

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE:

A THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION OF  
THREE INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS IN TORONTO

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the body of knowledge pertaining to neighbourhood change by outlining nine "theories" from the literature. These theories are evaluated by interpreting their range of applicability in three differing neighbourhoods in the inner city of Toronto. The theories varied in their explanation of the neighbourhood phenomena and were classified by their abilities to explain one, two or all three of the neighbourhoods. Only two theories were found to be significant in explaining all three neighbourhoods but all the theories were found to be significant in explaining at least one neighbourhood. The theories fit into one or more of three general types: comprehensive type, attempting to explain all neighbourhood phenomena; narrow focus, emphasizing specific determinants of neighbourhood change; and neighbourhood-specific, oriented towards conditions peculiar to a neighbourhood. The study identifies four overall limitations in the theories' ability to explain the three neighbourhoods: the availability of information on the neighbourhoods; the practical development of the theoretical concepts; the exclusion of unique neighbourhood characteristics in the interpretations; and the subjective interpretations of controversial premises contained in the theories. The study provides a framework to further evaluate these theories in other inner city neighbourhoods.

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## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

One of the bravest - and saddest - sights in an old city is a single house or a row of houses, painted swept and garnished, scrupulously clean with plants in window boxes and flowers at the gate and all around the unmistakable evidence of disorder, vandalism and decline. It is a visual image of a social fact - that housing exists within a community and its effectiveness as an element of family support and social stability must be profoundly affected by what is going on around it.

-Barbara Ward (1976, p. 125)

### 1.1 Purpose

The term "inner city " conjures up images of blight and decay, high-rise offices and department stores, trendy boutiques and restaurants, and deteriorating and "whitepainted" houses existing sometimes side by side. What causes one neighbourhood to be exclusive and another to be run-down, is a complex process. Economic and social forces are at work fostering conditions of decline, stability or revitalization. These conditions exist in any living environment but nowhere are they as extreme and often as contradictory as in the inner city.

Planning and land market theorists have attempted to explain the contrasts and anomalies of inner city neighbourhoods through analyses of processes of structural change. This has included studies of land values, mobility, commuting costs, individual preferences, landlord-tenant relations, housing demand, social values and capital accumulation. The wide variety of views and the continuing erratic decline and revitalization of inner city neighbourhoods indicate a need to better

explain these theories and a need to better evaluate them through an interpretation of their ideas in actual inner city neighbourhoods.

The purpose of this thesis is to define from the literature on neighbourhood change a body of related concepts and ideas, termed "theories" that attempt to explain the changing conditions of inner city neighbourhoods and to evaluate their range of applicability in interpreting these neighbourhoods. While many of the theories consider the whole "inner city", this inquiry concentrates on inner city residential neighbourhoods and it is in these types of areas that these theories are evaluated through the case studies. As housing is the focus of the neighbourhood and as it can be assumed that overall neighbourhood condition is reflected primarily in the condition of the housing stock and secondly in the local commercial activity, there is a bias toward housing theories although some other related ideas are introduced. The theories consider the forces and processes behind neighbourhood change. The three neighbourhood case studies outline neighbourhood conditions and characteristics. The strength of the theoretical interpretation is based on the extent the theory can explain the changing neighbourhood characteristics.

The changing condition of the inner city is outlined by defining the term "inner city" and then delineating the area in Toronto. The changing characteristics of this area determine the patterns of change that are generally occurring in inner city neighbourhoods. Attempts to explain these patterns of change constitute the theoretical body of knowledge on neighbourhood change. The outlined theories of neighbourhood change consist of a grouping of these ideas that attempt to explain



the patterns that are evident in different inner city areas.

The multitude of pressures that determine the character of an inner city neighbourhood are as varied as the neighbourhoods themselves. The nine theories that are defined in Chapter 3 represent a culmination of the major ideas of the major theorists. These consist primarily of housing theories of location, demand, utility and condition. Some of them may be considered to be more comprehensive than others. All could be developed further by more research but each provide a slightly different perspective to the explanation of how the inner city neighbourhood has evolved. Very broadly, the theories can be associated with three generic categories: economic, based on the ideas of classical, neoclassical and neoMarxist economies; socio-economic, based on ideas of the Urban Ecologists, Jane Jacobs and other social and economic theorists; and socio-cultural based on cultural and social values rather than economical determinants. While none of the theories can be categorized strictly as many of the ideas overlap, all of these theories tend towards one of these generic groups. The theories are presented more or less historically, as they have evolved in the literature.

Within each theory are concepts suggesting the practical application of the theory. These concepts are outlined relative to affected neighbourhood characteristics. This links the theories to the patterns and processes of neighbourhood change in the defined Inner City and provides the basis to interpret the theories in inner city neighbourhoods. For example, if a theoretical indicator is based on the mobility of the resident population and the neighbourhood characteristics suggest no mobility in the population, one can conclude that the theory has little

interpretive value in that neighbourhood. In this way the applicability of the theories will be evaluated through their interpretation in the inner city neighbourhoods.

The three neighbourhood case studies are described by outlining ten neighbourhood characteristics taken over time largely from census tract information. These characteristics were defined as significant in a publication by the now defunct federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs: The Changing Canadian Inner City. By comparing the changes in these characteristics over a ten year period, the patterns and processes of change in each neighbourhood can be determined and the theories of neighbourhood change can be interpreted and then evaluated for those neighbourhoods. From this approach, the outcome should provide some clearer explanations for the disorder surrounding the brave little house with the window boxes and the flowers at the gate. There will also be a clearer understanding of these theories regarding their applicability to particular situations and neighbourhoods.

## 1.2 Methodology

The inner city, types of inner cities and inner city neighbourhood characteristics are discussed and defined by a Ministry of State for Urban Affairs publication called the Changing Canadian Inner City by McLemore, Aass and Keilhofer (McLemore et al., 1975) and through studies by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg. Other sources are noted in the text. The characteristics of the defined inner city of Toronto were determined by combining all information for Census tracts included in the area.

The theories of neighbourhood change are grouped and categorized largely through the work of Grigsby and Rosenberg's nine "themes or images" of the inner city in Urban Housing Policy (Grigsby and Rosenberg, 1975), and L.S. Bourne's eight "hypotheses" of inner city decline in Perspectives on the Inner City (L.S. Bourne, 1978). The nine theories, while reflecting the analysis of these researchers are further refined by the ideas of other theorists, adjusted to concentrate on the inner city neighbourhood and extended to include new theories of revitalization.

The neighbourhood characteristics are made up largely of statistics collected from census tract information. The boundaries of the neighbourhoods were determined by McLemore, Aass and Keilhofer (McLemore et al., 1975) according to contiguous census tracts that formed a geographical neighbourhood. Three neighbourhoods were selected on the basis of being representative of distinct neighbourhood conditions. This choice was aided by the author's personal experience and work at the Bureau of Municipal Research in Toronto. Additional information was obtained from Toronto Real Estate Board's average housing prices (Toronto Real Estate Board, 1975-1982), neighbourhood libraries, social services and organizations, City of Toronto Planning Board's neighbourhood studies and from "windshield surveys" of the areas.

The theories of neighbourhood change are evaluated by testing their ability to explain a phenomena evident from the neighbourhood information. This evaluation is based on a comparative study of the range of applicability of these theories. One can assume that the choice of the three sample neighbourhoods provides a good indication of the range of

phenomena representative of the general inner city situations of neighbourhood change. The interpretations then provide a good general evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the theories.

### 1.3 Synopsis

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis. Chapter 2 provides definitional and background information on the inner city and the inner city neighbourhood. Definitions of inner city are discussed and a working definition stated, processes of change are outlined followed by the types of inner city neighbourhoods and neighbourhood characteristics. Chapter 3 outlines nine theories of neighbourhood change and the processes by which that change occurs. Chapter 4 outlines the basic characteristics of South Parkdale and interprets the theories following the identification of the patterns of change. Chapters 5 and 6 outline the same information and interpret the theories in Toronto's inner city neighbourhoods of The Annex and South Riverdale. Chapter 7 evaluates the applicability of the theories and critiques the methodology. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis.

## CHAPTER 2

## THE INNER CITY AND THE INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD

Perceptions of the inner city vary and a need exists to clarify what is meant by the term. Once the inner city is defined, the inner city of Toronto is examined to determine the characteristics and patterns of change that have recently occurred in the area. General processes of inner city change, identified in recent studies, are then identified and linked to the changes occurring in Toronto's inner city. Following this, the types and conditions of inner city areas are broken down and the general characteristics for the neighbourhood types identified.

### 2.1 The Inner City Defined

The term "inner city" refers to the somewhat vague area of transition, decline and redevelopment contiguous to, and usually inclusive of, the central business district or commercial centre of the city (Heilbrun, 1974, p.25). Geographic definitions tend toward a static perception of the area while sociological definitions tend toward a dynamic perception of a continually changing area difficult to delineate. The dichotomy of these perceptions is a recurring element not only in definitions of inner city but in the theoretical explanations of inner city decline and growth.

One definition claims that the inner city is a "heavy concentration of the most acute physical, economic, social and political problems of

the city" (Case, 1972, p.2). Within this area, housing appears to be the most important element. Many definitions of inner city have simply stated it as a zone of older housing. In The Changing Canadian Inner City, the authors delineated the inner cities of several large Canadian cities using age of the housing stock as the only criteria (McLemore et al., 1975, pp.2-4).

Bourne outlined a more dynamic approach based on the apparent social and physical problems of the area. His criteria are determined relative to suburban "pull" and inner city "push" factors (Bourne, 1978, p.52). Push factors are those forces which discourage a middle class from living in the inner city. These would include high property taxes, deteriorating housing stock, aging physical infrastructure, poor schools, low property values and high crime rates.

Suburban pull factors are those forces which encourage the middle class population or those with sufficient financial resources to move to newer suburban areas. These would include less expensive financing for housing, new schools, larger lots and more privacy. While Bourne states this model emphasizes the American situation, this definition could be applicable to the Canadian city as well. To use this model, the criteria are analyzed spatially, a significant cut-off point of change is determined for each, thereby defining an inner city. Any number of inner cities can be delineated using this technique and depending on the desired purpose, a composite inner city can be developed through map overlays.

More recently a redefinition of inner city appeared in the Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation publication, Habitat. The authors

claim the term is used as "an informal description of core areas where disproportionately large numbers of lower income people, the jobless, the disabled, older single elderly persons, and those with chronic health, income and housing problems live" (Hill and McClain, 1982, p.2). However due to the changing nature of the "traditionally" defined inner city, Hill and McClain claim that there can no longer be a geographically uniform definition. The aging of the suburbs has destroyed the traditional boundaries. Housing renovation or "whitepainting" continues in older residential areas, the elderly are often decentralized in suburban senior citizen homes, the most affordable housing and rental accomodation for low income residents is now primarily in the suburbs and immigrants are more likely to settle near sources of employment, more often the suburbs. For these reasons, the authors point out that the problems of the inner city are shifting to the suburbs. Further exacerbating this situation is the fact that past programs to alleviate some of these problems have been based in inner city areas. As new inner city support services are developed, often it is the new middle income residents who most benefit. Perceptions of inner city problems have helped to define the inner city, however these problems are no longer confined to the core of the city. The authors assume a problem oriented definition of inner city supposing that inner city and urban problems are analogous. This definition is potentially most useful in the development of programs to alleviate these problems.

McLemore et al. developed an "operational definition" which serves the purpose of this thesis. It involves four general characteristics:

1. the oldest housing stock in the urban area, much in poor condi-

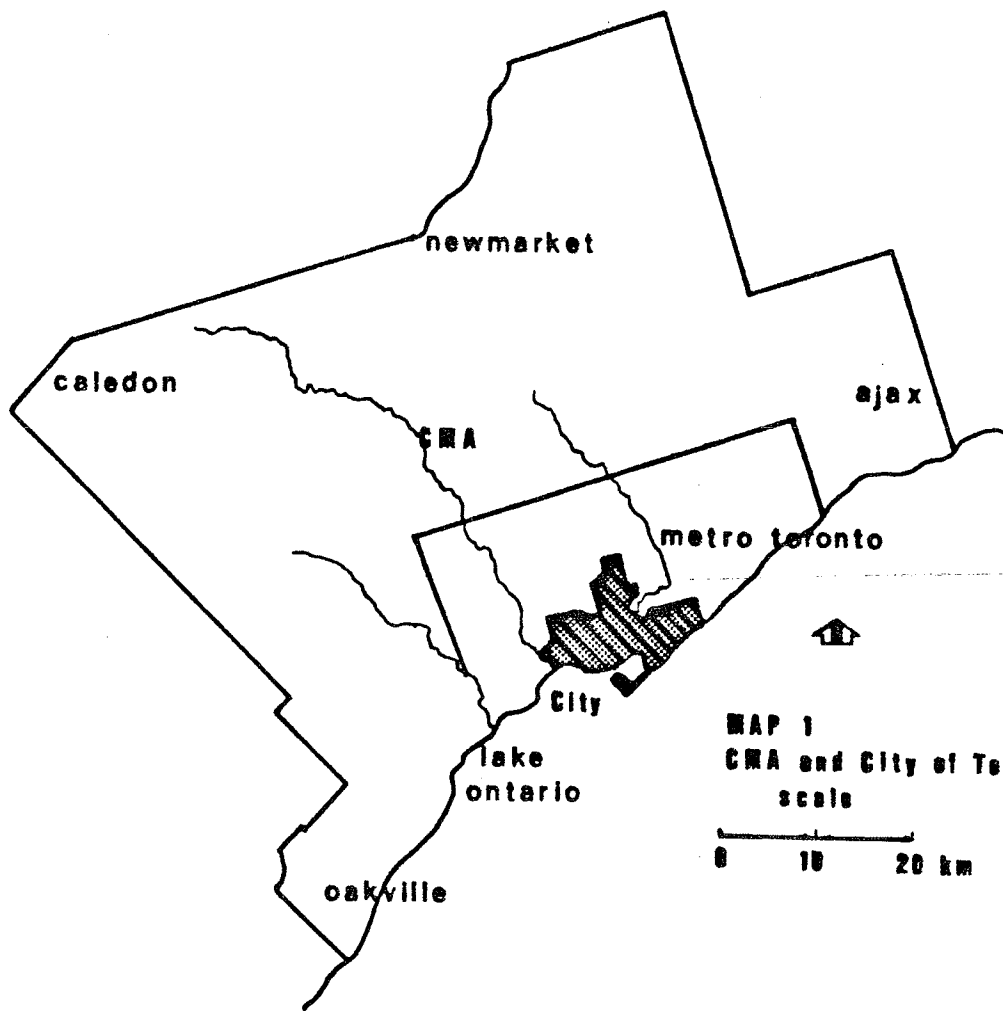
- tion and subjected to pressures for redevelopment;
2. a wide mixture of land uses (many transitional) and dense form;
  3. a location between the central business district and the suburbs causing a concentration of transportation routes;
  4. the first area of settlement for immigrants (from outside the country) and migrants (from other areas in the country) (McLemore et al, 1975, p.2).

Using the age of the housing stock (pre-1946) as the only criterion, the authors a spatial inner city for the major cities in Canada. This involved determining all census tracts in the city where the built before 1946 is more than double the metropolitan figure (1971 census). This takes into account the differences in or any tracks not meeting the criterion but surrounded by other tracts that did were included.

Maps 1 and 2 indicate the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Toronto, the City of Toronto and the delineated Inner City of Toronto. Map 1 compares the vast area of the CMA to that of the city of Toronto. Map 2 compares the City of Toronto boundary with that of the defined inner City. The Inner City closely follows the City boundary. As three neighbourhoods in Toronto's Inner City are used as case studies in Chapters Four, Five and Six, a further discussion of this area is useful.

Table 1 provides some statistical information on the Inner City and the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Toronto for 1971 and 1981. This information establishes patterns of change in the Inner City area and helps to identify processes of change that may be reshaping inner city neighbourhoods.





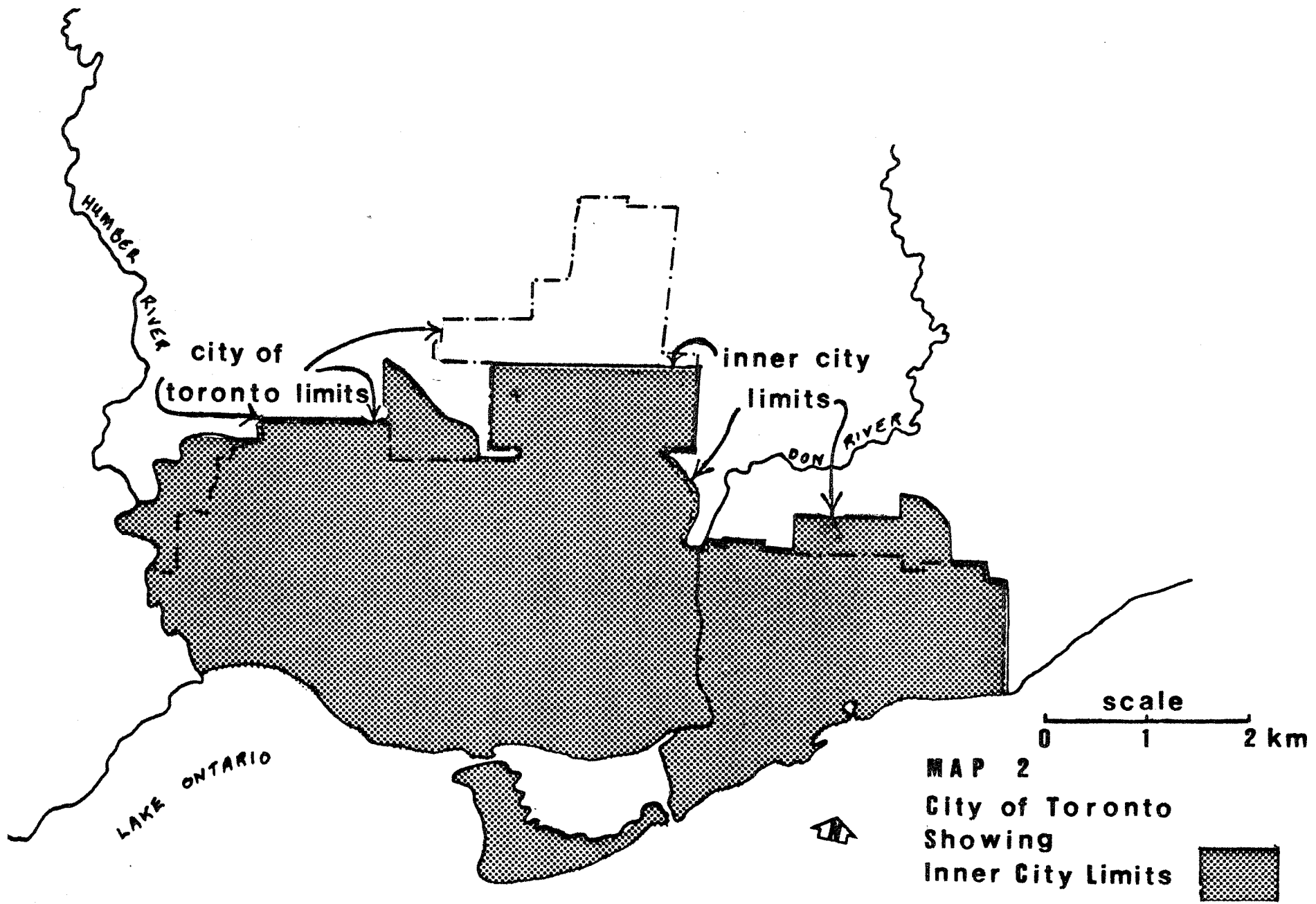


TABLE 1: The Inner City and CMA of Toronto, 1971, 1981

Variable	Inner City		CMA	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Population (% of CMA)	642,290(24%)	600,678(20%)	2,628,070	2,998,947
Age groups:				
less than 19	28%	24%	34%	29%
65 and over	10%	12%	8%	9%
Households:				
number	221,060	234,080	774,465	1,040,430
average size	3.2	2.6	3.3	2.8
Average household income	\$10,104	NA	\$11,911	\$35,789
Education:				
less than grade 9	42%	NA	32%	17%
university	6%	NA	6%	12%
Families				
number	159,780	137,600	625,655	785,395
family size	3.2	3.0	3.4	3.2
child/family	1.3	1.2	1.5	1.3
Occupational Groups:				
blue collar	26%	NA	25%	26%
white collar	41%	NA	42%	43%
professional	16%	NA	19%	24%
Unemployment	9%	NA	7%	4%
Born outside Canada	45%	NA	34%	38%
Type of Dwelling:				
single detached	22%	22%	46%	40%
apartments	43%	46%	37%	39%
Dwellings:				
owner-occupied	43%	43%	55%	56%
Room per dwelling	5.2	NA	5.6	NA
Average annual rent	\$1438	NA	\$1559	\$4080
Overcrowding (over 1 person/room)	9%	NA	6%	NA

NA: 1981 Census information not available at the time of writing.

Source: Statistics Canada: 1971, 1981 Census of Canada

The Census Metropolitan Area is defined as "the main labour market of a continuous built up area having a population of 100,000 or more" (Canada Year Book, 1978-79, pp. 136-37). The CMA of Toronto covers a vast area from Oakville to Caledon to Newmarket to Ajax. Although the Inner City boundary may have changed slightly over the ten year period as it is defined by McLemore et al., it is useful to compare the same geographic area.

From the information contained in Table 1 some trends can be highlighted. Clearly the Inner City of Toronto has been experiencing an outflow of population while the suburban and exurban areas of the Toronto CMA continue to attract new residents, presumably many from the inner city. There has been an equal decline in the percentage of children making up the total population for both defined areas, indicating that the trend towards smaller families is a universal rather than an Inner City phenomenon in Toronto. However there are proportionally less children in the Inner City compared to the whole region. Average household size is decreasing throughout the area but has declined to a greater extent in the Inner City. This has implications regarding the use of the housing stock in the Inner City. While the proportion of single detached dwellings did not change over the ten year period in the Inner City, apartments increased their proportion of total dwellings. This implies apartment conversion and construction. However owner-occupancy in the Inner City has not changed and remains significantly lower than in the CMA.

Recent visual surveys of the Inner City by the author indicate other less statistically documented patterns and possible changes in

different neighbourhoods. Mobility of the resident population appears to vary dramatically depending upon the type, condition and location of each neighbourhood. For example, neighbourhoods of high density apartments in average to poor condition, located close to the subway line are likely highly mobile areas. There are likely significant changes in average household income in some neighbourhoods as populations decline, renovation activity picks up and property values increase. Extensive changes in land use in some areas such as new apartment construction, expanded retail and office functions and altered transportation corridors have changed housing supply and demand. The aging housing stock in many areas of the Inner City requires maintenance and in some neighbourhoods maybe undermaintained while in other neighbourhoods extensive renovation activity in its many forms, especially "white painting" is evident. Redevelopment activity is likely having several possible effects: increasing residential density; decreasing residential density; improving housing condition and property values; or forcing low income residents out of the area.

## 2.2 Patterns and Processes of Change

It is evident from Table 1 that there are a variety of physical and social processes operating in the inner city area. These processes are both an integral part of the definition of inner city as was pointed out in the previous section and an inherent part of any theoretical attempt to explain the change occurring in the inner city. The previously identified patterns of change can be summarized from studies by the Institute of Urban Studies (Winnipeg Development Plan Review, 1979, p.7)

and McLemore et al. (1975, p. 4). The Institute of Urban Studies work relates to the inner city of Winnipeg while McLemore et al's paper refers to the Canadian inner city generally. All of this information was based on trends and patterns developing largely before the 1971 census year.

From the Institute of Urban Studies and McLemore et al, these patterns of inner city change have been identified:

1. aging of the housing stock;
2. increased pressure for development;
3. expansion of the central business district into inner city neighbourhoods;
4. expansion of transportation routes;
5. decline of the industrial base;
6. aging of the population;
7. loss of family households.

Patterns of neighbourhood change can also be outlined from Table 1 that may represent more recent trends that are occurring in the Inner City of Toronto:

1. outflow of population from the area;
2. decline in the number of children making up the population;
3. increase in the number of elderly making up the population;
4. decline in the average household size;
5. increase in the number of apartments relative to houses.

As well there are more recent patterns that may be evident in certain Inner City neighbourhoods. These patterns are evident from recent visual surveys of the Inner City (by the author):

1. mobility of the population, within or in and out of the area;
2. change in average household income;
3. changes in land use;
4. undermaintenance or decline in housing quality;
5. renovation in all its forms, especially "whitepainting";
6. redevelopment involving the destruction of old structures and new development.

The purpose of the theories of neighbourhood change outlined in Chapter 3, is to explain these patterns in the inner city. These patterns can be identified as a process when the causes and implications of these changes are analyzed. For example the pattern of the outflow of population from the inner city can be identified as caused by the process of suburbanization with implications regarding the economy, the employment prospects and the quality of life in the inner city. However the decline in the inner city's population also could be linked to the process of gentrification, implying that the middle classes have rediscovered the inner city and are moving in, renovating houses, lowering the population density as their household size is smaller and forcing out the lower income groups. Identifying a process of change involves applying a theoretical analysis to the perceived patterns of change in the neighbourhood. It is only by analyzing several characteristics and determining patterns in particular inner city neighbourhoods that the processes can be stated. Even then, they are subject to to some extent to the value judgements of the analysts. As such, they are identified as "theories".

Patterns of change for the entire inner city area are too general

to explain the types of changes that are occurring in all inner city neighbourhoods as there are a multitude of processes that may be identified as operating in different inner city areas. The following section considers methods of determining types and conditions of inner city areas relative to the neighbourhood characteristics.

### 2.3 Neighbourhood Typology

The inner city is clearly not a homogeneous and uniform area. While particular processes are at work and while there are a variety of similar characteristics, the inner city is made up of different neighbourhoods each with individual characteristics and pressures. McLemore et al. have identified four types of inner city areas: declining areas, stable areas, areas of revitalization and areas of massive redevelopment (McLemore et al., 1975, pp.10-12). They point out however, that "development of neighbourhoods is an extremely complex process and seldom will a case fit exactly into one or the other of the four types." (Ibid, p.5). Neighbourhoods will exhibit certain of the characteristics and will generally tend towards one type. The dimensions of the four types are indicated in Table 2, reprinted from their study. These categories are meant to reflect physical, economic and social conditions in each area. The ten characteristics used to identify the dimensions of the neighbourhoods will provide the basis for the information collected on the three neighbourhoods in the inner city of Toronto.

The four types of areas can be outlined as follows:

1. declining areas are undergoing worsening physical conditions, the more affluent population is moving out, serious social



TABLE 2: Dimensions of the Four Types of Inner City Areas

	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 groups 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: McLemore R., Aass, C., and Keilhofer, P., The Changing Canadian Inner City, Urban Paper A.75.3, Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975.

problems are developing and there is a lack of community organization;

2. stable areas are not subjected to physical decline or severe social problems and pressure for redevelopment is low;
3. revitalizing areas are neighbourhoods experiencing an inflow of population more affluent than the present population and the physical condition of the area is improving;
4. massively redeveloping areas are those where large scale private and public developments are altering the physical and demographic composition of the area. (Ibid, p.6)

These criteria are used to determine the condition of the three neighbourhoods outlined in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Other studies on the typology of the inner city have determined similar breakdowns of the various characteristics. The Winnipeg Area Characterization study started by the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning in 1978, examines the entire city to define the various neighbourhoods in the context of present policy implications. The intent is to provide detailed neighbourhood information as the basic foundation for policy oriented decision-making. Clearly evident from this approach is that there is little need to characterize specific neighbourhoods without linking them to some policy or program. Boundaries are defined based on physical criteria and data is collected indicating the physical condition of the area. The process of urban development is the basis for program grouping and in the definition of general area types. While neighbourhood condition is identified by this typology, the process of change is emphasized.

The urban development cycle may be described as having three basic stages: growth, stability and decline. Any area of the city inevitably passes through these three stages with initial growth occurring in response to growth of the city as a whole. Although growth of the city may continue, the area or neighbourhood then experiences a period of stability where growth levels off and a high degree of self-sufficiency is evident in the resident population. The natural conclusion of the cycle is a period of decline, where the physical neighbourhood becomes obsolete, either because it naturally wears out or demands of the resident population change. If and when decline reaches a point where total renewal is the only alternative, the neighbourhood again enters the growth stage of the cycle. (Winnipeg Area Characterization, 1978, p.5)

This cycle of development of the neighbourhood is simply stated but not as easily explained. The "wearing out" of neighbourhoods and reaching the point where renewal is the only alternative are not easily understood processes. The following chapter reviews the theoretical literature on how neighbourhood change occurs and identifies some of these processes.

## CHAPTER 3

## THEORIES OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

The condition or state of the neighbourhood can be explained by analyzing the patterns of residential development. Models explaining the structure of inner city residential areas have concentrated on land use patterns and demographic characteristics. The classical models: concentric zones, sector theory and multiple nuclei theory are still relevant and provide the foundation for many of the more modern ideas. As inner city neighbourhoods developed or experienced their initial growth stage at the earliest over forty years ago, there is a strong historical element to these theories. Filtering and Invasion and Succession are based on work done in the 1920s and 1930s. The theories are biased toward housing concerns and many concentrate on the predominant problem of decline. Recently there has emerged considerable literature on the occurrence of a form of inner city revitalization referred to as gentrification. While this is an important aspect to neighbourhood change, many of the decline oriented theories are able to explain this development as many of the attempts to explain gentrification are clearly based on established ideas. The theories are problem focused and in each case the process of development is linked to any relevant neighbourhood characteristics.

Grigsby and Rosenberg outlined nine "themes" or "images" of the inner city taken from various theories or groups of related ideas which attempt to explain urban change. These "images" are decline oriented.

1. The filtering process which allocates housing by age and condition: the lower income residents inherit the older dwellings no longer demanded by higher income groups.
2. Inner city obsolescence which suggests that the structures and economy of the inner city become obsolete due to changing tastes and preferences.
3. The spatial concentration of low income families where the declining economy, poor housing and concentration of the residents dictate decline.
4. Low income itself where the residents cause the decline of the neighbourhood.
5. Problem families where certain residents instigate decline by their lack of concern and destructive activities.
6. Greedy investors where landlords, investors and developers destroy neighbourhoods by undermaintaining dwellings, allowing property values to fall in attempts to avoid maintenance cost and buy neighbouring land cheaply for redevelopment.
7. Exploitive system where the political economic system allows the exploitation of disadvantaged inner city residents.
8. Racial discrimination in which minority groups in the inner city are discriminated against in the housing and job markets.
9. Deteriorating social fabric where inner city neighbourhoods are subjected to crime, poverty and unemployment and suffer an overall decline in social and economic stability (Grigsby and Rosenberg, 1975, pp.195-210).

Each image represents a simplified but useful vision of inner city

problems and the forces that create them. Individually they lack an overall objectivity but together give some insight into the diversity and complexity of inner city change. Many of the images suggest complementary revitalization. For example, obsolescence images of growth and could be reversed if the changing tastes and preferences favour inner city dwellings.

L.S. Bourne developed eight "hypotheses" of inner city decline and some of these evolved from the images of Grigsby and Rosenburg.

1. Natural evolution developed by the Human Ecologists using the filtering model and the idea of concentric zones of income groups evolving outwards with rising income.
2. The "pull" hypothesis in which the suburban draws of new homes, larger lots, better schools, etc. attract inner city residents.
3. Obsolescence where inner city structures are no longer in demand.
4. Unintended policy in which non-urban policies at the national level are detrimental to the inner city.
5. Exploitation involving the imbalance of power between the inner city and the suburbs and the manipulation of city politicians by special interests in ways that exploit inner city residents.
6. Structural change in which shifts in the national economy disfavour the growth and development of inner city areas.
7. Fiscal crisis and "underclass" in which declining resources and rising costs have caused the out-migration of the middle classes from the inner city.
8. Conflict involving the geographical expression of the segrega-

tion and cultural isolation of disadvantaged minorities (L.S. Bourne, 1978, pp.30-54).

Again many of these hypotheses can represent a complementary condition of revitalization. These images and hypotheses overlap to some extent and can be condensed into a more complete set of nine theories. To these ideas are added some of the more relevant theoretical work on neighbourhood change and inner city revitalization. There are some gaps and limitations to these theories and they are evaluated and critiqued after their application to the neighbourhoods in Chapter 7.

### 3.1 Filtering

Based in classical economics, filtering involves the transition of the neighbourhood housing stock: lower income groups inherit the housing that no longer meets the needs of higher income groups who move into new housing at the periphery of the city. Very simply, the housing stock "filters down" to lower income residents as it ages. Inherent in the process is the arrival of new low income residents as well as young couples. These new arrivals are often immigrants forced to inhabit the cheapest accommodation. Grigsby and Rosenberg outlined a filtering "image". While somewhat simplistic in its original form, the idea has been further developed to explain the supply and demand of the inner city housing stock.

In 1939, Homer Hoyt used filtering as the "dynamic element" in his sector theory which explained the location in the city of certain types of residential districts. The theory implied a succession in occupancy through dwellings originally constructed for upper income families (Hoyt,

1939, p.76). Hoyt used these variables to determine the growth of fashionable residential neighbourhoods out from the centre of the city: distribution of income and socio-economic groups, and the quality and distribution of new construction. Sector theory was criticized for being "simplified and deterministic" (Chapin, 1964) and for failing to present an operational framework. Hoyt determined that fashionable residential sectors move on high ground, along transportation routes and avoid dead ends.

Later Wallace Smith defined filtering as, "an indirect process for meeting the housing demand of a lower income group (Smith, 1964, p.1). Responding to criticism that filtering rationalized the housing market's determination to build new dwellings primarily for higher income groups, he stated that it was an issue of public policy whether it is desirable that low income housing needs be met in this way. If housing for low income families is deemed deficient, then their construction should be subsidized. He defended the concept for having played an important role in "the development of urban analytical technique..." (Smith, 1964, p.14).

In 1963 William Grigsby further defined filtering:

...filtering occurs only when value declines more rapidly than quality, so families can obtain either higher quality and more space at the same price or the same quality and space at a lower price. (Grigsby, 1963, p.95)

Grigsby argued that filtering allows the optimum use of given resources and does not attempt to answer "welfare questions" which he felt were best left to empirical testing or to "careful deductive reasoning based on an operational model and realistic market data"



(ibid). He developed a matrix of relationships among housing submarkets exploring the choices and connections available. His "Empirical Method" was criticized for being non-operational (Smith, 1964, p.15).

Filtering is rooted in an orthodox economic view of the housing market. Solomon and Vandell have outlined some of the basic "tenets" or assumptions of this theory. Housing price is determined by impersonal market relationships. Landlords will only rehabilitate their property if the marginal revenue is greater than the marginal cost of doing so. Imperfections occur in the system due to short-run profiteering in various sub-markets. However competition will return the market to an efficiently allocative equilibrium. Neighbourhood decline occurs when the return on properties in a neighbourhood diminishes to minimal cash flows and there is no capital appreciation or tax shelters. Reduced demand results in more rapid filtering. Reduced supply results in disinvestment (Solomon and Vandell, 1979, p.84).

Neil Smith has explained the filtering concept is his attempt to develop a theory of gentrification:

...the objective mechanism underlying filtering is the depreciation and devaluation of capital invested in residential inner city neighbourhoods. This depreciation produces the objective economic conditions that make capital revaluation (gentrification) a rational market response (Smith, 1979, p.545).

The reversal in direction of the traditional filtering process would have consequences for the entire urban area:

...we may witness a fundamental restructuring of urban space comparable with suburbanization. Then indeed, it would be a back to the city movement by people too- middle and upper income people, that is- while the working class and the poor would inherit the old declining suburbs in a cruelly ironic continuation of the filtering process (Smith, 1979, p.547).

Filtering is a basic concept used in many classical and neo-classi-

cal economic perspectives and is especially prevalent in the work of the Human Ecologists, outlined in the next theory.

### 3.2 Invasion and Succession

Based in classical economics, invasion and succession is a concept that postulates that housing is allocated through a "natural evolution" of species or like populations who invade a neighbourhood and take it over from the former residents due to their superior adaptability. This process occurs cyclically as economic and social conditions change. Outlined by L.S. Bourne as the "natural evolution hypothesis", invasion and succession uses the filtering concept to explain the transition of the housing stock. However this theory adds a sociological element to filtering's mechanical supply and demand perspective.

This concept was first introduced in the 1920s by the Human Ecologists at the University of Chicago. Park introduced the idea that the city is a product of nature and that diversity or segregation of neighbourhoods will occur naturally.

Personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests, infallibly tend to segregate and thus to classify the populations of great cities. In this way the city acquires an organization and distribution of population which is neither designed nor controlled. (Park, 1925, p.5)

It is this segregation which creates like populations who are able to invade and take over neighbourhoods. Burgess outlined the importance of immigration and the relevance of the filtering concept.

Immigrants invasion of the city has the effect of a tidal wave inundating first the immigrant colonies, the ports of first entry, dislodging thousands of inhabitants who overflow into the next zone, and so on and on until the momentum of the wave has spent its force on the last urban zone. The whole effect is to speed up expansion, to speed up industry, to speed up the junking process in the area of deterioration (Burgess, 1925, p.57).

Burgess explained that mobility is the "pulse of the community" as movement occurs in response to new stimulation or situation. He feels that mobility is probably the best index of the "state of metabolism of the city". Mobility depends upon the composition of the population, the degree of detachment of the person from the family or other groups and the number of contacts and stimulants occurring. Land values are an important indicator of mobility as "the highest land values are at the point of greatest mobility in the city..." (Burgess, 1925, pp.58-61).

McKenzie defined "Human Ecology" and outlined the approach.

Human Ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behaviour.... These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility (McKenzie, 1925, p.63).

McKenzie outlined the conditions which initiate the invasion of a new population into a neighbourhood:

1. change in transportation forms or routes;
2. physical obsolescence due to age, change in use or fashion;
3. erection of major public or private building;
4. change in structure or introduction of new industry;
5. redistribution of income of the residents due to economic change;
6. real estate promotion changing the demand for sites (McKenzie, 1925, p.75).

If the invader is offered little resistance, the new population begins a process of displacement and selection which eventually drives the majority of the former residents away. The degree of solidarity and

type of invader will determine the strength of resistance by the resident population. The invading population will have the strongest effect on land values and rentals. If the invasion is one of change in land use, the value of the land increases while the value of the structures decreases.

The climax of the process occurs when the dominant group is able to withstand invasions. Structures become uniform, land values stable and there is less competition for land, housing and commercial space. The result is a well defined neighbourhood, defined in terms of land values with the highest land values at the centre and the lowest at the periphery.

Berry and Kasarda reviewed and updated the concepts of the Human Ecologists in 1977. They pointed out that this theory divided community organization into two levels: a biotic level concerned with the Darwinian competition to survive and the cultural level concerned with communication, consensus and moral order. These two levels are separated analytically only as every community is organized simultaneously on both levels. The focus of the Human Ecologists is at the biotic level. "Natural areas" result from the competition, division of labour and the workings of the market: central business district, ethnic ghetto, rooming house district, etc. The spatial pattern is regulated by competition (Barry and Kasarda, 1977, pp.4-6).

In the contemporary interpretation of these ideas, Barry and Kasarda introduced the importance of interdependence over competition in the struggle to survive: "...as a population develops an effective organization, it improves its chances of survival in its environment"

(Barry and Kasarda, 1977, p.12). In analyzing neighbourhood stability and change, they considered four interdependent variables: collective populations functioning as an entity; the level of organization or internal structure of the population; the environment or external influences including other organizations; and technology, the techniques, tools and artifacts used by the population. In order for change to be cumulative, all variables must advance together (Barry and Kasarda, 1977, pp.14-15).

Hudson applied these ideas to the phenomenon of revitalization. Again he emphasized that it was the group behaviour of like populations adjusting to the environment that created the occurrence of invasion and succession. He assumes the initial uniformity of the population in an area including the immigrant populations which have dominated neighbourhoods ripe for revitalization. Site modification occurs as energy is spent renovating and restoring the housing. Maturity or the point of stability is reached when the basic demographic characteristics remain the same (Hudson, 1980, p.397-407).

The Human Ecologists based their ideas on rapidly growing American cities of the 1920s and assumed continued growth, immigration, industrialization and absence of planning. The market dominates and while social organization plays a major role in the process, they assume only a geographic component to the behaviour of like populations. Clearly lacking is a political component. The next theory is concerned with social organization from a political perspective.

### 3.3 Special Interests

This theory is concerned with the supply side of the housing market

postulating that various institutions and special interests dominate the production and allocation of housing by controlling the market. This neo-classical economic perspective suggests that these special interests have similar objectives, dominated by making a profit, and therefore make decisions not in the best interests of the residents of the neighbourhood or the inner city but in the attempt to maximize profits and cooperate with other powerful interests, including governments.

These ideas come from a variety of sources. They includes Grigsby and Rosenberg's "greedy investor" image and L.S. Bourne's "exploitation" hypothesis. There are several scenarios.

The first concerns the role of the landlord. Landlords have the interests of their properties in common and maintain their dwellings relative to the profit they are able to make from their tenants. Once profits begin to decline, the landlord undermaintains his properties to cut costs and increase profits creating substandard housing (Grigsby and Rosenberg, 1975, p.202).

Once the properties have decreased in value and are clearly in need of renovation or redevelopment, the roles of the investors and financiers becomes important. The deterioration of the housing stock spreads (known as the "neighbourhood effect") because of the limited financing available for renovations due to the finance companies' resistance to lend money to any residents in the area due to the high risk involved. This is known as "redlining". The consequence is the deterioration of the neighbourhood. In a related scenario, investors buy up large segments of a neighbourhood they wish to redevelop, and allow those properties to bring down the value of neighbouring properties by purposely

undermaintaining them or tearing them down and leaving vacant lots. This often forces homeowners to sell and allows investors to redevelop the blocks. This process is known as "blockbusting" and involves a "conscious plot" on the part of the interest groups to redevelop the inner city as they see fit, destroy the character of neighbourhoods and maximize profits (Bourne, 1978, p.38-42).

James Lorimer, in his book The Developers, named these interests the "property industry" and declared that the possibility of their monopoly control of the housing industry is very real. He added another component to the scenario when he suggested that government agencies and departments also could be included in the property industry as they have vested interests in encouraging development especially housing starts. The property industry operates as a conglomerate force due to their shared special interests (Lorimer, 1978, pp.173-185).

Jane Jacobs, in her book The Death and Life of Great American Cities, outlined three types of finances that shape urban change: credit from conventional, non-government sources; government money including tax receipts, mortgage insurance and subsidies; and underworld credit at high interest rates. She asserts that it is the "cataclysmic" money or strong doses of private sector or government money that dominate change in the city. She feels a more gradual source of money would be less disrupting and damaging to the neighbourhoods. There are three stages in neighbourhood decline initiated by the money market: first the withdrawal of conventional money; second the damaging affects of underworld money; and third the cataclysmic use of government money and then conventional money again to rebuild the neighbourhood. She pointed out in

1961, that money was becoming more institutionalized necessitating its cataclysmic use (Jacobs, 1961, p.291-310).

Jacobs alluded to the role of special interests in influencing governments.

Cynics...think that pickings are made so easy nowadays for exploitive money in cities because the investment shadow world [underworld money] represents powerful interests with a big say somewhere behind the legislative and administrative scenes (Jacobs, 1961, p.316).

A final scenario is that production decisions actually dictate the demand for housing. Smith outlines this process regarding the revitalization of inner city neighbourhoods.

"...gentrification may be initiated in a given neighbourhood by several different actors in the land and housing market... the process is initiated not by the exercise of those individual consumer preferences much loved by neo-classical economists, but by some form of collective social action at the neighbourhood level. The state for example, initiated most if not all early schemes.... More commonly today,... one or more financial institutions will reverse a longstanding redlining policy and actively target a neighbourhood as a potential market for construction loans and mortgages (Smith, 1979, p.545).

This theory combines supply side perspectives that assume a strong element of collusion on the the part of these special interests. The next theory presents the opposing view.

### 3.4 Consumer Preference

This approach is based on the individual's ability to make housing and locational decisions according to his own income situation and his own tastes and preferences. It is the demand for housing and the action of the individual which dominate the processes of neighbourhood change. Production decisions follow the dictates of demand, responding to the



individual's changing requirements and tastes. The theory has two components: economic/technical in terms of meeting advances in technology and balancing out cost differentials; and socio-cultural in terms of changing demographic and cultural aspects.

Alonso in his Theory of the Urban Land Market, developed a static model to explain the paradox he observed that the poor tend to live in the centre of the city on expensive land while the rich tend to live on the periphery on cheap land. He explained this phenomenon in terms of the consumer balancing out his costs and preferences.

A consumer, given his income and pattern of tastes, will seek to balance the costs and bother of commuting against the advantages of cheaper land with increasing distance from the centre of the city and the satisfaction of more space for living (Alonso, 1960, p.157).

Jane Jacobs used this concept of consumer preference to explain the gradual rejuvenation of some slum neighbourhoods. She called the process "unslumming" and it has relevance today regarding the revitalization occurring in some inner city neighbourhoods.

Unslumming hinges, paradoxically, on the retention of a very considerable part of a slum population within a slum. It hinges on whether a considerable number of residents and businessmen of a slum find it both desirable and practical to make and carry out their plans right there, or whether they must virtually all move elsewhere (Jacobs, 1961, p.272).

She outlined the stages of neighbourhood change in this scenario. First there occurs a drop in the population of the area and no increases in the number of vacancies as the resident population moves gradually into middle class and choose not to leave. Second, the neighbourhood gains competence and strength as residents develop a stronger community organization. Third, there occurs a gradual neighbourhood self-diversi-

fication in terms of jobs, income and education of the residents (Jacobs, 1961, pp.280-282).

Diversity of the resident population is an important theme in this theory as neighbourhood diversity implies individual choices, preferences and values. Jacobs suggested that the strongest and most successful neighbourhoods are those that generate diversity and vitality. However, she asserts that there are several forces that inhibit this growth of diversity:

...the tendency for outstanding successful diversity in cities to destroy itself; the tendency for massive single elements in cities...to cast a deadening influence; the tendency for population instability to counter the growth of diversity; and the tendency for both public and private money to either glut or starve development or change (Jacobs, 1961, p.242).

Hodge has linked this loss of neighbourhood diversity to the process of revitalization.

As interest is rekindled in central neighbourhoods, rising prices and condominium conversion force many long-term residents out of their housing.... When existing residents move voluntarily they are replaced by higher income households that are able to outbid potential replacements more similar to the departing households. The end result...is a loss of diversity in neighbourhood (Hodge, 1980, p.187).

This similarity in behaviour of residents of different income groups have created some doubts over the "independent" actions of individuals. Smith has challenged and refined some of the premises of consumer preference starting with questioning its validity as the dominant theory explaining revitalization.

Popular among revitalization theorists is the notion that young, usually professional, middle class people have changed their lifestyle.... Thus with the trend towards fewer children, postponed marriages and a fast rising divorce rate, younger homebuyers and renters are trading in the tarnished dream of their parents for a new dream defined in urban rather than suburban terms (Smith, 1979, p.538).

Smith cites economic choices that are being made in favour of the inner city including such reasons as rising commuting costs and high costs of new housing versus renovating. But like Jacobs, he asserts that the evidence indicates that the back to the city movement is centered on capital rather than people and that it is often the long term residents who are investing in their neighbourhoods. He feels that consumer preference has a role to play in the revitalization of neighbourhoods but feels that it has been over emphasized:

...consumer preference and demand are of primary importance in determining the final form and character of revitalized areas... (Smith, 1979, p.540).

Smith's concern for the role of capital in directing neighbourhood change is the perspective taken in the next theory.

### 3.5 Capital Accumulation

This neo-Marxist perspective is based on a critique of neo-classical perspectives which assume a simultaneous adjustment of buyers and sellers in the housing market. Similar to Special Interests, this theory postulates that the role of institutions in manipulating capital to serve their own profit oriented interests, is the major determinant of urban form and condition. This control over capital has three aspects: demand for housing is created and manipulated; high cost housing is promoted and low cost housing ignored; and government interventions favour and promote capital accumulation and monopoly control of the housing market. This perspective takes Special Interests theory one step further by linking social class to access to housing: the "underclass", those not given access to the ruling institutions, are purposely

exploited and limited in their housing choices by the controlled workings of the market system. It is based on Grigsby and Rosenberg's "exploitive system" image and Bourne's "exploitation" hypothesis.

David Harvey in Social Justice and the City has presented a comprehensive critique of the political economic system and provided the foundation which other theorists have built on. He states that the capitalist market economy, "exerts almost tyrannical control" over all aspects of private and social life. Land use decisions are dictated by the monopolistic power of private property and, " can only be understood in terms of the general processes whereby society is pushed down some path...by an evolving market system" (Harvey, 1973, p.190). These general processes can be understood once the basic premises of this theory are outlined.

Guterbock, who compared both the "Marxist and pluralistic" approaches to urban revitalization, stated the "corollary assumptions" of this perspective:

1. the state serves the interests of the ruling class;
2. economic growth serves the interest of a few;
3. processes of change in urban spatial structure are managed by elites so as to perpetuate existing inequalities and enhance possibilities for exploitation of the have-nots;
4. developing capital is the moving force behind all urban change-individual initiative and collective action, "voluntarist mechanisms" (Molotch, 1979) are fruitless as long as the basic nature of society remains unchanged (Guterbock, 1980, p.431).

Wolfe, Drover and Skelton expounded on these ideas in a Canadian

context in their paper: "Inner City Real Estate Activity in Montreal: Institutional Characteristics of Decline". They observed that the housing market does not operate as a homogeneous whole and questioned the neo-classical assertions that differential rent, the excess of return over production costs, is the allocative device in the housing market: "if ground rent is determined by monopoly conditions, it is probably an inadequate mechanism for assuring choice, efficiency or equity" (Wolfe, Drover and Skelton, 1980, p.352).

They outlined the role of capital in the allocation of housing by explaining that the physical arrangement of society is due to three aspects. First is the capitalist mode of production which creates demand, promotes high cost housing and allows for further capital accumulation. Government intervention merely favours productive capital. The examples they cite are expressways which promote automobile production more than satisfy individual preferences, and low cost inner city housing which benefits industrial capital by keeping wages low. The second aspect is social class which as Harvey explained helps to define eligibility or access to the institutions financially responsible for housing (mortgage lenders, financiers for renovations, etc.). Therefore poor quality inner city housing is defined as high risk and low capital cost (Harvey, 1974). The state is the third aspect which while promoting capital accumulation also maintains social order. O'Connor in Fiscal Crisis of the State has outlined this aspect (O'Connor, 1973). Further capital accumulation is encouraged by the state advancing capital at subsidized or below average rates, by the reduction of land costs allowing land assembly and the provision of tax

concessions to production interests (Wolfe, Drover and Skelton, 1980, pp.353-354).

Smith has developed this approach relative to the process of revitalization. His paper, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification" attempts to evaluate all major economic theories of revitalization and develops his own "rent gap" theory which is based on work by Harvey and other neo-Marxist theorists.

Smith observes that housing costs decrease due to the advances in the productivity of housing (new building techniques), and housing values decrease with the general physical decline of housing conditions. Some areas remain stable if major repairs are done. However, more commonly, after owners experience the initial depreciation, they are likely to sell out and seek a safer investment. If repairs are not made, the dwelling likely converts to a rental unit. Undermaintenance is a reasonable response as investment will likely be more profitable elsewhere. With deteriorating conditions, no landlord wants to invest more than is necessary to maintain the present revenue flow. The neighbourhood experiences an outflow of capital as financiers cut off credit and abandonment could occur as the final result of this process of decline (Smith, 1979, pp.540-542).

Revitalization occurs after "physical deterioration and economic depreciation" of the housing stock reaches an extent that capital reinvestment becomes a logical market response. According to the rent gap theory, this potential for reinvestment only occurs when depreciation reaches such an extent that developers can purchase the land cheaply, redevelop or renovate it and profit from their actions. Smith states:

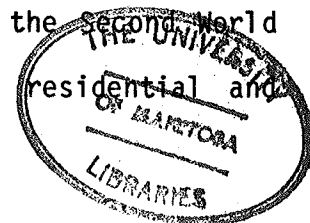
...gentrification is not a chance occurrence or an inexplicable reversal of some inevitable filtering process. On the contrary, it is to be expected. The depreciation of capital in the nineteenth century inner city neighbourhoods, together with continued urban growth during the first half of the twentieth century, have combined to produce condition in which profitable reinvestment is possible. If this rent gap theory of gentrification is correct, it would be expected that rehabilitation began where the gap was greatest and the highest returns available, ie. in neighbourhoods particularly close to the city centre and in neighbourhoods where the sequence of declining values had pretty much run its course (Smith, 1979, p.546).

From this microeconomic approach concerned with the specific workings and manipulations of the supply and demand of housing in the inner city, we move to a macroeconomic perspective, concerned with the broad national and international forces shaping the form of the inner city neighbourhood.

### 3.6 Extra-Urban Forces

This broad economic and social approach combines three general forces: national and world economic conditions, national and provincial policies and national demographic changes which either directly or indirectly affect the inner city neighbourhood. This theory emphasizes the unintended effects of these forces which historically have not benefitted the inner city area. Recently, however, there is evidence that urban policies are now aiding the new middle class "whitepainters" and spurring the revitalization of some inner city neighbourhoods. This approach is based on L.S. Bourne's "unintended policy" and "structural change" hypotheses.

Bourne suggests that many federal policies since the Second World War have either purposely or unknowingly encouraged residential and



commercial decentralization of the city. Suburbanization is the process resulting from the blatant favoritism given to suburban development by governments over inner city development. For example, federal transportation policies have favoured highway and expressway construction providing easy access to the central business district from the suburbs. Housing policies have favoured suburban growth through subsidies to both suppliers and purchasers of homes. In some cases tax policies have forced cities to depend heavily on the property tax, encouraging development outside urban municipal boundaries where property tax rates are lower. Immigration and agricultural policies have affected migration to the cities changing their growth patterns (Bourne, 1978, pp.36-39).

O'Connor emphasizes the changes in the national economy which, aided by federal policies, have had a detrimental effect. The recession of the economy with high unemployment rates coupled with the decentralization of industry and limited access to low income housing have trapped the "underclass" in many inner city neighbourhoods. The fiscal crisis of cities has meant high inner city property tax rates, increasing demand for often declining social and recreational services and increasing competition between the inner city and suburban areas for a limited tax base (O'Connor, 1973, pp.198-200). In 1970, American urban policy was defined as follows.

The Congress...declares...that the national urban growth policy should (1) favor patterns of urbanization and economic development and stabilization which offer a range of alternative locations...(3) help reverse trends of migration and physical growth, (4) treat comprehensively the problems of poverty and employment associated with disorderly urbanization and rural decline (Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970, Section 702).



Berry in "Inner City Futures: An American Dilemma Revisited" observed:

Barely a decade later, beliefs about the nature of change appear to have reversed, however, and along with them the opinions on apparent growth directions to be promoted and the corrective actions to be taken (Berry, 1979, p.2).

Pierce and Hagstrom point out that there was a distinct national urban policy shift in the mid to late seventies. Carter announced it was time, "to stop encouraging competitive suburban growth" (Pierce and Hagstrom, 1981, p.143). This came about due to:

... the growing realization by city officials that unfettered urban development, often subsidized through government housing and highway programs, has been a chief reason for urban decline (Pierce and Hagstrom, 1981, p.149).

Carter outlined the new orientation in the Urban and Regional Policy Group's 1978 report: "A New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities: A National Urban Policy". He stated:

...if the Administration is to help cities revitalize, eliminate sprawl, support the return of the middle class to central areas, improve housing conditions of the urban poor, it must increase the production of housing, rehabilitation of existing housing for middle class groups in cities... revitalization over new development (Berry, 1979, p.3).

In Canada, Hill and McClain observed that some federal policies aimed at improving inner city housing conditions for the residents (eg. Neighbourhood Improvement Program and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program) have, unlike the United States, "significantly helped the few remaining homeowners and small rental property owners retain their residences. How long they will be able to remain "is still a question" (Hill and McClain, 1982, p.3). The authors also state that recent public funding of inner city areas may be reversing the patterns of decline prevalent in the preceding decades and that this is likely detrimental to suburban areas where many programs should now be directed.

The development and support of inner-city environmental concerns, neighbourhood improvement programs, renewal of waterfront areas and industrial conversions came as much from the new settlers as it did from existing residents. The results may well have been a misallocation of government priorities and misdirection of public funding in the hopes that improved inner-city residential neighbourhoods would improve the social conditions for existing residents or that suburban land development would provide new alternatives (Hill and McClain, 1982, p.6).

A final aspect to this theory is the effect on neighbourhoods of changing national demographic characteristics including low birth rates, declining household size and increasing number of single person households. These effects are felt similarly in all neighbourhoods but most significantly in older inner city areas as such patterns as declining population densities affect long established businesses and services.

National policies and economic and social changes affect the relationships between landlords and tenants . Their particular responses to conditions affect neighbourhood stability and these ideas are explored in the next theory.

### 3.7 Landlord-Tenant Relations

This theory, although limited in its scope, is important because its focus is on neighbourhood stability and the actions that maintain it rather than on neighbourhood decline or revitalization. The main premise is that a good understanding between landlord and tenant which is a function of economic conditions, ethnicity and the size of the dwelling structure, can allow the maintenance of a good stock of inexpensive housing and a strong community. There are many pressures on a neighbourhood to break these non-economic ties between landlord and tenant.

The greatest pressure is that of redevelopment. This approach also has a strong ethnic component as the relations between landlord and tenant depend upon a cultural bond or trust. If this bond is broken, the relations become strictly economic and usually the rent increases. This theory is largely the work of Solomon and Vandell who call it "dual theory", because of the dual relationship which can exist between landlord and tenant.

These ideas are related to Grigsby and Rosenberg's "spatial concentration of low income families", "problem families" and "greedy investors" images which all emphasize the poor relations between landlord and tenant. In the "spatial concentration of low income families" it is the concentration of residents into a ghetto situation which leads to decline. "Problem families" spell the decline of their neighbourhoods by their irresponsible behaviour towards their dwellings. "Greedy investors" milk all they can out of the low income residents and gradually undermaintain their structures so it will become profitable to redevelop their sites (Grigsby and Rosenberg, 1975, pp.195-210).

Solomon and Vandell outlined three "competing behavioral hypotheses" which explain the differing behaviour between landlord and tenant according to an orthodox economic perspective, a radical neo-Marxist perspective and their "dual" perspective (Solomon and Vandell, 1982, p.83).

Under the orthodox economic perspective which would likely include Grigsby and Rosenbergs' images, landlords and tenants have an arms length business-like relationship involving a formal lease and a supply and demand rent level. Tenants are selected on their probable ability

to pay the rent as landlords are concerned with maximizing profits. Landlords will rehabilitate only if the marginal revenue due to rehabilitation will exceed the marginal cost of rehabilitation. Financing involves searching for the lowest possible interest rate of perfectly mobile capital.

Under the radical neo-Marxist perspective, landlords and tenants have a power relationship creating conflict. Monopoly rents exploit the tenants who are selected as the most disorganized, powerless, non-vocal (elderly, mix of backgrounds, ages, ethnic origins) to minimize any attempts at organization". Landlords are absentee and wealthy and maximize monopoly rents through the maintenance of their power relationships. They undermaintain their dwellings to keep housing in short supply and will only upgrade to displace old tenants with higher income tenants. Property owners and financiers cooperate thereby controlling the market and allowing for the exploitation of low income residents. Large absentee landlords do not have to seek loans and owner-occupants and small owners are redlined or must obtain financing at monopoly rates. This is much like Capital Accumulation Theory.

"Dual Theory" suggests "reciprical, personal, social" relationships between landlord and tenant, the absence of a formal lease, negotiated responsibilities (eg. tenant paints and does minor repairs) and the landlord's objective is good congenial relations with his tenants. Rents are below market "because of reciprocity and concern with homogeneity (sic) and satisfaction". Landlords seek tenants with similar background who are friendly and compatible. Landlords are owners, small scale business amateurs who are unsophisticated in accounting procedures

and "measures of profitability". Rehabilitation is largely a non-economic decision based on desire to upgrade neighbourhood and appearances. Financing comes from the family budget and not from capital markets. The landlord likes to feel he "owns the place".

Neighbourhood stability is maintained by an understanding between landlord and tenant who operate in a "peasant economy" outside normal market forces. The system breaks down if the property is sold to a new landlord incompatible with the community, or if undesirable tenants do not maintain their part of the bargain or if there are rapid changes in the local economy which force the landlord into national capital markets. The result of the breakdown would likely be higher rents, poorer maintenance and tenants who are less committed to the property. Eventually the neighbourhood would decline and be redeveloped (Solomon and Vandell, 1982, p.83).

Resident behaviour and ethnic ties are important components to neighbourhood change largely ignored by other theorists. The next theory concentrates on ethnicity in terms of the cultural isolation and discrimination that may create unique yet unsettled neighbourhoods.

### 3.8 Cultural Isolation

This theory encompasses the ideas that it is cultural and ethnic differences which can lead to prejudices and exploitation of minority groups by the established social groups. These ethnic and cultural minorities either congregate to "like" neighbourhoods by choice or are forced into ghetto situations by low income and prejudice in the housing markets. These minority groups can include immigrants from non-English

speaking countries, migrants from non-urbanized areas, non-white racial groups, low income elderly people, single-parent families and alternate lifestyle groups such as hippies, gays, etc. While low income is usually the common denominator of all these groups, it is their social position in society which allows for discrimination and exploitation of their situations. Some groups may not be low income and their cultural and ethnic contribution to the city may be appreciated, however, it is their cultural isolation which keeps them apart and creates unique neighbourhoods often in poor condition with high crime rates and social problems.

This approach is rooted in American experience where Black and Hispanic ghettos have been studied for decades. Grigsby and Rosenberg's "exploitive system" and "racial iscrimination" images consider the discrimination and exploitation of minorities and disadvantaged inner city residents. L.S. Bourne's "fiscal crisis and the underclass" and "conflict" hypotheses concentrate on the segregation and isolation of these groups.

Banfield has blamed low income groups for their problems, observing that they are, "...present oriented... and governed by impulse" (Banfield, 1974, p.62). Harvey, as noted in *Capital Accumulation*, explains that, "...social class helps to define eligibility or access to those institutions which are financially responsible for housing..." (Harvey, 1974). Both acknowledge the importance of social class and income in neighbourhood condition.

In Canada this view has particular relevance regarding Native Indians and immigrant groups. Canadian inner cities have since World

War II been dominated by minority groups, although this may be changing rapidly. Bourne suggests that these groups are forced into cultural isolation by a systematic exploitation and by uncertainty, disorganization and conflict from within their own groups. Such patterns as high death rates, high occurrence of disease, inadequate social services, high unemployment, high crime rates and economic uncertainty create conditions similar to those in the Third World (Bourne, 1978, p.49). Downs observes that these conditions, often exaggerated by the middle classes, keep these neighbourhoods segregated and encourage suburbanization (Downs, 1970, pp.29-37).

As is often the case, the Canadian situation is not as extreme as the American. However, the influx of Native Indians into cities such as Regina and Winnipeg have created neighbourhood conditions comparable to that in the United States. The Institute of Urban Studies has documented that 30% of the total population of Winnipeg is now Native Indian and that these households move frequently indicating instability, inadequate housing or forced moves (McKee et al., 1979, pp.24-25). Hill and McClain outlined in Redefining the Inner City the reasons Native Indians come to the cities.

Native Canadians come to the inner city in hopes of employment, better housing and more opportunity for their children. Because of the lack of support services and, sometimes, a lack of confidence which prevents them from stepping beyond their own community in the inner city, some opportunities are cut off. Of all the settlers in the inner city, native people are frequently the most isolated and experience greater problems of adjustment while living under extreme hardship (Hill and McClain, 1982, p.6).

Often a large proportion of the inner city's population is elderly. In 1976, Winnipeg had the highest concentration of elderly in the

inner city compared to all Canadian Cities and its housing stock was in the second worse condition (McKee et al., 1979, p.10). McClain and Hill observe that the elderly stay in the inner city because of strong cultural ties, familiarity, lack of family ties, social service dependencies or because they have no other alternatives (Hill and McClain, 1982, p.4).

Ethnic and cultural values are also the principal determinant of neighbourhood change in the last theory, outlined next.

### 3.9 Social Movement

This theory concentrates on the importance of similar social values in the revitalization of inner city areas and in many ways indicates a complementary view to Cultural Isolation. While the previous theory was concerned with the isolating effects of minority cultures, this approach emphasizes the changing preferences of a new middle class. Their tastes and lifestyles are not governed by economic factors but rather by concerns for quality of life. This approach differs from Consumer Preference in terms of tastes and values which are collectively determined rather than individually determined.

Allen has noted that the revitalization process has undertones of ideology and utopia. The new residents of the inner city are middle income, anti-suburban and pro-urban with a taste for cultural diversity and pluralism. While Allen thinks the new settlers may be romantically distorted, he states that they, "are trend-setters, the tastemakers, and perhaps the harbingers of a wider social movement" (Allen, 1980, p.409). The new residents are attracted to the inner city for precisely



the reasons the old middle class residents left in Cultural Isolation: social diversity of class, age, status and sexual orientation. Allen suggests there are three reasons behind the revitalization movement: practical reasons determined by economic considerations, preferential reasons determined by choices of lifestyle and ideological reasons based in values originating in the 1960s: communal living, acceptance of non-conformists and participation in social movements (Allen, 1980, p.412). The children of the 1960s have grown up and are now the new middle class.

Smith has outlined the changing social and demographic characteristics reflecting the new lifestyles: fewer children, postponed marriages and rising divorce rate (Smith, 1979, p.538). In his arguments against consumer preference, he stated the case for this theory.

If cultural choice and consumer preference really explain gentrification, this amounts either to the hypothesis that individual preferences change in unison not only nationally but internationally...or that the overriding constraints are strong enough to obliterate the individuality implied in consumer preference. If the latter is the case, the concept of consumer preference is at best contradictory: a process first conceived in terms of individual consumption preference has now to be explained as resulting from cultural uni-dimensionality. The concept can be rescued as theoretically viable only if it is used to refer to collective social preference, not individual preference (Smith, 1979, p.540).

David Ley in "Ideology of Livability", commented on the emergence of a liberal reform party in Vancouver that was based in these values.

It [the liberal reform party] institutionalized the values of a social movement of professionals and senior white collar workers who were drawn towards issues of meaning and quality of experience in urban life- Maslow's higher needs.... Wherever scarcity is becoming social rather than material, the promise of an enhance quality to consumption in an environment designed to maximize livability will lead to a predictable market response (Ley, 1980, p.7).

Ley observes that in contemporary post-industrial cities, white collar workers dominate blue collar workers bringing an emphasis on consumption and amenity rather than work. This means that patterns of consumption come to dictate patterns of production and, "guide central land use decisions" (Ley, 1978, p.11).

While this movement has been actively encouraged by many urban municipalities because of purported increased tax bases, lowered crime rates, preserved housing stock and improved neighbourhood stability, Julia Weston has outlined the disadvantages:

...because it also leads to increasing competition for inner-city housing, more and more urban planners are beginning to question the assumption that the movement is necessarily socially progressive. Some of the costs that are now being realized are: the displacement of previous residents due to sudden large increases in rents or property taxes; the deconversion of multi-unit structures into lower density units, resulting in a net loss in the number of housing units in the city; and higher costs for improved municipal services demanded by the new, articulate middle class residents (Weston, 1982, p.11).

Evidence of this type of social movement in a neighbourhood will be apparent from the demographic characteristics, the physical characteristics and the emerging problems, as identified by Weston.

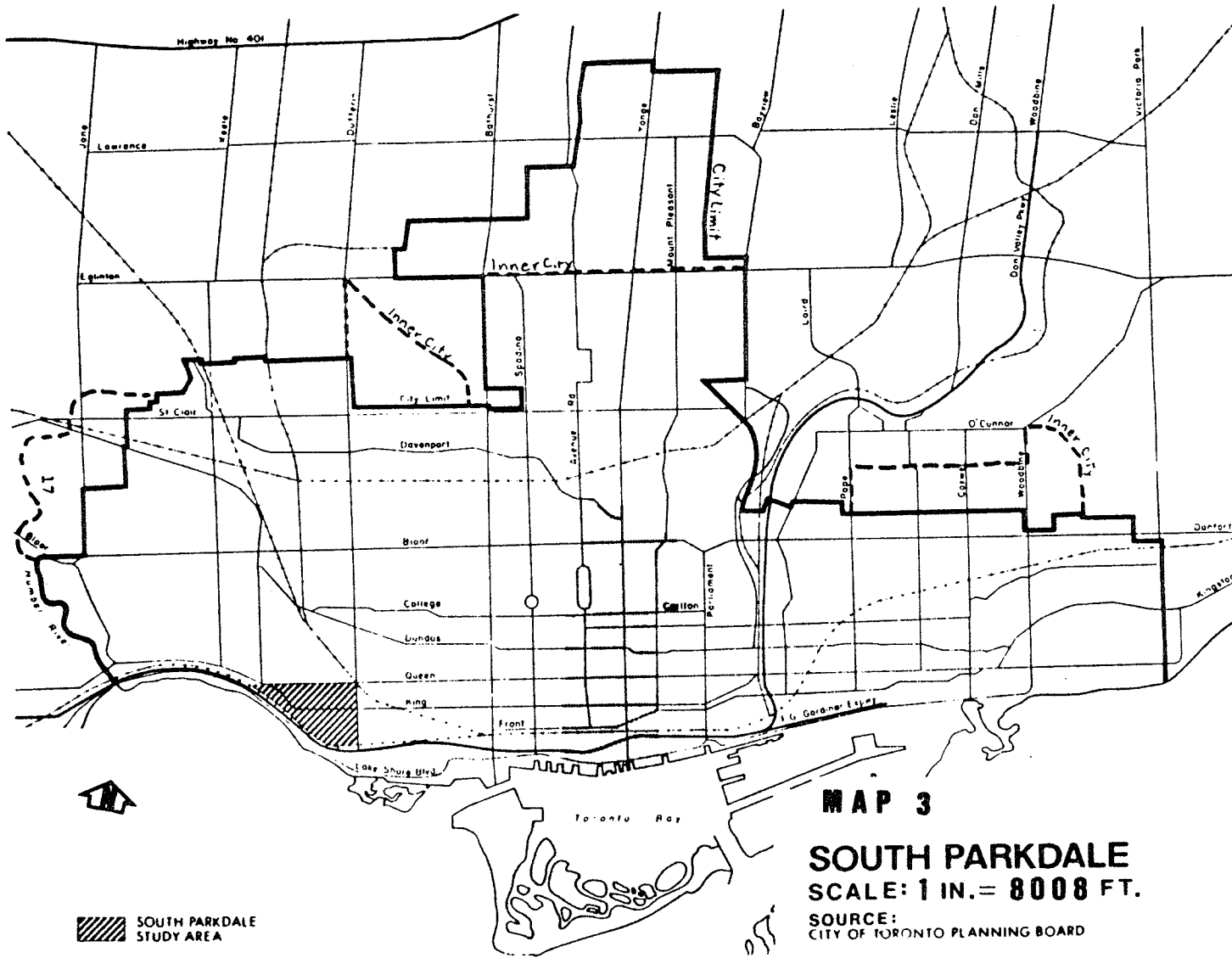
This concludes the outline of these theories. The following chapters interpret these ideas in three neighbourhoods in the Inner City of Toronto. Following these interpretations, these theories are evaluated in terms of their applicability to the neighbourhoods studied and critiqued regarding their limitations and usefulness in explaining the evidence of neighbourhood change.

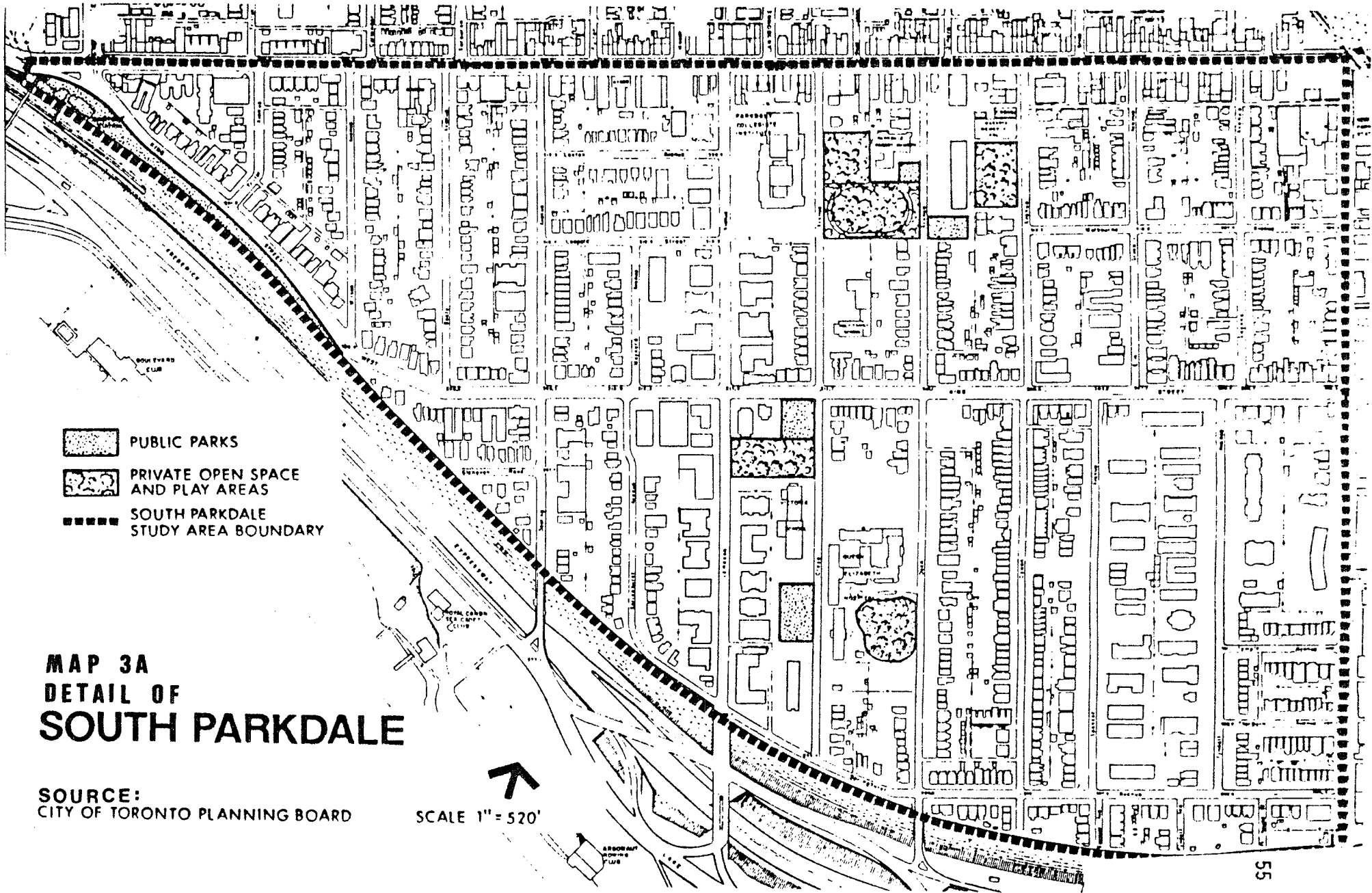
## CHAPTER 4




## SOUTH PARKDALE

The neighbourhood of South Parkdale is a clearly delineated area located in the south-west of the Inner City of Toronto. It is bounded by Queen Street to the north, Dufferin Street to the east and the Gardiner Expressway and Canadian National Railway mainline to the south and west. Map 3 indicates the location of South Parkdale in the Inner City of Toronto. Map 3A provides a detailed look at the neighbourhood.

Historically it has developed from a separate village to an exclusive suburb with a rural and lakeshore setting to an inner city neighbourhood with diverse and unique characteristics. Today it is a neighbourhood of contrasts. It enjoys a physically attractive setting on low bluffs above the lake, but is cut off from the lake by the very busy Gardiner expressway and the CN mainline. It is an area of huge old Victorian homes, some well preserved, others renovated in a modern style but many are run down boarding houses. It has a stable resident population, politically conservative, which is usually at odds with the newer, primarily low income residents who are often politically radical. The Queen Street Mental Health Clinic is located near the area and South Parkdale provides inexpensive single household housing for many of the out-patients who are often alienated and unemployed. The presence of several group homes in the area is a contentious issue with many of the residents. South Parkdale also supports a varied immigrant population. Queen Street provides the main commercial activity and is in distinct





-  PUBLIC PARKS
-  PRIVATE OPEN SPACE AND PLAY AREAS
-  SOUTH PARKDALE STUDY AREA BOUNDARY

**MAP 3A  
DETAIL OF  
SOUTH PARKDALE**

**SOURCE:**  
CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD

SCALE 1" = 520'

decline. To the north and west is a relatively stable and well-to-do neighbourhood bordering High Park. To the north-east is a stable low income neighbourhood. To the east is an industrial area with railway yards and to the south east is the Canadian National Exhibition grounds with an annual fair and continuous sports events. Parkdale is about a twenty minute streetcar ride from downtown Toronto.

The major sources of information on South Parkdale include Census of Canada statistics and neighbourhood studies Trends and Planning Goals: South Parkdale (1976), South Parkdale Commercial Study (1977), Toronto Planning Atlas (1980) and Neighbourhood Plan Proposals: South Parkdale (1983) both published by the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

#### 4.1 Characteristics

Table 3 provides information on the characteristics of South Parkdale based on Census of Canada statistics for 1971 and 1981.

Population: The population has declined moderately between 1971 and 1981, (-3.0%) although the population loss was greater in the entire inner city of Toronto (-6.5%). The population of the neighbourhood had been increasing up until 1971 and now appears to have stabilized.

The population of South Parkdale in 1971 was 19,140, representing a total increase of 40% over the 20 year period 1951-1971. This increase occurred primarily between 1956 and 1966 and the population has by and large remained stable since then (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.35).

There are far less children in the area compared to the inner city, but their numbers are not declining as rapidly as in the inner city. The number of elderly is comparable for both areas and their numbers are

TABLE 3 Characteristics of South Parkdale, Inner City of Toronto  
1971, 1981

Variable	South Parkdale		Inner City	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Population (% of IC)	19,140(3.0%)	18,561(3.1%)	642,290	600,687
Age groups:				
less than 19	20%	19%	28%	24%
65 and over	11%	12%	10%	12%
Households:				
number	6950	8775	221,060	234,080
average size	2.6	2.0	3.2	2.6
Average household income	\$8,401	NA	\$10,104	NA
Education:				
less than grade 9	31%	NA	42%	NA
university	5%	NA	6%	NA
Families:				
number	4190	3895	159,780	137,600
family size	2.6	2.0	3.2	3.0
child/family	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.2
Born outside Canada	24%	NA	45%	NA
Type of Dwelling:				
single detached	7%	6%	22%	22%
apartments	84%	86%	43%	46%
Dwellings:				
owner-occupied	10%	8%	43%	43%
Room per dwelling	4.1	NA	5.2	NA
Average annual rent	\$1620	NA	\$1438	NA

NOTE: 1981 figures were taken from advance census data, hence not all information was available when this research was carried out.

Source: Statistics Canada: 1971, 1981 Census of Canada

increasing moderately.

Average household size is significantly smaller in South Parkdale and is declining generally throughout the CMA. The number of households has increased from 6950 in 1971 to 8775 in 1981. This indicates an increase in apartment units and conversion of single family houses into multi-unit dwellings. South Parkdale remains an neighbourhood with one of the highest population densities in the city (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.27).

Mobility of the population can be measured by migration and immigration into and out of the area. In 1971, migrants (defined by Statistics Canada as persons 5 years and older whose place of residence was outside the municipality 5 years previously) made up 35% of the population and immigrants (residents born outside Canada but not necessarily migrants) made up 42% of the population (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, pp.36-45).

Overall educational attainment was higher in South Parkdale in 1971 than in the inner city as a whole with only 31% of the population with less than grade 9 compared with 42% for the inner city. University graduates made up 5% of the population in South Parkdale and 6% of the population of the inner city.

Socio-economic Status: South Parkdale average household income figures from Table 3 indicate a lower income level than in the inner city area as a whole. There is little reason to expect this pattern has changed as in 1977, a report on commercial activity in the area observed that, "income levels had fallen and the number of discount or second-hand stores had increased dramatically...(City of Toronto Planning Board



1977, p.22). The unemployment rate was 8% in 1976 compared with 7% for Toronto and 66% of the working labour force worked within the boundaries of the City of Toronto (roughly comparable to the inner city area), (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1980, pp. 96-98).

The results of a 1975 housing survey stated:

...the income and employment situation of certain sections of the resident labour force in South Parkdale has deteriorated in recent years. Of the residents interviewed in the 1975 survey, 25% noted some form of assistance as their primary source of income. In 20% of the households interviewed, no one was employed. This trend could be a significant aspect of the apparent local instability (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.50).

Employment breakdowns for 1976 indicate about 3% of the total employment involved in retail activities, 5% in office functions, 69% in factory and warehouse jobs and 23% in other activities (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1980, pp.82-90).

Census data indicates that South Parkdale had a low car ownership ratio relative to the rest of the city. In 1971, 46% of the households had one or more cars compared to 56% for the city of Toronto and 77% for Metropolitan Toronto (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1976, p.82).

Family Status: Fewer children than the inner city area, declining household size and increasing number of households in South Parkdale has already been established under population characteristics. The number of families has remained fairly stable (4190 in 1971 and 3895 in 1981) and family size in 1981 was 2.0 persons per family compared to 3.0 for the Inner City. The number of children per family increased slightly to 1 from 0.9 over the ten year period. In 1981, 49% of the residents were single, higher than the CMA, 38% married, much lower than the CMA, 8%

widowed and 6% divorced, both higher than the CMA (1981 Census of Canada).

Ethnicity: Although dominated by residents of British Origin and English mother tongue, South Parkdale has a varied ethnic composition. In 1971 there were significant Asian, French, German, Polish and Ukrainian groups and in 1981, Chinese, French, German and Portuguese languages were identified as the mother tongues by about 10% of the residents. Other Ethnic groups identified in a recent survey include, "native Indians, native Black Canadians and West Indians" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.36). In 1971, 24% of the population was born outside Canada compared to 45% for the inner city of Toronto.

Community Organization: The residents of South Parkdale are split into two distinct political groups: resident homeowners with common interests and concerns and traditional values, and new arrivals and tenants who are generally poorly organized, subjected to social tensions and politically radical. The extremes of wealth and poverty, privileged and underprivileged, elegant homes and slum dwellings have split the neighbourhood. Moreover, the overwhelming image is that of despair:

Today, South Parkdale brings to mind psychiatric patients jettisoned from Queen Street's mental health facility who are left to fend for themselves. Underneath this troubled public surface is a similarly tumultuous political reality. A long-standing clash of interests and ideologies - the "two different worlds" of Parkdale...makes accord on any of the community's issues seem more remote still (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p. 7).

According to the 1976 neighbourhood study, the resident homeowners are a "cohesive community... with similar interests" (City of Toronto

Planning Board, 1976, p.74). The South Parkdale Residents Association defends their interests and recently successfully prevented any new group homes from being established in the area through a zoning variance. They are concerned that group homes and single family dwelling conversions to multi-unit, illegal (according to building codes) "bachelorette" apartments are having a negative impact on property values. The tenants and migrants are a heterogeneous group and a number of community services and organizations attempt to serve their needs. The 1976 neighbourhood report notes that, "...the communities that are emerging seem to be based on specific interests or needs of those living close rather than simply geographic location" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.78). The Parkdale Working Group on Bachelorettes and the Parkdale Tenants Association are the major organizations established to serve their needs. Some local ethnic groups have established service organizations. In general the largest group of residents, the tenants, are poorly organized.

As a result of these perceived problems, (noise, molestation, loud noisy tenants, winos) the diversity of interests and the recent arrival of many residents, the South Parkdale community is unorganized and therefore seems unable to initiate and sustain the process of resolving neighbourhood problems (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.78).

The neighbourhood is divided along lines of income, ethnicity, tenure and lifestyle.

Physical Conditions: A general survey of South Parkdale indicates an aging housing stock, almost all pre-World War II, mostly in fair to good condition, some renovated and many needing improvements: "many 2-3 storey houses have been allowed to deteriorate to the extent that exten-

sive repairs or renovations seem needed"(City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.31). It is generally an architecturally attractive area with large Victorian houses, many converted into boarding houses or more recently, "bachelorettes", self-contained basically one room apartments. The bachelorettes are helping to maintain the relatively high population density and increase the number of households. While dwellings housing bachelorettes may not be in poor condition, the cramped living conditions and minimal maintenance may develop severe physical problems. Apartment blocks are mostly 10-20 years old, in good condition and concentrated in the centre of the neighbourhood. The poorest housing conditions are on the eastern side of the neighbourhood, with gradual improvement toward the western side. Whitepainting is sporadic and not as extensive as in other neighbourhoods in Toronto that are as architecturally attractive.

Housing/land Costs: Average house prices for the general area indicate a pattern of lower house prices in South Parkdale relative to the whole region (CMA). For example the average residential price of all houses sold in 1965 was \$17,448 in the area of South Parkdale compared to \$20,213 for the region. By 1983, the average price was \$94,448 in South Parkdale compared to \$102,524 for the region (Toronto Real Estate Board, 1965, 1983). Suzanne Das Gupta, of a local Real Estate company, Darrell Kent, suggested that the building of the Gardiner Expressway in the mid-1950s caused property values to fall below that of the city average. As well the fact that South Parkdale is made up largely of big houses brings the average price up relative to the smaller overall city house size. There is a limited market for these dwellings.

Tenure: From Table 3, it is clear that in South Parkdale owner-occupancy is very low at 8% of all dwellings in 1981 and declining. This indicates that rental apartments made up 92% of the dwellings in 1981. These figures do not compare with the Inner City where owner-occupied dwellings made up 43% of the total and had not changed over the ten year period. Single detached dwellings declined from 7 to 6% of the total by 1981 while apartments increased their share of the dwellings from 84 to 86% of the total. In the Inner City of Toronto single detached dwellings remained unchanged at 22% and apartments increased to 46% of the total in 1981. In 1971, average annual rent was significantly higher in South Parkdale (\$1620) compared to the Inner City (\$1438).

Non-residential Functions: Retail activity is limited to Queen Street and to a limited extent, King Street. The diversity of businesses along Queen has been eroded over the last decade and is now limited to certain types of outlets.

It would appear that, by 1976, the retail strip on Queen Street reflected the change in character of the South Parkdale neighbourhood that had taken place in the previous twenty-five years. The number of personal services declined, which is probably indicative of a declining demand for barbers, cleaners, etc. in the 1970's. As well, the number of supermarkets, household furnishings, and clothing accessory shops fell possibly due to the trend towards auto-oriented plaza and downtown shopping for these kinds of commodities (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.22).

The number of secondhand and discount stores has increased dramatically as was previously noted under Socio-economic characteristics.

Pressure for Redevelopment: Over the last decade there has been limited redevelopment activity and what has occurred has concentrated on the conversion and deconversion of single family dwellings into apart-

ments or back into single family dwellings. There is some whitepainting and some infill housing. However, there have been no new major developments and no proposed developments other than the expansion of a hospital in the area. There has been some land assembly but generally expectations and pressures for redevelopment are low.

#### 4.2 Patterns of Change

From the characteristics, several overall trends or patterns of change can be identified. These are outlined relative to McLemore et al.'s 10 dimensions of the inner city neighbourhood (see Table 2).

1. High mobility of the resident population: while the overall population has not changed significantly over the last decade, there is strong evidence to suggest that a significant percentage of the population does not stay long in the neighbourhood. The declining average household size, significant migrant population, increasing number of households, especially single-person households, the decline in the percentage of children making up the population and the increase in the number of apartments all indicate a highly mobile resident population. The "bachelorette" conversion and the deinstitutionalization of residents of the Queen Street Mental Health Centre and other mental institutions have allowed South Parkdale to develop into a first placement neighbourhood for the former patients. They have little income and housing choice and the neighbourhood offers single-household accommodation at affordable rates close to a mental institution. They are likely a highly mobile group.

2. Decreasing socio-economic status: an average income below the

city average (1971), increasing tenancy, evidence of social assistance, high unemployment, declining commercial functions and the deinstitutionalized residents all indicate a low and declining average income level.

3. Increasing single households: while the number of families has declined only slightly, the increase in the number of households and apartments (especially single unit "bachelorettes") and decline in the percentage of children in the population indicate a significant increase in single households. This is maintaining the population and making South Parkdale one of the most densely populated neighbourhoods in Toronto.

4. Entry point for minorities: some ethnic and minority groups evidently make use of the supply of relatively inexpensive housing for initial short-term residency. Some ethnic groups have established a distinct community as is evidenced from their social organizations but many likely move on to better housing as their income will allow it, as evidenced by the largely poor social organization in the area and the high mobility of the population.

5. Poor social organization: a vocal and politically active resident population does not prevent the poor organization, conflict and frustration evident in the neighbourhood. The conflicts stem from two very different resident groups, the resident homeowners and the tenants. The resident homeowners are better organized but make up less than 10% of the population.

6. Declining physical conditions: an aging housing stock, declining housing quality, conversions of single family dwellings into apartments or rooming houses and limited evidence of whitepainting and

revitalization indicate declining physical conditions.

7. Below city average house costs: average residential sale prices below the city average indicate relatively low property values. However the area is architecturally attractive, the houses are large and the location near the lake and downtown can only be advantages. The area is likely ripe for revitalization but some forces are holding this process back.

8. Increasing tenancy: the increasing number of apartments, the conversion of single family dwellings into multi-unit residences and the very low and declining homeownership indicate high and increasing tenancy.

9. Decline of non-residential functions: the conversion of the retail strip on Queen Street into discount and second-hand outlets indicates a decline in commercial activity in the neighbourhood. Industry is not significant in the area however in areas to the east of South Parkdale, there has likely been a decline in this function due to the economy and decentralization of industry.

10. Little pressure for development: little recent development activity, limited evidence of neighbourhood revitalization and few development proposals indicate a low pressure for redevelopment.

From Table 2, which outlined the dimensions of the four types of inner city neighbourhoods, it is evident that South Parkdale can be defined as a neighbourhood of decline according to the criteria of McLemore et al.

#### 4.3 Theoretical Interpretation

Using the neighbourhood characteristics and the identified patterns



of change, the nine theories of neighbourhood change can be interpreted in South Parkdale.

Filtering: There is good evidence to suggest that the filtering model of neighbourhood change holds for South Parkdale. The neighbourhood is now largely low income but was once an exclusive neighbourhood of large elegant Victorian homes. Many of these homes have now been converted into rooming houses and "bachelorettes", relatively inexpensive accommodation for single, lower income short-term residents. Hoyt's sector theory might hold that South Parkdale was a fashionable neighbourhood until the fashionable residents moved north beside High Park which is still a fashionable neighbourhood today. There is evidence that new arrivals, immigrants and low income groups with either little housing choice, physical or mental problems or a non-conforming lifestyle congregate in the apartments, rooming houses and "bachelorettes" that make up most of the housing stock of South Parkdale. There is also evidence that many of these residents do not stay in the neighbourhood long and move out possibly due to housing conversions (to bachelorettes, back to single family, etc.) or perhaps a rise in income. The filtering scenario has been evidenced in the 1983 study by the City of Toronto Planning Department:

...the physical changes that occurred in the area, the influx of many low-income people, particularly single people, and the popularly perceived rapid deterioration in social living led to the flight of families and moderate income people from the neighbourhood. The larger houses in South Parkdale were too costly for prospective family residents and less economic for the creation of rental family units than for small apartments catering to single people (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.30).

According to the filtering theory, South Parkdale is a declining neighbourhood because of the reduced demand for the housing stock by the middle income groups and the over-supply of large old housing. There is only minimal evidence of "reverse filtering" or revitalization as, according to the theory, the market in the area has not reached the final stages of the filtering process whereby reinvestment can become a popular choice. The strongest evidence against the filtering model is the long-term residency of a small minority of homeowners who have maintained their dwellings yet not "whitepainted" them and seem to choose to live in South Parkdale because they want to.

Invasion and Succession: There is strong evidence in South Parkdale indicating that new residents are "invading" the neighbourhood and taking it over. However there is little evidence indicating that the "invaders" are a "like population" better able to adapt to their environment. As the filtering model indicates, new residents are moving into the low income housing and many of these new residents are immigrants. There is evidence that changes have occurred to allow for the invasion of this neighbourhood, as McKenzie outlined. For example, Suzanne Das Gupta, a real estate agent has suggested that the building of a major transportation route, the Gardiner Expressway, was the turning point in the stability of South Parkdale: property values declined relative to the city average after its construction and the area has declined ever since. As well, the physical "obsolescence" of the aging housing stock, too large for middle income families and not "economic" enough for conversion to middle income family units, creates another of McKenzie's conditions which initiate the invasion process.

There has been a redistribution of income in the area as middle income people have moved out and low income people moved in, another condition for invasion. Finally there has been a type of real estate promotion as conversion of the big old houses into "bachelorettes" has occurred (illegally) and successfully as a profitable investment. The "invaders" are being offered resistance as is evident in media coverage:

Old Guard alderman Ben Grys shows a patriarch's disdain for the "radical" new boys in the neighbourhood. "I'm a great believer," says Grys, "in telling my children, or anybody else's children, 'You don't know what it's like to be 45 because you haven't experienced it, but I know what it's like to be 20.' What I mean by that is that a person who's lived here for five years shouldn't tell a person who's lived here for 35 years that they don't know what's right for the neighbourhood. ...Maybe they should listen first, and then find out the truth and let us stabilize the neighbourhood" (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p.7).

However, while the conditions for invasion are met, there is no evidence that the invading species is similar to any overall extent. The invaders are made up of low income tenants, deinstitutionalized psychiatric patients and different immigrant groups. Their only common characteristic is low income. As well it is unlikely that these new residents are better able to adapt to the neighbourhood. Instead it appears that they are people with few alternatives in terms of housing and South Parkdale offers them their only alternative. Burgess suggested that high rates of mobility, neighbourhood "metabolism" and high property values were inter-related. In South Parkdale, mobility and "metabolism" are inter-related judging by the evidence of high mobility and the volatile political situation, however high property values do not seem to follow. Finally there is no evidence that succession is occurring and it is unlikely that if the new residents are able to dominate the

neighbourhood that stability will result.

Special Interests: There is minimal evidence that special interests are controlling and dominating the local housing market. However there is evidence that some of their activities are affecting the present neighbourhood conditions and perhaps waiting for the right economic situation before initiating the revitalization process. The "greedy investor" image could hold for the non-resident landlord who converts his large single-family dwelling into bachelorettes. He is able to charge higher proportional rents on the space, make a reasonable profit and exploit the low income and sometimes disadvantaged tenants. As noted in the characteristics, poor physical conditions due to undermaintenance are a significant problem in the neighbourhood and this could be due to exploitive landlords or financial "redlining" of the area preventing access to loan money for upkeep of the dwellings. While there appears to be little evidence of land assembly and "blockbusting" in South Parkdale, one observer, a social worker in the area suggests that housing conditions may change:

...things could get worse for the ex-psychiatric patients and low income people generally, when the economy picks up. Stern says the [Supportive Housing] coalition would not be able to buffer the shock if many boarding houses were turned over to renovation as luxury properties. She says many buildings in the area are now being bought up by real estate companies in anticipation of an economic upswing (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p.7).

There is limited evidence of "cataclysmic" money and development having greatly altered the neighbourhood. There was an apartment boom in the 1960s in the centre of the neighbourhood which altered some of the traditional residential character but there has been no major re-

development projects since. The building of the Gardiner Expressway could be considered "cataclysmic" in terms of the impact on the property values in the neighbourhood and limiting access to the lake.

Consumer Preference: In South Parkdale there is little evidence that the majority of residents are able to make local housing choices based on their income and tastes. Their housing preferences are severely limited by low income and sometimes social handicaps. However there is evidence that South Parkdale is a neighbourhood that generates diversity and vitality. The only evidence of individual consumer action is in the sporadic whitepainting throughout the neighbourhood and the long term residency of a small but stable group of dedicated homeowners. Their individual activities such as renovation, deconversion of rooming houses and reinvestment and maintenance of their dwellings indicates a renewed or maintained faith in the neighbourhood. However, as evidenced in the application of Invasion and Succession, many of these "stable" residents do not approve of the newer, more diversified residents. The diversity of the neighbourhood is very evident:

Old and new, left and right, rich and poor...in Parkdale they're all in evidence and often at war. The consensus is that Parkdale is probably the most diverse region of city, and a walk along its Queen Street median, west of Dufferin, seems to bear this out. Filipino, Caribbean and Vietnamese food stores represent the waves of new immigrants who have alighted in the area (Parkdale is one of the few downtown neighbourhoods most new immigrants can afford)... (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p.7).

This diversity has created a strong sense of community, stimulated activities and created a strong public awareness of South Parkdale's problems and controversies. This vitality implies a component of community involvement. However there is little evidence that this diver-

sity and vitality is initiating a process of self-improvement or Jacob's "unslumming". There has been no significant drop in the population, vacancies are apparent and community organization is weak, all conditions limiting the advent of unslumming. The individual activity of the consumer in South Parkdale may be severely limited, but the individual activity of the resident is substantial.

Capital Accumulation: This theory is supported by several activities. The building of the Gardiner Expressway represents the power of state in serving the dominant interests of the ruling class as the neighbourhood declined after its construction. The neighbouring industrial base has declined in importance relative to the rapid industrial growth in the suburbs. Houses are depreciating in value relative to the city average and there is little reinvestment. Capital is draining out of the neighbourhood due to undermaintenance, largely the result of the restrictions on borrowed capital. Low cost South Parkdale housing is clearly ignored by the manipulators of the market who allow it to decline in condition and value. The only exception is the bachelorettes which indicate a profitable reinvestment in the area, although illegal, exploitive of the ex-psychiatric patients and other low income residents that are often forced to live there and the probable cause of some of the social conflict and animosity in the neighbourhood. Many of the residents are aware of this exploitation and manipulation and it has created a very politically active and aware neighbourhood:

...there is Parkdale, the battle zone, whose slide from Victorian grandeur to urban decay has bred a tough, street-centred political tradition... early tenant activities in Parkdale were responsible for the rise of the Metro Tenants Foundation. As well...Parkdale Community Legal Services has a near legendary status across Ontario for turning out first class community legal workers (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p.7).

The pattern of single family housing conversion to rental units, undermaintenance of dwellings, and the inevitable outflow of capital from the neighbourhood indicate Smith's conditions of economic depreciation. The strong political activity indicates resistance to the process and the emergence of some limited renovation activity may indicate the time is close for capital reinvestment.

Extra-Urban Forces: There is indirect evidence that national policy decisions, national economic conditions and demographic changes have had a profound effect on South Parkdale. Federal and provincial policies over the last several decades have favoured suburban development luring middle class residents away from the neighbourhood. Transportation policies have allowed the Gardiner Expressway and shopping centres to be built, cutting off South Parkdale from the lake, decreasing property values and weakening its commercial and retail base. High unemployment rates and the decentralization of industry have "trapped" low income residents into neighbourhoods like South Parkdale where the housing is relatively inexpensive due to its age and condition. Newer housing policies have favoured renovation and their impact has been felt in some parts of the neighbourhood. However it is not clear if the recipients of the benefits of the programs are low income long time residents or higher income newcomers. Changing demographic conditions have also affected South Parkdale. The declining number of families, declining household size and increasing proportion of single households are national trends which have had a significant impact on the use of many old large South Parkdale homes. The conversion to boarding houses and bachelorettes is partly due to these changing patterns. The 1983 neighbourhood plan proposals noted the impact of some of these forces.

The construction of the Gardiner Expressway in the mid-1950's, the advance in age of long-standing home-owners and the flight from home of their children, and the increase in heavy truck traffic on neighbourhood streets led to a change in the character of South Parkdale.... The construction of the Gardiner Expressway destroyed the historical character of the neighbourhood and effectively isolated residents from the lake front and the Western Beaches (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.22).

The impact of these broad forces is difficult to pinpoint in terms of specific changes but the evidence is clear in the general sense.

Landlord-Tenant Relations: South Parkdale has not been defined as a stable neighbourhood according to McLemore et al.'s definition and clearly landlord-tenant relations in the neighbourhood do not reflect the reciprocal and personal social relationships evident in a stable neighbourhood according to "Dual Theory". Instead the relations appear to be much more power and conflict oriented as outlined under the radical neo-Marxist hypothesis. These poor relations can be traced to several characteristics: the conversion of many single family dwellings into boarding houses and bachelorettes which have, "increased both physical and social instability and have led to an imbalance of the population structure of the neighbourhood (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.31); non-resident landlords have allowed houses to deteriorate; and the influx of low income immigrants, ex-psychiatric patients and single-household residents that has greatly increased the demand for low income housing and created a shortage of these units and pressure for conversion of single-family houses. Bachelorettes represent extreme economic and perhaps exploitive relationships:



...some bachelorettes, particularly the newly renovated ones, are more expensive than a one-bedroom apartment and about the same cost as a two-bedroom apartment in moderate rental apartment buildings. It may be that the high cost bachelorettes are the most expensive housing when considered on the basis of rental cost per square foot (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p. 60).

But while many residents are limited in their ability to change the situation, they are vocal and have been successful in setting up organizations such as the Metro Tenants Foundation and the Supportive Housing Coalition to work for their interests. Evidence of strictly economic relationships is apparent in the 1976 study of the neighbourhood.

The local decline in private construction is part of a city-wide trend and the consequence of an economic slump in the housing market....Rising rents and increasingly restrictively tenant selection effectively reduces the housing stock available to low income people (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1976, p.54).

While evidence of "Dual Theory" is not apparent, the conflicting relationships between landlords and tenants are clearly adding to the instability of the neighbourhood.

Cultural Isolation: There is evidence that ethnic and minority groups are disorganized, frustrated, exploited and discriminated against regarding housing and social status in South Parkdale. The diversity, ethnic composition and extent of low income and special needs groups in the neighbourhood have been documented in the characteristics. Their disorganization and frustration have been outlined and discussed in the Patterns of Change and in previous theoretical interpretations especially Invasion and Succession, Consumer Preference and Capital Accumulation. Their exploitation was suggested regarding high rent bachelorettes, limited housing choice and apartment rental restrictions. There

is open discrimination against the existence of group homes in the area which house special needs groups. At a public meeting to discuss a proposed group home for ex-psychiatric patients in an area bordering South Parkdale, the local response was very hostile:

"Alderman Grys called a public meeting and stood up in front of all these screaming and ranting and raving about people who were going to rape their children. They were insulting, they were ignorant, and they had been whipped into a frenzy by people who started out to whip them into a frenzy on a cynical basis" (Globe and Mail, January 15, 1983, p.7).

Both aldermen who represent South Parkdale's interests have a close association with an organization which opposes group homes in the neighbourhood. The 1983 study by the city planning department observed:

The present number and level of concentration of ex-psychiatric homes in South Parkdale, combined with the number of other types of homes, threatens the stability of the area as a residential neighbourhood accommodating a variety of households, particularly families (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.33).

Clearly there are strong forces against this type of institutional dwelling and it is understandable that these disadvantaged residents would feel isolated. There is no evidence of blatant racial discrimination although a variety of racial groups inhabit the area.

Social Movement: There is little evidence that the "new middle class" is making significant inroads into the neighbourhood of South Parkdale. However the area has characteristics that suggest it may be the next "Cabbagetown". The houses are architecturally attractive, not as expensive as other attractive housing suitable for renovation in other parts of the inner city and commercial areas have the potential to provide the services demanded by a middle class population. However the 1983 neighbourhood study suggests that while there is some whitepainting

activity, South Parkdale is unlikely to experience the kind of neighbourhood revitalization apparent in Cabbagetown:

...the areas of apartment buildings,...the concentration of bachelorette conversions and institutional homes in the neighbourhood, and the type of residents that some of these would continue to accommodate would limit the tendency toward "white-painting" in South Parkdale (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983, p.45).

However, as noted earlier in Special Interests, there is a fear that with an economic upswing, the low-rent boarding houses would be deconverted and renovated into high income dwellings.

Summary This concludes the theoretical interpretations of South Parkdale. The characteristics of South Parkdale indicate that it is a neighbourhood in the state of decline. High resident mobility, widespread low income problems, relatively inexpensive housing, low property values, declining physical conditions and commercial activity, extremely high tenancy and a political and socially divided resident population that is generally poorly organized all indicate that the neighbourhood fits closely to the definition of a declining neighbourhood.

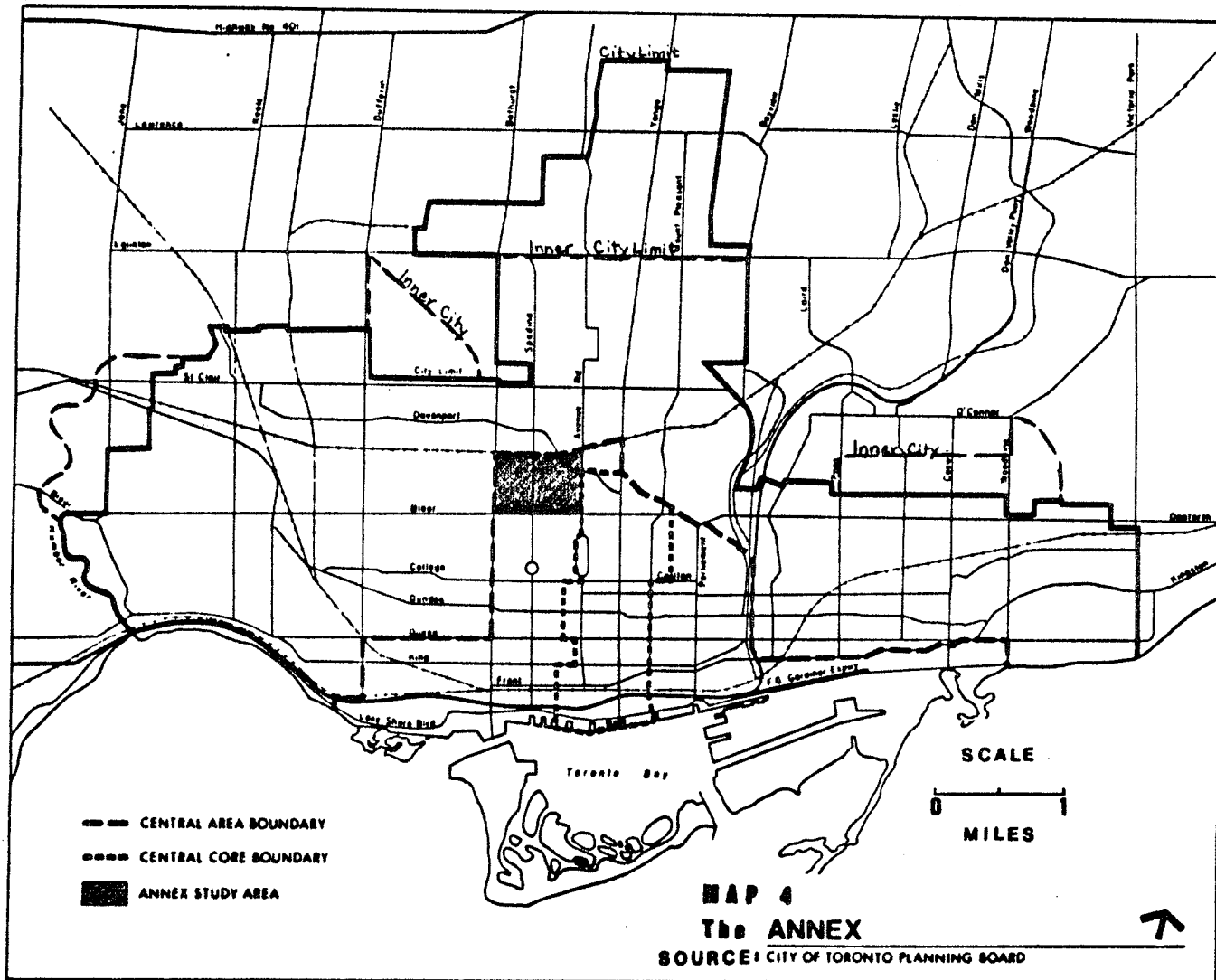
Most of the theories explained important aspects of the neighbourhoods and provided insights into some of the causes of change in South Parkdale. There was good evidence in the neighbourhood characteristics to support the theoretical interpretations of Filtering, Invasion and Succession (although with reservations over what constitutes a "like population"), Capital Accumulation, Extra-Urban Forces and Cultural Isolation. There was minimal evidence to support the interpretations of Special Interests, Consumer Preference, Landlord-Tenant Relations and Social Movement.

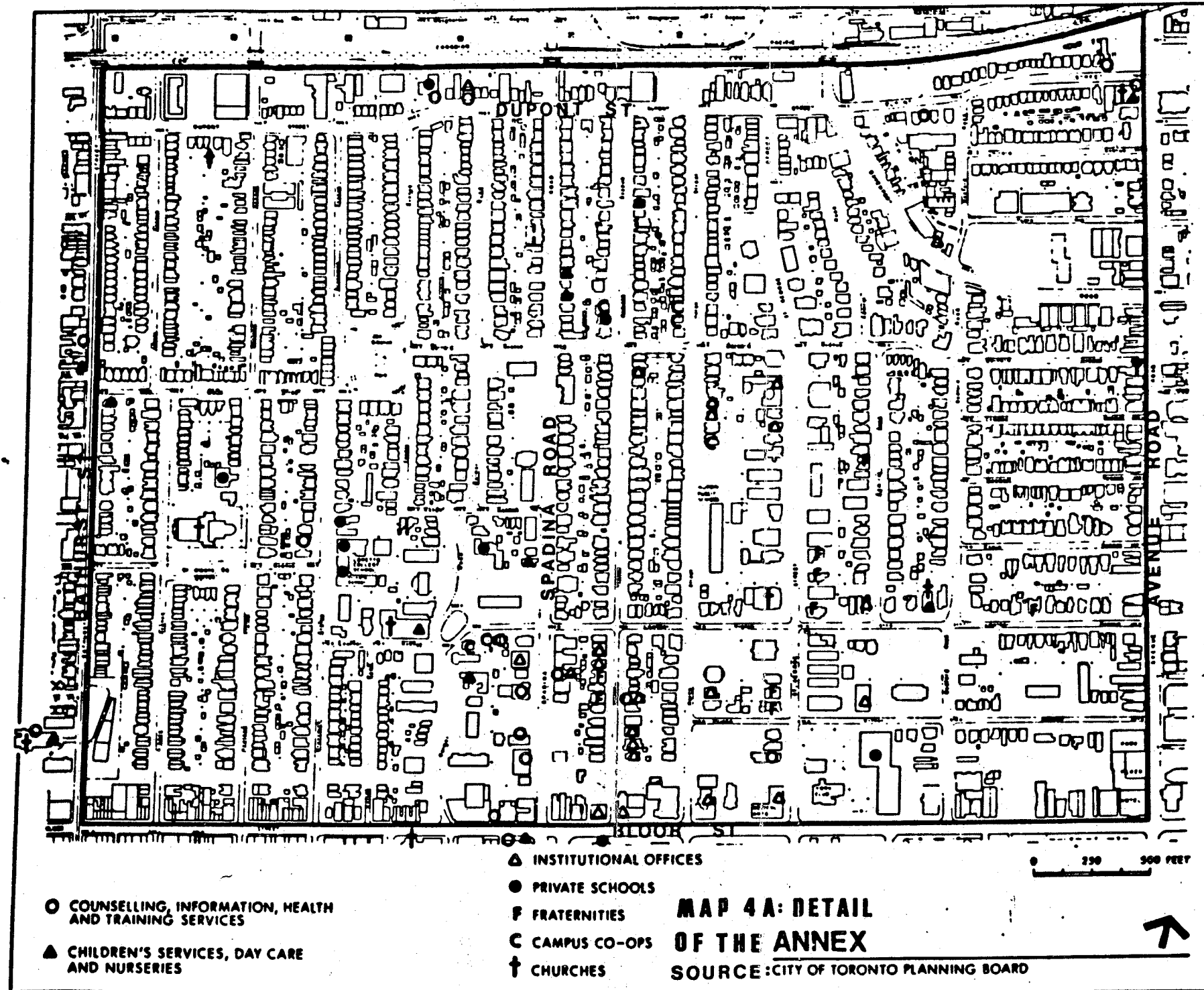
## CHAPTER 5

## THE ANNEX

The Annex is located in the centre of the defined Inner City of Toronto, bounded by Dupont Street to the north, Avenue Road to the east, Bloor Street to the south and Bathurst Street to the west. Map 4 indicates the location of the Annex in the Inner City of Toronto. Map 4A provides a detailed look at the neighbourhood.

The Annex neighbourhood began as a fashionable estate area in the late 1800s and was gradually subdivided and developed for prominent families. The eastern half of the neighbourhood was part of the village of Yorkville. By the end of the 19th century it was a desirable neighbourhood housing prosperous residents. The expansion of the street railway "annexed" the area to the city and enhanced its development. The houses were reputed to be well built and had full plumbing. The lots in the Annex are generally large although many of the houses are actually duplexes disguised as one large house. This was likely the result of high housing costs at the time of construction. Commercial development spread along Bloor Street and by the First World War many residents of the larger homes were taking in boarders. Many of the prestigious residents moved north to Forrest Hill and harder economic times brought an erosion of the single family residential base. The Annex Ratepayers Association formed to preserve the prestige and family orientation of the neighbourhood and also became concerned with other local issues such as lack of parks and limited parking. By 1953 the





Bloor Subway Line was constructed encouraging redevelopment and investment. Many apartment buildings were constructed especially near Bloor Street although by 1972 the local community persuaded the city to change the zoning to limit further apartment construction (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.19-29). Today the Annex is a relatively stable neighbourhood with a mixture of renovated and multi-unit dwellings and is not without some of its original prestige. There are distinct pressures on the area especially those of renovation and redevelopment. Its location close to the University of Toronto, the exclusive retail and entertainment area of Yorkville and the less pretentious and equally bustling shopping area at Bloor and Bathurst have all combined to create one of the most popular and expensive neighbourhoods in Toronto.

The major sources of information on the Annex include Census of Canada Statistics, the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department's two neighbourhood studies: Neighbourhood Plan Proposals: Annex (1978) and Final Recommendations (1981) and the Toronto Planning Atlas (1980).

### 5.1 Characteristics

Table 4 provides information on the characteristics of the Annex based on Census of Canada statistics for 1971 and 1981.

Population: The population has declined significantly between 1971 and 1981, (-19%) much more rapidly than the decline in the Inner City (-6.5%). The population increased gradually from 1951 to 1971 indicating there has recently been a distinct change in the previous growth pattern. Population densities are relatively high but declining rela-

TABLE 4 Characteristics of The Annex, Inner City of Toronto, 1971, 1981

Variable	The Annex		Inner City	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Population (% of IC)	19,130(3.0%)	15,471(2.6%)	642,290	600,687
Age groups:				
less than 19	14%	12%	28%	24%
65 and over	10%	13%	10%	12%
Households:				
number	6895	7665	221,060	234,080
average size	2.4	1.8	3.2	2.6
Average household income	\$10,073	NA	\$10,104	NA
Education:				
less than grade 9	14%	NA	42%	NA
university	34%	NA	6%	NA
Families:				
number	3100	2450	159,780	137,600
family size	2.6	2.6	3.2	3.0
child/family	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.2
Born outside Canada	47%	NA	45%	NA
Type of Dwelling:				
single detached	9%	8%	22%	22%
apartments	69%	73%	43%	46%
Dwellings:				
owner-occupied	20%	18%	43%	43%
Room per dwelling	5.0	NA	5.2	NA
Average annual rent	\$1896	NA	\$1438	NA

NOTE: 1981 Figures were taken from advance census data, hence not all information was available when this research was carried out.

Source: Statistics Canada: 1971, 1981 Census of Canada



tive to other inner city neighbourhoods (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.31).

Population distribution indicates far fewer children in the Annex relative to the Inner City, comparable numbers of elderly people and a significantly larger share of people in the 19-65 age bracket.

Average household size was much smaller than in the Inner City (1.8 in 1981) but is declining at about the same rate. There has been an increase in the number of households in the neighbourhood over the ten year period (+10%), but this rate declined over the previous twenty year period (+103%).

Mobility indicated by length of occupancy up to 1971 suggested a high and rising pattern likely due to an increase in rental housing units and the fact that many university students reside in the area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.33). There is no information up to 1981 although judging by the population decrease and more moderate increase in households there may be a slight decline in mobility.

Overall education attainment in 1971 was significantly higher in the Annex compared to the Inner City with only 14% of the population with less than grade 9 and with a very high 34% with some university.

Socio-economic Status: Income figures for 1971 indicated that the Annex had an average household income level very comparable to that of the Inner City. It is likely that in the ten years following these figures the income levels have risen relative to the Inner City average. This can be substantiated by the significant renovation activity, the decline in population and the relatively high average house price compared to the Inner City.

Occupational breakdowns for 1976 indicate 10% of total employment involved in retail activities, 31% in office functions, 9% in factory and warehouse jobs and 50% in other activities. This compares with the City of Toronto in 1976 as follows: 9% in retail, 45% in office, 21% in factory and warehouse and 24% in other employment activities (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1980, pp.82-90). These figures indicate that the Annex is primarily white collar oriented but has a large sector of the population in undefined categories, the majority of whom are students as is evident from the student residences and businesses in the neighbourhood that cater to their needs.

Family Status: The number of families declined in the Annex between 1971 and 1981 (-27%), a more rapid decline than in the Inner City over the same period (-14%). Family size remained steady over the decade and was smaller than in the Inner City. The number of children per family was very low and below that of the Inner City but rose very slightly over the ten year period. In 1981 54% of the population of the neighbourhood was single, 33% married, 7% widowed and 6% divorced (1981 Census of Canada). There was a higher percentage of single people here than in the CMA.

Ethnicity: In 1971, 47% of the population was born outside Canada, a figure slightly higher than the Inner City area. Almost half the population had a British background and ethnic groups included significant Asiatic, German, Hungarian, and French populations (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.35-36). In 1981 "mother tongues" included French, Italian, Chinese, German and Polish as well as English.

Community Organization: Residents in the Annex have several

effective organizations to serve their interests. The Annex Residents' Association has considerable political expertise and is involved in planning and local issues. Its membership, although dominated by homeowners, include tenants as well. However the tenants are generally less successfully organized with involvement limited to separate buildings. A neighbourhood tenants organization formed in 1974 but dismantled after a year. The major issues are lack of public parks and open space, limited parking and concerns for local services and facilities (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.37). In general the interests of the longer term residents are being represented while the short-term lower income tenants are not effectively organized. Issues of conflict within the area are limited but centred on conversion and deconversion of houses particularly the problems surrounding bachelorettes which are illegally converted, have generally high relative rents and are often poorly renovated.

Physical Conditions: A general survey of the area indicates an aging housing stock of large single detached and semi-detached houses, the majority in good condition and perhaps 25-30% are now renovated. Apartment buildings are generally 10-20 years old, most are located close to Bloor Street and are in good condition. The City of Toronto Planning Department noted 600-700 bachelorettes in the area in 1978, which have become a popular type of dwelling unit in the Annex, like South Parkdale, due to the size of the houses, the demand for that type of housing in the area and profit margin involved. There is concern for "the loss of historical value or unique contribution to the streetscape" (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, pp. 37-44). Whitepainting

is becoming more and more prevalent and although not documented in the 1978 report, deconversions are likely a major occurrence in the neighbourhood.

Housing/Land Costs: Average house prices in the general area reflect an increasing demand for this type of residency relative to housing in the whole region. For example, the average house price in the Annex area was \$18,204 compared to \$20,317 for the Toronto region in 1965, \$74,220 in the Annex and \$75,694 in Toronto region in 1980 and \$124,646 in the Annex and \$95,386 in Toronto region by 1982 (Toronto Real Estate Board, 1965, 1982). This change in demand is very recent and dramatic and reflects the evidence of extensive renovation that has occurred in the area. There is clearly a strong and growing market for the houses in the Annex.

Tenure: Owner-occupancy declined over the ten year period from 20% to 18% of total dwellings while in the Inner City owner-occupancy remained steady at 43% of total dwellings. The number of apartments in the neighbourhood increased from 69% to 73% of total dwellings compared to 43% to 46% of total dwellings in the Inner City. This indicates rising tenancy. In 1971, average annual rent was significantly higher in the Annex (\$1896) compared to the Inner City (\$1438).

Non-residential Functions: Retail activity is concentrated along Bloor, Dupont and Bathurst streets and Avenue Road. In general it is very diversified and healthy from chic boutiques near the Yorkville area to ethnic restaurants and variety stores near Bathurst and Bloor. Problems relate to traffic, parking and servicing (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.47-55).

Pressure for Redevelopment: There is considerable redevelopment activity especially near Avenue Road and Bloor Street. Pressure for redevelopment stems from this side of the neighbourhood which is highly desirable for commercial and residential development. Condominium projects, commercial centres and apartment complexes appear to be the favoured type of development. These pressures are a considerable threat to the large homes to the west of this area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.54). More minor pressures are renovation and housing conversions to apartments and bachelorettes which are extensive throughout the whole neighbourhood.

## 5.2 Patterns of Change

From the characteristics, the patterns of neighbourhood change can be outlined for the Annex relative to McLemore et al.'s 10 dimensions of the inner city neighbourhood (Table 2).

1. Decline of the resident population: this reflects the overall trend of the Inner City area however the population loss is much greater in the Annex. The decline in household size and number of families and the increase in households, especially single households reflected in the housing conversions to multi-unit apartments are trends prevalent in most inner city areas. However the rapid decline in population experienced over the last decade accompanied with the rapidly increasing average house price relative to the whole city region and the extensive renovation activity suggest a rapidly changing socio-income mix from lower to higher income level residents. As well, loss of dwellings, dwelling deconversion and decline in household size help to explain this trend.

2. Increasing socio-economic status: this trend can be deduced from the rapidly increasing average house price, the renovation activity, the pressure for development and the high demand for housing in the area and the decline in population.

3. Increasing single households: while the overall population is declining dramatically and the age mix, family size and number of children per family is not changing significantly, the number of families and the household size is decreasing and the number of apartments and bachelorettes is also increasing indicating an increase in single households.

4. Significant ethnic community: a relatively large ethnic population is significant regarding diversity and stability of the neighbourhood. Distinct ethnic groups and other cultural groups are evident in the area from the census information and the commercial establishments.

5. Strong social organization: while the limited tenant activity may question this assertion, the significant work and success of several organizations notably the Annex Residents Association indicates the relative success of the community organization process.

6. Improving physical conditions: conversion, renovation and re-development activity spurred on by the high demand for housing in the area as reflected in the relatively high average house price all indicate improving physical conditions.

7. Above city average house costs: as is indicated under housing/land costs and are also reflected in the higher than average rents.

8. High tenancy: a decline in home-ownership, an increasing

number of apartments and evidence of housing conversion to bachelorettes indicate that tenancy is increasing in the neighbourhood.

9. Strong commercial activity: diversity and success of the retail functions in the area indicate a stable local economy and strong commercial activity.

10. Strong pressure for redevelopment: significant development activity, housing conversions and deconversions and renovation activity indicate strong pressures for redevelopment.

By comparing these patterns with Table 2, the dimensions of the neighbourhood types, the Annex can be defined as primarily a revitalizing neighbourhood. However some of the patterns vary from McLemore et al.'s criteria. The population is declining, an indication of decline, there is an increase in single households, an indication of decline or massive redevelopment, ethnic groups appear strong, an indication of stability, tenure is increasing, indicating decline or massive redevelopment and pressure for redevelopment is high, indicating massive redevelopment.

### 5.3 Theoretical Interpretation

Using the neighbourhood characteristics and the identified patterns of change, the nine theories of neighbourhood change can be applied to the Annex.

Filtering: There is good evidence to suggest that both the filtering model and the reverse filtering model of neighbourhood change hold for the Annex. The Annex was once a prestigious area of large single family homes. Hoyt's Sector theory seems to hold that the fashionable residents moved on.

Although the dominant impression in the area was still that the Annex was a prestigious residence area, many families were moving north [in the 1920s] to Forest Hill, east to Rosedale or west to Parkdale. Others remained in the area and fought hard to preserve it as a single family area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.26).

The large houses were conducive to conversion into multi-unit dwellings.

Nearly all the houses used for residential purposes are classified as boarding or lodging houses, converted dwelling houses or single family dwellings. Actual usage varies, since rooms or apartment units are often rented out in houses in any of these classifications. The cost of maintaining large old houses solely for single family use and a growing market for smaller units has led to an increasing number of units in houses (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.39).

The significant ethnic population in the area suggests that these dwellings were appropriate for arriving immigrant groups. The high student population indicates a supply of low income residents with little choice in the housing market. The Annex supplied sufficient dwelling units at affordable rents to short term and lower income residents. However the recent renovation activity, the rising average house price relative to the city and the growth of the chic commercial area indicate that reverse filtering is occurring rapidly. This is clearly evident by the number of whitepainted houses. The only evidence against the filtering scenario is existence of a core of long-term residents who want to stay in the area.

Invasion and Succession: There is significant evidence of invasion of new groups into the neighbourhood although it seems to have been a continuing phenomenon from the 1920s to today. The original prestigious neighbourhood was "invaded" by lower income boarders as the large homes became too expensive or less desirable to the fashionable residents. A



gradual invasion process seems to have occurred with waves of immigrants and students who moved in and out of the area annually. The relatively high mobility rate, the high ethnic population and the diversity in age groups, income and commercial activities seem to support the invasion process. Several conditions existed or now exist that allow for an invasion of the area: the large aging housing built for high income groups; the existence and expansion of a large institution, the University of Toronto; the construction of the Bloor Subway Line in the 1950s which improved city access and increased the land values in the area; and most recently the significant real estate activity and promotion of the still prestigious dwellings for higher income groups as single family dwellings as is evidenced by the rising house prices and renovation activity. Resistance to the invasion process seems to come largely from the Annex Residents Association who organized originally to preserve the neighbourhood for single family residents (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.26). Objections to this theory are based on the diversity of the residents and commercial activities and lack of uniformity of "like" populations both in the case of the long term residents and the invading population.

Special Interests: There are two strong cases supporting this theory: the bachelorette conversions and the recent real estate and renovation activity. While there is no strong evidence of deteriorating housing conditions due to undermaintenance, the "greedy investor" image can be substantiated by the evidence of "an increase in the number of absentee owned properties" (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.41) and the bachelorette conversions.

Some of the bachelorette conversions have been poorly done, rents can be high...and tenants are forced to double up to pay the rents. Stress is felt by the tenants and the community (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.43).

There is evidence that real estate companies are renovating houses to sell them at a higher price and increase their profit. Darrell Kent, a realtor who specializes in inner city neighbourhoods learned the system.

In 1968 he bought his first house - in less than trendy Cabbagetown. He renovated and sold it. Then he bought another, renovated and sold it. "I realized there was an opportunity to make money..." Cabbagetown, flush with renovation fever, became his bailiwick. "I doubled my salary in the first year..." (The Toronto Sun, July 27, 1983, p.98).

'Darrell Kent, Realtor' signs are prominent in the Annex.

Consumer Preference: There is some evidence supporting this theory centering on the increasing demand for housing, the diversity of the neighbourhood population and the patterns supporting Jacob's "unslumming". While "unslumming" referred to a slum neighbourhood that moved into middle class stability, the Annex exhibits many of the characteristics and conditions which allow this rejuvenation process to occur: there has been a marked drop in the population; average income levels over the last few years would likely indicate an overall increase in socio-economic status relative to the city; there appears to be a strong community organization; and there is diversification in the resident population and commercial functions. And there is no evidence that the revitalization process is as yet destroying the neighbourhood diversity. This diversity indicates a strong element of individual choice. The rapid increase in the demand for housing may indicate a strengthening of consumer choice or it may indicate a concerted effort on the part of

special property interests to direct demand. Finally, it is difficult to determine who the renovators are: some are evidently new residents to the area while others could be long term residents. If so, this would support Smith's assertion that production decisions are directing demand and consumer preference is determining the final character of the Annex.

Capital Accumulation: There is evidence to suggest that capital is being reinvested in the Annex at an increasing rate. In the 1950s, the construction of the Bloor Subway line helped to increase property values and stimulate development. The bachelorette conversions are highly profitable but involve some reinvestment into the housing stock. The strong pressures for redevelopment especially near Avenue Road, indicates profitable reinvestment. Darrell Kent explained the very profitable side to renovation activity in certain inner city neighbourhoods (Special Interests). As property values continue to escalate, reinvestment becomes more extensive and profitable.

However, characteristics of the Annex do not seem to support Smith's Rent Gap Theory. Smith suggests that capital must depreciate in the neighbourhood to a particular extent before capital reinvestment becomes a profitable decision. There is little evidence that capital depreciation has ever occurred to any great extent in the neighbourhood. There has been little evidence of physical deterioration and little evidence that "the sequence of declining values had pretty much run its course". It is unlikely that the Annex has never experienced a strong outflow of capital from the area.

Extra-Urban Forces: There is no strong evidence to support the view that national policies have been detrimental to the Annex neigh-

bourhood. The only incident in this regard centred on the construction of the "Spadina Expressway" which would have run through the centre of the Annex. Many of the residents organized with other residents in the effected neighbourhoods and successfully squelched the proposal (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.27-28). The construction of the Bloor Subway Line improved access and property values in the area, as previously noted. Commercial functions have remained strong and reinvestment activities are picking up. The only evidence of outside forces directly affecting the housing stock would be the changing economic conditions and demographic characteristics (decreasing household size) which have led to the housing conversions to bachelorettes. The Annex has remained an economically strong and well organized neighbourhood which has helped to prevent detrimental actions of extra-urban forces.

Landlord-Tenant Relations: Although the Annex has a large ethnic population which could be conducive to non-economic relations between landlord and tenant, a variety of other conditions indicate that in the neighbourhood the vast majority of these relations are strictly economic. Bachelorettes are often high rent relative to space and tenants have sometimes been forced to double up to pay the rent (Special Interests). Students are probably the largest group of tenants and they tend to be short term residents with little concern for the neighbourhood condition. The relatively high mobility in the neighbourhood, the increase in absentee owned properties and the relatively high rents also indicate economic relations between landlord and tenant. While evidence of "Dual Theory" is not apparent, the strong resident association is helping to reduce conflict between the two groups.

Cultural Isolation: There is little evidence that ethnic and minority groups are disorganized, frustrated, exploited and discriminated against in the Annex. While there is a large ethnic population, they seem to be able to protect their interests through good community organization. Students make up probably the largest "like" cultural group but are often short term residents with high expectations and generally are able to defend their interests. The diversity in the resident population and the commercial functions indicate a tolerance of alternate lifestyles. There is evidence of exploitation in the rental accomodation, especially bachelorettes (Special Interests) but no indication of obvious discrimination toward specific ethnic or cultural groups.

Social Movement: There are some clear indications that the "new middle class" is changing the character of the Annex. The relatively strong community organization especially the residents' participation in the anti-Spadina "social movement", the diversity in the resident population and commercial functions and tolerance of alternative lifestyles, the increasing socio-economic status of the majority of the residents, the increasing numbers of single households, small families and divorced residents and the domination of "white collar" occupations over "blue collar" all indicate that the Annex is likely experiencing a middle class social movement in terms of a lifestyle more concerned with quality of life than straight economic concerns. The accompanying problems are not yet in evidence although this movement only has been gaining momentum recently as is indicated by the rising property values relative to the city and the extensive renovation activity and the

problems may soon appear. The declining population of the area indicates some loss of dwelling units due to deconversion, however the number of dwelling units increased between 1971 and 1981, suggesting the impact of deconversions and whitepainting may not be documented as yet.

Summary This concludes the interpretations of the theories of neighbourhood change in the Annex. The characteristics of the Annex indicate that it is primarily a revitalizing neighbourhood. This is evidenced by rising income levels, a high community organization, improving physical conditions due to renovation and redevelopment, rising house prices and strong commercial activity. The overall character of the area is changing rapidly as indicated by a declining population, rise in single households and bachelorette conversions. However, the strong ethnic populations and the student population continue to dominate much of the neighbourhood.

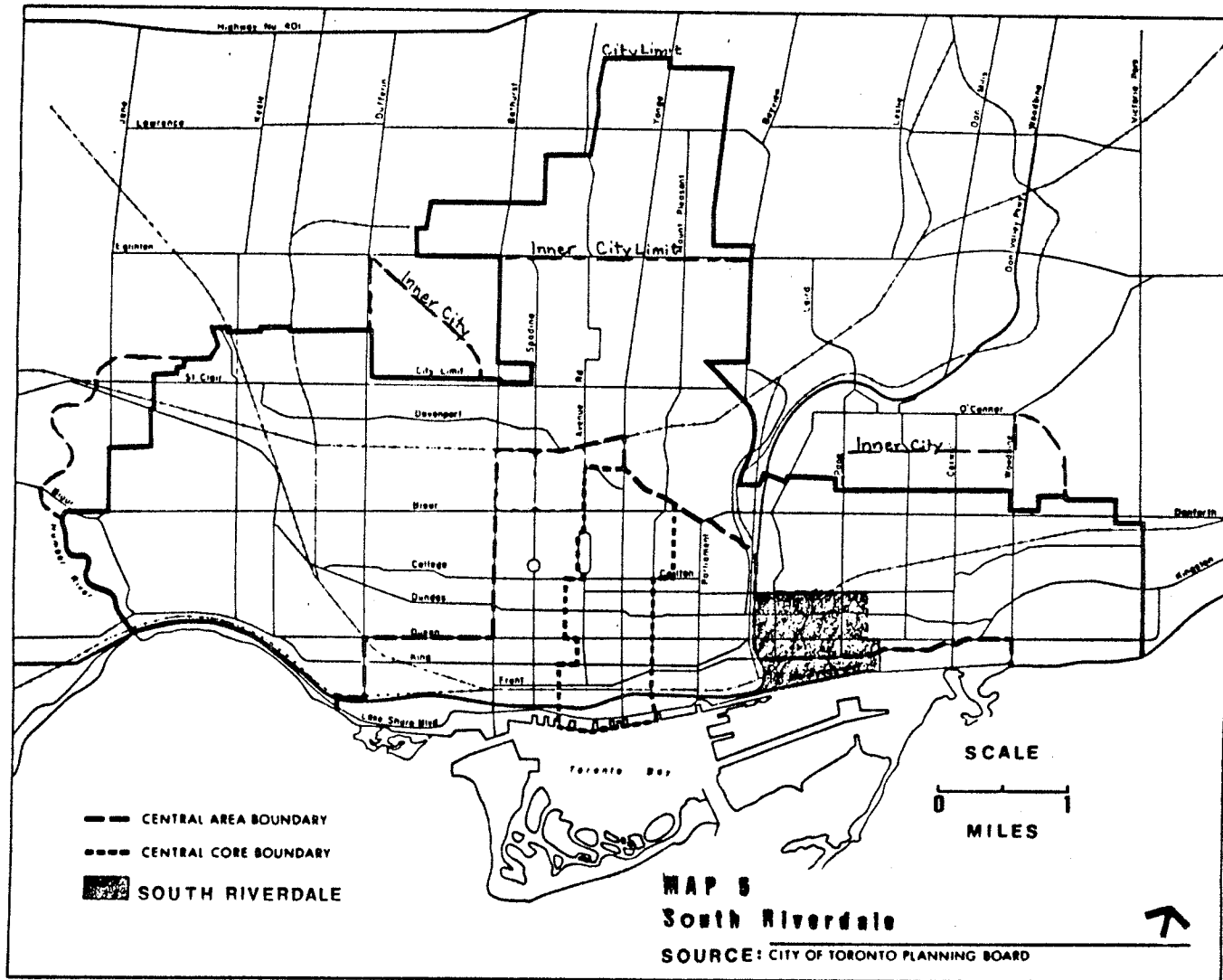
Most of the theories were significant in their interpretations of the neighbourhood. Filtering, Invasion and Succession, Special Interests, Consumer Preference, Capital Accumulation, Extra-Urban Forces (in a positive rather than detrimental way) and Social Movement were all supported in their interpretations by good evidence in the neighbourhood. Only Landlord-Tenant Relations and Cultural Isolation could not be explained in the Annex due to little evidence.

## CHAPTER 6

## SOUTH RIVERDALE

South Riverdale is located in the south-east corner of the defined Inner City of Toronto. It is bounded by the Gardiner Expressway to the south, the Don River to the west, Gerrard Street to the north and Jones Avenue and Leslie Street to the east. Map 5 indicates the location of South Riverdale in Toronto's Inner City and Map 5A provides a detailed look at the neighbourhood.

Historically it has developed from a market gardening area to a working class and middle income residential and industrial neighbourhood as the street car lines were extended into the area from the centre of the city. The Canadian National Railway Line cuts through the neighbourhood and originally stimulated industrial development, especially in the area south of Queen Street. By 1923, the bulk of the land had been developed for industrial uses and residential areas filled in the gaps. The close proximity of the houses to the industrial uses and the spread of inexpensive public transit made it a comfortable working class area. The residential and industrial uses have become more intensely developed over the years and friction has increased as industrial pollution has increased and the desirability of the area has declined. There has been little major development in the area since the 1920s and most of the physical character of the area remains intact. One public housing development was constructed in the 1960s as an urban renewal project (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, pp.7-11). Today, South Riverdale





Bloor Subway Line was constructed encouraging redevelopment and investment. Many apartment buildings were constructed especially near Bloor Street although by 1972 the local community persuaded the city to change the zoning to limit further apartment construction (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.19-29). Today the Annex is a relatively stable neighbourhood with a mixture of renovated and multi-unit dwellings and is not without some of its original prestige. There are distinct pressures on the area especially those of renovation and redevelopment. Its location close to the University of Toronto, the exclusive retail and entertainment area of Yorkville and the less pretentious and equally bustling shopping area at Bloor and Bathurst have all combined to create one of the most popular and expensive neighbourhoods in Toronto.

The major sources of information on the Annex include Census of Canada Statistics, the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department's two neighbourhood studies: Neighbourhood Plan Proposals: Annex (1978) and Final Recommendations (1981) and the Toronto Planning Atlas (1980).

### 5.1 Characteristics

Table 4 provides information on the characteristics of the Annex based on Census of Canada statistics for 1971 and 1981.

Population: The population has declined significantly between 1971 and 1981, (-19%) much more rapidly than the decline in the Inner City (-6.5%). The population increased gradually from 1951 to 1971 indicating there has recently been a distinct change in the previous growth pattern. Population densities are relatively high but declining rela-

TABLE 4 Characteristics of The Annex, Inner City of Toronto, 1971, 1981

Variable	The Annex		Inner City	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Population (% of IC)	19,130(3.0%)	15,471(2.6%)	642,290	600,687
Age groups:				
less than 19	14%	12%	28%	24%
65 and over	10%	13%	10%	12%
Households:				
number	6895	7665	221,060	234,080
average size	2.4	1.8	3.2	2.6
Average household income	\$10,073	NA	\$10,104	NA
Education:				
less than grade 9	14%	NA	42%	NA
university	34%	NA	6%	NA
Families:				
number	3100	2450	159,780	137,600
family size	2.6	2.6	3.2	3.0
child/family	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.2
Born outside Canada	47%	NA	45%	NA
Type of Dwelling:				
single detached	9%	8%	22%	22%
apartments	69%	73%	43%	46%
Dwellings:				
owner-occupied	20%	18%	43%	43%
Room per dwelling	5.0	NA	5.2	NA
Average annual rent	\$1896	NA	\$1438	NA

NOTE: 1981 Figures were taken from advance census data, hence not all information was available when this research was carried out.

Source: Statistics Canada: 1971, 1981 Census of Canada

tive to other inner city neighbourhoods (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.31).

Population distribution indicates far fewer children in the Annex relative to the Inner City, comparable numbers of elderly people and a significantly larger share of people in the 19-65 age bracket.

Average household size was much smaller than in the Inner City (1.8 in 1981) but is declining at about the same rate. There has been an increase in the number of households in the neighbourhood over the ten year period (+10%), but this rate declined over the previous twenty year period (+103%).

Mobility indicated by length of occupancy up to 1971 suggested a high and rising pattern likely due to an increase in rental housing units and the fact that many university students reside in the area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.33). There is no information up to 1981 although judging by the population decrease and more moderate increase in households there may be a slight decline in mobility.

Overall education attainment in 1971 was significantly higher in the Annex compared to the Inner City with only 14% of the population with less than grade 9 and with a very high 34% with some university.

Socio-economic Status: Income figures for 1971 indicated that the Annex had an average household income level very comparable to that of the Inner City. It is likely that in the ten years following these figures the income levels have risen relative to the Inner City average. This can be substantiated by the significant renovation activity, the decline in population and the relatively high average house price compared to the Inner City.

Occupational breakdowns for 1976 indicate 10% of total employment involved in retail activities, 31% in office functions, 9% in factory and warehouse jobs and 50% in other activities. This compares with the City of Toronto in 1976 as follows: 9% in retail, 45% in office, 21% in factory and warehouse and 24% in other employment activities (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1980, pp.82-90). These figures indicate that the Annex is primarily white collar oriented but has a large sector of the population in undefined categories, the majority of whom are students as is evident from the student residences and businesses in the neighbourhood that cater to their needs.

Family Status: The number of families declined in the Annex between 1971 and 1981 (-27%), a more rapid decline than in the Inner City over the same period (-14%). Family size remained steady over the decade and was smaller than in the Inner City. The number of children per family was very low and below that of the Inner City but rose very slightly over the ten year period. In 1981 54% of the population of the neighbourhood was single, 33% married, 7% widowed and 6% divorced (1981 Census of Canada). There was a higher percentage of single people here than in the CMA.

Ethnicity: In 1971, 47% of the population was born outside Canada, a figure slightly higher than the Inner City area. Almost half the population had a British background and ethnic groups included significant Asiatic, German, Hungarian, and French populations (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.35-36). In 1981 "mother tongues" included French, Italian, Chinese, German and Polish as well as English.

Community Organization: Residents in the Annex have several

effective organizations to serve their interests. The Annex Residents' Association has considerable political expertise and is involved in planning and local issues. Its membership, although dominated by homeowners, include tenants as well. However the tenants are generally less successfully organized with involvement limited to separate buildings. A neighbourhood tenants organization formed in 1974 but dismantled after a year. The major issues are lack of public parks and open space, limited parking and concerns for local services and facilities (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.37). In general the interests of the longer term residents are being represented while the short-term lower income tenants are not effectively organized. Issues of conflict within the area are limited but centred on conversion and deconversion of houses particularly the problems surrounding bachelorettes which are illegally converted, have generally high relative rents and are often poorly renovated.

Physical Conditions: A general survey of the area indicates an aging housing stock of large single detached and semi-detached houses, the majority in good condition and perhaps 25-30% are now renovated. Apartment buildings are generally 10-20 years old, most are located close to Bloor Street and are in good condition. The City of Toronto Planning Department noted 600-700 bachelorettes in the area in 1978, which have become a popular type of dwelling unit in the Annex, like South Parkdale, due to the size of the houses, the demand for that type of housing in the area and profit margin involved. There is concern for "the loss of historical value or unique contribution to the streetscape" (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, pp. 37-44). Whitepainting

is becoming more and more prevalent and although not documented in the 1978 report, deconversions are likely a major occurrence in the neighbourhood.

Housing/Land Costs: Average house prices in the general area reflect an increasing demand for this type of residency relative to housing in the whole region. For example, the average house price in the Annex area was \$18,204 compared to \$20,317 for the Toronto region in 1965, \$74,220 in the Annex and \$75,694 in Toronto region in 1980 and \$124,646 in the Annex and \$95,386 in Toronto region by 1982 (Toronto Real Estate Board, 1965, 1982). This change in demand is very recent and dramatic and reflects the evidence of extensive renovation that has occurred in the area. There is clearly a strong and growing market for the houses in the Annex.

Tenure: Owner-occupancy declined over the ten year period from 20% to 18% of total dwellings while in the Inner City owner-occupancy remained steady at 43% of total dwellings. The number of apartments in the neighbourhood increased from 69% to 73% of total dwellings compared to 43% to 46% of total dwellings in the Inner City. This indicates rising tenancy. In 1971, average annual rent was significantly higher in the Annex (\$1896) compared to the Inner City (\$1438).

Non-residential Functions: Retail activity is concentrated along Bloor, Dupont and Bathurst streets and Avenue Road. In general it is very diversified and healthy from chic boutiques near the Yorkville area to ethnic restaurants and variety stores near Bathurst and Bloor. Problems relate to traffic, parking and servicing (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.47-55).

Pressure for Redevelopment: There is considerable redevelopment activity especially near Avenue Road and Bloor Street. Pressure for redevelopment stems from this side of the neighbourhood which is highly desirable for commercial and residential development. Condominium projects, commercial centres and apartment complexes appear to be the favoured type of development. These pressures are a considerable threat to the large homes to the west of this area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.54). More minor pressures are renovation and housing conversions to apartments and bachelorettes which are extensive throughout the whole neighbourhood.

## 5.2 Patterns of Change

From the characteristics, the patterns of neighbourhood change can be outlined for the Annex relative to McLemore et al.'s 10 dimensions of the inner city neighbourhood (Table 2).

1. Decline of the resident population: this reflects the overall trend of the Inner City area however the population loss is much greater in the Annex. The decline in household size and number of families and the increase in households, especially single households reflected in the housing conversions to multi-unit apartments are trends prevalent in most inner city areas. However the rapid decline in population experienced over the last decade accompanied with the rapidly increasing average house price relative to the whole city region and the extensive renovation activity suggest a rapidly changing socio-income mix from lower to higher income level residents. As well, loss of dwellings, dwelling deconversion and decline in household size help to explain this trend.

2. Increasing socio-economic status: this trend can be deduced from the rapidly increasing average house price, the renovation activity, the pressure for development and the high demand for housing in the area and the decline in population.

3. Increasing single households: while the overall population is declining dramatically and the age mix, family size and number of children per family is not changing significantly, the number of families and the household size is decreasing and the number of apartments and bachelorettes is also increasing indicating an increase in single households.

4. Significant ethnic community: a relatively large ethnic population is significant regarding diversity and stability of the neighbourhood. Distinct ethnic groups and other cultural groups are evident in the area from the census information and the commercial establishments.

5. Strong social organization: while the limited tenant activity may question this assertion, the significant work and success of several organizations notably the Annex Residents Association indicates the relative success of the community organization process.

6. Improving physical conditions: conversion, renovation and re-development activity spurred on by the high demand for housing in the area as reflected in the relatively high average house price all indicate improving physical conditions.

7. Above city average house costs: as is indicated under housing/land costs and are also reflected in the higher than average rents.

8. High tenancy: a decline in home-ownership, an increasing



number of apartments and evidence of housing conversion to bachelorettes indicate that tenancy is increasing in the neighbourhood.

9. Strong commercial activity: diversity and success of the retail functions in the area indicate a stable local economy and strong commercial activity.

10. Strong pressure for redevelopment: significant development activity, housing conversions and deconversions and renovation activity indicate strong pressures for redevelopment.

By comparing these patterns with Table 2, the dimensions of the neighbourhood types, the Annex can be defined as primarily a revitalizing neighbourhood. However some of the patterns vary from McLemore et al.'s criteria. The population is declining, an indication of decline, there is an increase in single households, an indication of decline or massive redevelopment, ethnic groups appear strong, an indication of stability, tenure is increasing, indicating decline or massive redevelopment and pressure for redevelopment is high, indicating massive redevelopment.

### 5.3 Theoretical Interpretation

Using the neighbourhood characteristics and the identified patterns of change, the nine theories of neighbourhood change can be applied to the Annex.

Filtering: There is good evidence to suggest that both the filtering model and the reverse filtering model of neighbourhood change hold for the Annex. The Annex was once a prestigious area of large single family homes. Hoyt's Sector theory seems to hold that the fashionable residents moved on.

Although the dominant impression in the area was still that the Annex was a prestigious residence area, many families were moving north [in the 1920s] to Forest Hill, east to Rosedale or west to Parkdale. Others remained in the area and fought hard to preserve it as a single family area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.26).

The large houses were conducive to conversion into multi-unit dwellings.

Nearly all the houses used for residential purposes are classified as boarding or lodging houses, converted dwelling houses or single family dwellings. Actual usage varies, since rooms or apartment units are often rented out in houses in any of these classifications. The cost of maintaining large old houses solely for single family use and a growing market for smaller units has led to an increasing number of units in houses (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, p.39).

The significant ethnic population in the area suggests that these dwellings were appropriate for arriving immigrant groups. The high student population indicates a supply of low income residents with little choice in the housing market. The Annex supplied sufficient dwelling units at affordable rents to short term and lower income residents. However the recent renovation activity, the rising average house price relative to the city and the growth of the chic commercial area indicate that reverse filtering is occurring rapidly. This is clearly evident by the number of whitepainted houses. The only evidence against the filtering scenario is existence of a core of long-term residents who want to stay in the area.

Invasion and Succession: There is significant evidence of invasion of new groups into the neighbourhood although it seems to have been a continuing phenomenon from the 1920s to today. The original prestigious neighbourhood was "invaded" by lower income boarders as the large homes became too expensive or less desirable to the fashionable residents. A

gradual invasion process seems to have occurred with waves of immigrants and students who moved in and out of the area annually. The relatively high mobility rate, the high ethnic population and the diversity in age groups, income and commercial activities seem to support the invasion process. Several conditions existed or now exist that allow for an invasion of the area: the large aging housing built for high income groups; the existence and expansion of a large institution, the University of Toronto; the construction of the Bloor Subway Line in the 1950s which improved city access and increased the land values in the area; and most recently the significant real estate activity and promotion of the still prestigious dwellings for higher income groups as single family dwellings as is evidenced by the rising house prices and renovation activity. Resistance to the invasion process seems to come largely from the Annex Residents Association who organized originally to preserve the neighbourhood for single family residents (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.26). Objections to this theory are based on the diversity of the residents and commercial activities and lack of uniformity of "like" populations both in the case of the long term residents and the invading population.

Special Interests: There are two strong cases supporting this theory: the bachelorette conversions and the recent real estate and renovation activity. While there is no strong evidence of deteriorating housing conditions due to undermaintenance, the "greedy investor" image can be substantiated by the evidence of "an increase in the number of absentee owned properties" (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.41) and the bachelorette conversions.

Some of the bachelorette conversions have been poorly done, rents can be high...and tenants are forced to double up to pay the rents. Stress is felt by the tenants and the community (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1978, p.43).

There is evidence that real estate companies are renovating houses to sell them at a higher price and increase their profit. Darrell Kent, a realtor who specializes in inner city neighbourhoods learned the system.

In 1968 he bought his first house - in less than trendy Cabbagetown. He renovated and sold it. Then he bought another, renovated and sold it. "I realized there was an opportunity to make money..." Cabbagetown, flush with renovation fever, became his bailiwick. "I doubled my salary in the first year..." (The Toronto Sun, July 27, 1983, p.98).

'Darrell Kent, Realtor' signs are prominent in the Annex.

Consumer Preference: There is some evidence supporting this theory centering on the increasing demand for housing, the diversity of the neighbourhood population and the patterns supporting Jacob's "unslumming". While "unslumming" referred to a slum neighbourhood that moved into middle class stability, the Annex exhibits many of the characteristics and conditions which allow this rejuvenation process to occur: there has been a marked drop in the population; average income levels over the last few years would likely indicate an overall increase in socio-economic status relative to the city; there appears to be a strong community organization; and there is diversification in the resident population and commercial functions. And there is no evidence that the revitalization process is as yet destroying the neighbourhood diversity. This diversity indicates a strong element of individual choice. The rapid increase in the demand for housing may indicate a strengthening of consumer choice or it may indicate a concerted effort on the part of

special property interests to direct demand. Finally, it is difficult to determine who the renovators are: some are evidently new residents to the area while others could be long term residents. If so, this would support Smith's assertion that production decisions are directing demand and consumer preference is determining the final character of the Annex.

Capital Accumulation: There is evidence to suggest that capital is being reinvested in the Annex at an increasing rate. In the 1950s, the construction of the Bloor Subway line helped to increase property values and stimulate development. The bachelorette conversions are highly profitable but involve some reinvestment into the housing stock. The strong pressures for redevelopment especially near Avenue Road, indicates profitable reinvestment. Darrell Kent explained the very profitable side to renovation activity in certain inner city neighbourhoods (Special Interests). As property values continue to escalate, reinvestment becomes more extensive and profitable.

However, characteristics of the Annex do not seem to support Smith's Rent Gap Theory. Smith suggests that capital must depreciate in the neighbourhood to a particular extent before capital reinvestment becomes a profitable decision. There is little evidence that capital depreciation has ever occurred to any great extent in the neighbourhood. There has been little evidence of physical deterioration and little evidence that "the sequence of declining values had pretty much run its course". It is unlikely that the Annex has never experienced a strong outflow of capital from the area.

Extra-Urban Forces: There is no strong evidence to support the view that national policies have been detrimental to the Annex neigh-

bourhood. The only incident in this regard centred on the construction of the "Spadina Expressway" which would have run through the centre of the Annex. Many of the residents organized with other residents in the effected neighbourhoods and successfully squelched the proposal (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1978, pp.27-28). The construction of the Bloor Subway Line improved access and property values in the area, as previously noted. Commercial functions have remained strong and reinvestment activities are picking up. The only evidence of outside forces directly affecting the housing stock would be the changing economic conditions and demographic characteristics (decreasing household size) which have led to the housing conversions to bachelorettes. The Annex has remained an economically strong and well organized neighbourhood which has helped to prevent detrimental actions of extra-urban forces.

Landlord-Tenant Relations: Although the Annex has a large ethnic population which could be conducive to non-economic relations between landlord and tenant, a variety of other conditions indicate that in the neighbourhood the vast majority of these relations are strictly economic. Bachelorettes are often high rent relative to space and tenants have sometimes been forced to double up to pay the rent (Special Interests). Students are probably the largest group of tenants and they tend to be short term residents with little concern for the neighbourhood condition. The relatively high mobility in the neighbourhood, the increase in absentee owned properties and the relatively high rents also indicate economic relations between landlord and tenant. While evidence of "Dual Theory" is not apparent, the strong resident association is helping to reduce conflict between the two groups.

Cultural Isolation: There is little evidence that ethnic and minority groups are disorganized, frustrated, exploited and discriminated against in the Annex. While there is a large ethnic population, they seem to be able to protect their interests through good community organization. Students make up probably the largest "like" cultural group but are often short term residents with high expectations and generally are able to defend their interests. The diversity in the resident population and the commercial functions indicate a tolerance of alternate lifestyles. There is evidence of exploitation in the rental accomodation, especially bachelorettes (Special Interests) but no indication of obvious discrimination toward specific ethnic or cultural groups.

Social Movement: There are some clear indications that the "new middle class" is changing the character of the Annex. The relatively strong community organization especially the residents' participation in the anti-Spadina "social movement", the diversity in the resident population and commercial functions and tolerance of alternative lifestyles, the increasing socio-economic status of the majority of the residents, the increasing numbers of single households, small families and divorced residents and the domination of "white collar" occupations over "blue collar" all indicate that the Annex is likely experiencing a middle class social movement in terms of a lifestyle more concerned with quality of life than straight economic concerns. The accompanying problems are not yet in evidence although this movement only has been gaining momentum recently as is indicated by the rising property values relative to the city and the extensive renovation activity and the

problems may soon appear. The declining population of the area indicates some loss of dwelling units due to deconversion, however the number of dwelling units increased between 1971 and 1981, suggesting the impact of deconversions and whitepainting may not be documented as yet.

Summary This concludes the interpretations of the theories of neighbourhood change in the Annex. The characteristics of the Annex indicate that it is primarily a revitalizing neighbourhood. This is evidenced by rising income levels, a high community organization, improving physical conditions due to renovation and redevelopment, rising house prices and strong commercial activity. The overall character of the area is changing rapidly as indicated by a declining population, rise in single households and bachelorette conversions. However, the strong ethnic populations and the student population continue to dominate much of the neighbourhood.

Most of the theories were significant in their interpretations of the neighbourhood. Filtering, Invasion and Succession, Special Interests, Consumer Preference, Capital Accumulation, Extra-Urban Forces (in a positive rather than detrimental way) and Social Movement were all supported in their interpretations by good evidence in the neighbourhood. Only Landlord-Tenant Relations and Cultural Isolation could not be explained in the Annex due to little evidence.

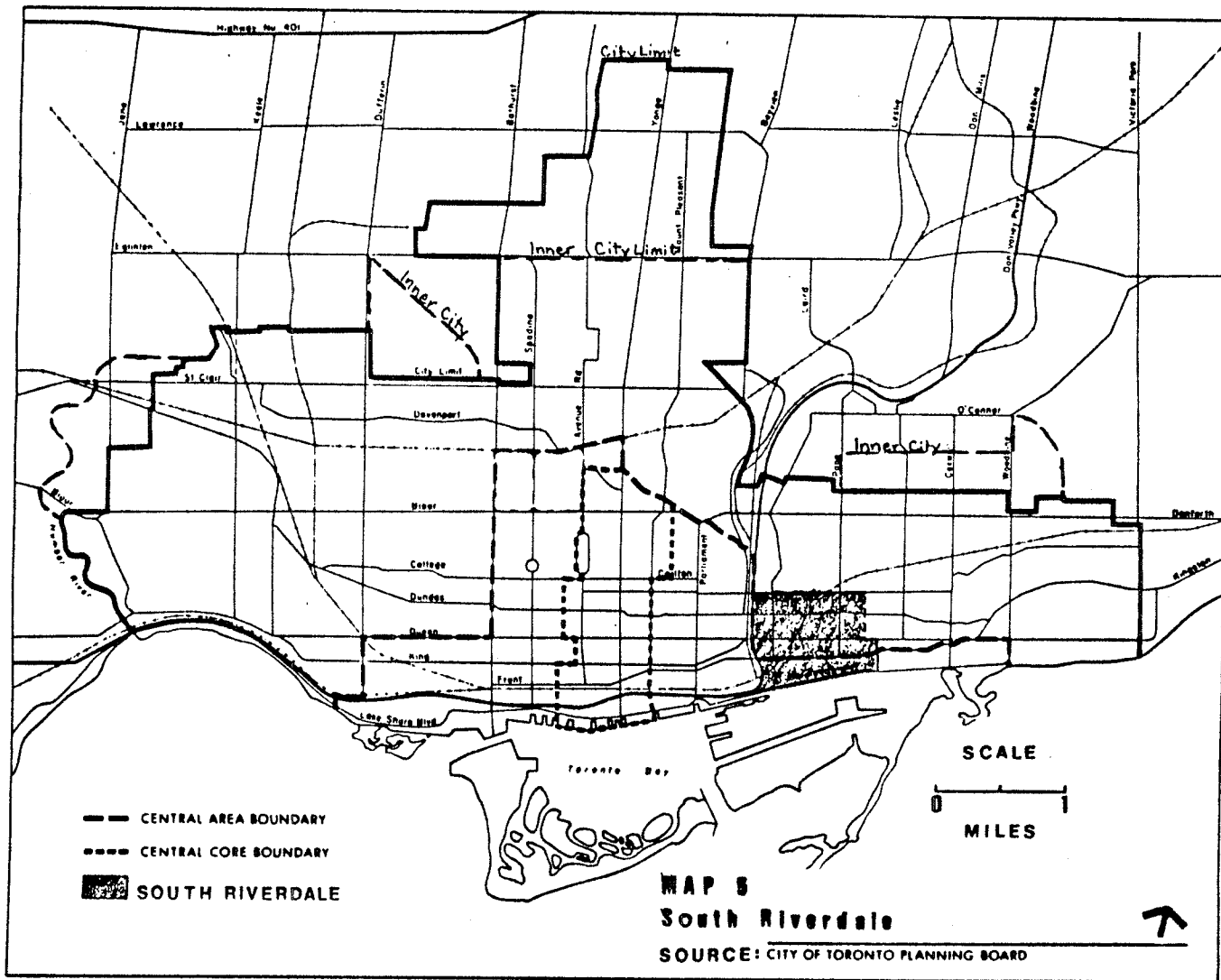


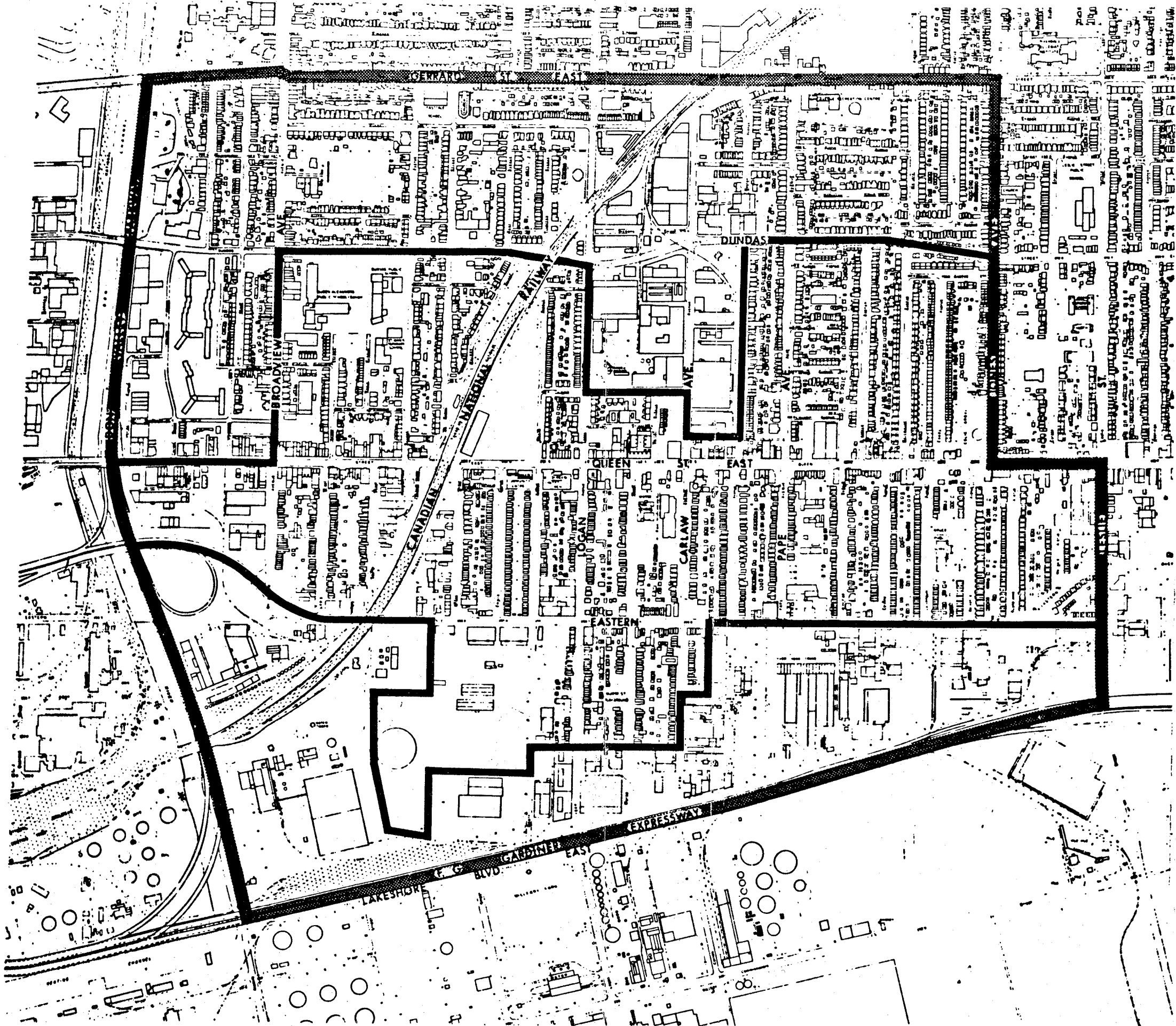
## CHAPTER 6



## SOUTH RIVERDALE

South Riverdale is located in the south-east corner of the defined Inner City of Toronto. It is bounded by the Gardiner Expressway to the south, the Don River to the west, Gerrard Street to the north and Jones Avenue and Leslie Street to the east. Map 5 indicates the location of South Riverdale in Toronto's Inner City and Map 5A provides a detailed look at the neighbourhood.

Historically it has developed from a market gardening area to a working class and middle income residential and industrial neighbourhood as the street car lines were extended into the area from the centre of the city. The Canadian National Railway Line cuts through the neighbourhood and originally stimulated industrial development, especially in the area south of Queen Street. By 1923, the bulk of the land had been developed for industrial uses and residential areas filled in the gaps. The close proximity of the houses to the industrial uses and the spread of inexpensive public transit made it a comfortable working class area. The residential and industrial uses have become more intensely developed over the years and friction has increased as industrial pollution has increased and the desirability of the area has declined. There has been little major development in the area since the 1920s and most of the physical character of the area remains intact. One public housing development was constructed in the 1960s as an urban renewal project (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, pp.7-11). Today, South Riverdale





 BOUNDARY OF STUDY AREA  
 BOUNDARY OF N.I.P. AREA

MAP 5A  
 DETAIL OF  
**SOUTH RIVERDALE**



SOURCE:  
 CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD

SCALE: 1"=600'

is still predominantly working class although more middle income residents have moved into the area. Major issues are the low income of some of the residents, the condition of the significant industrial base and the possibility of extensive renovation activity which is occurring to the north of the neighbourhood.

The major sources of information on South Riverdale include Census of Canada Statistics (1971, 1981), the City of Toronto Planning Board's studies: Towards a Neighbourhood Plan: South Riverdale (1977) and the Toronto Planning Atlas (1980).

### 6.1 Characteristics

Table 5 provides information on the characteristics of South Riverdale based on Census of Canada statistics for 1971 and 1981.

Population: The population of South Riverdale declined significantly between 1971 and 1981 (-23%), much more rapidly than the decline in the Inner City (-6.5%). The population has declined gradually since 1951, however this most recent decrease is the most dramatic over any other ten year period since 1951. Population densities which have been relatively high are decreasing.

Population distribution indicates a proportionally greater number of children in the neighbourhood than in the Inner City generally, although their share of the total population has declined substantially over the ten year period. There are proportionally less elderly and people in the 19-65 age bracket than in the Inner city although their share of the total population has been increasing.

Average household size declined in South Riverdale over the decade,

TABLE 5 Characteristics of South Riverdale, Inner City of Toronto,  
1971, 1981

Variable	South Riverdale		Inner City	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Population(%of IC)	21,805(3.4%)	16,889(2.8%)	642,290	600,687
Age groups:				
less than 19	40%	29%	28%	24%
65 and over	8%	10%	10%	12%
Households:				
number	5825	5350	221,060	234,080
average size	3.7	3.2	3.2	2.6
Average household income	\$8,423	NA	\$10,104	NA
Education:				
less than grade 9	31%	NA	42%	NA
university	3%	NA	6%	NA
Families:				
number	4550	3825	159,780	137,600
family size	4.0	3.3	3.2	3.0
child/family	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2
Born outside Canada	25%	NA	45%	NA
Type of Dwelling:				
single detached	16%	13%	22%	22%
apartments	16%	18%	43%	46%
Dwellings:				
owner-occupied	52%	58%	43%	43%
Room per dwelling	5.6	NA	5.2	NA
Average annual rent	\$1332	NA	\$1438	NA

NOTE: 1981 Figures were taken from advance census data, hence not all information was available when this research was carried out.

Source: Statistics Canada: 1971, 1981 Census of Canada

however it is still larger than that in the Inner City. Significantly the number of households declined by 8% while they increased in number in the Inner City.

Mobility has been relatively low in this neighbourhood relative to other Inner City neighbourhoods: "between 1966 and 1971 only 21% of the residents moved, 6% below the City average of 27%" (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.21). More recently there has been an outflow of residents from the area.

Educational attainment in 1971 was higher in South Riverdale relative to the 31% of the population with less than grade 9. However only 3% of the population had some university compared to 6% for the whole Inner City.

Socio-economic Status: Income figures for 1971 indicated that South Riverdale had an average household income level below that of the Inner City. It is likely that in the years following these figures, the neighbourhood has continued this relatively low status: the 1977 neighbourhood Study observed little change.

The half decade since the last census has been a period of worsening economic conditions throughout the country, and South Riverdale's position appears to have followed the national trend (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.17).

It is likely that this situation has carried on into the 1980s.

Occupational breakdowns for 1976 indicate 8% of total employment involved in retail activities, 2% in office functions, 71% in factory and warehouse jobs and 18% in other employment activities (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1980, pp.82-90). These figures indicate the South Riverdale is predominantly a working class neighbourhood.

Family Status: The number of families declined in the area over the ten year period (-16%), as did family size although family size was still significantly larger in South Riverdale relative to the Inner City and was comparable to that of the CMA. The number of children per family was higher than in the Inner City and higher than the figure for the CMA. Clearly it is a family oriented neighbourhood.

Ethnicity: In 1971, only 25% of the population was born outside Canada compared to 45% in the Inner City. Major ethnic groups included Italian, East European, Asian, Northern European and French. Nearly half the population was of British background. (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.12). In 1981, "mother tongues" included Chinese, Portugese, French, Italian and German as well as English.

Community Organization: Residents in the area have several social service agencies and community centres to meet those particular needs but are poorly organized in terms of political expertise and involvement in planning and local issues. Homeowners are increasing in number relative to renters and as prices are lower than the city average (see Housing/Land Costs), this group does not appear to have pressing concerns. There is a community newspaper which focuses on local issues but in general involvement in community concerns appears minimal.

Physical Conditions: A general survey of the area indicates an aging stock of smallish detached, semi-detached and row houses many in need of repair. The 1978 neighbourhood study outlined the situation.

Because of the low average family incomes in South Riverdale, many people have not been able to afford to carry out regular maintenance on their houses. As a result, many of the houses are in need of repair... Few of the houses have deteriorated to a point beyond repair but many require extensive, costly repairs (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.41).

Most of the rental accomodation is located above stores on commercial strips and in houses converted into flats and appears to be in fair condition. Some whitepainting is evident in the area which is helping to improve overall physical conditions although it is not extensive as yet.

Housing/land Costs: Average house prices in the general area have remained much lower than those of the whole region. For example, the average house price in the South Riverdale area was \$12,520 compared to \$20,317 for the Metro region in 1965, \$56,387 in South Riverdale and \$75,694 in the region in 1980 and \$72,605 in South Riverdale and \$95,386 by 1982 (Toronto Real Estate Board, 1965, 1980, 1982). There is no clear increase or decrease in demand relative to the region.

Tenure: Owner-occupancy increased significantly over the ten year period and is much higher than the average for the Inner City and is comparable to that for the CMA. Apartments make up a minimal amount of the housing stock and rents in 1972 were lower than the average for the Inner City. Rents appear to vary throughout the area but South Riverdale is known as a low rent district (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.22).

Non-residential Functions: Commercial activity is quite extensive and congregates along the main access streets. The retail strip type of commercial development is not without its problems such as lack of parking, unattractive storefronts, traffic and congestion and competition from shopping centres. A relatively new mall opened on the northern boundary of the neighbourhood and has had some detrimental effects on some of the long established businesses. Many of the outlets are exper-



encing declining sales (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1977, pp.55-57). South Riverdale has one of the most mixed industrial areas in the city and in 1971 about 145 firms employed about 8% of the city's total industrial employment. Although healthy in many respects there are concerns with lack of room for expansion, the view that the area is "disreputable" compared to newer industrial parks, labour supply is limited for some operations and transportation and access into the area is poor. There is a continual turnover and adjustment of industrial uses in the area and many firms are attracted to the area because of the relatively low rents (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, pp.93-114).

Pressure for Redevelopment: There is minimal redevelopment activity in South Riverdale however there are considerable pressures on the existing housing stock. Due to its low average price relative to the region, the housing in the area is attractive to middle income residents who could not afford to buy a house elsewhere in the city. This in some instances, may be forcing residents out and due to the shortage of low cost rental accomodation in the city, it is difficult for these low income residents to find new homes. As well the shortage of potential new housing sites limits new residential activity (City of Toronto Planning Department, 1977, p.53). Whitepainting activities are becoming more visible in the neighbourhood although they are not yet extensive.

## 6.2 Patterns of Change

From the characteristics, the patterns of neighbourhood change in South Riverdale can be outlined relative to McLemore et al.'s 10 dimensions of the inner city neighbourhood (Table 2).

1. Decline of the resident population: this reflects the overall trend in the Inner City area although the population loss is more extensive in South Riverdale. The decline in household size and number of households and families indicate an outflow of people and a decline in density more dramatic than in most Inner City areas.

2. Low socio-economic status: a predominantly working class area with serious low income problems, South Riverdale has been unable to improve its low socio-economic status. Evidence of new middle class residents moving in and whitepainting may improve its income status, however not without creating serious problems for the low income residents forced out.

3. Maintenance of family status: although the neighbourhood has lost some families, the relatively high family size and number of children per family relative to the Inner City, implies that South Riverdale is still very much a family oriented neighbourhood. The changes in population mix generally follow the trends in the Inner City however there are still proportionally more children in the neighbourhood.

4. Maintenance of ethnic mix: evidence is limited but the growth of the Chinese community indicates a significant and perhaps growing ethnic component in the neighbourhood.

5. Weak social organization: limited involvement and limited self-initiated organizations indicate both a lack of concern and a lack of organizational abilities (or lack of perceived problems) on the part of the residents.

6. Declining physical conditions: an aging housing stock, some of originally poor construction, declining house quality, low income resi-

dents that are not able to invest in maintenance and limited whitepainting activity indicate declining physical conditions.

7. Below city average house costs: average house price figures indicate sale prices well below the city average which is attracting some middle income residents into the area who could not afford a house elsewhere.

8. Increasing home-ownership: an increase in owner occupied dwellings and minimal apartment dwellings substantiate this pattern.

9. Mixed non-residential functions: while overall commercial activity is declining slowly, industrial uses are experiencing some changes in use but are generally healthy.

10. Little pressure for redevelopment: little recent development activity, few available sites, limited whitepainting and lower than city average property values all indicate minimal pressure for redevelopment.

By comparing these patterns with Table 2, the dimensions of the neighbourhood types, South Riverdale can be defined as a stable-to-declining neighbourhood. Characteristics of decline in South Riverdale include: declining population, declining socio-economic status, poor community organization, declining physical conditions, low housing costs relative to the city, declining commercial sector and low pressure for redevelopment. Characteristics of stability include: maintenance of high family status, significant ethnic community, lack of community organization due to lack of necessity, high home-ownership, stable industrial base and minimal pressure for redevelopment.

### 6.3 Theoretical Interpretation

Using the neighbourhood characteristics and the identified patterns of change, the nine theories of change can be interpreted in South Riverdale.

Filtering: There is little evidence that the housing stock in South Riverdale has "filtered down" to the present low income residents, however there is some indication that a "reverse filtering" process is beginning. The neighbourhood was originally built for working class residents and the houses are smallish and many are not of particularly good construction. It is clear that higher income groups never inhabited the dwellings. Resident mobility in and out of the area has been below the city average and the family status has remained high. Ethnic groups make up a smaller proportion of the population here than in the Inner City. It is therefore unlikely that filtering has occurred to any great extent. However, it is likely that those residents who experience a rise in income move out of the neighbourhood as it is certainly not a fashionable area. To the north of South Riverdale is a neighbourhood now becoming fashionable again and the houses there are considerably larger and more attractive. There is evidence that the value of South Riverdale homes is declining more rapidly than their quality stimulating new residents to move in.

Because houses in South Riverdale are less expensive than houses in other parts of the City, many people not previously residents in the area realized that their only hopes of home ownership lay in purchasing a house within the district. Thus, there has been an influx of middle income families buying into what was traditionally a working class area (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.41).

This situation of low property values relative to the city is

allowing a process of reverse filtering to start. It is not clear to what extent it will develop as the housing stock is clearly not as attractive to middle income residents as other inner city neighbourhoods.

Invasion and Succession: There is little evidence of an invasion of a "like" population into the area except for the limited arrival of the middle classes. The conditions which initiate invasion are not being met to any great extent in South Riverdale. There has been little physical change in the area except for the aging of the housing stock. There is limited residential mobility and relatively low property values. These characteristics imply limited potential for invasion and of the conditions that initiate the invasion process only the physical "obsolescence" and low demand of the housing stock and the low income status of the majority of the residents allow for new populations to enter and take over the area. As mentioned in Filtering, this is starting to occur and there is evidence that the middle classes are quite a different group from the established residents. If the process continues, the invasion and succession scenario may unfold. However, the history of the neighbourhood does not indicate any past process of invasion.

Special Interests: The low tenancy and lack of development activity indicate a limited involvement of special property interests in the area. However the declining physical conditions and possible real estate promotion of the area for the middle classes may indicate more subtle involvement of the "property industry". Landlords in the area do not appear to be overly exploitive as rents are below the city average

and the area is known as a low rent district (see Tenure). The only evidence of "cataclysmic" money was a public housing urban renewal project built in the 1960s. However the declining physical conditions indicate that the residents cannot get access to financial markets and as a result their houses are undermaintained. The new middle income residents can afford to purchase these properties and renovate them. As well, real estate companies are likely buying up suitable dwellings, renovating them and making a substantial profit as was outlined under Special Interests in the Annex. There are 'Darrell Kent, Realtor' signs in the neighbourhood.

Consumer Preference: Due to the low income status, low demand and low housing costs in the area compared to the city and limited diversity in the neighbourhood population, it is unlikely that consumer preference has played a major part in the development of South Riverdale. Evidence of the long term residents reinvesting in the housing stock or commercial functions ("unslumming") is also minimal. However, the population of the area is dropping and it exhibits many of the conditions of a stable neighbourhood which indicates that some unslumming may be occurring. It is more likely that the middle classes are the primary investors in the neighbourhood. These new residents are likely choosing to live here for largely economic reasons (see Filtering), however proximity to the downtown and employment, the family orientation of the neighbourhood and relative stability of the area are other factors.

Capital Accumulation: In several major respects the needs of capital accumulation have dominated the needs of the residents in South Riverdale. Historically, land use decisions were made based on the

needs of industry in the area. Today those needs have created local concerns.

As industries have expanded on their sites and road has replaced rail as the predominant means of transportation, the friction has increased between residents and the industries located side by side. In the area south of Queen Street in particular, the effects of industrial pollution have become a matter of great local concern (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.11).

The domination of industrial capital has undoubtedly influenced the cost of the housing in the area which is much lower compared to the city and the poorer original construction and design as workers' dwellings. However, Smith suggests that with undermaintenance and capital depreciation, the housing will convert to rental units. In South Riverdale, many dwellings are undermaintained but ownership is increasing. Capital reinvestment is now just starting, perhaps after the relative value of the dwellings has depreciated to the extent that reinvestment is now a rational market response. This is difficult to evaluate, however Smith's "Rent Gap Theory" may hold, especially as real estate promotions of the area for the middle classes is evident.

Extra-Urban Forces: There appears to be an indirect impact of national policies, economics and demographic trends in South Riverdale. National policies and changing economic situations have directed the growth of the local industrial base and national policies have altered such aspects as transportation routes (see Capital Accumulation). More recently, neighbourhood improvement programs have been directed at South Riverdale. In 1976, a Neighbourhood Improvement Program area was designated in South Riverdale (see Map 5A), as it was determined to be a "seriously deteriorated" neighbourhood. Money was allotted to bring low

income dwellers' houses up to safety, fire and health codes as well as to improve the physical infrastructure in the area. Problems with the program included the length of time for the approval process due to the difficulty with dealing with three levels of government and differing interpretations of the legislature. The Resident Rehabilitation Assistance Program provided resident home-owners in "N.I.P. areas" with money for repairs on homes. Landlords qualified for the grants and there was no provision for assuring that they did not pass costs on to the tenants and profit the grant money (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, pp. 43-45). The overall impact of the programs is mixed with some benefits accruing to the residents. National demographic trends such as decreasing family size and increasing single households are apparent in South Riverdale but not as pronounced as in other inner city areas.

Landlord-Tenant Relations: There is good evidence to support the idea that "non-economic" relations between landlord and tenant are helping to maintain the stability of South Riverdale. However there is also some evidence that changing economic conditions are starting to erode some of these relationships. Although there is limited tenancy in the area relative to the Inner City, the relatively inexpensive housing, low rents, type of tenant dwellings (ie. no large blocks), small but significant ethnic community, the relative stability and family orientation of the area and the low mobility of the residents all indicate that there are likely good "non-economic" relationships between many of the landlords and tenants in the area. This implies that rents are being kept below market levels because of the reciprocity and understanding that has evolved between landlord and tenant. Actual evidence of this



understanding is too difficult to document here but the neighbourhood characteristics suggest that it is plausible. There is also evidence that these relations may be becoming more economic.

It is not easy to estimate area rents since rents seem to vary greatly within the area and in recent years have been escalating rapidly. However South Riverdale is generally known as an area of lower than average rents and thus appeals to households with lower than average incomes (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.22).

As physical conditions decline and a poor economic situation aggravates local problems, the likelihood of these "non-economic" relations surviving is diminishing.

Cultural Isolation: South Riverdale is clearly a low income area and while social class (socio-economic status) is limiting the housing choices and prospects for the residents, there is no overt evidence of discrimination in the housing and rental markets other than regarding income. Low income is widespread throughout the area causing social problems and declining physical conditions. Cultural isolation and dependence on social services are likely inter-related.

A tallying of figures received from the unemployment Insurance Commission, the Metro Social Services Department and the Province provided a rough estimate of somewhat more than 20% of the population counting on some form of assistance for income at the end of 1975 and the beginning of 1976.... These estimates indicate that the recent rise in unemployment across Canada has not spared South Riverdale (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.21).

There is no clear evidence that any cultural minority groups are being discriminated against in terms of housing or employment.

Social Movement: It is evident that the middle class is beginning to make inroads into the area and that this group has distinctly different social values than the long term working class residents of South

Riverdale. However, as the neighbourhood is not particularly diversified in terms of income, jobs, social status or lifestyle, the middle class residents who choose to live here may have different values than those of the "new middle class" who seek neighbourhood diversity and involvement in social movements. The middle class residents who choose to live in South Riverdale may have more traditional values and limited incomes. There is evidence that these new residents are displacing some of the long term low income residents.

House prices in South Riverdale are too high for many area residents to afford. The tenants living in houses which are sold are having difficulty finding rental accommodation in the area.... The most vulnerable people in the current situation are those who are dependent on rental accommodation: tenants have the least bargaining power during a housing crisis. Low income homeowners at least have the option to sell their homes (City of Toronto Planning Board, 1977, p.42).

Clearly new middle class residents are moving in and low income residents are being forced out but there is no evidence that the new residents have values governed by concern for "quality of life" rather than economic concerns.

Summary This completes the application of the theories of neighbourhood change to South Riverdale. The characteristics of South Riverdale indicate that the neighbourhood is primarily stable but has many characteristics of decline. It is a family oriented neighbourhood with a significant ethnic population, high home-ownership, a stable local industrial base and low pressure for redevelopment. However, deteriorating physical conditions, a declining commercial sector, low family incomes, weak community organizations and low housing costs all indicate a growing pattern of decline.

Few of the theories could explain aspects of neighbourhood change in South Riverdale. Only Capital Accumulation, Extra-Urban Forces and Landlord-Tenant Relations were supported by strong evidence in the neighbourhood information. Filtering, Invasion and Succession, Special Interests, Consumer Preference, Cultural Isolation and Social Movement were generally poorly interpreted by the evidence in the information on South Riverdale.

The following chapter evaluates these theoretical interpretations for all three neighbourhoods.

## CHAPTER 7

## AN EVALUATION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF THE THEORIES

This chapter reviews and critiques the theories of neighbourhood change in light of their application to the three neighbourhoods in the Inner City of Toronto. The strengths and weaknesses of the theories are evaluated in the following four steps. Initially, the range of the theoretical interpretations is outlined. This provides an overview of the abilities of the theories to explain the phenomena evident in all three neighbourhoods. Secondly, a typology of the theories is developed based on this range of interpretations, providing a framework for an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the theories. Thirdly, the limitations of the theories in terms of their abilities to explain neighbourhoods are discussed. Finally, some observations are made on further use and development of these theories as a tool in the interpretation of neighbourhood change.

The Range of Interpretation As a result of the interpretations of the neighbourhoods, three "classes" of theories can be distinguished: those that explained the phenomena evident in all three neighbourhoods; those that explained two neighbourhoods; and those that explained only one neighbourhood. It is significant that all of the theories were valid in explaining at least one neighbourhood. While some of the theories did not explain phenomena evident in particular neighbourhoods, no one theory failed to be valid in an explanation of at least one of the three neighbourhoods.

The theories that explained aspects of all three neighbourhoods were: Capital Accumulation and Extra-Urban Forces. These theories all had an interpretive value in explaining the characteristics and patterns of change in all three neighbourhoods. The theories that explained aspects of two of the neighbourhoods were Filtering and Invasion and Succession. They were valid in explaining the situations in two of the neighbourhoods but had no validity in the third. However "reverse filtering" had an interpretive value in all three neighbourhoods. The theories that explained the aspects of only one neighbourhood were Special Interests, Consumer Preference, Landlord-Tenant Relations, Cultural Isolation and Social Movement.

The Types of Theories From the range of interpretations, the theories can be discussed and further evaluated by developing a typology based on their focus. They can be grouped into three general types: comprehensive, those that attempt to describe and explain all types of neighbourhoods and their phenomena; narrow focus, those theories that concentrate narrowly on one or two determinants of neighbourhood change; and neighbourhood-specific, those theories that concentrate on neighbourhoods in one of three states: decline, stability, or revitalization. The theories generally fit one type although it is difficult to categorize them rigorously.

Comprehensive Many of the theories explained a variety of determinants in neighbourhoods in a variety of conditions (decline, stability, revitalization). Those theories that explained all three neighbourhoods can be generally considered comprehensive. However, this broad focus has some negative implications regarding indirect evidence

and a superficial treatment of many of the determinants of neighbourhood change.

The aim was to include as many aspects of neighbourhood change that could be encompassed by the approach. However, as a result of the interpretations, it is clear that some of the theories are more encompassing than others. It is also clear that while a theory may be comprehensive, it may not necessarily explain the neighbourhoods succinctly. For instance, Invasion and Succession is a comprehensive theory in terms of the wide range of characteristics it considers, however substantiation of the main concept (the similar activities of like cultural groups) is difficult in any more than a general way.

Extra-Urban Forces provides the most comprehensive focus of all the theories. There was evidence of the indirect impact of national policies, the national economy and national demographic trends in all three of the neighbourhoods studied. In fact it can be safely asserted that this theory has great potential to explain any inner city neighbourhood. Its weakness lies in the difficulty of linking national trends and forces to particular neighbourhood changes in anything more than a general way.

Narrow Focus While all the theories are oriented towards one general aspect of neighbourhood change (eg. Filtering is concerned with the changing use of the housing stock; Special Interests, the collusive activities of players in the property industry), some are focused on only one or two specific determinants. A narrow focus has the potential of uncovering the subtle forces at work behind that particular determinant, but may ignore other important determinants. For instance, Land-

lord-Tenant Relations is the most specifically focused of the theories as the concept of reciprocal relations between landlord and tenant is concerned with only that one determinant of neighbourhood change. Good relations between landlord and tenant are only one factor in maintaining neighbourhood stability. Cultural Isolation is narrowly focused on discrimination and isolation of minority groups in neighbourhoods. These theories are limited by the few characteristics and patterns of change included in their interpretations.

In some cases, the theory can be limited by the requirements of specific neighbourhood criteria in order for a theory to have any validity. For example, Filtering, which appeared to be a comprehensive theory as outlined, is actually more narrowly focused. The concept of neighbourhood housing stock filtering down to low income groups as the housing ages and declines in quality was limited by several criteria that must be met: the dwellings must be large and must have been originally prestigious; they must be conducive to conversion into boarding houses or multi-unit dwellings; and housing demand in the area must be such that higher income residents will want to move out, leaving the dwellings for low income residents. This theory had validity in two of the neighbourhoods however in the third, South Riverdale, the houses are not large and were not originally prestigious, were built for low income industrial workers and are not likely to be chosen by higher income groups. There is little need to interpret Filtering in a neighbourhood which does not meet this criteria.

Neighbourhood-Specific Some of the theories are specifically focused on particular types of neighbourhoods. These theories concen-

trate on the determinants that shape neighbourhoods characterized by decline, stability or revitalization. In the introduction to Chapter 3, it was indicated that many of the theories were originally oriented towards the forces that create declining neighbourhoods. This is a clear bias of the theories which is understandable due to the problematic nature of declining neighbourhoods. Revitalizing neighbourhoods are the new focus of the theorists judging by the recent literature. However, as also pointed out in Chapter 3, many of the original concepts can be adapted to explain revitalization (eg. Filtering, Invasion and Succession, Special Interests). Stable neighbourhoods are poorly explained by the theories. Only two theories, Landlord-Tenant Relations and Invasion and Succession are concerned with the forces that maintain stable neighbourhoods. South Riverdale is the most stable of the neighbourhoods studied and it was generally poorly explained by the theories. Only Capital Accumulation, Extra-Urban Forces and Landlord-Tenant Relations appeared to have much validity in explaining its condition.

Other examples of neighbourhood-specific theories are as follows: Social Movement which is clearly oriented towards areas exhibiting signs of recovery or revitalization. Cultural Isolation is oriented towards declining neighbourhoods inhabited by cultural minorities. Consumer Preference appeared to be a comprehensive theory as outlined but really only had validity in revitalizing or higher income neighbourhoods as it is only here that residents likely are able to afford to make their own decisions regarding housing.

Now that the apparent strengths and weaknesses of the theories have



been highlighted, the limitations evident with all the theories and with this approach to neighbourhood change can be outlined.

Overall Limitations There are several overall limitations to the theories that have become evident from the interpretations of the neighbourhoods. These limitations relate directly to the ability of all the theories to explain all three neighbourhoods and have implications regarding further interpretations of other inner city neighbourhoods.

The validity test of the theories is predicated on the assumption that the phenomena they describe can be fully substantiated. The availability of information on the neighbourhoods sets the limits of this substantiation. In their present state of development, these theories can not permit a complete interpretation of neighbourhoods short of carrying out extensive and detailed empirical studies; this casts some doubt on their practical usefulness. Moreover, the scope of this research has limited the neighbourhood information to ten major characteristics as identified by McLemore et al. This information may not cover more subtle aspects of the neighbourhood. For example, Landlord-Tenant Relations requires studies of rental sub-markets and surveys on the relationships between landlord and tenants.

Some of the required information is nearly impossible to collect due to the abstract nature of the concepts the theories purport to illustrate or to the disputable methods which may be required to collect data of this nature. For example, in the case of Consumer Preference, there are no obvious ways to measure the extent that individuals are making their own housing choices. In Invasion and Succession, it is difficult to define cultural groups in any satisfactory way and to

measure the impact of their activities on a neighbourhood. In Special Interests, it is difficult to define collusion and to supply evidence of such activity.

To a certain extent, all the theories would likely be aided in their interpretations of neighbourhoods by more detailed information. This is not necessarily a limitation of the theories but is a limitation of the interpretative framework. However in several cases, the vague concepts embodied in the theories limited their interpretive value in explaining neighbourhoods.

Some of the ideas contained in the theories overlap. This is due to the need for further conceptual development of the theories, the inter-related nature of various approaches and the fact that they are dealing with soft phenomena. Defining some of these ideas as "theories" may be premature as they require further development. Grigsby and Rosenburg labelled the ideas "images", L.S. Bourne called them "hypotheses" and Neil Smith titled one of his papers "Towards A Theory of Gentrification". This indicates that there is still much work to be done and being done in the area.

There are examples of overlapping ideas and inter-related approaches. For example, Invasion and Succession includes the filtering scenario to explain the transition of residents through the housing stock. Special Interests and Capital Accumulation both assume there is a strong element of control over the housing market by elites. Consumer Preference and Social Movement Theories both base their premises on the demand side of the housing market. Invasion and Succession and Cultural Isolation are both concerned with like cultural groups and their domina-

ting or exploiting situations. These overlaps are a limitation regarding a separate evaluation of the theories. For example, the validity of Invasion and Succession in a neighbourhood rests to some extent on the validity of Filtering as the filtering concept is an inherent part of its premise.

Thus, considering that these overlaps are symptomatic of soft phenomena, it is clear that there can be no truly scientific explanations for neighbourhood change in any one neighbourhood. This is why there are nine somewhat integrated theories attempting to explain neighbourhood change and albeit they all have some validity to interpret neighbourhood phenomena, there will never be one theory that explains with full satisfaction all aspects of neighbourhood change in all neighbourhoods.

Another overall limitation of the theories is their lack of interpretation of unique neighbourhood characteristics. All three of the neighbourhoods exhibited strong unique characteristics which generally defied explanation by the theories. For example, South Parkdale is the home of many de-institutionalized mental health patients with low income and special problems. The theories are oriented towards general neighbourhood situations and were not able to adequately explain the impact of these residents on the neighbourhood. The highly politicized and divided resident activities were also poorly explained with only Capital Accumulation supplying a perspective to the situation. The Annex is unique regarding its close proximity to a major university and the cyclical residency of the students. Only Invasion and Succession attempted to explain this important aspect of the neighbourhood. South

Riverdale is unique regarding the integration of industry into the neighbourhood. This aspect has considerable implications for property values, socio-economic status, revitalization, pollution, building structures, etc. on the neighbourhood. The theories generally ignored this aspect with the exception of Capital Accumulation.

Of course, since many of these theories were meant to explain generalized phenomena, they cannot be expected to explain all unique characteristics of a neighbourhood however they should be able to explain the majority of the general neighbourhood characteristics. It is likely that the more unique a neighbourhood is, the less successfully it can be explained by these theories.

Finally, the theories are all open to slightly different interpretations and may vary in their perceived validity to explain a neighbourhood due to the political perspective and ideological outlook of those interpreting the ideas they contain. Several of these ideas are based on highly subjective and controversial premises. For example, Capital Accumulation clearly depends upon an outlook supporting a premise that capital is manipulated by elites who exploit those residents who do not have access to the ruling institutions. If one cannot accept this premise, then the theory will not have any validity in any neighbourhood. Filtering is dependent on the acceptance of supply and demand forces working in a relatively free market situation and that individuals are able to make rational market responses. The inability to accept this premise may lead one to ignore this theory. All the theories are open to some interpretations due to the political-economic focus of neighbourhood change. Here again rational scientific explanations can hardly

by expected. However the inclusion of many perspectives may help to balance the viewpoints and provide a greater overall insight into neighbourhoods.

Summary Observations The theories have been evaluated according to their abilities to explain the characteristics and patterns of change evident in the three neighbourhoods. There are three "classes" of theories as distinguished by the interpretations of the neighbourhoods: those that explained all three neighbourhoods; those that explained two neighbourhoods; and those that explained only one neighbourhood. This range of interpretation indicates that the theories vary regarding their focus on the determinants of neighbourhood change. Some of the theories attempt to be comprehensive focusing on many determinants, some are narrowly focused on one or two determinants and some are focused on the determinants affecting a neighbourhood condition of decline, stability or revitalization. Overall, the theories vary in their interpretive value relative to their ability to be substantiated by the neighbourhood information, their conceptual development, their interpretations of generalized phenomena and their political perspective.

How can we better apply these theories to neighbourhoods? What lessons have been learned from the theoretical interpretations of the neighbourhoods?

The theories lacking substantiation by the neighbourhood information require the development of a methodology to better apply their concepts. Landlord-Tenant Relations requires a means to uncover the relationships between landlord and tenant. Invasion and Succession requires a clear definition of a like cultural group and a way to

measure their activities. Special Interests requires a definition of collusive activity and a way to measure it. This refining of the concepts of the theories will allow more concise interpretations of neighbourhoods and more thorough evaluations of their applicability. This study has demonstrated the need for more detailed and specific kinds of data on neighbourhoods for the successful applicability of the theories.

The theories lacking conceptual development require further theoretical study and possibly a re-evaluation of their central themes. Consumer Preference needs the vague concept of the individual's ability to make his own housing choices based on his tastes and preferences developed and clearly defined in order for it to have any practical applicability. Social Movement needs a clarification not only of the "new" tastes and values of the middle classes but also of how they come to infiltrate neighbourhoods. There was no solid evidence to link these vague concepts to the neighbourhoods studied. The interpretations of the neighbourhoods demonstrated just how inapplicable some concepts can be to explain the phenomena.

The theories generalizing the phenomena may limit the consideration of unique characteristics but may also provide the most comprehensive and useful explanations of neighbourhoods. This will depend likely on the extent a neighbourhood fits the determined definitions of decline, stability, etc. Extra-Urban Forces requires some development of its concepts to link them more clearly to neighbourhood changes, however its broad focus provides a widely applicable tool of explanation for all kinds of neighbourhoods. From this study it is evident that the neighbourhood information can provide the initial base to determine which

theories likely have a strong applicability in a neighbourhood. This became evident with the theories whose applicability was limited to specific neighbourhood conditions or to specific characteristics. Filtering can only have an interpretive value in neighbourhoods that meet its required criteria. Cultural Isolation likely will only have an interpretative value in neighbourhoods of decline, dominated by cultural minorities. As well, it was learned that the theories are not meant to explain the phenomena evident in all neighbourhoods and it is only by studying many neighbourhoods that new theories and concepts may be developed to explain the unique phenomena.

Finally, this thesis did not set out to resolve the debate surrounding the highly politicized theories. The controversial premise of Capital Accumulation can only be evaluated here regarding its interpretive value to describe the neighbourhoods. This theory requires a clarification of some of its concepts (eg. economic growth serves the interest of a few; developing capital is the moving force behind all urban change) and a better means to interpret them in the neighbourhoods. However, it explained aspects of all three neighbourhoods studied and provided an important political focus lacking in the other theories. It was learned in the interpretations of the neighbourhoods that political biases and an ideological perspective are an important and necessary aspect of the theories as no one theory can be expected to explain all neighbourhood phenomena with full satisfaction.

## CHAPTER 8

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to define a body of "theories" from the literature pertaining to neighbourhood change and to evaluate them by testing their applicability to explain phenomena in different types of inner city neighbourhoods. Three neighbourhoods in Toronto were used as case studies to test the range of applicability of nine theories of neighbourhood change.

The criteria used to define and describe the study areas included a definition of "inner city" and the delineation of the area in Toronto and an identification of ten neighbourhood characteristics providing a means to classify neighbourhoods as areas of decline, stability or revitalization. Three neighbourhoods were chosen from within the Inner City of Toronto for detailed study representing each of these categories.

Nine "theories" or rather a grouping of related images, concepts and ideas were defined providing particular perspectives with potential to explain phenomena of change in the three neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood dynamics were interpreted in light of these theories by linking the theoretical concepts to the phenomena evident from the ten neighbourhood characteristics.

It was found that there were three classes of theories based on their abilities to explain the neighbourhoods: those theories that explained phenomena in all three neighbourhoods, those that explained



two neighbourhoods and those that explained only one neighbourhood. Only two theories explained all three neighbourhoods and most of the theories explained just one neighbourhood. However, all the theories explained at least one neighbourhood.

It was found that the theories varied in their abilities to explain the neighbourhood phenomena due to their differing focus on the determinants of neighbourhood change. This focus ranged from comprehensive, those theories attempting to explain many determinants in all different types of neighbourhoods, to narrow, those concentrated on one or two significant determinants, to neighbourhood-specific, those oriented to determinants in neighbourhoods meeting certain limiting criteria or neighbourhoods in a specific condition of decline, stability or revitalization. The theories were fairly evenly distributed across this range.

Furthermore, the interpretive value of the theories varied due to some conceptual and methodological limitations: the difficulty of gathering information in terms of availability and definition, the need for further conceptual development, the theoretical generalization of neighbourhood phenomena such that unique neighbourhood characteristics may be ignored and the sometimes controversial political perspective of the theories.

However, the above limitations notwithstanding, it can be concluded that linking the theories to actual inner city neighbourhoods by theoretically interpreting their phenomena does provide a means to evaluate these theories. Conversely, the framework of theoretical interpretations of neighbourhoods provides a means to study and compare inner city neighbourhoods from different perspectives.

Finally, this thesis has indicated that these theories can be applied as effective planning tools but that both theory and methodology need further development and clarification. The comparative study of many neighbourhoods provides the means by which we can develop new theories to explain unusual phenomena and expand our present knowledge of neighbourhood change.

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