

A STUDY OF GENTRIFICATION IN WINNIPEG'S
WOLSELEY AREA

BY

EILJA BIJELIC

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
Faculty of Architecture
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ABSTRACT

Winnipeg's Wolseley area is being gentrified.

This practicum reaches this conclusion after an intensive study of the theory surrounding the gentrification process, including a discussion on gentrification's role in the process of reversing inner - city decay. As well, such topics as the reasons for inner - city decline, and the kinds of neighbourhood types that exist in a given area are discussed in the interest of developing a comprehensive theoretical framework.

This framework is then applied to the Wolseley area to determine if the area is being gentrified.

Apart from the primary objective of this practicum, the significance of this study lies in being able to apply the methodology developed here to other inner - city neighbourhoods.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this work to my late father Rade Bijelic whose memory has been an inspiration in writing this practicum.

My special thanks to the members of the examining committee for their advice and constructive criticism during the writing of this Practicum: Prof. Basil Rotoff; Prof. Christine McKee; and Dr. Tom Carter, their assistance and encouragement were much appreciated.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for their support and encouragement during the writing of this practicum. My mother Danica Bijelic and my sister Milka Bijelic deserve my deepest thanks for their patience and support.

PREFACE

In the past several decades, the issue of inner - city decay has, at one time or another, plagued all levels of government across the continent. However, as of yet, a comprehensive solution to the problem has not been found. Indeed, many authors agree that the North American inner - city is in a crisis situation.

In the 1960s, Canadian authorities thought that they had found a cure - all when they adopted the Urban Renewal program which advocated demolition and slum clearance. However, the program was not successful in that it disrupted the fabric of the neighbourhood. Obviously, then, a different approach had to be taken.

Subsequently, many people have argued that the answer to inner - city degeneration can be found in the process of gentrification, which involves the movement of a higher - status group into a lower - status area, eventually revitalizing the area. Indeed, the process has been hailed as the saviour of the inner city. However, critics argue that gentrification threatens lower - income families by eliminating the amount of affordable housing stock in an area.

Because of gentrification's potential ramifications, it is necessary to be able to determine if the process is occurring in a particular area. Therefore, mechanisms for detecting the process in a particular neighbourhood must be developed and understood.

When I discovered that there was a lack of consensus over whether Winnipeg's

Wolseley area is being gentrified, it gave me the perfect opportunity to research the phenomenon of gentrification and determine whether gentrification is actually occurring in Wolseley.

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Chapter 1

Gentrification in Wolseley?

Introduction

The purpose of this practicum is to determine whether the process of gentrification is occurring in Winnipeg's Wolseley area. Any serious study of this issue must first resolve the theory behind gentrification and the importance of determining whether Wolseley is being gentrified.

Gentrification, a term first coined in the 1960's, "connotes a process which operates in the residential housing market. It refers to the rehabilitation of working - class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle - class neighbourhood." (Neil Smith and Peter Williams, 1986, p.1). "Once the process of gentrification has begun, it can take over whole neighbourhoods, transforming them quite remarkably both physically and socially." (Novia Carter, 1980, p.45).

Gentrification is different from the government sponsored Urban Renewal programs of demolition and slum clearance implemented in the 1950s and 1960s because, not only is gentrification generated by the private sector, it is also associated with the rehabilitation and preservation of the neighbourhood.

However, a certain degree of controversy surrounds the process of gentrification. In the late 1970's gentrification was hailed as a "comeback" for cities, as a kind of "urban renaissance" (Pierce 1977, Newsweek). In 1982, gentrification was described as "the one

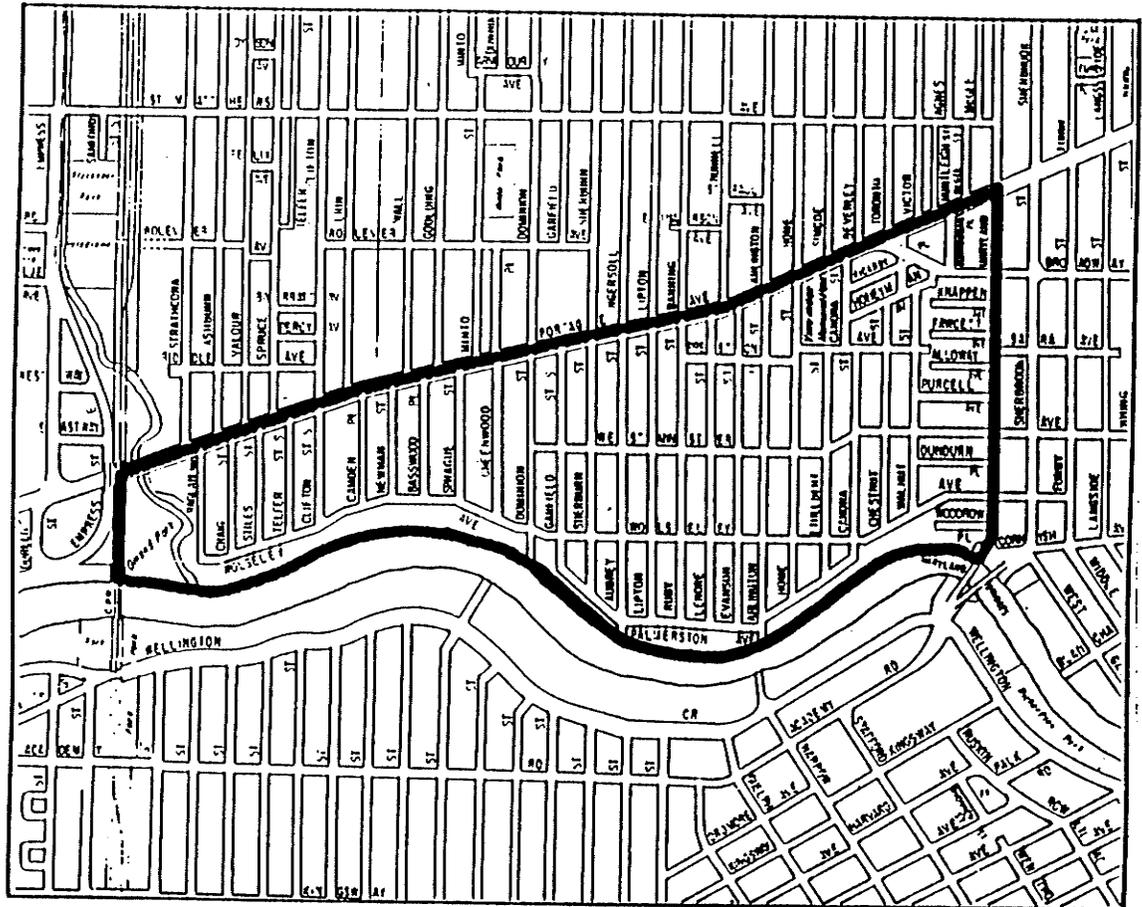
process that is providing hope that our cities can demographically and economically revitalize" (Kasurda 1982). However, critics charge that since gentrification is primarily a middle - class phenomenon, it poses the threat of displacing lower - income people, and ultimately severely limiting the amount of affordable housing stock.

Obviously then, the potential socio - economic and physical ramifications of gentrification on an inner city area like Wolseley are likely to be significant. Thus, establishing whether or not it is occurring in Wolseley is quite important.

The Wolseley area is part of the Westminister ward, but since this area is commonly referred to as Wolseley, this is how the area is referred to in this practicum. Wolseley is bounded by Portage Avenue to the North, Maryland Street to the East, the Assiniboine River to the South and Omand's Creek to the West, refer to figures 1-1 and 1-2.

Wolseley has always been a unique area in the city of Winnipeg. It was first established at the turn of the century by the West End Realty and Building Company as one of the most exclusive residential districts in Winnipeg. The homes in the area are architecturally attractive and surrounded by tall elms, making for a pleasant atmosphere. However, as with many inner city areas, the Wolseley area began to decline in the mid-sixties, with the conversion of many of the area's fine homes from single-dwelling to multiple-dwelling units such as boarding houses; and an exodus of families to the suburbs. However, the degeneration seemed to reverse itself partially in the late 1970's and into the 1980's, when younger people began moving into and restoring the area.

Figure 1-2
The Wolseley Area



Source: Winnipeg Planning Department, Winnipeg Area Characterization, 1986

The Wolseley area seems to be exhibiting many characteristics commonly associated with gentrification, including the renovation of architecturally unique homes, and an influx of a young, relatively affluent group of people. However, whether true gentrification exists, is still unclear.

According to some authors, the odds in favour of gentrification occurring are good, considering "gentrification has begun in nearly 71 per cent of all Canadian cities whose population exceed 50,000 persons" (Novia Carter, 1980, p. 45).

However in 1985, David Ley conducted a study to determine the probability of gentrification occurring in some Canadian inner cities. Ley's methodology included considering the changes in socio - economic activity in different Canadian inner - cities over the 10 year period between 1971 and 1981; he concluded that:

The inner cities of Halifax, Ottawa - Hull
Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, and Toronto
had the highest rate of increase in socio -
economic status, the lowest rates of increase
were registered in Thunder Bay, Winnipeg,
Sudbury, St Catherine - Niagara, Saint John,
and in last position, Oshawa. (David Ley, p.190, 1985)

These results indicate that Winnipeg may not be very receptive to gentrification and this in turn, decreases the likelihood that Winnipeg's Wolseley is being gentrified.

Focus

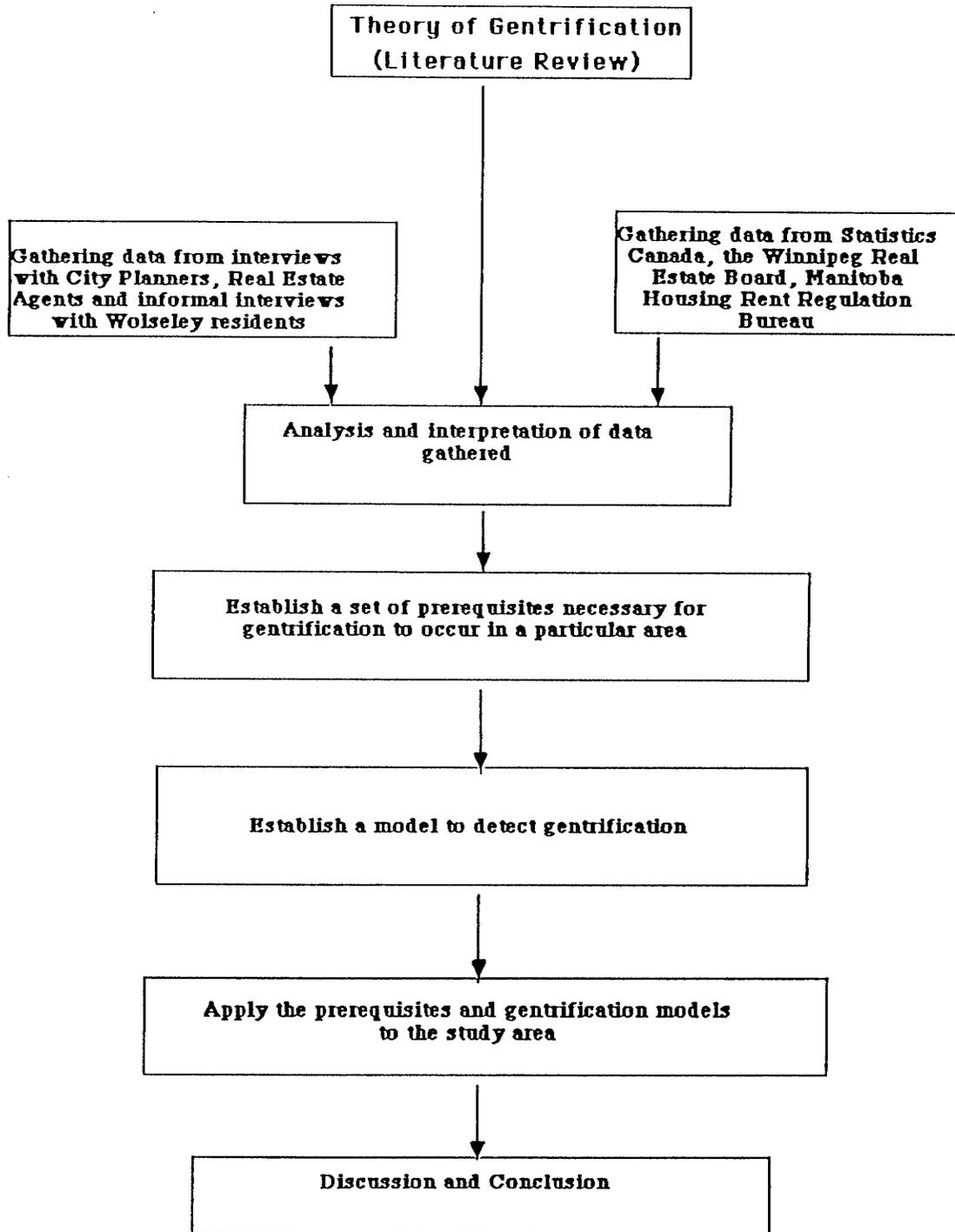
The approach taken in this practicum is that of a City Planner concerned with whether or not the process of gentrification is occurring within a certain inner city area, specifically Winnipeg's Wolseley area. This practicum is not a study of the social ramifications of gentrification and, consequently, such issues as displacement are not emphasized.

Methodology

In order to get a better understanding of gentrification, the first phase of research for this Practicum involves a literature review relating to the gentrification process; this includes looking at sources from the United States as well as from Canada. The indicators of gentrification as well as Frank DeGiovanni's gentrification model are analyzed from which a single simplified model is developed.

The second phase applies the model to the study area. This involves reviewing Statistics Canada data, and area characterization studies to determine the social composition and dynamics of the Wolseley area. The information gathered spans approximately 10 to 15 years. The third phase involves interviewing city planners and real estate agents who are familiar with the Wolseley area. The final stage consists of processing and analyzing the information gathered and, assessing if, indeed, gentrification does exist in Wolseley.

Figure 1-3
Methodology



Synopsis

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the objective of this practicum

Chapter 2 begins by defining the inner city, followed by a study of the different neighbourhood types that can exist in an inner - city area, with an emphasis on those neighbourhood types most receptive to the process of gentrification.

As well, in order to properly establish gentrification's role within the process of inner city revitalization, an analysis is conducted of the pivotal factors that have led, and are presently leading, to inner city decline. The recent evolution of the city is studied with specific emphasis placed on the impact of transportation technology, the movement of people to the suburbs and the **filtering - down**¹ process. This chapter also considers past attempts at revitalizing the inner city, and the potential role that gentrification can play in the revitalization process.

Chapter 3 defines the term gentrification, and explains how the process began. It explores the characteristics of the people called "gentrifiers", and distinguishes them from other inner - city renovators such as incumbent upgraders.

This chapter also identifies the prerequisites that must be present in an area for that area to be receptive to gentrification. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion of gentrification models and indicators used in detecting whether an area is actually experiencing the gentrification process; from this study, a gentrification model will be established to determine whether gentrification is occurring in Wolseley.

¹The changing of occupancy as the housing that is occupied by one income group becomes available to the next lower income group as a result of decline in the market price. (Ratcliff, 1949, p.321)

Chapter 4 begins with an examination of Wolseley's evolution from an exclusive area, to its present state. As well, this chapter applies the prerequisites for gentrification established in chapter 3 to the area to determine if Wolseley is receptive to gentrification. When this is accomplished, chapter 4 utilizes the model established in chapter 3 to determine whether Wolseley is actually experiencing gentrification.

The fifth and final chapter discusses the findings of the research thus far. As well, this chapter considers the lessons that could be drawn from the study, especially the application of this methodology to other studies.

Chapter 2

The Changing Inner City: Does Gentrification have a place?

Introduction

"The city is the product of history, the reflection of society, the action of man upon space" (Castells 1976). Indeed, cities are continuously evolving and are the physical manifestation of the socio - political climate of a culture at any given point in time. The last few decades have witnessed a steady decline of most North American inner cities, including Winnipeg's Wolseley area. In fact, many inner cities throughout the continent are in a crisis situation with very little sign of future regeneration. The objective of this chapter is to trace and examine the recent evolution of the city, paying particularly close attention to factors which have contributed to the decline of the inner city and its housing stock. This chapter also critiques past attempts at inner city revitalization and determines gentrification's role in combating urban decay.

If inner city decay is left to continue, the city as a whole suffers because by - products of inner - city decline such as crime and violence, are not limited by geographical or political boundaries; often, the only protection left against these social pathologies is increasing the police force, which means an accompanying increase in municipal taxes. Therefore, trying to correct the problem of inner city decay should be a very serious concern for those living in the suburbs and no effort should be spared to find a solution.

Defining the Inner City

In order to discuss inner city decay and revitalization, it is first necessary to define the term 'inner - city'. Defining the inner city is no simple task since very little consensus exists on a generic definition that can be used to describe all inner cities. Larry Bourne, author of the article Perspectives on the Inner City, states that to most observers, "the inner city means the older portions of an urban area immediately surrounding the central business district (C.B.D.). To some it includes the C.B.D., to others it does not" (Bourne, 1978, p.5).

According to Bourne, the inner city can be distinguished from other areas of the city because it consistently shows the highest incidence of some, or all, of the following problems:

- 1) *a declining economic base, loss of blue - collar jobs and high unemployment;*
- 2) *an overall loss of population, particularly in the most productive age groups, which undermines both the demand for social and retail services and the social diversity needed to maintain an attractive residential environment;*
- 3) *the in - migration of low income unskilled groups, which produces a mis - match between worker's skills and the kind of jobs available;*
- 4) *absolute poverty; the disproportionate concentration of society's most economically disadvantaged;*
- 5) *crime, disease, social pathologies and the fear of ethnic or racial groups which are seen to be different;*
- 6) *physical deterioration of buildings and roads and of social services such as schools,*

police, fire, and garbage collection;

7) environmental problems deriving from the interaction of a declining tax base and the increased costs of social services;

8) discrimination by private lending agencies and government housing programs;

(Larry Bourne, 1978, p.10)

These factors are all present in an extreme example of an inner city area, probably not receptive to the gentrification process. Fortunately, not all inner - city areas exhibit these characteristics to the same degree, and some of these characteristics may be present only in nominal levels.

Neighbourhood Types found within the Inner City

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to understanding and defining the inner city is the failure to recognize the diversity and complexity of the inner city. One cannot make sweeping statements about the inner city because the inner city is not homogeneous. In fact, neighbourhoods in a given inner city area may exhibit different physical and social characteristics. A break down of possible neighbourhood types is important because some neighbourhood types are more receptive to revitalization and renovation than others.

The Federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs developed a classification system applicable to Canadian inner cities, under which four inner city categories were identified:

1) declining, 2) stable, 3) revitalizing and 4) those undergoing massive redevelopment;

these types are described as follows:

a) *Declining* is the term applied to areas undergoing continuous and worsening physical deterioration, outflux of the economically mobile population, development of serious social problems, lack of community organizations.

b) *Stability* is used to apply to areas which have become relatively stable, physically and socially, because of a function which the area continues to serve (e.g., working - class community, immigrant receiving area). Physical deterioration and social pathologies are not severe, and pressure for redevelopment is characteristically low.

c) *Revitalization* is the term applied to areas which are experiencing an influx of people more affluent than the present population. These newcomers buy, rehabilitate and occupy existing houses, gradually improving the physical quality and changing the population composition of the area.

d) *Massive redevelopment* refers to areas where public or private redevelopment projects are drastically altering the physical form and population composition.

(Reg Mclemore, Carl Aass and Peter Kulhofer, 1975, p5)

Table 2 - 1 on the following page, summarizes these findings.

Table 2 - 1
Dimensions of four types of Inner City Neighbourhoods

Table 1 Dimensions of the four types

	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

Source: Reg McLemore, Carl Aass and Peter Keilhofer, The Changing Canadian Inner City, Ministry of State, Urban Affairs, Ottawa

As Table 2-1 indicates, inner city neighbourhood types can vary considerably, thus complicating any study designed to determine if an area is receptive to a revitalizing process such as **gentrification**², also known as whitepainting and brownstoning. Gentrification is simply a "process which occurs when an aging area is taken over by a higher status group, usually professional households who modernize and refurbish the houses at considerable personal expense". (Roman A Cybrwisky, 1978,p.17).

A familiarity with inner city neighbourhood characteristics and classifications is useful because some neighbourhoods are more receptive to revitalization processes such as gentrification; stable and revitalizing inner city neighbourhoods are found to be the most likely areas to attract gentrifiers because these areas are in relatively good shape and are not experiencing the serious problems described earlier by Bourne. A stable neighbourhood has a relatively stable population which sometimes indicates a strong community. As well, a stable inner - city neighbourhood type may contain, architecturally unique housing stock. In addition, housing - stock in inner city neighbourhoods is relatively inexpensive when compared to that of suburban areas. All these factors contribute to making a stable inner - city neighbourhood type preferable to potential gentrifiers

Novia Carter has also developed a neighbourhood classification system, but her system emphasizes physical rather than social characteristics. Nevertheless, it is very useful as a preliminary basis from which to classify a neighbourhood. In the following points, Carter

² The above working definition of gentrification is sufficient for the purpose of this chapter; a more detailed discussion follows in chapter 3.

gives a detailed description of the different neighbourhood types which are present in the average inner city:

1) *the enclave of expensive single - family homes. It does not have industry or business located in its boundaries, and is usually characterized by wide tree - lined streets, parks, large gardens attached to each home, and a general air of "nice exclusiveness"*

2) *towering apartment blocks. These may border on business districts, and are often situated near a park, beach or other recreational place. Particularly in the downtown area, such a complex is usually distinguished by its closeness to a variety of good restaurants, shopping facilities such as a delicatessen and boutiques, and cultural facilities.*

3) *older housing districts that contain very large homes that have been converted into suites or apartments or rooms, side by side with duplexes or semi - detached homes. Rents are relatively high, and residents enjoy many of the same district and locational facilities as highrise occupants.*

4) *a mixed - use area. Most of the homes are old, but still occupied by single families, including family groups, couples or individuals, generally with a wide range of incomes, occupations and social backgrounds. These districts may be those that have begun to turn into "whitepainted" areas, they may feature a large number of people of one or more more ethnic origins, and the housing may be in varying states of repair, unlike the expensive single - family home districts which are uniformly well maintained.*

5) *public housing developments, usually apartment blocks or townhouses. When the urban renewal program began in Canada, the price of urban land had not yet begun to escalate. As a result, public housing was built in many downtown locations where it would only be placed today under unusual circumstances because of the present high cost of land. (Novia Carter, 1981, p.34)*

According to Carter, the ideal area within the inner city for gentrification to take place is in a mixed - use area because the area is relatively stable, and, at the same time, it contains reasonably priced homes which are in fairly good shape. Obviously, this is something to consider when studying the Wolseley area for signs of gentrification.

Inner City Decline

Although several neighbourhood types exist, many North American inner cities seem to fall under the declining category in that they are experiencing rapid and severe decay. In order to try to combat and reverse these present problems, one must be familiar with their origins. The decline of the typical North American inner city is the result of a complex interrelationship of several factors. Many of the problems related to urban decay can be traced to the movement of the upper and middle income groups away from the inner city to the suburbs. Fedora, in her thesis, The Process of Gentrification: A Comparative Analysis, cites the following five reasons for the exodus of middle and upper income groups from the inner - city to the suburbs:

- 1) *improvements in transportation, which permitted spatial deconcentrations;*
- 2) *new housing construction, being built at the periphery and being affordable, larger (baby boom) due to government insured financing;*
- 3) *advanced communication and industrial technology, which created greater freedom for locational choice;*
- 4) *the influence of city size, for as population disperses, many economic activities tend to follow and create modern multi - nucleated metropolises; and,*
- 5) *social and economic differences, which further pressures outward movement, as people try to segregate themselves. (Donna Fedora, 1990, p.5)*

All these factors, in their own way, contributed to the problems of urban decay which are currently plaguing many North American inner cities. It is vital that the causes of urban decay be understood so that a solution to this problem can be found. If inner city decay is left to fester, it will continue to get worse, gradually moving to the suburbs and thus perpetuating some of the problems which presently exist in the inner - city.

At this point, a brief study of the reasons people left the inner city in the first place is presented, thus illustrating why the inner - city began to decay. Once this is examined, we explore the various past attempts at reversing this decay, and whether gentrification has a place in the process of inner - city revitalization.

Innovations in Transportation Technology

Prior to the transportation revolution of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when walking was the primary mode of intra - urban transportation, all activity was located close together in the inner city. People usually lived and worked in the same building or close to work and the market. This meant that the working classes lived near the middle and upper classes, and the primitive nature of transportation meant everyone lived near the commercial and manufacturing facilities of the city. The inner city of 70 to 80 years ago may not have been perfect, with its crowded conditions and its air and noise pollution, yet people still managed to keep it in relatively good shape; however, the advent of different modes of transportation made it possible for people to begin locating further from the inner city, and thus eventually contributed to the present state of decline, refer to Table 2-2.

The electric streetcar was the turning point in transportation technology; it was a relatively efficient, fast and cheap form of transportation. "Prior to streetcars, the great

dependence on foot travel and poor roads tended to limit development to within approximately 1.5 km of the central area." (Gerald Hodge, p.51. 1986). The pattern of the city assumed a fingerlike shape along the routes. The average speed of the streetcar was approximately 15 - 18 miles per hour.

The streetcar had not only encouraged residential development along and near the lines radiating from the inner city, (refer to appendix A), it also brought into sharp focus a socio-economic division which left the poor in the city centre and the well-off in the suburbs. This was the beginning of 'income graded neighbourhoods' in which the lower class and the middle class were physically separated by distance. It was not the expense of the streetcar that prevented people from moving to the suburbs, it was the cost of housing. It was at this time, in the early 1900s, that the Wolseley area was being developed.

Innovations in transportation aided the development of Wolseley by making it accessible to the middle and upper classes. According to the Manitoba Historical Society, "the expansion of the street railway system beyond Sherbrook in the first decade of the century made it easy for people living in the west end to get to the business and wholesale districts where they worked" (Manitoba Historical Society, *Walking in Wolseley*, p.1, 1988). Indeed, the West End Realty and Building Company used this as a selling point, advertising that "within a few minutes ride from the heart of the city you can enjoy the seclusion and quietude of the most exclusive residential district". (Manitoba Free Press, May, 1913). Ironically, just as the old inner-city (Point Douglas) had lost many of its middle and upper income families to Wolseley, when Wolseley gradually became a part of the inner city, it, too, lost residents to the suburbs (with the help of the automobile).

Table 2-2

Interrelation Between City Size and Transportation Mode

Transportation Mode	Line Speed m.p.h.	Distance (mi.) of 45 min. trip from centre.	Area (sq.mi.) accessible by commuting.
Walking and horse omnibus	4	3	30
Electric Streetcar and motor bus	10	6	100
Automobile on grade streets	17	11	400
Subways with surface transit feeders	25	11	400
Autos on freeways	35	18	1000

(med. level of service)

Source: N.D. Lea, "Toward Understanding Transportation", in Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, First Canadian Urban Transportation Conference: Study Papers (Toronto, 1969), p. 69.

The automobile would prove to be more significant than the streetcar in helping people move further from the inner city. It was not until the advent of the automobile that the growth of the city could expand beyond fixed lines.

A Preference for Suburban Living

Leaving the crowded conditions of the inner city for the lower density of the suburbs was a dream for many thousands of people. As peoples' incomes began to rise and the automobile was made affordable to the middle classes, the suburbs became more of a reality. Kathryn P. Nelson, author of the book Gentrification of Distressed Cities, writes that people chose to live in the suburbs because the suburbs contained "newer housing, lower - density living, better schools, a more attractive natural environment, better shopping opportunities, lower crime rates, better services, and lower taxes (or a more desired mix of service per tax dollar)". (Kathryn P. Nelson, 1988, p.31).

According to Novia Carter, many are drawn to the suburbs because of developer's marketing, making the suburban life - style a highly prized objective for many Canadians. She indicates that people have the following perceptions about the suburbs:

It is that magic place that lies within commuting distance of the city, where people live in nice houses along side other nice people and their equally nice children and send their kids to the good "family of schools" which attract the best teachers, live the good life, and close their eyes to any of the real difficulties that beset them either individually or as an extended community of the city proper. (Novia Carter, 1981, p.46)

Nelson also argues that the appeal of inner city is considerably diminished because of "older housing, industrial facilities, congestion, air and noise pollution, high crime rates, poor schools, and concentrations of poor and minority populations which repel movers, especially higher - status movers. Poorer city services and higher city tax burdens induce selective outmigration and thus cumulative urban decline"(Nelson, 1988, p.32). These observations and problems which Bourne cited, could explain why some people decided to move out of the inner - city.

In Winnipeg, there has been significant movement of people to the fringes of the city. According to a Winnipeg redevelopment plan review conducted in 1978, "Winnipeg's suburbs have increased dramatically from a population of 78,000 in 1941 to 310,000 in 1973, while the city of Winnipeg itself experienced slow growth to 1961 and thereafter has declined slightly. This overall increase in population has been accompanied by an in - filling of the remaining vacant areas of the city proper and by a vast expansion in the suburbs". (Redevelopment Plan Review, 1978, p.9).

Since the early 1970's, the Wolseley area, like many other inner city areas, has been losing people to the suburbs. According to Statistics Canada, Wolseley's population declined from 10,767 people in 1976 to 9,360 people in 1986.

Further proof that people are still drawn to the suburbs is provided in Table 2-3 which illustrates population change and projections for the City of Winnipeg. The table shows that even though Winnipeg's population is increasing the inner - city is losing people, therefore a reasonable conclusion would be that people are leaving the inner - city for the suburbs.

Table 2-3**Population Change and Projections**

Area	1971	1981	1986	1991*
Downtown	11,425	11,140	11,058	13,943
<u>%</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>2.3</u>
Inner City	216,585	170,940	173,469	162,077
<u>%</u>	<u>40.4</u>	<u>30.3</u>	<u>29.2</u>	<u>26.4</u>
Entire City	535,215	584,840	594,556	613,077
<u>%</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Donna Fedora, 1989, p.80

In conjunction with transportation innovations and a preference for suburban living, in the early 1970's many federally approved loans such as the Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP), helped people to buy homes in the suburbs. As well, other programs such as the Assisted Rental Program (ARP) helped people move into apartments sometimes located in the suburbs. These programs were helpful in providing many people with their own homes. At this point, both the physical ramifications on the inner - city housing stock and the social implications for the inner - city neighbourhood as a result of this exodus of middle and upper income people are examined.

* The figures for 1991 are estimates

The Filtering - Down Process

Filtering - down is the process which is activated in inner city neighbourhoods when the middle and upper classes move from their inner city homes to other areas of the city, leaving their homes to be taken over by lower income groups. The filtering - down process is simply "housing that had been occupied by one income group becoming available to the next lower income group as a result of decline in the market price" (William Grigsby, 1963, p.3). The market value declines because of the law of supply and demand; fewer people want to live in the inner city and prices have to adjust accordingly. "From an economist's perspective, the movement of population through housing stock from higher to lower status households is the competitive market's way of making use of a durable but deteriorating commodity" (Smith, 1971, p.175).

As less people are able to afford the good homes left behind, it is more than likely that a landlord will buy and convert the homes into multiple units to fit in as many low - income renters as possible. After a while, over - crowding becomes a serious problem, resulting in urban decay.

According to Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon, authors of the book Anatomy of Metropolis, the filtering - down process is comprised of 5 stages:

Stage 1 is residential development in single - family houses;

Stage 2 is a transition stage in which there is substantial new construction and population growth ... but in which a high and increasing proportion of new housing is in apartments, so that average density is increasing. Much of the apartment construction replaces older single - family houses;

Stage 3 is the downgrading stage, in which the old housing (both multi - family and single) is being adapted to greater - density use than it was originally designed for. In this stage, there is usually little actual new construction, but there is some population and density growth through conversion and crowding of existing structures;

Stage 4 the thinning - out stage ... is the phase in which density and dwelling occupancy are gradually reduced. Most of the shrinkage comes about through a decline in household size ... But the shrinkage may also reflect merging of dwelling units, vacancy, abandonment, and demolition. This stage is characterized by little or no residential construction and a decline in population.

Stage 5 is the renewal stage, in which obsolete areas of housing... are being replaced by new multi - family housing. (Smith and McCann, 1981, p.541)

According to Hoover's and Vernon's study, the private sector is willing to rehabilitate an inner city area when it is near or in stage five. Although Hoover and Vernon showed a final stage, in which renewal succeeds decline and the cycle begins again with new building, renovation. Stage 5 is, therefore, "dominated by subsidized apartment buildings, whereas private renewal was limited to two, highly specialized instances, a small number of luxury apartments on razed slum sites and the rehabilitation (the conversion) of deteriorated houses in Greenwich Village". (MacCann and Smith, 1981, p. 541). It seems that in some cases the down - filtering process goes full - cycle from being a good area to being a bad area and finally good once again, which is what happened in Greenwich Village.

While working on their model, Hoover and Vernon observed some revitalization which had all the characteristics of gentrification (a higher income group coming into an inner city area and renovating homes for themselves). However, although the term gentrification

would not be coined until the mid 1960's, The process of gentrification has been around for some time, just not by that name.

There are those who say that gentrification is part of the filtering process; however instead of filtering - down, gentrification filters - up. According to Lynda H. Newman, author of the article A Mobility Profile of City of Winnipeg Households, 1976 - 1981, "gentrification is the physical renovation of a building. In residential gentrification, the occupancy of the unit is transferred from low - income households to middle or upper - income households, thus reversing the traditional movement of households as described in the filtering process." (Lynda Newman, 1984, p.3).

Implications of Filtering - Down

The filtering- down process is both a positive and a negative process. In the initial phases of the filtering- down process, many people are helped. According to Paul Knox, author of the book Urban Social Geography, the role of "filtering is not just a mechanism of intra - urban mobility but is also a means of facilitating a general improvement of housing conditions as new houses filter - down the social scale" (Paul Knox, 1987, p.194). In many cases, the homes left behind by the middle and upper income groups were in good shape. Many of these homes were well constructed, with features such as hardwood floors, oak trim, fireplaces, etc.. This process gave the lower income groups a chance to live in a good home, and ironically, would later attract the gentrifiers (higher income people) into inner city neighbourhoods.

Over time, however, the positive aspects of the filtering - down process give way to negative ramifications within the inner city; the time it takes to become a negative process

varies with different neighbourhoods, but regardless of the neighbourhood in which it is occurring, the tell tale signs of neglect begin to appear.

The reason for the neglect stems from the fact that as inner city homes continue to filter - down, fewer people living in the area are able to afford these homes. As well, lending institutions sometimes **redline**³ an inner city area making it difficult for people to borrow money to purchase a home in certain areas. The home usually ends up in the hands of a landlord who then divides it into multiple units in order to maximize profits by accommodating as many low income renters as possible in one dwelling. The landlord, in some cases, does not repair the dwelling, leaving it to fall apart, and later abandoning the dwelling because taxes and insurance become too much and the dwelling simply does not pay for itself any longer.

Thus far, it has been illustrated how, over time, the inner - city has fallen into a state of decay. The past half century has seen urban decline continue despite rejuvenation policies and programs. At this point, it is important to briefly examine the government sponsored programs of renewal and to trace the causes of their failure.

Attempts at Revitalizing the Inner City Prior to the Process of Gentrification

Beginning in the 1950's and up to the early 1970s, the Canadian government tried to reverse inner - city decline through the Urban Renewal program, which included slum clearance and redevelopment to try to battle inner - city decay. When this program was first

³"Redlining is one of the mechanisms that has been used and probably still is, although illegal in many states and provinces, by mortgage lending institutions to refuse to make loans on residential properties lying within certain parts of the city." (Yeates and Garner, 1980, p.305)

introduced, it was heralded as a solution to urban decay. Unfortunately, the problem of inner city decline would not be as easily solved as first thought. Urban renewal was basically a physical approach with the following objectives:

- (1) *Reduce slums*
- (2) *Reduce congestion*
- (3) *Reduce obsolete buildings*
- (4) *Reinstate the downtown's role as a shopping centre for the metropolitan area while also attracting middle income residents and new employment.* (Kathryn P. Nelson, 1988, p.33)

According to Boyce Richardson, author of the book The Future of Canadian Cities, in Canada, by 1972 it was perceived that the "effect of renewal had spread and probably intensified slum conditions, not eliminated them". (Boyce Richardson, 1972). Kathryn Nelson states that "once the human social and economic costs of clearance were slowly recognized, program funds gradually shifted to support rehabilitation, more than demolition and new construction less". (Kathryn P. Nelson, 1988, p.8). The focus of the program then shifted to redevelopment and the following goals were set:

- (1) *elimination of blight and slums;*
- (2) *mitigation of poverty;*
- (3) *Provision of decent, safe and sanitary, housing in a suitable environment;*
- (4) *Renewal of downtown areas of the central city;*
- (5) *Attraction of middle - income families;*
- (6) *Attraction of additional "clean industry" into the central city;*
- (7) *Enhancement of the budget balance of the central city;*

(Jerome, Rothenberg, 1972, p.216).

The objectives of redevelopment are admirable, yet urban decay persisted, and

continued to spread, indicating that the program did not live up to expectations. To see how destructive urban renewal could be, a brief example has been provided from Winnipeg.

In the mid - 1960's, Winnipeg embarked on an urban renewal scheme which entailed demolishing homes in Lord Selkirk Park area and replacing them with low rental units. Approximately 650 homes were demolished and 2000 people displaced. The majority of local residents were not in agreement with the project. During public meetings, they protested what was happening to their neighbourhood. An example of one such protest is provided below:

"You're building a bunch of barracks here, You're tearing down better homes here than there are right now on Henry and Logan, these barracks will be slums in two years," shouted Mrs. Jessie Hacay, 378 Flora Ave., referring to row houses and apartment block under construction in a public housing project. (Winnipeg Tribune, March 15, 1968, p.24)

The sentiments expressed by Mrs. Hacay reflected the thoughts of many local residents. Many of these residents were never asked by politicians and planners whether such a project was necessary in the first place.

The people living in Lord Selkirk Park at that time had established deep roots in the community. Many of these residents had lived most of their lives in the area and were satisfied with their area. When the city uprooted these people, it systematically destroyed that which had made Lord Selkirk Park a neighbourhood. This disruption was not only felt in the actual area experiencing urban decay, it spread to many different areas of the city. The following excerpts from a Winnipeg Free Press article expresses exactly how

disruptive the urban renewal was:

The City of Winnipeg, in attempting to destroy one slum area, has only shifted the problem to another part of the city, according to a group of irate citizens. The citizens, about 30 in number, appeared before city council Monday night. A spokesman charged that there has been an influx of rowdy families into the Magnus Avenue - McGregor Street area. The group was protesting to the city because, they said, the "undisirable" families had come from the city's Lord Selkirk urban renewal project. (Winnipeg Free Press, September 27, 1966,p.3)

The movement of Lord Selkirk Park residents was met by these types of responses because people did not want their neighbourhoods disrupted by the residents of Lord Selkirk Park who were placed in the public housing located at Burrows and Keewatin. This did not work out as planned because many of the units were damaged by the residents. This could be a result of the frustration these people felt in being forced out of their neighbourhood to unfamiliar areas of the city.

According to Tom Yauk in his thesis, Residential and Business Relocation from Urban Renewal Areas: A Case Study of the Lord Selkirk Park Experience, Urban renewal left the Lord Selkirk Park area worse off than it had been before the project:

The Lord Selkirk Park complex is a marked contrast to the former community. Its institutional character tends to isolate it from the rest of the North End; its newness appears as a rejection of the scale and intimacy of the old community. This contrast is a reflection of the nature of

urban renewal itself, its indiscriminatory destructiveness,
its failure to look beyond the facade of neighborhood decline.

In its demise are important lessons for change. (Tom Yauk, 1973, p.193)

In the past 15 years, government policy has turned away from demolition and redevelopment to one of preservation and rehabilitation of inner - city neighbourhoods. In the 1970's the Federal government replaced the policy of demolition / redevelopment with that of preservation / enhancement. It created the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) and Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) programs. The NIP program, lasted from 1974 to 1979 while the RRAP program continues. These programs had significant impact on inner cities. Many people, among them the incumbent upgraders (working - class residents), have taken advantage of these programs. Unfortunately urban decay is present in many North American cities including Winnipeg.

There are no obvious, simple answers to the question of urban decline. This complex problem has haunted governments all across North America since World War II. However, in the past 20 years, a new form of inner - city revitalization called gentrification, has come to light. As a "systematic process, gentrification emerged on the heels of the urban renewal, slum clearance and post - war reconstruction programs implemented during the 1950's and 1960's in most advanced capitalist nations." (Schaffer, Smith, 1986, p.348).

Because the gentrification movement is associated with the preservation and rehabilitation of inner - city housing stock, it can possibly do a great deal to reverse the present trend of urban decline and may have a definite place in the changing inner city.

However, since the process is in a relative state of infancy, it is difficult to make long - range assumptions about its effectiveness.

Summary and Conclusions

Understanding the inner city is a very complex endeavor. There is no one definition for the inner city; the inner - city is evolving and its socio - economic and physical composition are continuously changing. The four neighbourhood types which may be present within a typical inner - city are: 1) declining, 2) stable, 3) revitalizing, and 4) those undergoing massive redevelopment.

This chapter explored the factors which contributed to the decline and eventual decay of the average North American inner city. This study is important in an examination of the gentrification process because of the simple fact that if the inner - city was not decaying, revitalization would obviously not be an issue.

It was shown that decentralization of the population has been taking place for at least 70 years. This exodus of middle and upper income people resulted in the inner city falling victim to the process of filtering - down which begins when the higher income groups leave their inner city homes and end up going to the working -classes and later to lower income groups. Eventually, because landlords are not able to afford the dwelling any longer, it is neglected and finally abandoned.

Ironically, in its initial phase, down -filtering can act as a positive process by providing low income groups with better quality housing; however, over time, there are less people left in the inner city who can afford to buy these dwellings and they become renters.

Increasing tenancy according to McLemore, Aass and Kulhofer indicate the neighbourhood may be experiencing decline.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Canadian government attempted to renovate inner cities through Urban Renewal programs, which, unfortunately were unsuccessful. Instead of reviving communities, these programs only exacerbated the problems in inner - city neighbourhoods by extensive demolition resulting in the disruption of the existing fabric of the community's life.

The evolution of the inner city does not always have to end with decline; if proper steps are taken to reverse the filtering - down process, there still may be hope. Presently, many inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg are exhibiting classic signs of filtering - down. However, there have been signs that this filtering - down process is beginning to reverse itself in certain inner city areas in Winnipeg such as the Wolseley area. This area could be experiencing the gentrification process; however, presently, there is no clear consensus on whether or not gentrification is occurring, thus the reason for this practicum: to find out if gentrification has begun in Winnipeg's Wolseley area.

Chapter 3

Gentrification and the Typical Gentrifier

Introduction

Chapter 2 examined inner - city decay and introduced the concept of gentrification as a possible instrument in reversing urban decay; Chapter 3 is devoted to a detailed examination of the process of gentrification. As well, a model of gentrification is developed and discussed to assist in identifying when and where the process has begun.

In the late 1970's, gentrification was hailed as leading to a "comeback" for cities, "urban revival" and "urban renaissance" (Pierce 1977, Newsweek; Fleetwood 1979). In 1982, gentrification was being described as "the one process that is providing hope that our cities can demographically and economically revitalize." (Kasurda, 1982). Gentrification is being hailed as the ultimate weapon against urban decay.

Defining the Gentrification Process

The process of gentrification, sometimes called whitepainting or brown-stoning, has been recognized and studied as a new phenomenon, although there is evidence that indicates it has existed for sometime, as seen with Hoover and Vernon's study in chapter 2. Gentrification was first named in Britain in the early 1960's. According to the Oxford Dictionary definition, gentrification is the movement of middle - class families into urban areas causing property values to increase and having the secondary effect of driving out the

poorer families. However, this definition is superficial at best and value - laden at worst. The following discussion attempts to be more objective.

The term "gentrification" was first coined by Ruth Glass in the 1960's when she studied the movement of the middle - classes into the working class neighbourhoods of London, England. According to Glass :

One by one, many of the working - class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle - classes -upper and lower. Shabby , modest mews and cottages - two rooms up and two down have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period - which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation - have been upgraded once again. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.

(Glass, 1964, p.18).

However, the process of gentrification is not restricted to Britain, it has become an international phenomenon occurring in countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States as well.

Factors Contributing to the Gentrification Movement

A comprehensive examination and understanding of gentrification cannot be achieved unless one studies the people responsible for the phenomenon. This study of the characteristics of the typical gentrifier begins by briefly examining the factors which contributed to the gentrification movement in the first place. Gentrification was first recognized as a movement in the late 1960's and has continued because of the following

changes in lifestyles, demographics and economics:

- 1) The maturation of the baby boom generation; (ranging in age from 25 - 44)
- 2) Higher numbers of single adults seeking accommodation;
- 3) Higher numbers of single adults living together;
- 4) Higher female workplace participation rates;
- 5) More double income no children families; (D.I.N.C.s)
- 6) Escalating energy costs;
- 7) Spiralling costs of suburban housing;
- 8) An increased desire to live closer to downtown leisure and cultural activities;
- 9) An ever increasing amount of leisure time;
- 10) An increased emphasis on an adult centered life style (as opposed to familialism);
- 11) Post industrial shift from manufacturing to the tertiary and quaternary sectors;

(Schaffer, Smith, 1986, David Ley 1985)

Together, these changing trends have resulted in a shift away from the traditional demand for suburban housing. As mentioned in chapter 2, throughout the past few decades, there has been a significant movement to the suburbs because of perceived benefits such as more space to raise one's family. However, because the maturing baby boom generation, is not having large families and, in fact, many of these people are DINC (Double income no children) couples, this group, when selecting an area is more concerned about factors such as proximity to work and cultural activities than with the child - rearing potential of an area. These people locate in the inner - city because of the adult amenities such as the large number of restaurants, bars and cultural facilities found in the downtown.

Family size is being reduced for several reasons, including the fact that more women are entering the labor force. According to Statistics Canada, in 1971, 37% of women were employed outside the home, while in 1981, this figure rose to 52%. Also, there are more "single family households as a result of an increasing instability of marriage, with a tripling of divorce rates from 1960 to 1975, and a decrease of almost one half in the birth rate" (Ley David, 1985, p.19). In many cases, the reduction of family size has meant that people need less space. Along with high divorce rates, there is also an increasing number of people who are remaining unmarried, again reducing the need for space. According to David Ley, "there has been a dramatic increase in the growth of small households, reflected in the fact that in 1981 20% of all new households consisted of one person." (David Ley, 1985). Therefore, the lack of yard space commonly associated with inner city living is no longer a detriment.

Other changes which have fueled the gentrification process are economic realities. The energy crisis of the mid 1970s made commuting unattractive for many people. With transportation costs increasing, it does not make economic sense to locate too far from work.

As well, rising prices in the housing sector have limited the choices people have in selecting a home. On average, a suburban home is more expensive than an inner - city home. In addition, the high interest rates, reaching 19% at one point, which existed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, made buying a home for first - time home buyers very difficult. Consequently, affordable inner - city homes offered these first - time home buyers a very attractive alternative to suburban homes. The important question now is whether gentrification is really occurring in Canada.

Gentrification in Canada

David Ley, from the University of British Columbia, states that "gentrification is widespread in Canadian cities in that it is taking place among Canada's 22 largest metropolitan areas." (David Ley, 1988, p.12). He substantiates this claim by referring to his research findings which indicate that there has been an increase in the social status of inner - city areas. According to Ley, an increase in social status is an indication that gentrification is occurring. Ley suggests that "social status gains in the inner city during the 1970's exceeded by a factor of four to five those of the 1960's."(David Ley, 1988, p.12). Therefore, evidence does indeed suggest some type of middle and upper income group movement within Canadian inner - cities.

In Canada, the last 10 years have seen an acceleration of the gentrification process in major cities such as in Toronto and Vancouver; and, according to Donna Fedora, in her thesis, The Process of Gentrification: A Comparative Analysis, even smaller cities such as Winnipeg and Saskatoon are also experiencing gentrification. According to Novia Carter, "once the process of gentrification has begun, the process can take over whole neighbourhoods, transforming them quite remarkably both physically and socially. It has either progressed substantially or has begun in nearly 71 per cent of all Canadian cities whose population exceed 50,000 persons" (Nova Carter,1981, p.45).

The Typical Gentrifier

According to Godfrey L. Spragge, an associate professor at the school of Urban and Regional Planning at Queens University, whitepainting, or gentrification probably had its "origin in the post - second world war population explosion. By the early 1960s new households were being formed by wartime and post - wartime babies causing an overflow

of upper status households in central city neighbourhoods. Those who chose to remain in the central city competed for housing in upper status neighbourhoods and those who could not compete in that market, often the 20 to 30 year olds, singles and couples, invaded lower status neighbourhoods." (Spragge, 1983, p.43). The typical gentrifier, according to the majority of academics and authors, comes from a middle - class background.

According to Neil Smith and Peter Williams, authors of Gentrification of the City , gentrifiers are people who tend to have fewer children, postponed marriages and a fast rising divorce rate. (Smith, Williams, 1979, p.538). There are those who describe gentrifiers as being relatively affluent professionals between the ages of 25 and 44 living, in many cases, in childless households. (Black 1975, Gale 1976, and Patterson, 1977). Schaffer and Smith, authors of the article The Gentrification of Harlem, suggest that gentrifiers tend to be college graduates, professionals, or "yuppies". They also tend to be politically liberal, indoors oriented, more cosmopolitan and know few of their neighbours (Schaffer, Smith, 1986, p.349).

David Ley, argues that gentrification proceeds in several stages with a sequence of different types of middleclass people occupying dwellings through a transition cycle:

The early stages of the cycle might begin with the arrival of students and economically marginal professionals in the arts and media. They are joined by members of the soft professions including design and teaching and later by lawyers, doctors and businessmen. Whereas earlier arrivals are favorably sensitized to the social and cultural diversity of affordable inner city districts, this sentiment may not be shared by those who follow them. (David Ley, 1988,p.15).

Roman Cybriwsky, in his article Social Aspects of Neighborhood Change, agrees with David Ley that there is a difference between the first gentrifiers that arrive in an inner - city neighbourhood and those that follow. Cybriwsky suggests that, "the earlier gentrifiers typically saw the area as a way 'to get back to the people' or a more neighbourly way of life. They thought of themselves as long term fixtures in the neighbourhood and made plans accordingly. The later gentrifiers are more conservative; they also see their neighbourhood as more of a short term investment than a long term home."(Roman Cybriwsky, 1978, p.32)

David Ley goes a step further, beyond only looking at the different types of gentrifier, he implicates others who are critical to the process. According to Ley, the main players in the gentrification process are:

- 1) *the gentrifiers themselves, recent arrival in the neighbourhood whose presence adds fuel to the reinvestment process.*
- 2) *the property industry, the developers, architects and real estate agents who package and sell the neighbourhood as an image of a particular lifestyle.*
- 3) *the public sector, the politician and administrator who prioritize spending to increase the tax base often at the expense of need or public interest.*
- 4) *the financial interest, who describe which environment are suitable for potential investment.* (David Ley, 1986).

There are many different interpretations on who the gentrifier is, but in many cases the descriptions have common denominators:

Profile of the Typical Gentrifier

- * Comes from a middle - class back ground
- * College graduate
- * Relatively affluent professional
- * Commonly found in the 25 to 44 age group
- * Tends to have fewer children
- * Tends to have postponed marriages and a fast rising divorce rate
- * Politically oriented
- * Indoors oriented
- * More cosmopolitan

This is helpful in distinguishing these people from other residents living in and renovating inner city homes, such as incumbent upgraders. Now, it is appropriate to briefly examine incumbent upgrading to determine its similarities and differences from the gentrification process, thus eliminating any confusion which may arise later.

An incumbent upgrader and the typical gentrifier are similar in some respects: both groups come from the private sector, both rehabilitate homes and prefer to own rather than rent. The only way to distinguish the two groups is to compare the following three socioeconomic variables: occupational, income and educational status; in all three gentrifiers will rank higher. The typical gentrifier is a person who has usually obtained a university degree; is, in most cases, a professional; and is earning a relatively high salary, while the incumbent upgrader has usually not completed a post - secondary education, and is a blue - collar worker.

The incumbent upgrader is "commonly associated with lower - status groups who have enough confidence and pride in their residential community to wish to check its physical decline." (Smith and McCann, 1981, p.542). The process of gentrification on the other hand, as was shown throughout this chapter, is simply "a process which occurs when an aging area is taken over by a higher status group, usually professional households who modernize and refurbish the houses at considerable personal expense." (Roman A. Cybriwisky, 1978, p.17).

Now that we have examined the characteristics of the typical gentrifier, as well as distinguishing the gentrifier from the incumbent upgrader, it is important to know where the gentrifiers come from and what attracts gentrifiers to certain areas of the city. The current belief is that these gentrifiers come from the suburbs to the inner - city. Is this true or is it a misconception?

Where do Gentrifiers come from?

Although it is commonly assumed that gentrifiers come from the suburbs to take up residences in the inner city, this may not be the case for all the gentrifiers who decide to live in the inner city. A study conducted in the inner city of New Orleans found that approximately "80 percent of all renovators were movers from within the same neighborhoods presumably making the transition from renter to owner status." (Laska and Spain, 1980, p.524). According to authors Sternlieb and Huges, the "inner city gentrifiers have shown repeatedly that only a small minority are returning suburbanites, their previous addresses are primarily in the center city or in distant metropolitan areas."(Laska and Spain 1980, p. 523). Therefore gentrification is not so much a back to the city movement as it is a movement within the inner city.

At this point it is time to clarify where this process is most likely to occur. The current belief is that gentrification occurs solely in the inner city; the following section of this chapter deals with this issue.

Where does Gentrification Occur within the City ?

According to Richard Schaffer and Neil Smith, authors of the article The Gentrification of Harlem, "gentrification occurs especially, but not exclusively in the inner - city areas around the Central Business District. The area that used to be described in traditional Chicago School and ecological models of urban structure as the zone of transition." (Schaffer, Smith, 1986, p.348). In 1925, in Chicago, Burgess formulated the concentric ring theory of urban growth whereby, "poor immigrants to the city occupy cheaper, older, more central housing and higher - income residents move to newer homes built on vacant land at the fringe." (Kathryn Nelson, 1988, p.29).

Although the process of gentrification does sometimes take place outside of the inner - city, most of the process occurs within inner - city neighbourhoods. According to Paul Knox, author of the book Urban Social Geography, the "areas which have been most intensively gentrified are those which are near both the city center and acknowledged areas of high social status within the inner - city,"(Paul Knox, 1987, p.197).

The Appeal of the Inner - City for the Gentrifier

According to Kathryn P. Nelson, author of Gentrification and Distressed Cities , the gentrification process or a back - to - the - city movement was bound to occur sooner or

later for several reasons:

- 1) *Commuting from the outer fringes of suburbia was becoming too expensive and a hassle*
- 2) *A preference for city life as compared to suburbia.*
- 3) *The soaring prices of suburban housing, made the idea of refurbishing inner - city townhouses attractive.*(Kathryn P.Nelson, 1988, p.6).

These are relatively specific reasons which can be aggregated into the broader categories of physical, economic and ideological reasons for gentrification.

A) Physical Reasons for Gentrification

Presently, many new suburban developments are homogeneous, with very little distinguishing the houses, neighbourhoods or people from one another. Conversely, the inner city is a true mosaic of different people and architectural styles.

The design of inner - city housing is a great attraction for many potential gentrifiers. At the turn of the century, many well - constructed homes were built for the middle and upper income groups within the inner city. These homes were constructed from materials of the finest quality (eg. naturally aged and knot free Douglas Fir) which are no longer being used. As well, these inner city homes contain many frills such as maple or oak floors, detailed trimworks, brass doorknobs and marble fireplaces.

Today, many of these inner city homes are still structurally sound, but because of their location in the inner city, they are relatively inexpensive and consequently they are quite

attractive to gentrifiers. Novia Carter reaffirms much of this when she states that:

The attractiveness of these homes is understandable: older architecture that is in sharp contrast with mass-produced suburban housing, tree-lined streets, easy quick access to downtown and desirable shopping facilities and entertainment. Most important, the initial cost of these houses was very low and the purchasers could anticipate a handsome profit. (Novia Carter, 1981, p.43)

B) Economic reasons for gentrification

There are those gentrifiers who may choose to live in the inner city because of economic reasons. Some people decide to move to the inner city because the houses located in the suburbs are simply too expensive. Other costs associated with living in the suburbs include transportation costs; "people may move to the inner city due to the costs of commuting- the higher costs of gasoline for private cars and rising fares on public transportation and the economic benefits of proximity to work." (Smith and Williams, 1985, p.540).

Smith and Williams state that gentrification occurs when "the rent gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builder costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developers." (Smith and Williams 1979, p.545). The older, structurally sound properties within the inner city can be purchased for far less than it would cost to build a new house in today's market. If the interest rate continues to rise as it has in the late 1980's, then a new wave of gentrifiers may begin to invade the inner city looking for a bargain. Howard Sumka confirms this when he states that the "parents of revitalization are the children of the post war baby boomers who

entered the housing market at a time when the value of new construction was low and the price of suburban housing very high." (Howard J. Sumka, 1979, p.482).

C) Ideological reasons for Gentrification

John Palen and Bruce London, in their article Gentrification Displacement and Neighborhood Revitalization, suggest that not all gentrifiers are attracted to the inner - city simply because of economic reasons. They state that the process of gentrification is comprised of people who are influenced by the ideas of the 1960s and 1970s; at that time, new values were emerging that included a high regard for:

- 1) *Community participation;*
- 2) *Shared living experience;*
- 3) *Self help and cooperative efforts;*
- 4) *An ecological ideology that stressed preservation.*(Palen, London, 1984)

The inner city way of life offers something different from the suburban lifestyle. Many people from the middle - classes believed that the inner city is a utopia; "the inner city offered at least a portion of this cohort an opportunity to live out an emergent set of values - that emphasizes social participation and responsibility, a greater degree of acceptance of different ethnic and racial groups and of "deviant" lifestyles or , in sum, an unprecedented degree of pro - urbanism." (Palen, London, 1984, p.2).

There are various reasons a gentrifier would locate in the inner - city, but most probably, it is a combination of economic and ideological reasons or simply a love of the

architecture that in most cases, can only be found in the inner - city. Therefore, according to noted experts used thus far in this chapter, if an area is to become gentrified, it must possess the following characteristics:

Prerequisites necessary to attract gentrifiers to an area

- * Close proximity to the downtown
- * Historical or architectural significance
- * Being near natural features such as a river, trees or near a park
- * Low housing prices in the area
- * Being close to cultural amenities
- * The area possesses a neighbourhood association which equals a strong neighbourhood
- * Finally the area should be either a stable or revitalizing neighbourhood type.

These characteristics were chosen, because after examining several studies of gentrification, conducted by different researchers on different neighbourhoods, it was found that before becoming gentrified, the area usually contained these traits. These prerequisites are applied to the Wolseley area in chapter 4 to see if the area is receptive to the gentrification process. This analysis is followed with a search to find out if the typical gentrifier is actually living in Wolseley.

As with all relatively new phenomena, gentrification is surrounded by controversy. Much of the literature on the gentrification process hails it as being the saviour of the declining inner - city; however, gentrification is not without its critics, who say that the process has endangered the already limited amount of affordable inner - city housing stock. The following sections deal with both the problems and the promise of gentrification as a tool for inner - city revitalization.

Problems with Gentrification

The process of gentrification is not all positive. Jeffrey R. Henig, in his article Gentrification and Displacement of the Elderly, states that gentrification has a darker side encompassing such things as "rising rents, rising property tax assessment, and the conversion of rental housing into owner occupied and condominium units - factors associated with gentrification threaten to displace existing residents unable to compete in the accelerated housing market." (Jeffrey Henig, 1984, p.170). However, Neal Smith and Peter Williams authors of the book Gentrification of the City, suggest that the problem of displacement from gentrification is not as serious as some authors claim.

According to Smith and Williams, those who are displaced because of gentrification "find new accommodation equal or even superior to their old dwelling unit." (Smith, Williams, 1985, p.162). Roman Cybriwisky minimizes fears of displacement when he says that "gentrification is hardly the beginning of the end for the poor and old - timers" (Roman Cybriwisky, 1979, p.12). The increase in rents, and the reduction of low - cost housing is a problem for those living in areas experiencing gentrification, but how serious this problem is for Canada, including the city of Winnipeg, is not yet certain.

Positive Effects of Gentrification

The positive effects attributed to the process of gentrification, may outweigh the potential negative ramifications. As was mentioned earlier, the gentrification process revitalizes whole inner - city neighbourhoods by improving and preserving homes in the inner - city area, along with adding such things as street ornamentation, parks, lock stone

sidewalks, etc.. All these positive effects have substantial impacts on tax assessment. In his study of an inner city neighbourhood in Philadelphia, Roman Cybriwisky found that " tax assessment rose by an average of 129% in the period between 1970 and 1979, due to the effects of the private revitalization in Philadelphia's inner - city suburb of Fairmont." (Gertler Crowley, 1980, p.167) The increase in property tax revenue from gentrification furthers a municipality's ability to provide services.

Howard Sumka, in his article Neighbourhood Revitalization and Displacement, suggests that the " middle and upper income families may restore some fiscal balance between the urban economies of different municipalities. This would improve the city's tax base and better enable it to provide the services that are required by the low income residents of most inner - city areas."(Howard Sumka, 1978, p.480). According to William Grigsby, author of the article The Roots of Revitalization, in addition to increases in the tax base, gentrification also:

- 1) *improves the housing stock;*
- 2) *Revitalizes the neighbourhood as a whole;*
- 3) *Improves quality of services;*
- 4) *Attracts jobs and commercial activity;*

(Grigsby, 1978, p.20)

Therefore, although there is a downside to gentrification, it is, in general, a positive process with respect to reversing the decay which is currently plaguing inner - city neighbourhoods. Now that the theory behind gentrification has been explored, it is time to develop a gentrification model from which to determine if gentrification is, indeed, occurring in Wolseley. This section utilizes the stage model developed by Frank

DeGiovanni as well as the indicators of gentrification developed by the academic community to develop a comprehensive gentrification model.

The difference between indicators and a model is that indicators are traits or characteristics of a process, while a model is a simplified representation of reality that establishes structured relationships between indicators to determine if a process is occurring. In a model, certain relationships must be satisfied in order to progress to the next stage. If any of the necessary relationships are not present, then gentrification is not occurring. However, indicators are just characteristics; for instance if 3 out of 5 characteristics of gentrification are present, it does not mean that the process is occurring. On the other hand, if a model is used and all the conditions are met, then it can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty that gentrification is occurring in the study area.

Detecting Gentrification

The following are the indicators of gentrification which many different authors among them (Schaffer, Smith, 1986; Ley, 1985; Williams, 1986) believe are helpful in determining if an area is going through the process :

- 1) *Changes in the occupational and socio - economic character of the neighborhood;*
- 2) *Changes in the property markets;*
- 3) *Percentage increases in college graduates;*
- 4) *Percentage increases in professionals and upper managerial - type occupation;*
- 5) *An increase in rent values;*
- 6) *An increase in median income levels;*
- 7) *An increase in per capita income;*
- 8) *Changes in housing conditions surveys;*
- 9) *Increases in the number of building permits and turnover rates;*

Developed by Frank DeGiovanni in 1983 to detect the process of gentrification, the Stage Model of Revitalization on the local Housing Market proceeds in stages as follows:

- 1) **Initial signs of revitalization.** *The percentage of properties rehabilitated and the percentage of properties shifting from rental status to owner occupancy are the first signs of reinvestment. Also, rehabilitation activity and conversion of properties to owner occupancy should increase gradually, with both changes occurring simultaneously.*

- 2) **Patterns of increases in sale prices.** *Increases in sales volume and sales prices should occur gradually after initial increases in renter -to- owner conversions and property renovation. In addition, after an initial gradual increase, sales prices should jump sharply at the same time that speculation increases dramatically.*

- 3) **Amount of speculation.** *The proportion of sales that are speculative should increase gradually after a noticeable growth in property renovation. At some point the percentage of speculative sales should jump drastically.*

- 4) **Pace of rehabilitation activity.** *The percentage of properties rehabilitated should increase gradually during revitalization. It is not clear whether the peak of renovation occurs before sales prices reach their highest level.*

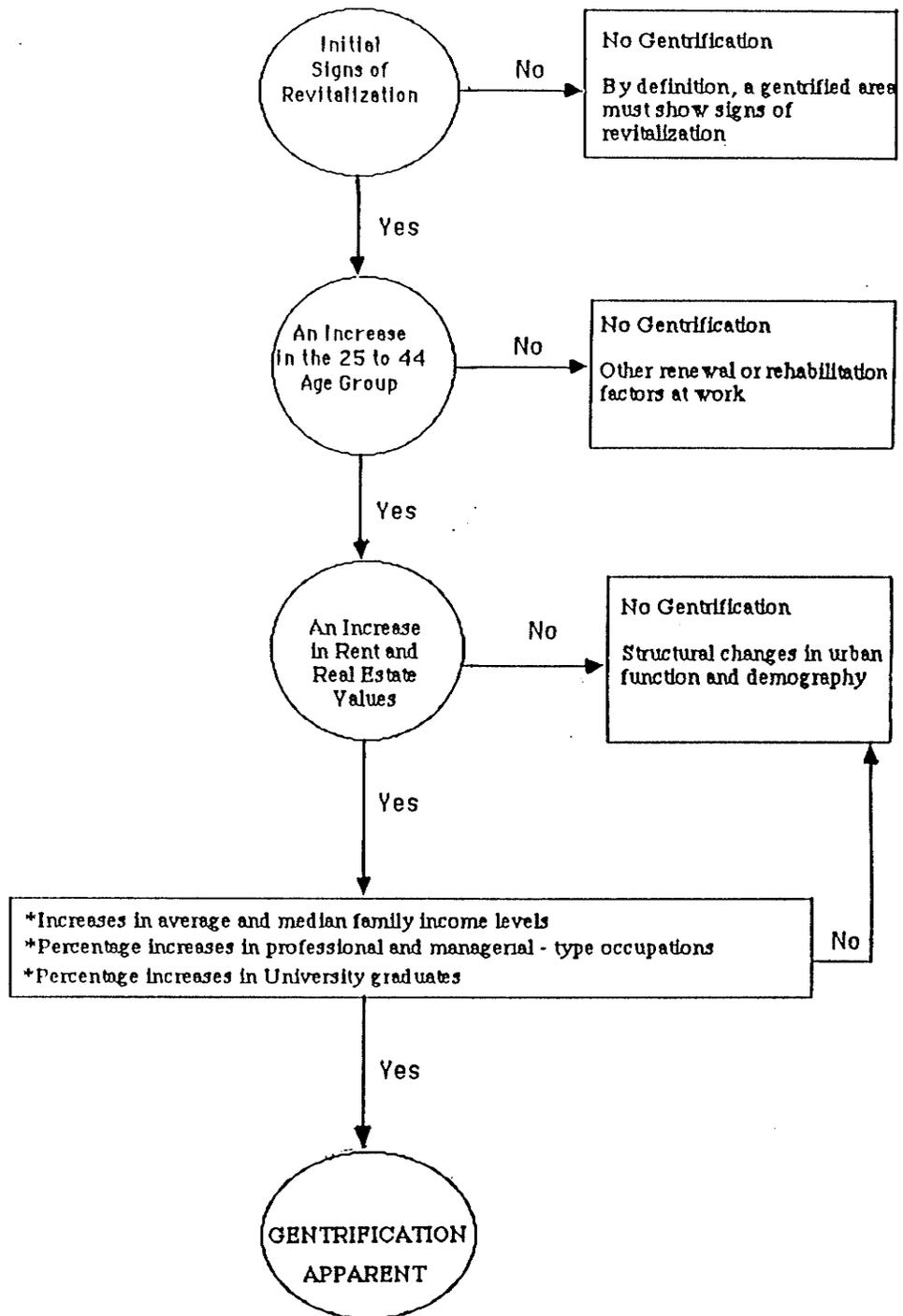
- 5) **Pattern of displacement.** *Potential displacement, as measured by conversion of rental properties to owner occupancy, should be small at the beginning of revitalization, increase gradually, then reach its highest level after or simultaneously with discontinuous increases in sales prices and speculation. (Frank F. DeGiovanni, 1980, p.28)*

The indicators of gentrification and DeGiovanni's model provide an excellent guide as to what to look for in identifying whether an area is experiencing gentrification; however, to avoid possible overlap of information and duplication of work, both the indicators and the model are reassembled and combined, and a few additions are also made by the author to create a simplified gentrification model which will be named after the study area (The Wolseley Gentrification Model). Illustrated on the following page, this is a simple model which indicates that either *yes*, gentrification is occurring, or *no*, it is not. The reason for referring to this as a gentrification model rather than as a listing of indicators is that certain relationships must exist in an area for that area to be called gentrified.

This gentrification model utilizes indicators which must be related to each other in specific ways if gentrification is said to exist in a given area:

- 1) **Initial signs of revitalization**
- 2) **An increase in the 25 to 44 age group**
- 3) **An increase in rent and real estate values**
- 4) **Increases in average family income and median income levels**
- 5) **Percentage increases in professional and managerial - type occupations**
- 6) **Percentage increases in University graduates**

Figure 3-1
The Wolseley Gentrification Model



The Wolseley model begins by first indicating whether the area under study is actually being revitalized. Because, by definition, gentrification is a rehabilitative process, any model developed to detect gentrification must first gauge whether an area is being revitalized. Signs of revitalization include increases in building permits issued, increases in home ownership with corresponding decreases in renters. If it is found that there is no revitalization occurring, then further study will not be necessary. However, if revitalization is occurring, the model then proceeds to the next stage and examines whether there has been an influx of the 25 to 44 age group. It should be noted that revitalization does not, in itself, indicate that gentrification is occurring. Other processes, such as incumbent upgrading, could also be responsible for the rehabilitation.

As mentioned, stage 2, involves looking for increases in the 25 to 44 age group. The author decided to include this stage to add a certain depth to the model because the experts in the field of gentrification generally concur that the 25 to 44 age group most frequently participates in the gentrification process (Smith, Williams 1979, Black 1975, Gale 1976, and Patterson 1977). If it is found that there has been no such influx, then the study will conclude by stating that gentrification is not occurring in the area, and, consequently, some other renewal or rehabilitation factors must be at work in the area. However, even if an increase in this age group is detected, this does not necessarily mean that gentrification is occurring. Again, this increase could be associated with another group.

The third stage of model determines whether there has been an increase in rental and real estate values in the area. The revitalization process is usually accompanied by an increase in property values which, in turn increases rent values. If increases are not present, then the study is finished and it can be concluded that gentrification is not occurring; the positive

readings from the two previous stages were the result of structural changes in urban function and demography. If this stage yields a positive result, then the model will proceed to the next stage. Unfortunately, at this point, even if the first three stages have been successfully completed, a definitive statement on the status of the area cannot be made because another revitalization process such as incumbent upgrading maybe responsible for the renovation.

The fourth stage of the model, encompassing the elements of income, occupation and education, must be fulfilled successfully if an area is to be called gentrified. These elements are critical in identifying and distinguishing gentrifiers from other groups. If increases in all three of these elements are found, the study area is being gentrified. Conversely, if the findings do not indicate increases in the level of income, occupation, and education, then it can be said with a degree of certainty that the study area is not being gentrified.

Summary and Conclusions

Gentrification, which was first identified in England in the 1960s, offers promise because, by its very nature, this process focuses on rehabilitation and preservation rather than on demolition. Indeed, the gentrification process has been hailed as a long - term revitalization mechanism.

Chapter 3 provided an analytical framework from which to detect whether or not gentrification is occurring in a particular neighbourhood. Chapter 3 defined and examined the theory behind gentrification; it established a set of prerequisites which should exist in an

area to attract gentrifiers; and, it developed a model to identify whether gentrification, not some other form of revitalization, is actually occurring in the area..

Chapter 4

In Search of Gentrification in Wolseley

Introduction

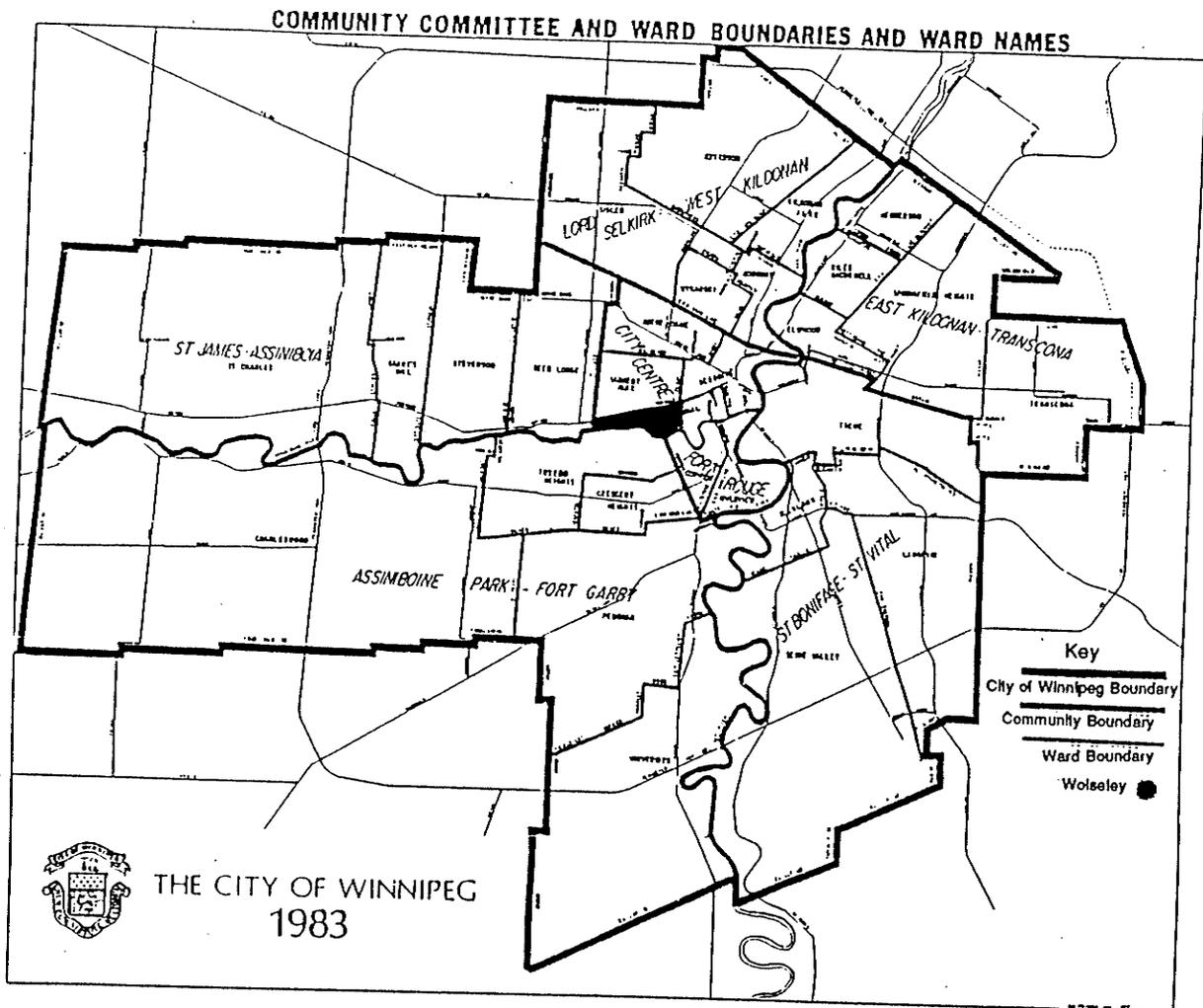
Chapters 2 and 3 defined gentrification and established the criteria necessary for the movement to develop in an area (including the area's proximity to the downtown, its historical and architectural significance, the affordability of the homes in the area, and as whether the neighbourhood type within the area is stable or revitalizing). This chapter applies these criteria to the Wolseley area to determine if the area is at least receptive to gentrification. If it is found that Wolseley does not contain the necessary prerequisites, then further study is unnecessary. However, if the area satisfies the prerequisites, then the model developed in Chapter 3 will be applied to Wolseley in order to determine if the area is actually being gentrified.

Geographical Boundaries of Winnipeg's Wolseley area :

Identifying Wolseley's geographic boundaries is important in order to clearly define the study area. Presently located in the political ward of Westminister, the study area is bounded by Portage Avenue to the North, Maryland Street to the East, the Assiniboine River to the South and Omand's Creek to the West (refer to Figures 4-1, and 4-2 on the following pages). Since Wolseley is close to Winnipeg's downtown, it is potentially attractive to those people who have offices downtown.

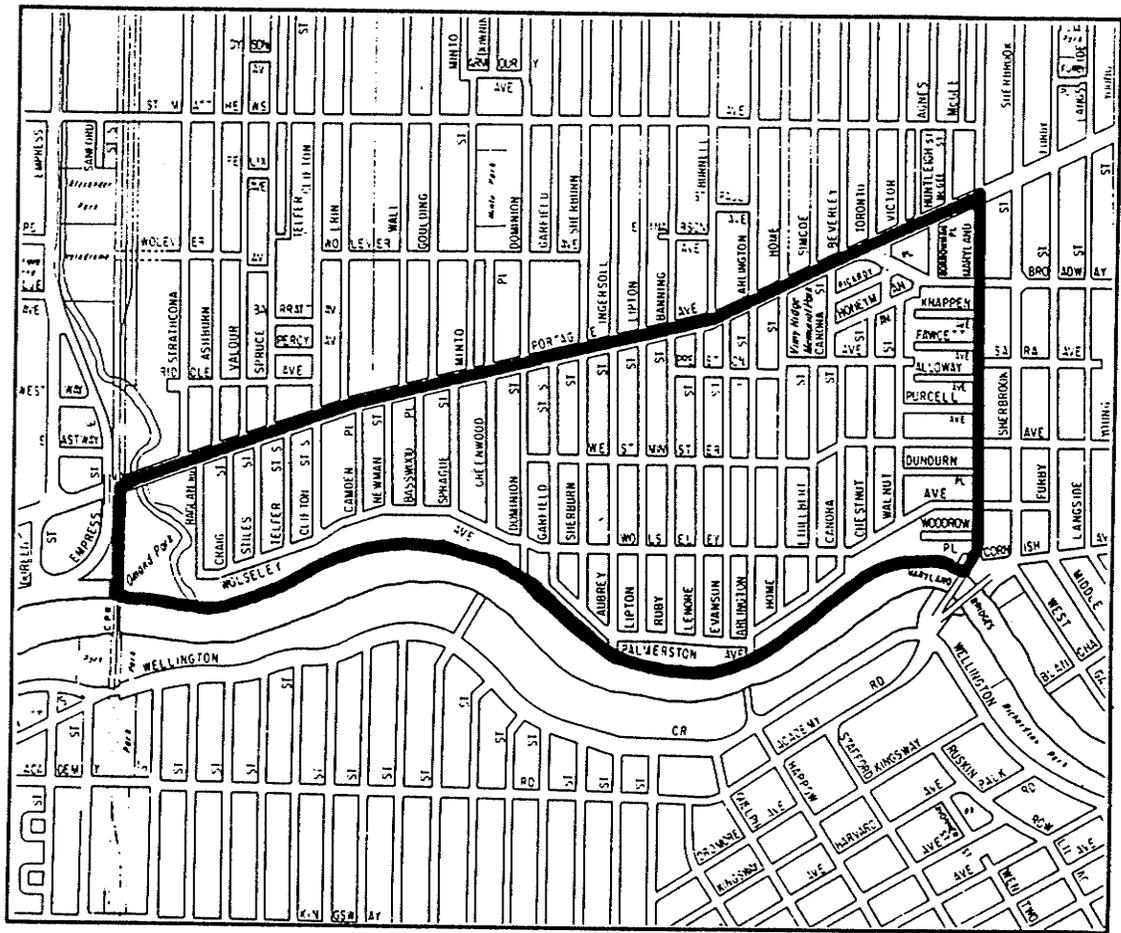
Figure 4-1

The Wolseley Location Within Winnipeg



Source: Lynda H. Newman, A Mobility Profile of City of Winnipeg Households, 1976 - 1981, University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, 1984. p.6

Figure 4-2
A Detailed View of Wolseley



Source: Winnipeg Planning Department , Winnipeg Area Characterization, 1986

Historical Significance of Wolseley:

The Wolseley area was developed largely between 1900 and 1925 as an exclusive, low density residential suburb. Wolseley's easterly region contains many elegant homes, while its westerly portion contains smaller houses, constructed on much narrower lots. However, the area as a whole, attracted many upper and middle income families at the turn of the century.

According to the Manitoba Historical Society, "the new homes in Wolseley were single family dwellings purchased by the Anglo - Saxon, middle - class." (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.1, 1988). The area's exclusiveness was one of its main selling points. In 1913, the West End Realty Building Company boasted, in the Manitoba Free Press, that if people settled in the Wolseley area, they would be "surrounded by fine homes and be assured of a satisfactory class of neighbours." (Manitoba Free Press, may, 1913).

At the turn of the century, many prestigious people lived in the Wolseley area. Indeed, the list of distinguished residents is a long and impressive one; many of Winnipeg's community leaders called Wolseley their home for the better half of this century, including James S. Woodsworth, the first leader of the C.C.F; "Buxton Lyall, senior vice - president of Manitoba Bridge and Iron; and William Tier, Dean of Arts and Science at the University of Manitoba from 1921 to 1939." (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, 1988). The homes in the area reflect the affluent heritage of the upper and middle income families who lived there at the turn of the century.

Architectural Significance of the homes in Wolseley:

The Wolseley area is important architecturally as well as historically. Many of the homes built by the upper and middle class groups within the area are of a high quality. As well, the area contains a high concentration of architecturally unique, turn of the century, housing which is in relatively good condition. A break - down of the distribution of homes in Wolseley according to age, in comparison to the City average is presented in Table 4-1:

Table 4-1

Age of Dwellings in Wolseley

Age of Dwelling	Total Number	%	%
	3780	Profile Area	City Wide
<u>1920 or Earlier</u>	1485	39.3	8.5
<u>1921 - 1945</u>	1535	40.6	14.3
<u>1946 - 1960</u>	455	12.0	23.2
<u>1961 - 1970</u>	155	4.1	19.5
<u>1971 - 1980</u>	45	1.2	26.5
<u>1981 - 1986</u>	115	3.0	8.1

Source: Compiled by Author, Winnipeg Area Characterization, 1986

Because of Wolseley's age, several distinct architectural styles exist within its boundaries such as **Georgian**⁴, which is found in several parts of the area; **Italianate**⁵, found in the old fire station on Lipton street (since this old fire station is not presently being used, it

⁴"These houses follow a tradition started under the George, British kings in the 18th century. They usually are two and one - half storeys, with balanced facades and centre doors. Openings are rectangular, but the palladian window is a decorative motif." (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.27, 1988)

⁵"A popular style from 1850 to 1870. Buildings, often square in plan, have square towers, low - pitched hip roofs with wide eaves, verandas, round - headed windows, and prominent decorative brackets under the eaves." (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.27, 1988)

does have the potential to be converted into a shop of some kind, or even into a condominium.); **Gothic**⁶, which further adds to the architectural diversity of the area; and, **Queen Anne**⁷, which is the most predominant style in the area (Figure 4-3 illustrates a Queen Anne style house).

Homes constructed in the Wolseley area at the turn of the century were "built in the predominant domestic style of the time with elements of the Queen Anne style which had been popular with the elite of an earlier decade" (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.2, 1988), However, the Queen Anne style was somewhat modified in Western Canada, having a "more angular shape than the traditional Eastern version of the style."(Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.10, 1988). This diversity of architectural styles makes the area more appealing than the suburbs to gentrifiers because in the suburbs:

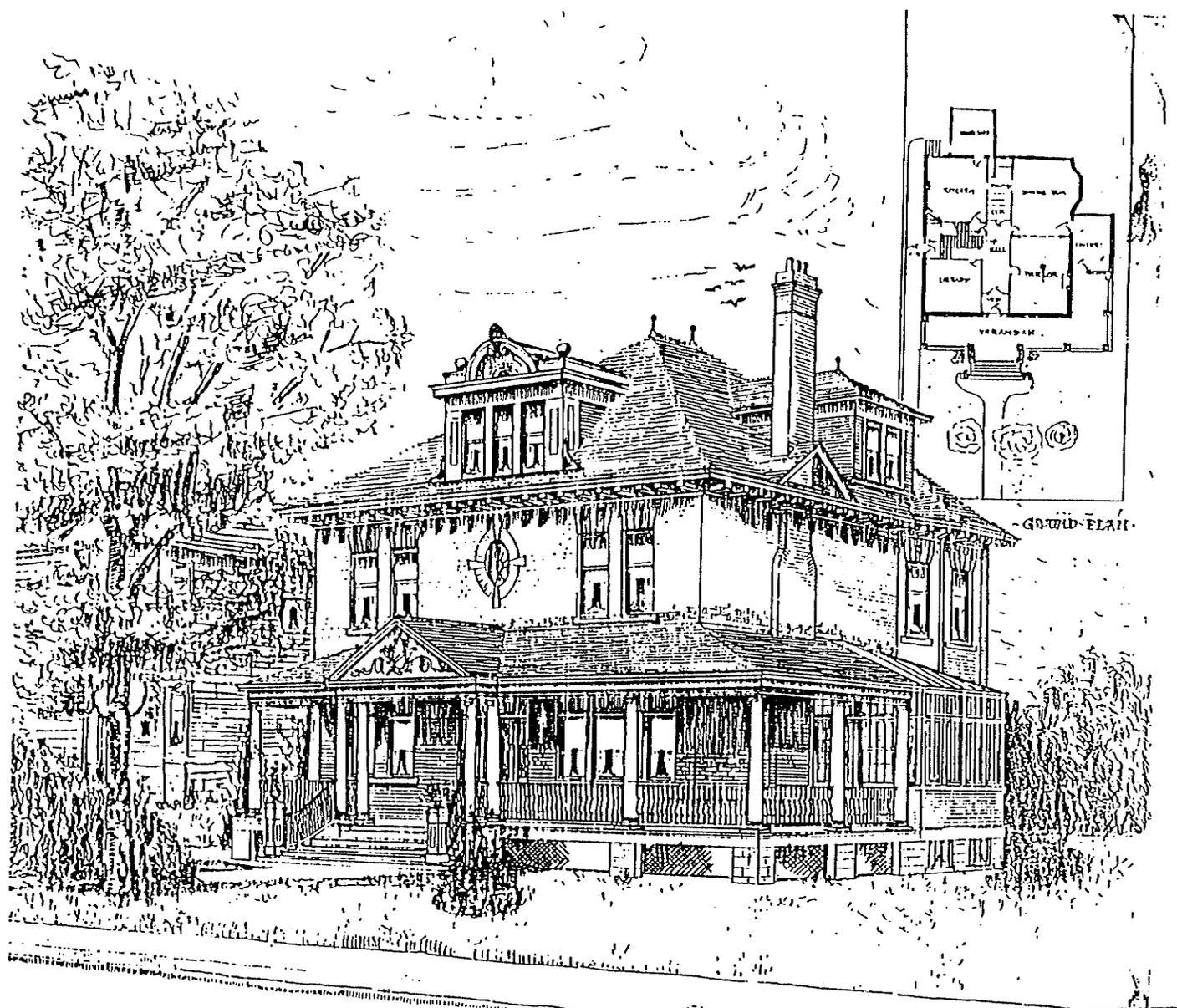
Standard house design is found everywhere and there is nothing that can be considered truly special about the area, except that it is advertised to conform to the dreams of the future occupant, which advertising has helped to create in the first place. (Novia Carter, 1981, p.46)

⁶The Gothic Revival style, popular from 1850 to 1870 often features pointed - arch openings, steeply pitched angular shaped gables intricate bargeboards, and finials or drops at the gable peaks." (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley , p.27, 1988)

⁷The revival of this style was popular from 1885 to 1900. There is often a tower and a broad veranda. The facade may have more than one surface sheathing or several patterns. Double hung windows often have one large bottom sash, small panes in the upper sash. (Manitoba Historical Society, Walking in Wolseley, p.27, 1988)

Figure 4-3

A Queen Anne Home in Wolseley



Source: Sheila Grover, Historical Buildings Committee, Manitoba Legislative Library,

June 26, 1981

At the turn of the century, Wolseley homes were built with great attention being paid to quality. To get an idea of what could be found in one of these turn of the century homes, a 1913 classified ad was found describing the interior of a typical home on the south side of Wolseley avenue:

The rooms are finished in oak, birch and British Columbia fir. The hall and stairs have oak wainscoting and the main rooms have ornamental cornices. There is a fireplace in the parlor and one of the bedrooms also has a fireplace. The downstairs with the exception of the kitchen, has parquet flooring in oak, mahogany and maple in various designs. (Manitoba Free Press, April 12, 1913)

Turn of the century homes are a veritable treasure trove for those who know what to look for. This may explain why gentrifiers find these homes appealing, they realize the significance of the interior and exterior architecture of the homes found within the area, and are prepared to recondition these homes to their former glory.

The increasing popularity of renovating older homes seems to be spreading across North America with television programs such as "This Old House" growing in popularity. Chapter 3 demonstrated that gentrifiers are strongly attracted to inner city areas which offer unique architecture. Although the type of architecture found in an area is important to the gentrification process, other factors also contribute to making an area attractive to gentrifiers including proper zoning, landuses and neighbourhood types.

At this point, it is time to explain how zoning and landuse are presently laid out in the Wolseley area and whether they enhance the area's receptiveness to gentrification.

Zoning and Landuse in the Wolseley Area:

a) Zoning

In the 1960s, many inner - city areas, including Wolseley, were overzoned in order to encourage redevelopment of structures into multiple dwelling units. Consequently, during this time, much of Wolseley was re - zoned from single family (R1) to multiple family (R3). However, Sybil Frenette, author of the book Conservation: Strategies For Selected Older Neighbourhoods, states that the "higher density zoning can be injurious to the stability of a low density community and the intention to conserve the existing housing stock." (Sybil Frenette, 1979, p. 27).

In the early 1980s, The Wolseley Residents Association petitioned city hall to downzone the area. The civic government agreed and the Wolseley area is presently almost entirely zoned low density "R2" (one and two -family residential). This involvement by the community to preserve existing housing stock in its original form and capacity has not gone unnoticed by Winnipeg's media; according to the Winnipeg Free Press:

There is a movement afoot in Wolseley to up - grade the housing stock, which should be helped by new zoning, which places further restrictions on multiple family dwelling units" (Winnipeg Free Press, September 27, 1983 p.21)

The only section still zoned R3 is along Maryland street and, in the east end of the area, there is some random apartment development . Several types of commercial ventures exist within the area, and the Portage commercial corridor is zoned "C2" (Commercial). According to the City of Winnipeg Planning Department ,the "Portage corridor may be restricted to its present limit except for pressure to replace adjacent housing with parking

lots." (Area Characterization Study, Westminister, 1980, P.1). This means that the residents do not have to worry about increased traffic and commercial congestion in the area.

Wolseley's center contains some mixed zoning, primarily along Westminister avenue. The avenue is zoned both R2 as well as commercial "C1" and "C2" (limited commercial and commercial). However, the small shops on Westminister avenue do not disrupt the area and, in many ways, add to the quaint atmosphere that exists in Wolseley.

B) Landuse

Upon entering the Wolseley area, one is overwhelmed by the magnificent American elms, Green ash and Manitoba maple trees lining the boulevards; in addition to being aesthetically pleasing, the trees provide shade, and enclosure in the summer. Presently, there are two parks in the area. The first, called Vimy Ridge park, is found on Portage avenue, near the northeast end of the Wolseley area. The other park, Omands park, is located on the western fringe of the area. On the south, Wolseley is bounded by the Assiniboine river. When a Winnipeg Free Press reporter asked long-time resident, Grant Pastuck, part - owner of an area book store, what he thought about the Wolseley area, his response was:

I like the trees, I like the river, it's close to downtown,
but it doesn't feel like inner - city. It's a walking area.
People bicycle around. Its scaled more like a small
European city." (Winnipeg Free Press, Sept, 27, 1983, p.21)

In this brief statement, Mr. Pastuck has described some of the criteria potential gentrifiers are looking for in an area. According to Novia Carter, many of these physical features are not present in the suburbs:

As the suburbs have become more densely populated, whatever countryside charm they once had has diminished. The wooded forest areas of the advertisement may be only a few very young trees. Amenities that are taken for granted in the city are either totally lacking or provided by unsatisfactory substitutes (Novia Carter, 1981, p.46)

Cost of Housing in Wolseley:

The average cost of housing is lower in Wolseley than for Winnipeg, on average. According to the Winnipeg real estate board, in 1990, an average house in Winnipeg sold for \$80,231, while the average selling price in Wolseley was \$73, 097, thereby making Wolseley affordable to first time buyers.

The Wolseley area has met the criteria thus far; however, one more important prerequisite that must be present before gentrification can occur in an area is that the area must be of a certain neighbourhood type.

Neighbourhood Types within Wolseley:

Chapter 2 discussed and examined different neighbourhood types which may exist within a particular inner city area. Identifying neighbourhood types is critical if one wants to know whether an area is receptive to gentrification because certain types are more

receptive to gentrification. Therefore, this section determines whether Wolseley contains the correct neighbourhood types.

To briefly review, the four neighbourhood types, established in Chapter 2, are:

a) *Declining* which is the term applied to areas undergoing continuous and worsening physical deterioration, outflux of the economically mobile population, development of serious social problems, lack of community organizations.

b) *Stable* which is used to apply to areas that have become relatively stable, physically and socially, because of a function which the area continues to serve (eg. Working - class community, immigrant receiving area). Physical deterioration and social pathologies are not severe, and pressure for redevelopment is characteristically low.

c) *Revitalizing* which is the term applied to areas which are experiencing an influx of people more affluent than the present population. These newcomers buy, rehabilitate and occupy existing houses, gradually improving the physical quality and changing the population composition of the area.

d) *Massive redevelopment* which refers to areas where public or private redevelopment projects are drastically altering the physical form and population composition.

(Reg McLemore, Carl Aass and Peter Kulhofer, 1975, p. 5)

In chapters 2 and 3, it was found that areas which exhibit declining or mass - redevelopment characteristics are not likely to be receptive to gentrification. A potential gentrifier would avoid these neighbourhood types because either an area with those characteristics lacks unique architecture, or perhaps the decline of the area is so severe that

it scares potential gentrifiers away. This means that the types most receptive to gentrification are the stable and revitalizing neighbourhoods. Initially, the first gentrifiers to an area look for stable neighbourhoods. Once gentrification has taken root, however, the area gradually transforms into a revitalizing type because of the increases in affluence and renovation activity. This, in turn, attracts more gentrifiers.

Wolseley seems to be in the transition stage from stable to revitalizing. The area contains both good and poor sections within its boundaries. The homes found between Garfield and Sprague streets, and those found along Palmerston and Wolseley avenues range from good to excellent condition, while the homes in poorer condition are found mostly in the center of the area. According to the City of Winnipeg Environmental Planning Department, 95% of Wolseley's housing is either in fair or better condition (refer to Table 4-2).

Table 4-2

Quality of Housing in Wolseley		
Condition of Housing	Number of Homes	Percentage
Good	881	36%
Fair	1,441	59%
Poor	96	4%
Very Poor	1	1%

(The City of Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning, Area Characterization Study 1981)

In addition, Wolseley's population is relatively stable. For instance, the area's non-migrant segment is close to the Winnipeg average (refer to Table 4-3). As well, according to McLemore, Aass, and Kulhofer, authors of The Changing Canadian Inner City, an

indicator of a revitalizing neighbourhood is an increase in socio - economic status. The area is attracting more educated professional people (refer to Table 4-11 on page 91 and Table 4-11 on page 94. As well, income in the area is also going up (refer to Table 4-10 on page 89). Therefore the Wolseley area may be falling into the revitalization neighbourhood type.

Table 4-3
***Mobility Status**
1981-1986

	Total Number	%	%
	7780	Profile Area	City Wide
Mover	4540	58.4%	46.8%
Non - Mover	3240	41.6%	53.2%
Migrant	1350	29.7%	28.0%
Non - Migrant	3190	70.3%	72.0%

(The City of Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning, Area Characteration Study 1986)

* Definitions: Mover- moved to present address during time period
 Non - Mover - residence at address prior to time period
 Migrant - came into area from outside of the city
 Non - Migrant - resident in area may be mover or non mover

Prerequisites for Gentrification in the Wolseley Area

- 1) The Wolseley area is in close proximity to Winnipeg's downtown area, a definite plus to white - collar workers who work downtown.
- 2) The Wolseley area contains a large concentration of turn of the century homes which possess unique interior and exterior architectural qualities, distinguishing the area from the rather bland architecture of the suburbs.
- 3) The Assiniboine River which makes up Wolseley's southern boundary, and the majestic trees that line the streets also add to the elegance of the area, and consequently to the appeal of the area to gentrifiers.
- 4) The homes within the Wolseley area are modestly priced as compared to suburban homes, thus making them more affordable to first-time home buyers.
- 5) Within Wolseley, there is a strong sense of community in the form of the Wolseley Residents Association. This is important to gentrifiers because it indicates a strong neighbourhood.
- 6) The area also possesses a stable, bordering on revitalizing, neighbourhood type.

Since all of the prerequisites are present in Wolseley, the area is definitely receptive to gentrification. This does not necessarily mean that the area is now, or ever will be, gentrified. The question now is whether gentrification is actually occurring in Wolseley. The following section will therefore, use the gentrification model developed in chapter 3 to determine whether gentrification is actually occurring in Wolseley.

Mechanics of the Wolseley Study

As was mentioned in chapter 3, it is difficult to measure gentrification through statistics because of inconclusive readings and the absence of symmetry of information across years. For instance, Statistics Canada did not collect certain data in 1976 (ie. occupation, and average family & median incomes) that it had collected in 1971, 1981 and 1986. However, this lack of information becomes less of a serious handicap when one considers that, to apply the gentrification model successfully, the author has only to prove that a general trend exists. To this end, this study determines aggregate increases that have occurred in the Wolseley area between 1971 and 1986, and, where information permits, even further. At this point it is important to briefly review the model that is utilized in this study:

The Wolseley Gentrification Model

- 1) Initial signs of revitalization**
- 2) An increase in the 25 to 44 age group**
- 3) An increase in rent and real estate values**

- 4) **Increases in average median and family income levels**
- 5) **Percentage increases in professional and managerial-type occupations**
- 6) **Percentage increases in University graduates**

Only if each stage is satisfied, can the area be considered gentrified.

The Wolseley Study

This section applies the model to the Wolseley area. The search for gentrification in Wolseley begins by examining the number of building permits issued in the area, the increases in home ownership and, the decreases in renters, to determine if the area is actually experiencing revitalization.

If the area is being revitalized, the model will proceed to the second element which identifies whether there has been an influx of the 25 to 44 age group to the area. If the model finds increases of this age group, then the third stage follows with an examination of whether there has been an increase in rental and real estate values in the area. However, it is important to caution the reader that the study could end at any point, if a stage is not satisfied (refer back to illustration of Wolseley model.), with the conclusion that gentrification is not occurring.

The fourth stage of the gentrification model will be employed to determine if gentrifiers (as opposed to some other group such as incumbent upgraders) are actually behind any revitalization taking place in Wolseley. As was mentioned in chapter 3, the fourth stage of

the model searches for increases in income, level of occupation and level of education. If these elements have increased, then the existence of gentrification in Wolseley is confirmed. At this point it is time to begin the task of applying the model to Wolseley.

1) Initial signs of revitalization

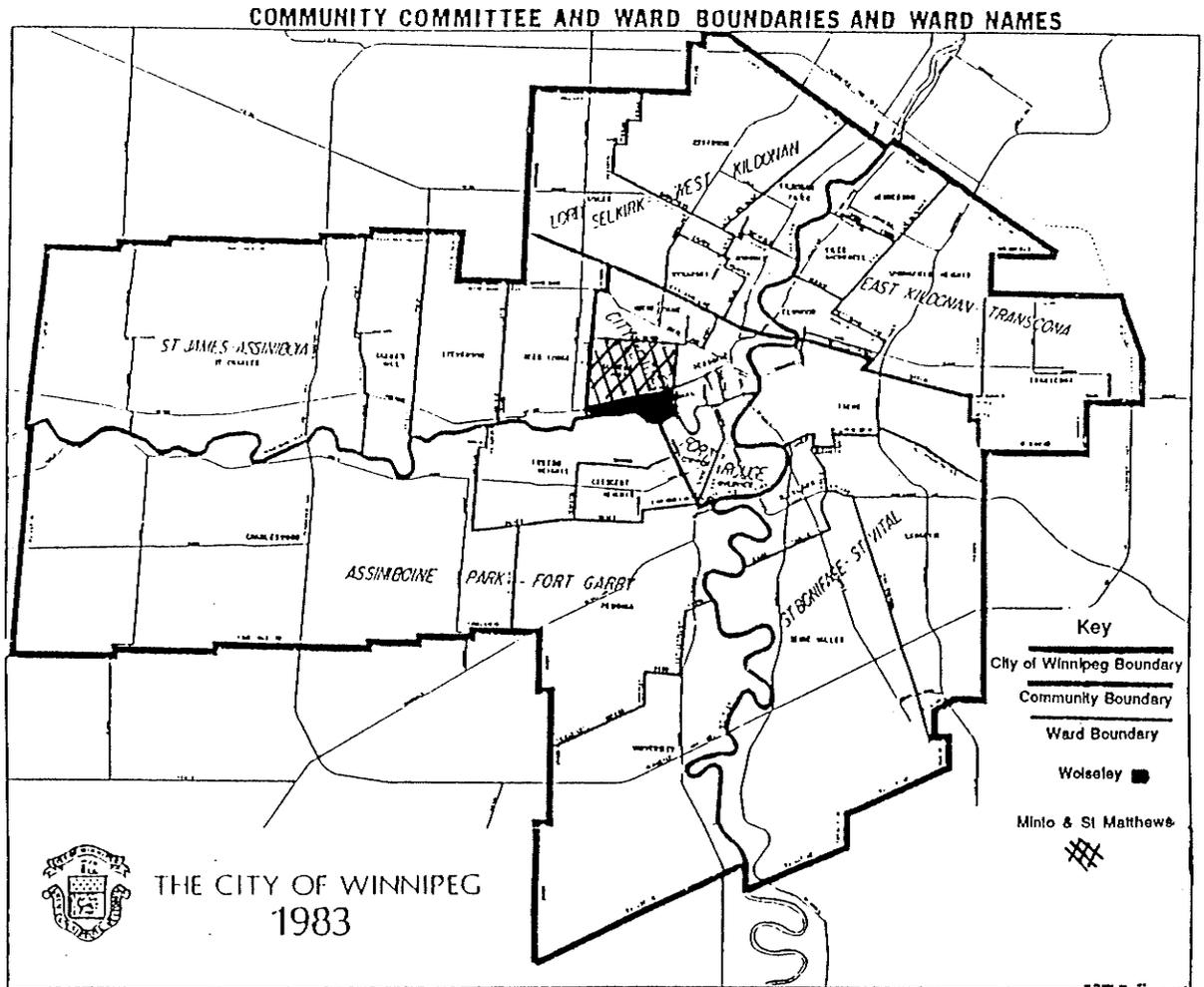
Construction activity:

The study of building permits issued⁸ by City of Winnipeg Planning Department begins in 1983 and proceeds to 1990. During this period, a total of 818 permits were issued in the Wolseley area. (The distribution of building permits in the Wolseley area on a street by street basis is presented in Appendix B).

In order to determine if the amount of work performed in Wolseley, using building permits as an indicator, is significant, the author has chosen to compare Wolseley to the Minto and St. Matthews areas, combined (Refer to Figure 4-4). Located north of Portage, these two areas are too small individually to compare to Wolseley but, when combined they are slightly larger than Wolseley. These areas were chosen because, like Wolseley, they are relatively stable. As well, both areas are in close proximity to Wolseley. If Wolseley equals or surpasses the building permits issued in Minto and St. Matthews, an argument can be made that some type of revitalization is occurring in Wolseley.

⁸ According to the Systems Branch of the City of Winnipeg Planning Department, "information regarding the number of building permits issued prior to 1983 contains large gaps, and the data that is available is unreliable." Therefore, in the interest of accuracy, this practicum studies the permits issued from 1983 to 1990.

Figure 4-4
Minto and St Matthews in Comparison to Wolseley



Source: Lynda H. Newman, A Mobility Profile of City of Winnipeg Households, 1976 - 1981, University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, 1984, p.6

In considering building permits, one has to remember that not all people apply for permits when doing work on their homes. Also, when building permits are obtained, work sometimes may not take place because the owner has changed his mind or does not have the time to do the work. Therefore, Tables 4-4 and 4-5 must be viewed as estimates, quite probably understating the true number of repairs and renovations. These tables illustrate the total building permits issued from 1983 to 1990, and just those permits issued for additions and alterations done specifically on homes. This format was chosen to give the reader an idea of both the total activity level in the area and the work performed specifically on homes in the area. (A graph is also provided in Figure 4-5 to illustrate the difference in building permits issued between Wolseley and Minto & St. Matthews).

Although the increase in building permits issued in the Wolseley area seems low in comparison to the Minto and St. Matthews areas, one must keep in mind that there are 3,780 dwellings in Wolseley, while in Minto and St. Matthews combined, there are 4,640, a difference of 860. This is a significant difference and yet, on closer scrutiny, Wolseley is not only keeping up with, but is surpassing both Minto and St. Matthews in terms of additions and alterations of dwelling units. For instance, in 1990, 1 in 64 homes in the Wolseley area had additions or alterations, while in the Minto and St Matthews areas, only 1 in 77 homes were renovated. *This has been the case for most of the 1980s, indicating that there is some serious renovation happening in the Wolseley area.*

Table 4-4

Building Permits Issued in Wolseley Between 1983 -1990								
Years	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total Permits	102	111	87	97	93	106	120	103
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Alterations and Additions	66	36	47	51	42	57	57	59
%	65%	32%	54%	53%	45%	54%	48%	57%
Ratios	1: 57	1:105	1:80	1:74	1:90	1:66	1:66	1:64

Compiled by Author, City of Winnipeg Planning Department

Table 4-5

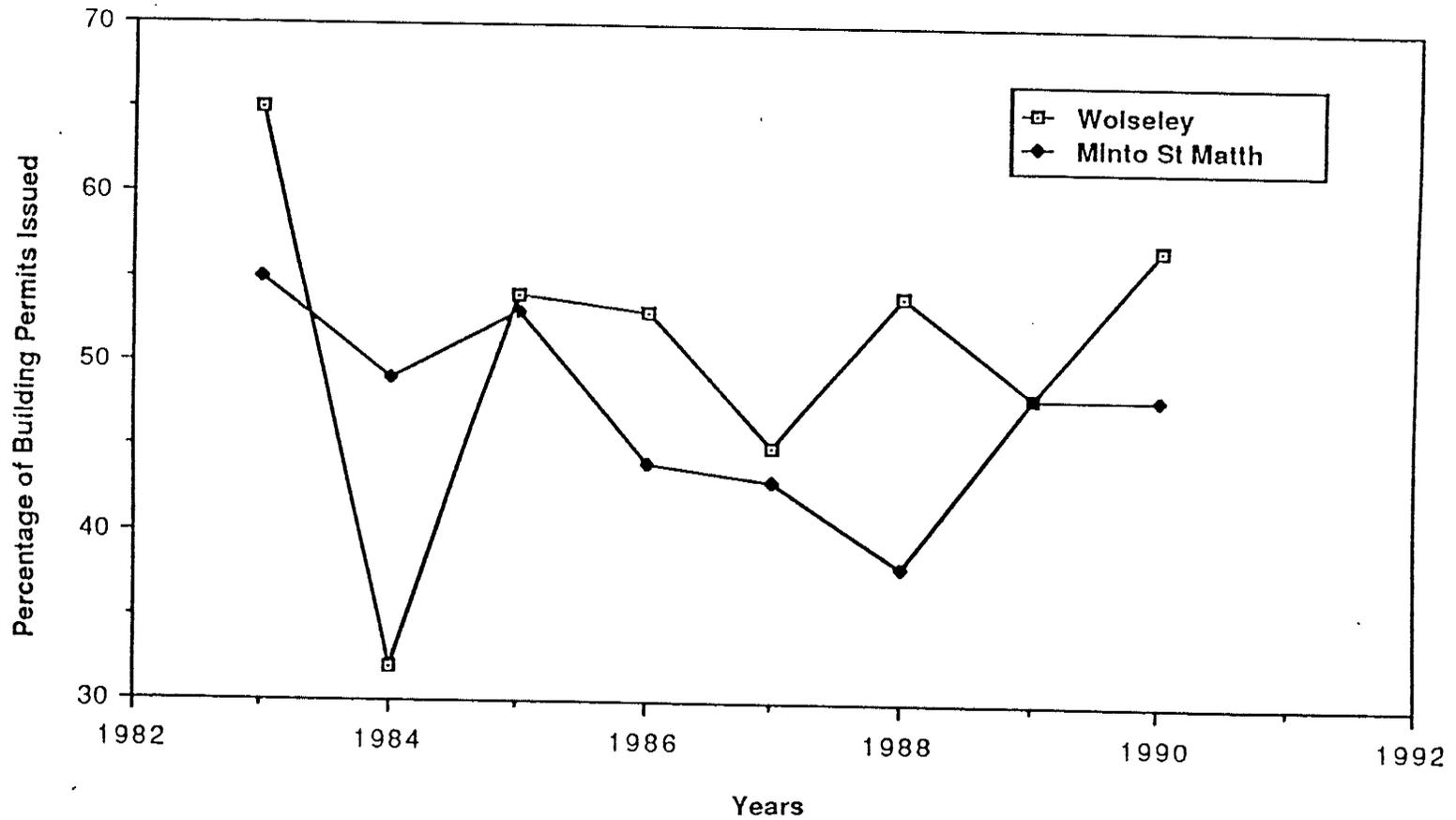
Building Permits Issued in Both Minto and St Matthews Between 1983 - 1990

Years	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total Permits	177	171	98	140	160	123	141	125
%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Additions and Alterations	97	84	52	62	68	47	67	60
%	55%	49%	53%	44%	43%	38%	48%	48%
Ratios	1:47	1:55	1:89	1:75	1:68	1:98	1:69	1:77

Compiled by Author, City of Winnipeg Planning Department

Figure 4-5

Percentage of Building Permits Issued for Additions and Alterations for Wolseley, Minto and St Matthews from 1983 to 1990



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Source : Compiled by Author , Statistics Canada

Home Ownership:

According to DeGiovanni, another initial sign of revitalization in an area is an increase in home ownership, with a corresponding decrease in the area's renters.

In 1971, 40% of the people in Wolseley owned their own homes, while 60% of the people rented. The Winnipeg average for the same year showed that 59% of the population owned their homes, while 41% rented. These figures indicate that while a majority of Winnipeggers owned their own homes, a majority of Wolseley residents were renters. This high number of renters within Wolseley during the early 1970's may be attributable to the filtering - down process which accompanied the exodus of people from the inner - city to the suburbs, examined in chapter 2.

However, the percentage of people owning homes in Wolseley has been steadily increasing, while the percentage of owners for Winnipeg, on average, has remained the same. In 1986, the percentage of homeowners in Wolseley increased to 46%, while renters comprised 54% of total residents in the area, (Refer to Table 4-6). Unfortunately, studying increases in home ownership and decreases in renters will not identify whether the area is experiencing gentrification or incumbent upgrading, because, as mentioned in chapter 3, home ownership is indicative of both groups. *Although, the increases in home ownership in the Wolseley area are small, the figures are nevertheless, steadily climbing which again indicates that there is some type of revitalization occurring in the area.* Since this stage of the model has been satisfied, the study will continue.

Table 4-6

Tenure for Both Wolseley and Winnipeg, 1971 -1986

	Wolseley								Winnipeg Averages							
	1971		1976		1981		1986		1971		1976		1981		1986	
Owned	1895	40%	1835	44%	1780	45%	1880	46%	98,375	59%	116,325	59%	127,690	59%	143,175	61%
Rented	2785	60%	2358	56%	2200	55%	2205	54%	68,105	41%	80,975	41%	89,515	41%	92,610	39%
Total	4680	100%	4193	100%	3980	100%	4085	100%	166,480	100%	197,300	100%	217,205	100%	236,325	100%

Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

2) An increase in the 25 to 44 age group

The consensus among several different authors (Smith, Williams 1979, Black 1975, Gale 1976, and Patterson, 1977) is that the majority of people traditionally involved in the gentrification process are between 25 and 44 years of age. As was explained in chapter 3, the 25 to 44 age group are the baby boomers who, for economic or ideological reasons, move into inner city areas and reclaim inner city homes. Therefore, the presence of this age group in a particular inner - city area can indicate that gentrification is occurring.

In 1971, 24% of the total population of Wolseley belonged to the 25 to 44 age group, while the Winnipeg average for the same time was 25%. In 1976, the 25 to 44 age group made up 27% of the Wolseley population the city average was the same for that year. However, between 1981 and 1986, the 25 to 44 age group began to increase in Wolseley; in 1986, the 25 to 44 age group had climbed to 39% of the residents living in the area, while, in the same year, the City of Winnipeg experienced a lower increase to 32% (Refer to Table 4-7 and Figures 4-6, 4-7 on the following pages)

These findings are not conclusive that gentrification is actually occurring in the Wolseley area because people in the 25 to 44 age group could also fall under the incumbent upgrader category. *At this point it is important to note that this increase in the 25 to 44 age group in Wolseley, may indicate that gentrification is occurring.* This element of the model has been satisfied, thereby leading us to the next phase of the model.

Table 4-7

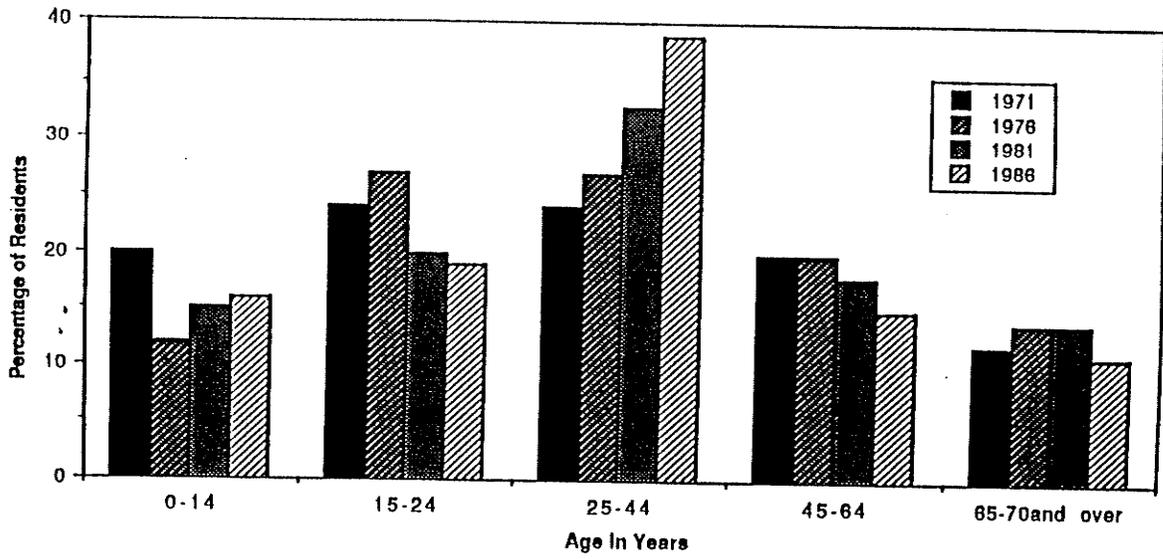
Age Group for Wolseley and Winnipeg 1971 to 1986

	Wolseley								Winnipeg Average							
	1971		1976		1981		1986		1971		1976		1981		1986	
0-14	2545	20%	1195	12%	1620	15%	1535	16%	143,000	27%	136,080	24%	122,173	21%	125,980	20%
15-24	3120	24%	2670	27%	2070	20%	1740	19%	103,905	19%	113,935	20%	111,310	19%	106,145	17%
25-44	3135	24%	2715	27%	3455	33%	3660	39%	132,550	25%	153,355	27%	168,365	29%	200,345	32%
45-64	2530	20%	2035	20%	1935	18%	1395	15%	109,580	20%	116,235	20%	115,605	20%	117,300	19%
65-70 and over	1580	12%	1350	14%	1425	14%	1030	11%	51,250	9%	58,610	9%	67,445	12%	75,530	12%
Totals	12,910	100%	9,965	100%	10,505	100%	9,360	100%	540,285	100%	578,215	100%	584,898	100%	625,300	100%

Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

Figure 4-6

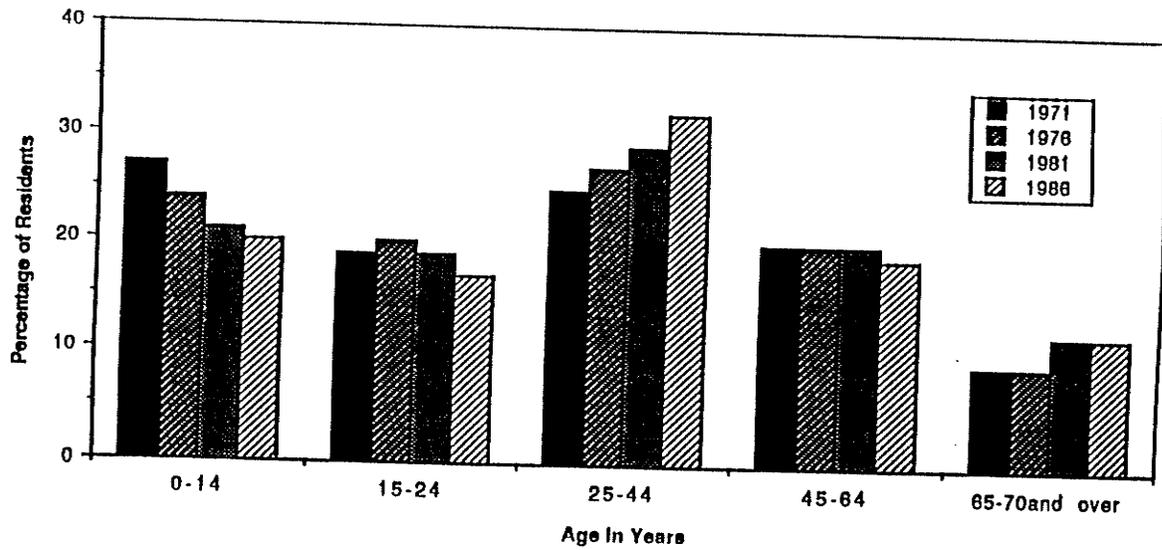
Wolseley Age Group Percentage: 1971 to 1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

Figure 4-7

Winnipeg Age Group Percentage: 1971-1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

3) An Increase in Rent and Real Estate Values

An increase in rental values:

An increase in rental values in a particular area is part of the gentrification model because, as was explained in chapter 3, increases in rent values often accompany increase in property values in renovated areas. This increase in rent could also be connected to incumbent upgrading.

Although the information provided by the Manitoba Housing Rent Regulation Bureau is only available as far back as 1986, Table 4-8 indicates that within the West End, where Wolseley is located, the rents are slightly increasing. *Although the rental increases are slight, they are nevertheless climbing, thereby indicating that some kind of revitalizing force, possibly gentrification, is at work in the area.*

Table 4-8

Average Rent Levels and Increases on Reporting Units for Winnipeg

Location	Average Rent Increases for 86 - 90									
	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990					
West Winnipeg (Wolseley)	335	355	6%	359	1%	380	6%	448	18%	
Total Average Winnipeg	400	414	4%	429	4%	440	8%	474	8%	

Source: Compiled by Author, Manitoba Housing Rent Regulation Bureau

Sales Activity:

Since the mid - 1970s, the selling price has increased in the Wolseley area. Consequently, the gap between Winnipeg's average selling price and Wolseley's has been steadily decreasing since the mid - 1970s.

In several periods subsequent to the mid - 1980s, Wolseley housing prices have increased more than the city average. For instance, between 1977 and 1978, Wolseley housing prices rose an average of 18%, from \$34,962 in 1977 to \$41,334 in 1978; while the Winnipeg average only increased 7%, from \$41,881 in 1977 to \$45,995 in 1978. This is only one example of how things are changing in the Wolseley area. Since 1977 to 1990, the value of homes in Wolseley has increased an average of 109% while during the same time period the city average has increased only 87%. The gap between Wolseley and Winnipeg is closing, and, in the near future, the Wolseley area could possibly surpass the Winnipeg average for sale price. (Refer to Table 4-9 and Figure 4-8 on the following pages)

Although the recession of the early 1990s has temporarily slowed the sales rate in the Wolseley area, the sales prices within Wolseley continues to rise and rival the Winnipeg average. *The steady increase in rental and real estate values in the area are positive indications that some form of revitalization, possibly gentrification, is occurring in Wolseley.* The increases in rental and real estate values enable us to continue on to the fourth stage of the model where definitive conclusions can be made on what is actually happening in the area.

Table 4-9

**Housing turn over and average selling price for Wolseley and Winnipeg
1977-1990**

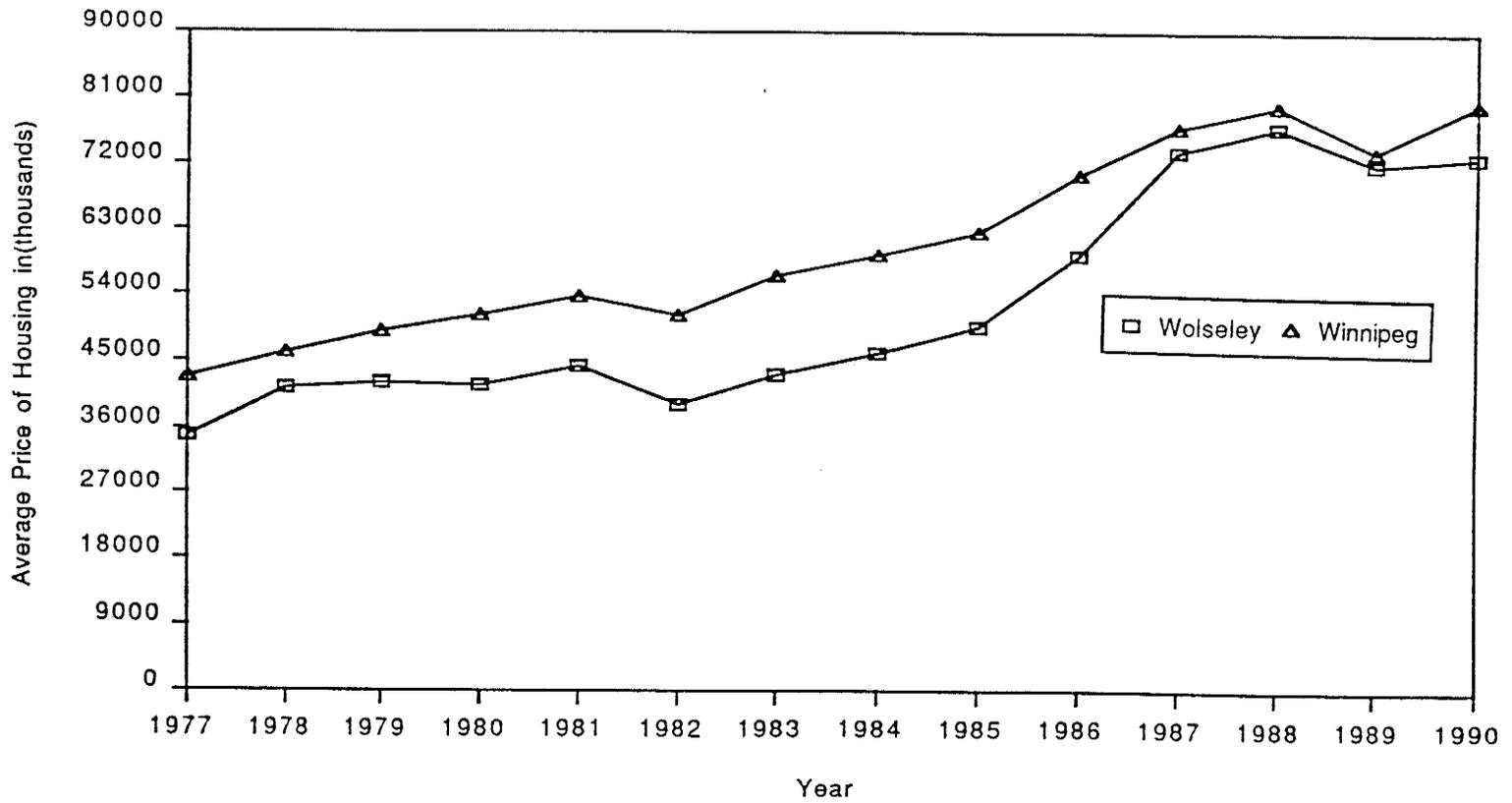
	Average Price of Housing			
	Wolseley	% Δ	Winnipeg	% Δ
1977	\$34,962		\$42,881	
1978	\$41,334	18%	\$45,995	7%
1979	\$42,133	2%	\$49,133	7%
1980	\$41,638	-1%	\$51,234	4%
1981	\$44,444	7%	\$53,612	5%
1982	\$39,359	-11%	\$51,240	-4%
1983	\$43,127	10%	\$56,480	10%
1984	\$45,942	7%	\$59,280	5%
1985	\$49,805	8%	\$62,572	6%
1986	\$59,353	19%	\$70,537	13%
1987	\$73,709	24%	\$ 77,007	9%
1988	\$77,138	5%	\$79,963	4%
1989	\$72,024	-7%	\$73,853	-8%
1990	\$73,097	2%	\$80,231	9%
% 1977-1990	109%		87%	

Source: Compiled by Author, the Winnipeg Real Estate Board

* Prior to 1977 information on number of sales and sale prices for Wolseley and the City as a Whole not available in practical form.

Figure 4-8

Average Cost of Housing for Wolseley and Winnipeg from 1977 to 1990



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Source: Compiled by Author, the Winnipeg Real Estate Board

4) Increases in Average and Median Family Incomes

Increases in average and median family incomes are helpful in identifying gentrification because higher income usually indicates an increase in the social status of an area. Since gentrification, by definition, involves a higher status group moving into a lower status neighbourhood, and eventually increasing the area's status, this is an important indicator. As well, the concept of status differentiates the gentrifier from the incumbent upgrader; incumbent upgrading is usually not accompanied by an increase in the social status of the area.

In the early 1970s, the increases in average income within Wolseley were modest as compared to the city average. However, from the early 1980s to the mid - 1980s, Wolseley shows increases in both average and median family income greater than those for the city as a whole. In 1986, Wolseley's average family income increased by \$13,308 from \$20,727, in 1981 to \$34,035 in 1986, a 64% increase. While the Winnipeg average for the same period increased only \$11,990 from \$26,715 in 1981, to \$38,705 in 1986, a 45% increase. (Refer to Table 4-10 on the following page)

Within the Wolseley area, the median income increased significantly between 1981 and 1986, from 18,507 in 1981 to \$30,107 in 1986, a 63% increase. Winnipeg's median income in 1981 was \$24,373 and \$34,793 in 1986, an increase of \$10,420, a 43% increase. The increases in both average and median family incomes in the early 1980s indicates that the economic status of the area is changing. *The Wolseley area is becoming more affluent, a fact which indicates gentrification.*

Table 4-10

Average and Median Family Income from 1981 to 1986

	Wolseley			Winnipeg Average		
	1971	1981	1986	1971	1981	1986
Average Family Income	\$7,767	\$20,727 167%	\$34,035 64%	\$9,022	\$24,373 167%	\$34,793 45%
Average Median Income	\$7,197	\$18,500 157%	\$30,107 63%	\$9,989	\$26,710 170%	\$38,705 43%

5) Percentage increases in professional and upper managerial - type occupations

In addition to increases in the level of income, many noted authors in the field of gentrification, such as Schaffer, Smith, DeGiovanni, Gale, and Ley all agree that occupation is one of the primary indicators in detecting whether gentrification is occurring in an area because, once again, certain occupations, such as those in the professional and managerial areas are associated with higher status.

In 1971, 19% of Wolseley's population was employed in a professional or managerial capacity, while the city average for that year was 20%. Unfortunately, Statistics Canada did not gather data for occupation in the Wolseley area, or for that matter, in Winnipeg in 1976. Therefore, the author was forced to compensate by obtaining occupation information for Wolseley from the Manitoba Provincial Voting Lists prepared in 1977. Data for Winnipeg as a whole was not available in a practical form.

In 1977, 25% of Wolseley's population was employed in the professional sector. This 6% increase from 1971 shows that there is some type of change in occupational status occurring within Wolseley. In 1981, 28% of Wolseley's working population was employed in either a professional or a managerial occupation; in 1986, this figure climbed to 36%. The Winnipeg average for this period was 28% in 1981, and 29% in 1986. (Refer to Table 4-11 and Figures 4-9, 4-10 on the following pages). *This indicates that the Wolseley area has an above average number of people employed in the professional and managerial occupations which again indicates the presence of gentrification.*

Table 4-11

Occupational Distribution for Wolseley and Winnipeg from 1971 to 1986

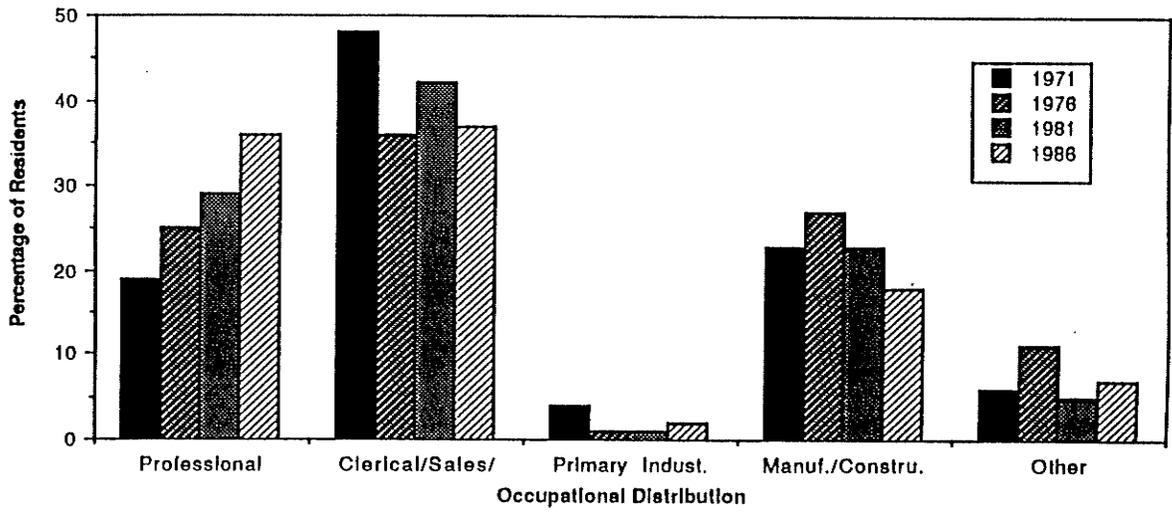
Occupation	Wolseley								Winnipeg Average						
	1971		1977		1981		1986		1971		*	1981		1986	
Professional	1165	19%	861	25%	1485	29%	2025	29%	46,105	20%		79,510	29%	94,460	29%
Clerical/Sales/Service	2910	48%	1236	36%	2180	42%	2085	44%	106,890	47%		135,580	48%	145,705	44%
Primary Industries	215	4%	44	1%	60	1%	85	4%	8,570	4%		11,560	4%	12,175	4%
Manuf./Constr./Trade	1395	23%	924	27%	1155	23%	975	18%	50,840	23%		36,465	13%	62,595	18%
Other	360	6%	407	11%	250	5%	410	5%	13,646	6%		15,725	6%	16,015	5%
Total	6,045	100%	3,475	100%	5,130	100%	5,580	100%	226,051	100%		278,840	100%	330,950	100%

Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

* 1976 data was not gathered by Statistics Canada for Occupation

Figure 4-9

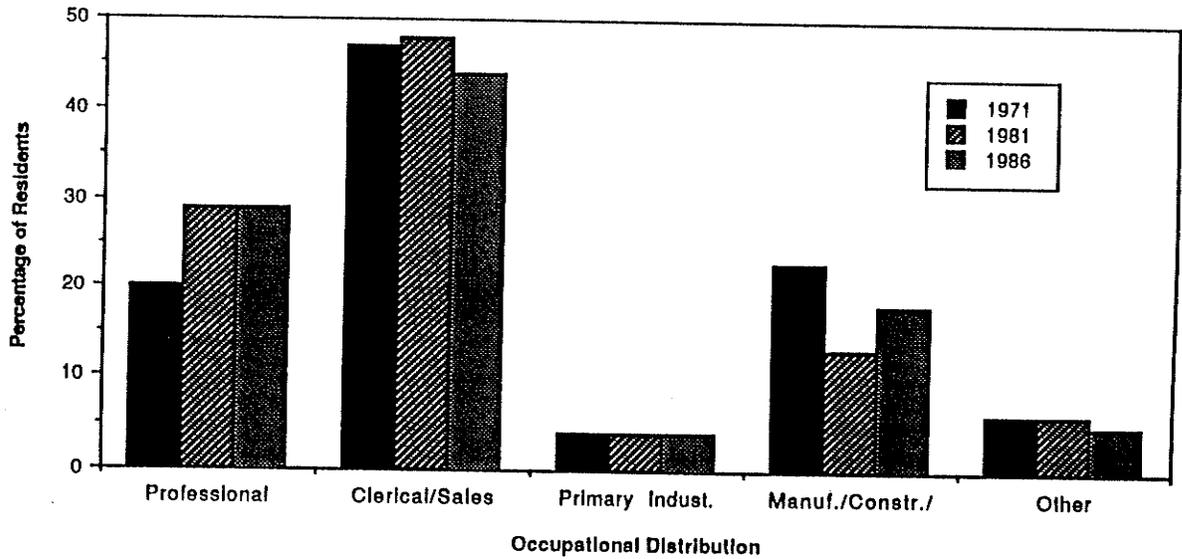
Wolseley Occupational Distribution Percentage: 1971 to 1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

Figure 4-10

Winnipeg Average for Occupational Distribution Percentage: 1971 to 1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

6) Percentage increases in University graduates

Education is, by far, the most important indicator of gentrification. At this point, it is important to note that, according to several authors, (Hugh H. Millward, Donna D. Davis, 1986 and Dennis Gale, 1979) the most important element in identifying gentrifiers in an area is education. According to Dennis Gale, author of Middle Class Resettlement in Older Urban Neighbourhood, "no other indicators are as impressive as those on the level of education achieved by resettler household heads." Dennis Gale, 1979, p.294).

Gentrification is a social movement and education is a fundamental determinant of social status, more so than income or occupation, because jobs can be lost and income level can be reduced, but education is permanent. As well, this indicator differentiates gentrification from other groups of renovators such as the incumbent upgraders, who usually have not obtained university degrees.

In 1971, only 4% of Wolseley's population had graduated from university, the average for Winnipeg in 1971 was the same. In 1976, the number of university graduates in the Wolseley area increased slightly to 9%, while, in the same year, for Winnipeg, on average, it was only 7%. In 1981, 14% of Wolseley residents had a university degree, while the Winnipeg average was slightly below at 13%. By 1986, Wolseley, with 20% of its population as university graduates, had significantly exceeded the city average of 11% (Refer to Table 4-12 and Figures 4-11,4-12). *These substantial increases in university graduates in Wolseley, as compared to the rest of the City, is further , and conclusive, evidence that Wolseley is being gentrified.*

Table 4-12

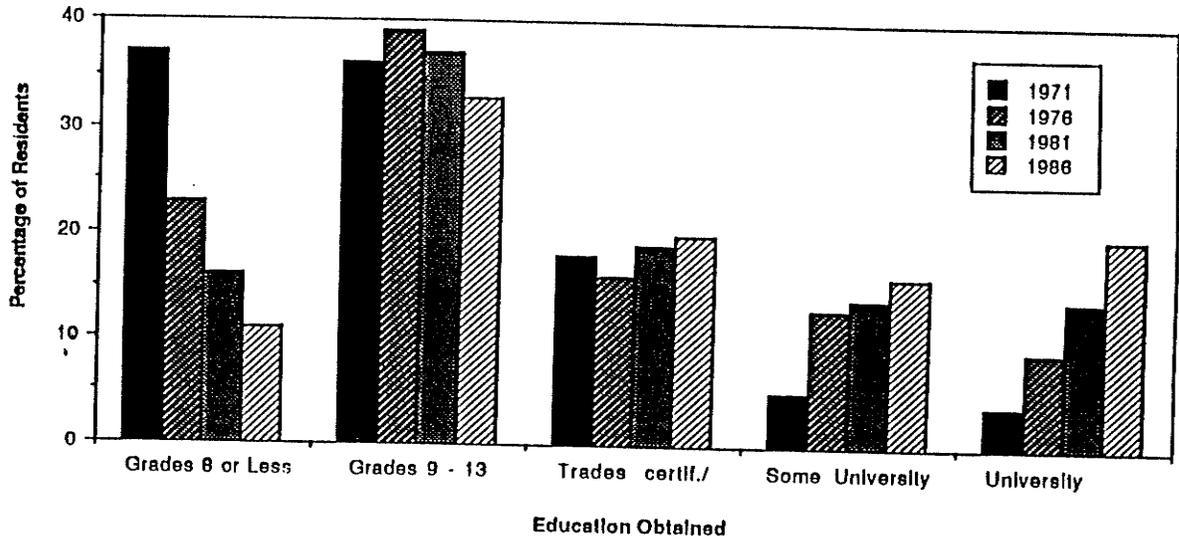
Education Obtained in Wolseley and Winnipeg from 1971 to 1986

Education	Wolseley								Winnipeg Average							
	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986	1971	1976	1981	1986
Grades 8 or Less	4410	37%	1865	23%	1185	16%	806	11%	197,530	40%	90,025	21%	73,410	23%	65,775	13%
Grades 9 - 13	4300	36%	3210	39%	2815	37%	2465	33%	180,575	37%	180,055	41%	59,385	18%	203,775	42%
Trades certificate/diplom.	2205	18%	1275	16%	1535	19%	1526	20%	72,680	14%	98,577	22%	100,290	31%	108,515	22%
Some University	650	5%	1010	13%	1059	14%	1240	16%	22,300	5%	39,085	9%	47,020	15%	58,620	12%
University degree	460	4%	725	9%	1025	14%	1475	20%	20,980	4%	31,422	7%	43,715	13%	55,450	11%
Totals	12,025	100%	8085	100%	7619	100%	7512	100%	494,065	100%	439,164	100%	323,820	100%	492,135	100%

Source: Compiled by Author using Statistics Canada

Figure 4-11

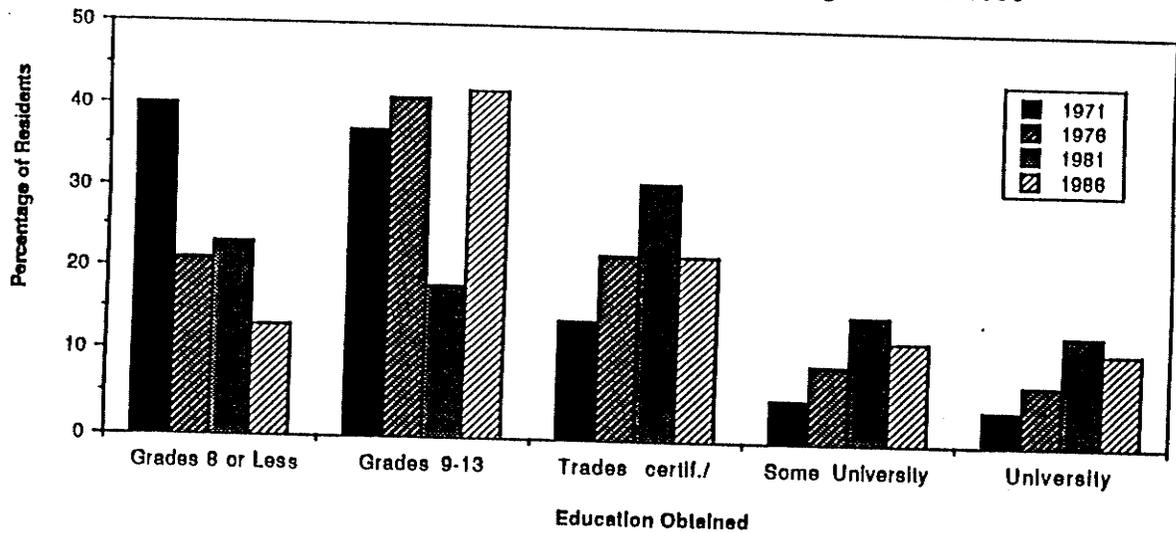
Education Obtained in Wolseley Percentage:1971 to 1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

Figure 4-12

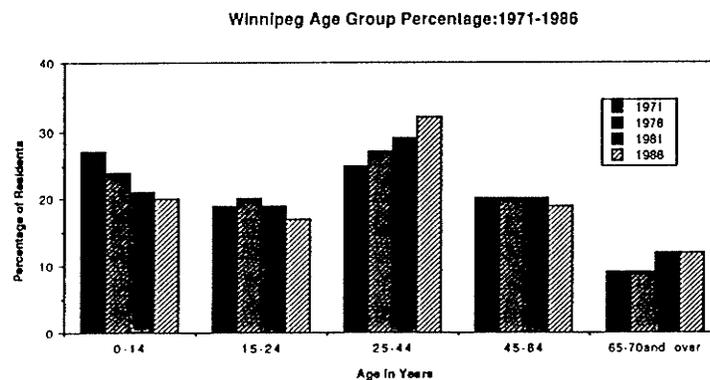
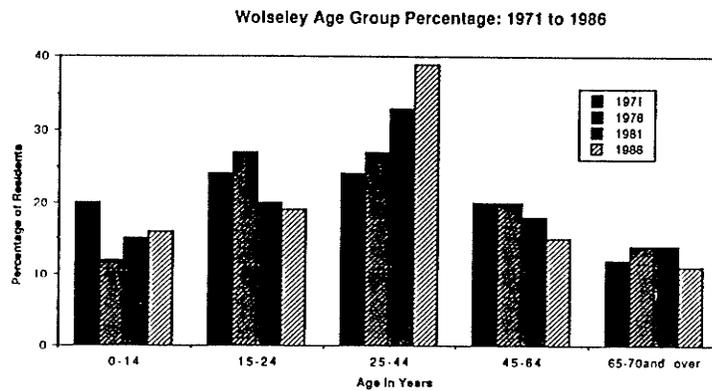
Winnipeg Average for Education Percentage:1971 to 1986



Source: Compiled by Author, Statistics Canada

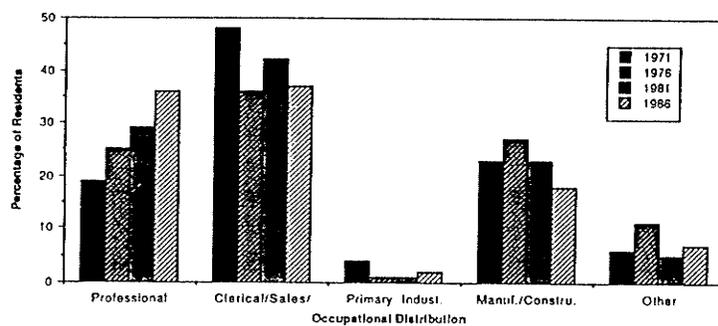
Summary and Conclusions

The gentrification model indicates that certain changes must occur within an area if that area is to be called gentrified. In this case, the increases in certain indicators of gentrification were modest, and in other cases they were significant, such as, in age group, income, occupation and education, which are also the indicators that tend to distinguish gentrifiers from other groups such as incumbent upgraders. At this point, it is appropriate to briefly review the evidence which has led to the conclusion that Wolseley is being gentrified by looking at some of the stages of the model. The first stage of the model was satisfied, in that it was found that Wolseley is being revitalized. The second stage of the model was also satisfied. As illustrated in the figures below, Wolseley has been experiencing a steady increase in the 25 to 44 age group since 1976. These increases have surpassed the city average in both 1981 and 1986.

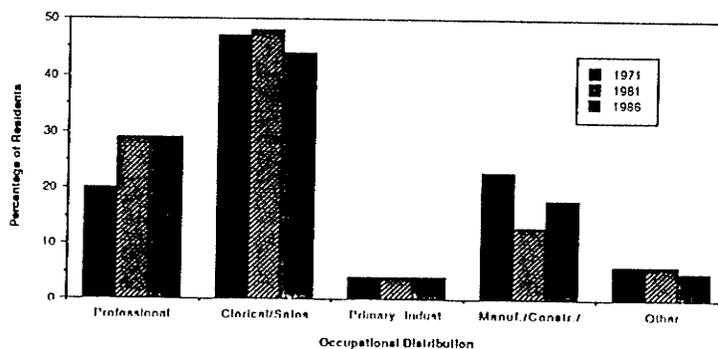


The increases in rental and real estate values also pointed strongly towards the existence of gentrification. As well, there was a substantial increase in the areas social status, as demonstrated by the increases in income, level of education obtained, and shift in occupation towards managerial and professional work. For example, the number of professionals living in the area has increased to the point where Wolseley is presently above the city average, (refer to the graphs below). These results strongly suggest that the revitalization occurring in Wolseley is the result of gentrification.

Wolseley Occupational Distribution Percentage: 1971 to 1986

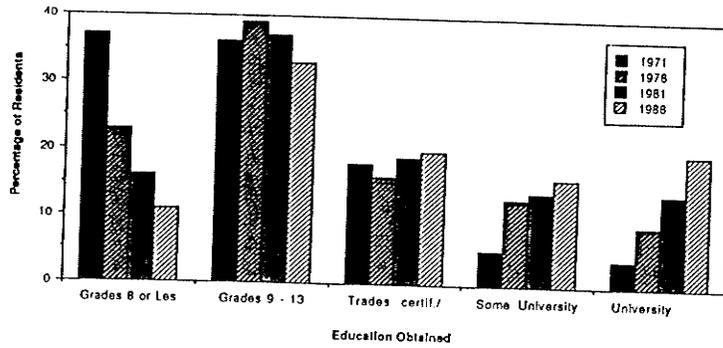


Winnipeg Average for Occupational Distribution Percentage: 1971 to 1986

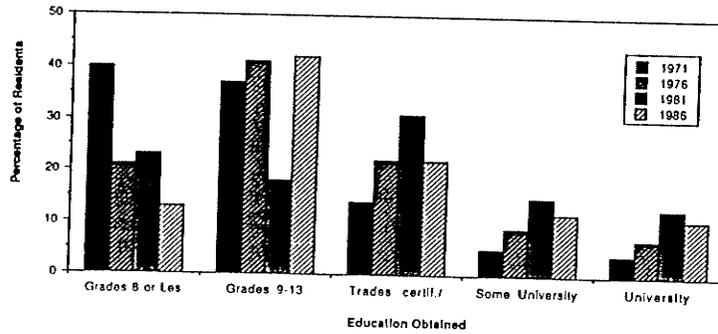


Finally, the strongest indicator that the revitalization occurring in Wolseley is the result of gentrification is shown by the significant increase in the percentage of university graduates in the area. The Wolseley area has seen a steady increase in the number of graduates since the early 1970's to the point where it is well above the city average (shown in graphs on following page).

Education Obtained in Wolseley Percentage: 1971 to 1986



Winnipeg Average for Education Percentage: 1971 to 1986



All the conditions of the Yes, No model pointed to Yes, have been satisfied; therefore, according to statistical evidence gathered and analyzed in this study, it can be concluded that process of gentrification is, indeed, occurring within Winnipeg's Wolseley area.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

To answer the question, "Is gentrification occurring in Wolseley", posed in Chapter 1, the author divided this practicum into two parts. The first part described and analyzed the theory surrounding gentrification. In doing this, it was necessary to define gentrification's role in the process of reversing inner city decay. As well, such topics as the reasons for inner city decline and the kinds of neighbourhood types that exist in a given area were discussed in the interest of developing a comprehensive theoretical framework.

This part of the practicum also indicated that the gentrification process is much more subtle and far less destructive to an inner city neighbourhood than urban renewal. In some cases, gentrification is so subtle that it is hardly noticed because the positive changes take place over a period of some time. To illustrate this, one has only to look at the Wolseley area where, for the longest time, there was no clear consensus on whether the gentrification process was occurring at all. The gentrification process slowly transforms a neighbourhood, homes are not destroyed but restored; preservation is the cornerstone of gentrification. The second part of this practicum applied the theoretical framework developed in part one to determine if gentrification is, indeed, occurring in Wolseley.

Many people, not the least of whom are developers, may find it surprising that the inner city, which has traditionally been associated with urban blight, is attracting people away

from the suburbs, which have always been hailed as veritable utopias. However, when one studies the suburbs closely, this movement does not seem like such an unrealistic notion.

According to authors such as Novia Carter, the suburbs are comprised of bland, and in some cases, poorly constructed housing. As well, in recent years, the suburbs have become more densely populated, thus becoming less attractive as an escape from the over-crowding of the inner-city. Also, the:

Amenities that are taken for granted in the inner-city are either totally lacking or provided by unsatisfactory substitutes like library bookmobiles that break down frequently, community convenience stores that quickly become teenage hangouts because of the lack of appropriate places for socializing, and few adult meeting places. (Novia Carter, 1981, p.46)

Whereas, in many inner city neighbourhoods, such as Wolseley, there is a good supply of architecturally diversified, well-constructed housing stock. In addition, these areas are close to the cultural and recreational amenities located in the downtown.

As a cautionary note, the above description does not apply to all inner-city areas, but rather, refers only to those certain areas in which there is a potential for the gentrification process to occur.

As chapter 3 indicated, the gentrification process is not without controversy. Proponents of the process point to gentrification's potential powers of revitalization and hail it as a saviour of the inner-city. However, critics argue that gentrification threatens to do

irreparable harm to the social fabric of existing neighbourhoods by reducing the amount of affordable housing, and consequently displacing lower income renters.

Obviously, then, the potential ramifications, whether positive or negative, of gentrification on a neighbourhood are so significant that it is necessary to develop a method for determining whether an area is being gentrified. Thus, the reason for this practicum.

Implications of the Wolseley Study

City Planning could be construed as a social science and, for any type of science to be taken seriously, it must be able to substantiate theories by applying scientific, quantitative analysis. The methodology set out in this practicum does not only concentrate on qualitative factors such as the type of housing an area possesses, but also uses statistical information to determine factors such as increases in tenure, occupational status, level of education obtained, etc..

The Wolseley study outlines the prerequisites which must be present if gentrification is going to begin in a certain area, and develops a detailed gentrification model to determine if gentrification is actually occurring in an area.

The following are the prerequisites which should exist in an area before gentrification can occur.

Prerequisites necessary for gentrification to begin:

- * Close proximity to the downtown**
- * Historical or architectural significance**

- * Close proximity to natural features such as a river, trees or near a park
- * Low housing prices in the area
- * Close proximity to cultural amenities
- * Possessing a neighbourhood association
- * Being of a stable or revitalizing neighbourhood type

The model developed consists of the following elements:

The Wolseley Gentrification Model

- * Initial signs of revitalization
- * An increase in the 25 to 44 age group
- * An increase in rental and real estate values
- * Increase in average median and family income levels
- * Percentage increases in professional and managerial - type occupations
- * Percentage increases in University graduates

The importance of this study lies in the development and application of this methodology to a specific study area. Although the Wolseley area was chosen because there was a long - standing controversy over whether gentrification is occurring within the area, this methodology could be applied to almost any area. Indeed, the author of this practicum has endeavored to construct this study as an instruction manual for anyone who wishes to determine whether an area is experiencing gentrification. Several groups could benefit from the information:

1.) Planners: It is critical for a planner to be able to identify the processes occurring in individual neighbourhoods in order to formulate policies to avoid potential problems such as the elimination of affordable housing stock. For instance, if an inner city area is rumored to be experiencing gentrification, it would be in the planner's best interest to confirm or contradict this for two reasons:

i) If a particular neighbourhood is experiencing gentrification, with little or no accompanying risk of significant loss of affordable housing, the planner may want to encourage the gentrification process so as to exploit its positive ramifications by extending further incentives such as down - zoning for gentrifiers to move into an area.

ii) Conversely, if the planner determines that gentrification threatens a neighbourhood's affordable housing stock, he can formulate policies to limit gentrification, such as restricting changes in zoning which might disrupt or eliminate the R3 (multiple dwelling) designation of a particular area.

2.) Developers: The methodology developed in the practicum could prove useful to developers. If a developer can determine which areas are most receptive to, or which are in the initial stages of gentrification, he can buy up housing in the area cheaply, renovate it, and then sell the homes to gentrifiers for a potentially significant return on investment.

3.) Neighbourhood (Interest) Groups: If the area is found to contain the prerequisites necessary for gentrification, the residents could, depending upon their motives, go to City Hall and ask it to implement policies either to encourage or discourage gentrification. For instance, if the residents do not want their property taxes to increase because of rising property values, they may wish to curb gentrification; however, if the

residents wish to further revitalization in the area, they may lobby the municipal government to provide incentives, as the Wolseley Resident's Association did in the mid 1980s when it asked for the area to be downzoned.

The point here is that people, with the aid of this methodology for detecting gentrification, can make informed decisions about what is and is not good for their neighbourhoods.

4.) Prospective Home Buyer: In many cases, a first - time home buyer is unable to afford a new home in the suburbs and therefore turns to the inner - city. This search for a home does not have to be a negative experience because many areas within the inner - city are revitalizing or have the potential to do so. The gentrification model established in this practicum can identify which areas fall under those categories.

The advantage of moving into an area which is being gentrified, or has the potential to do so, includes getting a structurally sound, architecturally significant home, at a relatively low price. As well, a person may be inclined to buy a home in a gentrifying area in anticipation of a significant return on his or her investment because of the rise in property values that usually accompanies gentrification.

A Final Comment

The gentrification process is occurring in Winnipeg's Wolseley area; however, it is important to note that the significance of this study also lies in being able to apply the methodology developed here to other inner - city neighbourhoods.

The Streetcar's impact on Winnipeg's development

Fig 1

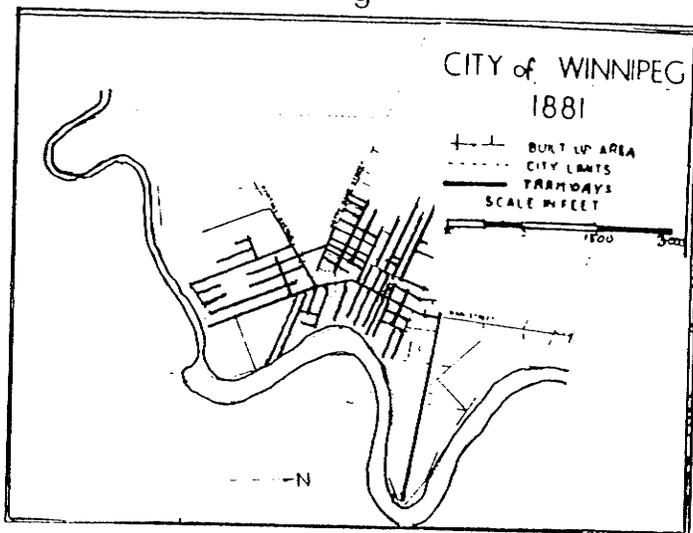
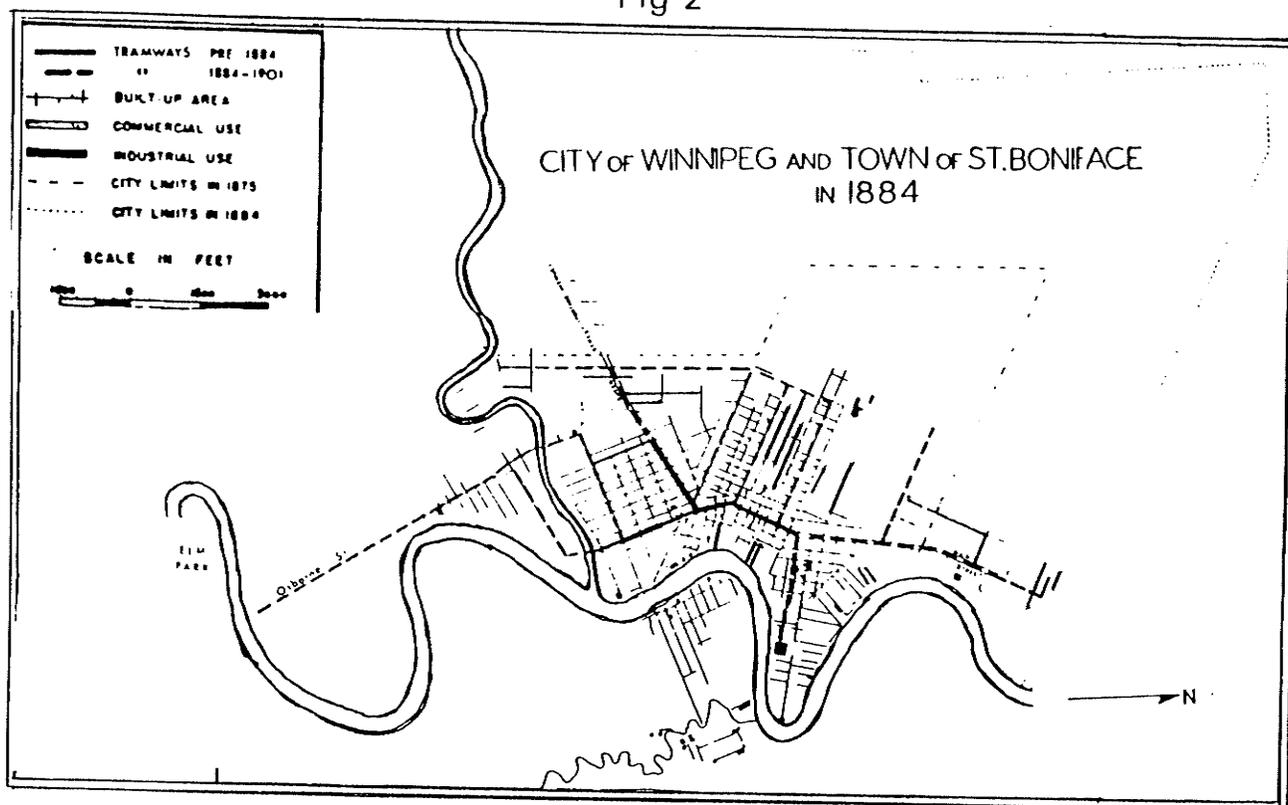
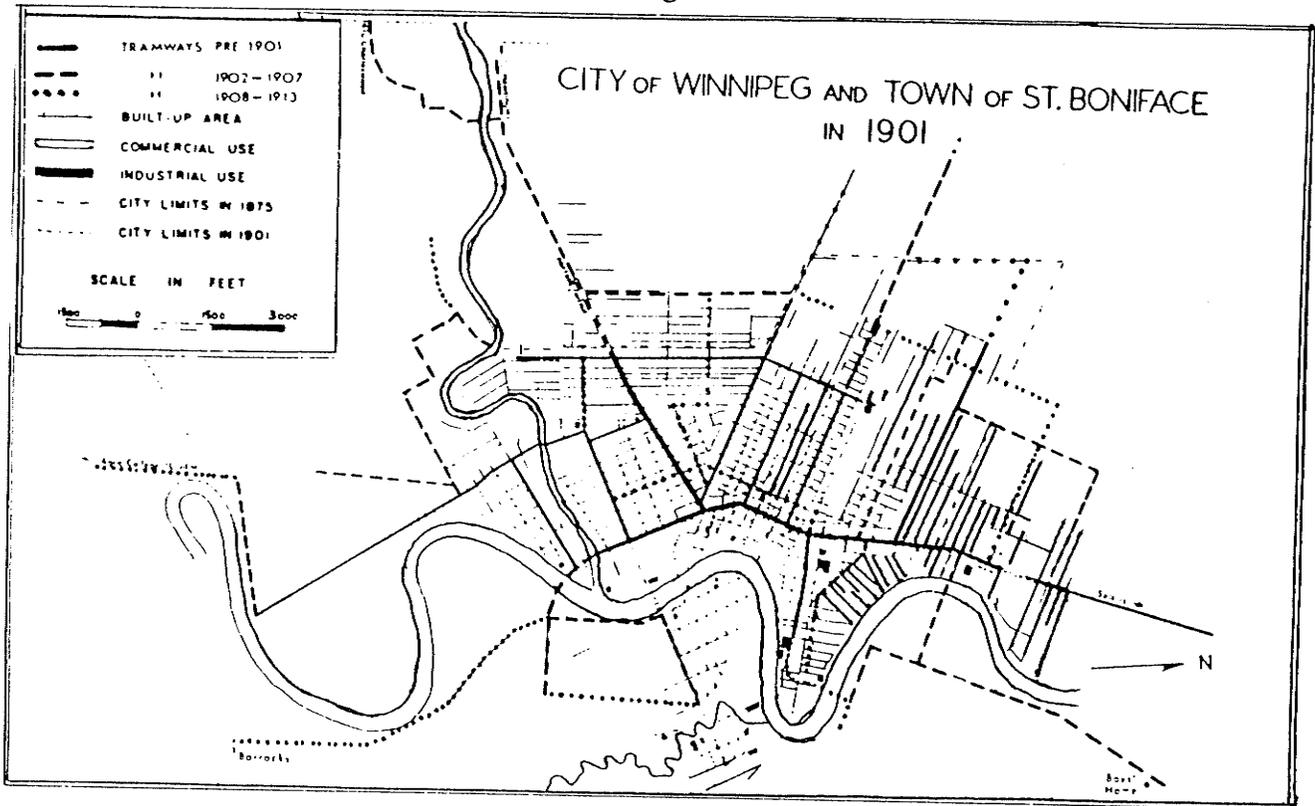


Fig 2



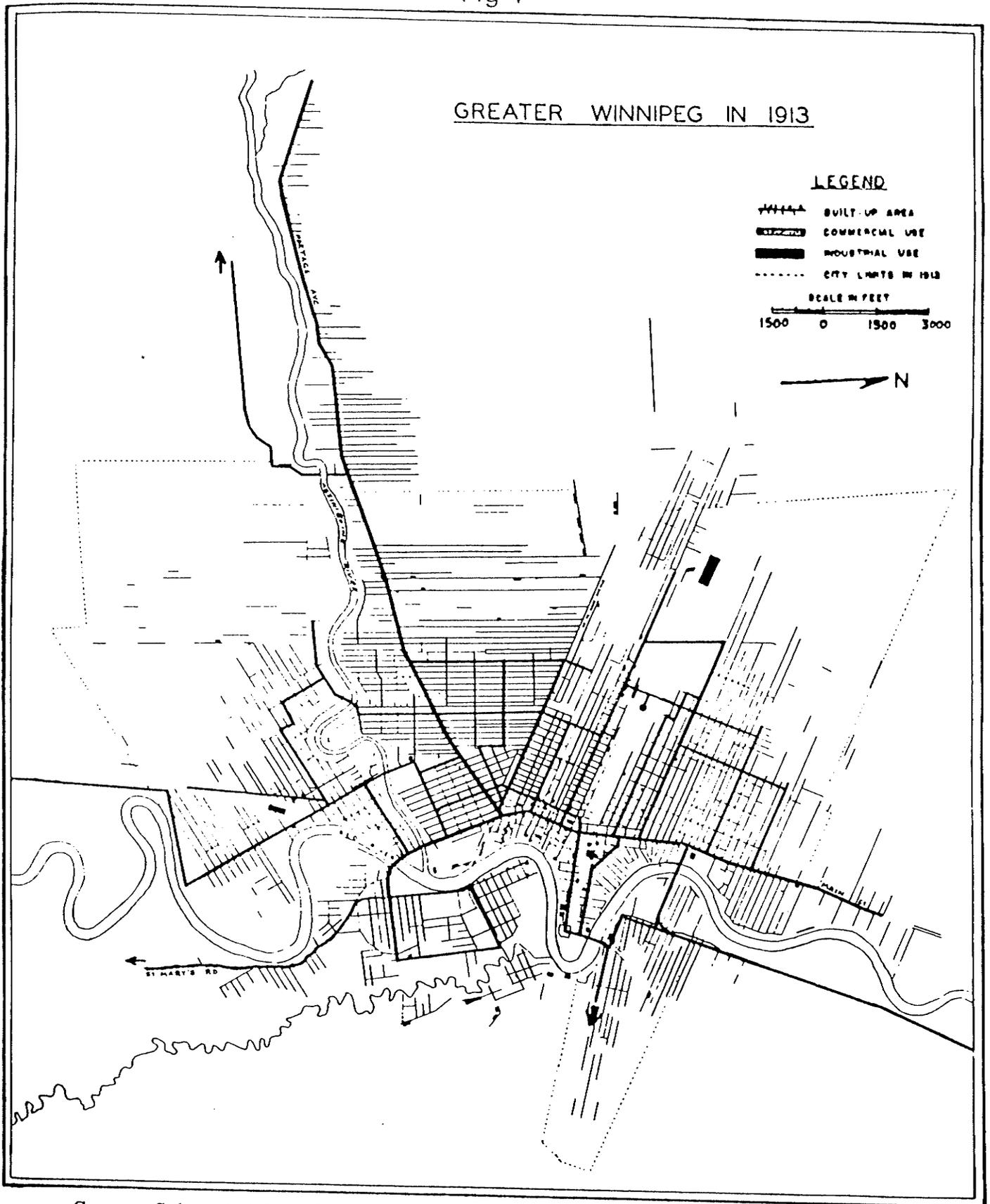
Source: Selwood, John (1977) " Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg, 1881 - 1913," Urban History Review, 3: 34 - 41.

Fig 3



Source: Selwood, John (1977), "Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg, 1881 - 1913," *Urban History Review*, 3: 34 - 41.

Fig 4



Source: Selwood, John (1977) "Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg 1881 - 1913," *Urban History Review*, 3: 34 - 41

The Wolseley Area

Listing of Building Permits By Neighbourhood Issued
From January 1983 to December 1990

(Streets)	(Years)							
	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
<u>Alloway</u>	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-
<u>Broadway</u>	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
<u>Chestnut</u>	1	1	1	2	5	1	4	4
<u>Knappen</u>	1	3	-	2	2	1	2	-
<u>Dundrum</u>	3	2	5	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Honeyman</u>	3	1	1	-	-	3	-	1
<u>Maryland</u>	3	3	3	2	1	8	12	1
<u>Picardy</u>	1	2	-	3	1	2	-	1
<u>Walnut</u>	6	2	3	4	-	3	1	6
<u>Canora</u>	1	7	6	2	1	-	3	2
<u>Ethelbert</u>	6	3	4	7	2	1	1	1
<u>Home</u>	4	1	5	5	5	2	2	9
<u>Arlington</u>	4	1	4	3	2	7	4	5
<u>Evanson</u>	-	3	1	9	1	1	6	2
<u>Lenore</u>	4	2	2	5	2	4	3	2
<u>Ruby</u>	3	4	2	2	1	4	5	8
<u>Lipton</u>	2	3	1	1	-	1	9	4
<u>Aubrey</u>	-	6	-	4	2	2	-	4

<u>Preston</u>	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	2
<u>Palmerston</u>	2	-	2	-	5	2	2	1
<u>Sherburn</u>	2	2	-	2	1	1	-	3
<u>Garfield</u>	1	4	3	-	1	1	2	2
<u>Dominion</u>	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	2
<u>Greenwood</u>	2	2	3	-	-	2	3	-
<u>Sprague</u>	2	-	1	1	2	-	-	-
<u>Basswood</u>	6	4	-	2	5	4	2	-
<u>Newman</u>	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	1
<u>Candem</u>	4	-	1	2	-	1	1	-
<u>Clifton</u>	3	-	-	1	2	1	-	-
<u>Telfer</u>	3	2	1	-	-	2	-	-
<u>Stiles</u>	2	1	-	-	1	2	-	3
<u>Craig</u>	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
<u>Wolseley</u>	3	4	5	3	-	6	10	3
<u>Westminister</u>	2	8	-	-	4	7	-	-
<u>Raglan</u>	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
<u>Portage Avenue</u>	21	30	27	29	37	30	45	32
<u>TOTALS</u>	102	111	87	96	93	106	120	103

Source: Compiled by Author, City of Winnipeg Planning Department

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