

**Neighbourhood Change and Canadian Inner Cities:
The Case of West Broadway**

BY

Ayoka B. Anderson

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

© Ayoka B. Anderson, August 2004

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

**Neighbourhood Change and Canadian Inner Cities:
The Case of West Broadway**

BY

Ayoka B. Anderson

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree
Of
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING**

Ayoka B. Anderson © 2004

Permission has been granted to the Library of the University of Manitoba to lend or sell copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to University Microfilms Inc. to publish an abstract of this thesis/practicum.

This reproduction or copy of this thesis has been made available by authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research, and may only be reproduced and copied as permitted by copyright laws or with express written authorization from the copyright owner.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge and thank Ian Skelton, James Platt, Geoff Butler and Eric Funk. Their work on the Housing Intervention and Neighbourhood Development (HIND) study was invaluable to my thesis. I would also like to acknowledge Tom Carter and the Winnipeg Inner Research Alliance for the grant that went towards the HIND study.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	ii
List of Figures.....	iii
List of Tables.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Introduction & Purpose.....	1
Case Study	2
Research Methods & Data Sources.....	3
Synopsis	4
Chapter 2: Theory of Neighbourhood Change.....	6
Introduction.....	6
Comprehensive Model of Change	9
Primary Models of Change	11
Ecological Model.....	12
Sub-Culture Model.....	14
Political Economy Model	16
Secondary Models of Change	18
Invasion/Succession Model	18
Filtering Model	20
Growth Machine Model.....	22
“Social Capital Model of Neighbourhood Change”	24
Other Factors of Neighbourhood Change.....	27
Housing.....	27
Demographics	28
Three Manifestations of Neighbourhood Change.....	31
Gentrification	31
Decline	33
Revitalization	38
Conclusion	39
Chapter 3: West Broadway - A Look at the Past.....	41
Stage 1: Pre-1960's.....	42
Stage 2: 1960-1981	42
Stage 3: 1981- 1991	44
Stage 4: 1991- 1996	46
Chapter 4: Indicators of Change in West Broadway	53
Census Analysis.....	53
Interview Analysis	57
Perceived Changes of Last Five Years	60
Reasons for the Changes.....	63
Stage 5: 1996-2003	64
Chapter 5: West Broadway's Scenario	67
References	71

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1	Comprehensive Model of Change 15
Figure 2	‘Social Capital Model of Neighbourhood Change’ 31
Figure 3	Location of West Broadway 46
Figure 4	Dwelling Units (1971-1981) 47
Figure 5	Population (1971-1981) 47
Figure 6	Owner Occupation (1971-1981) 48
Figure 7	Average Household Income (1981) 48
Figure 8	Unemployment Rate (1976-1981) 48
Figure 9	Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-1981) 48
Figure 10	Population (1971-1991) 49
Figure 11	Dwelling Units (1971- 1991) 49
Figure 12	Owner Occupation (1971-1991) 49
Figure 13	Units in Need of Major Repair (1981-1991) 49
Figure 14	Average Household Income (1981-1991) 50
Figure 15	Unemployment Rate (1976-1991) 50
Figure 16	Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-1991) 50
Figure 17	Rent to Income Ratio (1971-1991) 50
Figure 18	Population (1971-1996) 51
Figure 19	West Broadway Change in Population (1991-1996) 52
Figure 20	Winnipeg Change in Population (1991-1996) 52
Figure 21	West Broadway Population Pyramid (1996) 52
Figure 22	Winnipeg Population Pyramid (1996) 52
Figure 23	Population with some University (1981-1996) 53
Figure 24	Education Level of Population 15+ Years (1996) 53
Figure 25	Owner Occupation (1971-1996) 54
Figure 26	Rent Ratio Comparison (1996) 54
Figure 27	Unit Construction Date (1996) 54
Figure 28	Units in Need of Major Repair (1981-1996) 54
Figure 29	Ethnicity (1996) 55
Figure 30	Average Household Income (1981-1996) 56
Figure 31	Rent to Income Ratio (1971-1996) 56
Figure 32	Unemployment Rate (1976-1996) 56
Figure 33	Population (1971-2001) 58
Figure 34	West Broadway Population Pyramid (2001) 58
Figure 35	Winnipeg Population Pyramid (2001) 59
Figure 36	Population with some University (1981-2001) 59
Figure 37	Ethnicity Comparison (1996-2001) 59
Figure 38	Dwelling Units (1971-2001) 60

Figure 39	Units in Need of Major Repair (1981-2001)	60
Figure 40	Owner Occupation (1971-2001)	60
Figure 41	Average Household Income Change (1986-2001)	61
Figure 42	Family Index of Low Income (2001)	61
Figure 43	Individual Index of Low Income (2001)	62
Figure 44	Rent to Income Ratio (1971-2001)	62
Figure 45	Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-2001)	62
Figure 46	Education Level of Population 15+ Years (1996-2001)	64
Figure 47	West Broadway Scenario Chart	75

List of Tables

	Page
Table 1 Levels of Inner City Existence	13
Table 2 Characteristics of Decline	42

Abstract

Neighbourhood change is a comprehensive topic with multiple theories and models, which describe, break-down and analyze it. Unfortunately the multiple theories and models are often in conflict or fail to acknowledge factors outside of their own linear lines of thought. The purpose of this thesis is to compile these theories and create a more comprehensive understanding of neighbourhood change without neglecting the many factors and processes of change. While acquainting the reader with a theoretical background of the various models of neighbourhood change a more comprehensive model of change was proposed. This model involved the previous models along with additional elements of change. A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Winnipeg inner city area of West Broadway was done to demonstrate the complexity of neighbourhood change and the applicability of the comprehensive model. The quantitative analysis uses census data between 1971 and 2001. The qualitative component involves an analysis of interviews regarding recent changes in the neighbourhood. The thesis also draws on similarities between the dominant American literature and Canadian examples of neighbourhood change, in addition to opportunities for Canadian literature to explore its own examples and expand its theory of neighbourhood change.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction & Purpose

Many Canadian inner cities have been in a state of decline for decades. The disinvestment of the inner city has been blamed on the suburban expansion phenomenon that has been encouraged by government policies and personal preferences for suburban lifestyles (Broadway 1995; Leo & Shaw 2002). Disinterest in the inner city and segregation of minority groups have also been associated with this issue (Grisby *et al.* 1987). Acknowledgement of the decline of inner cities has led to inquiries into the reasons why decline is occurring and what can be done to combat it. Knowing that further deterioration is inevitable in the absence of countervailing initiatives, residents and local governments have taken an active role in improving these neighbourhoods (Filion 1987). Neighbourhood interventions have taken on many forms in housing development, social programs, business development, neighbourhood beautification, and safety initiatives. Following the implementation of such interventions neighbourhood dynamics have changed.

The dynamics of neighbourhood change have been categorized by the literature into three primary models of change: the ecological model, the sub-cultural model and the political economy model (Pitkin 2001; Temkin & Rohe 1996). Secondary models describe change in more detail, outlining more specific factors and processes. This thesis will explore the various models of change that have been formulated. Additional factors of change will be examined to develop a more comprehensive model than exists in

literature today. This model will be intended for more specific application to neighbourhoods in Canada. Scenarios of change embedded in the models will be presented accompanied with descriptions of the different types of inner cities. From this it will be determined how the different models and factors of change affect a neighbourhood's state. Determining how neighbourhoods can be characterized in terms of these models, and what the tendencies for change in a specific neighbourhood could be, knowing these things will also be addressed.

Case Study

The Winnipeg inner city area of West Broadway will be studied in relation to neighbourhood change models to determine how various influences have shaped it and what the future of West Broadway could potentially hold based on these theories.

West Broadway is a neighbourhood in transition. It is moving from a past of crime, poverty and debilitation to one of growth, sustainability and revitalization. This once visibly deteriorating neighbourhood was seen by many as a black hole. Census data from 1991 and 1996 confirmed the poor living conditions of West Broadway residents. Many had incomes lower than the city average and even lower than levels needed to provide affordable living (Blake 2001). Several homes had been converted into rooming houses to provide affordable units. Crack houses and prostitution were rampant and murders were a regular occurrence. Residents, recognizing that this deterioration was going to continue, decided to take action. As a result of the initiatives taken in the last ten years a change has been observed in the neighbourhood and its dynamics.

This thesis will explore the recent development trends in West Broadway through an analysis of census data and interviews. The neighbourhood's history will be broken into stages to gather a linear understanding of the processes of decline and revitalization that have occurred. Census data will illustrate the socio-economic and ethnic changes. In addition, data regarding housing units, such as those in need of major repair, construction dates and number of units, will be useful in outlining various social and demographic changes that have occurred.

Interviews conducted in the summer of 2003 with key informants and residents will give insight into the perception of change from those who work and live in the neighbourhood (Skelton 2003). Analysis will outline the types of changes that have been observed by these groups as well as their opinions on why these changes have occurred.

Following an analysis of West Broadway's trends the neighbourhood will be characterized more formally in terms of models of change discussed above. A comprehensive model of change will be used to determine the tendencies for change in West Broadway with a firmer understanding of the dynamics that are in play.

Research Methods & Data Sources

Between the months of June and August 2003 research was done in the neighbourhood of West Broadway to determine what interventions have been implemented and their effect in the neighbourhood over the last five years (Skelton 2003). For the purpose of this thesis information was drawn from three sources in the above study:

- 1) Archival data collection - Census data from 1991 and 1996 was analyzed to introduce a context in which the changes have occurred. In addition to this analysis an analysis of census data between 1996 and 2001 has also be done to determine the recent state of the neighbourhood.
- 2) Key informant interviews – Persons directly involved with neighbourhood interventions through neighbourhood organizations or personal involvement were interviewed. Their insight into the effects of the interventions and how the neighbourhood has changed as a result was queried. In addition, they were asked to list reasons for the changes that have occurred.
- 3) Semi-structured interviews - Residents in target areas determined through analysis of mapping exercises and housing intervention were interviewed to discover their views on the changes taking place. They were also asked to give their reasons for why they believed these changes were occurring.

Synopsis

Following the introduction to this thesis, *Chapter 2: Theory of Neighbourhood Change* will outline and discuss the various models, processes and factors associated with neighbourhood change as defined through the literature. This chapter will explore attempts to further understand neighbourhood change and propose a consolidated model that incorporates multiple theories of change. *Chapter 3: Introduction to West Broadway* will look at the Winnipeg inner city neighbourhood of West Broadway as a case study for this thesis. West Broadway's history will be explored in stages through census data analysis. The conclusion will bring the reader to the point when the neighbourhood's

continued decline takes a turn. *Chapter 4: Indicators of Change in West Broadway* will look at the most recent stage in West Broadway's history, discussing its revitalization process and updating the story of West Broadway. The final chapter, *Chapter 5: West Broadway's Scenario* will summarize West Broadway in terms of models of change and make predictions based on this summary for where the neighbourhood might be heading. This chapter also reflects on the literature on neighbourhood change in light of the experience of West Broadway.

Chapter 2: Theory of Neighbourhood Change

Introduction

Inner city neighbourhoods throughout North America have experienced many different levels of activity, affluence and change. In the last few decades they have seen mass emigration of their middle class residents to the suburbs with subsequent decline of neighbourhood quality and increases in crime, poverty and property deterioration. Now many inner city neighbourhoods that have experienced decline are seeking to repair themselves and currently exist in varying stages of revitalization. These stages of change are influenced by various forces imbedded in larger models of neighbourhood change. These models do not identify stages of change, however, concentrating more on the processes. McLemore *et al.* remedy this by outlining four levels of inner cities existence (1975) (see Table 1):

Decline is associated with a decrease in average household income, homeownership and overall sense of hope. There may also be an increase in poverty, units in need of repair, crime and general physical deterioration. Decrease in population may also be a characteristic of decline, but not necessarily (Carter & Polevychok, 2003). The process of decline is an expansive one and needs its own section for discussion. We will look at it further under 'Processes and Factors of Neighbourhood Change.'

Stability in a neighbourhood is characterized by unchanging population and a usually high incidence of homeownership, and increasing average household income. Physical conditions are preserved with an increase in property values comparable with the rest of the city.

Revitalization, like stability, maintains a stable population count, but can tend to lose members of a specific group. Community organizers are often the most prevalent within such a neighbourhood as opposed to the other three types of neighbourhoods. Homeownership levels will not normally change, but property values increase faster than in the rest of the city.

Massive redevelopment involves large losses in single family units and an increase in rental units. Areas are demolished for the purpose of building multi-family units in response to housing need. The projects are usually public developments, which can lead to decline due to such things as poor housing construction and concentration of poverty (Bailey & Robertson 1997). Massive redevelopment was a popular trend in the 1970's when Table 1 was conceived. It is not so prevalent now perhaps for reasons of failure in past projects or lack of need for this type of development.

Under conditions such as inner city depopulation or redevelopment pressure, change in some neighbourhoods seems inevitable. How change is perceived is another story. The underlying causes of neighbourhood change are also an uncertainty. There

have been multiple theories and models proposed for the occurrence of neighbourhood change. None is wrong in its conclusion. The theories are also contextual in terms of time and place, and tend to dismiss the possibilities for alternate or complementing ideologies.

Not all models of change can be applied to all neighbourhoods. They associate with different neighbourhoods at different levels. To use Ferguson's terminology the "comprehensive type" attempt to "explain all neighbourhood phenomena." The "narrow focus" models emphasize "specific determinants of neighbourhood change." Finally, "neighbourhood specific" models orient "towards

	Decline	Stability	Revitalization	Massive redevelopment
Population	Continuing loss of population	No significant losses or gains	Little change	Gain in population
Socio-economic status	Decreasing	Stable	Increasing	Increasing
Family status	Increasing proportion of non-family units and elderly	Maintenance of population mix	Maintenance of population mix	Loss of families, gain of singles, young couples
Ethnicity	Varies-can be influx of deprived ethnic group or breaking down of traditional community	Sometimes strong ethnic community	Sometimes loss of ethnic groups	Seldom important
Community organizations	Poorly organized, unstable	Varies	Increasingly well organized	Usually unorganized
Physical conditions	Worsening	Stable	Improving	Improved housing, possible environment problems
Housing/land costs	Increasing much less than metro average	Increasing at same rate as metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average	Increasing more rapidly than metro average
Tenure	Increasing tenancy	Varies, but often high ownership	Little change	Tenancy
Non-residential functions	Loss of commercial-industrial functions with no replacement	Maintaining a mix of functions	Maintaining a mix of functions	Losing some commercial functions, but gaining others
Pressure for redevelopment	Low	Low	Strong, but controlled	High

Table 1 (McLemore *et al* 1975: 6)

conditions peculiar to a neighbourhood” (Ferguson 1983: i). Most of the theories discussed here, particularly the primary models, are of a comprehensive nature. There are those, however, that can only apply to specific scenarios of change and specific types of inner cities as described in Figure 1 and Table 1.

This chapter will discuss the ‘Primary Models of Neighbourhood Change’ following a brief description of Figure 1. ‘Secondary Models of Neighbourhood Change’ will be explored in addition to factors and processes of change. Table 1 and Figure 1 will be referred to as a marker for what situation a neighbourhood is in when a specific process is occurring.

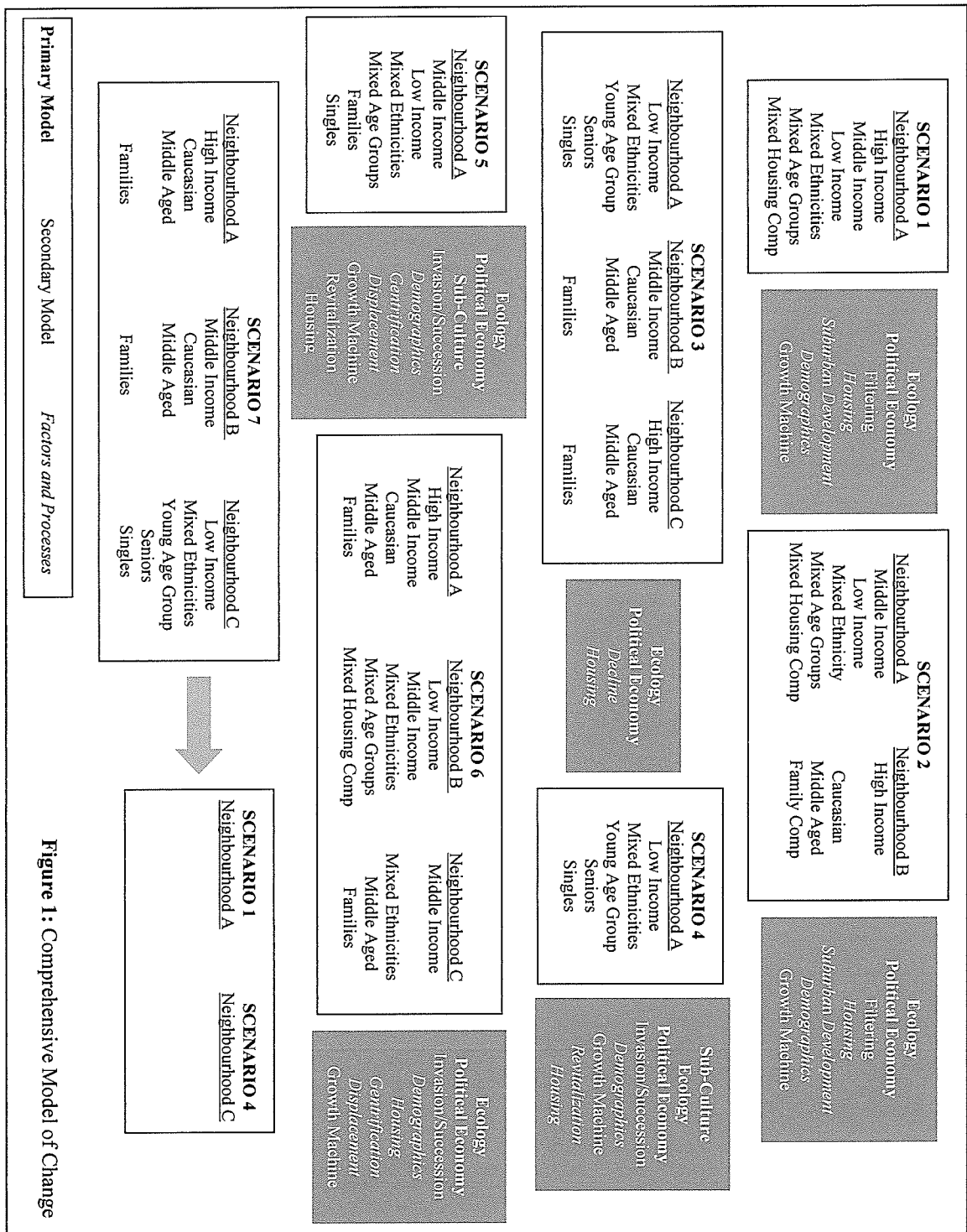
Comprehensive Model of Change

In reviewing the literature on neighbourhood change one can be overwhelmed by the multiple organizations of models and theories. This array of explanations is due to the comprehensive processes involved in neighbourhood change. Pitkin set out three guidelines for a theory toward understanding neighbourhood change: “acknowledge the complexity of urban life, economic conditions, and social relations...”; “recognize forces from both within and outside of neighborhoods...;” and “analyze change at multiple geographic levels...” (2001: 20-22). This chapter will seek to follow these guidelines based within the framework in Figure 1 summarizing the scenarios of change within a specific neighbourhood (Neighbourhood A).

The model is similar to Burgess’s concentric circles of city growth (Temkin & Rohe 1996). Unlike Burgess’s, however, this model includes factors of human intervention, which the ecological model Burgess’s work embraced tended to dismiss.

Also unlike Burgess's this model allows for revitalization inward, rather than just development outward.

The change in Neighbourhood A occurs as the city grows and different processes



affect the decisions of the residents. Between each stage various processes identified within the three main models of change and additional dynamics take place. In each stage the three income groups change residence from neighbourhoods A-C.

This model is simple in its summary of neighbourhood change. It assumes general processes and homogeneity among resident groups. If the model were to include all possible scenarios it would need more space than a sheet of paper. The intention of this model is not to describe in detail all such scenarios. Rather, the model seeks to provide a framework from which one could shift the scenarios and processes around. Neighbourhood change is not as linear as the model might seem to imply.

Primary Models of Change

The three main approaches to modelling neighbourhood change, as described in American literature, are underlain by human ecology, sub-culture theory and political economy (Temkin & Rohe 1996). Ecological thinkers believe neighbourhood change is a natural process strictly due to outside market forces. Sub-culturists believe that neighbourhood change is a result of local residents taking active roles in their communities and harnessing social capital. Political economy looks at multiple forces but concentrates more on outside forces. Although questionable in applicability to Canadian examples, due to the base these models have in American literature, they provide a framework with which we can begin an analysis of Canadian inner cities.

Models of neighbourhood change have been formed based on the knowledge of the specific discipline behind the model. Each model, for the most part, ignores factors outside of its own knowledge as reasons for neighbourhood change and presents linear

explanations for this change. Models of change have been influential on government policies, which in turn have been instrumental in neighbourhood change. Successive government policies supported by different models resulted in negative impacts on the neighbourhoods affected. Appearing in this order the three models of change ecological, subculture and political economy each built on what the previous had neglected to consider. This was in hope not only that a model of change would be formulated to understand the process, but that it would consider all factors of change to form a comprehensive model and pursue policies that could achieve their stated aims.

Ecological Model

Ecological thinkers believe that neighbourhood change is a natural occurrence, suggesting little or no choice by residents because of outside forces (Pitkin 2001).

While acknowledging the importance of cultural forces on urban form, [they] believed more fruitful research would come out of concentrating on the 'biotic' forces of human nature. Consequently, human ecological theory focused on the impact of larger social and economic forces rather than the role of the individual agency. (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 160)

The traditional emphasis as Hudson describes it "is on the aggregate and not the discrete actors in the social system. It eschews consideration of a host of social psychological variables and concentrates on the macro level of social organization" (1995: 398).

Essentially neighbourhood change occurs based on the decisions of larger, more powerful social forces. Human action is seen as a result of change rather than a cause of it.

The ecological model is based in a theory of equilibrium that is a balance of market trends and the movement of residents from one neighbourhood to another. In

equilibrium theory there are multiple ways to describe change, similarly there are multiple explanations to describe the ecological model. In addition to assuming that change is a natural process it is important to note that ecologists take the approach that neighbourhoods are homogenous, exhibiting similar traits that make it possible to develop linear theories. "Because ecologists see neighbourhood change as a natural process, they have developed a series of models of how cities and neighbourhoods change over time" (Pitkin 2001: 3). Three sub-categories of the ecological model: "invasion/succession," "filtering" and "bid rent and border" are based on income and social levels shifting within a larger community (Temkin & Rohe 1996). This shifting causes migration of higher income residents to more desirable neighbourhoods, promoting the decline of the original neighbourhood.

The ecological model does not acknowledge a possibility for revitalization or move toward stability for inner city neighbourhoods. Temkin and Rohe point out two reasons why the ecological model hinders "stabilization initiatives." The model supposes that "neighbourhood change has a positive impact on in-movers and out-movers" and "that the neighbourhood's fate is not within its own hands" (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 162). Ecologists fail to acknowledge the social ills that manifest when a concentration of low income residents moves into a once higher income neighbourhood. This migration is seen as a natural and positive change for the new residents. However, policies encouraging the ecological model did not have a positive effect.

Downs discusses how the policies affected two specific groups in particular: the "people living in concentrated areas of poverty" and "people who would have preferred to remain in older city neighbourhoods" (Downs 1979: 462-463). The first group were

“legally excluded from new growth by suburban zoning laws and building codes that require housing too costly for them to occupy.” This resulted in racial discrimination, unemployment, crime, poor housing and poor education. The second group were forced to leave because policies made “mortgage credit more easily available in new-growth areas than older neighbourhoods.”

Natural change, which the ecological model is based on, can be identified at all stages of neighbourhood change. This is because there is always some level of external market forces at play that have a natural effect on neighbourhood change. Of the four inner city types described in Table 1 the ecological model most easily acknowledges the existence of a neighbourhood in decline. This type begins to emerge in Scenario 2 and comes to fullness in Scenario 4.

Sub-Culture Model

Sub-culturists contend that nostalgia, sentiment and freedom of choice are all factors of change. Unlike the ecological model sub-culture does not believe that economic forces drive the decision making process of residents to remain in their neighbourhoods. Ahlbrandt and Cunningham say that, “The ecological approach does not provide insights into the social fabric and social support networks of neighbourhoods, and it does not relate differences in the internal dynamics of neighbourhoods to their ability to retard or to assist the changes being observed” (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979: 17). Where ecologists say that decline is inevitable sub-culturists would say it can be prevented and in some instances a neighbourhood can improve.

...neighbourhoods are composed of people, and in the past analysis, it is the willingness of residents to remain in their neighbourhood and to work to improve it that will determine the stability of the area...neighbourhoods can remain stable or even improve if the social structure is strong. (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979: 29)

Social relationships, including a measure of social capital have been acknowledged to have direct effect on the stability of a neighbourhood (Temkin & Rohe, 1998). Firey uses Boston neighbourhoods to exhibit this point. In three cases the residents took control of their neighbourhoods and prevented unwanted development from occurring (1945). When a neighbourhood has residents willing to put themselves out for the good of their community the neighbourhood has a strong chance of pursuing stability through revitalization.

Another difference between ecologists and sub-culturists is the view of homogenous neighbourhoods. Ecological theory does not account for additional forces affecting neighbourhood change and assumes that neighbourhoods are homogenous because of this. Sub-culturists recognize that "all neighbourhoods within a city do not follow the same trajectory over time" (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 162). "There are many sub-cultures that vary across neighbourhoods," and "neighbourhood decline is not inevitable" as ecological theory suggests (Pitkin 2001: 7). Because neighbourhoods differ a blanket theory can not be applied without acknowledging possibilities of additional factors of change, particularly human will.

Sub-culturists move beyond the limiting ecological factors of change and "place an emphasis on the study of the nature of social networks within a neighbourhood, the level of commitment and attachment to a community, and its image or symbolism" (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 162). While their explanation is bold some still believe that the sub-culturist view tends to be short-sighted, concentrating too much on the "sense of place" rather than a position in the "local political economy" (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 163).

However, Broadway and Jesty make reference to a study of Canadian cities which revealed that decline in the inner city had more to do with “local factors” than “structural economic change” (Broadway & Jesty 1998: 1423). They suggest, therefore, that social capital is an integral part of neighbourhood change.

The subculture model appears twice in Figure 1, between Scenario 4 and Scenario 5, and again between Scenario 5 and 6. The model does not emerge earlier in the framework because in the past decline was ignored and thought of as a natural process or not even realized until it is too visible to be ignored. With the knowledge of neighbourhood change and the acknowledgment of the importance of social capital it is possible for the sub-culture model to appear earlier. Where it does appear neighbourhoods tend to develop a social awareness and seek to take advantage of their social capital. Unfortunately, neighbourhoods that gentrify and stabilize following this stage tend to fall back into political and ecological models of change. On the other hand, since revitalization also occurs between these stages the organized community groups, shown in Table 1 to have a strong presence under revitalization, may be able to maintain a presence once the neighbourhood stabilizes.

Political Economy Model

Political economists do not view change in the same equilibrium context as ecologists but as a conflict between social, economic and political issues (Pitkin 2001). “The political economists retain the ecologists’ interest in neighbourhood change driven by economic relations and forces from outside the neighbourhoods, but they focus more directly on the social relations of production and accumulation” (Pitkin 2001: 9). “Inner city decline” is seen by political economists “as the inevitable consequence of systematic exploitation under a capitalist system” (Bourne 1978: 40). This infers that neighbourhood change is a natural process within specific economic systems (Logon & Molotch 1987). However, political economists “advocate the development of ideological urban grassroots movements organized to counter urban growth regimes” (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 163).

This would resist the forces that the ecological model says have the most effect on the neighbourhood. It also acknowledges the existence of potential sub-cultural factors.

Political economists combine the two previous models to some extent, recognizing the applicability of residential choice and outside market forces. The additional element is the “function of actors outside of the neighbourhood” (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 163). Where human intervention in the ecological model is non-existent; and the action of residents is the stimulus for change in sub-cultural model; political economy distinguishes the players that run the market. Molotch’s “growth machine” theory, discussed under ‘Secondary Models of Change’ describes this in more detail.

Within the political economy model there is an inequality of power between suburbs and inner cities that promotes decline of the latter (Bourne 1978). The decision makers are almost always living outside of the inner city. It is for this reason, similar to the ecological model that political economy exists at all scenarios of neighbourhood change. The outside factors always exist. Unlike the ecological model, however, political economy does not exclude the possibilities for the three additional types of inner cities, (stability, revitalization and massive redevelopment) as possible scenarios.

These three models all have one thing in common that brings it all back to the idea that neighbourhood change is natural. While the sub-culture and political economy models tend to dispute the idea that neighbourhood change is an unstoppable = natural occurrence, an idea that the ecological model subscribes to, they demonstrate natural laws themselves.

It is fair to say that a person’s decision to locate is based on economic factors (ecological model), which we might say are naturally occurring factors influenced by the market. It is also fair to say that a person’s decision to locate is based on desires to

satisfy one's emotions, which have been developed through time (sub-culture model). This we might say is a natural reaction to past experience. Finally, it is fair to say that dominant forces (political economy) will influence or force a person's decision to locate. This we could say is a natural type of selection where the strong survive. Therefore, neighbourhood change is natural. It is, however, more complex than the ecology model presumes.

Secondary Models of Change

The primary models of change are very general in their applications. They can all be "rather simplistic and assume a level a homogeneity" that does not really exist (Pitkin, 2001, 16). Cities are far more complex than the ecological model assumes. It is "naïve to think that a neighbourhood changes only through the decisions and actions of its residents" as the sub-culturists believe. The political economy model "reduces the cause of neighbourhood change to property relations alone," (Pitkin 2001: 17). These models fall under Ferguson's "comprehensive type" describing change in all neighbourhoods. The following models of change are an attempt to describe in more detail the complex processes involved in neighbourhood change.

Invasion/Succession Model

Essentially a competition for space the "invasion/succession" model is a similar process to evolution (Pitkin 2001). Burgess developed the theory based on plant ecology. Economists took the model a step further applying economic theories of invasion/succession to describe change resulting in the 'filtering' model discussed below.

They also developed additional ecological models” “Bid Rent and Border” (Temkin & Rohe 1996).

The “Bid rent and border” models reveal that residents will move to larger units in suburbs as their incomes rise. Pitkin describes the “Bid rent” model as a “linear relationship between land costs and proximity to the center” (Pitkin 2001: 5). The “border” model includes social factors as well as income levels in decisions of residents to move. The most notable of these factors is race.

Hudson described invasion/succession as a focus on “the entrance of new populations (or species) into an area that is either pristine or already occupied. Theoretically, areas subject to invasion-succession are either newly exposed sites of primary succession or disturbed sites of secondary succession” (1980: 398-399). Some sites are produced due to “some precipitating condition” that he describes as natural disasters and “changes in technology, social organization and population” (1980: 399). This reiterates the notion that ecological models explain change as an effect of outside forces.

Grisby also argued that the traditional invasion/succession model was caused more by an increase in real income than in the decline of property values (Grisby *et al.* 1987). Arguing this he says that an increase in income increases the demand for new construction and if “rising incomes and new construction occur in the absence of growth in number of households, the community’s least attractive neighbourhoods would experience rising vacancy rates, absolutely lower prices and rents, and some abandonment” (Grisby *et al.* 1987: 35). The result then is neighbourhood decline. In the case of neighbourhood revitalization, however, invasion/succession is no longer a

‘traditional’ model and is precipitated by the availability of high quality housing for inexpensive rates. Therefore, in a revitalizing inner city neighbourhood invasion/succession occurs due to low property values.

Invasion/succession occurs following scenario 4 of neighbourhood change when revitalization initiatives begin to take place. Except for a neighbourhood of stability, where population change is minimal, or one experiencing filtering invasion/succession can be an observed occurrence.

Filtering Model

Demonstrating the basic idea of resident mobility invasion/succession is a sociological form of filtering adding a change in demographics to the filtering of housing (Ferguson 1983). Invasion/succession is the process of forcing people out while filtering is a process of one group migrating to live in more luxurious housing and leaving their previous residents to lower income groups.

The filtering model was developed by Hoyt and endorsed by Grisby in his exploration of neighbourhood change. It assumes a natural decline as “property owners invest less in aging properties due to rising maintenance costs and move to new housing on the periphery” (Pitkin 2001: 4). “Neighbourhood decline, then, is a function of the aging housing stock as well as the construction of more appealing housing on the periphery” (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 160). Suburban sprawl is therefore an active agent in neighbourhood decline (Leo & Shaw 2002; Downs 1979).

In addition, Leo & Shaw argue that sprawl not only encourages the wealthy to move out of the inner city, but that it also places an unfair amount of stress on inner city infrastructure costs (2002). Broadway, on the other hand, says that although this is the

case in American cities it is not so in Canadian cities. He claims that the cost sharing between inner cities and new developments put into place by city governments promotes stability, disputing filtering as a process of change in Canadian neighbourhoods.

The filtering process suggests that change in household income is the stimulus for neighbourhood change and decline. This change in income will in turn cause household numbers to decrease or increase. Rising incomes enable people to move and leave their homes to lower income residents. Obsolescence and lack of interest follow in neighbourhoods where there is a decrease in households and finally deterioration sets in (Grisby *et al.* 1987). Grisby believed that the “creation of sub-standard housing was an active process of disinvestment in the standing stock...The choice to maintain or improve is an economic one, he reasoned, and hence the deterioration of the existing stock is not an inevitable process” (Megbolugbe *et al.* 1996: 1780). This view disputes the entirely natural and non-human affected process of change presented in the ecological model.

Grisby supports the argument that filtering is the reason for neighbourhood change. Unlike ecologists, however, he recognizes the personal attachment to a neighbourhood that the sub-culturists base their theories on. He said in reference to the decision to move, with added emphasis, that, “The choice would depend upon a number of factors, including the amount by which income increased, expectations about the permanency, size, and regularity of current and future increments to income, comparative costs of upgrading versus moving, and *the degree of attachment to the neighbourhood of current residents*” (Grisby *et al.* 1987: 35).

There is an additional view to filtering that it is not necessarily deteriorating housing stock being passed on to a lower income group, but rather an opportunity for this

group to improve their situation. Birch says “evolution is hardly a drawback. It is a process which brings higher quality neighbourhoods into their reach” (1971: 86). It is even suggested that neighbourhood deterioration not be controlled, as a ‘do not feed the animals’ application, enforcing the ecological idea that change is a natural process.

Filtering occurs early in neighbourhood stages. It is stimulated by the higher income residents’ move to newer neighbourhoods between Scenarios 1-3. Filtering causes neighbourhoods to enter into a state of decline. It can be the result of massive development and revitalization promoting an end result of stability.

Growth Machine Model

Logan and Molotch proposed the “urban growth machine thesis” that “coalitions of urban elites seek to capture and retain economic power primarily by promoting real estate and population growth. Members of growth machines include people who directly benefit from increases in population and land values” (Pitkin 2001: 9). This theory assumes outside economic forces cause change, but unlike the ecologists political economist say that these forces are, in fact, controlled by humans promoting their own personal interests and indirectly affecting change.

The growth machine thesis proposes “like residents, entrepreneurs in similar situation also make up communities of fate, and often get together to help fate along a remunerative path” (Logan & Molotch 1987: 32). The entrepreneurs are the outside actors affecting neighbourhood change. They promote what Logan and Molotch call a “value-free development”. These actors see development and growth as more important to a community than the values that are prohibited by these developments.

Aggregate growth is portrayed as a public good; increases in economic activity are believed to help the whole community. Growth, according to this argument, brings jobs, expands the tax base, and pays for urban services. City governments are thus wise to do what they can to attract investors. (Logan & Molotch 1987: 33)

Logan and Molotch explain how actors and supporters within the growth machine thesis view capital investment as beneficial to entire cities promoting local economic growth. They believe, contrary to this group, that such growth does not “necessarily promote the public good...the long term consequence of growth can be negative” (1987: 34).

Development projects that increase the scale of cities and alter their spatial relations inevitably affect the distribution of life chances. When capital moves from one place or economic sector to another, the ‘action’ always has potential for redistributing wealth and changing the allocation of use and exchange values within, as well as across the place. (Logan & Molotch 1987: 34)

Due to the enticing effect of overall economic growth governments tend to see such a model as a positive element for change and promote it in their policies for development. When it is demonstrated that the policies promoting such growth is a hindrance to existing residents, governments will either make concessions to the affected residents or put policies in place to punish those in opposition (Logan & Molotch 1987).

Sometimes community mobilization can aid entrepreneurs in their desire for growth. As mentioned in the political economy discussion, residents can be encouraged to take a position on the interventions affecting them. When it benefits a growth machine advocate they can “successfully mobilize, through the vehicle of neighbourhood organization...Conversely, communities of sentiment may conceivably enlist the aid of

land-based entrepreneurs, who may for example, conclude that the survival of some 'local colour' will enhance their new development nearby" (Logan & Molotch 1987: 39). Thus, not all growth machine initiatives are hindrances or can be formed to suit rather than contradict the needs of existing residents.

The growth machine can be seen in all scenarios of change for the same reason as its preceding primary model of Political Economy. The growth machine indirectly promotes decline if it succeeds. The eruption of social movement from residents affected by this model can influence forms of revitalization as well.

"Social Capital Model of Neighbourhood Change"

Temkin and Rohe present a consolidated model called the "social capital model of neighbourhood change" (Temkin & Rohe 1998). The model, shown in Figure 2, borrows from the three primary models.

Temkin & Rohe believe first that neighbourhood change is affected by two sources: "changes in national economic, social and political conditions and metropolitan area maturation" (1996: 166). Proposing a model that recognizes these sources they use the metaphor of cheesecloth:

Imagine a piece of cheesecloth whose weave varies in density from very tight to very loose. If a liquid is poured onto the cheesecloth, areas with a tight weave will be relatively impervious, and the liquid will run off to areas of looser weave. Like cheesecloth, urban neighbourhoods vary in density of their social fabric. Those with tightly knit social fabrics are more resistant to change while those with looser social fabrics are more susceptible to change. (Temkin & Rohe 1996: 166)

Social capital has been recognized as a factor of neighbourhood change and stability (Temkin & Rohe 1998). Community development as a result of social capital is

carried out by the organization of “community coalitions” (Usnick *et al*, 1997), which often take the form of community development corporations (CDCs).

Temkin & Rohe’s model assumes that a neighbourhood’s vulnerability to change depends on the “strength of the social capital on the area” (1998: 67) in addition to other variables of change they combine to call the “social milieu”. They also acknowledge the importance of the existence and strength of “institutional infrastructure” having to do with such organizations as CDCs.

Temkin and Rohe do not pretend to assume that all a neighbourhood needs to remain stable or improve itself is a strong social network. They point out that this social group must also have the ability to converse with the external powers that be to attain the means necessary to improve or stabilize their neighbourhood. Hudson says that although a neighbourhood has viable social networks it “does not make such areas immune to invasion. From the perspective of ecological theory, it does mean that the invading population is able to exploit the environment with greater success than the indigenous population” (1980: 407).

Temkin and Rohe’s consolidated model supports the notion that the framework in Figure 1 does not have to represent the process of change in detail, but simply acknowledge multiple processes. This model promotes multiple processes and factors of neighbourhood change. It would fit easily in Figure 1 starting with Scenario 1. However, it does not account completely for the force of Ecological and Political Economy factors that can make the existence of social capital appear insignificant.

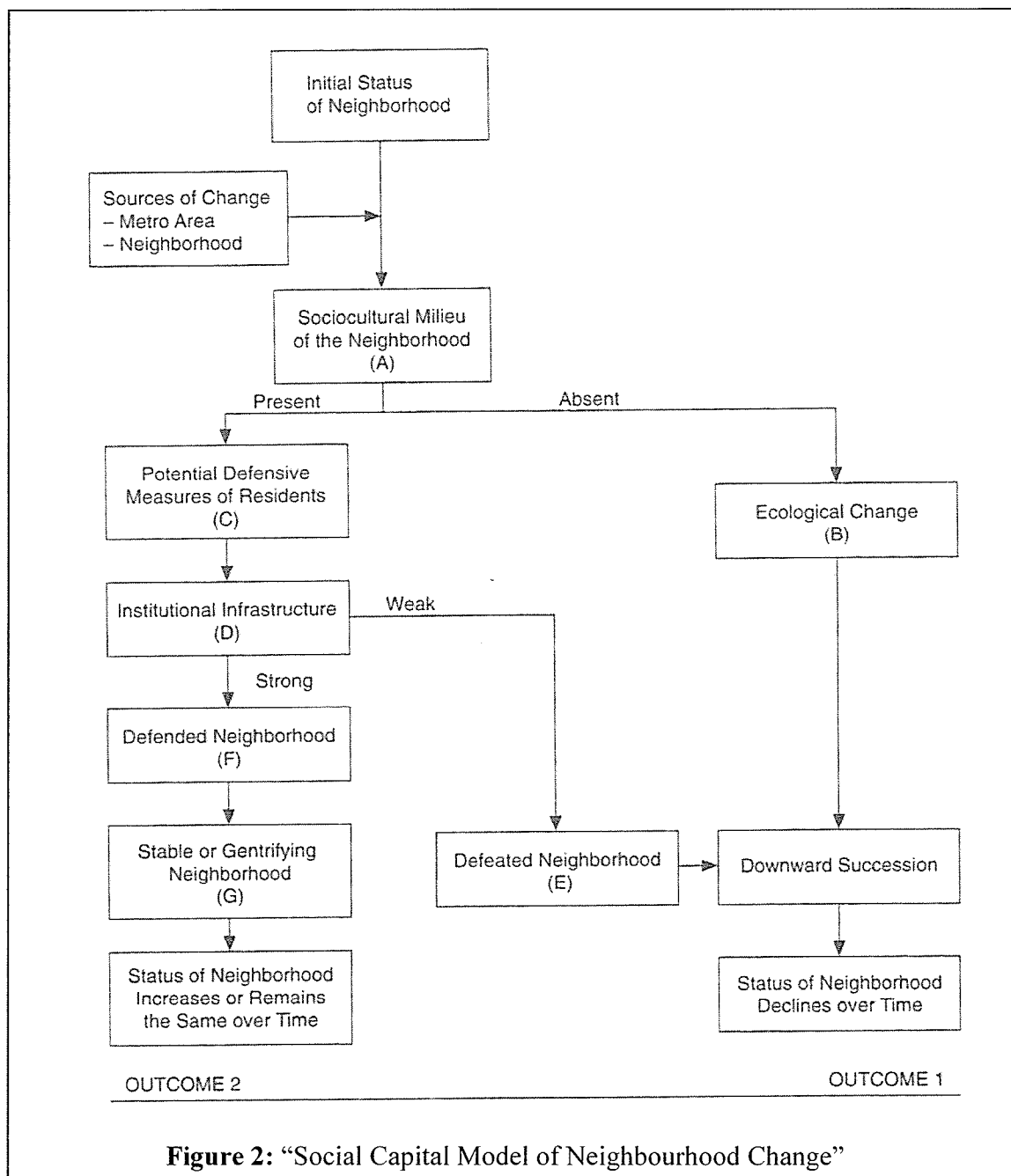


Figure 2: “Social Capital Model of Neighbourhood Change”

Other Factors of Neighbourhood Change

Housing

Housing dominates neighbourhood change theory. When looking at the ecological and political economy models of neighbourhood change, it is obvious that housing, in particular housing costs play a major role in neighbourhood change.

Grisby concentrates on the unit value of the homes and the decision of the owners to sell their property and move to the suburbs (Megbolugbe *et al.* 1996). This process discussed earlier is “filtering” (Grisby *et al.* 1987). It is one of the nine processes Grisby outlines as origins of low income housing problems. The other eight are “inner-city obsolescence, spatial concentration of low-income families, low income itself, problem families, greedy investors, exploitative system, racial discrimination, and the deteriorating social fabric of inner-city neighbourhoods” (Grisby & Rosenberg 1975: 195).

Housing and gentrification go hand in hand as mentioned above. Increase in owner-occupied housing is a major indicator of gentrification (Engels 1999; Bailey & Robertson 1997). Not all lower income residents have the means to own a home and are more likely to rent units. If owner-occupation increases, therefore, it can be assumed that higher income earners are moving into the neighbourhood and purchasing the newly renovated units.

Housing type also has a part. Zielenbach points out that neighbourhoods consisting of mostly single family units will have more families and home owners (2000). Home ownership is a popular idea to push in the revitalization of neighbourhoods. It is believed that homeowners will have more care for their properties and this care will

resonate within the neighbourhood promoting stability. Neighbourhoods with more multi-family dwellings normally have high transiency rates and less “stable populations” (Zielenbach 2000: 95). This type of population encourages deterioration due to the lack of care for property that the residents do not own.

Housing development or lack thereof can be noted at every scenario and is a factor in each type of inner city described in Table 1. Housing is also integrated into every model of primary and secondary change.

Demographics

Demographic change is an element of all three design models to some extent or another. It seems to fit best, however, within the ecological model, restating the point that the ecological model is based on neighbourhoods finding equilibrium. Hudson says of demographics that a neighbourhood becomes stable when demographic characteristics are maintained (Ferguson 1983: 31). This is essentially the base from which the invasion/succession model works.

In an American context, where both Grisby and Zielenbach have their backgrounds, demographics are addressed mostly as black against white. Traditionally it was observed that the more blacks there were in a neighbourhood the less attractive the neighbourhood became (Zielenbach 2000).

The extent that racial prejudice causes neighbourhood change in Canada is not equivalent to American examples. Leo and Shaw make reference to racial differences in Winnipeg inner cities. They address the demographic changes of aboriginals within inner cities in Winnipeg, pointing out that the percentage of aboriginals in the inner city is the highest of all the ethnic groups. However, the number of aboriginals living outside of the

inner city is more than half of the city's total aboriginal population. This suggests that aboriginals are not as marginalized as blacks in America, who were forced to concentrate within the inner cities making up much more of the inner city populations (Carter *et al*, 2003b; Leo & Shaw 2002). Broadway also points out that segregation in Canadian inner cities is done more on language and religious lines than race (1985).

The fact remains that aboriginals make up a large percent of the inner city populations and exhibit high incidences of demographic characteristics associated with decline. These include high unemployment, low levels of education and high occurrences of poverty (Walker, 2003).

Grisby looks at socioeconomic status of residents more than their ethnic backgrounds when looking at demographics. This exercise still segregates based on race, since the majority of lower income earners in the US were black (Zielenbach 2000). This point aside, Grisby separated people into higher and lower income groups, saying that as incomes increased the higher income earners would leave the inner city for the suburbs and leave the used units to lower income residents (Megbolugbe *et al*. 1996).

Leo and Shaw enter this argument with the idea that suburbanization encourages class segregation. They say "it is our understanding that the single most important key to understanding much of what is involved is the progressive abandonment of the inner city by middle-class residents through suburban development. The result is de facto class segregation and the concentration of social problems in one area of the city..." (Leo & Shaw 2002: 122). Their arguments are based on Canadian examples of neighbourhood deterioration, specifically Winnipeg. Broadway, writing seven years earlier, claimed that the disinvestment of the inner city due to suburban development was an American issue

and not so much a Canadian one. Theory from American Literature has “limited applicability to Canadian cities,” (Broadway 1995: 3). He continues with regards to “natural evolution” claiming that the theory saying “residential areas proceed through different stages in a life-cycle from healthy, viable neighbourhoods to a final abandoned stage” is not supported by studies of Canadian inner cities (1995: 2).

The ‘pull’ and ‘obsolescence’...hypotheses interpret decline as a consequence of a physically and socially deteriorating inner city and an overriding preference for suburban living. This explanation is limited to U.S. metropolitan areas, since the Canadian inner city is still regarded as a desirable residential location for elites as well as educated professionals. (Broadway 1995: 2)

Perhaps from a Winnipeg perspective where sprawl has become more of an issue since the publication of Broadway’s article, Leo and Shaw’s argument still holds. In defence of Broadway, he uses the argument referred to under the “Process of Decline” that decline is associated with the loss of industry.

The most applicable explanations of inner-city decline for Canadian cities are the structural and exploitation change hypotheses. Proponents of structural change argue that the shift from manufacturing to a service based economy has reduced inner-city blue-collar employment. (Broadway 1995:4)

This suggests, however, that current residents of decaying inner city neighbourhoods were residents prior to decay as well. It does not account for those who did move to the suburbs for cheaper housing as discussed by Grisby and Leo and Shaw. It also leaves out those in-movers that acquire the properties in the filtering process.

Following race and economic change in demographics family structure is also an element of neighbourhood change. In Baltimore a deteriorating inner city had almost half

the percentage of married couples that the Metropolitan Statistical Area had. Even less of these couples had children (Carter & Polevychok, 2003). In addition to a smaller family population a lot of declining neighbourhoods will have a high percentage of single, seniors and the majority of these will be male.

Demographics like housing is integrated into every model of change and is a cause of change in every scenario of change. Demographics also help to define a neighbourhood's status as described in Table 1 when looking at the number of family units and ethnic make-up of a neighbourhood.

Three Manifestations of Neighbourhood Change

Gentrification

Gentrification is a common result of neighbourhood revitalization and almost inevitable. In its basic form gentrification is “the invasion by relatively affluent households into marginal neighbourhoods, with the concomitant rehabilitation of housing and the displacement of previous residents” (Beauregard 1990: 855). Based on this definition gentrification can be seen as a process of invasion/succession. Hudson's description of gentrification based on his definition of invasion/succession would be due to a change in residential preference of the wealthier succeeding group (1980; Grisby *et al.* 1987). In the process of revitalization where the site is experiencing ‘secondary succession’ increase in real income is less of a factor than the affordability of properties in comparison with current market prices. Market changes and real income are also accompanied by expectancy for further income increase and the sentiment attached to current neighbourhoods of residence in the choice of gentrifiers to move into a revitalizing neighbourhood (Grisby *et al.* 1987).

Despite efforts to describe the causes of gentrification there have been too many factors for any one model to explain (Beuregard 1990). It is simpler to establish evidence of gentrification rather than cause, which suits this discussion more. Evidence that gentrification is occurring can be observed through two primary sources: housing renewal resulting in increases in home ownership (Engels 1999; Bailey & Robertson 1997) and demographic change.

Housing is an integral part of the gentrification process, for which Beuregard outlines three players also directly related to housing development: “investors”; “market conditions”; and change in “perception of developmental potential” (1990: 870). Essentially the factor that affects a person’s decision to move into a gentrifying neighbourhood is the nature of the current market in combination with personal preference. Personal preference tends to be dictated by a person’s length of residence in their neighbourhood (Bailey & Robertson 1997) and current trends.

The use of private developers as opposed to social housing initiatives is a deciding factor in whether or not a neighbourhood will gentrify (Bailey & Robertson 1997). Private developers, wanting to make a profit, attract more affluent buyers and encourage gentrification. On the other hand, social housing groups are presumably more interested in improving the quality of life of those they are providing services to and do not intentionally encourage gentrification through their development.

There is also consideration for the type of units being developed being either housing renovation or the rehabilitation of office and warehouse space (Cameron 1992). Renovations to existing single family structures can often be done at an affordable rate. The result then is low rent or mortgage payments that some existing low income residents

can pay. Private development in inner city neighbourhoods can take the form of the reuse of old warehouse and office space. This type of construction can be costly and is reflected in the high rates that are not affordable for lower income residents.

Demographic evidence for gentrification will exhibit a large population of young singles and couples with no children (Bailey & Robertson 1997). It may also be observed that a large percentage of the singles are male (Cameron 1992). Increase in average income and education levels also demonstrates a change in demographics that suggests gentrification (Zielenbach 2000). An increase in average income is due to the higher incomes of in-movers. Higher-education levels suggest a higher societal status and higher income of residents.

Gentrification occurs following Scenarios 4 and 6 when revitalization is taking place. It also occurs in areas of massive development characterized by demographic shift of higher percentages of singles (Bailey & Robertson 1997).

Decline

Since most of the theories presented are based within a housing dynamic framework it may appear that housing is the primary basis for change. Carter and Polevychok outline five questions which seek to determine the cause of decline. Two of these five address housing specifically: “How do factors like the concentration of poverty, housing policy, or transport alternatives contribute to decline?” and “What role do market forces such as housing supply and quality play?” (2003: 1) Housing does indeed play a major role in neighbourhood change and decline, but there are other factors.

Carter and Polevychok’s final three questions address issues that are not housing related or related to the physical aspects of neighbourhoods: “Is decline the result of

structural factors such as the loss of traditional industries and the changing nature of employment?...How does the decline in local services affect these neighbourhoods? How do the characteristics of decaying areas influence the choice of people who refuse to live in them or invest in them and how does this choice make the situation worse?" (2003:1)

We can see in these questions the additional causes of decline.

The first of the final three questions discusses the circumstance of lost industry. Cities that are dependent on "manufacturing and resources" have in recent years experienced a decline in production because of growing "global competition". Broadway claims that these cities are more likely to have declining inner cities occupied by those left jobless because of these economic changes (1995).

The second question addresses a loss in services which can occur prior and following decline. Businesses will move if their clientele is moving and some leave the neighbourhood because of growing safety concerns (Zielenbach 2000).

The final question encompasses all of these factors into a person's ability to choose a place of residence based on attraction to site and affordability. This suggests that there is more to decline than market and industry changes. Decline involves social change as well. Grisby's ninth image of change looks at it from such a perspective. The "social fabric-image...suggests that crime, poor schools, unemployment, family instability, and related social maladies turn inner city neighbourhoods into places to get out of" (Grisby & Rosenberg 1975: 205). Within this image of change there is yet another issue. People who can not afford to get out of the neighbourhood get stuck leading to additional declining factors.

Leo and Shaw blame “ghettoization” for neighbourhood decline. This is in addition to sprawl which will be discussed later. Ghettoization is used to “refer to the social isolation of poor people in ghetto neighbourhoods, which multiplies their problems as inadequate shelter and nutrition are compounded by poor quality education and by exposure to violence” (Leo & Shaw 2000: 119). They contend that increases in social problems promote the deterioration, not only of a neighbourhood, but of education as well. This in turn will push people towards lives of crime furthering decline of the neighbourhood.

Occurring as a ‘domino effect’ decline can be caused by filtering, as discussed earlier. Filtering does not have to result in decline, but decline in the form of physical deterioration, social degradation, and increase in safety and crime issues is linked to it.

The concentration of lower income residents into a neighbourhood can result in deterioration of that neighbourhood. When filtering occurs older housing units are gradually sold to lower income earners who may be unable to afford regular maintenance. These units begin to deteriorate and soon the entire neighbourhood has become a physical ‘eyesore’.

Social degradation occurs when housing deteriorates. Homeowners in these neighbourhoods have the choice to move out and rent the homes to other low income residents, or they can continue to live in their homes and deal with increasing maintenance costs. The first choice allows the owner to pay for maintenance costs through rent money but can also result in the occurrence of absentee landlords. The second choice can result in the depletion of income forcing the resident into poverty (Cameron 1992). Both of these scenarios are catalysts for further neighbourhood decline.

Housing conditions like those in the paragraph above increase the probability of criminal activity. It has been observed that a concentration of low income residents in a neighbourhood can precipitate in a high and rapidly growing crime rate (Leo & Shaw 2002; Zielenbach 2000). Due to the low rental rates offered by absentee landlords it can be assumed that the residents in their units are low income. This along with the low income home owners, if there are any home owners at this point, creates a high percentage of low income residents. Therefore, the prospect for criminal activity is high.

“Where social problems predominate, crime follows. As crime grows law-abiding people are faced with Hobson’s choice of becoming accomplices or victims. Thus, crime spreads” (Leo & Shaw 2002: 124). When poverty is concentrated into neighbourhoods social problems are inevitably going to emerge. Criminal activity if not directly dealt with will encourage more criminal activity. Residents that are not already involved in some form of criminal activity will be forced to choose between participating and being a victim. The choice may simply increase such activity.

Patterns of criminal activity can be associated with low levels of education across a neighbourhood (Leo & Shaw 2002). However, Carter & Polevychok in reference to an inner city study point out significant differences in high school drop out rates between declining neighbourhoods. This means that despite the decline some neighbourhoods have success in education (2003). Therefore, lack of education is not a necessary characteristic of decline. Similarly, higher education is not necessarily an indicator of improvement or stability. Education, though, is recognized as an important element of neighbourhood change because of the economic value it brings and social improvement it encourages. Zielenbach sees education as an indicator for a community’s economy.

“More educated individuals tend to have better jobs and therefore have better employment networks. Their greater income potential should generate stronger market activity.” He goes on to say that “Individuals with college educations tend to invest more in the maintenance of their homes” (Zielenbach 2000: 96).

Another two elements of decline that are often given little attention are loss of hope and declining health (Carter & Polevychok 2003). When a neighbourhood exhibits the characteristics that have been described above residents often find themselves experiencing both of these. Inability to eat properly and stress from additional issues cause resident health to deteriorate. This is added to an overwhelming loss of hope.

As mentioned before decline is a vast topic that by itself could be a thesis. It involves multiple levels of activity all

of which can not be discussed in this summary of decline. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) put together a list of characteristics that can be found in declining neighbourhoods (Table 2).

We have touched on most of the items in this list and in the case study discussion we will be addressing some of the missed characteristics more directly.

Characteristics of Declining Neighbourhoods

- Population loss
- Lower population density
- Lower resident socioeconomic status
- Welfare dependency
- Increase of elderly and non-family households
- High ratio of single-parent families
- Changing ethnic composition
- Deteriorating housing stock
- Aging housing stock
- Deterioration of real estate market
- Falling property and rent values
- Falling rates of homeownership
- Increase in absentee landlords
- Increased tax delinquency
- Declining private investment
- Decline in public servicing and investment
- Pessimistic attitudes toward neighbourhood
- Weak community organizations

Table 2: CMHC Characteristics of Decline
(CMHC 2001: 2)

Decline occurs following Scenario 3, but gradually takes form from the time higher income earners begin to leave the neighbourhood. It can continue to occur if there is no intervention.

Revitalization

Organizations like Community Development Corporations (CDC) have been instrumental in organizing communities to work together and revitalize their neighbourhoods (Zielenbach 2000). They work as liaisons between residents and governments as the influence on “larger political, financial and other institutional actors whose decisions affect neighbourhood stability or change” (Temkin & Rohe 1990: 166). That is, they influence the ‘actors’ in the ‘growth machine’ model. They also represent the characters identified in the ‘social capital model’.

The services and locational characteristics of a neighbourhood are often deciding factors for residents wanting to move in (Zielenbach 2000). Revitalization of inner cities has been attributed to multiple factors. Broadway outlines four explanations. First, traditionally higher income earners and childless households have resided in the inner city. Because this group has increased there may be a “corresponding increase in demand to live in the inner city.” Second an increase in “low paid service jobs has produced a group of ‘marginal gentrifiers’...who settle in the inner city as a matter of necessity or convenience.” Third is the political economy model. Finally, “measures of urban amenity and a post industrial economy oriented toward advanced services provided the best explanations for the influx of well-educated professionals into inner-city neighbourhoods” (Broadway 1995: 4-5). This means that physical amenities play a major role in the decision of gentrifiers to move to the inner city.

Initially the sub-culture model dominates in such a process. CDCs and other community organizations are in control of neighbourhood change. However, once gentrification begins to occur these groups tend to lose power. Peterman discusses this, saying “Efforts to maintain the status quo will be overwhelmed by the market forces that are bringing about the changes” (2000: 82). He continues the discussion saying that community organizations are most effective when the environment is “relatively simple”. When changes start taking place the organizations are “more likely to be followers reacting to change rather than leaders attempting to direct it.”

Occurring after Scenario 4 revitalization is a sub-factor of both the Political Economy and Sub-Culture models. It stands on its own as an inner city neighbourhood type characterized by the details described in Table 1.

Conclusion

The models presented are for the purpose of creating a basic understanding of how neighbourhoods change. Why neighbourhoods change can not be explained exclusively by one of these models in isolation. A more comprehensive model, such as the one proposed in Figure 1 and to some extent the one in Figure 2, that can be manipulated and applied more specifically helps clarify an understanding of neighbourhood change.

The model in Figure 1 follows Pitkin’s guidelines for understanding neighbourhood change:

- 1) "Acknowledge the complexity of urban life, economic conditions, and social relations..."

The model notes the existence of multiple processes at any given time. Although the processes do not encompass all of one area of social, economic or political the combination of them covers all these areas.

- 2) "Recognize forces from both within and outside of neighbourhoods..."

The change from within neighbourhoods at residential and sub-cultural levels, as well as factors influencing change at market and political levels are also addressed in the model.

- 3) "Analyze change at multiple geographic levels..."

The model accounts for city growth and additional neighbourhoods.

The final of Pitkin's guidelines encompasses the running theme that neighbourhood change is more complex than any one process or linear model can explain. It is the hope of this author that the comprehensive model of neighbourhood change being sought has at least been introduced in this thesis.

Chapter 3: West Broadway - A Look at the Past

Located south west of the City of Winnipeg's downtown West Broadway is surrounded by three main arteries on its west, east and north borders and the Assiniboine River to its south (Figure 3). The Number 1 Highway passes through the neighbourhood and is zoned as a commercial strip. To its south the wealthy neighbourhood of West Gate exists and the revitalized neighbourhood of Wolesley is to its west. Another once declining neighbourhood, Spence, is north of West Broadway across Portage Avenue.

West Broadway has changed dramatically in the last century. Its population, housing stock, physical appearance and socio-economic status have all been altered through the years and continue to change as the neighbourhood attempts to revitalize itself. This chapter will explore how the neighbourhood has changed between the early 1900's and 1996.



Figure 3: Location of West Broadway (Skelton 2003)

Stage 1: Pre-1960's

West Broadway was a bustling neighbourhood housing some of Winnipeg's most elite and wealthy citizens. Homes were grandiose and exhibited architectural elements that are only seen on buildings from the same era.

By 1960 West Broadway had over 2000 housing units¹. It was at this time that new development began to occur on Winnipeg's fringes. Suburban lifestyles were being pursued by large sections of the population, including West Broadway residents.

Stage 2: 1960-1981

Following the exit of higher income residents to newer developments and subsequent out-migration of medium income residents housing units began to filter to Winnipeg's lower income population.

Between 1971 and 1981 dwelling construction produced less than 600 units compared to a decrease in units of 660 during this same time (Figure 4). The rate of construction was lower than the rate of loss during

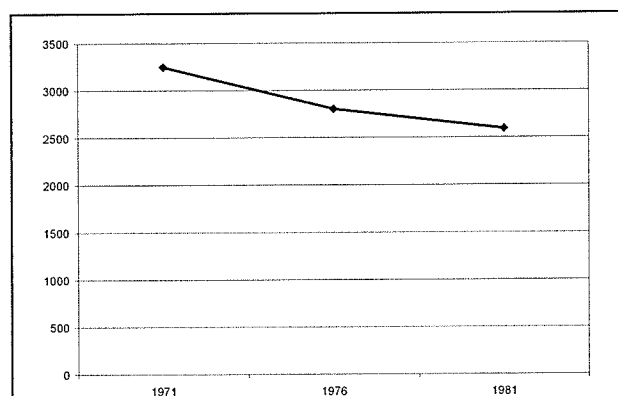


Figure 4: Dwelling Units (1971-1981)

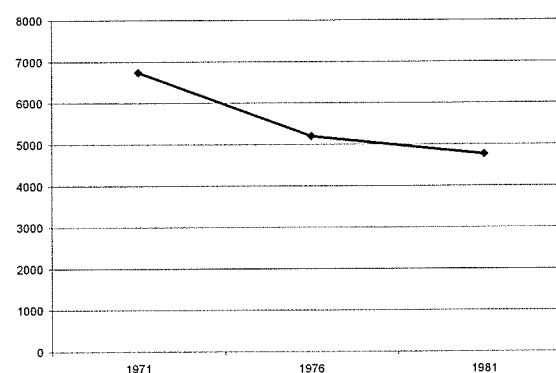


Figure 5: Population (1971-1981)

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all census data is sourced to "Community Data Network, 2001, Customized Stat Canada Tabulations"

this period, meaning that the housing stock was depleting.

West Broadway's population was also decreasing, dropping almost 30% between 1971 and 1981 (Figure 5).

Owner occupation increased during this same period by 0.6% (Figure 6).

This suggests an influx of new residents took advantage of low property values such as described under the 'Process of Decline' in chapter 2. Average household income was at an all-time low at the end of this period at \$12,578 (Figure 7) compared to an average household income of \$23,208 (Canada 1983) for the rest of the city.

The unemployment and labour force participation rates between 1971 and 1981 also reflect the declining state of the neighbourhood (Figures 8 & 9). The steady rise in unemployment was higher and steeper than the City of

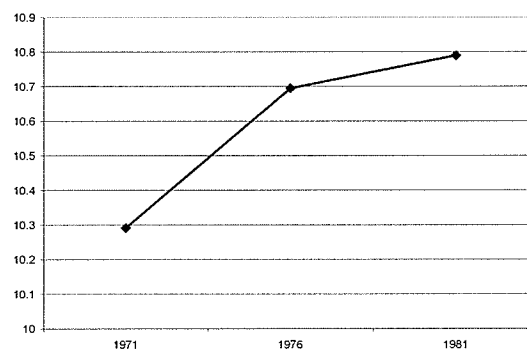


Figure 6: Owner Occupation (1971-1981)

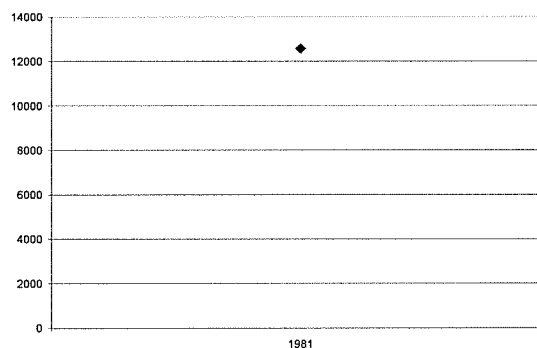


Figure 7: Average Household Income (1981)

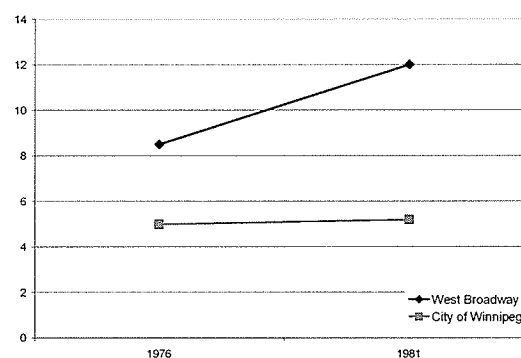


Figure 8: Unemployment Rate (1976-1981)

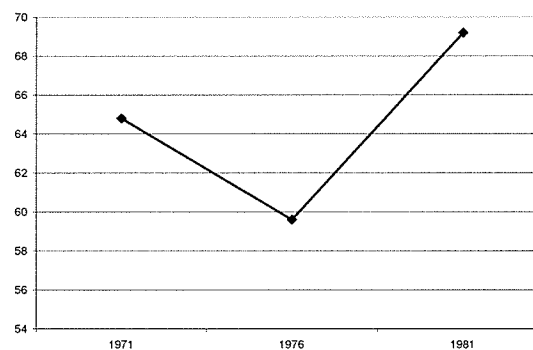


Figure 9: Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-1981)

Winnipeg's during this period.

Additionally, between 1971 and 1986 the participation rate dropped by more than 5%. This suggests a sense of hopelessness existed among residents.

Stage 3: 1981- 1991

This time period saw the most dramatic changes overall beginning with population and housing. Between 1981 and 1986 the population increased by 37% (Figure 10) and housing units by 43% (Figure 11). This is indicative of the time when single family dwelling units were being converted into rooming houses. The population rise in combination with a decrease in owner occupation of 5% between 1981 and 1986 (Figure 12) corroborates this conclusion.

The second half of this period had a reverse effect in housing and

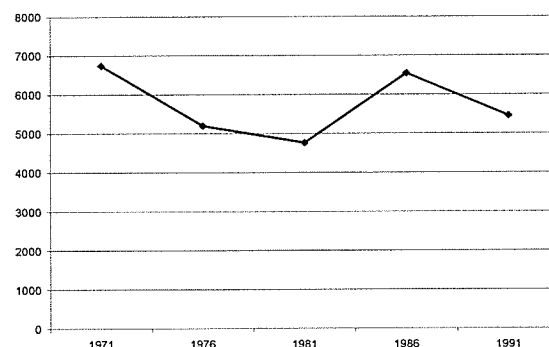


Figure 10: Population (1971-1991)

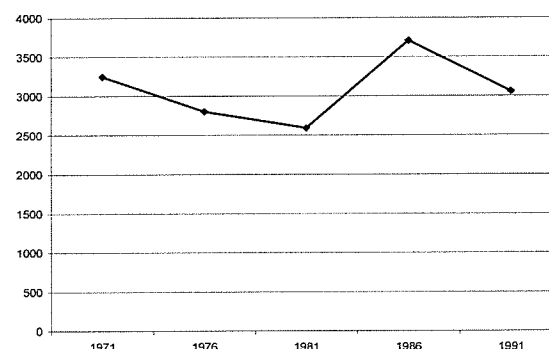


Figure 11: Dwelling Units (1971-1991)

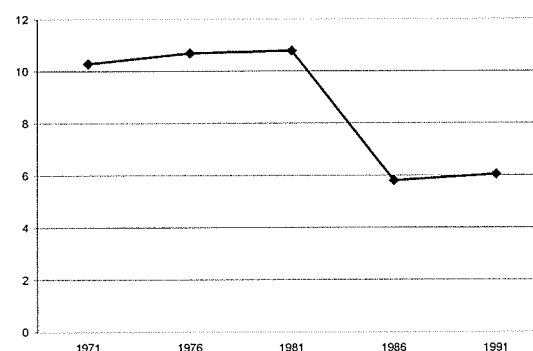


Figure 12: Owner Occupation (1971-1991)

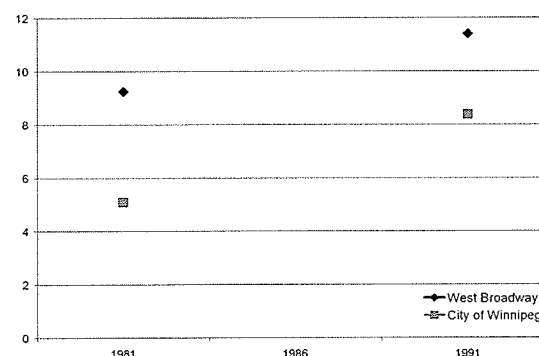


Figure 13: Units in need of major repair (1971-1991)

population. Housing units decreased by 17% and population by almost 17%. The percentage of units in need of major repair increased during this period from 9.25% in 1981 to 11.41% in 1991 (Figure 13). This decrease in the total number of units and increase in units needing major repairs could have been due to things such as absentee landlords. In these cases owners would purchase properties that have dropped in value and would rent them at low rates with low maintenance strategies to people who can not otherwise afford adequate housing.

Average household income increased during this period by 38% (Figure 14). This is contrary to the increasing unemployment rate during the same time (Figure 15). The average income does correlate with a rise in the labour force participation

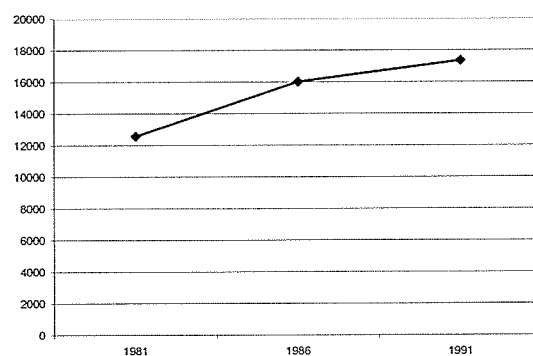


Figure 14: Average Household Income (1981-1991)

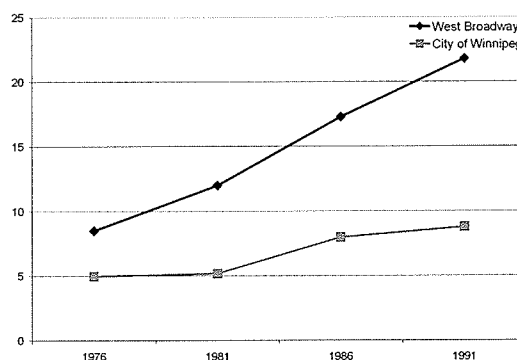


Figure 15: Unemployment Rate (1976-1991)

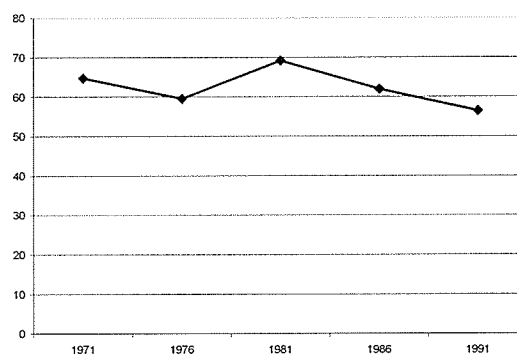


Figure 16: Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-1991)

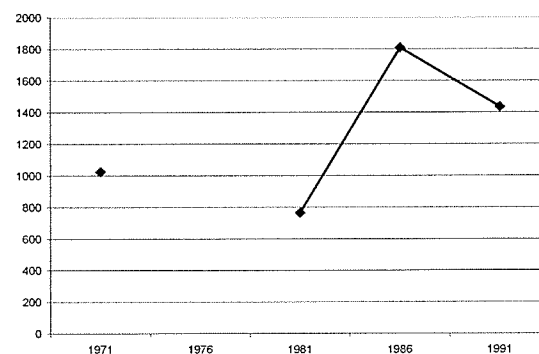


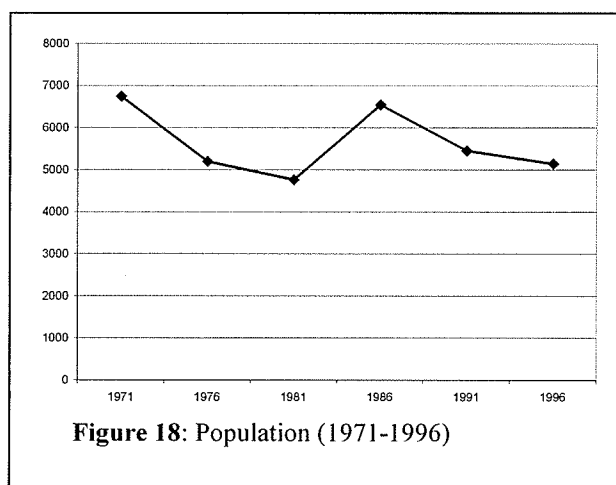
Figure 17: Rent to Income Ratio (1971-1991)

rate for the first five years, but does not explain the decrease in the next half of the period (Figure 16). There is also an inconsistency with the number of residents spending 30% or more of their household income on rent, an amount that is considered to be the critical line (Carter & Polevychok, 2003). During the first five years the percentage increased from 33% to 51% (Figure 17). This dropped to 50% in 1991, but was still fairly high.

This stage of the neighbourhood's life was the most dramatic, for the decline occurred following the loss of higher income residents. The next stage, however, points towards a complete decline. It is at this time that characteristics of decline were at their highest and West Broadway was truly in need of attention.

Stage 4: 1991- 1996

This stage was the period when residents began to take notice of their neighbourhood's declining state. The neighbourhood's image as well as its physical reality was tarnished. All data exhibited West Broadway as the declining neighbourhood described by



the CMHC summary (Table 2). Following a population loss of 16% in 1986 to 1991 the neighbourhood's population continued to drop losing another 6% by 1996 (Figure 18).

Figures 19 and 20 illustrate the changes in populations that have occurred between 1991 and 1996 for Winnipeg and West Broadway. Both graphs show an equal decrease of 6.5% of 75 year olds. Another comparison is that both city and

neighbourhood show losses and gains in the same age categories, but the differences are significant.

West Broadway showed a much greater decrease in persons between the ages of 25-64 where people between the ages of 30-34 years decreased the most by 4.32%. Winnipeg, on the other hand showed much less decrease in these categories with the highest decrease of 0.72% for the 30-34 year olds. Between the ages of 15-19 and 20-24 West Broadway had a major increase of 3.57% and 8.20%.

Winnipeg had a much lower increase in these age groups of 0.17% and 0.53%.

Another notable decrease for West Broadway was between the ages 5-9 and 10-14. The 5-9 year olds had decreased by 3.04% and the 10 to 14 year olds decreased by 1.01%.

We can also see in Figure 21 that in 1996 West Broadway had a

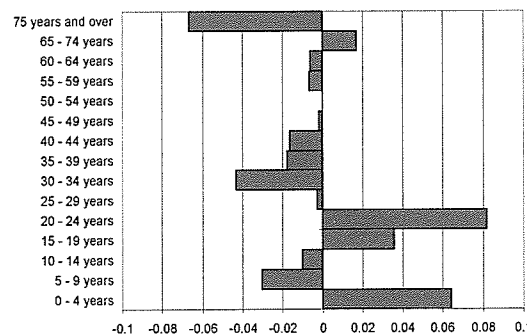


Figure 19: West Broadway Change in Population (1991-1996)

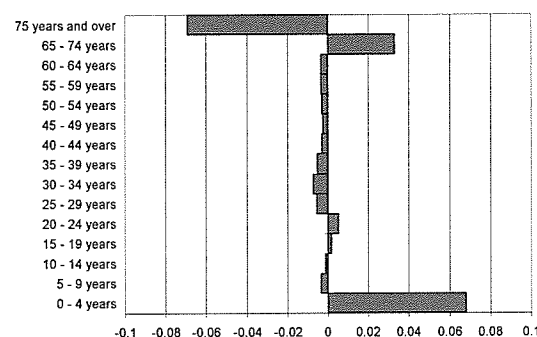


Figure 20: Winnipeg Change in Population (1991-1996)

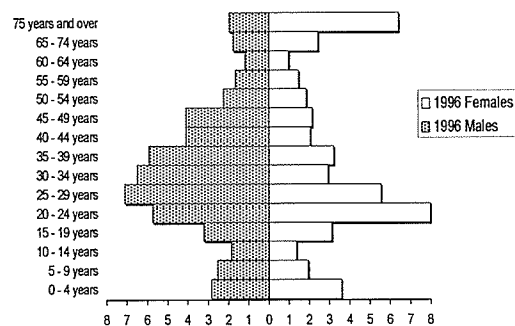


Figure 21: West Broadway Population Pyramid (1996)

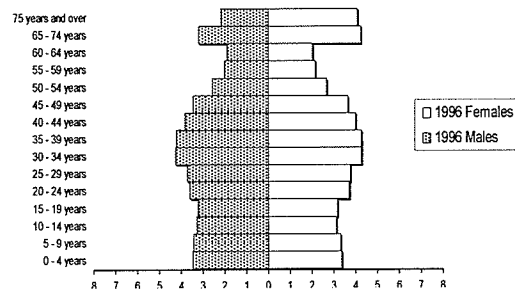


Figure 22: Winnipeg Population Pyramid (1996)

higher percentage of males to females between the ages of 15-49 years old. There was a higher percentage of females in West Broadway, though, between the ages of 20-29 and 75 years and older. In comparison with the City of Winnipeg, totalled numbers of males and females between 40-74 year age group and 0-19 year age group in Winnipeg had a higher percentage than West Broadway (Figure 22). Between the ages of 20-39 year age group West Broadway showed a much larger percentage than Winnipeg.

These changes and numbers in West Broadway's population suggest that families and seniors were the largest out-movers between 1991 and 1996. That families were leaving the neighbourhood may suggest that a concern for safety existed and it is plausible that this was caused by decline and an increase in crime.

The largest in-movers were most likely single students looking for affordable housing. This is supported

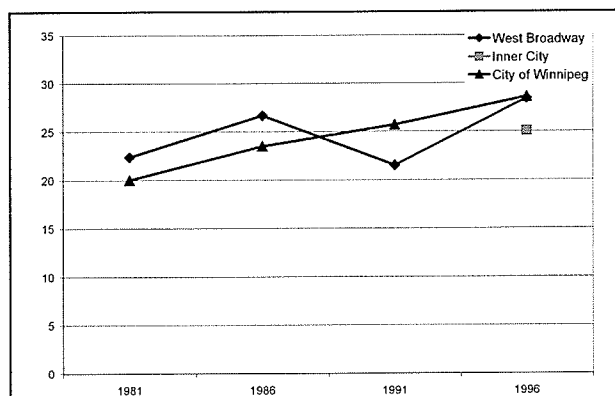


Figure 23: Population with some university (1981-1996)

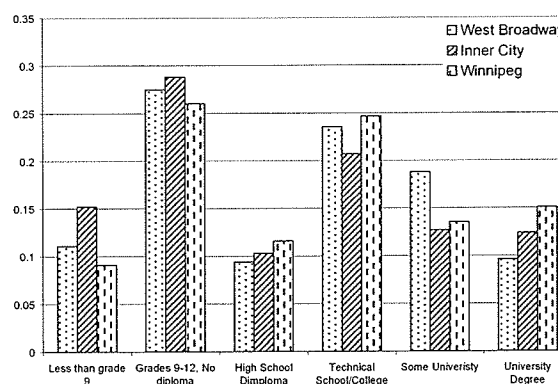


Figure 24: Education of population 15+ years (1996)

in Figure 23 where the population with some university increases by 7%. Educationally, West Broadway had fairly close numbers with Winnipeg in 1996, except within the levels of "Some University" and "University Degree" (Figure 24). West Broadway exceeds Winnipeg by more than 5% for persons with some university and Winnipeg exceeds

West Broadway by 5% for persons having a university degree. Together with the near 24% at technical school level this also indicates that West Broadway had a large portion of students, who are traditionally renters.

Owner occupation in 1991 was 6% (Figure 25). This dropped to 5% in 1996. Winnipeg's homeownership rate, on the other hand, went up between these two years by a 1.43%. In 1996 West Broadway had the highest rental percentage of the inner city and the City of Winnipeg at 95.14% (Figure 26). This is a difference of 28.78% from the inner city and 57.17% from Winnipeg.

In addition to high tenancy rates the quality of housing was both poor and old. In 1991 43% of the units were constructed prior to 1946 and in 1996 this number rose to 52% (Figure 27). Units requiring major repair also rose

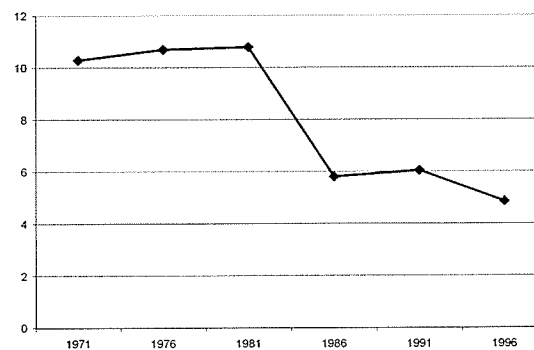


Figure 25: Owner Occupation (1971-1996)

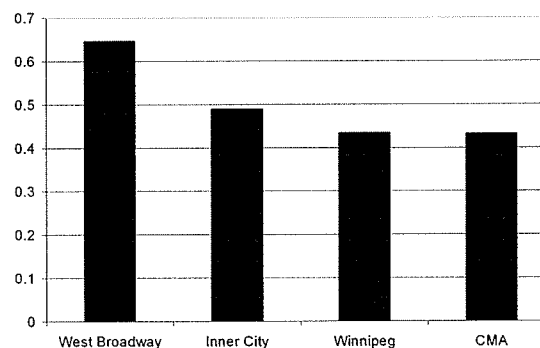


Figure 26: Rent Ratio Comparison (1996)

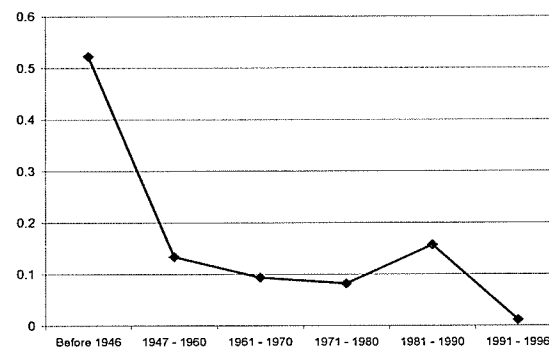


Figure 27: Unit Construction Date (1996)

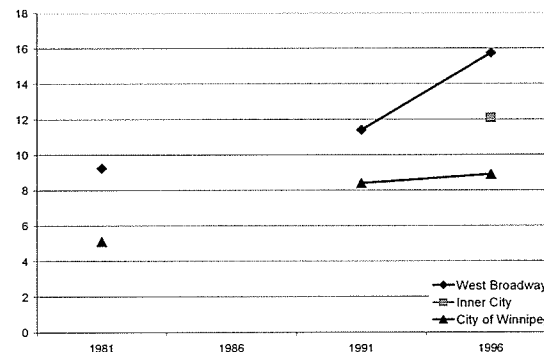


Figure 28: Units in need of major repair (1981-1996)

from 11.41% (1991) to 15.74% (1996) (Figure 28). Winnipeg was also experiencing an increase in this area, but not to the extent that West Broadway was.

The break down of ethnicities in West Broadway's population at this time is also indicative of the neighbourhood's declining state if what is said about aboriginals in inner city areas is applied. Although the neighbourhood is comprised of multiple ethnicities the Aboriginal

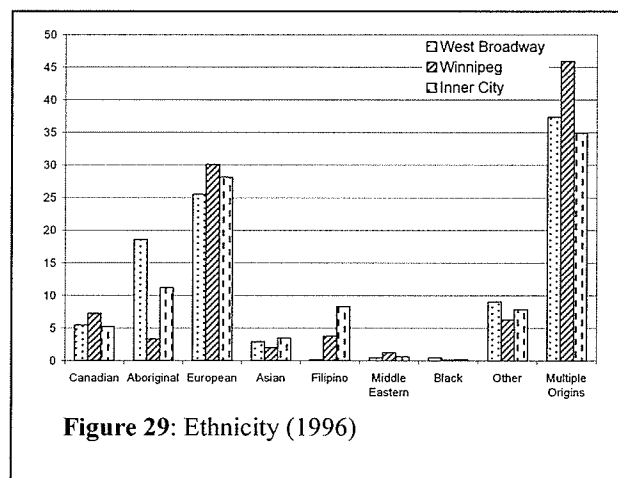


Figure 29: Ethnicity (1996)

population stands out (Figure 29). The neighbourhood had the highest percentage of Aboriginals (18%) compared with the Inner City and the rest of Winnipeg. As mentioned in the previous chapter aboriginals in inner city neighbourhoods tend to exhibit characteristics of decline in the form of unemployment, poverty and low education levels (Walker, 2003). We can surmise, therefore, that these characteristics do exist in the neighbourhood.

In 1991 West Broadway's average household income level was \$17,368, compared to Winnipeg's average income of \$42,169. In 1996, while Winnipeg's average income level rose to \$44,937, a 6% increase, West Broadway's decreased by 7% to \$16,211 (Figure 30). This was even less than the average income for the inner city at \$28,588.

Rent to income ratio in West Broadway was also considerably higher than the rest of the city. Using the measure of low income we see that 63% of tenants, 13% more than

in 1991, were paying more than 30% of their incomes on rent in 1996 (Figure 31). This was 16% more than the inner city. Although the city of Winnipeg experienced a 13% increase as well it was still 20% lower than West Broadway.

The unemployment rate also increased during this period, more so than in previous stages. It increased by 7.2% to 29%, while Winnipeg's unemployment rate dropped by 0.6% to 8.2% (Figure 32). The inner city in 1996 had a 15.4% unemployment rate, a difference of 13.6% with West Broadway.

At the end of this stage we see the neighbourhood at its lowest. It was labelled as a neighbourhood

demonstrating signs of increasing deprivation (Blake 2001). At this point the neighbourhood would either fall into complete deterioration or by some form of intervention be turned around. This did occur for the neighbourhood. Concerned residents came together and formed the West Broadway Alliance (WBA). This

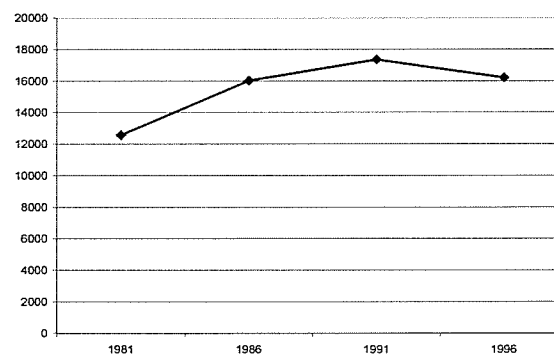


Figure 30: Average Household Income (1981-1996)



Figure 31: Rent to Income Ratio (1971-1996)

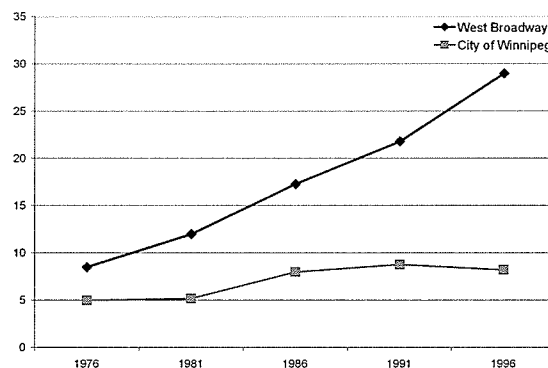


Figure 32: Unemployment Rate (1976-1996)

organization represented groups that worked in the neighbourhood. Later the West Broadway Development Corporation (WBDC) was formed as a legal arm to the WBA (Blake 2001). The WBDC's job was to initiate and oversee projects for the purpose of improving the neighbourhood. In the next chapter we will see how these initiatives have changed a once deteriorating neighbourhood into a revitalized and vibrant one.

Chapter 4: Indicators of Change in West Broadway

West Broadway has gone through a number of changes since 1996. With the implementation of initiatives in areas of housing, beautification, community building and safety West Broadway has turned itself around. In this chapter we will look at evidence of these changes through census analysis. In addition to this analysis we will examine interviews conducted in the summer of 2003 with key informants and residents about their perceptions of the changes.

Census Analysis

West Broadway's population did not change much from 1996 to 2001, decreasing by less than 2% (Figure 33). The changes in age groups were also not notable. The same comparisons could be drawn between West Broadway and the City of Winnipeg as were taken from the 1996 data discussed in Chapter 3. There was an unusually large population between the ages of 20-40 (Figure 34). The age group 20-24

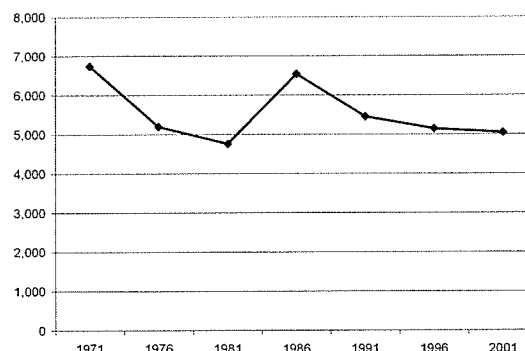


Figure 33: Population (1971-2001)

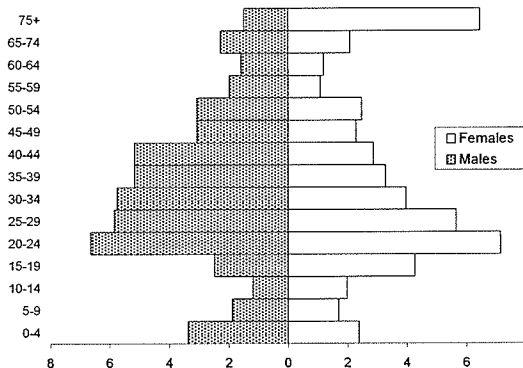


Figure 34: West Broadway Population Pyramid (2001)

made up 13.8% of the neighbourhood's population, compared to the city's 8.5% (Figure 35). This suggests that a high number of students still lived in the neighbourhood despite the drop in residents with some university (Figure 36).

There was also a change in ethnic groups. What is of most interest in this case was the decrease in the aboriginal population of 1.23% (Figure 37). This was not unlike the rest of the city. Winnipeg's aboriginal population dropped by 0.8% and the inner city's dropped by 3.19%. This decrease in the aboriginal population does not appear important when we realize that this was occurring throughout the city.

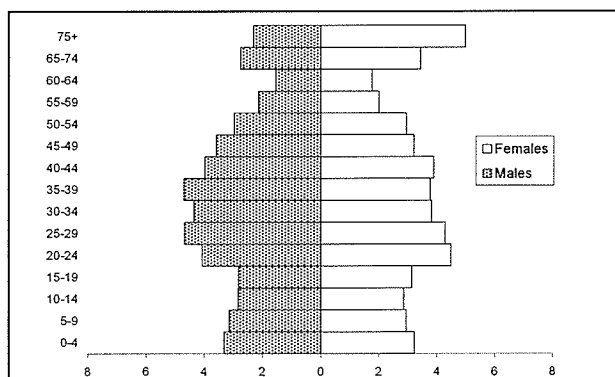


Figure 35: Winnipeg Population Pyramid (2001)

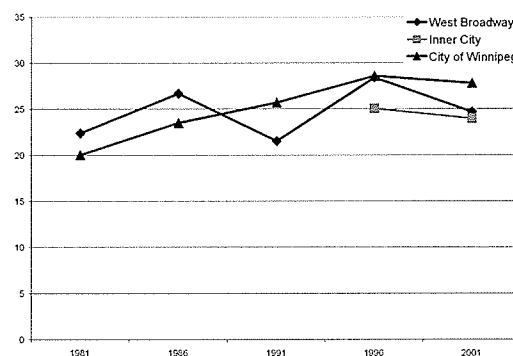


Figure 36: Population with some university (1981-2001)

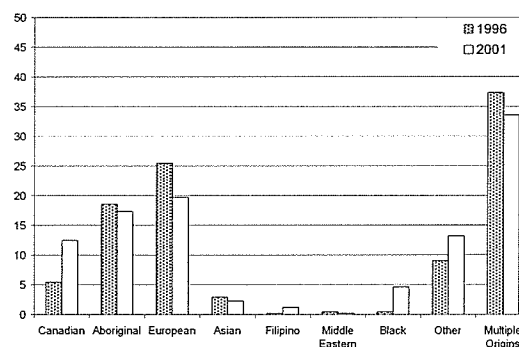


Figure 37: Ethnicity Comparison (1996-2001)

The interesting note, however, is that the population claiming to be of single Canadian origin doubled and there were significant increases in other ethnic groups suggesting noteworthy change in the ethnic demographic of the neighbourhood.

According to McLemore *et al.* a neighbourhood experiencing neighbourhood revitalization sometimes loses non-majority ethnic groups, which we see here (1975).

Additionally, aboriginals are specifically considered to be the particular group that is comparable to the American blacks, who are ghettoized and have traditionally been the lower income citizens. The exiting of this population proposes that the neighbourhood's population is increasing in economic, educational and employment stability.

The population in West Broadway tended to follow the pattern of the number of housing units, but in this last stage (1996-2001) the population decreased while housing units increased (Figure 38). The increase is slight (2.8%), but it demonstrates two things: an increase in construction and the demolition of deteriorating units. Another noticeable point in relation to housing is the drop in the number of units requiring major repairs from 15.74% in 1996 to 12.23% in 2001 (Figure 39). This drop is particularly interesting to note when the City of Winnipeg's numbers continued to rise as well as the inner city's.

Owner occupation also rose by

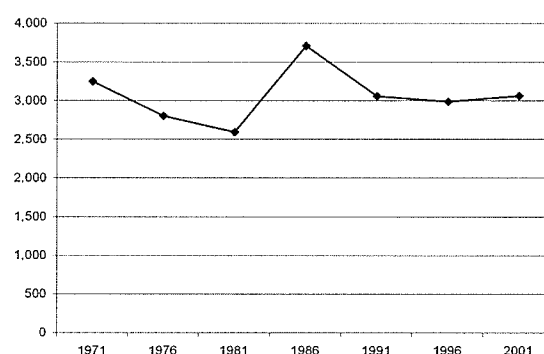


Figure 38: Dwelling Units (1971-2001)

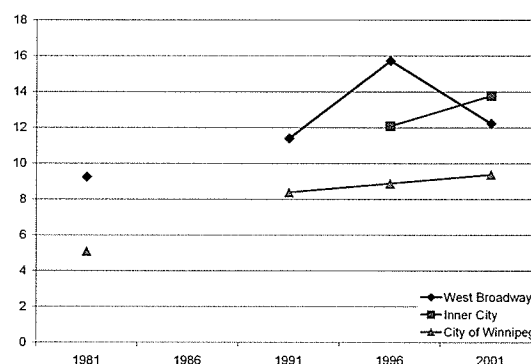


Figure 39: Units in need of major repair (1981-2001)

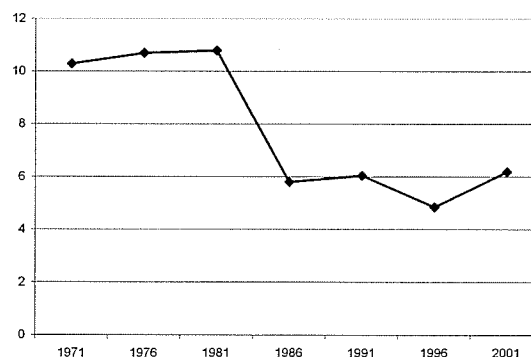
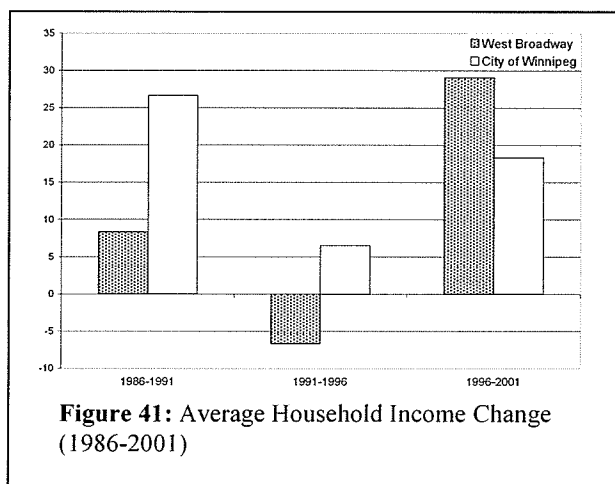


Figure 40: Owner Occupation (1971-2001)

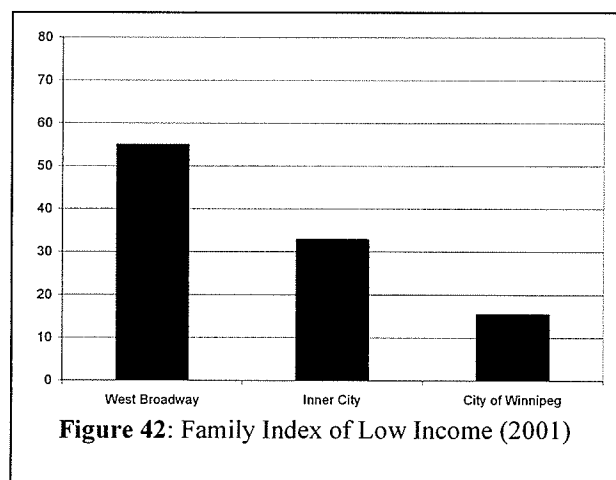
1.3% in this period to 6.2% (Figure 40).

This is the highest it had been since 1981 when it peaked at 10.8% before dropping 5% five years later. This increase in homeownership reflects the types of housing initiatives that have been going on in the neighbourhood.



Programs like the West Broadway Community Land Trust (Blake 2001) and Lion's Housing (Skelton, 2003) have concentrated on homeownership models to improve the neighbourhood. The increase in homeownership is also an indication that gentrification was occurring (Engels 1999; Bailey & Robertson 1997). This is also notable in the increase in average household income during this time of 22.5% compared to Winnipeg's 15.5% (Figure 41). In 1991 and 1996 Winnipeg's increase was twice the difference in West Broadway, but this significant jump for West Broadway points to a change in the neighbourhood.

Although the average household income did increase in West Broadway the low income index still exhibits the declining state the neighbourhood was once in. In 2001 West Broadway had a low income index for families of 55% (Figure 42)



and for individuals the index was 70% (Figure 43). These figures are more than twice

that of the inner city and three times that of the city. Fortunately the percentage of tenants spending 30% or more of their income on rent has decreased by more than 10% (Figure 44) demonstrating a change in the prevalence of economic housing stress.

We can also see a change in the unemployment rate as it dropped by almost 15% between 1996 and 2001. This coincides with an increased participation rate (Figure 45) suggesting that the sense of hopelessness normally felt in a declining neighbourhood (Carter & Polevychok, 2003) was diminishing.

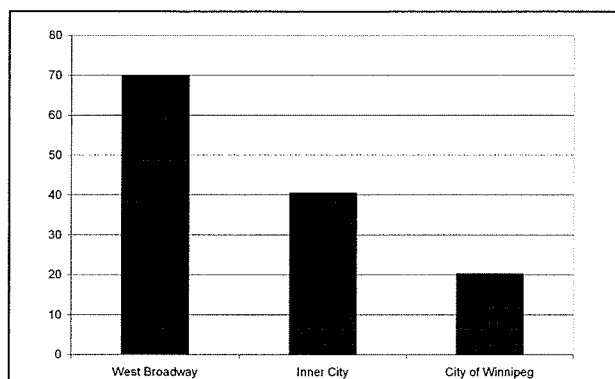


Figure 43: Individual Income of Low Index (2001)

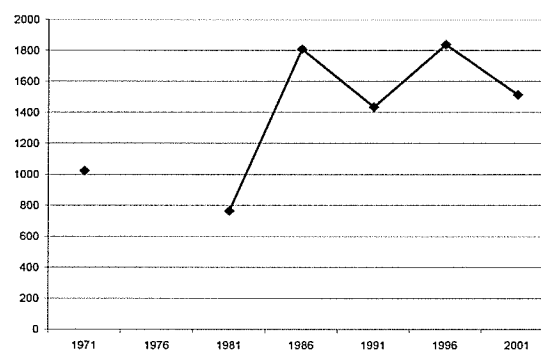


Figure 44: Rent to Income Ratio (1971-2001)

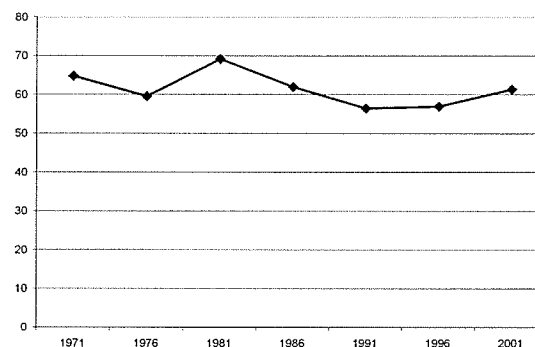


Figure 45: Labour Force Participation Rate (1971-2001)

Interview Analysis

The interviews involved two sets of people to gain insight from more than one source. The key informants were chosen based on their positions and involvement in the

community. They included professionals, community workers, business owners and volunteers. The residents were chosen from specific areas in the neighbourhood selected through spatial analysis of interventions and market trends in the neighbourhood (Platt 2004). Neither pool of interview participants was intended to be statistically representative, but together they provide a broad overview of opinion in the area.

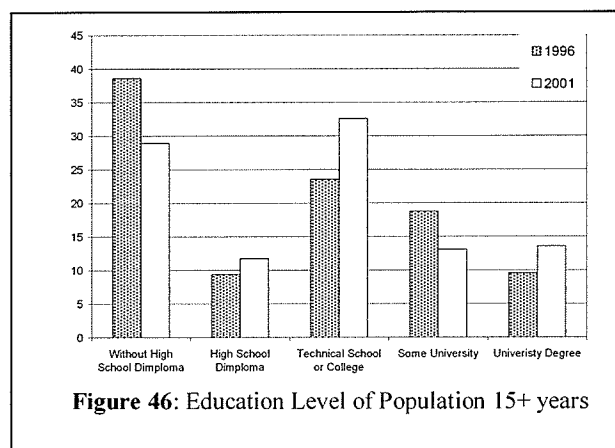
The final number of key informant interviewees was 43. There were 24 males and 19 females. 25 of the respondents lived in the area, 2 used to live in the neighbourhood and 11 have never lived in the neighbourhood. 25 of the respondents, that is, 58% have been familiar with the neighbourhood for more than 10 years. 53% of the respondents were employed within the community and 51% worked in developing the neighbourhood.

There were 64 Semi-Structured Interviews conducted. 34 respondents were male and 30 were female. 7 of the interviewees were ex-residents, 3 of which were in a transitional phase of either moving in or out of the neighbourhood.

25% of the residents moved to West Broadway over 10 years ago. 18.75% moved within the last year and 22% within the last 2 years. 30% moved in from outside of Winnipeg, 45% from outside the inner city and 25% from the inner city. These numbers indicate a large turnover rate within the neighbourhood. It is apparent that the neighbourhood always had high turnover rates (Carter *et al.* 2003a) but the change in demographics shows that new residents are different from the previous residents economically, and may be more inclined to remain in the neighbourhood.

33% of resident respondents had either a university or post-graduate degree; an additional 34% had either some university education or had gone to a technical school or

college. 23% had their high school diploma and the rest have not completed grade school. Of the group with completed university degrees more than half have moved into the neighbourhood within the last 5-6 years and more than a third from less than a



year to 4 years. This suggests that the education levels are increasing in the neighbourhood and is supported by the change in education levels seen in Figure 46 where the percentage of people with completed university degrees in the population increased by 4% between 1996 and 2001. An increase is also noted for all the level of education except for the population with no high school diploma. This is partly due to the difference in data from year to year. The 1996 data accounts for person 15 years old and over; and the 2001 data accounts for those who are only 20 years old and over. We can assume that the levels including the acquisition of a high school diploma and over are comparable to 1996 data.

27% of the respondents stated that they were receiving some form of social assistance, while 20% were working full-time, 23% were working part-time and 17% were looking for work. Other respondents were students, self-employed or caregivers.

Perceived Changes of Last Five Years²

Both sets of interviews included questions regarding West Broadway as a good place to live or work as well as a less attractive place to live or work. The responses were overwhelmingly positive but there were still concerns about issues that have been in the neighbourhood for years. Overall the most common responses in regards to change in West Broadway dealt with safety, housing, beautification, organizational development and residents.

64% of the Key Informant respondents felt that safety had changed in the last five years prior to the interviews. 85% of these responses were positive. They noted such examples of change as more beat cops on the streets, less criminal activity, less prostitution and more people walking on the streets.

Those with negative comments about safety were concerned with an increase in criminal activity. All but one of these respondents had been in the neighbourhood for more than 7 years and each one was involved in the community. Their relationship with the community might be different than the other respondents and they might, therefore, have had more insight into the activities going on in the neighbourhood.

Residents were also vocal about the changes in safety with 30% believing safety to be improving positively. However, when asked what makes West Broadway a less attractive place to live 64% pointed to safety outlining incidents involving drugs, drunks, theft and vandalism. When asked about what makes West Broadway a good place to live only 14% said that safety was a positive aspect. They made mention of similar things to

² This time frame is from the year 1998 to 2003 when the interviews were conducted. Any responses regarding a time frame should be considered from the summer of 2003.

the key informants, but noted more the programs that were being used to improve safety, such as the neighbourhood watch and programs designed to keep kids off the street.

Despite any negative responses with regards to safety it is clear that residents and persons involved in the community feel that safety is improving overall. They also indicated in response to questions about future initiatives to improve the neighbourhood that improvements in safety be considered.

More than safety and any other response to the changes occurring in the neighbourhood, the respondents identified housing as having the most change. 84% of the Key Informants pointed out the major changes in housing. Some of these respondents were concerned, however, with the management of and some of the housing conditions.

67% of the residents pointed out the changes in housing across the neighbourhood. They reflect on the domino effect the housing initiatives were having on their neighbours. The new projects encouraged surrounding neighbours to repair and maintain their own properties.

This large number of positive responses is counteracted by 30% of the residents voicing their concerns over housing issues. These respondents felt that there was still room for improvement where absentee landlords and dilapidated housing was concerned. They also discussed the existence of crack houses and rooming houses that were considered to be a nuisance both physically and socially. The key informants had more economical concerns where issues in housing arose. Only 7% made note of any negative housing issues. 11% did make note of gentrification issues which are directly related to housing.

Grant programs in the neighbourhood included grants for both aesthetic improvements and larger housing projects. The aesthetic improvements were noted by 58% of the key informants and 52% of the residents. In addition to improvements to housing facades the respondents made note of the addition of planters and cleaner streets and sidewalks. 35% of the residents felt that the physical attributes of the neighbourhood made it an attractive place to live. The 23% that felt the physical attributes made the neighbourhood a less attractive place supported their opinion expressing concern over the garbage that gets thrown into the streets and back lanes. There was also some mention of buildings that were still in poor condition.

Housing and beautification efforts had strong impressions on the respondents and pointed towards another change that they noted, organizational and community building. 30% of the key informants and 19% of the residents said that the changes in neighbourhood organizations and efforts to improve the community have been a part of the major changes in the neighbourhood. Respondents were particularly impressed by the type of work being done by the organizations and listed ones that dealt with children, youth, families and community events.

There was some concern regarding organizational development. One respondent mentioned the duplication of services due to a lack of communication between agencies. There was also some concern over the closure of some organizations and the management of others.

Many respondents, particularly the residents noted the increase in community events and also noted the increased involvement of residents in such events and in the neighbourhood overall. In addition to increased resident involvement the respondents felt

that resident attitudes have changed regarding the neighbourhood. They also noted the different kinds of residents that have been coming into the neighbourhood, alluding to a changing demographic.

Reasons for the Changes

The respondents were also asked to give reasons for the changes that they identified in the neighbourhood. The categories of responses were quite similar to the changes they identified with the addition of funding as a reason for change.

The interviewees credited organizational and community capacity with most of the commendation for changing the neighbourhood around. 49% of key informants attested to this and 28% of residents did as well. Because of the efforts of the neighbourhood organizations the neighbourhood experienced improved housing, cleaner streets and improved safety.

Government intervention and funding were often mentioned as a reason for change. It should be noted, however, that the neighbourhood organizations had a hand in this area by applying for grants and promoting the neighbourhood to the outside community.

In addition to organizational development and funding the respondents saw the involvement of residents in community events as having an impact on other residents. They also attributed neighbourhood change to the demographic changes occurring in the neighbourhood.

Housing was also seen as a major catalyst for change in the neighbourhood. 39% of key informants and 25% residents felt that housing initiatives had an effect on the

changes in the neighbourhood. The re-development was seen as a catalyst for change in other areas of the neighbourhood. As mentioned before respondents felt that the projects encouraged other residents to improve their own properties. They also said that improving the housing improved the physical appearance of the neighbourhood overall and this in turn encouraged improvements in other areas such as safety.

Stage 5: 1996-2003

This final stage of change in West Broadway has a mixture of the models, processes and factors that attribute to the changes taking place in the neighbourhood. During this stage the neighbourhood exhibited similar characteristics to those in Scenario 5 of Figure 1 and the changes occurring are suggestive of the changes between Scenario 5 and 6.

The movement of residents to form community organizations with the purpose of improving the neighbourhood is indicative of the sub-culture model. The residents felt that they had the power to change the neighbourhood's direction. By manipulating the housing factor they believed that they could change the neighbourhood to attract more desirable residents, while improving the quality of life of lower income residents.

Following what Temkin and Rohe say about social capital we see that West Broadway's social structure has been a tight "weave" (1996). In addition, the social structure of the neighbourhood has been able to maintain a relationship with larger social structures that affect change across the entire city and with the ever powerful "growth machine" (Logan & Molotch 1987). There is, however, opportunity for the neighbourhood to become a victim of its own success. As the neighbourhood changes, it

is becoming more attractive to wealthier Winnipeg residents. We can see the results of these changes in the increase in home ownership and average household income. The general result identified is gentrification.

In chapter 2 we discussed evidence that gentrification is occurring is two fold: housing renewal resulting in increases in home ownership and demographic change (Engels 1999; Bailey & Robertson 1997). An increase in education levels, according to Zielenbach, is also an indication of gentrification. We have established that all of these things exist in the neighbourhood making it ripe for gentrification.

Taking a closer look at housing we can make further assumptions that the process of gentrification is occurring. Beauregard's three players in housing development that promote gentrification, "investors"; "market conditions"; and change in "perception of developmental potential" (1990: 870), are exhibited in the neighbourhood. The new developments are enticing investors who have already entered the neighbourhood and are buying apartment buildings for renovation (Skelton 2003). West Broadway has become a popular location again and the image of the neighbourhood has changed along with its 'development potential'.

The initial development in the neighbourhood was largely public development or socially assisted. But with potential for private developers (Bailey & Robertson 1997) and such development already occurring gentrification is a growing process.

The renovation of the apartment units is promoting gentrification through its counterpart, displacement. According to the resident interviews 28% of the ex-residents were displaced because of rent increases or the potential for increase. Of the existing residents 14% were forced to leave their homes for economic and/or safety reasons. One

respondent even noted the loss of a substantial amount of apartment units because of rent increases.

In addition to the displacement described above invasion/succession can be identified in areas where rooming houses once existed. Larger companies and organizations have bought houses for the purpose of renovating and selling. One company in particular has done this for the purpose of selecting more desirable residents (Skelton 2003). The units that this company and other organizations are renovating were, most of them, once rooming houses. Once a home to four to six people these units are converted into single units for a family of four or even just two people.

Finally, we see a change in demographics favouring a higher social class and losing traditionally poorer ethnic groups through displacement. Winnipeg's aboriginal population is still proportionately higher than the rest of the city, but it is decreasing. With the Canadian population more than doubling between 1996 and 2001 it is obvious that a different kind of population has moved into West Broadway than once existed there.

In the next chapter we will look at possible positions in which the neighbourhood could find itself in the future. We will also summarize the stages of the neighbourhood into its own Model of Change as an example of the possibilities for the diagram in Figure 1.

Chapter 5: West Broadway's Scenario

West Broadway has exhibited many changes over the last century, beginning as a high class neighbourhood and then declining to become one of Winnipeg's most notorious inner city neighbourhoods. Finally the neighbourhood managed to turn itself around and is slowly becoming the neighbourhood it was when it was established.

West Broadway exhibited many of the characteristics of decline outlined by the CMHC (Table 2) and discussed in Chapter 2. The neighbourhood also demonstrated the existence of each of the primary models, secondary models, factors and manifestations of change discussed in this thesis. Although the theories are largely based in literature for American inner city neighbourhoods and neighbourhood change the analysis does support certain similarities between American examples and Canadian inner city neighbourhoods. These similarities may help to guide future researchers to establish a more independent school of Canadian inner city theory and neighbourhood change.

From the analysis of West Broadway a model of change can be formed to summarize the neighbourhood's history (Figure 47). Figure 47 shows the processes that the neighbourhood has been through to get to the point it is currently located. The model is identical to 'Neighbourhood A' in Figure 1. This does not mean that Figure 1 is the final model of change, but that it is a model that like neighbourhood change can be manipulated and juggled depending on what is put into it.

A prediction for what lies ahead for this neighbourhood can also be made by examining the processes in play at this time. The final process box in Figure 46 has almost all of the elements discussed in Chapter 2. The only missing models are the

'Filtering model' and the 'Social Capital Model'. The filtering model does not occur at this point because for Neighbourhood A the houses are not being left behind for lower income residents. Instead the neighbourhood is experiencing invasion/succession because higher income earners are moving back into the neighbourhood forcing the lower income residents to leave because of high rents/mortgages.

Gentrification and displacement are both occurring in the neighbourhood at this time. As discussed in the previous chapter rising household incomes and homeownership rates are symptomatic of gentrification. Additionally, education levels rising point to changes in the resident population and makes a strong case for the existence of gentrification.

The invasion/succession process may not end as is suggested in Scenario 6 with a dominant Caucasian population. Though this would have most likely been the case in the early to mid-1900's it is not as inevitable now. If the neighbourhood does continue to go the direction it is there will be a different population there. There will probably be far fewer aboriginals. The ratio could be near the City of Winnipeg's even. There will be a number of Caucasians, but Winnipeg's culturally diverse population could curb previous trends for the formation of an all white neighbourhood.

The 'Social Capital Model' is not outlined here or anywhere in the model because it is assumed under the occurrence of the sub-culture model. Social capital in West Broadway existed in the form of neighbourhood organizations such as the West Broadway Development Corporation. These organizations are still concentrating on revitalizing the neighbourhood. As it exists today this and other organizations continue to have a fair amount of power within the neighbourhood. This, however, could change.

As Peterman described it, multiple changes in a neighbourhood normally cause these types of organizations “to be followers reacting to change rather than leaders attempting to direct it” (2000: 82).

The ever present ‘growth machine’ that has never really left the scene is a cause for the break down of neighbourhood organizations and the promotion of gentrification and indirectly displacement. If the neighbourhood allows it the market will take control of the neighbourhood completely removing those that the revitalization efforts were intended to help in the first place. There is opportunity for the organizations to make proposals to those that have final say in such situations. If they can keep their interests at the heart of any development plans actors in the growth machine might have they could potentially save those that could be impaired by market forces.

A future of mixed income residents, mixed ethnicities and mixed family types, is possible for West Broadway (Stage 6: West Broadway A). This kind of future requires a lot of work under the sub-cultural model. If such work is not carried out then the neighbourhood could return to its original state of the early 1900’s and be representative of Winnipeg’s higher class while displacing the lower income residents (Stage 6: West Broadway B). The path of the neighbourhood depends on the strength of social capital, the strength of the growth machine and the natural tendencies of neighbourhoods to change.

It has been demonstrated that many similarities exist between literature on American inner city neighbourhoods and Canadian inner city neighbourhoods. Where these similarities end in issues such as suburbanization and the inner city (Broadway 1995) and racial segregation and decline (Leo & Shaw 2002) more research needs to be

done. The analysis conducted in this thesis has briefly discussed these issues. Future literature should seek to compare these results with other Canadian inner city neighbourhoods and draw conclusions in these areas for Canadian literature on inner city neighbourhoods and neighbourhood change.

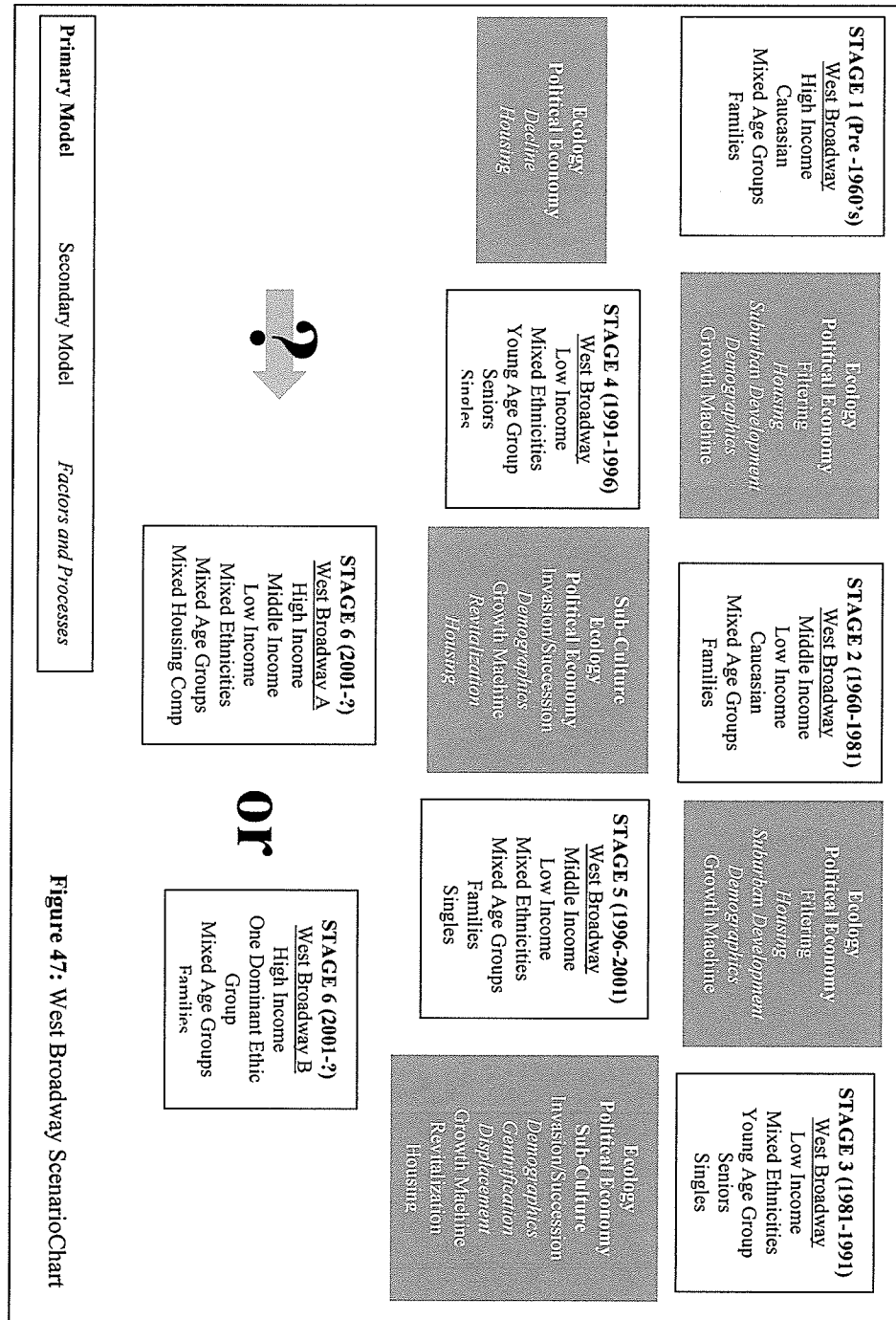


Figure 47: West Broadway Scenario Chart

References

- Ahlbrandt Jr., Roger S. & James V. Cunningham, *A New Urban Policy for Neighbourhood Preservation*, (New York, NY, Praeger Publishers, 1979)
- Bailey, Nick & Douglas Robertson, "Housing Renewal, Urban Policy and Gentrification," *Urban Studies*, April 97, Volume 34, Number 4, pp561-68
- Beauregard, RA, "Trajectories of neighbourhood change: the case of gentrification," *Environment and Planning A*, 1990, Volume 22, pp855-874
- Blake, Sheri on behalf of West Broadway Development Corporation, "West Broadway Community Land Trust: Lessons Learned" (Canadian Housing and Renewal Association, Homegrown Solutions Program, 2001)
- Birch, David L., "Towards a Stage Theory of Growth", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1971, Volume 37, pp78-87
- Bourne, L. S., *Perspectives on the Inner City: Its Changing Character, Reasons for Decline and Revival*, (Toronto, ON, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1978)
- Broadway, Michael J., "The Canadian Inner City 1971-1991: Regeneration and Decline," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 1995, Volume 4, Number 1, pp 1-19
- Broadway, Michael J. & Gillian Jesty, "Are Canadian Inner Cities Becoming More Dissimilar? An Analysis of Urban Deprivation Indicators," *Urban Studies*, 1998, Volume 35, Number 9, pp 1423-1438
- Cameron, Stuart, "Housing, Gentrification and Urban Regeneration Policies," *Urban Studies*, February 1992, Volume 29, Number 1, pp3-14
- Canada, Statistics Canada, "Census tracts: population, occupied private dwellings, private households and census and economic families in private households: selected social and economic characteristics: Winnipeg: 1981 Census of Canada," (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1983, pp 95-981
- Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), "Disinvestment and the Decline of Urban Neighbourhoods," November 2001
- Carter, Tom, Chesya Polevychok, Kurt Sargent, "Winnipeg's Inner City in 2001", (Winnipeg, MB, Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation, October 2003)

Carter, Tom, Chesya Polevychok, "Comprehensive Neighbourhood Studies: Characterizing Decline", (Winnipeg, MB, Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation, November 2003)

Carter, Tom, Chesya Polevychok, Kurt Sargent, "Is Winnipeg's Aboriginal Population Ghettoized", (Winnipeg, MB, Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation, December 2003)

Downs, Anthony, "Key Relationships Between Urban Development and Neighbourhood Change," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, October 1979, pp462-72

Engels, B, "Property ownership, tenure, and displacement: in search of the process of gentrification," *Environment and Planning A*, 1999, Volume 31, pp1473-1495

Ferguson, Robert W., *Neighbourhood Change: A Theoretical Interpretation of Three Inner City Neighbourhoods in Toronto*, (Winnipeg, MB, Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba, 1984)

Filion, Pierre, "Concepts of the Inner City and Recent Trends in Canada," *The Canadian Geographer* 1987, Volume 31, Number 3, pp223-32

Firey, Walter, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables", *American Sociological Review*, 1945, Volume 10, pp140-148

Grisby, William, Morton Baratz, George Galster & Duncan MacLennan, "The Dynamics of Neighbourhood Change and Decline," *Progress in Planning*, 1987, Volume 28, pp 1-76

Grisby, William G., Louis Rosenberg, *Urban Housing Policy*, (New York, NY, APS Publications, 1975)

Hudson, James R., "Revitalization of Inner City Neighbourhoods," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 1980, Volume 50, Number 4, pp 397-408

Leo, Christopher & Lisa Shaw, "What Causes Inner City Decay, and What can Be Done About It?," *Urban Affairs: Back on the Policy Agenda*, ed. Caroline Andrew, Katherine A. Graham, and Susan D. Phillips, (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), pp 119-147

Logan, John R. & Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*, (California, University of California Press, 1987)

McLemore, Reg, Carl Aass & Peter Keilhofer, *The Changing Canadian Inner City*, (Ottawa, Information Canada 1975)

Megbolugbe, Isaac F., Marja C. Hoek-Smit & Peter D. Linneman, "Understanding Neighbourhood Dynamics: A Review of Contributions of William G. Grisby," *Urban Studies*, 1996, Volume 33, Number 10, pp1779-1795

Peterman, William, *Neighbourhood Planning and Community Based Development: The Potential Limits of Grassroots Actions*, (California, Sage Publications, 2000)

Pitkin, Bill, "Theories of Neighbourhood Change: Implications for Community Development Policy and Practice," (UCLA Advanced Policy Institute, 2001)

Platt, James, "Capturing Perception of Change with GIS: Assisting Neighbourhood Revitalization in Winnipeg," CAG 2004

Skelton, Ian, (Principal Investigator), "Housing Intervention and Neighbourhood Revitalization," funded by the Winnipeg Inner City Research Alliance, an SSHRC-CMHC CURA project based at the Institute of Urban Studies in Winnipeg, 2003

Sumka, Howard J., "Neighbourhood Revitalization and Displacement," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, October 1979, pp480-87

Temkin, Kenneth & William Rohe, "Neighbourhood Change & Urban Policy," *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 1996, Volume 15, pp159-170

Temkin, Kenneth & William Rohe, "Social Capital and Neighbourhood Stability: An Empirical Investigation," *Housing Policy Debate*, 1998, Volume 9, Number 1, pp61-88

Usnick, Russell, Chris Shove & Francine Gissy, "Maximizing Community Development Through Collaboration," *New Directions for Higher Education*, Spring 1997, Number 97, pp62-73

Walker, Ryan, "Engaging the Urban Aboriginal Population in Low-Cost Housing Initiatives: Lessons from Winnipeg," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 2003, Volume 12, Number 1

Zielenbach, Sean, *The Art of Revitalization: Improving Conditions in Distressed Inner City Neighbourhoods*, (New York, Garland Publishing, 2000)