (20% to 60%). The mobile included most Africville residents earning more than \$3,000 in 1958 and most household heads with higher-than-average educational achievement. In sum, the mobile category, referring to persons least committed to remaining in Africville, was virtually identical to the social group designated above as the mainliners. The respondents who in the pre-relocation period were^{the} most apt to like Africville and to be reluctant to move out were those with ancestral ties in Africville, heads of the single parent families, the underemployed, and the poorly educated. Historically and socially many of these residents were the oldliners, the residents most rooted in the community. Joining them in their commitment to Africville were the resourceless marginals and transients and the persons of the residual grouping who had obtained a haven in Africville. The household heads of the more stable nuclear families who were better off economically, possessed more resources and had fewer ancestral ties, disliked Africville and wanted to get

^{*} There does not appear to be any significant pattern among the group labelled ambivalent, aside from the fact that in four of the seven cases, the marital relationship was unstable and the female respondent had not been raised in the community.

out.* It was in this group of mainliners that the more vocal community leaders were found in the pre-relocation period. As might be expected, persons attempting to improve their socio-economic condition tend to become politically active in relocation programs.⁷⁴ Perhaps this fact, given the orientation of mainliners, explains the failure of any organized resistance to the relocation.

The Africville oldliners, beyond their commitment to the community and a shared awareness of historical rootedness, can be differentiated in terms of their involvement in the church or in the deviance service centre. What they held in common (plus their kinship ties) overrode their somewhat different life-styles. The respectable oldliners virtually never included other oldliners when they talked of troublemakers, drunks, and bootleggers; rather, they always referred to the marginals/transients and to those of the residual grouping. Particularly among elderly oldliners involved in the church was there an idealization of the old Africville, a sense of pride in the community's survival and an anguish over the vanished possibilities of the community. Many of these elderly oldliners showed a strong sense of pride in their independence. Statements such as "I don't live off no welfare. Never have and never will," and "We always did our best to be honest and owe no man anything," were quite commonly rendered by them. They recognized that they had lost control over the destiny of their community. Most of their own sons and daughters, in line with the parental urge to better themselves, had migrated from the community; ** squatters had moved in, with the consequence that the public image of the community did not reflect the hard effort which they and their ancestors had put into developing Africville; the informal respectable leaders were the mainliners who did not relate to the community in the way that they did. So the elderly respectable oldliners withdrew into their memories, and the church became a critical point of reference for them. Over the years the church activities, and especially the "spectaculars" such as baptismal services and

* It was possible to test the significance of the patterns noted above. Sixteen household heads for whom data on orientation to Africville were lacking in the 1959 survey were among those relocated. Data were obtained in 1969 on their willingness to be relocated. On the basis of the profile drawn above, predictions were made as to how these sixteen persons would respond; the predictions proved correct in fourteen of the sixteen cases.

** Sons of these sons and daughters who migrated to Montreal, Toronto, and elsewhere became craftsmen, and a few graduated from university. Most of the children of the mainliners also emigrated from Africville. It was the oldliners who proudly noted that Africville had produced a champion boxer, an ordained minister, and a music teacher.

sunrise services that attracted outsiders, had been the chief means by which temporarily they overcame feelings of oppression and deprivation and shouted, "Look here, we have something valuable and we're trying our best!"

Blacks in Africville and elsewhere in Nova Scotia sometimes used the term "the four-hundreds" (occasionally "the five-hundreds") to designate those community members who were economically well-off and who often differentiated themselves socially from other residents. The primary criterion for being labelled as the four-hundreds was that of "making out" relatively well; as one relocatee observed: "Yes, they [the four-hundreds] had a bit more money than others, were getting along better." Perhaps inevitably, the concept was also used pejoratively; one relocatee, obviously not one of the four-hundreds, noted that "if a person tried to be better than anyone else, people would say he thinks he is the four-hundred." An Africville woman who objectively did fit the definition of the four-hundreds pointed out that she and a few others were referred to as the four-hundreds in Africville because they were ambitious and worked hard all their lives. Her husband was reluctant to be interviewed and the middle-aged relocatee who was attempting to obtain the interview for our research project explained the difficulty by noting: "_____, you know, is a four-hundred." While virtually all residents understood the concept, and while a few Africville residents (mainliners) felt themselves to be, and were, labelled four-hundreds, the general consensus was that there were few, if any, four hundreds; as one resident observed: "if a person was rich, he was in the four-hundreds. I can't think of anyone [in Africville] who was in it." Distinctions within Africville were made generally on the basis of criteria other than economic, perhaps because, in addition to the low economic variance in the settlement, those with the greatest kinship and ancestral ties within the area were themselves quite poor; thus, those residents with the greatest claim to belonging in Africville were not able to define themselves as the four-hundreds.

Another reason that the four-hundreds distinction was not strong within Africville was that it had been applied more unambiguously to a group of former Africvillers who, at the time of the Second World War and after, had moved out of the settlement to a site just beyond but within clear view of Africville. With the exception of some of the oldline residents, Africville Blacks referred to this group as the four-hundreds; one relocatee observed that "the four-hundreds lived around _____ and they figured they had more than we did; they wouldn't associate with us;" another relocatee also noted that the four-hundreds was "the name given to those who were supposed to be better off than others. Most of them moved to the _____ area". The group was a handful of families whose breadwinners were hard-working, steady persons with apparent

motivation to achieve. Despite their roots in Africville they moved "up the hill into the city [sic]" in order to "better themselves" and obtain superior facilities. One of the persons in this grouping pointed out "there were some of us who travelled around quite a bit, some who went to sea and who went west. We came back to Africville and decided it wasn't our life. So we were ambitious and we got ourselves out." Typically the group's concrete reasons for leaving were to obtain City services and to have their own land - "we didn't want to squat"; more generally they moved "to better ourselves".

The so-called four-hundreds just outside the Africville settlement retained a strong identification with Africville. Several retained property claims there. Some of the leaders who opposed a relocation attempt by the City in 1947-48 were in this group of migrants. Clearly the viability of the community suffered as result of their moving out. Their general view was that the community had deteriorated over the years as a result of inadequate City concern and because of the type of migrant who moved there in the few decades before relocation. They celebrated the older, more viable, Africville and considered the elderly oldliners associated with the church as being the "only real" Africville people. They were closely related, of course, to this latter group. The four-hundreds often railed at the squatters who had moved into Africville, and occasionally challenged the mainliners' legitimacy in speaking out on behalf of the community. There was considerable idealization in their recall of the community's past.

Stigma

The historical processes of external encroachment and neglect, and of internal deprivation and decay, resulted in Africville's being defined as a slum and its residents stigmatized. The quality of housing was the most concrete and publicly proclaimed indicator of Africville's slum condition. A related indictment of the community (in indictment that struck at the chief resource that Africville residents cherished, their land) was the widespread view that even residents' claim to the supposedly worthless Africville property was questionable.

The recollection of elderly relocatees was that their ancestors' housing had been of good quality. One relocatee observed that "some of the oldest homes were quite solidly constructed with heavy beams, thick plaster, wooden spikes and nice cellars." The respondent herself had, at the time of relocation, a relatively large and attractive home that she had built in 1937 after two previous homes had fallen to fire. Due to fires, and previous relocation occasioned by railway construction, few older homes existed by the 1950's; consequently it is difficult to assess

progressive changes in quality of housing. It would appear that, throughout the last half of the community's 125-year existence, housing reflected the community's poverty. In 1903 the local newspaper reported that "the style of architecture of the Africville buildings is not such as to give a stranger an exalted idea of the City";⁷⁵ by 1923 a City report noted that most Africville buildings were quite dilapidated and "little if anything, can be done to better conditions."⁷⁶

As the years passed by, the gap increased considerably between the housing in Africville and that of Halifax generally. A key factor was the City's refusal to provide Africville with standard services. Fires were a deterrent, both in destroying the sound houses that did exist and in inhibiting resident investment in improved housing. Insurance was virtually impossible to obtain. Moreover, population growth compounded the major problem of space, a result being in later years a cluttered and haphazard pattern of houses built on almost any free patch of land. It would appear that, in the forty years prior to relocation, some sheds and garages came to be used as homes with minimal renovation. Sometimes salvaged materials were used and community assistance enlisted in a conspicuously inexpert construction of homes. Visually the community was far from attractive; one young relocatee pointed out:

"I was from Toronto. When Mom told us we were going to live in Africville, I was ten years old. I pictured a little village with white houses. Boy, did I get a surprise! We came in the night so I didn't see anything. But in the morning, when I looked out the window, oh, boy; I said 'My God, Mon! What did you bring us down here for?'"

The 1959 survey revealed that there were- approximately twenty-three household heads in rental accommodation and about fifty-five claiming some form of home ownership (either home, or land, or both). For the most part the renters were marginals/transients; only ten of the twenty-three household heads who were renting in 1959 had been living in Africville for more than ten years. The rental arrangement was usually only a loose understanding between the renters and the owners (most of whom lived in Africville or were former residents), and few renters made regular monthly payments. The rental accommodations, many of which were in the area known as "around the bend"* were of very poor quality, being on the average, two-room

* An appraisal report of this section of Africville in 1961 noted that "these dwellings are merely shacks built out of second-hand materials with no foundations and no sanitary facilities. They are considered completely worthless."

Appraisal Report, June 12, 1961 in Industrial Mile File, Development Department, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

wooden shacks without foundations or services. In at least five cases the rental dwellings did not have electricity; in these cases kerosene lamps were used, and extension cords provided occasional electricity. A few rental dwellings having shingles or brick sidings were quite adequate.

Of the fifty-five household heads claiming some form of ownership in 1959, only twenty-two indicated that they possessed deeds. Others reported that while they did not have legal title, they did pay taxes, or they were settled on ancestral property/^{or both}. There was considerable uncertainty regarding land ownership and there were a number of self-acknowledged squatters; nevertheless, it was inadequate for City officials to contend that "only thirteen deeds could be documented",⁷⁷ or that "there were [no] more than two lots as marketable commodity with legal title in Africville."⁷⁸ Such opinions, filtered explicit in public reports, "filtered through the public and officialdom; they reflected a lack of historical research, insensitivity to the complex and often informal pattern of land conveyance in Africville, and created a definition of the situation that stigmatized virtually all residents. This definition by City authorities, in effect legitimated the City's neglect of Africville.

On the average the owner-occupied dwellings were of better quality than other dwellings. All but one house had electricity and about fifteen had stone and cement foundations. A few had brick siding or cedar shingles. About a dozen contained seven or eight rooms. Two dwellings had inside sanitation. The best owner-occupied dwellings were found in the main settlement area. Yet in terms of City standards the large majority of homes were inadequate; only nineteen properties were assessed for more than \$1,000 in 1962, and at least a dozen of the owner-occupied dwellings were substandard two-room or three-room wooden shacks.

There was considerable variation in the maintenance and internal quality of Africville dwellings in 1959. Many homes were clean and well furnished, particularly the owner-occupied dwellings in the main settlement area. Most owner-occupied dwellings had refrigerators and telephones. The relocation social worker evaluated fifty-two per cent of the homes as "poor" with reference to maintenance and internal quality; thirty-eight per cent were considered as "fair to good", and ten per cent as "good to excellent"⁷⁹ More than half the household heads whose homes were evaluated as "poor" were either marginals/transients or in the residual grouping.

Africville residents, especially the mainliners and oldliners, were often quick to point out that there were good homes in the settlement and that many residents kept their homes in excellent condition under difficult circumstances. Others, long deprived, echoed the alienated

hopelessness of one household head who, when asked about his dwelling's state of repair, replied:

"This shack? What's the use of doing anything to it? It's not worth it; besides, if the City takes this land, we won't get anything for our time and money."

It is to be expected that, given the generally poor-quality housing, the absence of regular City services (such as water, sewerage, and paved roads), the presence of an open dump, the existence of a deviance service centre at two corners of the settlement, and the often erroneous and insensitive public definitions of the Africville situation, considerable stigma would be associated with the Africville community. Some Africville residents found that they could not even obtain car insurance because they "lived in an undesirable area." Even among poor Blacks and Whites elsewhere in Halifax, Africville was stigmatized. In discussing Africville's stigma the Director of Welfare observed:

"A man who said that he was from Africville had great difficulty in getting work. I think most of our people were afraid of people from Africville. The police had a lot of trouble with some of them because they were aboriginal in their living, sort of The other Black communities seemed to take on the criticism that was levelled against Africville and they would keep clear of them. This applied especially in Creighton and Maynard Street area, where it always appeared to me that the coloured people of Halifax thought they were a little better than the people of Africville."

Most residents readily acknowledged the stigma associated with Africville. An elderly oldliner observed "Yes, I minded it [the stigma] a lot; the people in the city . . . oh, they had the worst to say about Africville." A household head of the residual grouping pointed out that "Blacks from other communities thought we were a bunch of tramps but they came here." Some Africville residents reported that in their youth they^{had} reacted to the stigma by using street addresses rather than "Africville" when they had to tell others where they lived; other residents continued this practice until relocation. In the 1959 survey, Africville residents indicated that visits to friends outside Africville were not always reciprocated; they visited more often than friends came to visit them. Some residents (mostly the mainliners) who especially resented the stigma, tended to reject neighbours and to seek self-identification with what they considered to be the greater respectability of outsiders.*

* Only thirty per cent of the relocatees interviewed in 1969 and 1970 indicated that the stigma had bothered them. It may be that the surprisingly low percentage reflects the presence of post-relocation adjustment problems. If, however, the percentages are considered valid in the pre-relocation situation, perhaps they are a measure of estrangement from the wider society as a whole.

While most Haligonians, Black and White, rich and poor, circa 1960, appear to have believed that Africville was a slum, there was considerable ambivalence among the Africville people themselves. In post-relocation interviews approximately forty per cent indicated that Africville had been a slum and sixty per cent disagreed; regardless of response, the majority of relocatees typically qualified their assessment. There was important variation according to social grouping. Mainliners and marginals/transients were the least ambivalent. The large majority of mainliner respondents agreed that Africville was a slum, pointing to the stigma and the lack of facilities and often reflecting the sentiments expressed by one mainliner in 1959 prior to the relocation: "I'm ashamed of this place; the sewer is almost in my mouth." Typically the mainliners qualified their assessments by noting that not all of the community had been a slum. The resourceless marginals/transients virtually all contended that Africville had not been a slum. While acknowledging the existence of poor housing, they were not bothered by the stigma or the presence of the dump; typically they shared the view expressed by one of their number prior to relocation: "Living in Africville is cheaper, you can pick up things such as kindling wood." One of the marginals/transients commented: "Well, I wouldn't say that [that Africville was a slum] because even White people live in old homes. They had good bread and butter. I'll admit it wasn't the classiest place in the world but the people did the best they could. Lots of them didn't have money to do what they wanted to their places."

The oldliners were the most ambivalent concerning whether or not Africville was a slum: roughly equal numbers responded in affirmative, negative and undecided categories. Typically the oldliners pointed out that at least the people owned their own land and that the City had been uncooperative. One young oldliner observed:

"A slum? Well, to a certain extent I have to say yes. But it was something you owned. In a way it was hard to bring up kids down there but in another way everybody was happy with it."

An elderly oldliner commented:

"I don't think so. If the City gave the people a chance to remodel their homes, put the water through, it would have been okay. Africville was no more a slum than some parts of the area I know of. I travelled twenty-three years all around Nova Scotia, seen all kinds of places worse than Africville. No, it wasn't a slum. Lots of White people visited. Some real up to date houses. Had wells. Lots of people never visited to see these and had wrong impressions."

Respondents of the "residual" grouping also exhibited ambivalence; about fifty per cent contended that it was not a slum and the remainder was equally divided into affirmative and

undecided categories. Typically these respondents compared Africville favourable with other poor areas of Halifax; one respondent observed: "I think the housing was bad. If it was a slum, I've seen worse places in Halifax [sic]."

For reasons mentioned earlier, Africville as the years passed by became more and more a community of "refuge" and less and less viable. Most residents prior to relocation were eager to have improvements made in their community - this was the major alternative regularly proffered by Africville residents whenever City officials suggested relocation. Despite their fragmentation into cliques and distinct social groupings, they did have a sense of "solidarity in oppression" which was especially manifested in their post-relocation assessment of the friendliness and trustworthiness of their fellow residents. Despite the poverty and inadequate resources, the majority of residents prior to relocation indicated that they enjoyed living in Africville. They cited the privacy and freedom, the clean air, the beautiful view, the open spaces and the "country style of life. It is important to remember that people in their everyday life compare their status most frequently with others who are, broadly speaking, on the same socio-economic level. Africville Blacks usually used mid-City Blacks as their reference group on matters of housing and general life style. Thus they could say that Africville "was better than in the city [sic] better than some of those slums downtown"; they could quite legitimately point out that many of the Africville homes on the inside were as good or better than those in the downtown area and the costs of accommodation substantially less. Finally the Africville residents could and did say that whatever Africville was, it was theirs.

In the few years immediately prior to the City's announcement of relocation, many Africville residents seemed to sense that relocation was imminent. Several residents asked the 1959 research team "You aren't here in connection with moving us out, are you?" Others, without being asked, emphatically informed the interviewers that they did not want to be relocated and one woman observed prophetically that she and her neighbours had only two years left in Africville. It would appear that while only a small minority were eager to seize a suitable opportunity to move elsewhere, a larger number would at least not resist strongly a considerate relocation program.

It is understandable, given life conditions in Africville, that a resident without roots in the community and having lived there only for a short time, might respond chiefly to the stigma, the dump and the inadequate services and be almost totally negative about the community. One such person anticipating the relocation wrote to City officials as follows:

"I'm writing to ask you are you buying houses. I got a three-room house to sell. I live out here in Africville. I would like to get something for it. I don't like out here and I want to get out of here. There is no water, no lights, no wood; the little wood we do get is off the dump and is full of bed bugs. I have a radio, T.V., fridge, and a washer and can't have a bit of comfort out of them. I am not well myself. I am sorry I came out here. All of the people want to get out of here. A lot of houses are disgraces. The people is only living off the dump. A wonder half of us is not poison."

On the other hand, to an elderly oldliner with a vivid historical consciousness, a justifiable pride in her own and her ancestors' hard life-struggle and an acute sense of what Africville might have been, Africville was also friends and relatives, ancestral property and rich memories. One such woman, a former leader in the community, whose husband had been a deacon there and whose sons were successful migrants in Central Canada, finished up her interview with the comment:

"I never was ashamed of Africville. I always owned it up as my home and the people as my friends."

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER SIX

- ¹ MacKerrow, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
- ² Winks, "The Negro in Canada", p. 465.
- ³ P.A.N.S., Africville File, Assembly Petitions (Education 1860).
- ⁴ Clairmont and Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks*, p. 23.
- ⁵ Report of the Halifax School Commissioners, Halifax, N. S., 1883, p. 11.
- ⁶ The oil storage complex was located on the site of an old lime works.
- ⁷ Report of the Halifax School Commissioners, Halifax, N. S., 1883, p. 11.
- ⁸ A tannery previously occupied the site of the rolling mill.
- ⁹ Clairmont and Magill, *Africville Relocation Report*, p. 134.
- ¹⁰ G.R. Stevens, *Canadian National Railways, I: Sixty Years of Trial and Error (1836-1896)* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1960) pp. 75, 158, 159.
- ¹¹ N.S.L.A., *Journal and Proceedings, 1854-1855*, Appendix 17, p. 143.
- ¹² Clairmont and Magill, *Africville Relocation Report*, pp. 130-134.
- ¹³ *Ibid*, p. 134.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 135.
- ¹⁵ Registry of Deeds, Book 820, pp. 732-34.
- ¹⁶ *The Master Plan for the City of Halifax*, pp. 33-34.
- ¹⁷ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 11, 1907, p. 252.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid*, October 11, 1906.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*, September 9, 1915, p. 211.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 220
- ²¹ *Ibid*, p. 221
- ²² *Ibid*, p. 218
- ²³ A municipal abattoir, to be located south-west of Africville, was proposed in 1917 to replace the several slaughter houses.
- ²⁴ The hospital complex was used only intermittently; during the Second World War it was used for military purposes, and after the relocation it became a home for elderly ill persons.
- ²⁵ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, April 27, 1916, p. 569.
- ²⁶ *Ibid*, July 14, 1938, p. 193.
- ²⁷ *The Master Plan for the City of Halifax*, p. 19.
- ²⁸ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, January 15, 1948, p. 10.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*, May 17, 1951, p. 418.
- ³⁰ *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*, p. 13.
- ³¹ The Director of Welfare reported that "prior to relocation six to ten families at most would come

in occasionally for welfare."

³² Brookbank, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³³ Halifax Board of School Commissioners, Chairman's and Supervisor's Reports.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Clairmont and Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks*, p. 24.

³⁶ Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (December 1959), p. 784.

³⁷ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 11.

³⁸ Rainwater, "Poverty and Deprivation in the Crisis of the American City".

³⁹ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, June 29, 1858.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, November 5, 1903.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, June 16, 1949.

⁴² *Ibid*, August 15, 1940; and October 29, 1940

⁴³ *Ibid*, September 15, 1955

⁴⁴ See pp. 84ff.

⁴⁵ Frank Doyle, "Dwellings at Dump Not Very Historic", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 18, 1963.

⁴⁶ Tape-recorded interview, October 7, 1963.

⁴⁷ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, October 15, 1953.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, October 27, 1852.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, September 23, 1909.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, October 12, 1944.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, December 11, 1947.

⁵² *Ibid*, February 4, 1948.

⁵³ *Ibid*, January 6, 1948.

⁵⁴ Tape-recorded interview, October 7, 1969.

⁵⁵ Tape-recorded interview, August 14, 1969.

⁵⁶ "Africville: Ahern Makes Move", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 2, 1962.

⁵⁷ Letter^{from} Dr. Allan R. Morton to the Mayor of Halifax and Members of the City's Health Committee, August 9, 1962. The letter is in the *Africville File*, Social Planning Office, City Hall, Halifax, N. S.

⁵⁸ Draft copy, *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*

⁵⁹ "Works Department Undecided on Way to Solve Problems", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., December 1, 1964.

⁶⁰ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, February 4, 1948.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, June 16, 1949.

⁶² *Ibid*, November 16, 1954.

⁶³ *Ibid*, April 11, 1957.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, November 15, 1956.

⁶⁵ "Africville Families Poisoned", *The Chronicle-Herald*, Halifax, N. S., January 28, 1958.

⁶⁶ "Africville Deaths: Fatal Level of Wood Alcohol Discovered", *The Chronicle-Herald*, Halifax, N. S., May 27, 1966.

⁶⁷ *Minutes of the Housing Policy Review Committee*, City of Halifax, May 19, 1961.

⁶⁸ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, June 17, 1919.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, July 7, 1919.

⁷¹ Halifax figures, *1956 Census of Canada*.

⁷² Data from the 1969 survey by the authors.

⁷³ There was a gross migration of 11 families and 8 boarders during this period, but little net change in the population.

⁷⁴ See [Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* \(Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970\), p. 211.](#)

⁷⁵ [No endnote in text]

⁷⁶ [No endnote in text]

⁷⁷ [No endnote in text]

⁷⁸ [No endnote in text]

⁷⁹ [No endnote in text]

CHAPTER NINE

RELOCATION AND RELOCATEES

Interviewer: "Different people had different gains and losses because of the relocation. What do you think are your most important gains?"

Africville Relocatee: "Gains, because of the relocation? I haven't gained a thing! The only difference between this home and my home [at Africville] is that this is a little bigger home, and it has water and sewerage. Outside of that, I don't see a damn thing that's different. My expenses are overwhelming . . . Regardless of our wells going dry in the summertime, and the cold in the wintertime, I still prefer Africville a thousand times to this place I am in now."

- Tape-recorded interview with an Africville relocatee, October 1969.

Reaction To Relocation Announcement

Many Africville residents really did not believe that relocation would take place. Over seventy-five per cent of the relocatees, interviewed in 1969-70, reported that, prior to the City's announcement, they had not expected to be moved. The majority of respondents in all social categories held such a view* although there was some variation; oldliners (perhaps because of their greater consciousness of previous City "encroachment") and mainliners (perhaps because of their greater belief that Africville was a slum) were more likely to have expected relocation than marginals/transients of the residual grouping.

Over forty per cent of the relocatees reported in 1969-70 that they had been at least somewhat willing to be relocated upon becoming aware of the City's program. As shown in Table 13, there was important group variation concerning residents' unwillingness to move. Age was an important variable; generally, the older the relocatee, the greater the unwillingness to

* There were no significant differences in expectation by age, sex, or housing status. In this post-relocation survey there were 21 mainliners, 26 marginals/transients, 51 oldliners, and 42 "residuals". Approximately thirty-five per cent of both the oldliners and the mainliners expected relocation compared to twenty-five per cent of the marginals/transients and fifteen per cent of the residuals.

Table 13

RELOCATEES' UNWILLINGNESS TO MOVE BY AGE AND SOCIAL GROUPING^a

	%
<u>Age</u>	
Between 20 and 39 years of age	40%
Between 40 and 49 years of age	55%
50 and <u>move</u> years of age	65%
<u>Social Grouping</u>	
Marginals/Transients	35%
Mainliners	50%
Oldliners	55%
Residuals	60%

a. These are retrospective assessments obtained in 1969-70. The Ns for the age groups were, respectively, 48, 31, and 56. There were six cases where age was unknown. The Ns for the social groupings were, respectively, 26, 21, 51, and 42.

move. This pattern is consistent with findings of other relocation studies and with the experience of the Africville relocation social worker.** The pattern is also congruent with the fact that in 1969-70 the younger relocatees, the group between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine, were much more likely to report that they considered Africville to have been a slum. The orientation to relocation held by many of the younger Africville residents was expressed aptly by one young female:

"The old people were scared (upon hearing of the City's program). The younger ones like us were not concerned because we didn't own any property. The older ones fought hard, but the younger ones were different."

One young male oldliner expressed a positive orientation to relocation which was not uncommon as an initial response among young household heads:

"I was glad. I figured that as long as I stayed in Africville there was no way for me

** In the questionnaires that the relocation social worker filled out concerning each relocatee, he indicated whether he had found relocatees willing to move. Among the relatively few that he reported as unwilling, the majority were elderly oldliners.

to better myself. Tired of running to the well. It would never get better."

On the other hand, a significant number of the younger relocatees were unwilling to be relocated. More so than relocatees in other age categories, those in their twenties and thirties reported in 1969-70 that they had held the view, at the time of the relocation announcement, that alternatives such as rehabilitation and installation of facilities should have been followed. One young oldliner commented:

"I was mad [upon hearing of the relocation program] ... I had my own home, cost me \$5,500 to build. I liked the freedom. They [the City] made it so you had to move."

Among the different social groupings, the respondents least likely to be unwilling to move (according to the 1969-70 retrospections) were the marginals/transients and mainliners. Although the majority in both groupings indicated that they felt a sense of belonging while in Africville, it is consistent that the twenty respondents in the post-relocation survey reporting that, while living in the community, they often felt they did not belong there, were all either marginals/transients or mainliners. Marginals/transients and mainliners also-were less likely than oldliners and residuals to report having had any alternatives with which to counter the City's relocation program.* The mainliners who were more or less willing to relocate tended to view the City's program as a challenge or oppo opportunity; one mainliner reported that he was among the first to relocate because "when a man is given a chance to better himself, he should take it and not grab too much in the process." Many mainliners believed that they would be able to negotiate a good exchange with the City; one male observed "at [the time of the relocation announcement] since I paid taxes and fixed up the place, I figured I would get a half-decent price." Few mainliners reported feeling sad or experiencing grief but several did report that they had held the view "let's get organized and try to do something."

The marginals/transients, somewhat surprisingly the least unwilling to be relocated according to the 1969-70 interviews (Table 13), did not view the relocation as a positive City intervention nor did they view Africville as a particularly undesirable place of residence. Marginals/transients responded to relocation typically in a muted, matter-of-fact, unemotional

* In the post-relocation survey, approximately fifty per cent of the marginals/transients and fifty-five per cent of the mainliners reported having considered alternatives to relocation; on the other hand, about seventy per cent of the oldliners and residuals had alternatives.

way. Relocation neither created nor destroyed any dreams, though it was perceived by most of them as inconvenient. They were the least unwilling to relocate primarily because they perceived themselves as having no claim with which to resist and because they understood that the City had taken on the obligation of rehousing them elsewhere in the city. One marginal/transient observed:

"My reaction? Well we moved. We were one of the first ones to move. I thought they needed the property for a road. I never went [to any meetings] because it was none of my business. I was an outsider. I was outside their affairs_ I didn't own any property."

Another marginal/transient who had moved to Africville only one year prior to the City's announcement of relocation commented:

"Nothing we could do [about relocation]. We didn't belong there. We were the first ones to go. But it was perfect for us because we were sick of the place and knew [the relocation social worker] would help us move."

Table 13 shows that a majority of the oldliners and residuals were unwilling to move at the time of the relocation announcement. This finding is quite predictable since both groupings in the pre-re location period had indicated a strong sense of "belonging" in Africville; among the oldliners there was a feeling of historical rootedness in Africville and among the residuals, an anxiety due to the absence of legal title to their property in the community. What is surprising is that so many respondents in each group were not unwilling to be relocated.* Among both groups, however, there was great ambivalence over whether Africville should have been considered a slum. Certainly many oldliners and to a lesser extent some residuals had given up hope that the City would ever do anything positive in Africville and consequently they were at least somewhat willing to be relocated if this meant that they would obtain superior living conditions. One elderly oldliner commented: "I was glad [that relocation was to occur]. I was glad to go if only because of the dump." Yet the oldliners, even those not unwilling to move, typically expressed grief and sadness upon becoming aware of the relocation, and over seventy per cent reported that they would have preferred rehabilitation of Africville and/or cooperative housing. One elderly oldliner reported her initial reaction to the relocation program as follows: "It

* It was also surprising that fifty per cent of the mainliners were unwilling to relocate. This is somewhat inconsistent with other data on their orientation to Africville and to the relocation program.

was terrible. I couldn't believe they would do it until they sent that man down from Toronto." Another elderly oldliner who experienced considerable post-relocation grief reported her reaction as follows:

"We had saved and bought a place in _____ which we were fixing up so that we could live there in the summer, to have a place for our children to go to when they were on vacation. This was our dream. It was just nice to spend a few months there but we preferred to live in Africville. I didn't think of living in _____ permanently. The relocation upset everything. When we had to move and live permanently in _____ I couldn't stand it. I had to get out, told my husband I couldn't take it anymore. I left him in the house. I'm trying to find room for us in the City but that's hard to find."

A middle-aged oldliner who was not unwilling to relocate observed that, upon becoming convinced that the City was going to follow through on the relocation proposal, his wife was heartbroken but that he "just told the wife and kids that we had to go. That was it. We left a new home. My only regret was that it didn't happen twenty-five years sooner so that I wouldn't have built my house and, being young and active, could have done real well in the city [*sic*].

Anxiety rather than grief typified the initial reaction of residuals to the City's announcement. Many of these were squatters but they had roots extending back to at least before the Second World War; they had an investment in Africville and possessed relatively few resources with which to establish themselves elsewhere. One middle-aged woman observed: "I didn't know what to do. I wondered where I was going to live." A female household head who had a large family commented that: "I felt that we couldn't afford to buy or rent so we didn't know what to do." A young married male pointed out: "I paid no attention to it. I had no plans for moving out."

Subsequent to the City's announcement, and induced by relocation rhetoric, a considerable amount of "dreaming" took place among persons in the residual grouping. Many developed rather high expectations, thinking that the City was really going to provide them with an opportunity to restructure their life conditions; this was particularly true among the young and early middle age household heads who previously had of necessity muted any middle class life style aspirations and had enjoyed to the full the freedom and autonomy of Africville life. One female household head commented: "[The relocation social worker] told us that we had to go to a place where we would get plumbing, water, and modern facilities and an up-to-date house. We were so busy trying to figure out what to do, were really excited. Didn't know where we were

going, when we were going, what to pack. Only knew we were going. The people thought that they could make a go of it." A male household head observed: "I was happy in a way and unhappy in another. I was really excited about living in a nice home with modern conveniences but unhappy about leaving my home in Africville."

In sum, the initial reaction among Africville residents to the relocation program was one of surprise and of preference for alternatives such as rehabilitation and/or cooperative housing. However, there was considerable variation and a significant number of persons, especially the mainliners and the young household heads, were, in terms of their own retrospective assessments and the judgment of the relocation social worker, well disposed towards a progressive relocation program. Marginals/transients did not perceive themselves as significant "actors in the relocation drama", while many of the residual grouping were prepared to shed their Africville life styles if the relocation rhetoric could be perceived as tangible.

Relocatees and Settlement Negotiations

It has been noted that there was no organized Africville presence during the "mechanic" phase of the relocation. The structure of relocation decision-making did not facilitate collective action by the Africville residents. Powerlessness and community strains characterized relocatee orientation at the community level. There were no general Africville meetings organized independent of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee although prior to the formation of the latter, and to the City's announcement of relocation, a few members of the Africville Ratepayers Association had attempted, with modest success, to collect funds from their fellow residents in order to obtain legal assistance in pressing their grievances against the City. The relocation social worker upon assuming his position found that "the thinking of the community was divided. Probably four or five leaders in each group commanded the ears of probably four, five, or six families." One resident had been more of a leader than others, but his was more an expressive than an instrumental leadership¹ and once the City announced its relocation program, instrumental leadership qualities were called for; i.e., skill in devising integrative community strategies and tactics and in framing viable relocation alternatives. Accordingly, this particular leader saw his influence erode as relocation unfolded; he reported that at the time of the relocation announcement he had thirty-five per cent of the Africville people behind him, by the time the relocation social worker arrived on the scene only fifteen per cent and,

subsequently, virtually no one.

When the relocation social worker assumed his position and relocation negotiations began in earnest, four or five residents (including the person referred to above) exercised some influence but they disagreed among themselves as to the appropriate response to the City's plan. While not rejecting the alternative of remaining in a more adequate Africville, none appeared to have strongly argued for this alternative; rather, their disagreements centred about whether to bargain for "a home for a home", or for the largest cash settlement possible, or for rebuilding the community in another location. The handful of Africville leaders prominent in the community and in discussions with the caretakers and the City officials (with one exception, mainliners) were among those who in 1959 had indicated that they disliked Africville and were willing to move. Given their orientation to mobility, their internal disagreements, and their sense of futility in resisting the City, it is not surprising that these leaders were among the first Africville residents to begin individual negotiations with City officials.

Many Africville residents in post-relocation interviews contended that the City's chief strategy was to divide the community and, by offering especially good "deals", to buy off the more prominent Africville leaders. One relocatee commented:

"There were 'community leaders' who were going to represent the people of Africville against the City. Of course the people were not well educated and they trusted these leaders to explain why the people didn't want to move...The first thing you know [these leaders] who were supposed to keep the City from relocating us, are the first ones to move. Well! When we saw them leaving, we all figured that what's the sense of staying if the leaders of the rest of us are gone."

Some City officials in the post-relocation period also contended, in private conversation, that the City strategy was to buy off one or two leaders in the hope that potential community resistance would thereby be aborted. One official observed that "the City got [two leaders] to move and the rest followed. They [the leaders] got a very good deal. Really [they] were bribed." Another official who had a minor role in the relocation pointed out that "[one leader] was the patriarch of the community. We had to get him to go first and the rest would follow; so we spent a lot of time convincing him about the benefits of the move"

There does appear to be some basis for the above contentions. Not only were the handful of prominent leaders among the first residents to begin negotiations with the City, but they appear to have received a better than average settlement. On the other hand these

leaders did have better than average property claims, and given the necessarily ambiguous settlement criteria it is difficult to establish objectively that they obtained the most favourable exchange. While it is clear enough that the relocation social worker did try to negotiate first with the more prominent leadership types in the community (a reasonable strategy), some Africville relocatees and some City officials retrospectively overemphasized the unity and cohesiveness of Africville at the time of relocation. Furthermore, using these leaders as scapegoats seems inappropriate since for the most part they were explicit in their willingness to be relocated. Certainly these leaders did not particularly intervene on behalf of many residents, but how far they could have done so in any case is questionable given the fragmentation in the community, the strains associated with the uncertainties of land ownership, and the residents' sense of powerlessness in the face of City officials determined on relocation. In the post-relocation situation and in the light of their awareness of the unhappy lot of some relocatees, several of the leaders displayed some grief and regret concerning the *sauve qui peut* nature of the relocation negotiations. One leader pointed out, however, that some Africville people did not really believe that relocation would take place:²

"They could not make themselves believe in the possibility of expropriation or relocation until they saw the first cheques and the money passing hands and the homes being torn down. It was only this stark fact, this reality that made them believe Africville was to be relocated." [Paraphrased by interviewer.]

There was considerable retrospective feeling among the relocatees that the people would have done better in dealing with the City if they had stuck together and bargained collectively. One female summed up these feelings in her remark: "The people didn't know how to stick together. No organization. Otherwise they'd still be out there." But given the structure of relocation decision making, there was little place for a collective response. At one point in the relocation a petition was circulated among the residents, arguing for Africville representation on the Subcommittee handling relocation settlements, but it was neither strongly supported in the community nor encouraged by City officials (one of the Black caretakers did volunteer to remove himself and thereby open a position on the Subcommittee for an Africville resident). The few Africville residents who had participated in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee were among the first to open negotiations with the City; thereafter a more collective response was impossible.

In reporting their actions once they knew for certain that Africville was to be destroyed,

the relocatees fell into two evenly divided categories, the passive kind who felt resigned and the active type who set about trying to get the "best deal" for themselves and their families. Only eight per cent of the relocatees interviewed in 1969-70 reported that they had "fought hard" against relocation; in the analysis that follows these persons also will be considered to have had an active orientation towards settlement negotiations. Table 14 indicates that age was an important variable in relocatees orientation to negotiations; typically the older the resident, the greater the passivity (that is, the more likely that the respondent characterized his orientation as "I knew I couldn't do anything about relocation and went along with being relocated"). On the other hand the younger residents, less unwilling to be relocated, tended to be active negotiators. In terms of housing status, Table 14 predictably shows that the propertyless were much more likely to have a passive orientation whereas the squatters, not having legal title to their Africville property and quite anxious because of this fact, were clearly the most active.

Marginals/transients, being both propertyless and older, predictably were more passive than members of the other social groupings. Mainliners, having both property and resources and mobility aspirations, were by far the most likely to have had an active orientation towards settlement negotiations. The residuals were about evenly split between passive and active orientation. Oldliners reported themselves typically to have had an active orientation; it may be noted that most of the relocatees indicating that they had "fought hard" against relocation were oldliners.* Several elderly oldliners who did not want to be relocated adopted an orientation of stubborn withdrawal; they did not attend any meetings called by the Human Rights Advisory Committee, told the relocation social worker the amount of compensation they demanded (setting what they considered a very high price), and for a long period refused to enter into any negotiations.

Few Africville residents consulted with those members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee who were their advocates on the Subcommittee assessing the recommendations of the relocation social worker. Well over eighty per cent of the relocatees interviewed in 1969-70 reported that they had never met with members of the Halifax Human

* Surprisingly, younger oldliners were as likely as elderly oldliners to have reported themselves as fighting hard against relocation; in both cases only a handful of persons characterized their orientation towards relocation in this fashion.

Rights Advisory Committee. Less than twenty-five per cent reported any assistance from local organizations and leaders or from the two or three Africville residents who continued to

Table 14

AFRICVILLE RESIDENTS ORIENTATION TO RELOCATION NEGOTIATIONS BY AGE,
HOUSING STATUS AND SOCIAL GROUPING^a

	<u>Age</u>		
	Between 20 and 39 years of age	Between 40 and 49 years of age	Between 40 and 49 years of age
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Passive	38	45	51
Active	60	50	45
No Data	2	5	4

	<u>Housing Status</u>			
	Homeowners	Squatters	Propertyless	Renters With Claims
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Passive	41	27	62	42
Active	55	68	35	50
No Data	4	5	3	8

	<u>Social Grouping</u>			
	Oldliners	Mainliners	Residuals	Marginals/ Transients
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Passive	30	26	51	74
Active	64	74	47	18
No Data	6	-	2	8

a. See text for explanation of active and passive orientation. The data are from the 1969-70 survey carried out by the authors.

participate in the deliberations of the Human Rights Advisory Committee. Although the City officially made available to the Africville residents legal and real estate services, less than thirty per cent of the relocatees indicated any awareness of these services and only fifteen per cent used them. Among the age categories the younger relocatees, as might be expected given their greater willingness to relocate and their more active orientation towards relocation negotiation, were much more likely to have reported awareness of these City services and to have used

them, although even in this age category the majority of respondents denied awareness of the City services.* In terms of housing status only the homeowners reported significant awareness and use of city-provided legal and real estate services. Among the different social groupings a majority of mainliners reported that they had been aware of the City services and about forty per cent did take advantage of the offer, whereas over seventy per cent of the oldliners, the residuals and the marginals/transients were apparently unaware of these free services. Basically, in the relocation negotiations the Africville residents, whether having an active or a passive orientation, depended on their own resources and their relationship with the relocation social worker.

Relocatees and the Relocation Social Worker

In view of the lack of community organization and the inadequate mobilization of external advocacy, the crucial relationship, in terms of both settlement negotiations and relocation benefits, was that between the individual relocatee and the relocation social worker. It has been observed that lower-class relocatees have a tendency to operate at two levels when dealing with government, either overtrusting civic officials or expressing complete cynicism. The latter was evidenced in the remarks of one relocatee when asked why he did not take advantage of the free legal and real estate services offered by the City; "Boy, you can't go against the City. The City provided a lawyer but it was their lawyer.** Such a twofold tendency (both overtrusting and cynicism may almost simultaneously characterize the attitude of the relocatee) appears to be related to a perception that one is powerless and that the world of authority and officialdom works in personalistic and random ways. On the basis of interviews and informal conversations with relocatees over a two-year period, we found this orientation to be very widespread. The Africville relocatees depended heavily on the relocation social worker and many believed that they could influence him but most were very cynical about his advocacy of their interests,

* About forty percent of the respondents aged twenty to thirty years of age were apparently aware of the City's offer, whereas only twenty-five per cent of those aged forty to forty-nine and twenty per cent of those aged fifty years or more reported a similar awareness.

** It was true that the City did provide a lawyer from its own staff. Although few relocatees were aware of the fact, the City had also agreed to pay the legal expenses of residents who obtained private legal assistance.

pointing to the fact that he was in the employ of the City and that "one doesn't bite the hand that feeds him."

In the relocation negotiations the social worker officially acted as the middle man or broker for the property settlements between the Africville residents and the City. Given the confusion in Africville over land claims and given the policy of both the relocation social worker and the City of awarding more than market value to individual property claimants (a policy developed both to induce people to relocate and to assist in their "rehabilitation"), the relocation social worker was a key person in the property negotiations, especially (but not only) in cases where legal title was unavailable; he had the task of determining the legally and morally legitimate claims and he had significant scope for discretion. Furthermore, the City in adopting a liberal-welfare approach to the relocation took upon itself the obligation not only of providing better accommodation for the people but also of assisting them through provision of furniture and welfare when necessary; these aspects of the relocation settlements - the "rehabilitative aspects" - were especially subject to the practical discretion of the relocation social worker.

Over seventy per cent of the relocatees indicated that a chief, if not *the* chief, way that they set about trying to get a good deal for themselves was to depend on their relationship with the relocation social worker, either throwing themselves on his mercy or trying through him to bargain hard with the City. The younger relocatees were more likely to have reported this strategy, but a majority of the relocatees fifty years of age or more also reported that they relied on the relocation social worker. The pattern of greater dependency among young adults is congruent with their greater willingness to relocate, their active orientation to the negotiations and the fact that they were often propertyless or possessors of only squatters' rights. Their strategy was obviously born of necessity but it did dovetail with the relocation social worker's professed goal of trying to assist especially the young household heads. A common tactic used by some young residents was to argue that they should receive a larger settlement because they intended to get married and set up new households. A number of young residents did request and obtain furniture money to help establish themselves elsewhere. In a few instances the relocation social worker made furniture money contingent upon a young unmarried mother marrying her boyfriend. Generally the liberal-welfare rhetoric of the relocation (i.e., to create new life opportunities) did, in the eyes of most persons involved in the relocation program, appear to hold out a special promise and obligation concerning young persons and families.

Table 15

RELOCATEE DEPENDENCE UPON AND PERCEIVED ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE
RELOCATION SOCIAL WORKER, BY SOCIAL GROUPING^a

	Dependence % Yes	Influence % Yes
Mainliners	50	55
Oldliners	61	51
Residuals	73	36
Marginals/Transients	83	22

a. Data from the 1969-70 survey conducted by the authors. The table should be read as follows: 61% of the oldliners depended on the relocation social worker and 51% of the oldliners perceived that they could influence him in the relocation negotiations.

Table 15 compares the four different social groupings in terms of their dependence upon the relocation social worker and their perception of whether or not they were able to influence him in the relocation negotiations. The table indicates that the most resourceless residents, the marginals/transients, overwhelmingly saw themselves as dependent upon the advocacy of the relocation social worker. While a majority of respondents in all the social groupings depended on the relocation social worker, mainliners and oldliners were the least likely to report such a dependency. In both these groupings were most of the relocatees who had had clear claims to property in Africville, moreover, the mainliners were the most likely to have used alternative means of obtaining a "good deal" (i.e., obtaining legal assistance or dealing directly with the Advisory Sub-committee members) while among the oldliners was found the majority of those who resisted in relocation negotiations. Table 15 also reveals that in three social groupings the percentage of respondents perceiving that they could influence the relocation social worker (i.e., who saw him as their internal advocate at City Hall) was significantly less than the percentage reporting a dependency upon him. The exception was the mainliner social grouping where the comparatively well-off and mobility-oriented respondents were more likely to perceive themselves as able to influence the worker than to have been dependent upon him.

Generally, Table 15 illustrates a perfect inverse correlation between dependency and perceived influence; typically those in greater self-professed need of his internal advocacy, since they possessed fewer bargaining resources, were the least likely to have perceived themselves as influencing the relocation social worker.* This point is most sharply illustrated in the case of the marginals/transients, where approximately eighty per cent of the respondents indicated dependency but only about twenty per cent perceived themselves as able to have their interests advocated. The finding of an inverse correlation between dependency and perceived influence is consistent with the observation made in Chapter Eight that despite the liberal-welfare rhetoric of the relocation program, time pressure to get the people out and the priority of real estate criteria in the settlement negotiations resulted in the relocation following more closely the "development" model of relocation. The relocation social worker was "boxed in" by a real estate negotiation mandate and to a significant degree did not successfully perform the internal advocate function for those Africville residents who needed him the most.

Approximately ninety per cent of the relocatees interviewed met with the relocation social worker at least several times to discuss their position and seek out the benefits of relocation. To his office at City Hall went primarily those residents who had resources or mobility aspirations; in most instances the relocation social worker apparently had to go into the community to get the negotiations started and to bring them to conclusion. Only thirty-five per cent of the relocatees reported meeting with the relocation social worker on six or more separate occasions, a fact which is highly significant in the light of the rhetoric of the relocation and the concentration of rehabilitative efforts in his hands. The relocation social worker spent most time with the Africville residents who had initially joined the Human Rights Advisory Committee and with influentials who were at least somewhat willing to relocate, but he also visited frequently with some of the Big Town area residents who had developed high expectations concerning relocation benefits and whom he, like civic welfare officials before him, sympathized with (and admired) because of their open, resourceful and somewhat "rebellious/deviant" life style. Relatively little time was spent with the young adults, presumably because here the critical relocation aspect was not property settlement but programs to effect new life opportunities and this aspect of the relocation

* It should be noted that relocatees were asked to judge whether they could influence the relocation social worker "very strongly", "somewhat" or "not at all"; if the respondent gave either of the first two responses he was considered to have perceived that he could influence the worker

in practice was accorded low priority. Comparatively little time also was spent with stubborn and resistant oldliners; apparently the City strategy here was to remove as soon as possible those who were willing to relocate and, by demolishing the community bit by bit, increase the costs of resistance. It was a successful tactic but one oldliner, commenting on this "City strategy", angrily noted: "I am not moving until I get what I want and they ain't offered me that yet; they ploughed over ray well but I can get water. I got friends; they won't see me in need." On the whole the marginals/transients grouping received the least attention from the relocation social worker. They were usually resourceless, usually renting from other residents and consequently of little importance as far as property settlements were concerned. Moreover, the relocation social worker did not see many of this group as either desirous of, or capable of, rehabilitation; also to a significant degree he shared the view held by many residents, namely that the marginals/transients did not really belong to Africville. Consequently, he spent little time with members of this group; his orientation towards them was evident in his response to a question asking how he dealt with a particular White marginal: "I informed him of his rights as a citizen."

Approximately thirty per cent of the relocatees believed that the relocation social worker helped them get a better deal from the City. As might be expected the relocation social worker's advocacy was assessed favourably especially by those relocatees with whom he had established good rapport, particularly mainliners, those willing to relocate, and Big Town area residents. One mainliner commented: "He [the relocation social worker] was such a lovely man you know, used to come to see us once or twice every week." A common theme among those, positively evaluating the social worker was that the latter had protected the Africville people from further exploitation by the City and that he obtained for the people good prices for their properties. A mainliner relocatee who had been particularly influential in Africville complained of the high costs encountered in the post-relocation environment but added "We can't blame [the relocation social worker]; he did everything he could. If it wasn't for him the City would have exploited the people." A former Big Town resident who had been a self-professed squatter in Africville spoke highly of the worker, observing that "some people will talk about him, but he did a good job. Gave people more than they really deserved if they needed it."

The majority of relocatees did not perceive the relocation social worker as an effective internal advocate on their behalf at City Hall. Over ninety per cent saw him as essentially used by the City to convince the Africville residents to relocate and fifty per cent associated him with

perceived City tactics of dividing the people to reduce their resistance to relocation. The basis for their judgement was that he engaged only in individual negotiations and for information relied chiefly on a handful of residents willing to relocate. His task - to get the people out of Africville and to develop and implement rehabilitative programs - was not without ambiguity and conflict, but the relocation social worker strove to avoid a too-close identification with the City's price offer for property and its ultimate weapon of expropriation. At the same time, in order to be effective in inducing people to relocate he had to be identified with the City to make his promises credible and authoritative. To some degree he was successful. It has already been noted that a large minority of relocatees viewed him as a buffer between themselves and further City exploitation: in addition a majority of relocatees dissociated him from the expropriation "big stick" which they saw lurking in the background of the relocation program.* Nevertheless, most relocatees perceived him as more concerned with real estate negotiations and rehousing than with rehabilitation.

Furniture money, new housing, and welfare assistance were key inducements and "rehabilitative tools" used by the relocation social worker in his negotiations. The young, the propertyless, and the marginals/transients were especially dependent upon these particular benefits if they were to profit at all by the relocation program. A majority of relocatees indicated that the relocation social worker had made them promises concerning rent and housing as part of his inducement for their relocation. Some respondents referred to promises of "a year's free rent upon relocation into city housing or other type of accommodation", while others spoke of similar promises for different lengths of time. Unfortunately no clear, written commitment was given by the City or by the relocation social worker concerning what some relocatees referred to as the "free rent deal" and when he left the area, upon having moved virtually all residents out of Africville, considerable controversy developed regarding what had been promised the relocatees.*

* Whereas about sixty per cent of the relocatees reported that the city used the threat of expropriation to get the people to relocate, only twenty per cent indicated that the relocation social worker used this threat.

* The authors read several letters sent relocatees by the relocation social worker which in a vague and ambiguous way did promise financial assistance to them in their new housing situation.

Table 16 indicates that over seventy per cent of the relocatees were aware of the fact that the City had promised welfare assistance if necessary and over fifty per cent reported that, through the relocation social worker, they did obtain welfare assistance as part of their relocation settlement. All groups and categories of relocatees were roughly equally aware of the welfare policy but the young, the propertyless and the marginals/transients were the chief users of this service; squatters and members of the residual grouping (those two categories overlap considerably in membership) also depended heavily upon welfare assistance in their post-relocation circumstances. The elderly Africville residents, the mainliners, and the Africville homeowners were the least likely to have obtained welfare, a fact due in large part to their having been most likely to have received a property settlement; yet even among these relocatees a sizeable minority needed welfare assistance to cope in their new environments. It

Table 16

RELOCATEE AWARENESS AND USE OF CITY WELFARE ASSISTANCE, BY SELECTED GROUPINGS^a

	Aware %	Used %
<u>Age</u>		
Between 20 and 39 years of age	60	49
Age 50 years or more	70	23
<u>Housing Status</u>		
Homeowners	73	39
Squatters	68	59
Propertyless	71	65
<u>Social Grouping</u>		
Oldliners	70	44
Mainliners	75	35
Residuals	70	60
Marginals/Transients	70	65

a. Data from the 1969-70 survey conducted by the authors. The table should be read as follows: 60% of this age category were aware of the City's welfare service and 49% of this age category obtained welfare assistance.

is quite clear that welfare was indispensable in inducing many residents to relocate and in maintaining them in their new environment. As in the case of housing support, considerable controversy developed regarding promises of welfare assistance once the relocation social worker left the area. Numerous relocatees reported that they had been promised special welfare assistance for an indefinite period of time, but the City disputed such claims.

The overall impression one obtains from examining strategies and orientations during the settlement negotiations is that relocatees related to the City, individually and privately, through the relocation social worker. There were "influentials" among the Africville residents and communication networks but only thirty-five per cent of the relocatees indicated that they had discussed their settlements with others within the community. Very few relocatees were aware of settlements involving the community as a whole, such as the terms of the church settlement (only a minority of the church-going residents knew the detail of the sale, and the disposal of funds gained from it) or the Subcommittee motion to periodically re-evaluate the worth of the Africville land up to 1987 (prior to the author's research activities this was known only by a few caretakers and Africville residents). In the case of the Big Town residents of Africville, where many of the hard-drinking, boisterous male household heads shared similar characteristics (such as age, housing status, and work activity) and interacted closely, there was apparently more open discussion of what to do in the settlement negotiations but still no collective strategy or bargaining. One of these household heads commented:

"I was shy. Never went to meetings. When many did go, they were drunk. I moved under my own decision, was one of the first to move. I influenced many people to move and buy homes against the City's advice - "If I can buy a home with \$1500 (which is what I got) why can't you with \$6000?" I convinced a group to move out in the peace and quiet of the country. Since I was one of the first to go, many people came to me to ask me how I made out in my deal with the city. I told them to hold out for all they could get."

The privacy and individuality of the settlements is surprising given the extensive kinship ties in the community and the overlapping property claims. Only twenty per cent of the relocatee respondents reported that they had attempted to get other residents to join them in adopting a tough bargaining position or to work out with others arrangements concerning property claims. About the same percentage reported that they assisted relatives in trying to obtain a "good deal" from the City. These statements by the relocatees were corroborated by the relocation social worker who noted that, apart from untangling property claims, most relocation negotiations were

on an individual basis. Only in a few instances did relatives informally agree on how to divide up their joint property claims or some residents facilitate the possibility that others could make a claim.* More frequently, relatives and residents contested one another's claims. A White marginal who acknowledged that he was an outsider and who was not himself upset over the relocation observed: "I don't think there was nearly enough community bargaining. Too much scrambling. Lack of leadership. There should have been a spokesman to lead the people and there wasn't." A young Africville male referred to the "scrambling" as follows: "Everybody was out to get more than the next guy. The people were too cutthroat, dog eat dog; no strength."

Perhaps the scrambling and lack of cooperation was not unpredictable. Africville residents were thrust into a situation virtually guaranteed to result in grief and hard feelings if they were to profit from the relocation program. The structure of relocation decision making left little place for a more collective, cooperative response. Beyond housing and welfare (to some extent one's housing options were also contingent) the benefit of relocation was largely in obtaining some form of property settlement; with a property claim the needy Africville resident had a possibility of receiving some cash. Given the close kinship ties and the lack of legal title in Africville, considerable opportunity for strife and suspicion existed. Such opportunity was heightened by the fact that Africville residents appeared generally to believe that the City had made available a fixed sum for the purchase of Africville property and therefore its distribution was based on a zero-sum principle (i.e., if one person got six thousand dollars, then there would be six thousand dollars less to distribute among other claimants). Underpinning these factors in generating scrambling, suspicion, and lack of cooperation among Africville residents during the relocation negotiations was the common pattern of the poor and oppressed having a low estimate of one another's value; many residents shared the sentiment expressed by a young female respondent:

"I didn't go to the meetings. I didn't deal with some of the people because they were ignorant and had no education. I went to a meeting one night but I didn't stay

* In a handful of cases the household head allowed a son or daughter to claim a parcel of property or a shed and thereby establish a property claim. Such a claim might yield five hundred dollars or more depending on the bargaining skill of the claimant, his social characteristics and the sympathy of the relocation social worker.

that long because they were talking ignorant."

In dealing with the relocation social worker a number of relocatees adopted the relatively passive stance exemplified in the remarks of one relocatee: "[The relocation social worker] told us that we had to go to a place where we could get plumbing, water and modern facilities and an up-to-date house...I just took what they offered. [He] made us an offer and we took it." A marginal/transient reported his rather passive strategy as follows:

"I found out that _____ had sold her house to [the relocation social worker] so I moved to _____'s house; when he sold his we moved to _____'s house until we finally had to leave. I got tired of moving. There were meetings but we didn't go because we owned no property and had no reason to go."

About fifty per cent of the relocatees reported that they tried resisting being relocated until they obtained a better relocation settlement. Between ten and fifteen per cent of the relocatees indicated that they had claimed special circumstances such as old age or disability in negotiating with the relocation social worker. About twenty-five per cent contended with him that they should receive more money for their property claims or larger furniture expenses on the grounds that they wanted to form new separate households. The young, the propertyless, and the marginals/transients in particular used a variety of arguments to obtain the furniture allocation. Of course a number of relocatees used what they considered "tricks" to get more money out of the relocation social worker such as pretending that they had lost their rent money, feigning freak accidents with household items which they then sought to have replaced, or temporarily breaking up a household in order that several household members might separately obtain furniture allocations. Within the larger exchange relationship between the relocation social worker (or the City) and the Africville residents, such actions constituted a *quid pro quo* in relation to the vague and subsequently disclaimed promises concerning rent and welfare assistance in the post-relocation period.

Relocatees and "A Fair Deal"

While the relocation social worker reported that the original settlement terms requested by the Africville residents were generally acceded to, the latter indicated that they usually obtained less than they asked for; about twenty-five per cent reported that they obtained the same or better (a handful only reported this alternative) settlement terms than initially requested. Surprisingly, although consistent with the distributive justice hypothesis, the relocatees who

received the least in their settlement exchange, were the most likely to have reported that they received the settlement terms they asked for; in fact over fifty per cent of the marginals/transients, for the most part propertyless and admittedly without much "investment" in Africville, reported that they had obtained what they had requested (generally some furniture allocation although not the maximum allowable, slightly improved housing, and short-term welfare assistance). Among the other social groupings and categories the majority in each case reported that they obtained less than they had originally requested. Two significant patterns should, however, be noted; next to the marginals/transients, the mainliners, as might be expected given their resources and bargaining skill, were the most likely to have reported that they obtained what they had asked for, and younger relocatees were more likely than older relocatees to have reported that they received less.

Virtually all relocatees reported that the City gained more from the relocation than did the Africville people; similarly, an equal percentage (circa ninety-five per cent) believed that the Africville people lost most by relocation. Chiefly the relocatees contended that the City had obtained valuable land whereas the Africville people did not receive enough money to maintain themselves adequately in their new environment. Many relocatees shared the sentiment of one young, female household head who commented:

"I'd say it was a dirty deal. We owned our own places. The City committed highway robbery, got the places and the land. The people lost more than what they should have gained. Places and land worth more than that. We were busy and excited, made stupid mistakes."

Among the few relocatees who contended that the City had lost most in the relocation or that neither the City nor the Africville people had gained because of it, a common view was that expressed by a marginal/transient: "City lost in the long run; now that the people are in Halifax [*sic*] they are on welfare. It's going to cost them [city officials] more than they realize."

Only six per cent of the relocatees estimated correctly the amount of money that the City spent on the Africville relocation; the large majority of respondents believed that the City had spent only a quarter of what it had in fact spent. Yet it does not appear that the relocatees would have changed their assessment of the City's gaining from the relocation even if they were aware of the City's real costs, because they were primarily oriented to their own rewards and costs, a not unreasonable orientation given the historical treatment that they received from the City and the relative wealth and power of the two parties to the relocation exchange. Moreover,

encouraged by the relocation rhetoric and the promises and inducements of the relocation social worker to think that their life-opportunities would be dramatically improved in the post-relocation period, the relocatees undoubtedly became more disenchanted with the relocation "deal" as time went on. By the time of the 1969-70 survey many relocatees had reconsidered the exchange with the City in the light of having spent whatever cash bonanza they had received as a property settlement, seeing the failure of the City in following up on promises concerning rent and welfare assistance and experiencing higher costs and other difficulties in their post-relocation environment. Such reconsideration undoubtedly accounts for the inconsistency between the data presented above and the reports of the relocation social worker to the effect that most relocatees were satisfied with the relocation settlement.

Most relocatees reported that relocation benefits were not equitably distributed among the Africville residents; eighty per cent believed that some groups or persons obtained a "better deal" from the relocation exchange with the City than did the other residents. A small number of relocatees contended that those who moved out early in the relocation had received the "best deal" because the City wanted to "start the ball rolling" as regards relocating the people. However, despite the rather widespread relocatee belief that the City had bought off Africville influentials to get the relocation program underway, most relocatees held the view that "those who left early were treated as fairly as those who left around the end". When relocatees referred to some residents getting a "better deal" than others, they invoked implicitly the principle of distributive justice and complained that it was not operative in the relocation settlements (i.e., there was not a constant proportionality of profits to investments). Skill in bargaining and rapport with the relocation social worker were seen as significant in determining the deal one received. Oldliners and mainliners displayed the strongest emotions concerning how relocation benefits were distributed. Many of these respondents contended that the marginals/transients and the squatters who were not born in Africville profited more than they themselves did in the light of "investment" criteria such as property holdings, belonging in Africville, and longevity of residence. One oldliner reflected the feeling of many others in her comment that "the money that should have been paid to us who owned the land was paid to those who lived in tar paper shacks. Our family always paid taxes." Another oldliner said that "Africville in later years was just built up by outsiders from the country and the City [*sic*]. But for me and _____ and others were born and bred in Africville. Now these should have been looked at 100% different than the others." Underlying the oldliners' and mainliners' sense of distributive injustice was a zero-sum

conception of relocation benefits and an exaggerated estimate of what the marginals/transients and the squatters received in settlement.*

Squatters and persons of the residual grouping also held the view that some groups or persons obtained a better deal in the relocation exchange. Typically they contended that the relocatees who received more benefits were those owning greater property in Africville and having legal title to their property. In a sense they did hold that there was a proportionality of profits to investments (that distributive justice was somewhat operative in relocation settlements) but they did not consider property and legal title especially to be as much an investment as the oldliners and mainliners did; nevertheless, predictably, squatters and residuals did not appear to be as emotionally upset as oldliners and mainliners over the perception that some persons obtained a better deal.

Relocatees who believed that Africville residents obtained a fair deal at least vis-à-vis one another were chiefly the marginals/transients, the persons who objectively received the least from the relocation exchange. The apparent irony that a majority of the residents who profited least from relocation would perceive the distribution of benefits to be equitable can be readily explained in terms of the principle of distributive justice - perceiving themselves as having less "investment" than other types of residents they did not think it unfair that they should have obtained less in the relocation exchange.

In their own personal exchange with the City approximately eighty per cent of the relocatees reported that they did not get a fair deal. Only among the marginals/transients did a majority of the relocatees believe that they were treated fairly (though not necessarily well or considerately) by the City. One marginal/transient, who obtained short-term welfare assistance and accommodations for his family in a City-owned redevelopment house which was condemned a short while after he was placed there, observed: "I got a fair deal. Most of the Africville residents get a pretty fair deal from the City." Another marginal/transient, who obtained a furniture allocation of one thousand dollars, welfare assistance, and two rooms in a City-

* The "four-hundred" grouping of ex-Africville residents, who lived just beyond the community and were not involved in the relocation aside from the fact that a few still owned property there, were especially indignant over their perception (a mistaken one) that squatters and marginals/transients received as much as "permanent" or "real" Africville residents.

owned redevelopment house, differentiated between himself and the "people of Africville" commenting that "I got a fair deal. I ain't complaining. I was glad to get running water and some conveniences. But the people of Africville who owned property got sucked in." The generally modest expectations of the marginals/transients was evidenced by the fact that most of those claiming not to have received a fair deal reported that if they had obtained five hundred to a thousand dollars more, then they would have had a fair deal from the City.

A significant minority of mainliners also indicated that they received a fair deal in the relocation exchange but less than a handful of oldliners and residuals reported that they did. Generally the unanticipated costs of their new environment was a major factor in the thinking of these relocatees. One oldliner reported: "I suppose I got a fair deal but we'll be in debt for the rest of our lives. I'd sooner be back in Africville. I owned my own home there. I got mortgage payments to meet here." A mainliner referring to unanticipated increases in his cost of living commented: "In Africville I could live adequately on two thousand to three thousand dollars a year. But here I absolutely have to have four hundred dollars a month." A member of the residual grouping (who subsequent to her 1969-70 interview lost her home because of failure to meet mortgage payments) contended that a fair deal would have entailed the City providing homes for the relocatees - "not fancy homes but which had facilities and without mortgage." In discussing fair exchange with relocatees it was apparent to the authors that many had reconsidered their assessments made at the time of relocation. It should perhaps also be noted that at the time of the 1969-70 interviews some residents were attempting to reopen negotiations with the City through an Action Committee; this fact appeared to influence the assessments of a small minority of relocatees, chiefly those of the mainliner and, to a lesser degree, the residual groupings.

Housing

One clear responsibility assumed by Halifax City Council in adopting the Rose Report was to provide Africville relocatees with safe, sanitary, and decent housing. The scarcity of land and the population pressure on the Halifax peninsula posed many difficulties for this relocation obligation. An alderman member of the Africville Subcommittee observed that housing stock; had been in low supply since the Second World War. He explained:

"That was a hard job [finding houses for people] but, at the same time, everybody

coming into the city of Halifax was having a hard time, so there was nothing different about that because everybody was involved in the same difficulty. Any person with a family couldn't get accommodation in the city of Halifax; so there were no openings in any housing and the City tried to make provision by buying a certain amount of houses in the redevelopment area and then we would put these people in. This is how we would get around it . . . "

The Development Director, noting the problems of re-housing caused by "unexpected" delay in the construction of public housing, generalized:

"I think this is always the problem. You can't keep houses vacant. Therefore you've got to tie in the moving and removal of houses with the provision of new housing and it's a perennial problem I think it applies in any city"

An additional and specific problem in re-housing in this relocation instance was the fact that Blacks were being dispersed throughout a largely White community. Racist attitudes lingered on in the White community. Just prior to relocation some residents of a nearby lower middle class neighbourhood, in response to a suggestion in Council that Africville residents be relocated in public housing to be built in this neighbourhood, organized a protest meeting. Several protesters stated angrily "we don't want Africville people here."² Several instances of discrimination occurred; in one case a relocatee who moved into a White neighbourhood in Halifax County was threatened;³ in another, a White neighbour allegedly attempted to solicit support for a petition against the relocatee's establishing residence there.⁴

Nevertheless, Africville relocatees, like relocatees in most urban renewal projects in Canada and the United States,⁵ have obtained improved housing facilities in terms of size and condition of dwelling, in areas of Halifax adjacent to the Africville site. Between seventy and seventy-five per cent of the relocatees relocated within walking distance of their former dwellings. Relocatees who removed elsewhere either purchased houses in Halifax County, or migrated to the metropolitan centres of Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg.

Africville relocatees obtained better housing, but at special cost; many experienced what they considered to be a loss in freedom and housing status, becoming tenants instead of homeowners. Most relocated families "owned" their dwellings in Africville, whereas less than one-third were homeowners after relocation. To people without adequate and regular income, and unused to paying rent, mortgage, and service and maintenance bills, the expense of improved housing brought new worries, family strains, and indebtedness. The marginals/transients, resourceless renters while in Africville, fared poorly in relocation. Usually

considered unacceptable for public housing, they were the least likely to obtain safe, sanitary and decent housing. None of these circumstances is exceptional; rather, they are readily predictable from a review of relocation studies in North America. Yet much of the case for considering the Africville relocation as a liberal-welfare model of relocation rests on housing improvements; relatively little positive change can be discerned in other aspects of relocatees' life situation's.

Many Africville relocatees moved into public housing in an area of Alifax adjacent to Africville, a neighbourhood that Haligonians sometimes refer to as the coloured, Negro, or Black district.* As of August 21, 1969, twenty-eight public housing units (seven bachelor units and twenty-one family units) were occupied by Africville relocatees. Four applications for public housing had been approved (two in 1967), but the applicants were awaiting vacancies. In addition, three applications were on file from former Africville residents who were not listed among the relocatees. There is evidence of a clash of life-style between some relocatees and the Halifax Housing Authority. Eleven relocatee applications had been rejected (that is, not recommended by the Housing Authority inspector) on the ground that the applicants were "unsuitable";* moreover, two relocatees have been asked to vacate their public housing units, and several others have been warned by the Housing Authority. Rejections and vacate notices typically were justified by the Housing Authority on the grounds that these residents were poor housekeepers, alcoholics or bootleggers.**

From a quite different point of view, there was a further clash of life styles. The fluid social structure of Africville was at variance with the "cut-and-dried" style acceptable to the Housing Authority. Africville residents had a tradition of extended family (consisting of several generations) and quasi-extended family household formation. Such formation, while tolerated

* These designations are used, despite the fact that the district has more White than Blacks. With the elimination of Africville, however, the district has the largest concentration of Blacks in Halifax.

* Six additional applications had been rejected for a variety of reasons; three applicants subsequently were no longer interested in moving into public housing.

** The Africville Subcommittee earlier had expressed concern (October 20, 1965) about the unsatisfactory rehousing of relocatees, and requested that consideration be given to establishing a housekeeping course for some relocatees. The request was referred to the relocation social worker, but action was not taken.

by the Housing Authority, required special permission and entailed significant costs. One woman who wanted to live in public housing observed: "Well, I wanted to move into Uniacke Square and they told me it would cost \$95 a month. I wanted one of my grandsons [fifteen years old] to move in with me, but that would have been an extra \$30 per month. So that would have been too much money to pay."

Moreover, Africville residents were used to "freedom" and "elbow room" in their Africville milieu. Prior to relocation, most residents had indicated that they liked best about Africville the fresh air, the view, the freedom of the place, and the congenial neighbours. In the 1969 questionnaire survey, relocatees reiterated these attractions as being of prime appeal. Some relocatees abhorred the prospect of entering public housing and, among those who did, there was considerable complaint about Housing Authority regulations. One elderly oldliner commented: "I kind of thought [Africville] really was a home because I felt so close ... the freedom and the home is what got me...I could always sit out on my step and give out with a good morning but can't do that here [in public housing]." Another female oldliner pointed out that for her, public housing did not have any flair to it, was too small and too noisy; she especially disliked the power the Housing Authorities had. An elderly male oldliner reiterated this theme: "I'm paying for a place where you can't put a nail in the wall. If you don't pay your rent right on the dot, you get a phone call telling you to pay up or get out. No security." Several younger relocatees, oldliners who had been living in public housing for almost two years, complained of a feeling of being trapped; they believed that they did not have any control over their dwelling and referred to inspectors always running in and out of their homes and telling them what they could do and what they could not do. As one relocatee put it: "People can't move around as much as they did in Africville."

Despite complaints and the necessity of life style adjustments, on the whole the relocatees in public housing were adapting well to their new environment. Most had neat and attractive apartments. Relocatees in public housing were, according to a survey carried out by the City in the post-relocation period, less debt-laden than other relocatees. Most respondents of course were pleased with the improved facilities and services and while a few mentioned that they had encountered some prejudice from their White neighbours, a larger number appeared to place some value on the greater integration found in public housing. Particularly apt to be positively orientated to public housing were relocatees of other than the oldliner grouping. As

one such young female respondent commented: "I like it here in public housing. It's just nice. They have playgrounds and puppet shows for the kids. It's real convenient." Among these relocatees public housing was a notch up from Africville. Yet even among this group the relocation to public housing had its costs. For those persons who have been homeowners in Africville, the change in housing status was an important loss effected by relocation: with reference to this point, one relocatee observed: "I will die and won't be able to leave my children anything." The respondent quoted above who liked public housing also commented: "The people never knew how much it was going to cost to live in the city. If they had known, they never would have moved."

When the Social Planning Department became involved in the plight of relocatees, a key recommendation to City Council (March 1969) proposed that a priority listing or relocatees be established for immediate consideration by the Housing Authority and that a rehabilitative program be developed to overcome "unacceptable standards of housekeeping". The proposal was intended to deal with the fact that some Africville relocatees had not been rehoused in permanent, decent, safe and sanitary housing, and to make it possible for them to obtain public housing units. At that time, at least twenty-three public housing units were occupied by Africville relocatees.

In a further submission to City Council, dated December 2, 1970, the Social Planning Department noted that thirty-three relocated families (including single persons) were accommodated in public housing and that, through a program designed to attain Housing Authority acceptance, two other families were assisted in upgrading their housekeeping standards.⁶ It was observed further that these thirty-five families "represented the total number of relocatees known by Social Planning to be desirous of such accommodations."⁷ The disparity of eleven between the total number of occupants and applicants on file on August 21, 1969, and the total reported by the Social Planning Department of December 2, 1970, could be explained by the possibility that a number of relocatees having been rejected by the Housing Authority, were insufficiently motivated to reapply.

Approximately twenty-four relocatee families purchased homes with money received from their relocation settlement. About half the homeowners settled in the North End of Halifax, an area adjacent to the Africville site and considered to be "respectable working class". Seven others settled near metropolitan Halifax. The remaining few went farther afield, two moving out

of Nova Scotia. Many of the home-owners in Halifax City and Halifax County, never before faced with substantial monthly bills for mortgage and services, and not in possession of new employment opportunities, quickly found themselves saddled with debt. Several took in boarders to defray some of the unexpected expenses. Four or five lost their homes because they were unable to discharge financial obligations.* Several others were rescued temporarily from a similar fate by the credit union program initiated by the Social Planning Department. One hard-pressed homeowner pointed out:

"When we lived in Africville, we didn't have a fancy home, but at least we had some money left over at the end of the week. Now, with my husband making \$75 a week, \$37 goes on mortgage, then we have to pay light bills, water bills, phone bills, food and clothes. We just don't have enough money! I wonder if we can get money from welfare. I went down before and they wouldn't give me any because my husband is working, but they would give it to some other person who doesn't need it as much as I do. It doesn't seem fair."

Since they had owned their own homes in Africville and since the single family dwelling in an attractive environment was considered the ideal type of housing, a large number of Africville relocatees had wanted to purchase homes upon being relocated. The relocation social worker, recognizing the discrepancy between ideals and actual resources, tried in some cases to advise relocatees against this course of action; he attempted also to secure the co-operation of real estate dealers in advising him of any negotiation initiated by relocatees. However, the relocation rhetoric had often induced high expectations among the residents; this fact plus their poor comprehension of living costs outside the Africville situation and their possession of the unique nest-egg of settlement money led a number of relocatees to take the plunge of home ownership despite their lack of good, regular income.

Ten of the household heads living in Big Town, that area of Africville where the hard-drinking and boisterous persons of the residual grouping were concentrated, used part of their

* Two of these families were in public housing in August 1969. City Council's Africville Subcommittee had recommended a policy that the Solicitor's Department should continue to make free legal advice available to relocatees buying houses beyond the three-year period of relocation. It appears that there was a City staff meeting in May 1968 to consider what help could be given to relocatees having mortgage troubles; at this meeting it was reportedly concluded that staff should be hired to assist these relocatees, but action was not taken.

settlement money as down payments on modest homes. The younger men in this grouping had associated intimately in Africville, calling themselves the "Hilltoppers Club", and had many good times together. These men were in early middle age, had large families and relatively poor-paying employment, but ties of marriage and kinship were strong. Being squatters for the most part and somewhat flaunting of the "good life", they were often considered less than respectable by some oldliners and mainliners. But with relocation these Big Town relocatees seized the opportunity to go off on their own and, within their perception of the situation, live the suburban life-style. Within a year or two, relatively isolated from their former friendship networks and overwhelmed by financial pressure, their dreaming and high expectations had worn thin. Four of the families lost their homes and the others have had continuing financial and personal crises. One of these homeowners noted, with respect to the post-relocation situation: "We suddenly realized that things were not the same as in Africville. You had to plan and budget and worry about tomorrow. Now all the fun is gone and all we do is worry." One of the persons losing their home noted:

"The City was supposed to treat the people with compassion. If they had any compassion they would have known that a man with eight kids needed more than \$1,000 to get along in life, starting off in a new community with no experience in the cost of living, mortgage, rent, sending kids to high-class schools. I didn't realize all these things."

Another of the former Big Town residents who was clinging to her home with the help of welfare assistance and credit union loans, expressed her considerable anxiety as follows: "When I wake up in the morning I am never sure whether we own our own home, and I will never be sure whether we will ever own our own home." Of the ten homeowners from the Big Town grouping only the two older household heads (one of whom had been able to purchase his home outright) had made the transition to new home ownership successfully and without undue anxiety. For the rest disillusionment had replaced their earlier optimism. One of the household heads still struggling to maintain his home bitterly denounced the City and vowed that if he lost his home he would get revenge by deserting his family, thereby forcing the City to support it through welfare.

Of the remaining relocatee homeowners one person had lost her home and several were struggling under heavy financial pressure but most (eight or nine) were making out well and expressed considerable satisfaction with their relocation. Typically these relocatees had

received the largest settlements, several obtaining more than \$10,000 for their Africville properties. Six of the latter were mainliners. One mainliner homeowner commented:

"My children, they come to visit me and they like the home and hate going back to Montreal. This is an ideal place for an old couple to retire. We have all the conveniences. The neighbourhood is friendly and the scenery is beautiful. We have to pay twice as much now to live; we have the same amount of money coming in as we did in Africville but it's well worth it."

The serious financial plight of homeowners relocating was emphasized in the proposal for establishment of a credit union that the Social Planning Department submitted to City Council in March 1969. It was submitted that the debt pressure on this group could be alleviated by a low-interest loan fund which subsequently was established. Additional suggestions (such as the enactment of legislation authorizing the assumption of second mortgages in instances where families were having difficulty in meeting payments) were made but neither strongly argued nor acted upon.

Several hard-pressed homeowners borrowed from the fund and obtained temporary relief, but the underlying economic situation assured continued vulnerability. This fact was pointed out by the Africville Action Committee, in a brief presented to the Mayor on October 28, 1970. The Committee requested that money be made available to homeowners, if the latter would waive rights to a future land settlement.* The Committee acknowledged the efforts of the Social Planning Department in establishing a credit union, but pointed out that the availability of even low-interest loans did not appreciably lighten relocatees' burden.

The category of relocatees with fewest resources and receiving least attention were the renters, who occupied private dwellings or City-owned houses in the north-central redevelopment area of Halifax that provided only temporary shelter. Almost one-quarter of the pre-relocation Africville population was rehoused in this manner. Their housing while on the whole an improvement over Africville accommodation, often was neither safe nor decent and otherwise inadequate. Many of these buildings were ugly and slum-like in appearance. They

* The Africville ACTION Committee requested that, rather than holding out to relocatees a possibility of their receiving further funds if the City sold the Africville lands at a profit by 1987, the City respond financially to present crises by making a settlement from City funds with relocatees who would turn waive any further claims.

were the kind of mid-town city dwellings to which Africville residents, prior to relocation, had favourably compared their own dwellings. Only a few of these buildings could pass a strict application of City ordinances. Several buildings were unheated and a few others were impossible to heat effectively and economically. One young relocatee reported: "I moved [upon being relocated] to an old shack on Barrington Street. Stayed there for seven months and almost froze to death." Shared bathrooms were common in this type of housing; one young relocatee had to pass through another woman's kitchen in order to get to the bathroom. Several of the buildings were condemned shortly after the relocatees had been placed there. The relocation social worker pointed out that in a few instances relocatees accepted this kind of housing against his advice. In other cases he placed people there supposedly on an interim basis while waiting for better accommodations (in public housing and elsewhere) to become available. Obviously time pressure concerning completion of the relocation project was an important consideration. Many Africville relocatees complained about this rehousing practice; one relocatee commented: "Wherever they could squeeze you in, that's where you landed." Of the relocatees rehoused in rental accommodations in these redevelopment areas, a significant number had moved as many as three times since leaving Africville.

The relocatees most likely to be placed in the type of housing described above were the marginals/transients; besides these persons, people without resources or considered unacceptable for public housing were commonly relocated in this "interim" inadequate housing. These relocatees received from the relocation little beyond temporary welfare assistance; they were often the hard-core multi-social-problem cases. Among the approximately fifty-five adults in private rental accommodation in August 1969, were a number of persons that, during and after the relocation. City officials had "written off" as being virtually impossible to rehabilitate.⁸ Another group of "at least ten families presently [December 9, 1970] living in grossly inadequate rental accommodations owned by private landlords or by the City of Halifax" were considered by the Social Planning Department to be candidates for home ownership, if "reasonable" opportunities and resources could be made available to them.⁹

In the "second phase" of the relocation program, the ameliorative measures advanced by the Social Planning Department have resulted in several relocatees obtaining improved housing in City-owned temporary dwellings and in public housing; also, temporary assistance has been given to a few homeowners through the Seaview Credit Union. For many relocatees, welfare

assistance has been especially important in maintaining improved housing.

The Africville Action Committee has been particularly vocal about the need for an adequate housing program. In mid-1970 the Africville Action Committee and the Social Planning Department prepared and submitted a joint proposal to Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The proposal urged adoption of a low-cost housing scheme whereby approximately fifteen relocated families (five currently in public housing and ten in private rental or City-owned housing) could "participate in a scheme designed to provide a more permanent, independent, and satisfactory mode of housing, offering the possibility of eventual home ownership." This forward-looking proposal called for the Seaview Credit Union, or a sub-organization, "to be empowered to serve as a sponsoring body for the purpose of operating a non-profit housing development cooperation [sic] designed to meet the needs of its membership [Africville relocatees]"

The proposal emphasized, also, the importance of involving Africville relocatees in the administrative structure of the scheme, and requested funds for this purpose. The proposal was not acted upon, although the Social Planning Department had expressed optimism in a report (December 9, 1970) to City Council:

". . . to date, the lack of available serviced land has been the most serious barrier. However, staff will be ready in the very near future to present to Council for their consideration and support, preliminary plans for a housing project involving families relocated from Africville."¹⁰

Unfortunately this optimism, like much of the rhetoric surrounding the Africville relocation, appears to have been unfounded. During the past two years there has been no sign of any activity by the City regarding new housing for Africville relocatees.

Employment

A 1962 report dealing with socio-economic conditions among Blacks in Halifax City stated:

"No matter what one uses as an index of a poor employment situation (low average income, large numbers of weeks unemployed, fewness of people in the more skilled occupations) Africville Negroes rank worse than Halifax as a whole and in general worse even than the mid-city Negroes."

No serious creative employment program was developed by City officials during the basic relocation period, 1964-67, despite the fact that this was a critical, if not the most critical, rehabilitative and opportunity-creating aspect of the relocation rhetoric. During the basic relocation period members of the Africville Subcommittee often expressed concern about relocatees' employment prospects, and a few Africville residents were induced by the relocation rhetoric to raise their aspirations. The relocation social worker did not have an employment program with which to work and was fully engaged in settlement negotiations and other aspects of the relocation program. Beyond arranging for an adult education course (which proved unsuccessful) and attempting to secure employment for a few relocatees through the Longshoremen's Union (again unsuccessful), the relocation social worker did not spend significant time securing employment opportunities for the Africville people. He sent unemployed or underemployed relocatees to an employment officer who had been assigned by the provincial Department of Public Welfare to concern himself exclusively with the placement of Blacks in the metropolitan area. No special consideration in employment placement was given to Africville residents. The employment officer worked with many relocatees and their grown children, especially in the post-relocation period, but was unable to secure regular, well- or average-paying employment for most of them. One young relocatee observed that "what we needed was steady jobs. Two days work was no help to us. I can get casual jobs myself,"

In a follow-up proposal that the Social Planning Department submitted to City Council (March 1969) it was observed that, with reference to both permanent and temporary work, vague records indicate that employment opportunities may have been found for twelve to fifteen persons. Even this small figure seems high. Only six questionnaire respondents indicated that they used the "employment service" made available by the City during relocation and only an additional fourteen persons indicated awareness that the service was in existence. The relocation may have done more harm/^{than good} to relocatees' employment opportunities; in the 1969-70 survey sixteen per cent of the relocatees reported that they suffered job problems as a result of relocation.

The economic vulnerability of Africville relocatees has been accentuated by relocation. Relocatees found themselves confronted by expenses that were either non-existent.-or minimal in Africville. Moreover, a few relocatees have lost a source of income (and others a source of pocket-money); namely, the salvaging of material from the city dump. The questionnaire data

indicate that most relocatees have had either the same or a greater regular income since relocation, but relocatees reporting income increases reported also an increase in financial problems. Increase in income was not particularly significant; as most responding relocatees had not changed their employment, for the most part increases reflected a rise in wage-level experienced by workers in general. Only a handful of relocatees have obtained higher-paying employment or additional part-time employment since relocation.

In the "second phase" of the relocation, when the Social Planning Department became involved in the plight of the relocatees and the latter formed the Africville Action Committee, there was renewed concern for the employment of Africville relocatees but only modest concrete achievement. In late August 1969, a general meeting of Africville relocatees was called, under^{the} auspices of the Social Planning Department, to consider suggestions for employment. A committee of relocatees emerged from the meeting, but there is no evidence of subsequent action. In early 1971, the Department, representatives of the Africville Action Committee, and a Canada Manpower official formed a special committee to enquire again into problems of employment among Africville Blacks and to develop and coordinate assistance programs. Several important observations emerged from these discussions:* (1) it is extremely difficult, within existing social arrangements, to provide real economic opportunity for Africville relocatees; (2) many of the relocatees are virtually impossible to place in employment because of age, infirmity, family responsibilities, or behavioural disorders; and (3) many of the out-of-school children of relocatees are without economic prospects. In view of these observations and the "achievements" of the basic relocation program, the rhetoric of liberalism that accompanied the Africville relocation seemed empty, if not perverse. A Peripheral Skill Training Program was commenced for fourteen relocatees in 1972, but only a handful managed subsequently to find regular employment.

Assessment of Life Conditions

The Africville relocation, in structure and rhetoric, was a liberal welfare program of planned social change. Clearly, though, the rehabilitative and opportunity-creating aspects of it did not dramatically improve life conditions for many Africville residents. One relocatee spoke of

* One of the authors was a member of this special committee.

"the shiny future which never came". Most relocatees (but not all) did obtain better housing and more services; property owners do appear to have received better than the then-market-value for their individual properties; more residents who were in need of social assistance while in Africville are now receiving welfare in their new environment.* At the same time these gains have to be qualified. With better housing has also come higher costs, more financial worries, often a change in status from homeowner to renter, and sometimes a perception (valid enough) of less freedom to adjust the physical environment to one's needs and wishes. Increased social assistance in some cases has been necessitated by the relocation itself; it has caused some recipients to feel more dependent and regulated (complaining of her welfare dependency one relocatee commented that "it's just like begging"); moreover, it is difficult to see welfare assistance as more than a short-term solution, albeit an important support as testified to by a relocatee who observed that "with the help of God we'll get along with welfare". Then, too, while Africville residents may have received individually "a good deal" for their properties, it is less certain that collectively they could be said to have fared as well. The legally unencumbered Africville lands should appreciate in value in a developing and land-scarce port city. The only really concrete bargaining point Africville residents had in any attempt to radically alter their life opportunities - their land - no longer exists; in this sense there is a loss of alternatives.

Given the above conditions, it is not surprising that many have expressed bitter feelings about the relocation. One relocatee noted:

"I feel they [fellow Africville residents] were stupid to move because the people weren't given anything to establish themselves. The people of Africville struggle all their lives to make a go of it. The City came in and treated the people like you would treat a dog, give him something and take it back."

Interviewer: "How did they take it back?"

Relocatee:

* The relocation social worker, in the questionnaires that he completed on each adult relocatee, estimated that sixty-eight per cent of the relocatees gained better living conditions and fifty-nine per cent obtained better services; beyond these two "rewards" from relocation, he considered that the chief benefit Africville residents received was financial, a benefit applicable in his estimation to about forty per cent of the relocatees.

"Through rent, through old bills they dug up when people moved. I'm paying for a place where you can't even put a nail in the wall. If you don't pay your rent on the dot, you get a phone call right away, telling you to pay up or get out. You're scared half the time that you'll slip up; they're always checking up. No security."

Interviewed in 1969-70 approximately sixty per cent of the relocatee respondents claimed that the relocation produced a personal crisis for them. Surprisingly, in light of their initial reaction to the relocation program, younger relocatees were as likely as the older relocatees to make such a claim. The persons least likely to report that they experienced a personal crisis were, predictably, the mainliners and the marginals/transients, although even in these groupings close to fifty per cent reportedly did have a crisis experience. Yet it is clear from the following tables that, apart from money worries, the crisis-problem was less one of what the relocation "produced" than of what it "took away".

Table 17 indicates that virtually three-fourths of the relocatees reported increased money worries as a consequence of relocation. In the light of the inadequate "rehabilitative" program and the disruption and inappropriateness of pre-relocation coping behaviour the above fact is entirely predictable.* A less common but significant result of the relocation (affecting about forty per cent of the relocatee respondents) was that it produced changes in household composition. In several instances older married children and unmarried daughters with children readily took advantage of social assistance proffered by the City to set up their own households; in other instances such a change was undertaken as a means of getting something out of the relocation program, given the policies and rules established by the relocation social worker, the welfare department and the public housing authority.** Whereas formerly unmarried daughters with children would have continued to live with or at least adjacent to the parental family and, accordingly, be embedded in a larger supportive extended family system, after relocation the single parent family was comparatively on its own and dependent on welfare.

In a general sense, the relocation had an "embourgeoisement" effect on family structure and relations; Table 18 points to the pattern of children and other relatives being less^{numerous} in

* Other relocation studies report similar findings. See Hartnran, "The Politics of Housing: Displaced Persons", for a summary of this literature.

** Because of the regulations of the Public Housing Authority, a daughter who had illegitimate children was usually forced to establish a separate household to qualify for Mother's Allowance.

the post-relocation households. An unusual and striking instance of this pattern was reported by one relocatee: "I had fifteen [sic] children when I left Africville and I had to give several of them away when I came to live in [public housing]. We just couldn't afford to keep them. My sister has one, another is somewhere else." The extended family form was less common in post-relocation households; it was too expensive and inconvenient in the new environment. Especially among older relocatees was there grief over this stripping away of kinship intimacy. One relocatee, who in Africville had housed her brother, a son, a nephew, and a boarder, observed that she tried to bargain for more money in her property negotiations because she wanted to have her "family" with her. In Africville it had been common for older people to have a young grandchild or other relative in their households. Only in two cases among the post-Africville households was this pattern carried over.

Table 17
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF CHANGES WROUGHT
BY RELOCATION (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Job problems	16
Household changes	40
Marital strains	17
Money worries	72
Strains among relatives	12

Table 18
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF HOUSEHOLD
CHANGES SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Children left home	26
More or less boarders	11
More or less other relatives in home	22
Family sickness	28

Table 19

RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF "TROUBLE MAKING
ENDS MEET" SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
More trouble	66
About the same	22
Less trouble	12

There was a peculiar irony concerning the post-relocation households; while the extended family form was severely disrupted because of cost, inconvenience, and public policy, there also was a slight tendency for more post-Africville households to take in paying boarders, non-relatives, welfare cases for whom a guardian payment was received. This pattern was common among the relocatees who were struggling to meet mortgage obligations; such relocatees frequently complained of the impositions effected by this guardian role and worried about the risk entailed (the welfare cases were children or adults usually having many personal problems) but pointed out that without the funds they received thereby, they would join the ranks of relocatees who had lost their post-relocation homes. One young male relocatee commented: "We worry about leaving the kids home with [the two grown welfare cases] but we haven't got much choice. I'm \$10,000 in debt now." Clearly something is amiss when, partly because of public social policy, the poor have to abandon warm and supportive kinship intimacy but in order to survive adequately have to accept inconvenience and lack of privacy by performing services for the same welfare system.

A number of relocatees reported marital and kinship strains that they perceived as traceable to relocation. About fifteen respondents pointed to difficulties and animosities among relatives which were by-products of the scrambling and *sauve-qui-peut* nature of relocation negotiations. Table 17 indicates that approximately twenty-five relocatees reported marital strains; there were at least five cases where the marital relationship did not survive the relocation change and in several other instances the relationship assumed an "on-again, off-again" nature. About half of the marriages that broke up had been common-law, and a majority had a history of instability in Africville. But it seems clear that post-relocation difficulties were significant factors, for despite the instability and common-law characteristics of the relationships, the couples had remained together while in Africville. In the majority of cases of severe strain and marital break-up the couple had been struggling financially or were living outside the city,

relatively isolated from their former Africville friends and relatives. One City official who was familiar with the Africville situation observed:

"There has been considerable marital discord and family breakup since the time of relocation and this has involved some violence on the part of the husband toward the wife and children; several persons had commented that when the family was living in Africville there were certain built-in controls on this kind of thing: when _____ had a temper tantrum and became violent with his wife, the neighbours, even if it was four o'clock in the morning, would take this individual and dunk him in the harbour to cool off and things would be fine; this family now lives [isolated from] other relocatees."

This account, while perhaps somewhat fanciful in specifics, is essentially valid in emphasizing "built-in controls" and it should be remembered that, given the close kinship ties in Africville, neighbours would often have been brothers and sisters. In the post-relocation situation the relocatees received little if any family counselling. The loss of community controls and the increase in money worries especially wreaked havoc among the marriages of the former Big Town area residents, the residents who dreamed the most about a radically new life style upon relocation.

As indicated in Table 19, two thirds of the relocatees reported in 1969-70 that they were having more trouble making ends meet than they had had in Africville. Such a finding is consistent with other patterns reported above. Only approximately ten per cent of the respondents reported improvement on their pre-relocation coping behaviour. About twenty-five relocatees indicated that they experienced job problems as a result of the relocation (Table 17), a number significantly larger than the few who claimed to have received employment assistance through the City's "rehabilitative" program. Many relocatees apparently never fully realized how expensive they would find it in the post-relocation environment; some Africville residents in their poverty were awed by the cash settlements offered by the City during the relocation negotiations; one relocatee observed that "there were too many people who were anxious to get the money. They thought that two thousand dollars would last them the rest of their life. They didn't realize the value of money." In a small but significant number of cases relocatees "invested" their cash "bonanza" unwisely and very soon after they had been relocated the money was spent.* In the majority of cases the problem, however, was quite simple and

* In several instances much of a relocatee's cash settlement was spent on a prolonged "good

predictable - the people just did not have the resources (nor did the City provide them) to cope with the reality of new and increased expenses. One relocatee observed: "Pretty hard to get used to paying out all your money on rent and bills when you didn't have to pay these in Africville."

In terms of social groupings and categories there was significant variation concerning "making ends meet". The young adult relocatees (those aged between twenty and thirty-nine years) almost all reported that they were having trouble making ends meet, whereas only half of the relocatees fifty years of age or more reported having such trouble. This age variation is understandable since the younger relocatee respondents typically had more family obligations and were less likely to have received a property settlement from the City. One young male relocatee who had a poor-paying job and had taken in boarders to defray mortgage expenses simply stated: "We're not making it; I'm afraid the bills are catching up to us." Two other young household heads when interviewed in 1969-70 were considering deserting their families so that the ^{latter} could at least receive welfare assistance. Among the social groupings, the oldliners, mainliners, and residuals generally (about seventy per cent in all three groupings) reported having more trouble making ends meet. The relatively resourceless marginals/transients who received least from the relocation were the most likely (about fifty per cent) to report that they had the same or less trouble making ends meet than they had had in Africville.

Table 20 reveals that a large number of relocatees sought assistance in meeting post-relocation difficulties by contacting social service agencies. Fifty per cent of the respondents in 1969-70 had applied for assistance to the City's Department of Welfare and almost all the relocatees who had moved into Halifax County had applied to provincial welfare authorities. About a quarter of the respondents had contacted the City's Social Planning Department, established subsequent to the relocation and charged with considering what might be done to assist relocatees; slightly more attempted to obtain assistance from the Seaview Credit Union set up in 1969 by the City in conjunction with the Province to make available low interest loans to the former Africville residents. A small number of relocatees also reported that they had received assistance from the Red Cross. Clearly the majority of relocatees became heavily

time" and drinking binge. In a few other cases the grown children of relocatees receiving a cash settlement borrowed the money and spent it on personal items such as automobiles and clothes.

dependent on welfare to maintain themselves. In some ways this dependency could be considered an improvement on the pre-relocation situation since then persons needing assistance were not given it. A number of relocatees expressed satisfaction regarding the consideration and assistance they were receiving from City officials; one unwed mother said: "the City has been good to me since the move" and another relocatee, present during this interview, added: "Yes, one thing I can say about the City, they never refused us once since we moved from Africville." On the other hand a number of relocatees reacted angrily to their welfare dependency and the rules and invasion of privacy associated with seeking assistance. Some respondents believed that welfare support was part of their relocation settlement and were upset upon realizing that they were going to be treated like any other applicant would be. One male relocatee summed up the feelings of many others concerning this welfare dependency when he observed: "You didn't need nobody in Africville. Now the people are all broke up. You got to suckhole to make a living."

Table 20
RELOCATEE CONTACT WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES
SINCE RELOCATION (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Social Agency:	
Social Planning Department	25
Seaview Credit Union	28
Canada Manpower	20
City Welfare	49
Provincial Welfare	16

Table 21
RELOCATEE MOBILITY SINCE LEAVING
AFRICVILLE (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Lived in 1 home	60
Lived in 2 homes	30
Lived in 3+ homes	16

Table 22
 RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF CONTACT WITH
 FORMER CLOSE FRIENDS IN AFRICVILLE
 (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Regular Contact	53
Reduced Contact	20
Little Contact	27

It has been noted earlier that a number of relocatees lost their new homes or were placed in inadequate interim housing or were evicted from public housing. These facts, plus the efforts of the City's Social Planning Department to obtain better housing for relocatees, account for the patterns revealed in Table 21 where thirty per cent of the respondents reported that they had lived in two places since leaving Africville and approximately fifteen per cent that they had lived in at least three different homes. The marginals/transients, most of whom had been placed in housing in the City's redevelopment area, exhibited the greatest mobility. One relocatee's moves were particularly interesting; a hard-drinking, fun-loving, generous, elderly oldliner referred to by other Africville residents as "Mother Africville" had, upon being relocated, been placed in a flat in the redevelopment area; the home burned down and she was then placed by the City in another flat which an interviewer described as follows:

"_____ showed me through the rooms which she has the use of. They were a front room which is the only room she uses, a kitchen in which the sink and cupboards are torn out, and another room which is empty. The rooms were all clean. There is a bathroom upstairs but the plumbing does not work. She uses a bed pan instead of a toilet, and gets water from the house next door. There is a bed, a couch, a refrigerator which doesn't work, a fireplace, washing machine, and table in the front room. The building is not heated."

Fellow relocatees expressed considerable shock and indignation over the housing "Mother Africville" received; from oldliners to marginals/transients came angry condemnations of the City. Subsequently she obtained better housing from the City's Social Development Department.

It was indicated earlier that most Africville residents were relocated within walking distance of the Africville site. It would be expected that, from the point of view of contact with relatives and friends and familiarity with the neighbourhood, there would be for many relocatees no profound change in sociality. Tables 22 through 26 bear out this expectation. A large

majority of the relocatee respondents reported themselves to be quite familiar with their new area of residence (Table 23) and a majority reported that close contact was retained with former Africville close friends (Table 22); on this latter point it may be noted that the researchers very frequently encountered other relocatees during their interviewing of relocatees; typically, too, it was found that most relocatees (including the marginals/transients) were aware of the new addresses of their former fellow Africville residents. A large majority of relocatees reported that they had some feeling of belonging in their new neighbourhood and almost fifty per cent (Table 25) identified very strongly with their new neighbours. Table 25 reveals that ninety per cent of the relocatees described their new neighbours as at least somewhat friendly and over seventy per cent characterized them as at least somewhat trustworthy; almost forty per cent of the relocatees reported (Table 24) that they could count on their neighbours if they were in need. It could perhaps be expected that in time the relocatees' positive assessment on these matters would gradually approximate their stated attitudes towards Africville living; Table 26 points in this direction. Nevertheless, when interviewed in 1969-70, typically three years after their relocation, the relocatees still indicated a slight preference on general living grounds and a larger preference on sociality for their old Africville situation.

There was significant variation in relocatees' assessment of their new environment. Surprisingly, there was a tendency for young adult relocatees (those aged between twenty and thirty-nine years) to be more negative about living conditions in their new environment than were relocatees fifty years of age and more; a slight majority of the latter indicated that living in their present neighbourhood was the same or better than living in Africville whereas only forty-five per cent of the young adult relocatees held this view. While it appears that the young, in their assessments, were reacting to unrealized expectations induced by the relocation rhetoric, there was an objective basis for their greater negativism; they had profited least from the relocation

Table 23
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF FAMILIARITY
WITH NEW ENVIRONMENT (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Know area well	77
Somewhat familiar	18
Not at all familiar	3

Table 24
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF BEING ABLE TO COUNT
ON NEIGHBOURS IF IN NEED (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Can count on	37
Can't count on	58
Don't know	5

Table 25
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF AFRICVILLE
AND NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD (N=140)

	New Neighbourhood % Yes	Africville % Yes
Feelings of Belonging:		
Really belong here	45	87
Don't belong as much as others	20	6
Don't belong at all	30	4
Friendliness of Neighbours:		
Very friendly	45	80
Somewhat friendly	45	18
Unfriendly	8	1
Trustworthiness of Neighbours:		
Very trustworthy	28	56
Somewhat trustworthy	45	39
Not trustworthy	18	2

Table 26
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF ADEQUACY OF LIVING CONDITIONS IN NEW
NEIGHBOURHOOD (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Better than Africville	38
Same as Africville	16
Worse than Africville	42

and with few resources were struggling to cope with new expenses and difficulties; one young relocatee renting in a decrepit redevelopment area observed:

"This neighbourhood is hell. There is fighting outside our window every night. Have to call the cops every second night. In the last year one guy was killed and girls attacked right outside our door. Drunks knock at the door looking for someone at all hours of the night. Don't see the neighbours. It's a rotten area to live in."

Among the social groups, the mainliners stand out as being much more likely to report present neighborhood living conditions to be at least the same if not better than living in Africville; almost eighty per cent of the mainliner respondents held this view. Mainliners, too, were the most likely (sixty per cent) to report themselves having the feeling that they "really belonged" in their present neighbourhood. Among the oldliners, residuals and marginals/transients there was more collective ambivalence; in each group the relocatees were about equally divided concerning whether or not present neighbourhood living conditions were better than those in Africville. Oldliners predictably exhibited the greatest investment in the kinship and friendship networks that had been disrupted by the relocation. They most frequently grieved over reduced contact with their former friends and relatives and were more likely than respondents in other groupings to report the feeling that "I don't belong here at all" with respect to their new neighbourhoods.* One old-liner commented that:

"When we had -to move and live in Halifax County permanently, I couldn't stand it. I mean, if we were in the city or near a town, okay, but we're in with a bunch of rotten neighbours who watch us because we're from the city. They're not friendly to us. I had to get out...In Africville we had neighbours all around us; we was as one."

Some oldliners while regretting the loss of community nevertheless reported that because of water and sewerage they believed that living conditions in the new neighbourhoods were better; as one relocatee pointed out: "I won't say it [the new neighbourhood] is worse because of the conveniences. Have to say it is better." Other oldliners, more positive about their new environment, seemed to accept, more or less reluctantly, that its price was the loss of former close association; for example one relocatee observed:

"This is a better neighbourhood. People are very friendly and visit us often. Have established new friends. I fixed this place up, put new gutters and driveway,

* Forty per cent of the oldliners gave this response compared with only five per cent of the mainliners.

landscaped the backyard and put in a retaining well. People come and tell me how amazed they are at what I've done to this property in such a short time. Of course, I have to make a good impression."

Interviewer: "Why? Is it because you're coloured?"

Relocatee:

"Well, you know how it is. I have to make a good impression. The neighbours will not think a person from Africville lived here. I can't have my friends dropping by anymore. Don't hardly see any of my friends. You can't make any noise. You know how it is. They're liable to start drinking and might forget themselves and piss in the yard. I couldn't afford to have that happen."

Of course a few oldliners, like many of the mainliners, perceived the relocation not only as a means of obtaining better facilities and conveniences but also as an opportunity for dropping a lot of "old friends" and associations. One such oldliner who received a good property settlement and purchased a home in an "all-White" block reported "no losses I can think of" from relocation. He believed that the City officials and the relocation social worker had done a good job in the relocation. Prior to the relocation, this oldliner had expressed a desire to move out of Africville. He disliked the stigma of living there and what he perceived as the ghettoization of Africville residents. He dissociated himself from other residents, many of whom he considered have-nots and unambitious. The anxiety that his life in Africville generated is indicated in his comment:

"Suppose you had to come to visit me in Africville and you asked me for a drink of water or you asked me to use the bathroom; then you would have to go outside to use the bathroom; you even had to go outside to get water. Here I have running water and I have a clean bathroom and I'm quite happy; I'm not afraid. I'm not embarrassed by people over here."

This relocatee, like a small minority of others, saw himself as living a new life in a new neighbourhood and did not wish to continue contact with his previous life. Nevertheless, he reported that he still jumps in his car and visits some of his old friends occasionally.

The marginals/transients were virtually all rehoused in the poor, redevelopment area of Halifax. Among the social groupings, they were the least likely to report feeling that they "really belonged" in their new neighbourhood. Yet they did not as frequently as the oldliners report the reeling that they did not belong at all. Oldliners had their strong ties in Africville to compare with their present neighbourhood and they strongly identified either with Africville or with the new neighbourhood. But the marginals/transients have been always outsiders, never really

belonging but not out of place in poor and deprived neighbourhoods. The residual grouping had an "intermediate" position concerning their new neighbourhoods; that is, members of this grouping were not as likely as main-liners to feel that they "really belonged" but they were more likely than the marginals/transients to hold such a view. Moreover, they were not as alienated from their new neighbourhood as oldliners; ^{that} is, not as likely to report feeling that they "do not belong at all." Among the more disgruntled members of the residual grouping were those Big Town area relocatees who had broken with their Africville associations and purchased homes outside the city; struggling in the post-relocation situation with heavy and unexpected expenses they often found their isolation from friends and relatives to be a significant cost of relocation.

The relocation promise of dramatically improving life opportunities for Africville residents fell far short in view of the relocatees interviewed in 1969-70, Table 27. Roughly fifty per cent of the respondents stated that they were "not at all pleased" with their post-relocation conditions and slightly more than forty per cent reported that "things were going badly" for them. Only twenty-five per cent reported themselves as "very pleased" and indicated that "things were going well". Again there was important variation by social categories and groupings. Older relocatees, those aged fifty years or more, were surprisingly more likely to express themselves as at least somewhat pleased with post-relocation conditions and a slight majority of the older relocatees

Table 27
RELOCATEE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL SITUATION
AFTER RELOCATION (N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
How Things Have Been Going:	
Good	26
Indifferent	30
Bad	42
Overall Are You Pleased With Things Since Relocation?	
Very pleased	25
Somewhat pleased	28
Not at all pleased	47

Table 28
RELOCATEE "GRIEF" CONCERNING AFRICVILLE
(N=140)

	<u>% Yes</u>
Have You Returned to Africville Since the Relocation?	
Yes, often	54
Yes, a few times	26
No	20
Do You Miss the Africville Life?	
Very much	73
Some	7
Little or none	17

believed that at least things were going okay if not well. On the other hand, a slight majority of the younger relocatees, those between twenty and thirty-nine years of age, reported that they were not at all pleased with the post-relocation life and that "things were going badly" for them. These unexpected age patterns seem to be accounted for by two factors; first the older relocatees objectively appear to have gained more from the relocation and, secondly, the two age categories held different expectations concerning relocation. Older relocatees had been less willing to relocate but it appears that many found post-relocation conditions to be better than they expected; despite considerable grief concerning Africville (see below) the older relocatees appreciated the better facilities and conveniences; the large minority of older relocatees who were not at all pleased with post-relocation life appeared to place more value on their former Africville involvement and reported themselves as relatively isolated; one relocatee for instance commented that "I was much better off before they took my home. I haven't heard from anybody since they moved me out. I never see the old neighbours anymore." The young adult relocatees, it will be recalled, were the least unwilling to relocate; clearly post-relocation life did not measure up to their expectations and, retrospectively, many of them began to appreciate the freedom, autonomy, lower costs, and community feeling they had taken for granted in Africville. One young relocatee expressed the general point with the comment: "If they were to give them Africville back now that they've tasted bitterness, they'd realize that all along they had it so sweet."

A significant majority (over sixty per cent) of the mainliners reported that they were at

least somewhat pleased with post-relocation life and that "things were going [at least] okay" for them. About sixty per cent of the marginals/transients reported themselves as pleased with post-relocation life although fifty per cent said that "things were going badly for them"; most marginals/transients did not experience a significant change of life-style as a result of relocation but, as had been noted earlier, they did not have high expectations and were used to deprivation and marginality; many of them shared the sentiments of one marginal/transient who commented: "Things are never going good for me but the relocation didn't make them any worse or better". A significant majority of oldliners reported that they were not at all pleased with post-relocation life but slightly less than a majority perceived things as "going badly"; the difference in response to the two rather similar questions ("Are you pleased with things since relocation"? and "How are things going"?) is probably due to the fact that some oldliners who were managing adequately in their new environment nevertheless preferred living in Africville. In the residual grouping a slight majority indicated that they were at least somewhat pleased with post-relocation life but a slight majority also reported that "things were going badly" for them; the difference in response to the two questions points to the fact that some members of the residual groupings preferred the relocation program but were finding it difficult to maintain themselves adequately in their new environment.

Table 28 reveals that the relocatee respondents, interviewed two to three years after relocation, still felt considerable grief over the destruction of their community. Over seventy per cent reported that they missed Africville very much and a slight majority often have returned to the Africville site. A number of residents claimed that family sickness since relocation was traceable to relocation anxieties and pressure. Generally relocatees contended that the older persons experienced the greatest grief and heartbreak. One young male relocatee observed that the relocation "affected the older generation; upset their lives and they are unhappy. It was a crisis for them." A young female observed that: "[relocation] was a crisis for the older people. Grandma really felt bad. It was no crisis for me. I don't think about it except on a lovely day. I don't think it bothers grandma so much now, only when you bring it up. Memories bother her." Older relocatees did in fact exhibit the greatest grief. Especially among the elderly oldliners was there often such profound grief that they attempted not to think of Africville and did not visit the site; one elderly oldliner reported; " I can't go near the place; I get all choked up with memories"; this relocatee, who just prior to relocation had purchased a summer home in the country for vacation purposes, added: "Every time I sit and think about [Africville and relocation] I cry. Just

when I get set and think I'm going to live good, it's all gone." Another elderly relocatee stated: "The city took it from us; it's gone. It's no good for us now. I've put it out of mind by now so I can't really talk about it."

The older relocatees, in their grief, often pointed out that they missed most their church, clearly a concrete symbol of community. One old relocatee stated: "The main thing that hurt me was that they took our church. They should have found a place and moved our church there. We was a community and they should have provided our church." Most of the respondents, who, in Africville, had been heavily involved in church affairs, contended that their church had been unique and that they have found churches in their new environments to be less meaningful for them. One elderly relocatee reported that "church is not so personal as formerly", and another commented "There are more rules in this [new] church; there is no hand-clapping and no feeling of pouring out your heart."

Despite the popular view that grief and heartbreak occurred primarily among the older relocatees, young adult relocatees were as likely to have indicated that relocation produced a personal crisis for them, and a majority of them in the post-relocation period exhibited considerable idealization of and attachment to Africville. In 1969 and 1970 a number of relocatees were still returning to the Africville site for picnics and swimming. One young relocatee pointed out: "We go out to Africville twice a week now. Everyone around here has started going out for picnics during the week and especially on Saturdays;" Aside from the marginals/ transients, some mainliners, and a handful persons in other groupings, most relocatees even after three years of relocation retained a sense of solidarity and an attachment for what others had referred to as the "slum by the dump"; in some cases the attachment was more explicit and poignant than it has been prior to relocation.

Overall, it is clear that the Africville relocation was not seen as a dramatic improvement by the relocatees. They did not believe that they obtained a fair deal from the city and roughly half the relocatees were displeased with post-relocation conditions. Considerable grief regarding loss of community was expressed by a significant majority of former Africville residents. In retrospect many relocatees believed that if they had bargained collectively they might have retained their community on its old site or elsewhere. Housing improvement and individual property settlement were the key benefits of relocation. What was taken away from the people - land, community, freedom, and intimate social involvement - loomed large in their

minds/when set against the/^{expense} and other difficulties of post-relocation, and despite the fact that most were relocated within walking distance of Africville. Of course, there were important variations. The upwardly mobile mainliner residents profited most from relocation; many of these persons had wanted to migrate from Africville, to start a new life, and they were able to do so more or less successfully because of generous individual property settlements. The marginals/transients were the least affected by the relocation; they obtained little from relocation and in their post-relocation environment they remained deprived and marginal as they had been in Africville; yet with their low expectations and their perception of distributive justice regarding the distribution of relocation benefits, they were not particularly upset or displeased. The oldliners, both the young adults and the aged, were the most unwilling to relocate and the most displeased with the post-relocation life. Members of the residual grouping were more ambivalent both in their unwillingness to relocate and in their assessment of post-relocation life. Many persons in this grouping were persuaded by the relocation rhetoric and dreamt of life styles and opportunities which they did not realize consequent to relocation.

What happened to Africville residents as a result of relocation could be reasonably predicted from the relocation literature; perhaps this is the main reason for judging the relocation to have been a failure. The relocation is unique in that the relocatees' long occupation of and commitment to their community was considerable. Africville relocatees appear to be somewhat unusual in their prolonged grief for their community. They exhibited, on the whole, a non-optimistic outlook as reflected in the fact that the percentage giving alienated responses to the five items making up a standard sociological alienation scale were respectively 75%, 80%, 80%, 83%, and 88%.¹² Most relocatees did not accept the view that the relocation was the result of the City's concern with social problems, although only a minority shared the sentiment of one elderly oldliner who observed: "I bet you in a few years you will see the rich in our old land in Africville."

There were few differences between males and females in response to relocation. Perhaps the only significant variation by sex was that males were more likely than females (i.e., fifty to forty per cent) to report that "things were going badly" for them in the post-relocation period. Welfare dependency, as is well-known, often generates an emasculating process; one male household head, now dependent on welfare to maintain his family in an admittedly improved housing condition, observed that "there was always something for a *man* to do [in

Africville]; fish, gather wood, search the dump." Age differences were clearly much more important. There were, as noted above, important differences by age in terms of initial orientation to relocation, benefits obtained, and post-relocation satisfaction. Unexpectedly, the young adult relocatees exhibited significant grief over the loss of community and were more displeased than older relocatees with their post-relocation living conditions.

During the relocation planning phase and throughout and after the relocation, City officials often emphasized that a major benefit of the relocation would be the long-run advantage to the relocatees' children as a result of integration. Some relocatees did mention integration as one of the positive aspects of the relocation, but the majority did not see this as a paramount consideration. Two characteristics peculiar to North American liberalism have been an emphasis on individualism and an "osmosis" conception of social change; the former questions the desirability of sub-group collective identities, and the latter is overly optimistic in exaggerating social change prospects associated with placing people in a better environment. It is doubtful that long-run gains will accrue to Africville relocation. This matter is clearly contingent on broader, evolutionary societal forces. Relocation in and of itself is probably incidental to such considerations. When the Africville school was closed in 1952 and children transferred to racially mixed schools outside the community long-run advantages were predicted, but many of the children went into auxiliary classes and many now as young men and young women are unemployed and frustrated. Vague hopes are a poor substitute for detailed planning and serious commitment.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER NINE

¹ T. Parsons and R. F. Bales (eds.), *Family, socialization and interaction process* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), pp. 259-306.

² [No reference in text]

² "Fairview Meeting Objects to County Law-Rental Project", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 11, 1963.

³ "Women Fined for KKK-Type Threat", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., February 22, 1966.

⁴ Interviews, June and July, 1969.

⁵ See, for example, Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families", *Urban Renewal*, James Q. Wilson (ed.), (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), p. 316.

⁶ City of Halifax, *The Africville Follow-Up Program*, Report from the Social Development Department to Mayor Allan O'Brien and Members of City Council, December 9, 1970.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹ *The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia*, p. 13. [NOTE: The number for this reference is missing from the text]

¹² See Clairmont and Magill, *Africville Relocation Report*, p. A120.

CHAPTER TEN

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE AFRICVILLE RELOCATION

"There is a dialectic of disorder at work in the world. It is a dialectic every bit as ruthless in its impact on human hopes and values as any Hegel ever dreamed of. It spares no society, and few people. It is impartial in the way it defeats the plans of both dropouts and Presidents. And the misuse of the rhetoric of liberalism has contributed in no small measure to the operation of that dialectic.

"For even empty rhetoric generates aspirations among people who take it seriously. Aspirations kindle new and concrete hopes. But then the emptiness of the rhetoric is revealed in the paucity and perversion of the complementing programs. Thus expectations are not fulfilled, and frustration and bitter anger result. The expression of this anger differs, depending on the intensity of the expectations and the extent of the gap between program and fulfillment."

- Arnold S. Kaufman, *The Radical Liberal: The New Politics: Theory and Practice* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), p. 13.

Reaction And Continuing Relocation

In mid-1968 the City established a Social Planning Department, staffed by trained social workers. The department was soon caught up in the plight of the Africville relocatees. A staff member who through church activities had known some Africville residents well and who was to supervise a City relocation follow-up program recalled:

"During the first summer's existence of the Social Planning [Department] ... a great many telephone calls were received from . . . [relocatees] with problems ranging from being plagued by creditors for furniture bills which they thought the City had committed itself to pay, all the way to persons whose mortgages were in jeopardy.

". . . therefore, when I came on staff in September 1968, the Social Planning Department felt that it was necessary to make contact with the relocated population, in order to document the extent of the problems, the nature of the problems, and discuss with the people what kind of solutions they would need."

The difficulties faced by relocatees became further evident when the authors invited the relocatees to attend a public meeting held on October 7, 1968, at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. This meeting, called to discuss a study of the relocation, brought the relocatees

together as a collectivity for the first time since relocation; at least fifty relocatees attended, one after another rising to expatiate on their problems, chiefly heavy and unexpected financial burdens, unkept City promises and the degradation of welfare dependency. The next day the two authors met at Dalhousie University with a number of City officials and other invited Halifax citizens, to whom they described the economic hardship reported the previous evening by a large number of relocatees. After this meeting one City official remarked privately that awareness of the Africville Relocation Study in progress was arousing renewed interest in the relocatees and was compelling further attention to their plight.

Less than two weeks later, on October 19, 1968, the Social Planning Department held a public meeting, for former Africville residents at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church this/^{meeting} was attended by approximately fifty relocatees, the Social Planner, the City Manager and the Special Projects Supervisor. The latter recalled:

"The meeting was divided into small discussion groups...according to their housing status. One group was the homeowners, the second was composed of rental tenants, and the third was for public housing tenants.

"After meeting in small discussion groups, the three City staff members the Social Planner, the City Manager, and the Special Projects Supervisor reported back to the...meeting on what some of the findings were from these three discussion groups. And it was suggested that perhaps each of these three groups should appoint two representatives to a committee, which later became "known as the Committee of Former Africville Residents, to meet on a continuing basis with the three staff people ... to explore further some of the problems and solutions to their problems."

Beginning on November 7, 1968, and continuing for the following four months, the Committee of Former Africville Residents met every two weeks. The Committee, under the direction of the Social Planning Department, concerned itself chiefly with documenting the financial indebtedness of the relocated residents; a questionnaire survey was distributed to home-owners, renters in private or City-owned dwellings, and public housing tenants. The response rate was good among public housing tenants (about seventy-five per cent), fair among homeowners (fifty per cent), and very poor among those in private or City-owned rental accommodation (about thirty per cent). The survey revealed that the relocatees were heavily indebted to finance companies and various other sources, /^{but} public housing tenants had comparatively fewer debts. The Committee, under the direction and sponsorship of the Social Planning Department, prepared a proposal requesting City and provincial assistance in establishing a loan fund. The proposal was adopted by the Department of Public Welfare, which advanced \$50,000 for the loan fund, and by Halifax City Council, which advanced \$20,000, "with

the provision that this loan would be ultimately repayable to the Governments concerned."¹ The monies were used to establish the Seaview Credit Union, whose bylaws were formulated in part by the Committee of Former Residents; the Committee shortly became inactive.

Several public meetings were held with relocatees in March and April, 1969, for the purpose of discussing the Credit Union, voting on its bylaws, and electing a Board of Directors. All the executive offices (president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) were held by former Africville residents. Board members included five other relocatees, the City's Social Planner and a representative of the Nova Scotia Credit Union League. In addition to establishing the Seaview Credit Union, the Social Planning Department hired, in June 1969, a non-professional worker and former Africville resident to work with relocatees and to help administer the Credit Union.

With the formation of the Seaview Credit Union and the hiring of an Africville relocatee to manage it and to coordinate a variety of special programs to be developed, Africville relocatees appeared to have some prospect of beneficial change in their life situation. In requesting City Council's approval of its Africville follow-up proposal, the Social Planning Department pointed to the serious indebtedness incurred by relocatees, especially by homeowners with mortgages and by renters living outside public housing. It was noted further that, whereas approximately ten Africville families were receiving welfare assistance at the outset of relocation, relocation had effected a sharp increase in welfare dependency.* Housing and employment needs were noted. Accordingly, a comprehensive set of rehabilitative and preventive services was deemed necessary. The proposal drew attention to the City's responsibility to fulfill its relocation "contract" and contended that close cooperation from representatives of each party to the "contract" was crucial to the success of a follow-up program.

In the late summer of 1969 several relocatees organized the Africville Action Committee.

* Approximately fifty-five per cent of the respondents in the survey were obtaining regular social assistance from the City of Halifax. This figure is consistent with our own findings from a more extensive questionnaire given in the summer of 1969 to all relocatees who had received a settlement consideration in the period 1964-67; here, too, approximately fifty per cent of the respondents indicated that they had obtained post-relocation welfare assistance. Some of the increased social assistance can be attributed to changes in the Canada Assistance Plan (1966), which "created eligibility for a new higher-income segment of the population." Most of the increase is, however, related directly to the needs of Africville residents in their new environment.

They were disappointed with the lack of progress in the housing and employment programs discussed by the Social Planning Department, and they believed that the credit union project, while not without value, held out little prospect for a permanent and significant change in the life-situation of relocatees. Perhaps more important, the Africville Action Committee members had a different frame of reference than that implied in the proposals of the Social Planning Department. The latter had emphasized the City's fulfilling the obligations of the relocation "contract" by developing follow-up rehabilitative programs; such programs were to be created and even administered with meaningful participation by relocatees. The Africville Action Committee argued that, rehabilitative considerations aside, Africville residents had legitimate reasons for demanding more direct and material compensation from the City; apparently they believed also that a strong and separate Africville organization could more effectively ensure the development of appropriate follow-up programs.

The core members of the Africville Action Committee were a handful of relocatees who were concurrently participating in the credit union program. On the whole, they were young household heads, chiefly mainliners and members of the residual group. They were wary of the City, somewhat antagonistic towards the respectable "old-timers" (who had been identified as Africville leaders and whom they faulted for lack of leadership in the planning period prior to the relocation), and pragmatic rather than "political" in orientation. They were dissatisfied less with the fact of relocation than with the actual terms of the relocation exchange. In addition to sharing with the Social Planning Department a concern for current socio-economic conditions among relocatees, they expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which funds obtained from the sale of the Seaview United Baptist Church were being used* and with the compensation procedure recommended by City Council's Africville Subcommittee and subsequently, in modified form, by the Finance Committee in the event that Africville land were to be leased or sold by the City at a value greater than the cost incurred for clearance and development. The Africville Action Committee considered the Africville land to be of significant potential value and felt that the City's promise of revaluation and compensation, presumably to be in effect until

* The interest on the trust fund set up with money obtained from the sale of the church was to be used primarily for the education of children of Africville and, secondarily, for the welfare of other Black children in the Halifax area. The Africville Action Committee alleged that few Africville children had obtained assistance, but that monies had been allotted to several Black organizations. They wanted the trust fund to be converted into an emergency fund for use by relocatees in present crises.

1987, was an empty gesture. They considered that the Africville relocation would vanish from memory in a few years and that development costs would "eat away" future City profit from the land. Consequently, they desired a financial settlement from the City in return for relocatees' waiving of claim to compensation in the possibly remote future.

Hard-pressed economically and lacking much of the wherewithal necessary to substantial organizational effort (e.g., resources, time, skills), the Africville Action Committee met several times in late August and early September to develop proposals and to organize a mobilization of former Africville residents. An executive committee was established, information was obtained, and word-of-mouth communication to other relocatees was supplemented by a general meeting held in early September. A rather vague plan was adopted, requesting that funds from the sale of the church and monies obtained in settlement of land claims be placed in an emergency fund, perhaps administered through the offices of the Seaview Credit Union, to be used primarily to meet relocatees' housing needs and debts. A petition was circulated among relocatees which requested a meeting with "responsible City officials" to discuss the Africville trust fund, the assessment of the value of the Africville property, and the present condition of the former Africville residents. With the exception of relocatees who could not be contacted and a few homeowners who did not wish to become involved, most relocatees signed the petition.

On October 2, 1969, six representatives of the Africville Action Committee met with the Mayor to discuss the points specified in the petition. The Mayor exhibited some sympathy and referred the matter to the City bureaucracy for investigation.² After the meeting with the Mayor, the Africville Action Committee lost momentum. An effort was made to notify sympathetic civic organizations of the more recent developments in the Africville relocation and to solicit support for the Committee's future proposals and actions. Letters of support were obtained from several organizations and influential citizens but, nonetheless, the Committee itself began to disintegrate. It was not prepared for protracted negotiation or struggle with City Hall. Its proposals were vague; there were internal differences concerning leadership and strategy; and there was no effective utilization of resource people. The leader of the Action Committee was a strong and forceful forty-year-old mainliner who did not see the necessity of strong grass-root organization and depended on personal political contacts. With the referral of its requests to City bureaucracy for study, the Africville Action Committee lost its initiative and became too weak and incohesive to surmount the rigours of day-to-day preparedness and challenges to its authenticity as the representative of former Africville residents. Yet, like an old soldier, and like the Africville relocation itself, the Africville Action Committee did not die; it simply began to "fade

away".

In the winter of 1969-70, the Africville Action Committee engaged in no significant activity on behalf of the relocatees. During this period there was also a lull in the Social Planning Department, for the Special Projects Officer concerned with relocatees was on a short leave of absence. Upon her return, the pace of the Department's efforts quickened; a housing proposal was developed under the joint sponsorship of the Department and the Committee in mid-1970, and additional rehabilitative programs were discussed. The Africville Action Committee was reduced to being a "paper organization" identified principally with one or two relocatees who, while they enjoyed the support of most relocatees, lacked resources to achieve results or to mobilize others. The Committee's demands for more direct material compensation from the City were neither acceded to nor rejected; rather, they were placed in limbo, the worst of all fates for a fledgling and resourceless organization.

During 1969 and the first half of 1970, while presumably planning major programs of housing and employment, and while making available to the relocatees a number of marginally relevant services,* the Social Planning Department worked on the strengthening of the Credit Union program. Regular meetings with some relocatees and the communication of information between relocatees and the City was achieved through the Credit Union. By mid-1970 some eighty-four former Africville residents had purchased shares in the Credit Union enabling them to draw low-interest loans; however, the majority of the relocatees did not identify with the Credit Union, and many saw it simply as a City agency with a new twist from which they could obtain scarce money by purchasing a share at a nominal fee.**

Over ninety-five per cent of the relocatees interviewed in the summer of 1969 believed that the City had gained most from the relocation, while over ninety per cent claimed that the

* Marginal, that is, in view of the problems facing the relocatees as a group. The services included a Home Aid Project, counselling, and so forth. Some Africville relocatees were also made aware of City-wide services and projects by Social Planning Department staff.

** An untitled and undated housing proposal prepared in mid-1970 indicated that eighty-four relocatees had purchased shares totalling \$359. In the questionnaire survey taken in the summer of 1969, only thirty per cent of the respondents (less than forty persons) had indicated having any contact with the Credit Union. However, the questionnaire population consisted only of adult relocatees who had received some direct settlement consideration. The Seaview Credit Union, on the other hand, was open to all former Africville residents and their grown children.

people relocated had lost the most. Consequently, among many borrowers from the Credit Union there was a certain sense of legitimacy in "borrowing" without much concern about repayment. Many other relocatees had borrowed money because of financial pressure, and for the same reason found themselves unable to meet this new debt responsibility. By late 1970 the Credit Union was in financial trouble; the relationship between the Credit Union, increasingly identified with the City, and many relocatees became one of creditor-debtor, and relocatees became reluctant to interact with their creditor, the Credit union. The concept of the Credit Union was valuable, and certainly some relocatees were assisted by it; many were faithful members. But the context within which it functioned - the dire needs of relocatees, the perceived distributive injustice of the relocation exchange, and the long tradition of injustice towards Africville - had erected formidable problems. In a submission to City Council, December 9, 1970, the Social Planning Department noted^{that} despite problems of inexperienced management, limited capacity of borrowers to meet repayment schedules and lack of trust on the part of many relocatees the Credit Union could still be a worthwhile investment in the future of the Africville people.³ The Social Planning Department subsequently assumed lighter control over the Seaview Credit Union and one of its staff became the effective manager charged with, among other duties, getting the borrowers to repay their loans.

In the fall and winter of 1970 the Africville Action Committee was revitalized. Availability of new resources, continued frustration of hard-pressed relocatees, the lack of housing or employment programs from the Social Planning Department, and the fear that time was running out on the possibility of receiving ameliorative action from the City resulted in a new spurt of activity. A shakeup in the Action Committee brought to the fore a new leader, more sensitive to grass-root organization and to the mobilization of public opinion. A new executive was formed and several meetings were called among relocatees; despite the fact that some persons had been relocated for five years and that numerous meetings without significant results had already been called, the new meetings continued to be well attended. More young people became involved in the Action Committee. New proposals set forth a more comprehensive set of demands, including direct financial compensation, a new housing program, a special committee (consisting of City, Action Committee and Canada Manpower representatives) to coordinate and counsel an employment program, and finally the maintenance and revitalization of the Credit Union and related programs carried on by Social Planning. Support for the proposals was obtained from civic organizations and influential citizens, and two television interviews provided publicity. On December 9, 1970, approximately fifty relocatees assembled in City Council

Chambers to hear the City's response to the proposals. Council empowered the Mayor to establish a committee consisting of City staff and representatives of the Africville Action Committee to discuss the proposals and to suggest solutions.

In the subsequent two years little was accomplished by either the Action Committee or the Social Planning Department on behalf of the Africville relocatees. The two bodies did, in conjunction with Canada Manpower, develop a Peripheral Skills Training Course to improve employment prospects especially for young former Africville residents, but the program was only a very modest success. No housing program was ever implemented. The Social Planning Department spent considerable time attempting to place the credit union on a sound footing but it was not able to recover debts from the hard-pressed relocatees. It did not effectively take initiative in developing new policies and programs nor did it particularly support the Africville Action Committee's demands for direct financial compensation or for re-assessment of the City's position concerning revaluation of Africville land. On the other hand, the Social Planning Department has limited resources, and its modest advocacy of relocatees' interests has not been without City Council detractors who hold that Africville relocatees should receive no "further" special consideration.

The Africville Action Committee remained heavily dependent upon the efforts of but a few relocatees and lacked the resources that would enable it to function effectively, on a continuous basis, as a strong indigenous pressure group. There were unfortunate delays in initiating and responding to proposals. The necessity of providing initiative in dealing with the City was a taxing burden. Attempts to work out housing and employment proposals with the various levels of government and non-profit corporations took considerable time and energy but yielded little. By the middle of 1972 the Action Committee to all intents and purposes had ceased to function; its most active members have joined the Seaview Credit Union and are currently trying to get it reorganized, hopefully as an organization controlled by relocatees and as a stepping-stone for other ameliorative programs. It is "fifty-fifty" that they will succeed. There is, nevertheless, one clear success that the Africville Action Committee can claim; with the assistance of the pastor of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church (the mother church of the African Baptist Association) the Committee arranged for a fitting burial of the Africville community; on Sunday, August 6, 1972, twelve hundred persons, young and old, gathered on the site of the former Africville Community for a spiritual revival and memorial service. It was an honourable ending for a unique community.

Relocation and Race Relations

Many observers of relocation programs in contemporary North American society have likened this form of planned social change to the violent removal of Indians during the period of colonization. They have referred specifically to urban renewal as a race/class war, since usually urban renewal projects have displaced the poor and the minority-group members without significantly improving their life conditions. Such critics have attacked the liberal welfare rhetoric that has accompanied typical relocation programs since the Second World War as a subtle cover for the class interests of monopoly capital which "pulls the strings" of the welfare establishment.⁴

The Africville relocation, as noted earlier, was accompanied by the rhetoric of liberalism. The relocation was presumably to represent a step forward in improving race relations. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was given a role in implementing the relocation, and the relocation policy was to include provision of educational and economic programs designed to present new social opportunities.

At the beginning most Blacks in Nova Scotia either accepted the relocation as desirable or were silently critical of its policy. White officials and citizens interpreted relocation as positive social change. Since the relocation of Africville families, however, there has been a change in these evaluations. Many Black Nova Scotians have become very critical of the relocation program and consider it to have profited the City much more than the relocatees. Extrapolating from the Africville instance, some Black leaders have begun to suspect that relocations of this kind may be, indeed, a form of race warfare. Among City officials and informed citizens, there has been a similar, though less profound, disenchantment with the Africville relocation.

The White Community and the Africville Relocation

Initial evaluation of the Africville relocation by the local and international press and by City officials was positive. The relocation was publicly defined as symbolic of a new and more progressive era in race relations. The editors of *Time* magazine observed:

"The bulldozing of Africville exemplifies determined, if belated, effort by the municipal and provincial government to right an historical injustice."⁵

While an article in the national *Star Weekly* described "the slow and welcome death of Africville",⁶ City officials postulated that considerable benefits would be reaped ultimately by

children of relocatees, now that Africville was phased out and the children could be raised in a more healthy and integrated environment.⁷ An article in *Maclean's Magazine*⁸ suggested that "a fear of integration" on the part of community residents was an unfortunate and irrational obstacle to necessary and desirable relocation. Throughout relocation implementation, the local press issued progress reports on the number of families relocated and encouraged a faster phasing-out of the community. Selective publicity, emphasizing the contentment of relocatees,⁹ resulted in "good press" for the relocation and assured the public that a creative program was being achieved. The tone of the local press coverage is indicated in the following editorial summation of the relocation:

"[The relocation social worker] never swerved from his goal of securing not only much better housing for the families of Africville but, equally important, of ensuring that the children of the relocated families would have the benefits they had so obviously missed.

"Soon Africville will be but a name. And, in the not too distant future that, too, mercifully will be forgotten."¹⁰

Since the "apparent" termination of the basic relocation program with the departure of the relocation social worker in late 1967, there has been a changing evaluation of the Africville relocation among local government officials and informed citizens, as well as in the local press. There is still a consensus that Africville residents should have been relocated and that, eventually, integration will bring numerous beneficial by-products. On the other hand, there is also a greater realization that Africville relocatees are not satisfied with the relocation and that much of the rhetoric accompanying it did not lead to the benefits anticipated and desired. Much of the new criticism in the White community relates to the lack of adequate follow-up to assist relocatees in coping with life in their new environment; another major point of criticism - reflecting both a shift in societal values and a retrospective idealization of Africville - is focused around the issue that the relocation broke up a community but did not provide an adequate substitute for the relocatees. The changed evaluation is a result, in part, of public criticism expressed by the Africville Action Committee (formed in 1969) and the interest in relocatees expressed by the City's Social Planning Department (created in 1968). Several television programs have discussed the socio-economic conditions of relocatees, and the local press has carried several accounts of officialdom's "sympathetic" response to criticisms expressed by the Africville Action Committee.¹¹ The City's fatuous mishandling of "Pa" Miller, the last Africville resident to be relocated, occurred after criticism of the relocation had begun to mount. This incident, creating an inept and shameful ending to the relocation, added to the criticism.

There is now (1973) a more critical appraisal of the Africville relocation in the White community and even among certain City officials. One of the white "caretakers" looking back on the relocation wondered if, in the light of the new Black militancy, Africville would be handled the same way: "I find a new spirit abroad in the land." It appears, however, that criticism has not been channeled productively and that no clear, widely held lesson has been drawn from the relocation. Some city officials, miffed by recent criticisms of the relocation and annoyed with the continuing demands for redress made by the Africville Action Committee and its sympathisers, hold the view that already the relocatees have received more than "strict justice" would demand; in effect, the officials themselves have discounted much of the rhetoric originally associated with the relocation.

Blacks and the Relocation: Phase One

It appears that among Nova Scotian Blacks the Africville relocation was initially regarded as both inevitable and acceptable. Numerous Blacks living elsewhere in Halifax and in surrounding communities believed that Africville was a slum of the worst sort; its reputation as a deviance service centre, exaggerated by bad publicity, had led many Blacks to believe that Africville's continuing existence was unwarranted and made them receptive to the liberal-welfare rhetoric that accompanied the relocation announcement. That living in Africville was perceived as a stigma by Blacks as well as Whites was attested in numerous interviews.¹²

Several Black Haligonians recalled that, when younger, they were warned by their parents against ever going to Africville. Others were quick to point out that they were born and raised in *Halifax proper*, pointedly dissociating themselves from Africville. In the neighbouring Black communities, people often echoed the views of a Hammonds Plains lady who reported that "a lot of horrible things were going on down there." A Black leader from Preston referred to Africville as "a cancer in the sight of Halifax." Even the Black ministers who had served the community in the decades preceding relocation, while pointing out positive attributes of the community and discounting much of its notoriety, indicated that oppression and discrimination had over the years exacted a heavy toll on the community's morale and solidarity. The few Black Haligonians who dissented from this view of Africville were exceptions that "prove the rule". One man, for instance, noted that he regularly visited Africville and argued that the bad image of the community was, more or less, the creation of the City, conspiring to obtain the Africville lands; he acknowledged, however, that "there are very few Black people in Halifax County who would look upon Africville in the way that I do."

Although many Black Nova Scotians accepted the public assessment of Africville (and of the relocation program), and supported the need for planned social change, there were some who understood, also, the causes of Africville's peculiar development. They expressed concern that, at least in relocation, Africville residents would be treated fairly and generously by the City. A few Black leaders urged that a section of the City be set aside for Africville families and that a new and well-serviced community be constructed; various possibilities of low-cost housing were advanced.¹³ Implicit in these comments and suggestions was the belief that there was something valuable in the Africville community and that it would develop and flower if, under new opportunities, the residents were able to re-establish themselves elsewhere. Other Black leaders, while not sharing these assumptions, recognized that Africville residents had long been oppressed. They sought to guarantee that relocation would bring real opportunity and not be simply another, and perhaps more subtle, example of City mistreatment. As one of the Black caretakers on the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee put it:

"There was no doubt in many of our minds that the City had intended to take in that land and we were afraid compensation would not be accurate and adequate and that is why a group of us got together and started working."

At the beginning of the Africville relocation, most Nova Scotian Blacks were aware of the relocation program's existence and some leaders had made public their concern about, and suggestions for, the residents' future. Africville was by no means, however, a rallying point for "nationalistic" and militant voices in the Black community. Black organizations, on the whole, did not participate significantly in advising and assisting Africville residents or in defining operational terms of the relocation. The president of the NSAACP discussed the impending relocation with Africville residents at a sparsely attended meeting in the Seaview United Baptist Church (1962), where relocation was accepted passively and attention was focused on the details of relocation policy. The NSAACP-sponsored meeting did nothing to organize Africville residents or to develop a strategy for negotiation with the City. A communiqué issued after the meeting dealt only with the complicated situation in Africville concerning land claims and the reluctance of residents to enter public housing.¹⁴ The Halifax Coloured Citizens Improvement League played a similarly insignificant role in the relocation, although the president of the League issued several public pleas to the City to assist Africville residents in building new homes elsewhere:

"I would be happy to see the men and women of Africville retain their individualism and pay for their own [new] homes in what would become an acceptable residential community. They will if we gave them the chance.

"This matter has long lagged. Among those who have supported us in the

past and are now dead are listed premiers Edgar N. Rhodes and Angus L. Macdonald, Alderman 'Billy' O'Toole, Monseigneur Curran and Father Courtney, just hastily glancing at our records.

"They have been followed by Ira P. MacNab, Frank W. Doyle and many others.

"Let's have it done at least in time for Canada's Centennial."¹⁵

Beyond some public expression of concern, and quiet urging of City benevolence, Black leaders and organizations were involved in the Africville relocation only to the extent that several Blacks participated in the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and, subsequently, in City Council's Africville Subcommittee. Several reasons account for what appears in retrospect to have been a low level of involvement by the broader Nova Scotian Black community.

First, as noted above, there was a stigma associated with Africville by Blacks living elsewhere and a belief, influenced considerably by scandalous newspaper accounts of life in Africville, that the community was not viable. Moreover, Africville was a difficult community to organize; it was not an integrated community but, rather, a place where radically different social types existed side by side, and where many people had become scarred and apathetic after hard life struggles. The church clique, with whom outsiders attempting to work for social change would normally associate, was old, somewhat withdrawn, and conditioned to seek allies among White liberals. Then, too, even the strong, stable residents were vulnerable in that employment was irregular and property claims were questionable. Several Black leaders reported that they had tried, without success, to go into the community to organize and otherwise assist residents.¹⁶

Another reason for the insignificant participation of Black leaders and organizations was that, upon the initiative of a few Africville residents and, subsequently, upon the advice of civil rights experts, several local Black and White professionals were thrust into a caretaker role as members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. The existence of the Committee may have created the impression that additional outside involvement was unnecessary; apparently it resulted in those Black leaders, not desiring to participate in the Committee, being discouraged from involving themselves in Africville affairs lest they be considered trouble-makers.¹⁷ Since the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee was committed to the realization of general or universal human rights, there was little justification in its frame of reference for the celebration of Africville as a *Black* community or for rallying strong *Black* sentiments around the relocation. Finally, in the early 1960's the Nova Scotian Blacks did not

have the sense of unity and identity nor the more articulate and effective militant leadership and organization that developed later in the decade. Thus, not only was there little likelihood that Africville affairs would strike a responsive chord in the broader Black community but there was also slight motivation on the part of Africville residents to seek allies there.*

Since no Africville organization participated in relocation decision-making, and no Africville resident was privy to the deliberations of City Council's Africville Subcommittee, participation of Blacks in relocation policy and mechanics was limited virtually to the three Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. These three men spent considerable time and effort defining the terms of relocation, examining alternatives, meeting with Africville residents, and obtaining information from residents and City officials. They saw their role essentially as advocates and bargainers for the relocatees. Once the relocation negotiations began, the Black caretakers accepted the terms of reference and assessed the fairness of individual settlements on the basis of property holdings, tempered by compassion. Looked at in these terms, since the settlements preferred by the City were well above market price, usually the settlements were considered reasonable. It is probable that the participation of Black caretakers was a crucial factor in the relocatees obtaining higher-than-market-value prices for their property, welfare assistance during the relocation period, and temporary amenities in Africville while awaiting relocation. By their very presence on the Subcommittee, as well as by their advocacy, the Black caretakers were able to make Black experience in Nova Scotia a consideration in relocation decision-making. On the other hand, bargaining within narrow terms of reference was an ineffective means of realizing the presumed ends of the relocation program; that is, to decisively redress injustice against Africville Blacks and to provide new and real

* White liberal allies are, of course, often useless. James Q. Wilson, discussing politics in the United States, observed that "Negro civic leaders stand on the periphery of power. They hope to needle or prod or anger or humiliate those who can direct the course of affairs into granting concessions to Negro demands. The Negroes themselves are remote from the centers of influence, and this distance gives a certain logic to their views of the public interest and appropriate strategies for action. But those whom they seek to influence are often powerless also, if by power we mean the ability to establish binding public policy. The White civic leaders and politicians are either complacent or caught up in their own conflicts of interest, and are severely constrained by their own opinions and fears as to the consequences of any radical change in the racial patterns of the city." [James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics* \(New York: The Free Press, 1960\), p. 286.](#)

opportunities for them.* Such ends are long-term in nature, difficult to measure and tend to be shunted aside in the day-to-day quest for equitable and reasonable individual settlements and temporary welfare assistance.

It is important to recall that the Black caretakers were involved with the Africville Subcommittee on a voluntary basis. In this task they were without independent resources; consequently, they were dependent on City officials for much information and often found themselves merely responding to City initiatives and staff reports. To slow the processing of individual cases, in itself very time consuming, in order to debate the broader issues or to link routine Subcommittee actions to the larger ends of the relocation would have been bold under the circumstances. It would be considered obstructionist, not only from the point of view of the City but also from the standpoint of the relocatees; the Black caretakers did not have a clear mandate on behalf of Africville residents and very few of the latter identified with the caretakers or sought out their assistance. Then, too, there was little public pressure for realization of the presumed larger ends of the relocation program. The wider Black community, as noted above, was accepting and silent; the local press not only publicized the relocation selectively (e.g., running feature stories on "contented" relocatees) but was also constantly urging a faster phasing out of Africville.¹⁸

Blacks and the Relocation: Phase Two

In the few years since relocation, Africville has acquired a new symbolic meaning in the Black Nova Scotian community. Winks observes:

"By January of 1967, when the last building fell to the bulldozers, Africville was more than a designation on the city's old maps, however - it was a word to which militant black Nova Scotians now rallied"¹⁹

With the creation of new Black organizations such as the Black United Front (BUF) and the Afro-Canadian Liberation Movement (ACLM), as well as the growth of infrastructure requisites (such as social clubs, stores, and publications) for a vibrant Black subculture, there has developed among Nova Scotian Blacks a more visible unity and integration.²⁰ A new mood has become

* Wilson observes that "the bargainer is not as highly committed to specific ends as is the militant, and is correspondingly less willing to alter the mission of an organization to strike out at a target of opportunity not previously agreed upon as being within its purview. To do so would mean a sacrifice in other goals - such as friendly relations with supporters." *Ibid.*, p. 234.

pervasive in the Black community, a mood more militant, more protective of its uniqueness, and more conscious of its possibilities than existed heretofore. In this new context increasing criticism has been directed against the Africville relocation and, as a symbol, the relocation has generated considerable cynicism among Blacks as to the motives of government and a suspicion that relocation may be a tool for continued exploitation. With reference to Africville, one Black leader observed:

"Black people are bitter and hostile and a lot of Black communities now learned of the necessity for them to get together when the Man comes out; and starts talking relocation."

An influential militant and politically radical Black leader expressed the cynicism that has become relatively common among Blacks, concerning the liberal welfare rhetoric accompanying the relocation:

"I think the Man got what he wanted - that land. It was as simple as that. People were allowed to stay there the same as Black folks anywhere; they could stay until the White man decided. Okay, now I want my land back. And the time came, and he said 'Okay nigger, get out!' And all the Black folks had to get out."

That Africville, although now non-existent, has become something of a rallying symbol for Blacks, is illustrated by the remarks of one Black leader heavily involved in community organizing among Nova Scotian Blacks. When he enters a new community to organize the residents there, he discusses the plight of Africville relocatees who lost their community and their land and got little in return. He urges the residents, "Let's pull together, or else we'll be another Africville!"

This cynical critical perspective among many Blacks reflects more than institutional and attitudinal changes in the broader Black Nova Scotian community. As the dust of relocation has cleared, it has become evident to many that the relocation achievements fell far short of the rhetoric accompanying it. Beyond real-estate considerations, City officials did not make a sustained creative effort to provide the new opportunities promised relocatees. This fact has become public knowledge due to the protests of the post-relocation Africville Action Committee, the word-of-mouth communication among Blacks concerning the hardships of some relocatees, and the publicity given City Hall machinations in dealing with "Pa" Miller, the last relocatee. Consequently, many Blacks have concluded that the City must have been primarily interested in obtaining Africville land. Most of the Black leaders interviewed believed that Africville was choice real estate of considerable value to the City. One Black minister reasoned as follows:

"[the Africville relocation] was something that was planned for years. That's a very ideal locality and I think in the long-range planning of the City of Halifax they looked forward to the day when they were going to move those Negroes because they wanted the area. They didn't do anything to help those people do anything for themselves. It was planned, it was deliberate, and when the time came for them to move them, they moved them."

Another Black leader argued strongly that the choice Africville lands were obtained at a bargain by the City:

"I am sick about Africville - when I think in terms of a fellow ... getting five hundred dollars for a home and piece of valuable land and...a promise given him by somebody that they are going to pay [his] furniture bill...then those people were fairly manipulated and robbed. If Africville belonged to Jewish people, you would not have got it for ten million dollars. It belonged to Black people, and you got it for something over \$100,000 or less."²¹

On the other hand, a Black City official and community leader who came to Halifax after the relocation discounted both the alleged value of the Africville lands and the argument that residents received inadequate compensation:

"I am in a position to state ... that the City did not take the land because they needed it. The City took the land, Africville was removed, because it was a bloody embarrassment. Up to today [September 9, 1969], we have not been able to use that land...Only if containerization goes to Bedford Basin instead of Navy Island will part of that land be of any economic value

"A substantial number of people had no title to the land and the City gave them settlement far and above a fair market value and the equity situation.

"Again . . . I make the point there was an abscess on the urban landscape, something that was bringing Halifax bad press. People of conscience went into the situation and a half-hearted attempt, a half-hearted program [was initiated]. There was no attempt at retraining and the follow-ups weren't done. It wasn't done as well as it could be done. On the question of the monetary compensation, I do not think that it was as bad

"I think [the Africville relocation] presented a relocation without, what I would call, human renewal -- retraining people and the social programs necessary to make such a thing something of a success."

The Black community's pervasive criticism concerning the City's obtaining valuable Africville lands at bargain prices does not apply usually to specific individual settlements. Informed Black leadership generally acknowledges that, in terms of market prices existing at the time of negotiations, relocatees received fair settlements. Most Black leaders refer, however, to the collective and potential value of the land. It is argued that as long as relocatees held property in Africville, they possessed a scarce waterfront area which could become increasingly

valuable as Halifax developed. Not only have the relocatees not received benefits and opportunities commensurate with their needs but as a collectivity they have lost identity, traditional security, and a potential bargaining resource - their lands, with which they might have been able to revive their own sense of community.

The foregoing conception of the relocation identifies the City as the party obtaining profit: it has eliminated "a blot on the urban landscape"; it has, by spreading the relocatees over the county, "eliminated" a problem by making it less visible; and it has gained scarce waterfront lands whose value can be expected to increase.* This conception has been deepened by changes in the Nova Scotian Black community and throughout society; as noted earlier, the new mood in the Black community places considerable intrinsic as well as instrumental value on Black identity and on the uniqueness and potential of Black communities. The rise of a counter-culture in the broader society, the proliferation of communes, and the demand for meaningful citizen participation have influenced the ordering of criteria on which the Africville relocation is now being assessed by Nova Scotian Black leaders and other citizens. More positive value is being accorded to the small community and to life-style differences. Accordingly, the relocatees are perceived as having lost much and received little. It is in the light of such considerations that one must understand occasional exaggerations concerning land value and occasional idealizations concerning Africville as a community.²²

At the time the Africville relocation was being planned and implemented, less intrinsic value was ascribed to the small-community style of living. Higher value was placed on racial integration *per se*, and greater stress on universal application of standards. This was the era of the Civil Rights Movement, when the rhetoric of liberalism was very persuasive and the Africville relocation could be credited as a laudable achievement: a segregated "slum" community was obliterated and most property owners received better than market value. It is not surprising that some Blacks listed as a significant achievement of the NSAACP the latter's limited participation in the Africville relocation.²³ Interviewed in 1969, one of the Black caretakers observed:

Interviewer: "Do you see any correlation between the militancy of teen-agers and what happened to Africville?"

* It should be remembered that members of City Council's Africville Subcommittee passed a motion concerning compensation if the re-sale of the Africville lands yielded a profit for the City. This suggests that some of the members considered the lands to be potentially valuable.

Interviewee: "That is four years ago -- kids grow up in four years and thinking and ideas change. Africville was a tough problem....It is very difficult to change the life pattern of all the people -- it is probably impossible, so that mistakes definitely were made. The kids might be militant now, but if the kids were adults at the time of history, I don't know if their reaction would have been any different from the adults that had to do with the thing. If the same committee were doing things today, they probably would have done things differently."

In the first part of the 1960's, few Black leaders used the evaluative criteria now common in assessing relocation planning and implementation. "Nationalistic" Black control of voluntary associations oriented to social change, and relegation of racial integration to a position subordinate to economic and cultural considerations, was rare.²⁴ As new outlook leaders have become more common, a corresponding higher valuation has been accorded the Black community in general, and a greater protectiveness given to its resources. A critical community resource is land. Traditionally, due to racism, Blacks settled on the edge of White towns and villages in Nova Scotia; typically, the Black enclaves were neglected by government. Nowadays, with developing industrialization in certain areas of the province -- especially in Halifax County -- any Blacks are apprehensive lest their lands be expropriated. Africville is instructive here, not only because of what Blacks perceive as an unfair settlement favourable to the City but because in some Black communities there is (as there was in Africville) a common lack of legal title to land. One Black leader from Preston pointed out the lesson of Africville:

"Some [people in the community] are learning from [the Africville relocation]. Some of them realize that if they don't pull up their breeches and look into their needs and get their businesses in order, the same thing could happen here that has happened in Africville.

"Halifax cannot expand any further. If there is any expansion in this area, it is going to be in the Dartmouth area and here on number seven highway, and we have a number of Black homes on the main highway; in fact, I think we have one of the few Negro communities in Nova Scotia where Black people are still living on the main highway. If the area expands, if those Black people don't get themselves in order, they are going to be pushed into the roads."

Other Black leaders from neighbouring communities indicated that the Africville relocation has effected a new militancy among Blacks. A young leader in North Preston noted:

"[The Africville relocation has had an effect] not only on North Preston, but also in other Black communities. They figured that if Africville was gone, people also wondered which community was going next -- all the people in North Preston were afraid they would be next. I am quite sure these people want to stand up and fight for their homes."

A leader from the Black community of Cherry Brook observed:

"Some of them Blacks in small communities outside Halifax fear that the same thing can happen to them with the way that Africville was done. But one of the things in removing Africville, they have given the people outside in these small communities a fighting spirit in which these people are saying they are not going to do this to me. I am not going to be relocated. The removing of Africville did some good for the communities around here because they are saying now, we don't want this kind of thing, we are not going to have it, and they are trying to do their best to keep what they have."

Some Black leaders contend that a relocation along the lines of the Africville relocation will never occur again in Nova Scotia. Their argument relates not only to the settlement terms of the Africville relocation but also to the fact that the Black communities have been developing stronger community organizations; consequently, it is held that the process of future relocations would be materially different. The Africville relocation is seen by the Black leadership to have been decided upon and implemented by outsiders, chiefly White City officials. The relocation social worker is considered to have been a City employee who obviously had to be accountable to the City. Typically, the Black leaders held that unwittingly the Black caretakers were co-opted by the City:

"Those Black leaders who had some role, no matter how small, in the relocation of Africville were people who might look back now and say, I can see where we were wrong; but at the time they were frightened people who did what they thought was right and best for the community. In later years when you are able to sit back and see that this [or that] could have been done but, at the time, they didn't see it that way - they were frightened by the fear that children would be harmed and [by propaganda about] children dying of typhoid; all this [propaganda] was thrown at them."

One Black Haligonian, in commenting on the development of community organization, remarked:

"I feel sorry for the power structure or any White group that would go [into the Black communities, attempting to relocate the people]. This was attempted in Beechville and it was clearly defeated there. I would not want to see a person go into Preston; I think you would have a lot of [aroused] Black people, not only in Preston but all over Nova Scotia. This could not happen again."

A very influential Black leader expressed more stridently the same point:*

"If [Africville residents] had been organized ahead of time, they could have resisted."

* Beechville, a depressed Black community on the outskirts of Halifax, approximated Africville's size. It was considered for relocation, but the residents wanted to remain and build new and better homes. A cooperative was set up and, funded by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, some residents have obtained new housing in the area.

That's what happened to Beechville. The Black people there said last year when the White man came in and tried to force them off the land, they were prepared to die with guns and shed blood on their land and that is a tremendous point for Black people and I think that is what people need.

"When a man comes out prepared to take their land, they must be prepared to shoot. I always say this, the White man put us out there. When we came here, he said, 'You go out there and don't you come around Barrington Street or Brunswick Street where we are.' He isolated us; he didn't want us near him. [Now] that the land is valuable, he says, 'You go into public housing.' And he puts the Black man in a situation that keeps him in servitude for the rest of his life. Therefore, he puts us there, and the land is so valuable we want to build there and stay there. If you want to monkey around with our land, you must be prepared to suffer the consequences."

The Africville relocation did present the City with an opportunity to redress previous injustice to Blacks. The relocation has been hailed as a step in that direction, but clearly it has not been so perceived by many members of the Black Nova Scotian community. It would be a considerable exaggeration to claim that the relocation effected a new climate either better or worse in race relations. For one thing, climate changes in recent years have other important causes; the new perception of the Africville relocation is more an effect than a cause. Furthermore, in organizing data around one issue and relating it to other themes and developments, usually there is a tendency to overemphasize the data's total significance. Nevertheless, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Africville relocation has angered many Blacks and, by making them sensitive to the rhetoric of liberalism, has contributed to their sense of urgency in organizing themselves. One Black leader expressed succinctly in these words the Africville relocation's key symbolic importance for Nova Scotian Blacks:

Interviewer: "Do you think [the Africville relocation] could happen now, to another Black community?"

Interviewee: "That is one thing we are apprehensive of. This is one of the things that causes us to move, because it is my feeling that many of the Black communities are threatened by development, and development is in, here in Nova Scotia. I am not satisfied that our master plan takes into consideration the Black community; all of the maps or plans that I have studied always seem to skip the Black communities. They are not included in the over-all planning; as a consequence, they are left barren and become the municipal dumps, and once they are depreciated to that extent they are bought for little or nothing and the Black people are moved off. So the planning of our people (any program that we set up) must include this whole business of community planning and people who are knowledgeable of the long-term planning ... so that our communities can be included in the development processes. As the land values [increase], so the land values of the Black land should increase. You see all over the world this whole business of squatters; the land is allowed to depreciate and people are allowed to do whatever they like. Building codes are ignored and health regulations are

ignored, until development comes, and then all of a sudden there is a push and they are pushed off. Sometimes it is difficult to awaken people who have lived this easy way, to warn them of what is coming."

Many Africville relocatees held that other, nearby Black communities have profited from the example of the Africville relocation.* One relocatee observed that "people [in other Black communities] didn't realize and cooperate generally but once they saw Africville relocated, others got the message." A number of the relocatees, even the older ones, reported that times were changing and that they had become more militant themselves. One elderly relocatee, talking to a Black interviewer about the relocation, frequently used the term "coloured" but added "I guess today it is important to say 'the Black man'."

Relocation and Planned Social Change

The Africville relocation, as rationalized in City Council's acceptance of the Rose Report, was supposed to have effected a planned and comprehensive social change. In that perspective, the relocation was an opportunity to restructure the life-style of a particular group of people, to redress long-standing injustices against them, and to bring to bear on their problems a coordinated set of welfare solutions. The planned social change, as we have seen in previous chapters was less than satisfactory.

Relocation, as planned social change, can have a variety of goals, strategies of implementation, and criteria of assessment. Order can be imposed on diversity in any specific instance by identifying the operative relocation model. Sometimes, public definition can be a reliable indication to a relocation's placement in the typology of relocation models discussed earlier (i.e., development, liberal-welfare political, and traditional). The Africville relocation, in intention, rhetoric, and administrative arrangement, clearly is an example of the liberal-welfare model. The relocation's lack of success in effecting significant and positive social change among

* Tape-recorded interview, July 1969. Cooperative housing groups have been formed in several Black communities (e.g., Beechville, Cherry Brook, East Preston and North Preston). In discussing a cooperative housing project at North Preston, a reporter noted that "from the outset it was recognized that nothing should be done to upset the sense of community which exists in North Preston." (Howard Hall, "Community Group Active in North Preston", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 12, 1969) In the same article, a welfare official is reported as saying: "[The North Preston people] have a sense of community and a sense of identity that provides a basis for sound development."

Africville residents needs to be examined for the insight that it can yield into problems in welfarism and the liberal-welfare approach to social change.

One of the most important weaknesses in the Africville relocation was the lack of adequate discussion of the problem situation and the absence of strategy for effecting significant social change among Africville residents. In the Rose Report and other relocation reports, mention is made of educational, occupational and consultancy programs, but no guidance is provided concerning design or implementation of programs and no analysis that would link specific actions to measurable goals. Yet it is very difficult to alter the life conditions of the poor and the disadvantaged. The problems of such relocatees are usually multi-faceted, historically and structurally rooted, and hard to redress. It is easy to rationalize away failure in terms of the attributes of the disadvantaged or their lack of cooperation and unwillingness to change. It is convenient to use temporary expedients or to dodge responsibility. For these reasons a detailed, legally binding plan of action is often imperative. In the absence of this kind of guidance, the Africville relocation program became essentially a matter of real estate negotiation and temporary welfare assistance. In its "relocation contract", the City committed itself to extraordinary measures expressed in empty rhetorical fashion. Expert legal opinion has advised us that, in undertaking the relocation, the City did not commit itself legally to provide educational, occupational and consulting programs.²⁵ Given that lack of legal commitment, success in achieving the larger ends of relocation (assuming that such an achievement is fully possible within the institutional structure that created the problem in the first place) depended either upon building a strong power of advocacy into the public agency responsible for carrying out the relocation, or upon mobilizing external pressure to counterbalance the ultimately "legalistic" orientation of the City administration. The Africville relocation failed on both counts.

The liberal-welfare approach to planned social change invariably confronts the power and conservatism of bureaucracy. The administrator is charged with specific powers by elected officials; it is his task to separate the wheat from the chaff, the specific commitments interpreted legalistically from the emotional and often deceptive rhetoric of policy announcements. In performing this role the bureaucrat, if competent and aggressive, commands considerable day-by-day direction over policy. As one elected City official reported in attempting to account for the gap between rhetoric and achievement in the Africville relocation:

"The elected people are amateurs; they tend to respond to crises and to what is placed before them in terms of staff reports and recommendations. They tend to assume that [the City] staff are looking after implementation of policies previously

adopted...There is a certain lack of consistent pressures from the community. As I said earlier, I think that those of us who thought about [follow-up] at all, assumed that the welfare operation of the City was responsible for looking after the needs of people wherever they were."

In some instances bureaucracy may subvert publicly announced intentions, but usually it performs its legitimate task more or less efficiently. Criticism of the welfare approach and welfarism, when directed against bureaucrats, often is merely scapegoating that deflects attention from the political system itself and the interests of a power elite. 668

In the implementation of welfare policies, experts and services alike are coordinated and directed by the responsible government departments. These have their established routines, acknowledged friends and detractors, and, typically, zealously guard against or try to absorb outsiders. On the grounds that the bureaucracy, given its *legal or quasi-legal* mandate, does not effectuate the maximal change possible, a critic might well speak of a "dead hand of bureaucracy" subverting social policy oriented to significant social change. Legislation virtually always allows some scope for policy innovation within administration. As Doern and Aucoin note; "[policy] outputs can be altered not because the bureaucracy is 'inefficient' nor that these outputs are merely the accidental results of the clash of bureaucratic forces. They are often 'rationally' contrived; that is, related to a different set of goals or assumptions later inserted by policy actors, which are just as effectively 'policies' as were the original general statements made by politicians."²⁶ How the bureaucracy will cope with this innovative possibility depends on its particular guiding philosophy, its existing political realities, and its established routines. Although internal change may occur within government departments, through change in leadership and in the disposition of other personnel, probably the most common source of change is external. Indeed, changes initiated by internal considerations have usually to be justified in terms of external pressure (for example, a new leader or director may justify, in terms of outside demands, a new policy or new departmental structuring).

In the case of the Africville relocation, the City's Welfare Office had little to do with relocation planning and execution. That agency developed, over the years, a model of Africville and Africville people that virtually precluded any real change in their life situation. Its director was opposed to the relocation; the policy line (or recommendation) was to urge, although not strongly fight for, extension of regular City services to the Africville community. Welfare assistance, when given, was doled out with a heavy paternalism. There was a celebration of the resourceful Africville residents who could "scrounge out" an existence amidst the squalor of the garbage dump. Consequently, impetus for the relocation of Africville did not come from the

Welfare Office; nor, under the circumstances, was there much likelihood that it would be charged with significant responsibility for relocation.

The City department most interested in the relocation of Africville was the newly established Social Development Department. Seeing Africville as an "environmental disaster" as well as the site of scarce waterfront property important to the City's future growth,²⁷ it provided the impetus for relocation and coordinated all aspects of the relocation program. The relocation officer, a trained social worker hired because of his ability to "get along" with people, was assigned to the Development Department and placed under the immediate supervision of the Development Officer. He coordinated the real estate and welfare components of relocation. The tactic of centralizing under the one City department the relocation administration had, from the point of view of planned social change, several practical advantages. Not only did it appear to offer more creative possibilities than working through the existing Welfare Office but, by facilitating the potential coordination of services and agency functions under the relocation social worker, it made possible a concerted effort to effect change. The relocation social worker dispensed welfare, arranged relocation transportation, and acted as liaison in making real estate, legal, and other City services available to Africville residents. On the other hand, given the nature of the task discussed above, centralizing the relocation under the Development Department had certain limitations for social change. The Development Department saw the Africville relocation as a short-term, three-year project; special responsibility for the relocatees once the land was cleared of people was not built into the frame of reference or guiding philosophy of the Department. Moreover, the Development Department was, by fixed terms of reference established by Council, a professional, expert-staffed entity oriented to the interests of "the City as a whole". Ideologically, its commitment was to /^{the} development model of relocation implicit in these terms of reference. Planned social change in the case of the Africville relocation (for very good reasons, not being handled through welfare-oriented agencies) became, therefore, the responsibility of a different governmental bureaucracy which, while oriented to change, was not likely to emphasize special client-interests, citizen participation, or a long-term commitment to the relocatees' socio-economic conditions.*

* What the Development Department, from its standpoint, might regard as an unusual degree of consideration to social welfare matters would appear insignificant from the point of view of those familiar with the extremely difficult task of effecting significant social change for such a disadvantaged group within existing institutional arrangements.

Given the bureaucratic arrangements of the Africville relocation, and the normal tendency for a bureaucracy to hover close to its "legal" responsibilities, it is not surprising that the emphasis of the Development Department was on the clearing of land and on real estate negotiations. The relocation social worker became, in effect, more an employee of the Development Department than a liaison officer representing clients in negotiations with a bureaucracy. Initial plans to maintain a separate office at Africville for the social worker were abandoned; he used an office in the Development Department, at City Hall. Relocation transactions were discussed by the social worker and the Development Officer, and the "City's position" communicated to Africville residents. Almost all of the relocation social worker's reports to the Africville Subcommittee were first discussed and approved at meetings between him and the Development Officer. In the eyes of most relocation participants, the latter was the relocation social worker's "boss". A major problem of the welfare approach in the instance of the Africville relocation was to build into a non-welfare-oriented agency a commitment to special client interests. A major task of the relocation social worker was to bring this about while in the ambivalent position of being an employee of the agency. Failure to deal successfully with this problem is seen in the lack of effective programs to create new opportunities for relocatees. The relocation became largely a real estate operation, with welfare payments "thrown in" to satisfy the caretakers and to meet community concern that a long-neglected and oppressed people be treated equitably. One City official observed:

"...a certain kind of pressure was brought to bear [on Africville relocatees]...in relation to the use of social assistance funds which were available to [the relocation social worker] on some kind of special-arrangement basis. He was able to meet requests for financial assistance. I think in many cases the effect was to soft-pedal or soft-pad the transitional period, to perhaps conceal from people really the full impact of the economic burden and so on which they would have to encounter, making the entire relocation more acceptable to the people and in many respects unrealistic because these funds were terminated with the termination of [the social worker's] employment."

The other way of achieving the larger ends of relocation while operating within the terms of reference established by City Council was to mobilize external pressure that would counterbalance bureaucracy by demanding maximal achievement of the City's moral, if not legal, commitment. Perhaps, too, such pressure could lead to new Council policy and formal adoption of additional explicit responsibilities for implementation, should the relocation experience demonstrate that this was necessary in order to realize welfare goals.

In the Africville relocation, external pressure was expressed institutionally through

participation of the three Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee on the Africville Subcommittee. Their participation and the prior involvement of the larger Committee were significant structural features in the planning and implementation of the Africville relocation and served to define the relocation as a liberal-welfare model, although it did not result in achievement of the larger welfare goals of the relocation. The formation of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee and its role in examining the City's relocation plan, suggesting alternatives, and seeking expert welfare advice have been discussed at length. Certainly the Committee's involvement in planning for the relocation did much to ensure that a liberal-welfare rhetoric would characterize the relocation program, and that the City would commit itself to developing related programs for effective social change. The Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, and especially the Black caretakers, rendered an important service to Africville residents in terms of relocation settlements, temporary welfare assistance, and City concern for Africville residents awaiting relocation. But once actual negotiation began between the City and relocatees, the external pressure for change was absorbed into day-to-day concern with specific individual settlements and crises. There was little time to focus on the larger picture of relocation and to create programs oriented to long-term objectives. There was no available mechanism by which an "Africville opinion or voice" could be readily identified and assessed. The caretakers and other members of the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, involved on a part-time, voluntary basis and possessed of few independent resources, naturally relied upon staff reports.

They found themselves, rather than taking initiatives of their own, responding either to those of the City or of the few Africville residents who sought their assistance. Given the absence of a strong indigenous Africville organization and the non-involvement of other external organizations, individual problems, requests, and crises could not be channeled effectively through the caretakers into new programs or policies. The nebulous nature of the long-run programs announced initially made it difficult for the caretakers to measure benefits in terms other than the individual settlements, which accordingly increased the caretakers' dependency on staff reports. Their difficulty in not "seeing the forest for the trees" and in keeping abreast of relocation developments is illustrated by their subsequent acknowledged surprise at the absence of a relocation "follow-up".

Apart from lack of time, energy, and resources, the most important reason for the inadequacy of institutionalized external pressure in closing the gap between rhetoric and achievement was the weak linkage to the Africville people themselves. There was little

organized Africville involvement in any phase of the relocation, and virtually none once relocation negotiations began. The majority of relocatees had no sense that their individual or collective interests were being advanced by the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee. Many more relocatees reported that they depended on the relocation social worker's help or on their ability to bargain well with him. These facts raise important issues concerning the manner in which sources of pressure external to the City government were marshalled in the Africville relocation.

There is major difficulty, generally, in achieving organization among the poor, for their poverty obstructs the development of ramifying and consolidated exchange systems. This often means that the infrastructure requisites for effective indigenous organization are lacking and, accordingly, poor and oppressed groups seek out assistance among middle class "liberals". The pattern was especially evident in the Africville situation, where residents had the additional liability of being Black in a somewhat racist society and where they experienced a clash of different social styles within Africville itself. The "natural" bias then, as far as the mobilizing of pressure was concerned, was towards an integrationist-collaborationist strategy. This strategy was encouraged by the civil rights leaders who responded to pleas for assistance from a few residents.

The middle-class professionals who with the support of a few Africville residents guided the strategy of mobilizing pressure made some crippling presumptions about life in Africville and about how significant social change could be achieved. That such presumptions were made is related to the ideology of the times, as well as to the scant time, energy and resources they could devote to the Africville case. One set of presumptions concerning the nature of Africville (i.e., that it was a slum, that as a segregated community it had become atavistic, that the people were squatters and transients), while not without some foundation in fact, was selective; Africville was not seen as having much value for its residents. By not giving as much weight to positive considerations (e.g., the potential land value, the fact that a number of people owned their own homes, many residents' sense of historical continuity) the well-intentioned outsiders failed to see the Africville people as having a strong base which, if they were well organized, would enable them to bargain from a position of power.

A second and related set of presumptions dealt with how to effect social change, given the nature of the Africville community. It was considered valuable to have middle-class people associate with Africville residents and apply strong moral pressure on the City; in other words, to make sure that the poor had sound, articulate middle-class spokesmen. Middle-class

professionals may well be helpful in developing organization among the poor. It does appear that, prior to involving the poor in a larger structure of middle-class people and organizations, it is important that the poor's own organization be strong and viable. Otherwise, what happens is precisely what occurred in the Africville case; as residents saw in the larger organization a veering away from their own specific concerns and their own perceptions of problems, they allowed others "to do things for them" and simply dropped out. The result was lack of identification of relocatees with the caretaker group so that organized external pressure in the relocation was exerted by a group without roots in Africville and without an Africville mandate.

Good social policy for planned social change depends upon an accurate assessment of the *problem situation*, a *set of goals* defined precisely enough that one can know whether one has achieved them (and to what degree), a *strategy* which maps out the instrumentalities of a highly probable way of effecting the desired change and a *mobilization of advocacy* which sets the planned social change in process and monitors its development. In the Africville relocation program all these components of social policy, as noted above, were inadequately attained. If the Africville relocation were framed in terms of the development model of planned social change*, the relocation might very well be considered successful: land was obtained by the City, in keeping with the needs of a proposed redevelopment program. The premium waterfront property, even if currently not being fully utilized, can be expected to appreciate with port and industrial expansion. By relocating Africville residents, the City has rid itself of what some have considered an "environmental disaster" and has overcome the embarrassment of having within its boundaries a distinct, segregated Black community. While this "public benefit" presumably has been achieved, the City can claim also to have treated the relocatees fairly, and even generously, from the standpoint of the market value of individual properties in the period 1964-67. But if the relocation is framed in terms of the liberal-welfare model of planned social change, as its intention, rhetoric, and structure would indicate, it can hardly be called a success and in none of the four components of social policy does it signal creative new ways of intervening dramatically to alter radically the life-opportunities of the poor and deprived.

Within the general framework of the relocation program, several modifications would have increased the probability of an acclaimed success. For one thing, it would have been useful to eliminate some of the ambiguity in the relocation social worker's role and to strengthen

* For a discussion of assumptions and strategies of the development model of relocation, see Chapter 2, pp. 53-57.

his internal advocacy function by giving him a freer rein and independence from any specific City department. Clearly, too, the external advocacy of the caretakers would have been more effective had further resources been available to them such that they would not have been dependent upon initiatives from the City bureaucracy. Also, a greater effort to involve an indigenous Africville organization would have produced different results.

It is well-known that it is difficult to generate and maintain a consistent, representative community organization. This is particularly true among the urban poor. Conditioned to powerlessness by historical deprivation, they often become passive and withdraw when collaborating with well-intentioned, middle-class caretakers and citizens-at-large; yet such collaboration is usually necessary since the urban poor often lack resources for effective mobilization and perceive their poor neighbours as powerless, useless allies. Then, too, in very impoverished urban areas, such as Africville, there is usually a much wider range of social types and life-styles than one finds in the more affluent neighbourhoods; this social differentiation adds to the difficulty of developing a strong, representative organization. The general failure of the liberal-welfare model of change makes it necessary to attempt to overcome these problems. Dependency upon the advocacy of citizens-at-large (even when they are provided with resources) is inadequate. The concept, citizens-at-large, is central to liberal-welfare social change since it resonates well with assumptions of consensus and reasonableness which underlie this model; clearly, though, what gets defined as a reasonable societal commitment by citizens-at-large is usually inadequate for dramatic improvement of the poor's life opportunities. In recent years oppressed minorities have been demanding reparation; in effect, they have been saying (as some Africville relocatees said) that one cannot simply look at the end-product of an historical development and compensate generously on that basis (i.e., in the Africville case on the basis of land home current market value) but rather one's notion of reasonableness must take into account and compensate for the historical development itself (i.e., without the historical patterns of discrimination and City neglect, Africville would have been a quite different community). Indigenous organization among the urban poor is critical in providing this additional dimension to the idea of a reasonable societal commitment. It seems to be virtually a law that such organizations manifest an historical consciousness and celebrate the good aspects of the community and those coping behaviours contributing to its survival. A side benefit associated with community organization under these circumstances is that the urban poor tend to become more positive about themselves and their community, a development of considerable significance in the restructuring of their lives.

Developing a representative organization among the urban poor in relocation and rehabilitation programs will take time, energy and funds. But if the rationale of the relocation is liberal-welfare (i.e., benefit the people directly involved), investment of the necessary time, effort and money cannot be considered wasteful. The growing demand for citizens' organizations and participatory democracy has both normative and pragmatic aspects. It is not only a response to failures in planned social change; it is based on the premise that involvement in decision-making will make relocatees "better citizens." If the inefficiency and squabbling of such structured participation produces clear hazards to living or threats to the general City interests, a redefinition of the relocation situation with a different and appropriate relocation rhetoric and administrative structure might well be required. Certainly there are different models of planned social change appropriate to different circumstances.

The modifications discussed above concerning internal advocacy, external advocacy and indigenous organization all bear on the one component of social policy, the mobilization of advocacy. The implication of such modifications is tantamount to positing structured conflict as endemic in society because of different interests associated with different classes, strata and other groupings. The assumptions and strategies of the political model of relocation* appear more appropriate than those of the liberal-welfare model in cases such as the Africville relocation; in these instances - where the purpose of relocation is ostensibly to improve the relocatees' life opportunities - it is reasonable, for example, to contend that the potential relocatees should be able to exercise veto power regarding relocation programs.

The instability of the liberal-welfare approach to relocation, in instances such as Africville, is also evident in the other components of social policy. Especially with regard to the component of strategy does this approach seem inherently inadequate. To change the life opportunities of the poor is very difficult. While it is certainly possible to draft a better and more detailed intervention strategy than was done in the case of Africville (post-relocation follow-up programs were proof of this), the overall record of relocation programs oriented to this set of goals has not been very impressive. A more political approach seems necessary not only because of the political nature of the root problem - income and resource distribution in society - but also because it appears imperative that the poor and deprived have a factual basis for the perception that they themselves can do something about their present situation and future prospects. In

* For a discussion of the political model of relocation, see Chapter 2, pp. 59 - 62.

many relocations, as in the case of Africville, a large number of relocatees are, more or less reluctantly, written off by relocation officials as impossible to rehabilitate; in the case of many other relocatees, the officials, using vague and factually dubious extrapolation, justify their contention that the future will be better on the grounds of housing or some other modest improvement. Typically, the relocatees profiting most significantly from liberal-welfare relocation programs have been the politically active, mobility-oriented residents least committed to and dependent upon neighbourhood associations.

In terms of goals and definition of the problem situation the liberal-welfare approach to planned social change also exhibits some basic inadequacies. Since the model is premised on consensus and a constricted conception of reasonableness, it carries the implication that experts and technocrats are best able to define the problem situation and to articulate the underlying, common goals of the society. In the Africville relocation, outside experts with scant knowledge of Africville and minimal contact with its residents exercised considerable influence in both these regards. But even where the experts and technocrats are well-informed one can expect fairly profound differences between them and the potential relocatees concerning what is desirable and valuable and what the most crucial aspects of the problem situation are. In the case of Africville, the residents placed considerable value on the historical continuity of the community, on the church and on the possession of homes which they could leave to their children; none of these considerations appeared especially significant from the point of view of the experts and technocrats. Furthermore, for the latter a significant aspect, of the problem situation was the fact that Africville was a segregated Black community; accordingly, a basic goal of the relocation was integration; but only a small minority of the residents placed an equal emphasis on this factor.

As noted above, very poor urban areas such as Africville are characterized by considerable social differentiation. The different social groupings tend to respond to relocation in diverse ways and have different problems with which an intervention strategy must deal. Usually there is a minority, predisposed to mobility, who do better than others in the relocation exchange (in Africville, the mainliners). Generally, too, older relocatees express the greatest grief upon being relocated - as in the case of Africville, older persons probably adjust to their new environment better and more easily than they had anticipated. Young adult and middle aged relocatees, especially males, may in the long-run become the most disgruntled as they become more aware of the failure of the relocation promise. The "opportunists" and marginal types tend to be relatively untouched by the relocation experience. But despite their different

problems and reactions the Africville experience leads us to think that, with time, effort and funds, the residents could have developed a collective response based upon common interests. The relocatees did display a sense of distributive justice and their view that relocation "benefits" were not distributed fairly among the people was largely a function of misinformation about what different people received and cynicism due to the fact that relocation negotiations were carried on a private and individual basis.

The Africville relocation has been a useful example of planned social change to study. It is typical of many liberal-welfare relocation programs carried out in North America over the past decade. Yet it might be less instructive for future planned social change. The social and cultural climate has changed. Given the re-emphasis on the importance of the small community in recent years, the revitalization of concern for subgroup collective identities, and the new emphasis on rehabilitation rather than relocation, what possibility is there of another Africville relocation? Clearly the Development Officer for the City of Halifax did not think the possibility was high, as indicated in the following interview:

Interviewer: "[If you had the opportunity] would you make any significant changes in the way the Africville relocation was carried out?"

Development Officer: "Personally, no. I think this is the only way in which you can approach this type of community, be it Black or White. I don't know, however, that the times haven't gone to a point where it is almost impossible to tackle these problems."

Interviewer: "I'm not sure what you are referring to."

Development Officer: "The age of dissent has reached the point - can you solve these problems."

One Africville relocatee, on the other hand, wished that the "age of dissent" had come ten years earlier; she commented: "What happened in Africville won't happen again, but how in hell does it help us."

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TEN

¹ Memorandum on Africville Follow-Up Proposal from S. A. Ward, City Manager, to His Worship the Mayor and Members of the City Council, March 4, 1969.

² Jim Robson, "Mayor to Probe Africville Claims: Seeks Way to Help", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 3, 1969.

³ City of Halifax, *The Africville Follow-Up Program*, p. 2.

⁴ Alvin Gouldner describes the liberal establishment in *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, pp. 500-502. He attacks specifically a "new ombudsman sociology whose very criticism of middle-level welfare authorities and establishments serves as a kind of lightning rod for social discontent, strengthening the centralized control of the highest authorities, and providing new instruments of social control for the master institutions."

⁵ "In Search of a Sense of Community", *Time*, April 6, 1970.

⁶ Sylvia Fraser, *op. cit.*

⁷ *Minutes of the Halifax City Council*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1967; see also an interview with the relocation social worker: Sheila Urquhart, "Africville Program Complete in July", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 5, 1967.

⁸ Dexter, *op. cit.*

⁹ See, for instance, Sheila Urquhart, "Ghetto Going on Schedule", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 3, 1966; and Sheila Urquhart, "Africville Program Complete in July", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 5, 1967.

¹⁰ "End of Africville", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 7, 1967.

¹¹ See, for instance, Jim Robson, "Mayor to Probe Africville Claims", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 3, 1969; and "Social Worker on Africville: Follow-Up Could have Averted Relocation Problems", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., October 4, 1969.

¹² In addition to interviewing Black leaders in the Metropolitan area, the researchers and their assistants discussed Africville with a large number of Blacks living in Halifax County and in communities as distant as Guysborough County.

¹³ See, for instance, the "Letter to the Editor", *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., August 11, 1962, submitted by B. A. Husbands, President, Halifax Coloured Citizens Improvement League. Mr. Husbands, in forwarding his particular plan, observed, "I feel that where the people of Africville have striven within their means to provide shelter for their families they should be given the...opportunity to better themselves and, at the same time, better the community as a whole."

¹⁴ See Chapter VII, p.

¹⁵ Letters to the Editor, *The Mail-Star*, Halifax, N. S., May 11, 1963; see, also, the letter to the editor cited above, dated August 11, 1962.

¹⁶ Tape-recorded interviews, August 1969. Two of the leaders alluded to here went into the community after relocation was underway. It should be noted that Africville relocatees did not acknowledge the assistance of local Black leaders from outside Africville. Over seventy per cent reported that they did not even meet with the Black caretakers from the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee to discuss their situation or terms of settlement. A mere handful of relocatees reported contact with Black leaders for the purpose of receiving assistance to help them cope with the relocation.

¹⁷ Two Black leaders who claim to have disagreed with the strategy followed by the Halifax Human Rights Advisory Committee, on the grounds that unintentionally its members were being co-opted by the City, reported that they were labelled troublemakers when they attempted to assist Africville residents. Regardless of whether these allegations are true probably it is true that once a community organization develops it tends to channel and restrict others' participation.

¹⁸ See, for instance, "Africville May Disappear by Year's End", *The Mail Star*, Halifax, N. S., January 5, 1966; and "Africville Move Painfully Slow", *The Mail Star*, Halifax, N. S., September 14, 1966.

¹⁹ Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p. 456. Winks is mistaken in reporting that the last building fell to the bulldozers in January 1967.

²⁰ See [Clairmont and Magill, *Nova Scotian Blacks*](#).

²¹ Tape-recorded interview, September 1969. The relocation cost was approximately six times the figure speculated by interviewees.

²² In most instances, exaggerations refer as much to what might have been as to what was.

²³ See Eugene Williams, "The NSAACP and Education", unpublished M.A. thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, Halifax, N. S., 1969, p. 48.

The NSAACP had actually little to do with the relocation. One of the Black caretakers became President of the NSAACP in late 1962 and, by indirect association, the NSAACP was identified with his involvement.

²⁴ One Black leader of this stamp expressed his dissatisfaction with the Africville relocation, and pointed out that his early criticism of the relocation process had resulted in his being labelled a troublemaker. He argued that the price of integration, as exacted by the relocation, was much too high. At the time of relocation his views seemed out of step with the pro-integration and civil-rights oriented younger Black leaders. In the current militant and "nationalistic" period, his views are accepted and influential.

²⁵ Correspondence with a civil law specialist, Halifax, N. S.

²⁶ [G. Bruce Doern and Peter Aucoin \(eds.\), *The Structures of Policy-Making in Canada* \(Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971\), p.5.](#)

²⁷ The editors of *The Mail Star* also noted the importance of Africville lands to the city's future growth: "Not only is Halifax short of all types of land for industrial purposes, it is especially lacking in waterfront sites which so many businesses need and demand. Providing suitable docking facilities are

built, part of this problem will be met when the demolition of Africville is completed." -Editorial, "Plan to Secure More Waterfront Land," *The Mail Star*, Halifax, N. S., July 16, 1964.