

that the city is far less important than the people who live in it, that the advancement in life style of the latter is much more important than is the city per se.

The city is a place where the bulk of our poor presently live and, while this may change in the long run, certainly for the next half-score years, this will be true. Our efforts to bolster the city often are most costly to the poor, given their relative immobility, particularly in the face of housing restrictions both economic and social, coupled with the fact that there has been a substantial shift of employment location outside the city.

Relocation is in part the essential concomitant of efforts to bring jobs back and is frequently the essential price of providing an environment which for the overall group is substantially more satisfactory. The rapid obsolescence of much of the urban housing stock requires very substantial efforts at rectification. These too, involve massive clearance and/or rehabilitation efforts which involve relocation. This is a price which society as a whole must pay. Unfortunately, all too frequently, a very part of the personal burden is borne by those least able to support it—the poor urbanite.

GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

Government intervention is frequently called on in a role similar to that of the surgeon—cutting away the malignant, the disease provoking, in an effort to save the entity. But this relationship between the government and the people involved in the city is a most sensitive one. If the feeling arises that the government is a monolithic entity trampling over the desires and sensitivities of the individual, a remorseless juggernaut that cannot be intimidated through the weak political processes and organization of the poor, only despair and violence can result.

In this very delicate relationship, relocation practices play a major role. We have not taken full cognizance of this role. Past practices, particularly with highway location, have been callous to an extreme. Survey teams have gone into areas, prior to any efforts at formalized relocation, and have literally scared half the inhabitants out. What surveys we have of former relocation practices largely have as their universe not the total number of people extant in an area prior to the actual inception of clearance, but rather the portion of those people who have stayed past the waves of forced exodus. As such, these studies are open to criticism.

NATURE OF THE CRITICISM

All too frequently, however, the criticism of relocation procedures has been substantially fallacious. I would like to touch here on two schools. The first of these has been referred to as the "grief school." One of the basic research efforts at determining the mental outlook of people faced with relocation had as its lead question for example, the following, and I quote: "Many people have told us that just after they move they felt sad or depressed, did you feel this way?" The scale which was used to grade this obviously leading question ran from minimal grief to maximum grief. There simply was no way to rate people who might have been happy at being moved.

The second school of thought is the new radical group that feels that anything governmentally inspired must be wrong. When faced with the results of a recent Bureau of the Census study of relocatees, their basic response to its positive elements was to accuse the census bureau of being obviously biased, i.e., one government agency rating another. I do not think that this argument needs to be criticized here. It does show, however, the depth of feeling and obtuseness which can be raised on this subject.

THE DOLLARS AND CENTS OF RELOCATION

The comments of relocatees are clear on dollar cost: "The linoleum didn't fit in the new place—it began to curl. It cost me \$28 for new linoleum in the kitchen. The piece in the living room worked out alright but in the old place we had an extra bedroom, now in the living room we need a daybed that cost \$65 used." "The curtain rods when we came in were hanging by a thread." "I think the first week my husband told me we spent \$23 in the hardware store." "We had our own refrigerator but it didn't fit in the new kitchen." "You know you can't get anything for a used refrigerator, except when you want to buy one it costs a lot of money."