

The Process of Gentrification: A Comparative Analysis

by

Donna A. Fedora

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presented to the University of Manitoba  
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thesis requirement for the degree of  
Masters of City Planning  
in  
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Winnipeg, Manitoba  
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DONNA A. FEDORA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the  
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MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the process of gentrification. It deals with the mechanics involved in this process, by testing the DeGiovanni Model (1983). The test is accomplished by a comparative analysis of selected inner city neighbourhoods of Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa and Saskatoon. A test of the DeGiovanni Model appeared to indicate that the effectiveness of the model would be increased by the addition of two additional stages. The Modified Model was applied to the case studies.

A comparative analysis was carried out on four inner city neighbourhoods in the City of Winnipeg using the Modified DeGiovanni Model over a ten year time frame. The test of the four inner city neighbourhoods analyzed, including McMillan, River Osbourne, Crescentwood and Norwood West, did not show conclusively that they were experiencing gentrification.

This thesis determined that the DeGiovanni Model of gentrification appeared to work. Further, that the refined Modified DeGiovanni Model was progressive, and that city administrators and planners could use these models to effectively monitor inner city neighbourhoods in transition to discover if these areas were experiencing gentrification.

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On a more personal note, I would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation to my family. A special thanks to my mother and father, who have granted grave patience, faith, constant encouragement and support throughout the duration of this thesis, as well as, the many years spent obtaining my education.

Lastly, I wish to dedicate this body of work to a wise elderly gentleman, who will always be a constant source of personal inspiration. My mentor and fortunately, my grandfather, Mr. William Tough.

## PREFACE

Throughout my studies as a student in City Planning I have become aware of a process which appears as simply private residential rehabilitation. However, through time this process is being recognized as much more. When many houses undergo rehabilitation, adjacent to the core area and the nature of the population changes, a phenomenon occurs known as gentrification. This process at the present time is acknowledged as occurring within the inner cities of all metropolitan areas in Canada. These inner city neighbourhoods are the backdrop for an economic, social and spatial restructuring which has begun to unfold. The extent and dynamic nature of these changes has become evident in the ensuing debate over gentrification and its effects, which has now entered the mainstream of planning literature.

Although there are numerous urban transformations which require analysis, the gentrifications process also must be studied and understood. This process is resulting in the recovery of housing submarkets. As well, it has been shown to occur repetitiously (Lang, 1982). Most importantly, within the context of urban change, if understood and controlled, it could provide the basis for revitalizing many of our urban centres.



Furthermore, I believe planning policies may be implemented in order to direct this revival in sections of the inner city of our urban areas; and to exploit benefits while abating any associated detrimental effects. These costs and benefits have been identified in the inner city neighbourhoods of all metropolitan areas experiencing gentrification.

Gentrification has been noted as a process which gradually reduces the number of affordable dwelling units within our inner city neighbourhoods. It only affects a few households at a time and appears unlikely to attain the political visibility of more widespread urban issues. This gradual loss of affordable housing justifies analysis, and the creation of this thesis.

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## Chapter I

### THE PHENOMENON OF GENTRIFICATION

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of gentrification is complex, in fact even at the present time most researchers are unable to agree on a comprehensive definition. Nevertheless, for the purpose of simplification in introducing the subject matter, Michael Langs' definition has been utilized. It simply states that gentrification connotes essentially private capital induced development in formerly lower income areas that results in patterns of higher rents, land and house values. Within this statement the implications of the general physical improvements to an area is apparent. The pattern of higher rents and property values displaces many existing renters and owner-occupiers, usually elderly persons on fixed incomes, by making the area unaffordable (Lang, 1982). This process has been narrowly defined. However, as one proceeds through this chapter, many of the connotations associated with gentrification will have been broached. The dynamic nature of this process will begin to be appreciated.

The term gentrification was coined in London, England in the

early 1970s and can be found in most major dictionaries today. Alternative, yet similar, terms include inner city revitalization, brown-stoning, white-painting and numerous others. However, it was the term gentrification that appealed to both researchers and the media, therefore I use it here as it has become easily recognizable. The use of this term has been criticized as misleading (London, 1980), as the term falsely assumes there is a urban gentry at work. The literal definition of the term gentrification simply refers to how one area is becoming orientated to, an sometimes dominated by newcomers of greater wealth than the existing residents. It does not refer to the origins of the "gentry" (Lang, 1978). The term gentrification implies the physical upgrading of an area. A place where social pressure mounts on non-conformists and the newcomers may act as if they were aristocrats. Given this situation, it seems clear why gentrification has stuck as a descriptive if somewhat inaccurate term. It successfully conveys the extent of change that is occurring. As well, the social distance between the newcomers and the original residents is comprehensible.

This terminology also connotes a process which operates within the residential housing market. It has marked reference to the rehabilitation of the working class neighbourhoods. The poor condition of housing stock and the resulting transformation of an area into a middle class neighbourhood. Yet, gentrification is not simply a physical process. Rather, it involves the movement of people and the movement of capital,

thus becoming a social and economic process.

The phenomenon of gentrification began in Canada in the 1970s and has subsequently continued. It has become increasingly apparent that residential rehabilitation in Canadian inner cities is simply one visible aspect. There is a more profound economic, social and spatial restructuring taking place. The gentrification process as explored in current planning literature has been generally equated with the emergence of a "new" middle class. The debate over whether this new class exists and its role, is ongoing. Nevertheless, inner city residential rehabilitation has been integrally linked to the decline of remaining inner city manufacturing facilities, the rise of hotel and convention complexes and central city office development. The redevelopment of urban waterfronts for a mixture of uses, as well as the establishment of trendy retail and restaurant districts. (Smith & Williams, 1986).

These phenomena, which cause a restructuring in our inner cities, relies on the continued concentration and recentralization of economic activities. Thus, it is possible to relate the geography of inner-city change to broader shifts in the national economy and society. (Ley, Canadian Geographer 25, 1981. p. 127) Naturally gentrification occurs more strongly in national and regional centres (Ley, 1986). Gentrification is also contingent on an array of social settings and social practices. These exist at this time, having evolved in Canada throughout the past three decades.

## 1.2 THE EVOLVING URBAN LANDSCAPE

At the turn of the century, Canada was influenced by the health movement, although in a more conservative manner than Britain, where it was originally adopted. The health movement refers to the period when emphasis on the healthy urban environment at the turn of the century. Canadian cities continued to experience growth both physically and demographically in the period leading into the World War II era. Our country's post World War II era contained a combination of conditions or variables which accelerated suburban growth. Overall, the exodus of the residential population from the inner city has been documented as a result of five combined variables. These include:

- \* the improvements in transportation, which permitted spatial deconcentrations;
- \* new housing construction, being built at the periphery and being affordable, larger homes (baby boom) due to government insured financing;
- \* advanced communication and industrial technology, which created greater freedom for locational choice;



- \* the influence of city size, for as population disperses, many economic activities tend to follow and create modern multi-nucleated metropolises; and,
- \* social and economic differences, which further pressures outward movement, as people try to segregate themselves.

Political change or reform had to occur prior to, and along with, suburban development. A political machine had to be in place to insure adequate services and infrastructure for these new residential areas. Thus, consolidation was widely supported. By joining the central city, the suburbanites were able to take advantage of a wealthy downtown tax base. As well, a great number of services such as schools, fire and police protection, and ambulance service were provided at less cost than compared to the expense of a self supporting village or municipality. This is not to state that a central city often did not profit. If the suburb was a booming industrial district, it could bolster the city's tax base.

Politically, consolidation meant significant changes. The dweller of the inner suburb was now a voting citizen of the city. The problem with most Canadian and U.S. cities is that the dweller of inner suburban subdivisions did not share equally in the tax burden. The pro-growth reform era occurred in Canadian cities at the turn of the century. Then, after witness to the initial outcome of joining the suburbs, most cities experienced

another political reform move in the 1960s. This second reform movement was an effort to limit expansion and its accompanying problems.

Suburban growth and its attendant problems were especially evident in our metropolitan areas in the late 1940s and early 1950s. These were highlighted by city newspapers, civic advisory groups, and suburban politicians. In Canada, the last thirty years have been an era of "ad hoc metropolitan reform" in at least six provinces. Also noted is the extensive local government restructuring which has occurred in every province except Prince Edward Island. (Stelter & Artisbise, 1986)

Overall, the combination of economic, social and political changes within our cities have resulted in the general decline of population and increase in the average levels of unemployment in the central city (McLemore, et al. 1975). The larger cities in Canada, although less extensively than in the United States, began to exhibit signs of this physical and social decline.

Investment in the downtown began to fall off. Investment shifted to the suburbs as industries, shopping centres and offices began to move outwards, following the homes of the upper and middle classes. Consequently, cities in Canada began to contemplate the need for major redevelopment of centrally located lands. By the late 1960s, early 1970s urban renewal was ushered in as the solution.

Urban renewal is the process of clearing slums and cleaning up urban blight by expropriating lands, leveling them, and permitting greater densities. Renewal was found to displace a large number of relatively poor people from dwellings which were sometimes in good condition. The aftermath of large renewal projects was considerable, as more low rent public housing was demolished than built; this created displacement. Little compensation was given to help relocate the displaced, and the total supply of low-rent dwellings was greatly reduced. Overall, by 1972 it was perceived that the effect of renewal was to spread and probably intensify slum conditions, not eliminate them. Urban renewal, once heralded as a solution to urban decline had become discredited (Richardson, 1972).

Urban renewal, as a solution to attain rehabilitation of the inner city neighbourhoods was to be re-evaluated. Changes in housing policy disclosed maintenance rather than re-establishment as the dominant theme.

One can trace the consequential change of direction in the National Housing Policy (CMHC) in the 1970s by reviewing the reports of the time. The Hellyer report of 1969 and the Lithwick report of 1970, suggested that stronger public land control was required to eliminate sprawl and congestion. The Spurr report of 1975, called for greater governmental control over the land development industry. These reports represent the governments effort to analyze what had taken place. To discover solutions which could be applied to rectify undesirable effects

of suburban expansion and inner city decline.

Amendments to the National Housing Act, made in 1973, encouraged large municipalities to become major actors in residential development. Non-profit housing, developed by municipalities and private groups, together with the non-profit cooperative housing programs, were promoted as replacements for public housing construction. The emergence of well organized articulate neighborhood organizations demanding their views be incorporated into the city's plans, moved the discussion into the political arena in both Vancouver and Toronto. (Editor, Plan Canada, 26:2 p. 46, 1986)

The 1973 amendments to the National Housing Act introduced NIP (The Neighbourhood Improvement Program) and RRAP (The Residential Rehabilitation Program). Both programs being highlighted for inner city neighbourhoods. The emphasis within these two programs was on preservation and improvement of existing neighbourhoods. Cast aside was the clearance and replacement by new forms of housings and layout, as was the case with urban renewal. The directives of the 1970s emphasized maintenance and prevention of physical change. Unfortunately, little attention was given to the social dynamics at the neighbourhood level. The social structure or status within the preserved community was left unaided.

The policy amendments of the early 1970s were successful in preventing physical change, but not social change. Social changes and their ever present dynamic forces, are much more powerful than the planning or political process, and their respective efforts at stabilizing neighbourhoods. In planning and decision making we have tended to ignore market, social and economic forces at play. Therefore, we now suffer a number of

significant planning problems. These include the provision of affordable housing, relating new lifestyles and lifecycle requirements in terms of housing, services, and facilities, and the coordinating social programs and land use decisions. The blame for these inadequacies have been directly linked with the policy changes of the 1970s. As in stabilizing neighbourhoods, the net effect is essentially making them attractive investments for young professionals. This policy has contributed to driving up the cost of inner city housing and displacing lower income groups. It may be causing substantial decreases in the total housing stock available to the rapidly changing demographic structure of our urban population (Plan Canada, 1986). Census statistics show the geopolitically defined central city has been eroded, displaying some population loss from our "growth" period of the 1940s through the 1970s. The 1981 census data on occupied dwellings confirms that no Canadian city is yet in a loss situation in terms of net household change. However, household structure is beginning to display a lower degree of familism. That is, divorces are more frequent and the number of children per household is decreasing (Statistics Canada, 1981).

This past decade, planners, administrator and legislators have emphasized physical protection and stabilization, but have tended to ignor social components within a neighbourhood. Protecting a neighbourhoods social mix has hardly ever been addressed or perceived to be important. However the 1980s has brought to the forefront the need to address these issues.

While planners struggled with the renewal and rehabilitation dilemma, other forces were at work independent of the institutions or government led schemes.

### 1.3 CURRENT FORCES SHAPING THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The process of gentrification began in Canada in the late 1960s and has continued through the 1980s. It has become noticeably apparent that residential rehabilitation is only one facet of a more profound social movement. Market and social forces are presently changing the existing neighbourhoods. The ability to analyze the effects or ramifications of these changes, is directly tied to understanding what is taking place.

As discerned by D. Ley's analysis of census data between 1971 and 1981, increases in social status among inner city districts in larger Canadian cities displayed marked biases across the country. Those cities showing the most rapid inner city social status changes included Halifax, Ottawa, Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto. Slightly lower gains were shown in St. John's, Saskatoon, Quebec City, Kitchener and Edmonton. A third group of even lower gains were noted in Montreal, London, Hamilton, Regina and Windsor. Lastly, the inner cities of Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, St. Catherines - Niagara, Sudbury, Saint John and Oshawa, exhibited only marginal social status gains.

The underlying forces for current changes within Canadian cities has been articulated by J. Lorimer in his article, "Citizens and the Corporate Development of the Contemporary Canadian City". (Lorimer, 1983) They could be summarized as follows:

1. Prospects for the Canadian population are now different as overall population growth is slow. The balance of age groups is changing. In the 1970s the baby boom generation increased demand on the housing market and the number of elderly also increased and continues to do so. A reduction in household size has occurred due to lifestyle preference for smaller households. As well, there has been a redirection of demand pressures to the smaller housing units of the inner city.
2. The prosperous economic cycle of the 1950s, 1960s and some of the 1970s has ended for the time being and the shape of economic development to follow remains uncertain. It would seem that the urban economy is becoming more service orientated, resulting in a higher white collar employment level.
3. In the late 1970s and 1980s there was a shift in our approach to energy consumption. Energy was originally perceived as a plentiful, low-cost resource. However, it is now largely seen as a scarce, high-cost one. This has a substantial effect on disposable income.

4. Land on the urban fringe is very expensive. Prior to the early 1970s, most urban fringe development has occurred because land was inexpensive and, once serviced, construction of a single family dwelling could be sold to an average income family. At the present time, this development is high priced.
  
5. An emphasis on quality of life is currently being directed toward the environment and cultural amenities found in the central city, its activity and cosmopolitan atmosphere. City living is generally being perceived more positively.

The nature and demand for urban accommodations over the next three decades is likely to be quite different than the experience of the past three. The above factors, as outlined, contribute to changes in the inner city and are being recognized as contributing to gentrification.

Some inner city neighbourhoods are improving physically. Their housing stock is being rehabilitated, due to both public and private incentives. The forces within the market have caused property values to increase. The result is, that inner city neighbourhood population is shifting from low and moderate incomes to middle and upper incomes. This income shift is apparent in most inner city neighbourhoods in Canadian Metropolitan areas (Ley, 1985). Especially notable is the changes taking place in the older areas of the city, close to the central business district. The areas which have



aesthetically pleasant historical facades, are easily renovated and converted back to their original grandeur.

Many of the people for whom the neighbourhood was to be preserved, are being displaced due to an increase in the value of property. Existing tenants are unable to afford increased rents, while homeowners cannot afford tax increases. Tenants and homeowners are displaced as a result of the property being sold to individuals who can afford higher process and renovation costs. The neighbourhood then experiences a significant influx of middle-income people. The newcomers buy, rehabilitate the old houses and sell them to affluent families.

In reality, not all inner city neighbourhoods have been shown to exhibit commonalities or general trends. They also exhibit differences (McLemore, et al, 1975). The similarities include being located in close proximity to the central business district. As well they tend to have an older population, lower incomes, less education, often greater unemployment, a greater mixture ethnically, and usually composed of smaller households than the overall metropolitan area. But within these characteristic parameters, inner city neighbourhoods display marked differences.

Most inner city neighbourhoods are affected by these general trends, but the rate of change and impact of these changes vary greatly from one neighbourhood to another.

### 1.3.1 Characteristics of a Gentrifiable Neighbourhood

As referenced previously, prior to the process of gentrification occurring in a neighbourhood, there have been noted commonalities which exist in many inner city neighbourhoods. They have a housing stock which is, or can be made architecturally attractive, and sometimes has historical value. There usually is, at the very least, a core of environmental amenities. The neighbourhood often offers convenient access to downtown services, facilities and cultural amenities. Most gentrification seems to occur in rapidly growing cities where demand for housing is strong and where there is a large professional class with high incomes. Essentially, those cities having an urban economy orientated toward advanced services and a white collar employment structure.

The characteristics apparent in a neighbourhood already experiencing gentrification include a rising level of affluence among residents of the area, a marked improvement in housing quality and often a net decrease in population size.

### 1.3.2 Contributors to Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

At the present time, increased cost of new housing has made existing urban housing look increasingly attractive and competitive. It has been shown that gentrification is not a general back to the city trend (Gale, 1976/77). Rather, most newcomers are moving from other parts of the same central city or from other cities, not from the suburbs. In fact, inner city revitalization has not yet been shown as a reversal of the established trend toward residential suburbanization (Smith & Williams, 1986). Moreover, there is little reason to assume that suburbanization would not continue should there be another period of strong economic expansion. Nor should this pattern of restructuring be seen as excluding the working class absolutely from the urban inner city.

This restructuring of the inner city has occurred within the context of demographic, economic and social changes. Change which has to be explored in order to understand how the outcome, gentrification, could present itself.

Some of the current demographic trends affecting the housing market include the entrance of a large number of highly educated young people, many from the "baby boom" period of World War II,

into the housing market. Likewise, the empty-nesters, a segment of our mature population are re-entering the market. The noted trend is toward fewer or no children per family. There is an increasing tendency for older teenagers and young adults to form their own households, generally accepting alternative lifestyles or postponed marriages. As well, these demographic trends have occurred at a time when consumers have become increasingly disenchanted with the suburban lifestyle. The expense of inefficient land use patterns are being weighed against the perceived advantages of living in, or close to, the central business district.

There have been four groups identified (D. Ley, 1986) as central to the gentrification process. First, the gentrifiers themselves, recent arrivals in the neighbourhood, whose presence adds fuel to the reinvestment process. Second, the property industry, the developers, architects and real estate agents who package and sell the neighbourhood as an image of a particular lifestyle. Third, the public sector, the politicians and administrators who prioritize spending to increase the tax base often at the expense of need or public interest. Essentially, it is the public sector which decides the status of many inner city neighbourhoods. Fourth, are the financial interests, who decide which environments are suitable for potential investment.

These actors are involved within the process of gentrification, but often at different stages of the process. Initially, house prices are stable. Homeowners begin to upgrade

their homes, usually by way of sweat-equity. Then house prices begin to inflate, attracting higher income, middle class households into the market. Once the higher income, middle class householders have entered the market, an increase in rehabilitation activity occurs. The protection and enhancement of the investment then becomes important.

The earliest phase of upgrading usually involves sweat-equity, with only partial assistance by the trades. This phase has been referred to within the literature as incumbent upgrading. At this stage the owners face financial restraints and the availability of government grants derived from established public policy can be critical. The next phase usually sees higher income residents entering the market and larger financing is involved. In the beginning of this phase, the property industry steps in to promote and create an image in the local housing market.

Stage Model of Revitalization on the Local  
Housing Market  
(DeGiovanni, 1983)

1. Initial signs of revitalization.
2. Patterns of increases in sale prices.
3. Increased amount of speculation.
4. Increased rate of rehabilitation activity.
5. Evidence of pattern of displacement.

Source: DeGiovanni, 1983.

#### 1.4 THE DILEMMA

The process of gentrification is a contradiction. At the macroscale, it is perceived beneficial, promoting diversity by increasing the participation rate of middle class households. On the microscale, gentrification is detrimental as it has a polarizing effect on the neighbourhood. Particularly the clash of cultures and lifestyles which must occur when sizable population groups with widely disparate economic and social background co-exist in close proximity.

To date, few analyst or policy-makers have addressed this dilemma with concrete policy guidelines, aimed at essentially trying to analyze ways in which a city can deal with these forces in a politically acceptable way, benefitting lower income as well as affluent households (L. Houstoun, 1976).

To a large extent the interest and controversy surrounding neighbourhood revitalization is focussed on the presumed costs and benefits believed to be produced by re-investment. The largest debate appears to be on whether or not gentrification is causing widespread displacement of neighbourhood residents prior to initial reinvestment. There are other noted changes, both positive and negative, that may result from reinvestment in inner city neighbourhoods. These include improved housing

quality, which is believed to increase property values, which in turn increase property tax revenues for the city. This is a perceived benefit for the city, but the costs imposed on original residents may result in a loss of affordable housing.

The exact extent of displacement, occurring in Canada for the past three decades, is now being monitored.

The current housing market is complex, dynamic and often obscure. Thus, efforts have been made to assist those facing possible displacement. Yet, governments cannot ignore or oppose restoration, which essentially would result in leaving families in declining households and neighbourhoods (L. Houstoun, 1976).

Current public policy has been too limited to fully address this problem. In fact, some instances have shown policy to accelerate the gentrification process. There have been three major policies put forth by the public sector. The first, and most direct, is new social housing construction being subsidized by the provinces. But this policy implementation has fallen considerably short of present need. A second policy, is the attempt to retain existing affordable housing through a range of development restrictions. These include demolition controls, rent controls and restricting condominium conversions. In the short term these have proven advantageous, but through time have been increasingly challenged and by-passed through legal loopholes, resulting in the loss of affordable housing. The third major policy objective has been the preservation and

enhancement of existing households and neighbourhoods. Preservation, improvement policies and downzoning have enhanced inner city neighbourhoods, but do not halt household transition. Therefore, the objective of affordability has largely not been attained.

#### 1.4.1 An Applicable Model

Clearly, there is more than simply residential rehabilitation taking place in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Those cities which recognize the process of gentrification, as these transitions are occurring in local inner city neighbourhoods, will be in a position to create policies and policy objectives which will treat the needs of the affluent and poor simultaneously, at the local level.

Those cities which understand the process of gentrification will create policies applicable to both classes, allowing diversity and density to predominate. These cities will gain increased revenues, improved housing quality and a healthier balance of social groups and incomes in their inner city neighbourhoods.

Can the City of Winnipeg benefit from the experience of other metropolitan areas? The inner city of Winnipeg has recently



experienced some reinvestment and revitalization. Is there a general model of gentrification, or is it particular to each city, or even each neighbourhood. DeGiovanni's model of gentrification has been hypothesized. Can it also be applied to the inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg? Furthermore, if this process is taking place in the City of Winnipeg, within the context of stable economic growth, is it occurring at a slower pace than other cities in Canada. Can policies be created to respond to the need for affordable dwelling units. If so, at what point should a municipality intervene and implement such policies.

#### 1.4.2 Synopsis

The intent of this thesis is to determine if the process of gentrification is occurring in some inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg. In an effort to determine the aforementioned, the following areas will need to be addressed:

- \* Define the process of gentrification.
  
- \* Determine if there is a model for this process. A comparison will be done on neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification in four major urban centres in Canada.

\* Consequently, establish if the inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg are experiencing the process of gentrification.

\* Determine the degree of change within Winnipeg neighbourhoods.

Within the context of this study a basic assumption is made. An assumption is not tested, neither is it defended or argued, it is simply assumed. The assumption here is that although no two Canadian inner city neighbourhoods are identical, they do share certain similar characteristics. Therefore, they are comparable. It is assumed that should a model of gentrification be found applicable and if local governments, after analysis, support intervention, then certain solutions could be explored and borrowed from one neighbourhood to the next.

For the purpose of this study, the following delimitations are made:

1. Although comparative case studies are strictly Canadian, American literature has been referenced in determining the historical process of gentrification.
2. Displacement of persons from their domicile within the inner city neighbourhoods, for whatever reason will not be included within this thesis. Although cognizant of the connection and implication of this effect, within

this thesis concern lay in the mechanics of the process, not the effects.

3. The creation of a "new middle class" or any characterization of it will not be included.

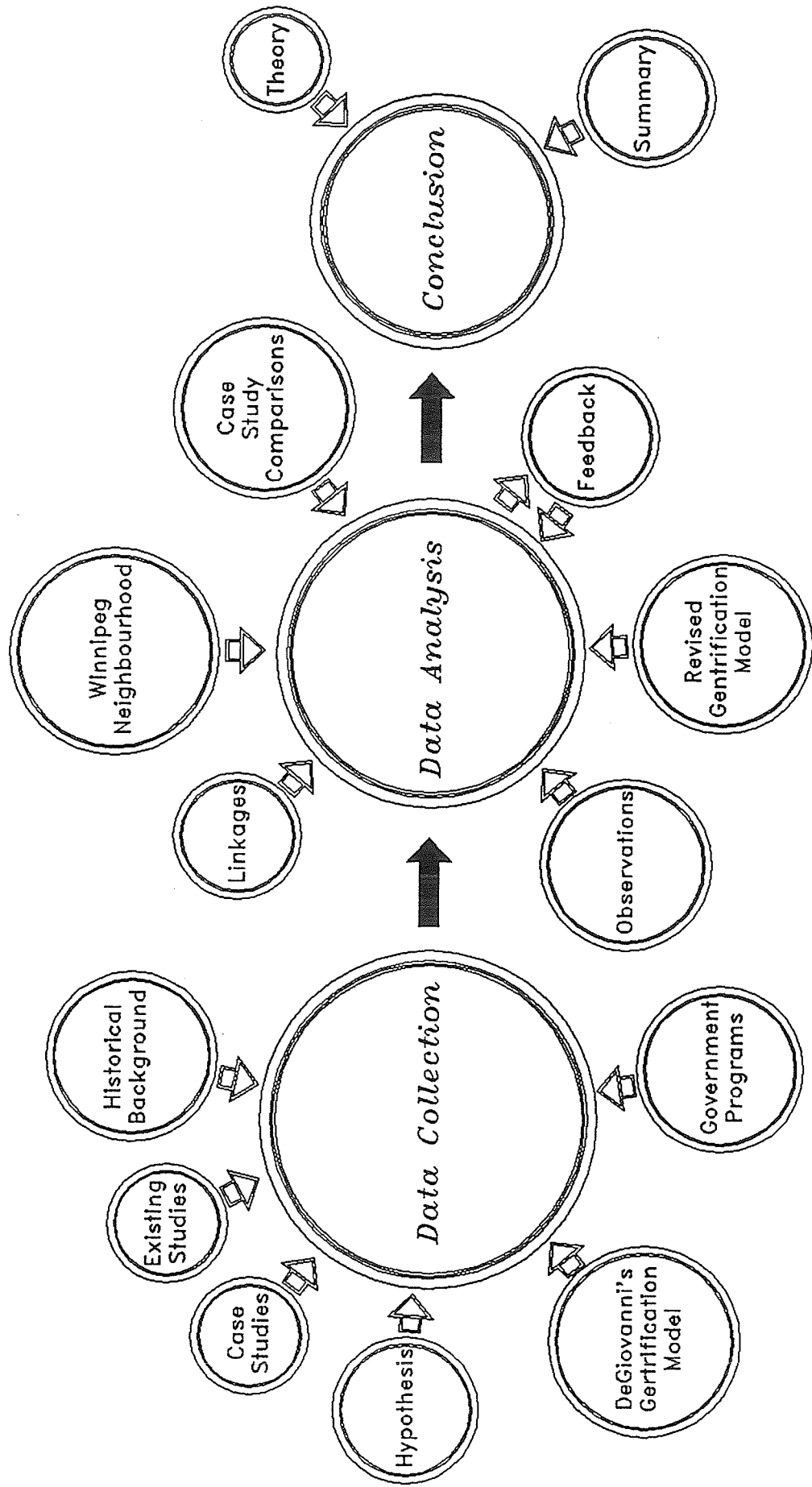
### 1.5 METHODOLOGY

A three phase approach has been adopted for this thesis, as shown in Figure 1.

The first phase of the study, the data collection, deals with background material on the subject matter from a number of sources. Both the Canadian and American literary context were reviewed in terms of the process of gentrification. The inner city neighbourhoods areas were reviewed from a historical, physical, economic and sociological perspective. The evolution of the inner city neighbourhood was then detailed.

A model of gentrification has been developed to compare to four case studies. Information was compiled on four metropolitan centres and their respective inner city neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood Planners were contacted on their individual cities to facilitate input. The government programs and policies implemented within these inner city neighbourhoods were detailed.

# METHODOLOGY



A hypothesis is being put forth, in order to identify gentrifying neighbourhoods. Whereby, if the model is applicable in the twelve inner city neighbourhoods analyzed, it may be applied to an inner city neighbourhood which is experiencing change, successfully identifying that neighbourhood as gentrifying.

The second phase of the study is the data analysis, collating a large amount of data gathered into a workable form. A comparative analysis of the individual neighbourhoods was completed. Linkages and observations were made when trying to apply DeGiovanni's Gentrification Model. Input and feedback into the analytical process was obtained from prominent researchers in the field and the urban centres respective city planners. A revised DeGiovanni's model was created for further comparative analysis. The revision of DeGiovanni's model was done on the premise that the most applicable model would facilitate the hypothesis being tested. Researchers should be able to readily perceive the process of gentrification occurring in an inner city neighbourhood by simply applying the model to the neighbourhood being analyzed.

Also, a windshield survey of inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg was conducted. This survey and a perusal of statistical data reviewed were the basis for choosing four inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg to place within the context of a revised model of gentrification, and further, compare to the twelve neighbourhoods already studied and analyzed.

The third and final phase of the methodology consists of conclusions, hypothesis testing, and a summary. Essentially it is a brief synopsis of whether the revised model and hypothesis has merit, and summarizes findings on the inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg.

## Chapter II

### CASE STUDIES

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Gentrification, in its broadest interpretation, has been found to be taking place in every major metropolitan area in Canada, albeit in varying degrees.

In order to fully understand the dynamics within this process, it is beneficial to examine how different cities have adjusted and responded to the "gentrification" phenomenon. The four cities that have been examined and put forth as case studies are Toronto, Ottawa, Saskatoon, and Vancouver.

These cities have been analyzed within the context of the hypothesized process of gentrification, as outlined in chapter one. A review of the status and the implications of the gentrification process in these cities at the micro level and cross tabulations at the macro level allowed valuable insights to be drawn. Further, these insights were applied toward the understanding of the overall process. Specifically, phases

of this process may be understood as occurring within the inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg. Gentrification is the upgrading and rehabilitation of the existing environment with transitions to the social and economic status of the neighbourhoods. This thesis examines these transitions in the cities of Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver and Saskatoon.

## 2.2 TORONTO

Gentrification of Toronto's inner city neighbourhoods have been underway since the 1960s. Today this process has become part of the mainstream of property development in Toronto. Although initially observed as a process exclusively occurring in small tracts of single family homes in selected neighbourhoods.

At the outset, the renovation process was perceived favorably. It seemed to offer the prospect for residential rehabilitation in a least disruptive manner. However, the resulting increase in housing turnover and the changing social fabric of neighbourhoods have been directly linked with gentrification. This led to the re-evaluation of the phenomenon. Presently, this process induced displacement has been acknowledged as reducing the affordability of the local housing stock, reducing access to traditional sources of



employment and service facilities. As well, the process may destroy the social network that exists within established inner city neighbourhoods.

The housing market conditions in the City of Toronto in the 1960s encouraged many investors and homeowners to renovate their properties to accommodate several additional rental units. The reversal of this process, labelled deconversion, is the current market trend occurring in the City. This trend represents a loss of some of the more affordable rental accommodations available in larger cities. While the emerging demographic trends point to an increasing need for this type of housing.

In the 1970s, after experiencing a decade of intense development pressure, the city of Toronto in 1973 approved its first formal housing policy. Outlined within the policy was a central goal to provide "all residents of decent housing in a suitable environment at a price which they can afford".

The current changes to the housing stock in the City of Toronto included the addition of 10,256 residential properties containing 23,600 dwelling units from 1976 to 1985. Also noted within this time period, 2,071 properties containing 4,697 dwelling units were either demolished or converted to non-residential uses. Unfortunately, these figures are unable to clarify changes that may be taking place within the existing stock of residential properties. The Housing Occupancy Analysis System (HOAS) in Ontario enables an exploration of residential

tenure in the City of Toronto by use of its four-way classification system. This analysis has included statistics for the entire City of Toronto, as metropolitan Toronto is essentially the current existing inner city. This classification allows a better understanding of change in housing stock trends. The four-way classifications includes the category 'owner-occupied', when all units in the property are occupied and owned by the occupants. If the owner of the property does not live in the property, but rents some or all units available, the property is considered 'tenant-occupied'. A property in which the owner resides and either rents out or has available other units for rent is an 'owner-tenant occupied' property. Lastly, the category 'vacant property' is used if all units available are unoccupied at the time of assessment.

The following table, Table 1, provides a breakdown of tenure composition of properties in the City of Toronto and details the net change between 1976 and 1985.

Occupancy of Property	1976		1985		Change	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Owner	66,280	54.8	80,474	62.4	14,194	21.4
Tenant	25,395	21.0	27,190	21.1	1,795	7.1
Owner-Tenant	24,791	20.5	16,543	12.8	-8,248	-33.3
Vacant	4,409	3.6	4,720	3.7	311	7.1
Total	120,875	100.0	128,927	100.0	8,052	6.7

Source: Housing Occupancy Analysis System.  
Toronto, 1986. Research Bulletin 26.

These statistics indicate that an increased amount of the City's residential properties was owner occupied. Much of this increase is attributable to the amount of condominium construction of the past decade. The owner-tenant occupied properties declined at an annual rate of change of -4.4 percent. By 1985 this category has been reduced to 13 percent of the total stock, down from 21 percent in 1976.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of tenure composition by dwelling unit in the City of Toronto and details the net change between 1976 and 1985. Realized here is considerable growth in both the owner and tenant categories. However, there was a dramatic loss of 17,982 units in the owner-tenant category, which represents a -4.1 percent decline per annum.

Occupancy of Property	1976		1985		Change	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Owner	66,436	25.4	80,860	29.7	14,424	21.7
Tenant	131,962	50.4	145,284	53.5	13,322	10.1
Owner-Tenant	57,742	22.0	39,760	14.6	-17,982	-31.1
Vacant	5,739	2.2	5,903	2.2	164	2.9
Total	261,879	100.0	271,807	100.0	9,928	3.8

Source: Housing Occupancy Analysis System.  
Toronto, 1986. Research Bulletin 26.

Table 3 provides a breakdown of tenure composition by population in the City of Toronto and details the net change by tenure class. As well, the net population within the City of Toronto in the last nine years has decreased by 31,569 persons.

Occupancy of Property	1976		1985		Change	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Owner	223,634	36.1	239,234	40.6	15,600	7.0
Tenant	255,815	41.3	262,426	44.6	6,611	2.6
Owner-Tenant Vacant	140,680	22.7	86,870	14.8	-53,780	-38.2
Total	620,099	100.0	588,530	100.0	-31,569	-5.1

Source: Housing Occupancy Analysis System.  
Toronto, 1986. Research Bulletin 26.

Overall, the decline of the owner-tenant category as shown in these three tables has been largely attributed to conversions to owner occupancy. Indeed, of the 24,633 properties that were owner-tenant occupied in 1976, only 11,069 (45 percent) remained so by 1985. Data compiled within Research Bulletin 26 (Toronto, 1986) indicated that factors contributing to this decline include, the increased incidence of empty nesters, as well as a general trend toward smaller households. Contributing factors

for smaller households include the aging of the City's family population and a reduction in the number of children per family. Lastly, undoubling, contributes to the decline of this category as families opt to occupy the entire premises rather than share dwelling units.

Up until this point, we have exclusively viewed housing stock changes in Toronto as connected with changes in tenure, of equal importance are changes in unit availability for the 1976 to 1985 period. To illustrate, Table 4 has taken those available units having experienced changes and grouped them into two general categories. Those experiencing gains and those experiencing losses.

Indicated in Table 4, is that between 1976 and 1985, the overall net loss was 10,940 units or 4.2 percent of Toronto's 1976 housing stock.

Some neighbourhoods are more susceptible to occupancy changes than others. Highlighted here are four inner city neighbourhoods which have experienced either net gains or net losses in terms of housing stock. Included are the South Parkdale Neighbourhood, the Central Core, the North Riverdale Neighbourhood, and West Central Corridor.

The South Parkdale neighbourhood experienced a net gain of 417 dwelling units between 1976 and 1985. This is the direct result of large gains in the multiple-unit stock and to a lesser

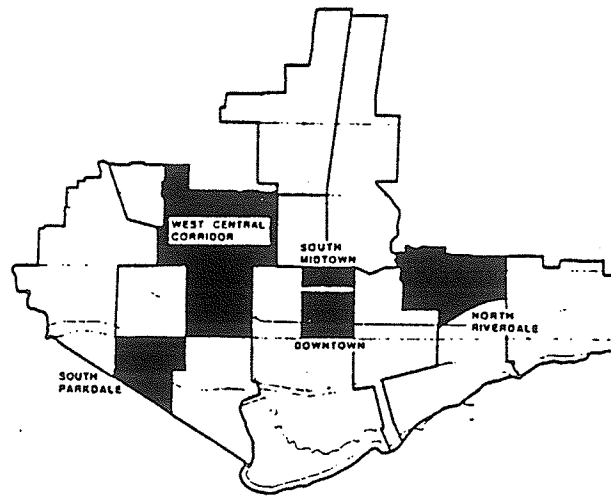
extent the occupancy of previously vacant properties. However, recently South Parkdale has experienced a substantial net loss of units, as the number of bachelorette apartments in the area have been gradually reduced since 1981. Despite the net increase in units, in terms of population there has been an estimated decrease of just less than 1 percent.

TABLE 4

## Change in Housing Stock in Toronto, 1976-1985

<u>Types of Change</u>	<u>Change in Unit Count</u>
<u>Gains</u>	
Conversions	7,610
Intensification	6,696
Other Gains	3,370
<b>Total Gains</b>	<b>17,676</b>
<u>Losses</u>	
Deconversions	-16,929
De-intensification	-8,130
Other Losses	-3,557
<b>Total Losses</b>	<b>-28,616</b>
<b>Total Net Change in Housing Stock</b>	<b>-10,940</b>

Source: Housing Occupancy Analysis System.  
Toronto, 1986. Research Bulletin 26.



Source: City of Toronto, 1986. Research Bulletin 26.

**Figure 2: Toronto: Four Inner City Neighbourhoods**

The Central Core, which includes the Downtown and South Midtown districts, has experienced a net increase in much the same manner as the South Parkdale neighbourhood. The Core experienced a net gain of 208 dwelling units, but at the same time population has decreased.

The North Riverdale neighbourhood typifies the majority of the City of Toronto's neighbourhoods which have experienced a net loss of housing units due to the process of gentrification.

Included in this neighbourhood is the Don Vale district, which has experienced considerable deconversion activity since

the early 1970s. Between 1976 and 1985, a net loss of 1,612 units have resulted in North Riverdale. To date, the neighbourhood continues to dominate the deconversion trend in the City with a 50 percent reduction of the number of owner-tenant properties. The pattern of change, similar for the entire city, is one of considerable losses due to conversion up until 1980, slowed through 1983 and a resurgence during 1984.

The West Central Corridor, traditionally perceived as the reception area for immigrants, recently experienced a net loss of 3,670 dwelling units. Much of this loss has been attributed to the undoubling of immigrant households, which is not associated with the classic gentrification process. However, the most recent losses from the West Central Corridor stock have been associated with gentrification. The population of this area is 15 percent below the 1976 levels, population in the owner-tenant stock is down by 12,885 persons.

The overall implications of this population loss for the inner City of Toronto or at least for the four areas as out-lined seem to suggest that there should be a growing demand for small, modest rental housing units in the inner city. Underlying this trend is the growth of single person households. The supply of affordable converted units is declining, yet it would seem that these types of units would be ideally suited for the recently emergent household type.



The public response to this situation has been to encourage homeowners and investors to make more intensive use of existing stock. In 1982, the City of Toronto established the interdepartmental "Affordable Housing Task Force" to examine ways in which housing stock use could be intensified. In 1983 the Ontario Government initiated a number of pilot projects to experiment with longer term program options. Add-a-Unit and Conserve-a-Unit offered interest free loans to encourage the conversion of single family homes and the rehabilitation of older apartment units, respectively. In the year and a half period of operation, Add-a-Unit created 20 units in Toronto, and Conserve-a-Unit loans were issued for the rehabilitation of 181 apartment units. A third program Convert-to-Rent which offered interest free loans for conversion of non-residential space to rental housing, created an additional 50 units. The Ontario Government recently extended these programs, combining Convert-to-Rent and Add-a-Unit in a new program under the name of the former. Additionally, by 1984, by-laws were drafted that were to increase the flexibility of converting more types of housing from the existing stock, but these changes were met with considerable opposition from ratepayer groups. Although it seems as if residents and ratepayers share some concern for affordable housing, they also fear the negative impacts of proposed changes on their neighbourhoods. To date, a serious supply problem continues to plague the rental sector of the housing market, as permitting conversions of property is no guarantee that any new units will be created or modestly priced.

There has been a limited response to the shortage of rental and affordable owner accommodations. Net gains in housing stock were experienced in South Parkdale, Downtown and South Midtown, yet the deconversion trend is so strong that it overwhelms such modest gains. According to the appointed Task Force, the City response to the issue of affordable housing for small households could occur in three ways. First, it could soften its own regulatory framework or possibly introduce bonus incentives to promote the more intense use of existing housing stock. Second, the City can strengthen its advocate role with respect to other governments. Finally, the city could use its own resources to intervene directly in the housing market, creating more affordable units. Whether any, or all three options are implemented within the City of Toronto, they would have to be sensitively managed and their impacts sensitively measured.

### 2.3 VANCOUVER

In the Vancouver area, households in significant numbers have been drawn toward the inner city housing market. This has been due to the increase in economic activity which has occurred in the core area from the 1960s through the 1970s. Accompanying this economic stimulation has been population growth within the City. The population of Vancouver has grown 21 per cent. Respectively, 4, 8 and 9 per cent in the successive five year

periods between 1966 and 1981. However, within the inner city there has been a noted decline in population, but an increase in the number of households formed. Thus, while employment opportunities in the central business district continue to increase, the proportion of those who both work and live in the City has been declining.

There are some changing population and household characteristics which have affected the demand for housing in the inner City of Vancouver. These include a shift in Vancouver's demographic composition. Noted is the loss of pre-schoolers, school children, and their parents. Meanwhile, young and middle-aged adults and retired citizens have replaced them. Household composition has altered with age composition changes. Families with children have been replaced by more numerous and smaller non-family households. It also appears, although limited in supporting data, "that the number of low income households as a proportion of the City total has decreased while higher income households have become more numerous" (Housing Synopsis, p11., 1981).

Vancouver's building records indicate that there are approximately 172,000 dwelling units within the city in 1981. Fifty-three per cent of this stock is ground-oriented. While apartments comprise 48 per cent of the City's stock. (Housing Synopsis, p15, 1979, revised 1981)

The City of Vancouver has an urban setting which is an attractive place to work and reside. In fact, the City's physical geography has been noted as conducive to gentrification (Mills, City Magazine 1986-87). Amenities in terms of views, parks and beaches, have made city living attractive. While, continued growth and congestion have compounded the difficulty of access to a growing office-based employment in the downtown peninsula.

Households have been drawn toward the inner City of Vancouver as the quality of life is perceived equivalent in both inner and outer city neighbourhoods. In fact, the neighbourhoods located in close proximity to the central business district have been recognized by the City, through the Local Area Planning Program (LAP), as conversion areas. The City has outlined the existing role of conversion areas...

..as providing a significant amount of the City's less expensive ground-oriented, rental housing close to downtown and to community facilities. These areas are long established, stable and often attractive with fine old homes and mature street trees. They have been facing increasing development pressure as further employment growth occurs in the City core. (City of Vancouver, 1983)

A key issue for conversion areas, was whether Council should encourage the continuation of the areas existing role or a new role be adopted, leading to development at higher densities. The City of Vancouver actually decided to adopt both roles. "The future role of the conversion areas can be summarized as conservation and selective densification" (City of Vancouver,

Planning Dept. Report to Council. Subject: Inner city Conversion Areas - Policy Directions 1983)

The inner-city conversion area has been defined as a narrow ring of older housing units surrounding the downtown core. Many of the houses located here have been converted into duplex or multiple occupancy, while they continue to experience pressure to further redevelop. Unfortunately, as new construction declines and vacancy rates are lowered, persons in rental accommodations can expect to experience less choice in housing, as well as increasing rents. This pressure may result in renewed construction activity, but in the interim those persons least able to compete for housing will experience hardship.

The City of Vancouver, has published reports approved by City Council, which have stated that the ...

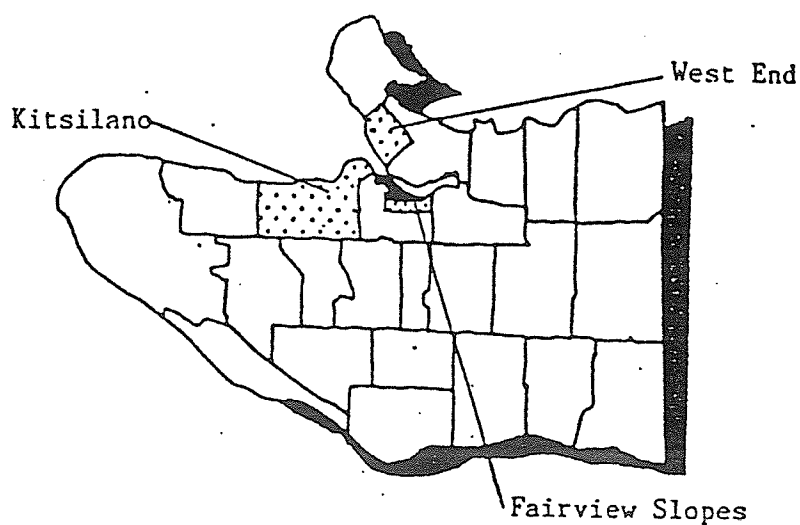
City has a responsibility to ensure that some opportunities exist for persons with special needs and on modest incomes who require access to the employment and services provided by the central core to live in the City. (Housing Synopsis, p.2, 1981)

Indeed, the two goals which appear to be implied by the majority of Vancouver's housing policies are...

1. Maintain a housing supply within the City which is sufficient to meet housing demands and the needs of a variety of socio-economic groups for accommodations in the City.

2. To maintain and improve the quality of residential areas.

Some neighbourhoods continue to experience change and a great deal of development pressure today. Outlined here are three inner-city neighbourhoods which have undergone, since the early 1970s onward, significant social and physical change. These neighbourhoods contain a large proportion of strata-titled registration. They accommodate an above average share of tertiary workers and white-collar workers, having higher levels of education. Their households contain fewer children and the proportion of non-english speakers is below city average. Three such neighbourhoods are Kitsilano, Fairview Slopes and the West End. (Ley, Cdn. Geog. 1981) These neighbourhoods have been highlighted in an effort to discover more fully the implications of the gentrification process in the inner city neighbourhoods of Vancouver.



Source: Quarterly Review

Figure 3: Vancouver: Three Inner City Neighbourhoods

The Kitsilano district was a declining neighbourhood in the 1960s. Its housing stock was fifty years old and in need of improvement. However, by 1976, Kitsilano had experienced revitalization, with the greatest investment derived from the private sector. Noted below are the changing characteristics which were apparent by 1976 (Ley, 1981).

1. The proportion of children had continued to decrease. In 1976, sixty per cent of all households contained no children. \*By 1986, sixty-nine per cent of all households had no children (\*Stats Cdn. 1986, c.t. 41, 42, 45.01{.02}, 46, 47 & 48)
2. Only the 25-34 age cohort increased substantially, while losses registered for other age groups.
3. Significant rise in education levels in the area.
4. One-third of the employed residents were engaged in a quaternary occupation, and their mean incomes reflected this upward lift.

Increasing demand pressure throughout the redevelopment process aided the rapid inflation of land values and increasing rents prior to the imposition of rent controls. In 1974, rental vacancy rates had reached zero per cent (Ley, 1981). Real Estate activity was intense and highly opportunistic throughout the 1970s and 1980s. To date, densification pressure remains

intense in this neighbourhood. The impact of the gentrification process in Kitsilano has been the forfeiture of low- and middle-income housing stock, and the erosion of community infrastructure.

In 1972, the West Broadway Citizens' Committee (WBCC) was formed to oppose the demolition and redevelopment of Kitsilano's housing stock. Unfortunately, the WBCC efforts to persuade Council to grant them greater local autonomy has been repeatedly rejected. Resultantly, the local area planning (LAP) in Kitsilano has done little in directing this redevelopment cycle.

A second inner-city gentrifying neighbourhood, Fairview Slopes, is fewer than twenty city blocks. It is located on the steep hill south of the False Creek residential development. The neighbourhood has dramatic views of the downtown across the Creek, with the mountains beyond. Fairview Slopes is an exemplary neighbourhood with regards to the gentrification process in Vancouver. This is due to the noted speed of change in regard to the neighbourhoods landscape, residents and an emergent new image.

In the 1960s, Fairview Slopes was a physically deteriorated neighbourhood. Light industry, warehouses and interspersed older housing collectively, made up the neighbourhood. By 1972, the Planning Department, in realizing the amenity potential due to the topography and location of the district,



decided a mixed zoning scheme would be assumed. Low density development was encouraged at the centre of the area, while higher densities were designated to the periphery. City Council adopted the Fairview Slopes Plan in 1976. This plan confirmed the Planning Departments vision of the neighbourhood. It would be a combination of residential and commercially compatible uses, aesthetically blended in order to create a unique landscape within the inner-city. This policy addressed the issue of density and outlined design criteria for new developments.

In the 1970s the sixteen block area defined by the Planning Department as Fairview Slopes contained approximately 145 houses, a few older apartment buildings and two new townhouse developments. Population in the area was estimated at accommodations. In 1986, the neighbourhood contained approximately 90 new apartment and condominium developments, ranging in size from two to over seventy units each. An estimated 50 single family homes remained. Although, many had been converted into office space or rooming houses. Population in 1986 ranged between 1500-2000 persons.

The Fairview Slopes neighbourhood has rapidly changed. It has become more densely populated, but at the risk of becoming more socially and economically homogenous. This area is distinct and significant, especially in retrospect of the degree of decline and deterioration the neighbourhood had realized.

A third inner city neighbourhood which has experienced revitalization in Vancouver is the West End. The West End was originally settled at the turn of the century. The upper-class Victorian homes that existed gave way to apartment construction in a redevelopment cycle of the 1950s. During the 1960s, this redevelopment cycle accelerated. The predominant type of dwelling unit constructed was the high rise apartment building. This dramatically changed the character of the West End, both physically and socially.

Responding to these changes, a local area style planning program was initiated in the West End in 1973. Essentially diversity of land use and character, with greater emphasis on neighbourhood amenities, was sought as the major policy objective for development. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the West End neighbourhood on a continuous basis, faced intense development pressure. Once again the West End is experiencing dramatic changes, although these are now being perceived as social changes rather than simply physical change.

The West End is an established apartment area, adjacent to Vancouver's central business district. This neighbourhood, unlike Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes, has not been included as part of the inner city conversion area. So, no zoning exists that would encourage the upgrading of older walk up units or sensitive infill. Rather, the current trend toward greater

densification, condominium conversion and increasing rents continues.

The City of Vancouver has conceded that the process of gentrification is occurring in their inner city neighbourhoods. The City has monitored the progress of this redevelopment cycle. It has outlined the area under intense pressure as "conversion areas". Actions undertaken, have been to stabilize and conserve these areas through local area planning (LAP), neighbourhood improvement and housing rehabilitation programs. These policies have generally been perceived as successful. Although, the City has been unable to retain affordable housing or provide greater density housing near the core. (Managers Report, p.4, June 1983 Subject: Inner-City Conversion Areas-Policy Directions)

Since the passing of a city by-law in 1973, prohibiting the conversion of rental units to condominiums, no conversions have been allowed. However, upgrading has continued and in an inflating land market the highest and best use results in the removal of previous uses. The use of city by-laws have proven to be an ineffective antidote to gentrification. The City of Vancouver has rejected by-law amendments on demolition control and condominium construction. Council believes these are poor solutions to the housing problem the City is experiencing. They have stated that by-laws neither divert redevelopment pressure, nor promote the upkeep of redeemed units. Moreover, these pressures have been perceived as largely outside of the City's

Charter authority. (Ley, Cdn. Geog, p. 143, 1981) Thus, the City's role has been limited in dealing with pressure generated from private redevelopment due to its modest resources. Inner Vancouver has experienced displacement of affordable housing as a consequence of the revitalization process. (Ley, Cdn. Geog, p. 139, 1981) The city's role has been reduced to acting as a regulator, rather than a director of change.

The City Planning Department has a number of strategies tabled in an effort to meet Vancouver's core housing problem. These include housing and shelter allowances right through to the direct construction of units. However, all these policies rely on significant fiscal commitment from senior levels of government. The City has included within the Vancouver Plan a program which implies an active intent to "pursue more housing and higher average densities in the city". As well as, "take a greater account of the social consequences of city change". (The Vancouver Plan, The City's Strategy for Managing Change, p. 16, July 1986)

#### 2.4 OTTAWA

Ottawa's inner city neighbourhoods have experienced a great deal of development pressure. Gentrification continues today to erode the supply of affordable housing in these neighbourhoods.

As a result of emerging demographic and development trends, it has been generally recognized that the existing housing stock represents an increasingly important source of supply for meeting future housing requirements. The inner city neighbourhoods have experienced the greatest pressure recently as a result of these trends, evidenced by the residential intensification, gentrification and infill development processes now occurring. These trends have resulted in a continuing erosion of the supply of affordable rental housing and in tenant displacement due to conversion, deconversion, renovation and demolition activities. (Ottawa, Housing Study-Work Program CD 4310-1, 1984)

In the early 1970s, Ottawa's condominium market was buoyant. However, the late 1970s witnessed an increase in construction and conversion activity. The market was flooded. Over building and fear of depletion of the rental market prompted Ottawa's City Council to apply condominium restrictions, as did the Region. Although the condominium-apartment market has essentially been regulated, high land prices and demand have kept housing costs up in the inner city. Additional affordability problems were created within the inner city by extensive rehabilitation of residential housing since 1975. Government programs such as RRAP and NIP, have improved many inner city dwellings, but at the cost of increasing house inflation and displacing low and moderate income renters (Ottawa, Demographic & Housing Changes, 1979). Rents increase after property is improved. As a result, the general costs of housing in the neighbourhood increase. The removal of the low end of the rental market of the inner city has been noted in Centretown, Sandy Hill, and The Glebe.

It should be noted that Ottawa is unique in that it has a

large proportion of single and non-family households. Ottawa has a large amount of rental households in comparison to other Canadian Metropolitan Areas. Any reduction in units as a result of rehabilitation activity, has considerably affected the low and moderate rental housing market for single persons. The rooming house stock in the inner city has suffered a forty percent loss of all units since 1976 (Ottawa, Housing for Single Persons, p.4, 1979) and this trend continues.

The forces apparent in the inner city housing market since 1975 have netted problems of affordability, as well as availability of moderate priced units. These deficiencies continue to plague the City of Ottawa throughout the 1980s.

The Community Development Department in the City of Ottawa has continually monitored these trends. The Department, since 1975, has published report after report in an effort to highlight the serious ramifications of general trends occurring. All of these reports have contained recommendations. Some of these recommendations have been outlined in the following:

1. No conversion of rental properties to ownership tenure be permitted in the inner city neighbourhoods of Ottawa (Dalhousie, Lowertown, Sandy Hill, Centretown, The Glebe, Ottawa-South and Ottawa-East). Exceptions may be allowed in cases of single detached housing.

2. Council ratifies the principle that non-profit housing corporations should be given development advantages within the inner city areas of Ottawa.
3. Further, Council directs the Planning Branch in conjunction with the Municipal Non-Profit Housing Corporation to consult with non-profit groups in an effort to develop means by which the municipality can assist them in future development.
4. That the Community Development Department conduct a study on the possibility and methods in which the City encourage and expand the availability of shared accommodations.

(Source:Ottawa, Instability and Tenant Displacement. CDD, 1979)

In 1985 the Mayor's Task Force on Housing was completed. This study was initiated in an effort to assure the supply of affordable housing, to obtain maximum benefits from the City's housing fund and to recommend a plan of action. This housing study concluded that at least thirty percent of the total low rise rental stock alone was in considerable jeopardy over the next ten years. In increasing the forecast to twenty years, the survey found that possibly over fifty percent of the low rise stock would permanently disappear. These estimates of loss could represent in the tens of thousands of units in the City of Ottawa.

The Mayor's Task Force on Housing major recommendation was that the City acquire 1500 units of existing stock, taking on a proactive role as landlord. The scenario the Task Force outlined was an innovative effort to tackle the affordable housing problem in the inner city of Ottawa. The City would purchase these housing units at approximately \$25,000 each, additionally there would be a \$5,000 renovation cost. Then, the existing tenants who could afford to pay "market" level rents would do so, subsidizing those who were unable to pay market levels. The rent of wealthier tenants would supply additional revenue to the City, who could provide rent geared to income (RGI) subsidies to needy tenants from a waiting list. Needy tenants could move into the units as they became available through normal turnover. Although an innovative strategy, the programs effectiveness requires two essential ingredients. First, that the existing rental buildings could be purchased and renovated for \$30,000. Second, that there is a tenant population paying below "market" rents and could afford to pay more. In analysis, the City found the first ingredient holds true, although renovation costs were estimated slightly higher. Unfortunately, the requirement for a tenant population paying below market rents, who could afford to subsidize needy tenants proved false. As study team found that even if significant rent increases occurred for non-needy tenants, they would not generate enough revenue to eliminate the level of housing need already in place in many existing properties.



The City of Ottawa had recognized within this Task's Force Study that affordability is a problem. Indeed, the preservation of affordable housing stock within the inner city will be a significant housing problem in the next decade. Recognition of this factor has resulted in an increase in funding by the City of one million dollars in 1984 and two and a half million dollars in 1985. With increased funding, City Living, the City's housing agency, has initiated an innovative and successful rooming house program, but these types of programs are restricted by budget allocations, usually perceived as short-termed solutions. Increased expenditures by senior levels of government, has been recognized by City Council as essential if this housing problem is to be tackled. (Amendments on Mayor's Task Force. p.16,1985) Future debenture for the City of Ottawa is perceived by Council as increased demand is placed on it in terms of mandatory municipal equity in order to participate in senior government housing programs. The Mayor's Task Force of housing presented a concept to provide an adequate supply of publicly assisted housing.

The Task Force put forth three general recommendations which were parleyed into twenty-three specific recommendations outlined within the Report. These recommendations included the following:

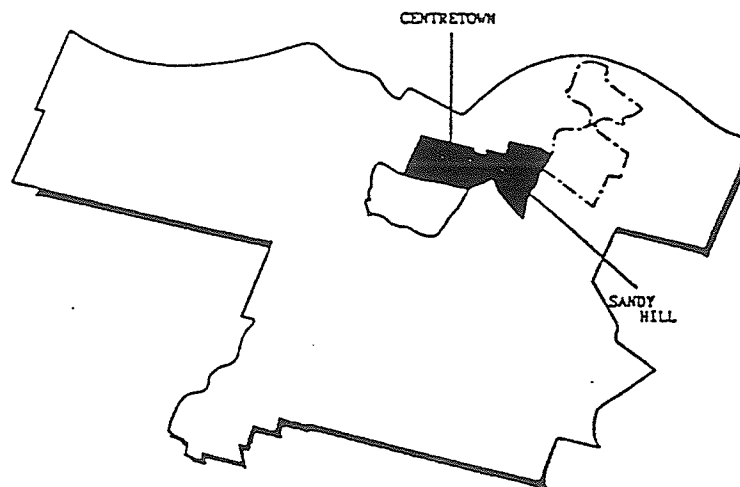
1. To increase the supply of affordable ownership and rental units.

2. To reserve public funds with deep subsidies for those with extreme problems and for those with special needs.
3. To improve the institutional and managerial mechanisms which affect the housing process.

While the Task Force was studying the housing problems, City Living completed a review of the majority of vacant lands within the City's land assembly. The agency wanted to establish the long term housing development potential for this land. Intent is to develop a disposal strategy for land not needed for City initiated housing purposes, whether by City Living, private or third sector developers. They discovered an inventory of over 700 properties, many already zoned residential while others could be developed for housing purposes or sold. Identifying this potential source of land or revenue and formulating a long term management strategy for their application to housing is a key element of any overall housing strategy for the City.

Two neighbourhoods in the City of Ottawa which continue to experience development pressure because of gentrification are Centretown and Sandy Hill. These inner city neighbourhoods have been highlighted in my effort to discover some of the physical, economic and social forces at play. Both neighbourhoods have experienced rehabilitation activity, resulting in the removal of the low end of the rental market in the inner city areas.

The Centretown neighbourhood is one of several residential communities adjacent to the central business district of the Ottawa-Hull area. The neighbourhood has experienced escalating land values in the past number of years, as offices, retail commercial uses, parking lots and high rise apartments compete for property. As these uses intruded on the residential character of Centretown, the City of Ottawa implemented a Development Plan in 1976.



Source: Statistics Canada 1986, Reproduced by Author.

Figure 4: Ottawa: Two Inner City Neighbourhoods

The Development Plan was created in conjunction with the City's policy on neighbourhood planning as initiated in 1973. The Development Plan was essentially an effort by the City to control future development. Addressed was population mix, housing supply, heritage preservation, physical environment, recreation and cultural activities, social services, transportation and the rejuvenation of a commercial component. The City had the power and finances to put in place a new zoning

by-law, heritage restrictions, and some social services. They were unable to offer assistance to those experiencing hardship due to the economic and social pressures mounting in the neighbourhood. By 1979, in the City of Ottawa, Centretown had experienced the largest severances in row and semi-detached rental units, including many rooming houses, as owner-occupied housing was created. (Housing for Single Persons within the City, 1979) Although, many of the demolished units have been replaced by new rental units, the resultant market rents are too expensive for approximately forty percent of the inner city singles.

A second neighbourhood experiencing gentrification is Sandy Hill. In 1975, the City's Planning Department completed a neighbourhood study and outlined a Development Plan for the area. But once again, physical planning, such as land use and transportation were dealt with effectively, while the social and economic problems although recognized, were simply set aside.

By 1975, Sandy Hill's population characteristics were changing. It was evident that the proportion of single persons were increasing while the number of school children were declining. The rental accommodations in Sandy Hill remained predominant, yet notable decreases in units had taken place. "Centretown and Sandy Hill have experienced the loss of major portions of their rooming house stock since 1976." (Housing for Singles, p.6, 1979) Both neighbourhoods show recent signs of rehabilitation. Resultantly, converted or new housing stock is

then rented at higher prices forming luxury rental markets.

The City of Ottawa has recognized that the declining supply of affordable rental units is the most important housing issue it currently faces. This issue is directly linked with the gentrification process. As well, because of economic and market forces, the provision of low cost rental housing has fallen increasingly to government and nonprofit/third sector agencies.

Some production studied to demand may occur from the public and non-profit production sources but it is unlikely production levels would be significant without some fundamental changes in rent-geared-to-income eligibility guidelines and in the overall amounts of dollars made available for federal subsidies to non-profit housing corporations. (Ottawa, Community Development Department (CDD), 1979.)

Meanwhile, there exists a great deal of uncertainty in the future of senior government housing programs and greater financial assistance. There are, however, municipal initiatives within this housing policy area which the City's Planning Department is exploring.

#### The Housing Study Work Program

1. Encourage new rental units through zoning incentives such as density bonus; modifications to land use regulations and zoning by-laws which affect residential supply.

2. Promote the greater utilization of existing housing stock (ie. home sharing).
3. Consider the adaptation of building/land not currently in residential use, for residential purposes.
4. Using municipally-owned lands and properties for joint ventures with the private sector or non-profit groups in residential projects involving lower cost housing.
5. Innovative financing strategies for new non-profit housing construction or acquisitions.
6. Take opportunities to effectively lobby the senior governments on housing issues.

Each of these initiatives have been investigated by either the Planning Department, City Living or a specially created task force. Up until now, the City has curbed condominium conversion activity and has acted on preserving and increasing rooming house stock on a small scale through City Living. As well, the City of Ottawa is establishing a housing monitoring and evaluation system. Through the Housing Study the City is investigating financial incentives and mechanisms, zoning amendments, severance controls of existing semi-detached and row dwellings, shared housing programs and selective demolition controls as options in preserving an affordable housing stock.

At this time, Ottawa's City Council is evaluating a number of options. The option of creating a new all encompassing housing department, or grant a mandate to a regional task force on intensification. However, the greatest emphasis seemingly always falls back on lobbying the senior levels of government for direction and most importantly, financial commitment.

## 2.5 SASKATOON

Some Inner City neighbourhoods in Saskatoon have experienced active reinvestment. Saskatoon's inner city neighbourhoods are similar to other inner city areas in western Canada, where slow economic development has stabilized population and physical growth.

The inner city neighbourhoods of Saskatoon (1986 population 200,665, Statistics Canada) include Caswell Hill, City Park, Nutana, Pleasant Hill and Riversdale. These were some of the first residential areas developed. By late 1970, they had a small population of 20,000, while containing approximately twenty percent of the cities housing stock. (Phipps, Canadian Geographer. p.243, 1983.)

Outlined are some of the economic factors contributing to the current stability of the homeowners housing market in the inner

city neighbourhoods of Saskatoon.

1. Located adjacent to a central business district in which large office complexes and corporate headquarters have been locating in recent years.
2. Neighbourhoods are close to other major institutional employment centres, such as the University of Saskatchewan, or City Hospital.
3. Saskatoon's economic growth has been approached cautiously by controllers of the housing market. As a result, average house prices have inflated while rental vacancy has been chronically low since at least 1978.

The neighbourhoods in Saskatoon had become increasingly attractive to higher income households in the late 1970s. Indeed, the inner city neighbourhoods are regarded by the City as ripe for revitalization. The City is encouraging renovation activity, whether it is apartment block, rental suites on the fringe or complete gentrification in the interior, stable areas of the inner city neighbourhoods.

The three inner city neighbourhoods explored here are City Park, Nutana West and Riversdale. The inner city areas of Nutana West and City Park are historically distinctive, have aesthetically pleasant housing facades with large mature trees contributing to the landscape. Indeed, City Park has been noted



by the Planning Department as ripe for gentrification. The remaining inner city neighbourhoods are less attractive, yet have in the recent past offered some of the most affordable single-family housing in the city.

Redevelopment activity in Saskatoon has in reality been confined to small sub areas. However, by 1978, the total number of dwellings in the core neighbourhoods consist of less than forty-five percent single family dwelling units, fifty-one percent of duplex and multi-family units and four percent apartment blocks having more than six units. Community resistance against further redevelopment and loss of single family units had gained strength by this time, persuading City Council to impose a freeze on apartment construction. Council invoked Section 57 of the Planning and Development Act, allowing a one year interim development control period during which all residential construction of more than two units requires Councils approval prior to construction. By 1982, a compromise resolved this conflict, as Council downzoned the stable interior areas for the neighbourhoods limiting them to single family and duplex dwelling types. As well, RRAP assistance had become available for all five inner city neighbourhoods.

Pressure remains intense for redevelopment in the inner city neighbourhoods of Saskatoon. Due largely to the size and growth of the 24-34 age group. The nature of this demand reflects changes in Saskatoon's demographic make-up.

The following table provides a breakdown of the demographic composition of the City of Saskatoon.

Age Group	1971	1976	*1986
0 - 14	29.1	24.7	23.2
15 - 24	20.4	22.9	18.8
25 - 34	13.7	15.6	20.3
35 - 44	10.8	9.8	12.6
45 - 54	8.9	8.8	8.4
55 - 64	7.3	7.8	7.1
65+	9.8	10.4	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Toward Downtown Housing, 1980  
\*Taken from Statistics Canada, 1986.

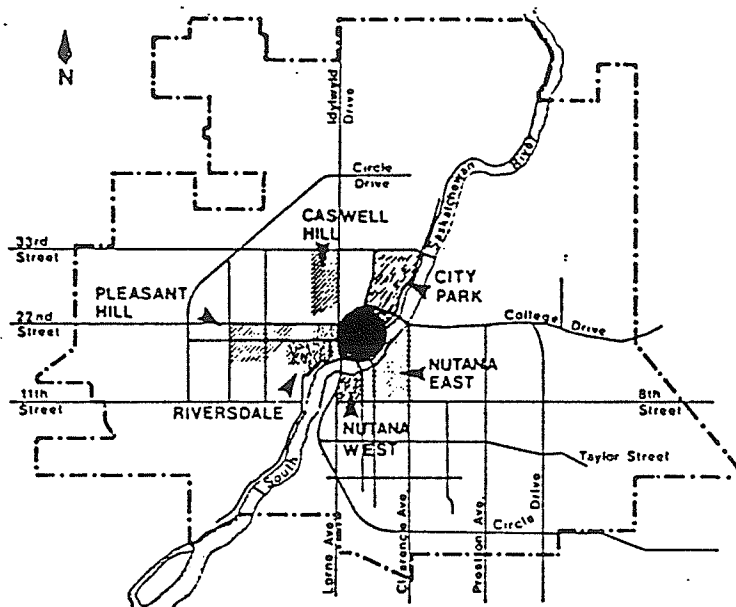
In 1980, the City Planning Department published a discussion paper on housing in the downtown area. Overall, housing was to be encouraged in the central business district, as implemented in A Plan for Downtown published in 1986. Ideally, it is believed by Council that increased residential density in the downtown is beneficial as it creates more "after-six" activity, while relieving some redevelopment pressure from the five surrounding inner city neighbourhoods. Council was to investigate methods to encourage housing developments in the downtown. City Administration was to monitor the supply and demand for housing developments in or near the downtown, in an effort to ensure an adequate supply of multiple unit residential development sites. As well, amendments to zoning by-laws were

to increase the permitted density of residential development by providing a floor area bonus in exchange for enclosed parking. Council encouraged mixed use by permitting an increase in floor area for commercial space if residential units are built on the same site. Generally, the policies and objective put forth by the City of Saskatoon were perceived as directives to encourage redevelopment forces in revitalizing a dying core area and its surrounding neighbourhoods. Effort was placed on achieving better control and regulation over location, design, scale, compatibility and impacts of future residential developments, emphasis has been placed on multiple unit types.

The inner city neighbourhood of City Park is one of Saskatoon's oldest areas. It is a pleasant living environment, with a strong sense of being self-contained. City Park is located directly north of the central business district, adjacent to the City Hospital. This community has been perceived by the City, as being composed of diverse sub-districts. These sub-districts exhibit different character, potential and housing types. Nevertheless, the community's proximity to the core and hospital continue to exert an attraction for a number of forms of housing accommodation. City Park south is a transitional area, consisting of single and duplex dwellings, rooming houses, converted housing, walk-ups and high rise apartment units. This area is one of the most densely populated and developed in the City. City Park north of Queen Street is stable and low density, in character with the

remaining four inner city neighbourhoods of Saskatoon.

City Park in its recent past experienced an increase in population, from 1981 to 1986 the net increase was 19 percent. The proportion of singles in City Park is 72 percent compared with the City-wide 53 percent. Further, the proportion of the



Source: Ley, David. *The Canadian Geographer*, 1981.

Figure 5: Saskatoon: The Inner City Neighbourhoods

areas population in the 20-34 age category is 44 percent of the total population found in the neighbourhood. (Stats Canada, 1986) Therefore, demographically, a large segment of the City Park neighbourhood consists of young adult singles, many in rental accommodations and others in purchased single family dwelling units located in the interior of the neighbourhood. NIP and RRAP has been utilized within City Park in an effort to conserve the stable nature of the interior. Yet, along with abnormally low vacancy rates, this neighbourhood has become an attractive investment for young professionals. The City of Saskatoon has responded to current trends and changes in City Park by creating a number of policy districts. Each district has a distinct zoning designation, from high to low density, mixed use of office designation. The norther sector of City Park is restrictive residential development, while the northern sector and fringe area are higher density, office and mixed use zoning.

A second inner city neighbourhood is Saskatoon experiencing change is Nutana West. This neighbourhood is part of Saskatoon's original historic townsite. The area contains a number of historically designated buildings. It's close proximity to the central business district and University make the area attractive to city residents. Nutana West is a self-contained neighbourhood with few incompatible land uses, a range of housing types and most importantly scenic amenities such as the riverbank, tree-lined streets and topographic variation.

This neighbourhoods potential for rehabilitation was noted by the City's Planning Department in the late 1970s. This neighbourhood has a range of housing types and a healthy population mix. Yet, Nutana West does have a higher than average number of people in the 20-29 age category, as well as proportionately less children under 14 years old than the City as a whole.

In the late 1970s the Nutana West area experienced some pressure for apartment development. By the 1980s the area had an overall net density of 18 units per acre (Neighbourhood Study, p. 55, 1980). It should be noted that this figure is somewhat deceiving as the majority of units built were apartments containing twelve or more units.

A third neighbourhood experiencing change in Saskatoon is Riversdale. Riversdale is one of the oldest residential neighbourhoods in the City. It has a net residential density of 10.8 units per acre (Neighbourhood Study, 1980). In 1980, 60 percent of the dwelling units were single detached, 10 percent were apartment blocks containing more than twelve units, while the remainder were duplex and multi-family dwellings.

The City has denoted this neighbourhood as having a stable interior zone while the periphery, especially sites adversely affected by railway lines and industrial uses, are on the decline. The interior sub-districts are perceived worthy of preservation, as well as conversion.

Demographically, the neighbourhood has a higher than average number of senior citizens. The City has recognized that many of the smaller houses in Riversdale provide a useful function as either starter or retirement housing. Although limited in terms of potential scenic amenities, this neighbourhood has some potential for rehabilitation. The City is encouraging the interior and accessible river lots on the southern section of the neighbourhood to gentrify. Meanwhile, the fringe, being the area closest to the central business district, is ideally a denser development area.

The inner city neighbourhoods in Saskatoon are experiencing change. The three neighbourhood explored are all under pressure to redevelopment in some of its inner city neighbourhoods. Essentially, the City Park neighbourhood is rehabilitating at an accelerated pace, while Nutana West and Riversdale are following suite. The City has responded to these changes by trying to direct residential development into the downtown. This was done with A Plan for Downtown. Further, the Neighbourhood Study cleared the way for council to downzone the interior stable areas of each neighbourhood, while allowing greater density development on the fringe areas.

At this time, seemingly Saskatoon is welcoming the private rehabilitation that is taking place. The City has used its zoning tool in an effort to control the type of development occurring. Otherwise, it would appear that the City is taking a wait and see approach.

2.6 SUMMARY

All twelve inner city neighbourhoods outlined in this chapter have been shown to share marked differences as well as similarities. Figure 5 is a matrix including all the inner city neighbourhoods comparative to one another within the context of DeGiovanni Model. Although these twelve neighbourhoods are examined and evaluated further in chapter three, this simple matrix will allow an overview of current social and economic trends as reviewed within this chapter. As well, it should help the reader of this thesis bring all twelve inner city neighbourhoods together comparatively even though each city had its own evaluating research methodology.

		TORONTO	VANCOUVER			OTTAWA	SASKATCON						
		North Riverdale	West Central Cor	Central Corridor	South Parkdale	Kitsilano	West End	Fairview Slopes	Sandy Hill	Centretown	City Park	Riversdale	Nutana West
DEGIOVANNI INDICATORS	Densification	X	X	X		X	X				X	X	
	Revitalization	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Sale Price Increase	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	Speculation Increase	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		
	Rehabilitation	X			X		X	X	X				
	Displacement	X			X		X	X	X				

Source: Author, 1989

Figure 6: Comparative Matrix of Inner City Neighbourhoods



All twelve neighbourhoods evaluated are located in the geopolitically defined inner city area of four major metropolitan areas across the country. They are all experiencing, in varying degrees, pressure to rehabilitate. As well, the local governments have afforded some effort to bring about an understanding and some conclusions on the process taking place within their local environments. Comparatively, these neighbourhoods also present marked differences. They differ with regards to their local physical environment, the local economy in which they survive, as well as the current decision makers.

These similarities and differences will be outlined and explored in greater detail in the following chapter. Chapter 3 evaluates and compares the twelve inner city neighbourhood as outlined here.

## Chapter III

### EVALUATIONS OF CASE STUDIES

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The first chapter outlined the overall process of gentrification. The second explored the process as occurring in twelve inner city neighbourhoods in four major urban centres across Canada. In this chapter these twelve inner city neighbourhoods are compared and contrasted by means of applying DeGiovanni's model. This model, described briefly in the first chapter, recognizes five phases in the process of gentrification. Beginning with initial signs of revitalization, followed by increased market rents, resulting in increases in speculation and rehabilitation activity. The final stage, displacements, as previously mentioned, is recognized as significant but shall not be examined within this study. Each neighbourhood has been reviewed within the context of DeGiovanni's model to test the model and to identify the stage of development for each of the twelve inner city neighbourhoods.

A note of caution is included here, as outlined earlier in chapter one, with regard to the terms revitalization and rehabilitation. Revitalization connotes any type of renewal or

construction, while rehabilitation is limited to upgrading the existing built environment.

### 3.2 THE EVALUATION OF TWELVE INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

The City of Toronto has neighbourhoods which have experienced all five stages in the process of gentrification. Of the four neighbourhoods reviewed in the City of Toronto, the North Riverdale neighbourhood most closely resembles having experienced gentrification. Following the DeGiovinni stages, this community has experienced rehabilitation, increased and continued speculation, while suffering a fifty per cent loss of owner-tenant properties due to deconversion. Similarly, the West Central Corridor, a traditional immigrant reception area, has displayed signs of the initial three stages in DeGiovanni process. This neighbourhood, according to the model has not yet gentrified. The neighbourhood displays signs of revitalization coupled with population and dwelling unit loss due to deconversion. However, rehabilitation activity is slow, and changing demographics could be rationalized as simply the result of development pressure which Toronto's inner city neighbourhoods are experiencing due to increased economic activity. On the contrary, the South Parkdale neighbourhood doesn't fit the stages of the model as outlined. This neighbourhood has shown signs of revitalization by net gains in dwelling units. The community has experienced large gains in new multiple-unit stock, while a reduction of existing

bachelor apartment units has occurred. Likewise, the Central Core neighbourhood, although experiencing development pressure has not followed DeGiovanni's stage model of gentrification. This neighbourhood has a net gain in dwelling units, a small loss in population while rehabilitation activity has been minimal. Thus while it could be argued that the West Central Corridor, South Parkdale and the Central Core neighbourhoods are experiencing gentrification, in essence the changes experienced by these neighbourhoods may or may not result in them being gentrified.

In Vancouver, similar to the North Riverdale neighbourhood in Toronto, the Kitsilano neighbourhood also has gentrified. Kitsilano has proceeded through the five stages as outlined by DeGiovanni. Today, this neighbourhood continues to experience development pressure, increased speculation and rehabilitation activity. It has experienced a substantial loss of population and major change within it's demographic make up. The Fairview Slopes neighbourhood has also experienced rapid change. In contrast, these changes have taken on the form of undergoing massive redevelopment. This small area is unique as the public sector, the real estate industry, as well as intense development pressure in downtown Vancouver resulted in the creation of a gentrified neighbourhood. However, this community did not follow DeGiovanni's model. It evolved quickly from a deteriorated light industrial area to a densely populated mixed

residential and commercial use area. Its location and environmental amenities encouraged redevelopment. Fairview Slopes experienced limited gentrification and then went into the second process of redevelopment. A third neighbourhood examined in Vancouver was the West End, an older established neighbourhood, which has experienced continual redevelopment pressure since the 1950s. Historically the area has experienced drastic social and physical changes. Most notable in redevelopment of the area is the new construction of highrise and condominium apartments. The West End has experienced revitalization and increases in market rents, yet rather than rehabilitate, has continued to redevelop. Therefore the area, according to DeGiovanni's model, is experiencing densification and development pressure, but is not gentrifying.

In Ottawa, the inner city neighbourhoods of Centretown and Sandy Hill coincide with DeGiovanni's model of gentrification. Both neighbourhoods have experienced revitalization, increased market rents, a deconversion trend, dramatic change in demographics and massive rehabilitation activity. Centretown and Sandy Hill have experienced classic gentrification. At the present time market rents continue to rise while a greater proportion of residential units are the luxury converted to rental market. The level of displacement is currently being monitored by the City of Ottawa.

Quite conversely, Saskatoon's inner city neighbourhoods has experienced reinvestment at a slower pace. The City Park neighbourhood has started to revitalize. The area has experienced changing demographics and increased speculation. At this time, the neighbourhood corresponds to the third stage of DeGiovanni's model, yet whether it gentrifies remains to be seen. Similarly, Riversdale has shown initial signs of revitalization, but has only followed the model through the first stage. Whether the area will gentrify remains to be seen. The third inner city neighbourhood, Nutana West, has experienced some reinvestment. Although Nutana West is densifying, as with City Park and Riversdale, the process of gentrification is not yet apparent.

Overall, DeGiovanni's stage model for the process of gentrification appears to work. However, any neighbourhood experiencing development pressure due to an increase in local economic activity could easily proceed through to stage three of the model without actually gentrifying. It is increased rehabilitation of the existing built environment, as well as the loss of population, changing demographics and deconversion activity which confirms that the gentrification process is taking place. Therefore, a modified model is being proposed in this thesis.

### A Modified DeGiovanni Model of Gentrification

1. Initial Signs of Revitalization.
2. Patterns of Increases in Sale Prices.
3. Increased Amount of Speculation.
4. Increased Rate of Rehabilitation Activity.
5. Noted loss of Population & Changing Demographic Characteristics.
6. Increased Amount of Deconversion Activity.
7. Evidence of Pattern of Displacement.

Source: Author, 1989

Using the Modified DeGiovanni Model of stages in the gentrification process, all twelve inner city neighbourhoods were categorized once again and placed in a table format. These neighbourhoods have been classified in four categories.

### Re-Categorized Inner City Neighbourhoods Using the Modified Model

#### Classic Gentrification

North Riverdale(TO)  
Kitsilano(Vanc)  
Sandy Hill(Ott)  
Centretown(Ott)

#### May or May Not Gentrify

West Central Corridor(TO)  
Central Core(TO)  
City Park(Sask)  
Riversdale(Sask)

#### Revitalized = Densified

South Parkdale(TO)  
West End(Vanc)  
Nutana West(Sask)

#### Redeveloped (Gentrified)

Fairview Slopes(Vanc)

Source: Author, 1989

In this categorization on page 75, all twelve inner city neighbourhoods were classified according to the modified DeGiovanni model. By categorizing these twelve inner city neighbourhoods according to the Modified Model, only four actually experienced classic gentrification. One neighbourhood, Fairview Slopes, may be gentrified or simply referenced as redeveloped, but cannot be placed in DeGiovanni's model or the Modified DeGiovanni Model.

DeGiovanni's model has provided a framework for understanding the process gentrification, the modified model takes us forward in clarifying this process. Yet one should not interpret this model too rigidly, as the process can occur in cyclical fashion, skip stages or even reverse the stage process. Obviously, a model cannot provide all the answers within the dynamic nature of a neighbourhood. There exists many unaccountable variables, which makes direct use of a model difficult.

After having categorized twelve inner city neighbourhoods from four metropolitan areas in Canada, this thesis will proceed to analyze the inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg.



## Chapter IV

### THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, four inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg are analyzed and tested for the presence of 'Gentrification', as evidenced in other Canadian metropolitan areas discussed in chapter two.

#### 4.2 THE INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

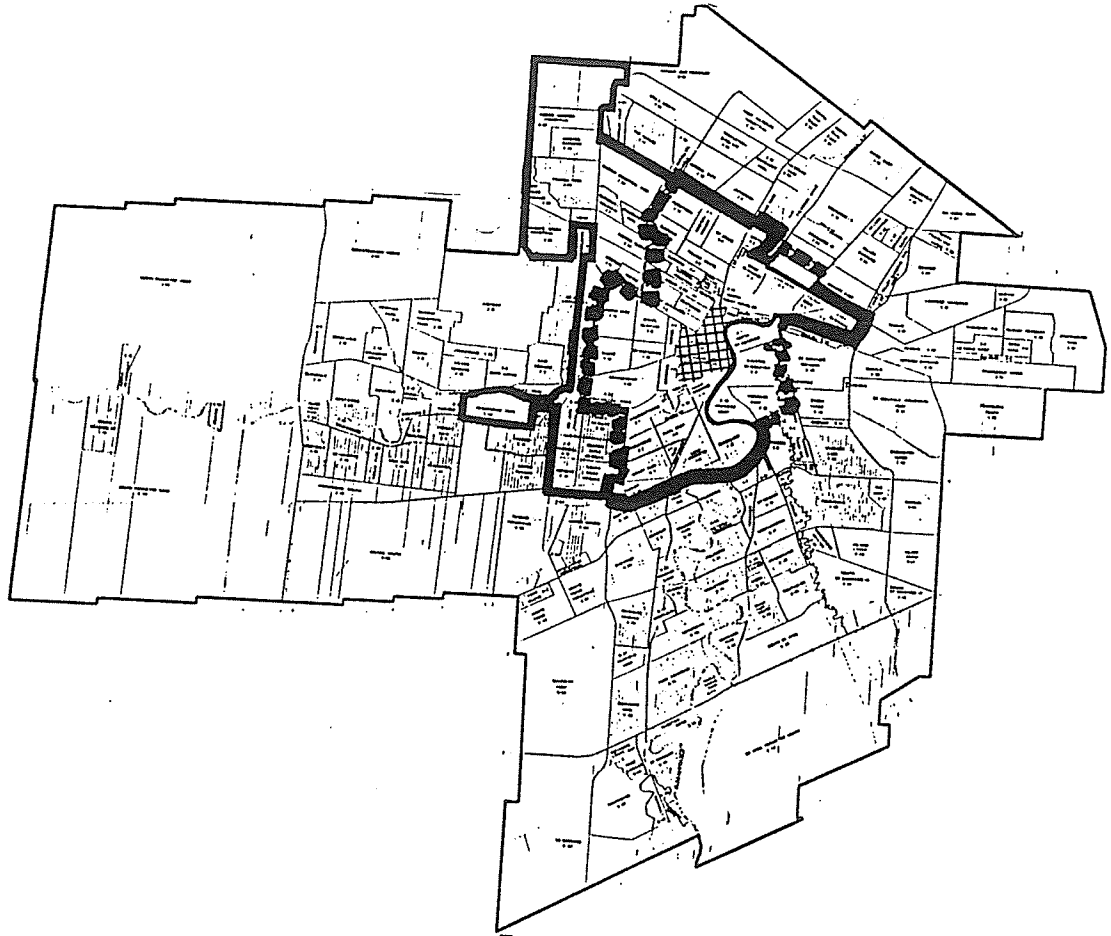
The inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg have been defined on the basis of the old Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg boundaries. Essentially the Metropolitan Corporation boundary has been utilized within this analysis as it defines the older inner city neighbourhoods prior to amalgamation of the suburbs. The western boundary and eastern boundary have been slightly adjusted in an effort to more accurately delimit the area presently recognized as inner city in Winnipeg. Specifically, the boundaries follow the neighbourhood districts defined by the City of Winnipeg Planning Department. Moreover,

the inner city neighbourhoods of St. Boniface, north and central, and Norwood, east and west, were included. These four neighbourhoods were areas established early in the development of the City. Although, it has only been since amalgamation that they have formally become part of the City's Charter. The inner city neighbourhoods are outlined in Figure 7.

The degree of change in the inner city residential neighbourhoods was obtained from statistical data for the City of Winnipeg in 1971 and 1981.

Shown in Table 6 is the decline of the population in Downtown Winnipeg. Although an increase has been projected for the Downtown residential population by 1991. The inner city neighbourhoods have continued to decline in population, with further decreases projected by 1991. The overall growth of the City in the past twenty years has been minimal.

In Table 7, a comparison of the entire City and the inner city neighbourhoods is shown for 1971 and 1981 in the City of Winnipeg. Comparisons were done for population, dwelling units and tenure, persons per household and income.



Source: Author, Taken from City of Winnipeg Documents  
Figure 7: The Inner City Neighbourhood Area in Winnipeg

**Table 6**  
**Population Change and \*Projections**

Area	1971	1981	1986	*1991
Downtown	11,425	11,140	11,058	13,943
%	2.1	2.0	1.9	2.3
Inner City	216,585	170,940	173,469	162,077
%	40.5	30.3	29.2	26.4
Entire City	535,215	564,475	594,556	613,077
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg  
Dept of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada

These compiled statistics indicate that the inner city neighbourhoods have experienced net losses in terms of population and dwelling units from 1971 to 1981. In contrast, the City of Winnipeg, as a whole, has experienced gains.

The inner city neighbourhoods have experienced a substantial net loss of 45,645 persons. As well 2,890 dwelling units have disappeared, 98 per cent of this loss were in the rental market. The average number of persons per household has declined for the City, while the inner city has remained unchanged. Conversely, the average individual income for the defined inner city neighbourhoods has increased substantially.

Although income remains slightly lower within the inner city as compared to the entire city. The inner city residents 1981 income is in line with the City as a whole.

Table 7

Population and Income Comparison for the  
City of Winnipeg

	1971 City Inner		1981 City Inner		Change City Inner	
Popn	535,475	216,585	564,475	170,940	+29,000	-45,645
Units	165,220	73,800	211,245	70,910	+46,065	- 2,890
owned	97,260	34,715	122,285	34,670	+46,065	- 45
rented	67,920	39,085	88,960	36,240	+21,040	- 2,845
PPHH	3.2	3.0	2.6	3.0	- 0.6	0.0
Income	9,983	9,289	10,670	10,645	+ 687	+ 1,386

Source: Compiled by Author, The City of Winnipeg  
Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada

Overall income level has increased for inner city residents. The areas population and dwelling units have declined. Meanwhile, there has not been any loss in the number families within the area. Further comparison of change for the inner city neighbourhoods has been done by comparing dwelling units by structural type. Change was monitored by reviewing statistics for both 1971 and 1981.

Type	1971	1981	Change
Single Detached	38,050	37,910	- 140
Apt. (& Row)	26,010	26,115	+ 105
Semi Detached (Dupl & Sgl Att)	9,740	6,825	-2915
Other	0	60	+ 60
Total	73,800	70,910	-2890

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg  
Socio Economic Characteristics. Dept. of  
Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

Table 8 conveys the extent of loss by structural type. The fact that 98 per cent of this loss is in the rental market was already established. Here it is shown that the majority of these units were semi detached, duplex and single attached. A total of 2,915 units were lost through either demolition or deconversion. There was some minimal gain by apartment construction.

In 1981 there was a total of 70,910 dwelling units in the inner city. Of this total, 21 per cent were occupied for under

one year. This compares favorably to the entire city which has a length of occupancy under one year of 19.9 per cent.

In order to trace any change in socio economic status within the inner city neighbourhoods, the overall average income level was compared from 1971 to 1981, as well as occupational statistics. The latter was done in the absence of adequate statistics on educational levels, and was used as an indicator. The occupational distribution for the inner city has been outlined in Table 9.

From the figures shown in Table 9 it is apparent that a large proportion of residents in the inner city are entering professional occupations, while fewer are doing service orientated work. However, a cautionary note must be included, as this trend toward a greater number of professionals is occurring city-wide. Indeed the entire City of Winnipeg had 13.5 per cent of individuals categorized as professional in 1971, but by 1981 the category had increased to 23.8 percent.

Occupation	1971	1981	Change
Professional	11,565 11.6%	16,060 19.0%	+ 4,495
Tertiary	47,215 47.2%	36,555 43.3%	- 10,660
Primary	415 0.4%	550 0.7%	+ 135
Trades	26,574 26.6%	22,880 27.1%	- 3,694
Other	14,185 14.2%	8,430 9.9%	- 5,755
Participation Rate	60.2%	61.7%	1.5%

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg  
Socio Economic Characteristics. Department of  
Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

While the inner city residential neighbourhoods have experienced a loss of population and rental dwelling units, there has been no noted loss of familism. The average income, education and occupation levels have increased but remain below the city wide average. Not one of these figures alone or combined could substantiate the argument that gentrification is occurring within Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

The rehabilitation activity occurring in the City of Winnipeg has been analyzed on the basis of the building permits issued in 1986. In table 10, construction, demolition and alteration



activity has been outlined for the inner city as compared to the entire City of Winnipeg.

Table 10 shows that a minimal amount of new construction in the inner city residential area has taken place compared to the City as a whole. There was, however, a large portion of the City's total demolition permits issued for residential sites within the inner city neighbourhoods. These 1986 statistics, even if indicative of preceding years, recognize only some of the changes occurring within the inner city.

Table 10

Building Permits Issued in 1986 for the  
City of Winnipeg

Type	Const.		Demolit.		Alter.	
	Inner City		Inner City		Inner City	
Single	59	3412	82	177	414	1633
Semi	24	86	16	16	42	45
Row	64	160	17	20	29	48
Apt	335	1910	59	83	59	100

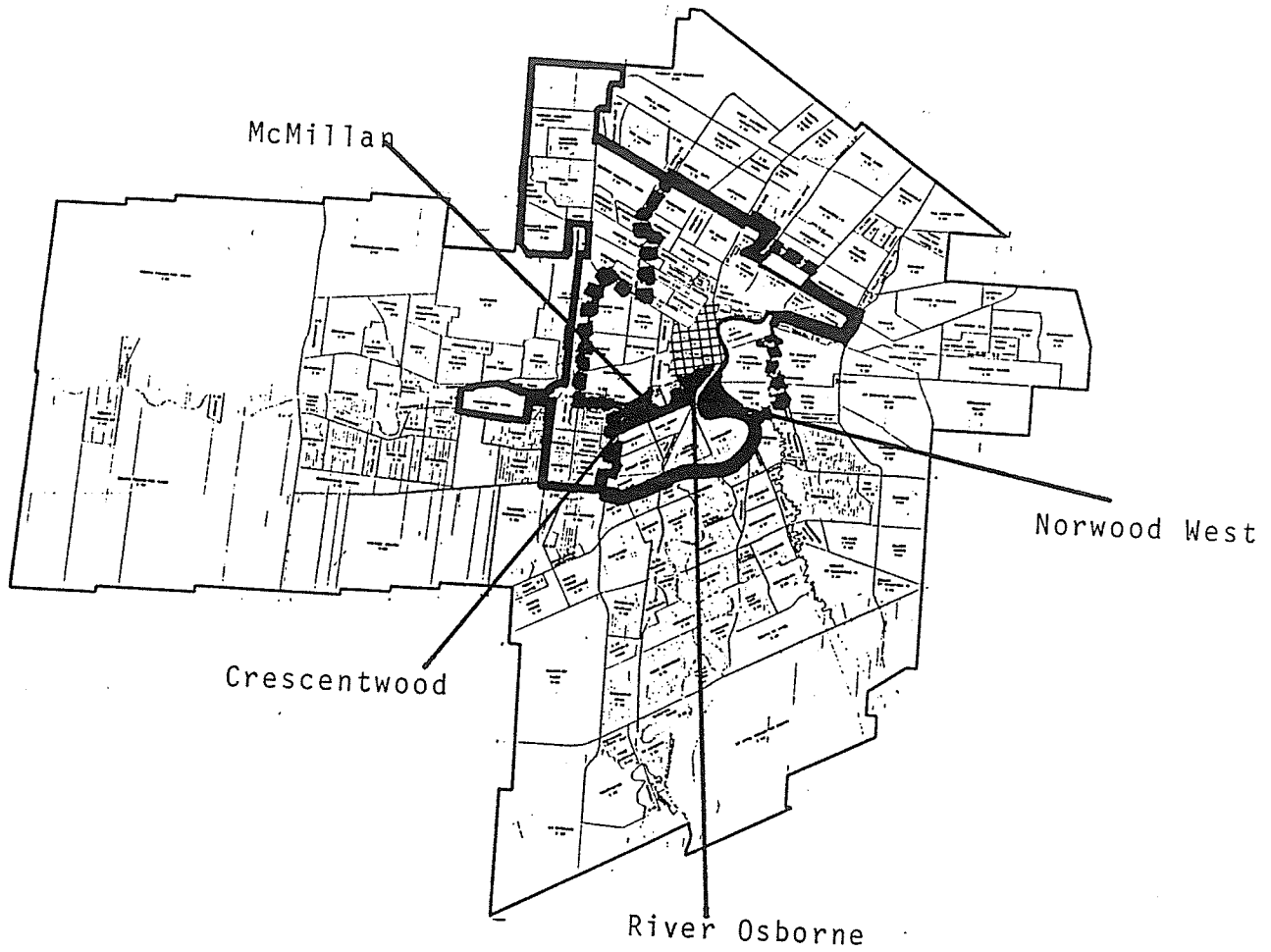
Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg,  
Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

Up until this point this analysis has only been able to show that the combined inner city neighbourhoods would appear to be declining in terms of population and dwelling units. Average income and occupation levels are increasing. Some changes in terms of demolition and rehabilitation has been discerned. Yet the exact extent or nature of this change remains uncertain.

The City of Winnipeg is not experiencing a development pressure comparable to the urban centres of Toronto, Vancouver or Ottawa. There may be existing pockets of rehabilitation, or gentrification activity within the inner city. A comparative analysis of four neighbourhoods within the context of DeGiovanni's modified model of gentrification will show if individual neighbourhoods are experiencing this change.

#### 4.3 FOUR INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS IN WINNIPEG

Four inner city neighbourhoods were chosen for case studies in this analysis. A windshield survey was conducted, as well, a review of statistics collected on inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg was completed. These four neighbourhoods were chosen as they all displayed signs of rehabilitation and stability. The neighbourhoods included were McMillan, River Osborne, Crescentwood and Norwood West.



Source: Author, Taken from City of Winnipeg Documents.

Figure 8: The Four Inner City Neighbourhoods Analyzed in Winnipeg

In analyzing these inner city neighbourhoods, population, dwelling units and tenure, income, occupation and education levels, persons per household, and the age and condition of housing have been reviewed. Comparative data for 1971 and 1981 was accessed to determine changes which have taken place in the physical and social fabric of the neighbourhood.

### McMillan

The McMillan neighbourhood has experienced a net loss in population of 1,815 persons from 1971 to 1981. Projected population statistics suggest losses shall continue up until 2001. Table 11 indicates the population change which has been experienced in this neighbourhood over a ten year term. Shown within this table is that the age category which experienced greatest losses was elderly, seniors 65 years and older. The only significant increases have been experienced in the 25-34 age category.

TABLE 11

Population Characteristics of the  
McMillan Neighbourhood

Age (Years)	1971	1981	Change
0-4	375	150	-125
5-9	240	110	-130
10-14	210	125	- 85
15-19	420	280	-140
20-24	1260	750	-510
25-29	695	740	+ 45
30-34	270	395	+125
35-39	195	170	- 25
40-44	200	120	- 80
45-49	225	125	-100
50-54	240	130	-110
55-59	265	145	-120
60-64	290	140	-150
65+	825	525	-300

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept.  
of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

While experiencing this net loss in population, the nature of the population has also shifted. Marital status displays a shift from 45% to 53% in singles, while married individuals decreased from 38% to 31% in this ten year period.

The McMillan neighbourhood experienced a loss in dwelling units between 1971 and 1981. A total of 310 units disappeared, the majority of this loss was in the rental market. The average person per household has decreased from 2.3 to 1.7 in 1981. The average family income has increased substantially, from \$8,919 to \$22,186 per annum. Table 12 outlines the degree of change experienced in population and income in the McMillan neighbourhood.

TABLE 12

Population and Income Transition for the  
McMillan Neighbourhood

	1971	1981	Change
Popn	5,735	3,920	-1,815
Units	2,485	2,175	- 310
Owned	315	335	+ 25
Rented	2,170	1,830	- 340
PPHH	2.3	1.7	- 0.6
Income	\$8,043	\$22,186	+12,143

Source: Compiled by Author, City of Winnipeg. Dept.  
of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

Overall, income levels have more than doubled while the neighbourhood has experienced net losses in terms of population and dwelling units. Further, although the majority of losses have occurred within the rental apartments sectors, this structure and tenure type continue to predominate in the neighbourhood.

In analyzing education and occupation characteristics for this neighbourhood, dramatic changes were easily discerned. The education level obtained in 1971 were inaccessible, however, in 1981 the McMillan neighbourhood contained a high percentage of population with either some university or a degree. A total of 41.7% of the residents had obtained some university education. Occupational distribution between 1971 and 1981 confirmed a dramatic shift in neighbourhood composition, as professional managerial occupations had doubled from 17% to 36%.

This indicates a marked increase in professionals, substantiated by the increase in incomes during the ten year period.

Additional comparison for change was analyzed for the McMillan neighbourhood by comparing dwelling units by structural types. This information was obtained by 1981. In Table 13, the loss by structural type may be perceived.

Type	1971	1981	Change
Single Detached	285	1981	+ 30
Apt. (& Row)	1920	315	-330
Semi Detached (Dupl. & Sgl. Att)	260	250	- 10
Other	0	0	0
Total	2485	2175	- 310

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept. Environmental Planning Statistics Canada.

The majority of losses were from the apartment, row housing and semi-detached structure categories. A total of 340 units were lost through either demolition or deconversion. There was a minimal unit gain of single attached units by new construction and conversion activity.

In 1981 there was a total of 2,175 dwelling units in this

neighbourhood. Of this total, 835 units were occupied for less than a year. This short occupancy term accounts for approximately 35% of the entire neighbourhood population, comparing unfavourably to the entire city. The large rental tenure in the area may be the rational for the higher degree of transiency.

Overall, some rehabilitation activity can be seen occurring in this neighbourhood, but for now it is occurring in small pockets. The residential building permits issued in 1986 confirms this observation, as 50% of all activity in this neighbourhood were to rehabilitate or alter existing structures. Being uncertain that the 1986 permits are indicative of preceeding years, the age and condition of dwelling units have been outlined in Table 14 in an effort to determine if the existing stock would be desireable to rehabilitate.

Table 14

Age and Condition of Dwelling Units  
in the McMillan Neighbourhood

Period of Construction	Total	Percent
1920 and earlier	595	27.4
1921 - 1945	670	30.8
1946 - 1960	470	21.6
1961 - 1970	375	17.2
1971 - 1975	50	2.3
1976 - 1981	25	1.1
Condition of Dwelling		
Regular Maintenance	1,260	57.9
Major Repairs	240	11.0
Minor Repairs Req'd.	680	31.3

Source: City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. 1981.



Table 14 indicates that a large majority of the housing stock, over 58%, was constructed pre-1945. Additionally, most housing stock in the neighbourhood is in good condition, requiring only regular maintenance.

The McMillan area shares many characteristics of a gentrifying neighbourhood in the initial stages of the process. However, viewed within the context of having experienced rehabilitation and containing a large transient population, it would be difficult to argue with any certainty that the area is gentrifying. Indeed the neighbourhood is experiencing change. McMillan has reached the fourth stage of the Modified DeGiovanni Model, yet, the area will have to continue being monitored in an effort to assess if it will gentrify or simply experience changes in a cyclical pattern.

#### River Osborne

The neighbourhood of River Osborne has experienced a net loss in population of 915 persons from 1971 to 1981. Conversely, projected population statistics suggest the area shall experience growth by 81 persons up until 2001. The current population in the River Osborne neighbourhood has been broken down in Table 15. This table outlines the population changes which have been experienced in the area between the years 1971 and 1981. Shown in this table is that the greatest losses in

population were in the 20-24 year age category and with seniors. Increases were seen in the 25-34 years categories which may be explained by an aging population.

Table 15

Population Characteristics of the River Osborne  
Neighbourhood

Age (Years)	1971	1981	Change
0-4	285	205	- 80
5-9	140	145	+ 5
10-14	145	75	- 70
15-19	510	335	-175
20-24	1,370	1,005	-365
25-29	665	800	+135
30-34	250	420	+170
35-39	155	190	+ 35
40-44	150	120	- 30
45-49	175	100	- 75
50-54	175	135	- 40
55-59	230	160	- 70
60-64	275	130	-145
65+	925	705	-220

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

Population decreased slightly in the neighbourhood, similarly the nature of the population has shifted a little. Marital Status has shifted slightly, as single persons have increased by 3.7% while married persons have decreased by 5.5% during this ten year time frame.

The total number of dwelling units increased between 1971 and 1981 by 180 units. The majority of this gain was in the rental market. Coinciding with these gains were noted decreases in the ownership tenure in the area. The average person per household experienced a decline from 2.0 to 1.6, which corresponds to the

loss in population and increase in dwelling units in the neighbourhood. Average family income increased substantially from \$8,257 to \$18,122 from 1971 to 1981. Table 16 outlines the transitions experienced in the River Osborne neighbourhood in population and income between 1971 and 1981.

	1971	1981	Change
Popn	5,465	4,550	-915
Units	2,515	2,695	+180
Owned	150	100	- 50
Rented	2,365	2,595	+230
PPHH	2.0	1.6	- 0.4
Income	\$8,257	\$18,122	+9,865

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

Overall, income has continued to increase while net losses have occurred in population and gains have occurred in the number of dwelling units. All losses of residential units have been in owned single family dwellings, while gains made in the rental apartment section continue to predominate.

Analysis of education and occupation characteristics for the River Osborne neighbourhood indicated increases in socio-economic status. A number of individuals had obtained some university education which corresponded to approximately 30% of the population being in professional or managerial occupations. Those in professional occupations had increased by 12.7%. As well, clerical and service oriented occupations although having decreased remain the largest segment of the population at 44.2%.

A comparison of dwelling units by structural type was completed. Changes in structural type was assessed by comparing 1971 to 1981 data. Generally, increases in apartment, row housing and semi-detached dwellings by new construction were apparent, while decreases occurred in the single detached units. Over 40% of the residential dwelling units in this neighbourhood have been occupied for less than a year. The large amount of rental tenure correlates to the high degree of transiency in the neighbourhood.

A windshield survey, followed by a review of building permits for 1986 indicated a minimal amount of rehabilitation activity, especially when compared to new construction. The age

and condition of dwelling units have been delineated in Table 17 in an effort to determine if the existing stock would be desirable to rehabilitate.

Period of Construction	Total	Percent
1920 and earlier	285	10.6
1924 - 1945	410	15.2
1946 - 1960	705	26.2
1961 - 1970	630	23.4
1971 - 1975	440	16.3
1976 - 1981	205	7.6
Condition of Dwelling	1860	69
Regular Maintenance	1860	69.0
Major Repairs Req'd.	170	6.3
Minor Repairs Req'd.	660	24.5
Source: City of Winnipeg, Dept. of Environmental Planning 1981.		

Table 17 indicates that half of the housing stock was built after 1960, 78% after 1946. Most of this stock, 99% simply requires regular maintenance.

The River Osborne area is experiencing change, but this transition is the result of maturing and continued development pressure being exerted. The characteristics explored in this preceding section indicate that although the area has lost population, this is reflective of all inner city neighbourhoods. The nature of the population has not polarized in this area.

Crescentwood

The neighbourhood of Crescentwood has experienced a small loss in population. From 1971 to 1981 this neighbourhood lost 705 persons, an additional loss of 321 people are projected from 1981 to 2001. Table 18 outlines the population change which has been experienced in Crescentwood from 1971 to 1981. This table indicates that population change during the last ten years has been minimal for all age categories.

Table 18

**Population Characteristics of the  
Crescentwood Neighbourhood**

Age (Years)	1971	1981	Change
0-4	210	110	-100
5-9	335	165	-170
10-14	390	255	-135
15-19	445	320	-125
20-24	385	275	-110
25-29	210	215	+ 5
30-34	140	210	+ 70
35-39	165	220	+ 55
40-44	195	150	- 45
45-49	250	175	- 75
50-54	220	170	- 50
55-59	210	185	- 25
60-64	200	150	- 50
65+	455	500	+45

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept.  
of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

The nature of the population of Crescentwood has experienced a minimal shift as well. Marital status displays a small decrease from 51.0% to 44.6% of singles, while married persons increased 40.1% to 44.9%. These noted shifts are contrary to general marital status trends across the country and more specifically in inner city neighbourhoods.

The Crescentwood neighbourhood has experienced an increase of 90 dwelling units from 1971 to 1981. The majority of unit increase occurred in the single detached owner occupied market. The average person per household has decreased from 3.5 to 2.6 by 1981. The average family income has increased substantially from \$19,429 to \$46,009 per annum. Table 19 outlines the degree of change which has taken place in population income in the Crescentwood Neighbourhood.

Table 19

Population and Income Transition for the  
Crescentwood Neighbourhood

	1971	1981	Change
Popn.	3,840	3,135	-705
Units	1,075	1,165	+ 90
Owned	700	830	+130
Rented	375	335	- 40
PPHH	3.5	2.6	-0.9
Income	\$19,429	\$46,009	+26,580

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada

Income for this neighbourhood has increased coinciding with an increase in the number of dwelling units, a decrease in person per household and population. The predominant tenure is ownership and structural type is single detached.

In analyzing education and occupation characteristics for the Crescentwood neighbourhood, dramatic increases were noted. The education levels in 1981 showed 47.1% of the populace in the neighbourhood had obtained some university education. The occupational distribution between 1971 and 1981 confirmed a dramatic shift had taken place in occupational composition. The professional/managerial category had increased a substantial 20.1%, while losses had been experienced in every other category. Therefore, this neighbourhood has witnessed dramatic increases in education levels, occupation categories and income.

Comparison by dwelling unit structural type was compiled for Crescentwood. Statistics were again compared from 1971 to 1981, please refer to Table 20, where change in structural type composition has been categorized.



Table 20

Dwelling Unit by Structural Type for the  
Crescentwood Neighbourhood

Type	1971	1981	Change
Single Detached	685	730	+ 45
Apt. (& Row)	195	305	+ 120
Semi-Detached (Dupl & Sgl Att)	195	130	- 65
Other	0	0	0
TOTAL	1,075	1,165	+ 90

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada.

This area has experienced a net gain in housing units, although this increase has not been that drastic. The greatest increase noted has resulted from the construction of new apartment units.

In 1981 there was a total of 1,165 dwelling units in this neighbourhood. A large percent of these units, 36% of mostly owner occupied units, were shown to have occupied their dwelling units for ten years or longer. This long occupancy period maybe directly correlated to the large ownership tenure in the neighbourhood.

Residential building permits issued for this neighbourhood in 1986, showed a small amount of rehabilitation is occurring. An overview of the neighbourhood by demographics and tenure analysis showed it to appear as a stable area. Crescentwood does not seem to be experiencing any significant development pressure. However, the age and condition of dwelling units in the area have been outlined in Table 21 in order to assess the historical nature of the housing stock, in an effort to determine the areas appeal for deconversion.

Period of Construction	Total	Percent
1920 and earlier	465	39.9
1921 - 1945	225	19.3
1946 - 1960	260	22.3
1961 - 1970	70	6.0
1971 - 1975	115	9.9
1976 - 1981	0	0.0
Condition of Dwelling Unit		
Regular Maintenance	835	70.8
Major Repairs Req'd	100	8.6
Minor Repairs Req'd	220	18.9
Source: City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. 1981		

Table 21 indicates a large proportion of the existing housing

stock was built pre-1945. The majority of these housing units do not require repairs or upgrading.

The Crescentwood neighbourhood has experienced some change, but not the nature of change as outlined in DeGiovanni's Model. Although, the area is attractive, historical in nature and centrally located, stability has predominated. The area has experienced limited redevelopment pressure and rehabilitation activity. One should be aware of the fact that this neighbourhood has a homeowners association which strongly opposes any conversion activity. Therefore, this neighbourhood may experience gentrification in the future, but for now appears to be more stable than the previous neighbourhoods analyzed in Winnipeg's inner city.

#### Norwood West

The neighbourhood of Norwood West has experienced a net loss in population of 800 persons from 1971 to 1981. The projected population statistics suggest a continued loss of population up to 2001.

Current population statistics have been broken down in Table 22, outlining population changes experienced in this area over a ten year time frame. Shown in this table is losses in almost every age category except for a slight increase in persons 25-34 years of age and seniors.

Table 22

Population Characteristics of the  
Norwood West Neighbourhood

Age (Years)	1971	1981	Change
0-4	255	170	- 85
5-9	310	180	- 130
10-14	380	225	- 155
15-19	415	300	- 115
20-24	440	310	- 130
25-29	240	275	+ 35
30-34	175	285	+ 110
35-39	180	200	+ 20
40-44	210	150	- 60
45-49	220	135	- 85
50-54	255	160	- 95
55-59	315	185	- 130
60-64	275	170	- 105
65+	450	590	+ 140

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg.  
Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada

Although population has decreased slightly in this neighbourhood, the nature of the population has shifted dramatically. Current demographics indicate the population age category 25-39 years has experienced net gains, while all other categories, with the exception of seniors, have experienced losses. Marital status has shifted as well. From 1971 to 1981 both single and married persons decreased, the only increase shown fell in the divorced category.

The number of dwelling units remained almost the same, in 1971 there were 1,335 and by 1981, 1,325. The only notable shift was in the nature of tenure over the ten year time frame. The owner

category increased slightly, and correspondingly the rental tenure decreased. The average person per household decreased significantly from 3.1 to 2.5, which corresponds to the small loss in population the area experienced. Average family income increased from \$11,027 to \$26,774 from 1971 to 1981. Table 23 outlines the transitions experienced in population and income in the Norwood West neighbourhood between 1971 and 1981.

	1971	1981	Change
Popn	4,150	3,350	- 800
Units	1,335	1,325	- 10
Owned	935	970	+ 35
Rented	400	355	- 45
PPHH	3.1	2.5	- 0.6
Income	\$11,027	\$26,774	+15,747

Source: Compiled by Author. City of Winnipeg.  
Dept. of Environmental Planning. Statistics Canada

Generally income has increased, while no change has occurred in the number of dwelling units, although tenure has continued to shift toward ownership. The area has experienced a slight

loss in population but more important the nature of the population has changed.

Analysis of education and occupation characteristics in the Norwood West neighbourhood showed increases in professional/managerial occupations, while 26% of the population have some university education. The occupation distribution indicated that although a substantial increase in professional/managerial occupations has occurred, the predominant occupation remains clerical/sales/service. Sales and service occupations have been on the decline but remain dominant at 45% of the area population in 1981.

A comparison of dwelling units by structural types was completed in an attempt to more fully understand housing stock changes apparent in the neighbourhood. It was determined that, although few units were lost over the ten year period analyzed, no changes had taken place in terms of the percent of structural type. Noted as well, was that 50% of persons living in these units had occupied them for ten or more years, conversely 26% had occupied units in the area for less than two years. A large owner tenure group correlates with the large number of long-term occupants.

A review of building permits for 1986, indicated 75% of the activity in the neighbourhood was rehabilitation, while 21% was

demolition and only 4% new construction. In an effort to discover if building permits issued in 1986 reflected preceding years, the age and general condition of the dwelling units in the area were examined. Table 24 indicates the age and condition of stock in an effort to ascertain if this stock would be desirable to rehabilitate.

Period of Construction	Total	Percent
1920 and earlier	195	14.7
1924 - 1945	475	35.8
1946 - 1960	500	37.7
1961 - 1970	110	8.3
1971 - 1975	35	2.6
1976 - 1981	0	0.0
Condition of Dwelling Unit		
Regular Maintenance	940	70.9
Major Repairs Req'd	105	7.9
Minor Repairs Req'd	285	21.5
Source: City of Winnipeg. Dept. of Environmental Planning. 1981		

Table 24 shows that half of the housing stock was built pre-1945, while 88% was built before 1960. An historical housing stock exists, which has been found

was found to require major repairs.

The Norwood West neighbourhood is experiencing change. This area is in transition and should be carefully monitored as it has reached stage five in the modified DeGiovanni Model. Whether or not the area experiences this process remains to be seen. This area has experienced signs of revitalizations, rehabilitation, noted shifts in population, limited speculation and small increases in sale prices. In Winnipeg, the inner city often experiences difficulty in retaining stock prices, yet the four neighbourhoods studied, including Norwood West have been able to maintain and even experience increases in stock value.

#### 4.4 SUMMARY

The neighbourhoods analyzed within the inner city of Winnipeg included McMillan, River Osborne, Crescentwood and Norwood West. Each neighbourhood was analyzed by demographic, physical, social and economic indicators. A comparison was completed for each area from 1971 to 1981, with the degree and nature of transitions experienced being outlined.



Although this analysis aided our progress in understanding these neighbourhoods and their dynamic nature, it did not conclude that these areas are experiencing gentrification. Indeed, the analysis allowed us to identify stages, experienced by all neighbourhoods with the exception of Crescentwood, of DeGiovanni Model. Yet, the process could not be readily identified in the Mcmillan, River Osborne, Crescentwood or Norwood West neighbourhoods.

The Norwood West neighbourhood was shown to have the greatest degree of change. Yet, this area shall have to be monitored continually in an effort to conclude that the process of gentrification is occurring. The reason for the difficulty experienced within this study in identifying the process of gentrification may be directly correlated to the inability to determine a slower rate of change in stage two and three of the Model. Winnipeg has a slower economic growth rate, often referred to by the City's professionals as 'stable and less volatile'. This slow rate of growth may be affecting the process of gentrification, slowing the process down, so it can only occur in small pockets. If this is the situation it would only be happening in one of the four areas reviewed, the Norwood West neighbourhood. All other areas, up until 1981 had experienced some transition but as neighbourhoods are dynamic, few changes can be related to the DeGiovanni Model or Modified Model.

Chapter V  
CONCLUSIONS

5.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The gentrification process has been found to be complex. Although recognized as occurring in the four major metropolitan areas analyzed, not all inner city neighbourhoods are progressing through DeGiovanni's Model or the further developed Modified Model. Many of these twelve inner city neighbourhoods were found to experience simply stages in the model and often these did not occur in a cyclical fashion. So to determine if these areas experience the gentrification process, they will have to be monitored.

Solutions and policies adopted by the cities analyzed in this thesis were found to be mostly ineffective at halting a often accelerated process. The most effective policies involved direct intervention in the housing market by the city or a developed non-profit corporation. Those cities most aware of the ramifications resulting from this process occurring on their neighbourhoods were better equipped to deal with them. To develop regulations and housing freezes quickly in an effort to

to afford more time to develop long term solutions. At this time, most cities have put forward documents which request senior levels of government to become more actively involved.

The DeGiovanni Model and Modified Model outlined within this study are useful tools. The Modified Model has assisted the analysis in an effort to understand numerous dynamic processes occurring at the neighbourhood level. It was more difficult to utilize within the context of the inner city of Winnipeg, as the pattern of higher rents and property values were difficult to determine with slower economic activity occurring in the City of Winnipeg. The Real Estate market in Winnipeg, with specific reference to the inner city neighbourhoods included in this paper, was discussed at some length with a real estate professional. These neighbourhoods is believed to be part of the inner city area in Winnipeg which has been able to retain property values. However, increases in housing stock value were perceived to equate with inflation, but have not experienced rapid acceleration. Therefore, these two stages of the Model, higher rents and increased speculation activity, which leads and develops into the final stage of displacement was difficult to discern. The process may be occurring at a slowed pace, although indicators are not apparent in the inner city neighbourhoods included in this analysis, with the exception of Norwood West, or perhaps, the process has not taken place in the neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

The dynamics of inner city neighbourhoods were appreciated throughout this analysis. Neighbourhoods are in constant transition. However, city administrators which continually monitor change will be able to adopt and deliver policies and plans to these neighbourhoods which are proactive, rather than reactive. They shall be better equipped to define if neighbourhoods are declining, stabilizing, redeveloping or gentrifying, and then proceed to act in the best interest of the neighbourhood. In the context of this analysis, the City of Ottawa has shown they are most responsive to the economic development pressure which has been exerted. This City, has been able to have some success, but only by continuing to study general trends, their rate and impact. Canada's urban administrators have now realized that intervention in blighted areas of the city, often the older inner city areas, is not only healthy for those areas in question, but for the entire city economy. Intervention is a necessity in our inner city neighbourhoods to ensure a balanced social, economic and physical blend, which in the long term combats the occurrence of depressed areas. Gentrification effectively polarizes neighbourhoods, often those containing the most affordable stock in the urban area, rather than allowing a social and economic blend to continue. It is suspected that this process displaces poorer people from their homes and neighbourhoods. This trend

is likely to continue within the context of increasing costs associated with further city expansion.

The gentrification process causes a restructuring of our inner city neighbourhoods. This restructuring relies on the continued concentration and recentralization of economic activity. However, the process has also been found to be contingent on an array of social settings and social practices. Our ability to recognize and understand the market and social forces at work, correlates directly with our ability to analyze the effects and to offer possible solutions to their ramifications.

Some inner city neighbourhoods have experienced rehabilitation, physical improvements and increased property values. This results in a shift in the neighbourhood population from low and moderate incomes to middle and upper income residents. An income shift which is apparent in many inner city neighbourhoods in Canadian Metropolitan areas (Ley, 1985). The majority of people for whom the neighbourhood was being preserved, now find themselves being displaced, as they are unable to afford increase rents and property taxes.

In this thesis, an examination of the mechanics of gentrification was completed in an effort to understand an

commonalities or general trends which may be shared by neighbourhoods. This would allow planners and city administrators to easily discern if the process is apparent at the neighbourhood level, and the degree and pace in which it has proceeded.

Canada's cities have moved in the 1990s, once again looking for solutions to combat the segregation of people both socially and economically in neighbourhood areas. In the 1960s, city managers struggled to find solutions to address the problems associated with declining and depressed neighbourhood in the inner city areas. In the 1990s, city managers will struggle again to find solutions to address problems associated with gentrifying and polarizing neighbourhoods, the opposite side of the same coin.

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