

THE NEW URBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE: THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INNER CITY REVITALIZATION
IN CANADA AND THE RISE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, CANADA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

BY
BARTON REID
OCTOBER, 1985

THE NEW URBANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INNER CITY REVITALIZATION
IN CANADA AND THE RISE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

BY

BARTON REID

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

✓
© 1985

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give special thanks to Professor Kent Gerecke for the time and energy he devoted towards the realization of this thesis. Without his assistance the ideas I tried to express would still be submerged in a sea of empirical data or diluted by endless tangents which I could never seem to escape. I would also like to thank Professor Kenneth McRobbie for his patience and perseverance as well as his help in editing. Mention of Professor Mario Carvalho also has to be made and special thanks to Sally Bowles for typing the final version of this thesis. And, last but not least, Wayne Baerwaldt and Rob Ferguson deserve honourable mention for their assistance.

ABSTRACT

The basic focus of this thesis is the movement back to the city and the relationship this movement has to the rise of a new class in the inner city. The main argument is that where there is a fully developed new middle class in the inner city a distinct material culture appears, one which entails the revitalization of the built environment. The argument is not reductionist, however, as the new middle class is a complex entity comprised of three distinct levels.

Inner city renewal in Canada is therefore affected by the way the new middle class develops at the economic, ideological-social and political levels. Consequently variations at any one level will alter the way the new middle class is constituted and, in turn, affect the agenda for urban renewal in the inner city.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the possible variations there are some coherent features of the new middle class which make them easily identifiable. Unlike most other classes these characteristics are not situated in the economic sphere, rather, they are located in social-ideological domain. Basically, there are three characteristics which define the new middle class. Although rooted in the economic sphere these characteristics are defined in the sphere of consumption. Thus professionals who identify with the city, who engage in conspicuous consumption and who are non-family oriented constitute the core of the new middle class. These characteristics define the interests of this class and so constitute a new agenda for city politics in the Canadian city.

For planners and the profession of city planning as a whole this presents a number of problems. Because planners and the new middle class have a common interest in the renewal of the inner city and have similar class backgrounds, they are natural allies. This brings to the surface the question of social justice and the issue of impartiality. Can planners distance themselves from the seductive call of the new urbanism and institute urban renewal which serve a broader class spectrum? Case studies of Toronto and Vancouver do not provide much hope for this. In Winnipeg, by contrast, the potential for broader based renewal schemes was deemed greater, although, up to this point, largely unrealized.

Table of Contents

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| Acknowledgements | i |
| Abstract | ii |
| Table of Contents | iv |
| | |
| Chapter One: Introduction | |
| Forward | 1 |
| The Problem | 5 |
| Hypothesis | 5 |
| Definition and Justification of a Class Analysis | 5 |
| A. A Theory of Class | 6 |
| B. The History of the New Middle Class | 9 |
| Literature Review | 15 |
| Methodology | 21 |
| Organization | 22 |
| | |
| Chapter Two: The Economic Preconditions for the Rise of the New Middle Class | |
| Introduction | 25 |
| The Post-Industrial Economy of the Inner City | 27 |
| Displacement | 31 |
| Conclusion | 40 |
| | |
| Chapter Three: The Emergence of the New Middle Class as a Class for Itself - The Social and Ideological Base | |
| Introduction | 46 |
| The New Middle Class Identity | 51 |
| Four Sub-Groups | 53 |
| The Concept of Community | 63 |
| The Liveable City | 64 |
| Conclusion | 68 |
| | |
| Chapter Four: The Realization of the New Middle Class as a Social Force in the Inner City: The Politics of Space | |
| Introduction | 76 |
| Control of the Local State and the Allocation of Resources | 84 |
| Control of the Local State and the Role of Planners | 88 |
| New Plans and Zoning as Expressions of Middle Class Hegemony | 90 |
| Non-State Expressions of Middle Class Power | 94 |
| | |
| Chapter Five: Conclusion | |
| The Issue of Class and the City | 107 |
| Chapter Two | 110 |
| Chapter Three | 111 |
| Chapter Four | 116 |
| The Summation | 117 |
| Concluding Discussion | 119 |
| Second Generation Planners | 121 |
| The Descent | 123 |
| The Costs and Benefits of the New Urbanism | 124 |
| Free Will or Pre-Determination | 126 |

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

*To go up to the Palace,
That radiates the brilliance of the sun lineage,
I parted from the hands of my mother
Who cared for me tenderly
And, crossing many a mountain range,
I journeyed through the innermost recesses
Of distant lands
Always talking about wondering
When shall I see the city?*

MAN YĀSHŪ A.D. 731

Forward

In the mid-nineteen seventies I began to notice that, from out of the marginal Bohemian shops and cafes located in the inner city, a new consumer culture was developing. The students who frequented these places began to leave the universities for the professions; they did not abandon the city for the suburb as past generations had done. Nor did they seem particularly interested in immediately starting new families. Rather, as their incomes rose, their support of the bohemian consumer culture increased. With their discretionary income, these professionals succeeded in transforming this marginal consumer culture into a commercialised forum for conspicuous consumption.

Conspicuous consumption refers to consumption carried out for the purpose of status enhancement rather than the satisfaction of basic biological and social needs and this was the type of consumption which was beginning to flourish in the inner city. The concept of conspicuous

consumption was popularized at the turn of the century by Thorstein Veblen who, in his theory of the leisure class¹, documented a new type of consumption which was emerging with a new class of parvenu capitalists. I was struck by the fact that this concept had been ignored by researchers in urban studies who, one thinks, would have been eager to apply this concept to the privileged neighbourhoods which were emerging in formerly declining areas of the inner city. To me these neighbourhoods were perfect examples of status commodities. However, this was conspicuous consumption on a much larger scale than anything Veblen had contemplated. What was being marketed here was urban territory, not just suburban villas. The clients were different as well. This meant that the movement back to the city involved more than a change in fashion. It signalled a new urban settlement pattern which expressed the coming of an age of a new class.

I realised the decision to remain in the city involved more than an understanding of conspicuous consumption. As I mentioned before, other forces were at work as well. For instance, the economic standing of people, or class, and the evolution of a non-family oriented culture seemed to be central features of this new urban consumer culture. Therefore class, family status and consumption seemed to be tied together in the new urban culture. Together they formed a nexus in the city which can be defined as the new urbanism. Briefly stated the new urbanism can be defined as the emergence in the inner city as a non-family based new middle class centred around conspicuous consumption.

This new middle class differed significantly from the traditional middle class in Canada. Traditionally Canada's middle classes were

family oriented and preferred to live in suburbs. By contrast, the new middle class were oriented away from the family, preferring the city to the suburbs. Therefore, in terms of the space inhabited and socialization the new middle class (nmc) radically differed from the traditional middle class in Canada. Leisure rather than work, conspicuous consumption and self exploration rather than rearing a family became more important.

This social and spatial realignment of class values formed the basis of a new ideology of the city which city planners became advocates for.² In this way the new urbanism became a movement for the transformation of the city, one which transformed the population and culture of the inner city as it changed the built environment. Out of this transformation of the city emerged a new social class in the inner city.

I hope to show how the creation of a new middle class and their reorientation to the city altered the social and built environment of the inner city. In the early seventies, when this process became evident in the Canadian city current wisdom did not then associate the renovation of buildings, the rise of an arts infrastructure, the profusion of upscale restaurants, art galleries and the flowering of street life, with the emergence of a new middle class. Popular interpretations of the movement back to the city were accepted. I took at face value the account given to me by magazines and newspapers which made this movement appear as a mass movement (i.e. involving all classes) when in fact it is a movement by an elite minority. At the same time I also accepted the claim that this urban renaissance was an unmitigated benefit to everyone in the city.

After a while I began to doubt the validity of these claims. Obviously not everyone benefitted equally. Experience showed that the

movement back to the city appealed disproportionately to one group of people. Experience also showed that others were being disadvantaged by the influx of professionals. This prompted me to look at other ways of conceptualizing what was happening. The new urbanism was not a straight forward process. Consequently descriptive accounts provided by popular magazines and newspapers were found deficient. To understand the contradictions and conflicts generated by the new urbanism an analytical base was needed. Since I was aware that the new urbanism involved a new class of people an analytical base employing a conceptualization of class seemed like a natural beginning. Using class as an analytical base was also useful in articulating the ambivalence I felt towards the resettlement of the inner city. Because, inspite of reservations about this phenomenon, there was also a feeling of excitement. The possibility of establishing a distinct alternative urban culture seemed to be a goal worth fighting for. Likewise the idea of creating an aesthetically more pleasing city seemed to be a worthy aspiration. I felt a class analysis might aid me in determining whether these positive features might aid me in determining whether these positive features of the new urbanism could transcend the narrow class base which supported these positive tendencies.

Furthermore, as a city planner and a marginal member of the new middle class, I felt a class analysis might increase the awareness of planners, making them conscious of the self interested nature of their participation in this phenomenon. Since city planners belong to the new middle class their role in propagating the new urbanism is not neutral.

The Problem

As the forward suggests, observations which set off this investigation were the changes I became aware of in the built environment of the inner city. These observations generated a number of questions which I sought answers to. For instance, exactly who was responsible for this reinvestment in the inner city, and what impact did this investment have on the social and political makeup of the city? A brief examination of the literature revealed that these questions had not been answered satisfactorily, that the movement back to the city was not well understood. The problem then was to develop a more complete account of the movement back to the city. In addition I hoped to show how support of the city planners for the new urbanism can be understood in class terms. Thus, as the forward indicated, the aim is to develop a more encompassing analytical base for the understanding of the new urbanism by centring it around the concept of the new middle class.

Hypothesis

The major hypothesis is that the new middle class is the active element in the resettlement of the inner city, that the new urbanism is the social and political expression of this resettlement. Consequently the physical, social and political changes that have occurred in the inner city revolve around the way the new middle class evolved in each city. Hence, there is a direct relation between the evolution of the new middle class and the revitalisation of the inner city.

Definition and Justification of a Class Analysis

In lay terms the new middle class refers to those people who have a university education and are employed in the professions. Such professions

would include the obvious; doctors, lawyers and engineers, (for instance) but also embraces professionalism in general, including people in nursing, accounting or planning fields. At its greatest extent these people number only 15 to 20 percent³ of the labour force. So in no way can the movement back to the city by this class be construed as a mass phenomenon.

A. A Theory of Class

In theoretical terms the definition of the new middle class rests upon a Marxian conception of class. A Marxist definition of class is fundamentally determined by relations that take place in the work place, or the sphere of production. Unless this premise is accepted, the theoretical basis of the new middle class makes no sense. It would simply be another descriptive term with no analytical power. While the term might help us describe the relationship the new middle class has to the inner city, it would not explain this relationship. In a Marxian paradigm the new middle class would be considered an intermediate class. It lies between capital and the working class. As mentioned before, all three classes are defined by relations entered into in the workplace. These are the relations which structure class. Within the workplace two relations determine the relative standing of each class. The first relation deals with ownership of the means of production and so, as a result, the appropriation of surplus value extracted from the work process. The second relationship is concerned with relations of domination and subordination within the workplace, that is the autonomy each class has with regard to the way it works, the degree of independence each has. Together these two relations determine or structure the three classes under consideration in this analysis.

Looking at these two relations it soon becomes apparent that capital is the most powerful class. It owns the means of production and has the greatest ability to extract surplus value. The middle class is an intermediate class. While this class usually owns the means of production (i.e. owns the equipment and land it needs - as a farmer for instance) it is dependent on capital for financing and markets. Because of this the middle classes tend to have less control over the production of any surplus produced. They do have more control over the work processes than the working class, however. They also have the power to extract more surplus value. Again although they have more consumer power than the working class it does not equal capital's.

Later, beginning in chapter two, it will be possible to show how this structuring of class affects the ability of each class to lay claim to space in the inner city. Since the economic power of each class in the work sphere is usually equalled in the sphere of consumption when it comes to bidding for land uses in the city the balance of power is already largely predetermined.

Thus, when the city is examined and the new urbanism analyzed the importance of these structural features of class become obvious. Since the major hypothesis is that the new middle class is the active element in the new urbanism an important contradiction immediately appears. If capital is the most powerful class how can the new middle class compete with it for space in the inner city? Clearly, in the economic sphere the middle class is subordinate to capital. The answer to this contradiction lies outside the sphere of economics. The political and ideological levels must be approached if this question is to be

unravelling. Economic power can be circumnavigated when economic considerations are made subordinate to political considerations. Since political power is expressed through the mechanism of the State, if control of the state is obtained by an economically subordinate class it has the ability to modify the economy in its own interests. Chapter four will concern itself with this issue. Here it will be shown how the battle for space in the inner city between capital and the new middle class has been displaced from the economic sphere to the political one, where the middle class has had a better chance of subordinating capital through control of city councils and the planning apparatus.

Consequently control of the inner city revolves around political power as much as it does economic control. This adds a complication, of course, since one must then examine what are the sources of political power and how it is mobilized. The mobilization of power is specially significant since it involves looking at the role ideology plays in producing class solidarity which is needed for the mobilization of power, particularly in democracies.

The issue of mobilizing political power also allows for the consideration of an urban underclass in the analysis of the new middle class. Although the urban underclass is a marginal class, both in terms of the economic and political power it can muster, in certain instances, where the new middle class and capital have a weak presence in the inner city the urban underclass can play a decisive role in the struggle for space.

Disenfranchised from full and equal participation in the work sphere this class has often been called the reserve army of capital. Although it does not participate directly in the labour process it nevertheless

plays a significant role. Basically this class acts as a control on classes subordinate to capital, especially the working class. In this regard the urban underclass can be seen to have a negative power base. With regard to the city, this negative power base is reflected in the effect it has on urban property values and investment opportunities by other classes in the inner city. When the balance of power in the inner city for capital, the new middle class, the working class and the urban underclass are examined in Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg this will become more apparent.

B. The History of the New Middle Class

Explaining what the middle class is involves the theoretical conceptualization made above. There the concept of the middle class was shown to be rooted in a bi-polar scheme of classes, with the middle classes mediating the relationship between capital and labour. Explaining what the new middle class is, however, and its relation to the concept of a middle class involves an historical rather than a theoretical explanation.

The new middle class emerged as a middle class fraction within a new division of labour which first arose between the first and second world wars. During this time the modern welfare state arose and corporate capital became dominant. The new middle class emerged at this time to serve both capital and the welfare state. Because of the great depression during the 1930's, the development of the new middle class was arrested. Not until the end of the second world war did the new division of labour become firmly established. As it became prevalent during the 1950's people began to talk about post-industrial society, a synonym for this new division of labour. People called this new division of labour the Post-

Industrial Society because white collar jobs were increasingly replacing blue collar jobs associated with industrial society. Because the new middle class depended upon the creation of vast amounts of surplus wealth it wasn't until this time that the economy developed sufficiently to support the multiplying number of professions.

The new middle class was structurally different from the traditional middle class. Unlike the latter which produced and distributed goods, the new middle class provided services instead. While the traditional middle class had its roots in pre-capitalist economic formations, the new middle class was dependent upon a division of labour wholly determined by capitalist relations. Rather than belonging to a few broad occupational categories (i.e. farmer or merchant) the new middle class was constituted by a vast array of competing professions. This fractured the new middle class in the work sphere much more than it did the traditional middle class. It was difficult to unify fractions of this class around work issues, as the Canadian farmer had done earlier in the century for instance. The work place did not unify the new middle class, it moved the competing fractions which made up this class farther apart. Thus professions owed more allegiance to the clients they served than others of their class in different professions.

Basically, the new middle class was divided along two axes. The first and most important was that of class. The second and sub-ordinate axis was determined by the economic sector the new middle class served: that is the public or private sector.

In terms of class, the new middle class was divided within according to whether the profession in question served either capital or labour. Status, self-interest and the class identification of the profession were affected by the class of the clients served. Thus professionals catering to labour through the welfare state (social workers and teachers for instance) stressed issues concerning reproduction and redistribution. Mirroring the subordinate role labour has to capital, the professions serving labour generally had lower status and lower incomes. Professions serving capital (such as accountants, engineers or establishment lawyers), or those aligned to capital because of their high incomes (such as doctors or dentists) worked under different assumptions. Their concern was for the preservation of privilege, the production of wealth and incentives for profitable investment.

Whether a professional served in the public or private sphere modified this basic class division, producing a number of anomalies, but essentially reinforcing the separation of interests created by class divisions. Again professions serving the state sector were more sympathetic to problems of wealth redistribution and reproduction, while professions serving the private sphere concentrated more on profit maximization.

But, if the new middle class was fractured in the work place, this was not the case in the sphere of consumption. As any recent market survey will show, if the new middle class was unable to assert itself as an independent force in the sphere of production this certainly was not the case in the sphere of consumption. While relations of production made independence impossible in the work sphere, as a class the development of a new ideology of consumption made the new middle class leaders

of taste and independent agents in the sphere of consumption. The development of urban areas with an ideology of conspicuous consumption created a common ground where the scattered fractions of the new middle class could unite and generate common interests to mobilize around. With a common consumer⁵ vision of the city, the new middle classes obtained a means for self-identification which allowed them to form into a distinguishable class.

Out of these common values came a new ideology which had special significance for the city and the profession of city planning. This new urbanism became the means for self-identification, making the control and manipulation of space a point of class struggle. Similarly, city planning was caught up in this struggle. The class allegiances of the profession were realigned in a unique way. For a while city planning became one of the few professions which did not primarily serve capital or labour. Rather, in a few key cities, like Toronto and Vancouver, planners became ideologues for the new middle class. The new vision of the city they advanced served the class aspirations of the new middle class. In turn the profession gained from the collusion. It obtained more control over planning practices, particularly in the area of land use control and design guidelines, where planning intervention was needed to insure the privileged spaces of conspicuous consumption for the new middle class could be reproduced and conserved.

In this way city planners became the gatekeepers to a new form of urbanity. They became the guardians of a new consumer culture which revolved around the creation of public places for the conspicuous consumption of the new middle class. In doing so planners became agents of the

new middle class, often playing key roles in class conflicts which later developed in the city over the control of space.

To reiterate, the city became the vehicle for self-identification by the new middle class. The consumer culture of the inner city became the ideological cement of the new middle class and provided an ideological grounding for its self realisation as an independent class force. On this ground the new middle class developed the capacity to articulate what its interests were. Here it was able to develop the organizational capacity to realize its own interests. This is why, when one looks at the evolution of the new urbanism, one is also looking at the emergence of a new middle class, how it emerged as a latent class force in the 1950's, and in the late 60's how it became an active and independent force in the Canadian city.

Since the city was the operational base for the new middle class, the local state (or municipal government) became the terrain for class conflicts which arose between it and other classes over the usurption of space in the inner city. At this level of the state the new middle class was sufficiently concentrated (in numbers) and well enough organized to take over the government. Here in the city, in the sphere of consumption, the new middle class could make itself felt as an independent force. At other levels of the state this was impossible.

Federal and provincial jurisdictions focussed around mediating the contradictions arising out of the production process. Against these large contradictions the concerns of the new middle class were swallowed up or absorbed. In the larger battle, taking place between labour and

capital, issues of conspicuous consumption, of concern to the new middle class, had to take a back seat.

The local state, however, was different. Here relations of consumption figured more prominently, so the new middle class could develop a unified front and not be splintered by the struggle between capital and labour. In addition, the scale of the local state was important. As stated earlier, at its greatest extent the new middle class comprise only 20 percent of the labour force. In electoral terms, the only possibility for controlling the other levels of government would be through strategic alliances. This in turn would involve the subordination of middle class interests to larger ones concerning the relation between capital and labour. But at the level of the city the numbers were there for the new middle class to take control of the state without making radical compromises or subordinating its interests.

For these reasons it is only at the level of the local state in Canada that the new middle class can be examined as an autonomous political force. This justifies the strong link between class, ideology and the city that is made in this thesis. When this class emerged as a class force in the late 60's it did so in the city. Furthermore it accomplished this by employing a new ideology of the city. Thus the political economy of the inner city has been permanently altered by the appearance of the new middle class. The forces that this class set in motion will affect the inner city well into the future and establish many of the parameters under which planners will operate.

Literature Review

At present there is no clearly defined literature which specifically deals with the new middle class and the city. Although some writers have touched upon the subject in their dissertations it has been more of an aside. Consequently, not only is the literature on this subject recent and underdeveloped, it is scattered and often referred to only indirectly.

Nevertheless, it is possible to bring together these scattered materials and organize them into three streams. The three streams are: the popular stream -- consisting of newspapers and magazine articles; the liberal-academic stream; and the leftist stream.

The popular stream is the most familiar. By and large it is supportive of the new urbanism. Generally, if there is any class analysis, it is superficial and descriptive. Popular literature on the new urbanism can almost be read as a marketing of the new middle class sensibility in the inner city. The new urbanism is portrayed as the salvation of the North American inner city. As a result the level of critical analysis is usually quite low.

Much of the analysis is simplistic. Often the popular literature has been guilty of raising expectations of the movement back to the city while omitting important negative externalities and consequences. For instance the literature has often failed to mention displacement and the justice of using tax dollars and incentives to subsidize the expensive consumer habits of an already well-off middle class.

Finally, like most popularizations, the literature has glamorized the physical transformation wrought in the city while ignoring the very

real but less visible social consequences of this transformation. So heritage restoration and the rehabilitation of older buildings and neighbourhoods are publicized while displacement is ignored. In local newspapers and magazines one does not often hear much about the social closure which results from these improvements, or the fact that the urbanites who manage to save the inner city from destruction are usually the only ones able to use the environment which has been conserved. Consequently this indirect form of expropriation by the new middle class is often ignored or overlooked because of the razzle-dazzle of renewal.

Interestingly enough popular American magazines such as Time (June 23, 1973), National Geographic (August, 1975), Newsweek (March 17, 1973), Harpers (December, 1974), and Business Week (August 19, 1972) have found the Canadian city to be on top in urban revitalization. Unwittingly their adulation of the Canadian inner city has really been a disguised acknowledgement of the unique power of the new middle class. Nowhere has this been more apparent than in their coverage of developments in Toronto. Here publicity has made Canadian architects and city planners the world leaders of the new urban ideology.

An article in Time Magazine (June 23, 1973) stated:

Toronto has become a magnet for another reason, an increasing number of city planners, architects and journalists are making pilgrimages to see just what it is that Toronto is doing right.

The quote above clearly indicates that the significance of the resettlement of the inner city - and the ideology, architectural and planning practices which have accompanied this resettlement - have transcended national boundaries. In this respect at least, popular articles have been more insightful than most academic writings. The role of ideology

has not been underestimated. Quite correctly popular accounts of the new urbanism have not overlooked the fact that the transformation of the inner city has involved a transformation in values and the creation of a new urban ideology, a new ideology in which, for various reasons, Canada is the leader.

As David Lewis Stein implicitly acknowledged in a recent newspaper article (Toronto Star, April 6, 1984), Toronto represents the first example of a city in North America which has successfully articulated an urban ideology for the new middle class and implemented it. In Toronto, planners and architects (Jack Diamond and Barton Myers for instance) have been at the forefront of this movement. Their innovations probably constitute the first major intellectual contribution Canada has made to the art of city building. Popular journals like Macleans (March, 1971), Time (June 23, 1975) and Newsweek (March 17, 1973) have noted how urbanists from around the world now travel to Canada to examine how a city should be run and have begun to employ Canadian city planners, architects and developers to remake their cities.

If the liberal-academic writings are not as insightful as the popular stream is with regard to ideology, at least they are more systematic and critical. So far most of the work has been empirical rather than theoretical. Spain and Laska (1980), Bourne (1978), Berry (1981) and Sternlieb (1983) are some of the better known representatives of this school. As implied earlier much of the work done by these people has focussed on cataloguing the degree and extent of gentrification in Canadian and American cities.

The findings and conclusions reached by these academics have been more circumspect than those found in popular journals. One example would be the debate over whether the return to the city is a specific rather than a general urban phenomenon. At the same time, there is no consensus as to whether this phenomenon is long or short term in nature. Additionally, some concern has been shown about negative externalities, giving this literature a critical base not present in popular journals.

Although more ambivalent and uncertain about the conclusions to be drawn from the new urbanism, the liberal-academic literature still views the return to the city in a very positive light. Wherever possible it has championed the cause. In terms of research the liberal-academic literature has also diverged from the popular literature because of its emphasis on economics rather than culture.

If the popular and liberal-academic literature have been concerned with culture and economics of the new urbanism, the third stream of thought - the leftist perspective - has focussed on politics. So too in method each stream of thought has developed a particular emphasis. Popular journals and newspapers have observed the return to the city, the liberal-academic school has attempted to measure it, while the leftist camp has attempted to theorize about this phenomenon.

Major theorists would include luminaries like David Harvey (1973), Henri Lefebvre (1971), Manuel Castells (1977, 1984) and David Ley (1980). When compared to the popular or liberal-academic literature these theorists have also emerged as the most critical observers of this phenomenon. Generally their research has focussed on the relationship of class and

space and the redistributive effects of this relationship. Some, like Neil (1982) however, have concentrated more on economics. Unlike the others, he has tended to discount politics and ideology, feeling that cycles of investment and disinvestment predetermine everything else.

Except for Neil, most other theorists in the leftist school have concentrated on the issue of class. They have developed a well-thought-out and sophisticated theorization of the new middle class, much of which has been incorporated in the theorization of the new middle class in the previous section. Major theorists would be Poulantzas (1976), Ernest Mandel (1975) and Caradchi (1976). While the concept of the new middle class has been well developed, attempts to relate this conceptualization of class to the city is far less developed. Only Castells (1984), in his most recent work, David Zuken (1982) and David Ley (1980) have attempted to bridge this gap in a significant way so far.

Until recently, because this connection has not been adequately developed, the leftist school has not fully established the important way in which the rise of the new middle class has affected the political economy and the aesthetics of the post-industrial city. One result has been that theoretical development has not been sufficient to explain the relation the new middle class has to culture and ideology and the way in which this has affected the city. Although leftist scholars have developed a broad based theory of the new middle class, they have not specified what its effect has been on the political economy of the inner city. Consequently a synthesis of various theoretical elements developed by other leftist theorists was necessary in order to specify what the relationship is between the new middle class and the city.

For instance, Veblen (1917) with his concept of conspicuous consumption has been used to distinguish the phases in the development of the new middle class, its latent period, when conspicuous consumption was less in the forefront, and the active phase, when the new middle class moved to the city and became more actively involved in conspicuously consuming. Similarly Castells' work on class conflict and the city as a place of consumption rather than production, and his work on urban alliances, have been incorporated into the theorization of the new middle class in Canada as a political force. Thompson's work (1963), detailing how the English working class came into being as a class for itself, provides the basis for the theorization of the role ideology has played in the creation of a new middle class in the city. David Harvey's work, on the control of space by various classes and the redistribution of income achieved by this control, has been incorporated as a central concern in describing the class dynamic of the inner city. Finally, David Ley's examination (1980), of the relationship that city planners have to the middle class and the ideology of consumption, provided another thematic source by which the new urbanism has been studied.

In summation, although all three streams of thought provide insights and useful information, separately they do not provide a coherent way of articulating the relationship that the new middle class has to the city and the new urbanism. All three streams of thought have not given enough attention to the evolution of the new middle class as a distinct new social force in the city. Neither have they shown how this is a unique feature of the class structure in Canada, one which explains why the new middle class is such a powerful economic, social and political force in

the Canadian city, a force which is responsible for the vigorous renewal of the inner city which has made Canada the envy of many advanced industrial nations.

Methodology

The relationship the new middle class has to the inner city is not straightforward. It did not develop all at once or in a spatial vacuum. For this reason a comparative class analysis of the inner city will be used. As we will see, other classes residing in the inner city complement or resist the expansion of the new middle class. This means that the balance of class forces in the inner city must be understood if the power of the new middle class to alter the political economy of the inner city is to be measured.

As well as these external class constraints on the new middle class, the internal makeup of the new middle class must also be examined. For, depending on the strength or weakness of the new middle class, external class constraints will have a lesser or greater effect. The internal makeup of the new middle class is governed by its development on three levels: the economic, ideological and the political. Lack of development on any one of these levels will affect the new middle classes' ability to implement its program for the inner city.

Three Canadian cities were chosen as case studies to show the importance of these class considerations. Toronto and Vancouver were chosen since the new middle classes in these two cities are the most powerful in the country. At the other end, Winnipeg was chosen because its new middle class is one of the weakest and most undeveloped. By

contrasting Winnipeg with Toronto and Vancouver the central role played by the new middle class as the active element in inner city revival will be highlighted. Winnipeg's case will show that where the new middle class is weakly developed so is inner city revitalization. Toronto and Vancouver will show the opposite. Where there is a strong new middle class there is a strong and vibrant inner city. In passing, reference will be made to cities lying between these two polarities. Variations in inner city development in these cities will be accounted for by the different ways the new middle class developed in the cities in question. With this methodology the hypothesis made about the relation between the new middle class and the revitalization of the inner city in Canada will be given substance.

With regard to sources, except for articles and newspapers, references in brackets are listed in the bibliography. Mostly these are books. Footnotes generally refer to empirical data. As well explanations are included. Generally these sources do not appear in the bibliography.

Organization

Three cities will be used as case studies. These studies will be organized into three chapters. Each chapter will correspond to the three levels that define the new middle class, that is the economic, ideological-social and political levels. Every chapter will also make reference to other classes as well. The classes will be listed on tables provided in chapter to show the relative standing of every class at each level of analysis.

The economic level will be discussed first, followed by the social-ideological and the political. This order was chosen because each level follows from the other logically and historically. For instance if the economic foundation of the new middle class is weak their ideological and political evolution will be affected. Similarly if the economic conditions favour the new middle class but their ideology is undeveloped, so too is their self-identify, hence the ability to take up causes and organize into a political force. Without an ideology development at the political level is compromised.

Finally, a number of statistics will be used to measure the power of the new middle class. In each chapter charts will list indices which will give an approximate measure of class power at each level. Through these indicators the charts will show how strong or how weak the new middle class is in each city.

Footnotes

1. Thorstein Veblen. The Theory of the Leisure Class, McMillan, N.Y., 1917.
2. This was a natural area for planners to be concerned with. Ever since modern planning came into being revitalization of the inner city core has been one of its primary goals. This desire can be seen as a vantage of the pioneering spirit which informed the Victorian reformers who brought modern planning into being. Of course the planning ideology applied to the inner city differs from the 1950's. Consult Rebecca Smith, "Creating Neighbourhood Identity Through Citizen Activism", Urban Geography, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1984.
3. These figures are approximations based on raw census data for 1981 provided by the census bureau in computer printouts.
4. A number of Canadian and American consulting firms have done elaborate consumer surveys which show indeed that there is a new class of consumers. This class has been popularized as the Yuppies in Newsweek (December 31, 1984) and Time (July 16, 1984). A note of caution. Although there are similarities between the new middle class and the Yuppie categorization, they are not the same. Yuppies is a descriptive category while the new middle class is an analytical concept. Furthermore, Yuppies refers to age and income rather than the relations of production, which is the basis of the new middle class.

One Canadian firm which has studied the baby boom market is Hayhurst Advertising Ltd. of Toronto. Some of their findings were written up in the January 9th edition (1985) of the Globe and Mail. The October 15th, 1984 issue of Fortune magazine reviews what consultants have found out about this new consumer generation in the United States. Patricia Morrisroe's article "Restaurant Madness" in the November 26th, 1984 edition of the New York Times gives a specific example of how this new consumption has affected the retail and service geography of New York City.

The effect this new class of consumers had had on design can be read in Valerie Brooks "The Understatements of the Year" in the September/October 1984 issue of Print Magazine. Another reference would be "Phoenix: New Attitudes in Design" a catalogue of a show in Toronto, Ed. by Christina Ritchie and Lori Calzolari.

5. David Ley. "A New Ideology of Livability", Annals of the Association of American Geographers. June 1980, pp. 238-258.

CHAPTER TWO
THE ECONOMIC PRECONDITIONS FOR
THE RISE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

Gentrification is not apt to be a wide-spread phenomenon in any given area. Yet it has the potential for occurring in a number of various areas continuously throughout the coming decade; it is a 'slow burn' phenomenon capable of affecting large parts of the city, albeit, a few sections at a time. It is capable of making life increasingly insecure, particularly for the poor and middle-income renters. Yet because it is unlikely to achieve the potential visibility of more widespread urban ills. It is this hidden characteristic that makes gentrification so insidious. Its gradualism is a major justification for studying it. (Michael Lang, 1982, p. 15)

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with two economic processes which underpin the rise of the new middle class as an economic force in the city. The first process involves the transformation of the inner city into a post-industrial economy. Out of this transformation the office sector emerged as the dominant economic activity, providing the employment base in the inner city for the new middle class.

The second economic process is displacement. Simply stated, displacement refers to the process where one class develops the economic capacity (in this case the new middle class) to displace another by

bidding higher for the use of land. With regard to the new middle class in the inner city this depends upon the evolution of a post-industrial economy. Without the development of a large office economy, the concentration of middle class employment and consumer investment (usually in the housing and retail sectors) which is needed to set this displacement process in motion will not take place.

This can be taken as a precondition for the development of the new urbanism in the city. However, it is a mistake to assume that this is all that is needed. In many instances this condition has not been sufficient to spark massive gentrification. In the United States, in particular, there are a number of examples where this has not occurred. Houston, for instance, would be one example of a city which has developed a mature post-industrial economy but has not yet produced a displacing middle class in the inner city.

Nevertheless, a strong case can be made for saying that little if any urban revitalization will take place without the emergence of a strong office sector. Therefore, a strong office sector in the downtown can be seen as a necessary precondition for resettlement in the inner city by the new middle class. As the examination of Winnipeg will show, where this condition is not present, large, artificial inducements by government have been necessary to rekindle investment interest. However, in cities like Toronto and Vancouver, which have large and strong downtown sectors, middle class investment in the inner city has taken on a momentum of its own. The contrast is obvious. Toronto and Vancouver have well developed post-industrial economies in their inner cities and so have large and affluent middle class populations residing near the core. Winnipeg,

however, has an inner city with an under-developed post-industrial economy, therefore its middle class is small and weak by comparison. Consequently, the new middle class in Toronto and Vancouver has emerged as a significant economic force, and displacement generated by their investment has become a major problem. In Winnipeg, by contrast, the new middle class has not yet emerged as a significant economic force in its own right and government subsidization of its investments in the core have been necessary to spark redevelopment. As a result, displacement has not emerged as a concern so far.

The Post-Industrial Economy of the Inner City: The relation between the office sector and the creation of an employment base for the new middle class in the city.

Starting with Toronto, the specialization of the inner city into a node of post-industrial activities becomes noticeable by comparing employment figures for the city of Toronto with its metropolitan area. For instance, a report released by the Metropolitan Planning Department of Toronto in 1982, found that the city of Toronto had proportionately only half (8.4%) the industrial employment for metro as a whole (15.7%).¹ Meanwhile 53.9% of all jobs in the city of Toronto were in the office sector compared to 41.3% for metro, a difference of 12.5%.² A large and concentrated white collar professional work force could be expected to work in the downtown as a result.

By looking at the office rent differentials between the downtown and the suburbs it is possible to amplify the previous findings. The greater the variation the more likely is the white collar work force in the office sector to be composed of professionals. When downtown office rents rise substantially above those of the suburbs, lower skilled office workers

are decentralized out to the suburbs. At the same time, professionals and high level decision makers are concentrated in the downtown.

Diagram One shows that the office space differential is high in Toronto and Vancouver while it is low in Winnipeg. The differential for Toronto and Vancouver was 22 and 12 dollars per square foot respectively, while in Winnipeg it was only 2 dollars. Thus, not only do Toronto and Vancouver have larger inner city office sectors (see Diagram One), with 45 million square feet in Toronto and 20 million square feet in Vancouver (Winnipeg having 6 million square feet), both cities have higher concentrations of professionals.

Returning to Vancouver, although downtown employment and the office sector is not as large as Toronto the same pattern is evident. 1981 statistics supplied by the city of Vancouver revealed that 70% of the jobs in the downtown core were in the office sector.³ Looking back to the 1971 census the speed of this transformation can be appreciated. Then only 47% of downtown jobs were in the office sector.⁴ Going farther back, to the early 60's, the differences are even more striking. Then retail, warehousing and industrial employment were overwhelmingly dominant.⁵

Employment and office figures for Winnipeg present quite a contrast. Both are much smaller than Toronto and Vancouver, relatively and absolutely. During the 1960's and 70's office booms in Toronto and Vancouver propelled these cities into the post-industrial age, while, in Winnipeg, after an initial spurt of activity in the late sixties (when the Richardson Building was constructed) and the middle seventies (Lakeview Square and offices along Broadway) office development came to a virtual halt.

DIAGRAM ONE

ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF CLASS POWER IN THE INNER CITY

| CAPITAL* | Toronto | Vancouver | Winnipeg |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1) CBD Employment** | 400,000 | 130,000 | 54,567 |
| 2) Total Office Space | 45 Mil.Sq.Ft. | 20 | 5 to 6 |
| 3) Office Rents (Dollars) | 25 to 37 Sq. Ft. | 18 to 21 | 10 to 14 |
| 4) Office Absorption | 1,000,000+ | 600,000 | 180,000 |
| NEW MIDDLE CLASS*** | | | |
| 1) Inner city house prices | 96 to 260 (000) | 108 to 349 (000) | 20 to 50 (000) |
| 2) Inner city house prices as a percent of the metropolitan average | 100 to 250% (above) | 100 to 300% (above) | 20 to 80% (below) |
| 3) City and suburb office rate differential | \$22 | \$14 | \$2 |
| WORKING CLASS**** | | | |
| 1) Inner city income differential (1971) | \$1,700 | \$1,400 | \$2,000 |
| 2) Occupation structure (approximation) | White Collar | White Collar | Blue Collar |
| 3) Estimation of strength | Weakening | Weakening | Strong |
| URBAN UNDERCLASS***** | | | |
| 1) Presence | Marginal | Marginal | Strong |
| 2) Strength | Declining | Declining | Growing |
| POPULATION***** | | | |
| 1) Metropolitan (approx.) | 2,900,000 | 1,300,000 | 600,000 |
| 2) City proper (approx.) | 600,000 | 450,000 | 250,000 |

*Statistics are from data supplied by A.E. LePage for 1981 and the Financial Post.

**Figures for Winnipeg and Vancouver refer to the Central Business District, while those for Toronto refer to the frame around the CBC. Employment for the CBD is 266,000 but in reality the frame is part of the same inner city job market (especially since both areas are well connected by the subway system).

***Statistics are 1981 figures supplied by the real estate board of each city (housing prices that is). Office rate differentials are from an A.E. LePage survey conducted in 1981.

****1971 figures are from Frank Johnson's "Core Area Report" Institute of Urban Studies 1979. Approximations of occupation and strength were gained by examining newspaper clippings and Stats Canada information on employment trends. In particular a study by the Social Planning Council of Toronto entitled "Suburbs in Transition" 1980 was a useful guide.

*****Newspaper clippings from each city, interviews with officials and an examination of the real estate market in each inner city led to the approximations above.

*****Now, with Unicity, in 1971, there is no Winnipeg city proper any more. The city has been merged with its metropolitan area. Toronto and Vancouver are still formerally separated from their metropolitan areas. 1981 stats were used as a reference.

Winnipeg's pattern of development lagged behind these two cities. In Toronto and Vancouver, for example, declines in inner city employment stopped in the late 50's and early 60's. This did not happen in Winnipeg until the early and middle seventies.⁶

In a manner of speaking Winnipeg experienced a time warp. Just as the post war transformation seemed to be taking off things came to a halt. By the middle seventies both capital and the new middle class lost interest in the inner city. With the decline in the economic fortunes of the city the potential new middle class, which would have settled in the inner city, moved on to greener pastures: to Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, enriching the inner cities of these growth centres.⁷ Until the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative attempted to kick start the inner city economy, development remained suspended and the core languished.

This became apparent when looking at employment statistics for the inner city. While the inner cities of Toronto and Vancouver were over-represented in office sector and related professional sectors the opposite was true of Winnipeg. Unlike Toronto and Vancouver, Winnipeg was over-represented in the industrial sector. Winnipeg's inner city had a higher proportion of blue collar jobs than the suburbs. Likewise professional and managerial jobs were over-represented in the suburbs while under-represented in the inner city. Therefore in 1979 40% of the jobs in Winnipeg's inner city were in the industrial sector. Similarly the number of jobs in the managerial and professional sectors was 60% higher in the suburbs.⁸

Displacement: The second economic process - the expression of class power at the economic level.

Examining the relationship between class and the economic base of the city naturally leads to the topic of displacement, particularly as the new class alignments resulting from the economic transformation manifest themselves in struggles over space in the inner city.

Before discussing displacement, the economic relationship each class has to the space it occupies needs to be clarified a bit more. As said before, the economic position of each class determines the amount and kind of space each demands. Thus the amount of space will vary according to the power each class has to appropriate space. This in turn is affected by the social division of labour mentioned in chapter one. In like fashion, the kind of space each class uses and constructs is different. Again, this qualitative factor is influenced by the social division of labour. This is why displacement involves more than the substitution of one class by another in space. When one class usurps space from another it also reconstructs space. Therefore in order to examine displacement care has to be taken as measurements suitable to one class are not suitable to another. This is why diagram one employs (crude) different measurements to determine the displacement potential of each class in the inner city. As a result, before the quantitative effects of displacement are dealt with, the qualitative aspects which determine what type of space is demanded by each class must first be addressed.

Starting with capital, the indicator used to show capital's displacement potential is the demand for commercial space, more specifically office space. Since capital controls the means of production, it is

concerned with maximizing profits from any investment it makes. In the production sphere, therefore, capital tends to maximize its use of land by seeking to build at the highest density possible. It also tends to produce the kinds of space which offer the highest rate of return, thus it concentrates on the production of commercial space.

Descending down the class ladder, we see in Diagram One that the economic position of the new middle class finds expression mostly in residential land uses. Further down, the same applies to the working class and the urban underclass, except that in these two cases the demand for commercial space is less and the quality of residential space is lower. In the case of the urban underclass land use demands are further distinguished by the demand for space to house various social service and welfare institutions. Here there are interesting parallels between the new middle class and the urban underclass. Both classes put heavy demands on the local state for subsidies to their consumption. In the case of the new middle class this takes the form of subsidies towards conspicuous consumption, particularly the entertainment and cultural industries. By contrast, subsidies to the urban underclass emphasize supplements to reproduction, i.e. hostels, soup kitchens, employment centres, clinics and the like.

Because the working class do not generate displacement pressures (that is as long as the real estate market is balanced) income rather than property measures were used to show their presence in the inner city. And since the urban underclass do not really operate in the land market (as they own no property) no specific measure was assigned to them.

As had already been stated, however, it is clear that there are two major displacing classes in the inner city. As will be shown in Toronto and Vancouver, capital and the new middle class have successfully displaced the lower classes. This displacement has taken different form according to which class is doing the displacing. Therefore evidence of displacement by capital can be detected by seeing whether or not land uses have been changed from residential to commercial or from low to medium densities to high densities.⁹ Meanwhile most displacement by the new middle class takes place in the residential sphere.¹⁰ So its ability to displace the lower classes can be read by seeing whether the land values for residential property are above the average for the city. There is also some commercial displacement generated by the new middle class but this tends to be concentrated in a few specialized consumer nodes like Osborne Street in Winnipeg and Yorkville in Toronto.

As stated before, in terms of displacement the working class play a neutral role. This is not exactly the case for the urban underclass, however. Under special circumstances this class can exert displacement pressures. This class acts like a third world force in a first world city dominated by market relations. Their position in the labour market parallels their position in the property markets. They are marginal and take whatever is left, after the other classes have had their demand for space satisfied.

But under certain conditions this class can exert displacement forces which are non-economic in nature. The best examples of this in North America would be black ghettos in American cities. Here it is a case of social displacement replacing economic displacement, with a

regime of fear rather than the bid rent process for urban land moving the underclass forward in its appropriation of land.

Having looked at the qualitative aspect of the displacement process which defined what measurements in Diagram One were used the quantitative side can now be looked at.

Beginning with capital, rent figures for office space in each city (Diagram One) show that capital exerts different pressure on the markets in question. 1981 rates show that the range for office rents are quite extreme. Rents commanded for office space in Toronto are four times those of Winnipeg, while rents in Vancouver are half those of Toronto but twice those of Winnipeg. While office space rents for 10 dollars a square foot in Winnipeg, 20 dollars is charged in Vancouver and up to 40 dollars in Toronto.

Once rents are combined with office absorption rates a fair measure of the demand for space by capital in each city can be obtained. Thus Toronto's average absorption rate of over one million square feet and Vancouver's average absorption rate of 600,000 square feet are respectively five and three times the Winnipeg rate of 180,000.

These figures show that the demand for space by capital in the inner city is quite high in Toronto and Vancouver but much weaker in Winnipeg. Therefore strong pressures have built up to extend the downtowns of Toronto and Vancouver into surrounding residential areas and underused railroad lands. This expansion has threatened the new middle classes. Since they do not have the economic resources to out bid capital for land on the real estate market the new middle class were forced to seek

political redress. Subsequently, zoning changes curtailing the economic power of capital were put in place in the mid-seventies to protect the middle class.

Needless to say, in Winnipeg no such pressures exist. Capital has shown little interest in developing the railyard lands which surround downtown Winnipeg. Although the downtown has expanded into some adjoining residential areas (i.e. Great West Life complex) the reasons for these intrusions have more to do with chaotic and uncontrolled development being allowed than the pressures of the real estate market.

The economic power of the new middle class is expressed primarily through the price it is willing to pay for inner city dwelling units. House prices in the inner city provide a good measure of the displacement potential of the new middle class. In each city the demand for space by the new middle class corresponds to capitals'. Where the demand for space by a capital is great so is it for the new middle class. The prices for residential properties show this.

House prices for the inner city of Toronto and Vancouver are well above the normal rate for their metropolitan areas. In 1981 the price of an inner city home in Toronto¹¹ ranged from 96,000 to 260,000 according to area. Compared to the metropolitan housing market these prices went as far as 250 percent above the average. Similarly, in Vancouver, housing prices in the city proper ranged from 108,000 to 349,000. This was 100 to 300 percent above the average for the metropolitan area. In Winnipeg, inner city prices¹² varied on average from 20,000 to 50,000. Here prices varied 20 to 70 percent below the metropolitan average.

Thus the new middle class have had considerable impact on the inner housing market in Toronto and Vancouver while their influence has been negligible in Winnipeg by comparison. Not surprisingly therefore, displacement is a serious problem in Toronto and Vancouver. In Winnipeg, by contrast, the problem has only just surfaced in diluted form and is confined to a few specific communities - Fort Rouge and Wolseley. In fact Winnipeg has lost more units of inexpensive housing to demolition and abandonment by capital rather than by the displacement practices of the new middle class.

Displacement by the new middle class has been much more extensive in Toronto and Vancouver. By and large the working class and urban underclass have ceased to be a force in neighbourhoods adjoining the downtown. Consequently displacement in both cities had undermined the political power and social solidarity of low income groups remaining in these areas. Displacement has also left a growing population of homeless people as well.¹³ Planners for the city of Toronto estimated that 13,000 units of low cost housing were lost between 1971 and 1981 for instance.¹⁴

In the same period the city of Vancouver lost 7,000 units, according to Ted Droebboom, a city planner for the city. Because of the nature of the housing stock and the local market, most low cost housing stock was demolished and then reconstructed for the new middle class instead of being deconverted (Habitat, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1982). Most units constructed to replace the demolished units were bachelor units. Less than 20 percent of the units added were for low income households (Journal of Commerce, August 2, 1982). David Ley, in a survey on displacement in Vancouver found that over 50 percent of the people displaced were forced

to pay 20 percent more for accomodation and 15 percent of the sample was forced to pay increases of 60 percent or over for new units. Changes in tenure were noticed as well. In areas of displacement the level of home ownership tended to rise, mostly in the form of condominiums, which replaced rental units. Finally Ley found that the change in housing stock emphasized a singles population at the expense of a poorer working class population which was family oriented (Habitat, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1982).

Because the working class generally play a neutral role in the displacement process the effect of displacement on them has been severe in Toronto and Vancouver. Since they do not have the capacity to compete with capital and the new middle class for space, the territory they occupy in the inner city has shrunk considerably. This neutrality applies to the relation the working class has to the urban underclass. As a result the working class seldom expand into areas occupied by the urban underclass. In North American cities the working class has been affluent enough and the housing stock plentiful enough to avoid mixing with the underclass. Typically working class residents have fled from the urban underclass and moved to the suburbs whenever possible.

Although they are crude measures, income figures in Diagram One do give an approximation of the relative size of the working class population in each city. 1971 income differences between each city and its suburban or metropolitan area show this. Because Winnipeg has the highest income differential its inner city population likely has a larger working class population. Compared to a difference of 2,000 in Winnipeg, Toronto and Vancouver recorded income differences of 1,700 and 1,400 respectively. Significantly these figures record the average income of the inner city

population of Toronto and Vancouver before the influx of the new middle class. Since then income differences in these two cities have been reversed in favour of the inner city while in Winnipeg they have only widened.¹⁵ Two examples in Toronto highlight what has happened in the interval quite well.

In the past two decades the social and income status of Cabbagetown and The Annex have been reversed. In the late 60's Cabbagetown was considered an impoverished working class community. In 1969 houses were selling for as little as 17,000 dollars. Now the same units, renovated, are selling for 190,000 (Ferguson, R., 1984). Similarly, in 1965 real estate in The Annex was selling 20 percent below the metropolitan average. By the late 70's houses in The Annex reached parity with Metropolitan Toronto. Finally, in 1981 houses in the area were selling 25 percent above the metropolitan average (Ferguson, R., 1984).

Between 1971 and 1981 housing prices in Winnipeg's inner city fell relative to the city as a whole. These falling real estate values correlated with income trends over this same period of time. Since 1951 the income differential between the inner city and the suburbs has grown. In 1951 it was 15 percent. By 1976 this gap had increased to 32 percent (Frank Johnson, 1979).

Abandonment and disinvestment, not displacement, have characterized most inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg during the post-war years. This created the market conditions for the entry of the urban underclass into the centre of the city on a scale without comparison elsewhere in Canada. While this class represents a marginal component of the inner city populations of Toronto and Vancouver (Diagram One) it is one of the

largest and fastest growing ones in Winnipeg. Christine McKee, a planning consultant, predicted that the native population constituted 30 percent of the core area population in the late 70's (Habitat, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1982). Since they represent the largest component of the underclass in Winnipeg their continuing migration into the city will ensure that this class will not diminish in importance in the foreseeable future.

The ghetto syndrome referred to in the United States is possible in Winnipeg. So far the critical level of abandonment and concentration of impoverished people has not reached the stage where it has developed its own momentum. The urban underclass is probably near to this point however, and could become an active rather than a passive economic force in the city's real estate market.¹⁶ Presently it has not been able to affect land values in its own right. Nevertheless, the threat is certainly there. Mayor Norrie, for instance, has warned that the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative may be the city's last chance to save the inner city. Although the underclass has not yet become an active agent for disinvestment it no doubt has become a barrier to further investment by capital and the new middle class. Thus Imperial, Lakeview, Qualico and Shelter Corporation, four of the city's largest developers, stated that they would be unwilling to redevelop the North of Portage unless the Mall Hotel and the bus depot were relocated. These two buildings are key entry points for Winnipeg's native community so the reluctance of developers to invest in areas frequented by the underclass certainly shows that they constitute a barrier to investment by capital and the new middle class.

The factor of negative displacement therefore emerges often in debates over urban renewal in Winnipeg's core. For example, battles over

displacement have arisen over schemes proposed by Winnipeg's Core Area Initiative to revive the core. Spokespersons for the city's working class and underclass claim that renewal attempts are simply disguised attempts to displace them in order to allow corporations and wealthy middle class people to invest in the inner city at minimal risk.¹⁷ Even public housing corporations like MHRC have had to contend with the effects of negative displacement. While public housing corporations have found the chief barrier to the production of housing in the inner cities of Toronto and Vancouver to be escalating land costs, the opposite has been the case in Winnipeg. Blair Bingemon, a housing analyst for the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, said that a significant writedown would have to take place on housing units built in a number of core areas because property values could not support their construction costs (Winnipeg Free Press, August 10, 1983). Some units would have to absorb writedowns of up to 18,000 dollars because property values could not support the 52,000 dollar price cost of producing these units.

Conclusion: The relationship between the economic base and the class composition of the inner city.

The relationship that class has to space in the inner city may now be better understood. It should be clear that two different economic bases have produced distinctively different real estate markets which have affected the balance of power among classes and so the amount of space they occupy in the inner city.

An inner city which has a well developed post-industrial economy produces a strong class of capitalists and a large (new) middle class job market. This, in turn, generates a strong demand for space. For capital

this takes the form of expanding commercial land uses and pressures for higher densities. For the new middle class the need for more space takes form in the demand for increased residential space. If these two classes are powerful enough simple economic pressure can expel other classes lower in the social and economic hierarchy. This is what has happened in Toronto and Vancouver. Through displacement of the working class and the urban underclass, capital and the new middle class have come to dominate space in the inner city.

As we have seen, however, in the battle for space the new middle class does not have the economic power to prevent overdevelopment of the inner city by capital. To maintain control of space in the inner city the new middle class developed an ethos of balanced growth. As will be shown in the following chapters, this was used to restrain capital. Thus in Toronto and Vancouver the major class contradiction in the inner city takes place between capital and the new middle class over the control of space.

Because Winnipeg does not have a fully developed post-industrial economy, different class forces operate on the real estate market and displacement takes a different form. Capital and the new middle class are much weaker because of the under-developed state of Winnipeg's inner city economy. For the new middle class this poses a number of problems. Economically the new middle class is too weak to generate enough displacement pressure to give it control over space in the inner city. Not only must it battle for space with capital, in addition it must keep an eye on the working class and urban underclass as well. So the new middle class have suffered as many setbacks as advances over the past decade and

a half. Unlike their counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver, they have not been able to manage the real estate market to their benefit. Consequently displacement forces have not moved in their favour so no one class dominates space in Winnipeg's inner city.

What may eventually happen in Winnipeg is therefore a matter of speculation. Unlike Toronto or Vancouver, real estate trends still do not indicate that there are any clear winners or losers in the battle over displacement. The chance to produce a new urban culture which caters to a broader class spectrum is a possibility which might be realized if politicians and planners learn from Toronto and Vancouver, and implement policies which will preserve the mix of classes while they are in the current state of flux, before emerging real estate trends polarize the inner city into a series of class ghettos. If decisive interventions are made in Winnipeg's land and housing markets the worst effects of displacement might be avoided.

No matter what happens the new middle class in Winnipeg are not likely to develop the capacity to gain control over space in the inner city. The lower classes will therefore play a much larger role in the urban culture which develops in Winnipeg. The struggle for space will involve compromises which will be unique to Winnipeg. Already this has become apparent in the allocation of capital and land for renewal schemes implemented by the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative.¹⁸

Footnotes

1. Metropolitan Planning Department, Report on Employment, Toronto, 1982.
2. Ibid.
3. In 1971 the percentage of downtown office workers was 47% of the downtown labour force. By 1981 this had risen to over 70%. Meanwhile the non-office sector had declined from 53% to less than 30%. Quarterly Review, July 1982, Vol. 9, No. 3.
4. Ibid.
5. Walter Hardwick, Vancouver, Macmillan, 1975.
6. Statistics for Winnipeg are located in "Development Plan Review: 1978 - Travel and Demographic Trends 1962-1976". Plan Winnipeg. Statistics for Toronto can be found in the "Downtown Business Council Quarterly Report", Winter 1981. This report claims that inner city employment in Toronto fell to a low of 280,000 in the early 60's and has now risen to over 400,000. Similar statistics for Vancouver can be found in the GVRD's "Commercial Development in Greater Vancouver 1970-1979" and in the "Quarterly Review", April 1981, Vol. 8, No. 2.
7. Thus in the mid-seventies retail developments in Osborne Village and the corner of Spence Street and Broadway provide proof that the new middle class was interested in investing in the inner city. However, with the deterioration of economic conditions in Winnipeg during the early-seventies investment came to a halt until the late seventies. Meanwhile in cities like Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary boutique street culture in the inner city flourished. Two Winnipeg Free Press articles show this cycle of truncated then renewed investment interest along the West Broadway corridor in Winnipeg. Barbara Robson's article December 16, 1981 "A Delicate Balance" describes the truncated development of a street that had aspirations of being another Osborne Village. A later article, May 1, 1985, entitled "Eclectic W. Broadway: The Poor and trendy meet on the Street" by Craig MacInnis is more upbeat. Evidence of a new resurgence by the new middle class is apparent inspite of the presence of a large urban underclass.
8. Frank Johnson, Core Area Report, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, 1979.
9. A review of land use changes in each inner city certainly shows this. A reporter in the Globe and Mail, October 15, 1983, stated that the city of Toronto has lost over 400 acres of industrial land in the past decade. Meanwhile, in Vancouver, since the early 70's nearly 1,000 acres of industrial land has been lost to residential and commercial development in the False Creek area. The situation is

quite different in Winnipeg. Here there has been little pressure to develop the railway lands. Curiously enough what industrial land that has been redeveloped has been used to house residential developments for the working class and underclass: i.e. North of Logan and the Midland spur (beside the Freight House) redevelopments.

10. This comes out clearly in a survey carried out by Toronto city planners. In Toronto they found that although the population had fallen by 14% the amount of residential space had remained the same and that the value of residential land had risen dramatically. This occurred because of the increased demand for residential space by the new middle class. Toronto Real Estate News, April 9, 1982.
11. Here the area of reference is the City of Toronto proper.
12. Since the city of Winnipeg is no longer a distinctive reference point for the inner city the boundaries employed by the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative have been used. Consequently the areas referred to include most of the old city of Winnipeg which was built up prior to the Second World War.
13. Displacement has been most serious in Toronto and Vancouver. Between 1976 and 1979 planners estimated that 4,000 residential units were lost through deconversions in Toronto (Toronto Star, August 9, 1982). Furthermore, they claimed that between 1,200 and 3,000 units were now being lost annually to deconversions (Toronto Star, April, 1982). As a result of these deconversions the housing market for the urban underclass has been severely disrupted. An entire housing market which served this population, the rooming house, has almost completely disappeared from parts of the downtown. Even the working class has been affected with waiting lists for subsidized housing approaching 10,000 (Toronto Real Estate News, July 1, 1983). The problem has even become serious enough to threaten segments of the middle class housing market in the inner city as a controversy over the conversion of the Colonnade apartment building on Bloor Street to a hotel reveals. Planners calculated that 6,500 (mostly middle class apartment units) other apartment units were similarly threatened (Toronto Star, July 13, 1983).
14. Toronto Real Estate News, July 1, 1981, Planners have claimed that there are over 7,500 homeless single people in Toronto - mostly as a result of displacement and unemployment.
15. Frank Johnson, Core Area Report, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, 1979.
16. Evidence of this can be gleaned from newspaper accounts complaining of redlining in Winnipeg's inner city. Many consider this as evidence of negative displacement or active disinvestment. See Fred Young's "Lenders develop discrimination in North Winnipeg mortgages", Winnipeg Free Press, April 17, 1985.

17. Lori Bell, a neighbourhood activist and community representative for one inner city community in Winnipeg claimed that renewal policies were favouring Yuppies at the expense of low income families. Winnipeg Free Press April 21, 1985 in Patrick Mckinley's article "Ellice-area renewal plan blasted".
18. The diversity of projects covered by the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative is partly explained by the inconclusive balance of class forces in Winnipeg's inner city. Therefore there is something for everyone: capital (North Portage - i.e. involving expropriation of small buildings for large scale commercial structures and higher density uses); the new middle class (renovation of the Warehouse District into an enclave of conspicuous consumption - it is hoped - and the provision of apartment and "European Styled shops" in the North Portage development scheme); the working class (the restoration and redevelopment of the North Logan area - note the apartment building constructed for the North Logan Community near Logan and Ellen is quite basic and modest compared to the housing units that are going to be constructed for the new middle class in the North of Portage area) and, finally, the urban underclass (represented by work and training programs, a new Salvation Army building on Logan Ave.). If expenditures are compared it would appear that capital and the new middle class have been the major beneficiaries so far, inspite of the strong demand for resources made by leaders of the city's working class and urban under-class populations.

CHAPTER THREE:
THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS AS A CLASS FOR ITSELF -
THE SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BASE

In such a city, thick with gays and yuppies (San Francisco), the similarity between those two demographic subsets is striking. An unexpected notion occurs. Yuppies are, in a sense, heterosexual gays. Among middle class people, after all, gays formed the original two income household and were the original gentrifiers, the original body cultists and dapper healthclub devotees, the trendy homemakers, the refined childless world travellers. Yuppies merely appended the term lifestyle and put a conventional sexual spin on things.

Kurt Anderson (Time, July 16, 1984)

Introduction: Why an economic analysis is not sufficient.

In chapter two the economic preconditions for the new middle class were established. Their latent and potential economic power was also measured by looking at their capacity to displace others in the inner city. But this is not the entire picture. Although these economic conditions are necessary, they are not sufficient conditions. As will be shown a social base is needed to activate this latent economic potential. Without such a base the splintered elements that make up the new middle class would have been unable to form a common ideology which underpinned the new urbanism as it is known today.

The new middle class needed an ideology of the city which they could identify with, one which could legitimize the new social relations they

had developed as well as acknowledge to others that they had arrived, that they were legitimate and deserving of respect. That the space this class was to construct in the inner city came to reflect this, we will see in describing how the new middle class transformed the zone of discard (as Chicago theorists would have put it) into a zone of privilege and status.¹

As far as the development of the new middle class is concerned, in chapter two we saw that this class can be identified by economic measurements, but at this stage it only reveals that this class is a distinguishable economic category rather than a social class. Without some social impetus, the existence of the new middle class at the economic level does not guarantee their resettlement of the inner city. Places like Calgary and Houston, for example, have huge office sectors and a large new middle class, but these cities have not experienced massive resettlement by the new middle class. In these two cities the new middle class are still governed by the paradigms of the old middle class, a paradigm which saw middle class identity submerged under capital's hegemony, where compliance rather than resistance marked the relations the new middle class entered into with capital.

This is reflected in the kind of space the new middle class in Calgary and Houston still inhabit. Like their predecessors in the 1950's they still live in the suburbs where the first generation of the new middle class moved en masse after the war. Then the new middle class did not exist as a social class. It was a new economic category which emerged with the new division of labour that accompanied the rise of the multinational corporation and the welfare state. Having no identify of its own

it willingly accepted the auto-oriented suburbs constructed for it by capital. These suburbs were status symbols of a conformist new middle class which saw its well-being in the economic and social order developed for it by capital. The new middle class had their families and were suitably rewarded. As one critic, Whyte,² commented - this was the era of the man in the grey flannel suit.

In cities like Calgary and Houston, this conformism did not end when the second generation of the new middle class emerged out of the counter culture of the 1960's. It remained fixated with the conformist vision of its first generation predecessors. As a result, the new urban culture in these two cities remained under-developed. Therefore the new middle class did not emerge as a strong social force in these two cities.

This example shows that if we are to understand the relationship the new middle class has to urban revitalization, more than an economic analysis is required. The social forces which transformed the first generation conformity of the new middle class into the non-conforming behavior of the second generation must be examined. An economic analysis cannot provide insight into this process. In this instance social relations and ideology play a determining role in the class formation of the new middle class. They provide the key for unlocking the reasons why the new middle class chose to resettle the inner city rather than inhabit some other space.

Historically, the transition stage occurred in the 1960's, when the new middle class began to question the familial and suburban values which hitherto dominated. A new social space was created, usually in the inner city, near a large university campus. Upon this non-conforming

base the ideology of the new urbanism arose. This set the stage for middle class struggles in the inner city, as they attempted to embody these new values in the physical space they inhabited.

The establishment of non-familial relations as the dominant aspect of the social space in the inner city, and the generation of an anti-suburban, pro-urban ideology out of these relations, which stressed conspicuous consumption in terms of lifestyle,³ were fundamental for the emergence of a distinguishable new middle class. The struggle for space in the inner city where these relations might freely be lived out therefore became a class struggle. The inner city became the homeland for the new middle class. This re-orientation was clearly expressed in the urban ideology the new middle class developed to justify their expropriation of inner city space and its reconstruction. As shall show in chapter four, these struggles shaped the very way space was constructed and produced.

Thus the major emphasis in this chapter will be on the transformation of the social relations of the inner city. Data in Diagram Two will show how the inner city began to diverge from the rest of the city socially and ideologically. Over time a new population developed. The inner city became more concentrated with people that had had a university education. Also non-familial living patterns became dominant. Together these two factors produced a population with interests and demands which differed substantially from the suburbs. Through these social relations the new middle class became a separate social class. From this social base it developed a new ideology about the city which made it self conscious of itself as a distinctive entity. This social and ideological transformation also allowed the new middle class to break away from capital and establish its own culture.

DIAGRAM TWO

THE SOCIAL BASE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

| | TORONTO | VANCOUVER | WINNIPEG |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| A) DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION* | | | |
| 1-Population 1970-1976 | -11.01% | -5.58% | -13.56% |
| 2-No. of households 1970-1976 | +0.90% | +3.70% | -5.59% |
| 3-No. of families 1970-1976 | -7.76% | -6.83% | -13.0% |
| B) SOCIAL TRANSITION** | 1970-1976 | 1970-1976 | 1970-1976 |
| 1-Percentage of total inner city population with university degree | 11.5%-17.7% | 13.9%-21% | 7%-12.7% |
| 2-Percentage change between 1970 and 1976 | approx. 30% | approx. 40% | approx. 50% |
| C) FOUR MAJOR INNER CITY GROUPS RELATED TO THE NEW URBAN CULTURE*** | 1970-1976 | 1970-1976 | 1970-1976 |
| 1-Non-family (predominantly singles) | +17.86% | +19.52% | +8.41% |
| 2-Elderly population | -2.05% | +1.82% | -4.11% |
| 3-Ethnic population | decreasing | decreasing | increasing |
| 4-gay population: Traits | developed/ concentrated | developed/ concentrated | undeveloped/ dispersed |

* Data base came from statistics Canada. Inner city figures for Toronto and Vancouver coincide mostly with the boundaries of these two cities. For Winnipeg the inner city boundary approximates the old city of Winnipeg, which was amalgamated with its metropolitan area in 1971.

** "The Canadian City 1971-1976: A Statistics Handbook", published by CMHC was a source for data used in parts A and B of Diagram Two.

*** Non-family and elderly statistics came from Statistics Canada. Ethnic and gay designations refer more to the period between 1976 and the present. Raw data from the 81 (not published at the time) census was used along with the impressions gained from these figures by planners and researchers looking at these trends. This was the basis for the designations given.

Symbolically the city came to represent the new middle class while the suburbs maintained their symbolic role as creatures of post-war capitalism. More precisely capital stood for mass consumption, the familial values of the suburbs and standardized ways of living which connotated subservience to large scale bureaucratic organizations. By contrast the new middle class stood for specialized, highbrow consumerism which the city symbolized. The city also connotated individualism and non-conformity. So non-family relations dominated rather the familial order which was the norm in the suburbs. This opposition therefore became the activating principles for the establishment of an identity for the new middle class in the inner city. In turn these principles became one of the ideological underpinnings for post-modernism, which became the architectural and planning blueprints for the construction of a new kind of physical space in the inner city for the new middle class.

The New Middle Class Identity: Statistical profile.

Looking at population figures, in Diagram Two, it becomes apparent that all three cities registered substantial population declines between 1971 and 1976. While the number of families dropped significantly, the number of households increased, particularly non-family households. These statistics indicate that the inner city was becoming more attractive to non-family households and at the same time less attractive to family households. Between 1971 and 1976 the inner city populations of Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg fell, the drop ranged from 5 to 13 percent. Similarly, the number of family households declined as fast or faster than the general rate of decline, the range in the three cities varying from 6 to 13 percent. Meanwhile, in each city the singles population rose between 8 and 19 percent (Diagram Two).

In all three cities the populations were clearly in a state of transition. Families were abandoning the inner city for the suburbs and the inner city was fast becoming a zone of discard. Into this vacuum came the new middle class. They refashioned this neglected space and produced a non-familial culture of conspicuous consumption. Because no one cared about this space, the freedom to experiment with new social relations became possible, especially with the counter culture which generated the middle class singles sub-culture.

In time these negative qualities became positive cultural features and investment in these areas rose. However this happened only when the new middle class was able to take over these areas. They were successful in Toronto and Vancouver but not in Winnipeg. Household figures and university statistics show this to a certain extent.

Using household figures as a surrogate measure of a middle class presence in the inner city, we see that the number of households rose in both Toronto and Vancouver between 1971 and 1976 while the population and the number of families decreased. The figures strongly point to a middle class influx into this space. In Winnipeg, by contrast, the number of households (Diagram Two) actually declined between 1971 and 1976 and the concentration of university educated people remained well below the levels recorded in Toronto and Vancouver. Significantly, Winnipeg has not developed much of a middle class singles sub-culture. The inner city has continued to remain a zone of discard and an area of social pathology in the minds of its middle class. As a result, until quite recently controversies stemming from a singles culture for the new middle class have

been rare in Winnipeg and its concerns have received little attention by the body politic.

Four Sub-Groups: The non-familial base of the inner city.

By the late 70's there were four identifiable social groups which had formed niches in the inner city and come to play a part in the new urban culture. Of the four only one, the ethnic group, was family oriented. The singles, gay, and elderly populations were all non-family oriented. While all four social groups were complementary to the construction of a new culture only two groups, the singles and gay groups, were strictly middle class manifestations. The elderly and ethnic groups were independent or outside of the new middle class (and the transformation which took place within it) yet in spite of themselves also part of the social coalition that developed in the inner city.⁴

Until the 1960's all these groups were considered marginal or deviant. Their traditional concentration in the inner city, in the zone of discard, was the physical measure of their marginal status. This was reflected in academic and popular discourses on the inner city where comparisons between city and suburb were couched in terms of pathology, poverty and failure for the inner city and success, prosperity and wholesomeness for the suburb.⁵ Culturally the inner city was colonized by the suburbs. There was little in the way of positive self definition. Socially and economically the suburb dominated the inner city and city dwellers had to labour under the definitions foisted upon them by suburbanites. With the resettlement of the inner city by the new middle class this changed.

The new middle class took up the social forms and mores once associated with a number of marginalized groups living in the inner city. Consequently they took up their causes. What were once considered social problems now became social causes. Singles lifestyles, single parent families (once solely identified with the lower classes), gay lifestyles and feminist groups emerged. This formed the brew out of which the social relations and the ideology of the new middle class arose.⁶

By adopting non-family values, along with bits and pieces of the various ethnic cultures these subordinated or counter cultures obtained a degree of legitimacy they never possessed before. This social and cultural re-alignment soon made itself felt in inner city politics. Politicians were now forced to accommodate this new culture. Thus the new middle class became an identifiable social force as well as an economic one. While the economic aspect of the colonization of the inner city might be the regressive moment of the new urbanity, the re-articulation of ethnic and non-familial relations as legitimate alternative ways of life was certainly its progressive moment.

The traditional middle-class ideology which once dominated both city and suburb dissolved as the second generation of the new middle class socially distanced itself from its parent culture.

These alternative social relations were the basis for development of a separate consciousness of the city as something physically and socially different from the suburb. Out of this arose the new urban ideologies, spawned by theorists such as Jane Jacobs (1962), Fischer (1976), Gans (1962), Firey (1945), and Cox (1965), which were later to set off the city suburb dichotomy in struggles over the built environment.

The new middle class labelled themselves as sophisticated urbanites and naturally regarded the suburbanites as reactionaries. Attempts to impose suburban values and aesthetics on the inner city were therefore strongly resisted. Again these conflicts became the most severe in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver as they had the largest and most developed non-familial cultures as well as the strongest urban middle class populations. In Winnipeg, with its weaker middle class and less developed non-familial culture these divisions did not emerge in such a sharp fashion. Suburban perspectives still dominated the aesthetic and value systems of the inner city. So if problems arose they were dealt with in the traditional way. Either they were considered as pathologies in need of control or surveillance or blighted landscapes in need of clearing and redevelopment.

Not surprising, a comparison of the four major groupings in Diagram Two show that in Toronto and Vancouver, the two middle class groups increased much more than they did in Winnipeg. For instance the singles population, as measured by the non-family category increased by 20% in Toronto, 18% in Vancouver but only 8 1/2% in Winnipeg between 1971 and 1976. Similarly, Toronto and Vancouver developed into centres for gay culture with extensive social and commercial institutions to serve this community. In contrast Winnipeg's community remained small and underdeveloped, with little if any evidence of commercial development.⁷

The non-middle class components showed less divergence in each city, as would be expected, since their development reflected general demographic and immigration trends which lay outside of the scope of developments taking place with the new middle class in the city. In all cases the

percentage of elderly people in the inner city increased. Except for Vancouver this increase was accounted for by the fact that the elderly population declined less rapidly than the population as a whole. In the same period of time Vancouver experienced an absolute increase of 1.82%. This discrepancy might be accounted for by the role Vancouver plays as a retirement community.

Forecasters expect the over 65 population to continue to rise until well beyond the turn of the century so this group can be expected to play a larger role in the culture of the inner city, particularly since they show a greater propensity to live in the inner city than any other age group besides single young adults.⁸ Since displacement has already affected this group in Toronto and Vancouver the elderly are beginning to organize into an active interest group which may eventually have a considerable impact on inner city politics and development schemes proposed in the future.⁹

In Winnipeg the situation is different. Since the elderly are one of the few groups willing to live in the inner city at this point in time they may become the agents of active urban renewal in Winnipeg rather than its victims, as seems to be the case in Toronto and Vancouver. Provision of more housing for the elderly and an adequate service and amenity infrastructure for them might help stabilize the inner city as a place for people to live in.

The ethnic population has played a key role in both the evolution and conservation of the Canadian inner city. In Toronto and Vancouver its influence has peaked. The inner city will no longer be the entry

point for immigrants because of resettlement by the new middle class and the pressure placed on inner city property values by the expansion of capital. In Winnipeg this is not the case. Ethnic groups may still play a vital conserving and even revitalizing role, particularly in the case of recent Chinese immigration.¹⁰

A brief review and comparison of post-war immigration trends in Canada and the United States should shed some light on the role this group has played as conservers of the inner city and facilitators of middle class resettlement in Canada. It will also highlight one of the major social factors lying behind the relative stability of the inner city in Toronto and Vancouver compared to the steady post war deterioration in Winnipeg.

Migration patterns in American and Canadian cities differed substantially during the post war years. In Canada foreign immigration was responsible for most of the influx. As Bourne (Toronto Star August 8, 1982) and others have noted, most immigrants were stable house-proud people with upwardly mobile aspirations. They took over and maintained the inner city neighbourhoods which were being abandoned by the indigenous working and middle class populations. The United States was a different story. Migration into the inner city involved the movement of blacks and hispanics rather than foreign immigrants. They constituted an urban underclass rather than an upwardly mobile working class population. As a result of their marginal economic status they were unable to maintain the neighbourhoods they occupied. In turn working class and middle class residents remaining in the inner city felt threatened by them and a mass exodus followed.

Thus inner cities in the United States experienced rapid deterioration and abandonment while inner city areas in Canada's largest cities were conserved. This had an impact on middle class resettlement in both nations. It was much easier to do in Canada since no underclass threatened the well being of the new middle class or their property investments. Also the building stock was better maintained. This allowed more spontaneous resettlement in Canada as less capital was needed. So government aid was not as necessary. Nor were alliances with capital as common. Market pressures generated by the economic power of the new middle class were usually sufficient to displace the lower class populations. In the United States the ghettos formed by the underclass usually represented too great an obstacle for the new middle class to confront alone. Collusion with the state and capital was often necessary. This is one reason why the new middle class in Canada obtained more autonomy and so emerges as a more distinctive social and political force in the city. Contrasted with the United States, the Canadian new middle class were able to carry on a peaceful relationship with the classes they would later usurp in the inner city. In fact the ethnic populations in the city re-educated the new middle class and helped it adapt to the inner city. In this way the new middle class adopted the outdoor-pedestrian culture of the immigrant population and turned it into a signature of their own class on the urban landscape wherever they resettled.

It is interesting to note that foreign immigration has increased dramatically in the United States during the 70's and 80's. The areas settled by these immigrants have undergone substantial rehabilitation. Large areas in L.A. have undergone a transformation as a result. Even

abandoned ghetto areas have been revived by new immigrants. The Portugese have renewed the anvil area of Newark for instance. Another example would be the ~~G~~reeks in downtown Detroit.

Winnipeg's similarity in this regard is interesting. It did not participate in the post war wave of foreign immigration to the extent that Toronto and Vancouver did. Immigration patterns were far closer to those in the United States. Like the United States the distinguishing feature of post war immigration was the drift of a large urban underclass ~~form~~ from the impoverished hinterland. Rather than blacks and hispanics, they were native Canadians for the most part.

Because the social-economic makeup of Winnipeg is closer to urban America or the pre-war conditions of the Canadian city, the role of ethnic groups in conserving and revitalizing Winnipeg's inner city should increase rather than decrease. The most promising developments will likely be with the Chinese community. The development of Chinatown may well spark renewed investment in this abandoned area and therefore lower the resistance of the new middle class and capital to investment in renewal ventures in the vicinity.

By contrast Toronto and Vancouver will likely experience decline in the ethnic mix of their inner city neighbourhoods. Except for Chinatown most of their inner city neighbourhoods will be taken over by the new middle class. High property values in both cities and the decline in the number of foreign immigrants entering Canada have reduced the attractiveness of the inner city in these two instances.

As stated earlier the two most visible social groups which arose out of the middle class ferment of the counter culture were the singles and gay subcultures. When these non-family oriented middle class people left the universities they installed themselves in the inner city rather than the suburbs. A whole new institutional complex arose in the inner city to serve them. The most significant development perhaps was the emergence of a popular arts community.¹¹ Instead of sports arenas, school yards and churches, which were the mainstay of the domestic culture of suburbia, participation in art culture became one of the most important leisure activities of people living in the inner city.

Art provided entertainment and status to the new middle class and proved to be a catalyst for retail investment by the new middle class. The boutique and cafe culture of Yorkville and Granville Island testify to this. All this was possible with a well educated new middle class which did not have its time or income taken up with child rearing and other associated domestic duties of suburban living.¹² In the span of a decade and a half a whole new arts economy had grown up in the Canadian inner city,¹³ which was, for the most part, non-existent in the early 60's. Up to this point the universities were the only places where high culture had a foothold and enjoyed a regular audience. Curiously enough the arts experience became a unifying force among the new middle class, as it was in the universities that most were first exposed to the arts. Along with regular socialization at the university the education experience of the university became the social cement of the new middle class. Common outlooks and habits of consumption were developed here which later had an impact on the type of consumer culture that developed in the inner city.

Thus the exposure to high culture in the universities produced a strong identification with the arts by the new middle class. This art culture they later transported to the inner city where they used it as a new status dress to distinguish themselves from supposedly less cultivated suburbanites.

Finally the gay sub-culture¹⁴ was the other new middle class social formation to emerge. Like the singles population they were closely associated with the development of the arts community and the evolution of the inner city retail and entertainment economy centered around conspicuous consumption. Even more than the singles sub-culture the gay population reveals the anti-family bias of the new urbanism. Being farthest away from the family culture of suburbia the development of the gay community can be read as an accurate barometer of the new urbanism in any city.

It is no accident that the strongest gay communities in North America are also the key centres of the new middle class urban culture. New York, Washington, D.C. and San Francisco have the strongest gay communities in the United States. Not suprisingly they also have the strongest new middle class electorates and the most developed urban culture. Similarly, Toronto and Vancouver are the dominant centres in Canada for gay culture. In all these cities gay rights issues have emerged as important election topics at the local, provincial and national levels in the inner city. Noticeably, gay culture is not well developed in Winnipeg and this question has not yet become an important issue.

In social and demographic terms the gay community represents the new urbanism in its purest form. Certainly it is the most distant from the familial order of the suburbs. Also no other group has their discretionary income. This explains why they have often been the most innovative group in the new middle class. Usually they have been at the forefront in the resettlement of the inner city and innovation leaders in the boutique/art/cafe culture as a result. Perhaps no other social group has been as successful in commercializing bohemian culture and therefore making it accessible to the rest of the new middle class.

No other social group is so concentrated in the inner city and therefore so identified with it.¹⁵ The movement of this culture to a position of respectability and power provides the best example of the cultural transformation wrought by the new middle class. They were able to reverse the perception of pathology so long associated with this group and the places where they worked and played (i.e. the zone of discard). Using the ideology of community and civil rights (borrowed from the civil rights movement in the United States), middle class gay activists were able to re-articulate the repression of the gay sub-culture into a battle for the protection of a viable community, entitled to the same protection as any other, and also as a fight against the denial of civil liberties.

By successfully articulating these relationships in terms of social oppression instead of individual pathology, particularly in terms of community, gays deployed potent ideological weapons which gave them access to powerful alliances formed by the liberal new middle class in the inner city. In the same way, other social relations were legitimized and the struggle for urban space justified.

The Concept of Community: The transformation in values which accompanied the transition of the inner city population.

The new middle class used the concept of community in a paradoxical and subversive fashion. The creation of a new non-family population in the inner city gave them a social and political base to manipulate traditional ideological precepts and create new ones. In the case of community for instance, middle class dissidents successfully inverted the way this concept was used by classical sociology. For instance theorists of the Chicago school centered their definitions of normal and pathological states around the strength of community. When it was absent, social pathology was predicted. Likewise, evidence of community was perceived in a positive light, a sign of health. Consequently marginal groups were defined as community-less. Their behavior was therefore considered as examples of personal pathology rather than social oppression. During the 60's the application of these terms reversed, and in one struggle after another the new middle class successfully mobilized itself around the concept of community to protect the non-familial relations they were developing and the urban space they were resettling. Community became to the new middle class what patriotism was to the nation state: a means of defining itself and mobilizing against the intrusions of outsiders. According to the level considered, the effect was progressive or regressive. On the social plane the effect was progressive. The fight for community became instrumental in the struggle for more personal freedom. On the economic plane the concept of community was often used to legitimize wealth or the preservation of privilege.

This new symbolism increased the social rift between city and suburb in Canada. While this conflict scarcely emerged in Winnipeg very different

was the case in Toronto and Vancouver. Here the new middle class successfully articulated a new urban ideology which incorporated ideological elements taken from the four groups just mentioned, bringing the disparate elements of these together under the rubric of community.

Nowhere has this been more apparent than in Toronto. Norm Snider, a reporter for the Globe and Mail (March 12, 1983), summed the situation up when he stated that the relations between the city of Toronto and its suburbs were almost in a state of civil war: with "urban liberalism against the tory small town attitude of the suburbs".

In this way city and suburb became ideological antipodes. The distinction became an active point for self-identification by the new middle class and a way for it to develop autonomy from the cultural imperatives of corporate capital. So social struggles over ways of living and setting new planning priorities became part of the culture of the new urbanism. This soon found expression in battles over what kind of environment should be constructed in the inner city: a pedestrian street culture, heavily dependent on public transportation, or an auto-oriented one, dominated by the needs of capital and suburban values.

The Liveable City: The regime of conspicuous consumption finds physical expression in a new urban aesthetic.

The liveable city became the design counterpart of the new ideology of community. This aesthetic became the call to arms for the urban struggles of the 70's initiated by the new middle class. It was an aesthetic which gave the middle class an ideological mechanism to mobilize around, allowing them to control capital as well as the means to exclude the lower classes without appearing greedy or self-interested.

This could be done because the liveable city involved the production of a high cost pseudo-public space in the city which the lower classes could not afford.

In short the liveable city became the design shorthand for the new urbanism: the social and class relations bound up within it. Contradictions between city and suburb, family and non-family ways of life, consumption and conspicuous consumption, capital and the new middle class were therefore contained in the struggles for the development of this space in the inner city.

To capital, for example, the liveable city entailed some loss of its authority to produce space unfettered by design regulations and rigid density controls. The liveable city was the ideological challenge the new middle class put forward to capital to prevent displacement from the neighbourhoods it had staked out. The concept of balanced growth associated with the liveable city also served to protect the pedestrian street culture of the new middle class from the inroads of the auto-oriented culture dominated by capital.

The liveable city also incorporated quality of life variables which were used to market non gentrified neighbourhoods to the new middle class. Central to this was the development of an arts-amenity infrastructure and the conservation of inner city streetscapes and architecture. Even in Winnipeg the new middle class have been successful in imposing its values on parts of the built environment, in places like the warehouse district, for instance. In a more informal way this has occurred in the Osborne Village area as well.

Hence liveability has meant the production of high cost consumer environments for the specialized conspicuous consumption of the new middle class. So cafes replace drug stores and laundry establishments are replaced by boutiques, causing utilitarian land uses to give way to specialized upscale ones.

Urban aesthetics are given priority over the everyday needs of the lower classes, since their consumption is concerned with simple reproduction rather than status. To the working class still remaining in the inner city these priorities have been found to be amusing or perplexing.¹⁶ As David Ley commented, liveability means something different to an individual whose primary concern is survival and another thing if it means a more aesthetically pleasing environment. While no doubt it is praiseworthy to save the city's heritage and therefore preserve its sense of community and make it more aesthetically pleasing, what good does it do for people whose homes and jobs are displaced as a result, whose tax dollars are used to beautify and environment they likely will be excluded from? Meanwhile services and amenities of a more utilitarian sort that they can use are ignored.¹⁷

This issue certainly poses problems for progressive planners interested in improving the liveability of the built environment. Toronto and Vancouver give little hope of an equitable solution to this problem. That isn't to say that there are no solutions, only that in order for the benefits of the new urbanism to transcend the limits of its narrow class base a level of commitment to social justice and altruism not apparent in the middle class of these two cities so far would be necessary. Winnipeg's case is different. Its more complex array of classes makes middle class

alliances with the lower classes more probable for reasons of self interest rather than some abstracted altruism. If such a political will does come about, then there is some reason to hope that the negative externalities (displacement and social closure) can be minimized while the positive effects of the new urbanism (improved physical environment, better design, and improved streetscapes) can be more easily spread around to other classes.

Some practical strategies for this might be more control over the use of semi-public spaces now proliferating in the inner city. Strict adherence to codes of public access to semi-public retail spaces and laneways would be one such strategy. Already in Toronto this has become an issue in semi-public spaces like Eatons Centre, where non consuming citizens are having to fight for access to public space in this development. Even in Winnipeg this soon might become a major issue since plans for redevelopment in the North Portage area call for the development of two private laneways which will effectively exclude non residents from their use.¹⁸

Other measures might take the form of subsidized retail outlets for businesses serving low income populations or those providing utilitarian rather than status products and services. Along these lines suitable retail mixes might be mandated for certain stretches of a street. Even rent control for utilitarian retail outlets might be instituted. For housing, more provision of public units, stricter mixes in new private projects are just some of the possibilities. However, many of these measures are predicated on the political will to intervene and actively redistribute amenities and space, as well as cost efficiency. Time is important. Where gentrification is too far advanced, the cost of buying

and controlling the space needed is simply prohibitive and uneconomical. Fortunately the real estate market in Winnipeg does not preclude this option yet. Planners and politicians still have the capacity to maintain a viable mixed and heterogeneous population by making a number of decisive interventions. In Winnipeg it is a matter of political will rather than the real estate market which may make the difference between who wins or loses in the redevelopment of the inner city.

Conclusion: The new social base of the inner city - i.e. the non-familial base - and the emergence of the ideology of the liveable city out of this base.

We may conclude this chapter by once again looking at the social base of the new middle class ideology. Figures in Diagram Two show that a strong middle class singles culture has developed in Toronto and Vancouver. This becomes apparent when population, household and education statistics are examined. It also becomes apparent when the four major groups residing in the inner city are compared and discussed.

When comparisons in each city are made we see that the ethnic population of Toronto and Vancouver is the only group experiencing a decline. Interestingly, of the four groups it is the only one which is family oriented. While some parts of the elderly population may have their growth in the inner city limited by displacement and the creation of high cost living spaces, the general prognosis is that this part of the population will become the most significant non-middle class element in the new urban culture. Otherwise it can be expected that the singles and gay population will remain rooted in the inner city as more household and infrastructure in the inner city is reconstructed to serve their needs.

Diagrams One and Two show that the new middle class in Toronto and Vancouver have emerged as powerful economic and social forces. In both cities powerful social coalitions have been constructed around the support and provisioning of a non-family oriented society. Along with their economic standing which allows for a culture of conspicuous consumption, a new ideology in the city has come into force in the way of the liveable city. With this means of identification the ground was set for the middle class political struggles of the 70's and 80's.

The new middle class, having gained hegemony in the inner city struggle for the use of space in Toronto and Vancouver, now had to confront attacks from the suburbs, where the struggle with capital was displaced to. In Winnipeg developments have not yet reached this stage. Along with a weak economic base, the new middle class has a much weaker social base. As a result identification with the new urban ideology is much weaker. Principles contained within the notion of the liveable city do not dominate the planning discourses like they do in Toronto and Vancouver. As of yet clear distinctions between the city and the suburb have not developed. Solutions to urban problems and the perceptions of the inner city are still suburban in nature. Until the new middle class in Winnipeg identifies more strongly with the inner city and develops a stronger economic base this situation is likely to remain.

For these reasons the new middle class in Winnipeg is not yet a distinctive class force. It is just as liable to move to the suburbs as it is to remain in the inner city.¹⁹ This is certainly reflected in the weak hold the concept of the liveable city has on the reconstruction of space over the past decade.²⁰ Ironically, lower class groups, aided by

some middle class activists, have had greater success in realizing the vision of the liveable city than the new middle class. For this, thanks must go mainly to the federal and provincial governments, who have employed elements of this ideology in the reconstruction of low income environments, i.e. NIP and RRAP programs for instance. Here is a case example of a middle class ideology being grafted onto a working class context with good results. With this in mind there is some room to hope that a new urban culture which addresses both the needs of the working class and the new middle class might be possible. Unlike Toronto and Vancouver, the new middle class may not be able to go it alone in Winnipeg and may need urban progressives based in the working class to achieve a new urban vision not tainted with the suburban bias which now informs the way the inner city is perceived.

Footnotes

1. A number of books review and critique this perspective quite well: M. Castells, The Urban Question, M.I.T. Press, 1977. C. G. Pickvance, Urban Sociology: Critical Essays, Tavistock Press, London, 1976. Peter Saunders, Social Theory and the Urban Question, Holmes-Meirer, N.Y., 1981.

2. William Whyte. The Organizational Man, Doubleday, N.Y., 1957.

3. The word lifestyle has become a concept central to the articulation of a new urban culture of conspicuous consumption (for the new middle class). David Marc and Daniel Czitrom noted this in their article "The Elements of Lifestyle" published in the May 85 issue of The Atlantic. According to the authors the word was coined by Alder in 1929. The word laid emphasis on the role of the individual as a self creating and ever changing entity. In the 1960's the word became a legitimizing concept for inner city sub-cultures in London. Its use later spread to the United States, where the concept increasingly became absorbed by marketing concerns. Media hype was largely responsible for this new function, establishing a new link in the developing cultural industries which was significant component of the post-industrial economy. Exploiting deviance, integrating it into the mainstream, so that it could be marketed became one of the functional attributes of the new urban culture, one which the gay sub-culture figured rather prominently in.

Arnold Mitchell's "Nine American Lifestyles: Values and Societal Change" in the August 1984 edition of Futurist gives a good idea how the concept of lifestyle is now widely employed as a marketing strategy. Finally a special issue of New York, May 13, 1985 entitled "The Yupper West Side" gives a number of good descriptions of the new middle class urban culture that has evolved around the concept of lifestyle.

4. One of the best examples of this phenomenon would be the incorporation of West Hollywood out of the County of Los Angeles in 1984. Here the relation between urban space, self identification with an urban sub-culture (in this case a gay one) and political mobilization becomes apparent: how the control of space and legitimization of sub-cultures are related. Significantly the ethnic population and the elderly were allies of the middle class gays who pushed for city status. The December 25, 1984 issue of the Village Voice covers this story rather well in an article entitled "A New Gay City" by C. Mithers.

5. This perspective goes back to the beginning of modern city planning, its reaction to the squalour of the Victorian city. Early sociologists, like Weber and Durkheim, who studied the city felt the same. This heavily influenced the Chicago school of sociology (that arose in the 20's and 30's) which defined the way the city was looked upon until Firey, Jacobs and Gans began to provide alternative perspectives.

6. The view that the inner city has indeed changed comes out in criticism of the city given by conservatives. Most recently Roger Starr in The Rise and Fall of New York City, Basic Books, N.Y., 1985 puts much of the blame on urban liberals, the gays and the ethnic underclass. Consult the New York Review of Books, May 5, 1985.
7. Winnipeg's gay community is still extremely underdeveloped for a North American city of its size. No real ghetto has formed yet nor has a commercial infrastructure serving this community developed. Consequently there is little room for cultural self expression without fear of negative sanctions being applied. In many ways the fate of Winnipeg's gay community has mirrored the development of the new middle class: Low self identification and a weakly developed commercial culture sufficiently concentrated in the inner city (read Downtown and Regional Shopping Centre Retailing in Winnipeg, published by the Institute of Urban Studies, 1985, which stated that retailing was dominated by corporate chain or franchise concerns. While this component of the retail component declined in other cities it rose in Winnipeg.) characterized the new middle class singles sub-culture and related boutique market as well. Like the gay community this inner city middle class commercial culture remained suspended in time, with developments fixed at the level reached in the early 70's.
8. Frank Johnson. Core Area Report, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, 1979.
9. This has become fairly evident in Vancouver's West End already. Here it has become common for gays, single people and the elderly to form alliances in order to fight for preservation and the improvement of the built environment. Thus Gordon Price, a well known community activist in the West End is also a gay activist. Consult the West Ender, a local community newspaper published in Vancouver for more information on these and related developments. For example, in the October 8, 1981 issue the coalition which developed around the issue of rental accomodation is examined. In a July 5th, 1984 issue the concern is the fate of Denman St. as a local retail strip and who controls development: the middle class or the corporations.
10. If Main Street does revive it will not be because of the Main Street Revitalization Group, it will be because of activity in Chinatown spilling over on to Main Street. With the infusion of thousands of Chinese immigrants, the possibility of significant investment by scared Hong Kong money and the lobbying of the newly created Chinatown Corporation the possibility of the area taking off are stronger than they have ever been before. Already a Chinese travel agency has moved from Chinatown to Main Street. and a new retail outlet at the corner of Main Street and Pacific Avenue, serving the Chinese population, is planned. Consult Wally Dennison's article entitled Chinese Entrepreneurs Boost Economy, Winnipeg Free Press, March 29, 1985 and Gary Hunter's article entitled Putting on a New Face: Main Street wants to by funky not tough, Winnipeg Free Press, May 11, 1985.

11. The consumption of the visual and performing arts are an integral part of the new middle class urban culture. For this reason the arts community has played a key role in popularizing previously derelict inner city neighbourhoods. Particularly in New York City this has been the case. However there are strong examples of this in Toronto i.e. Yorkville and Queen Street W. and Vancouver, i.e. Gastown and to a lesser extent, Granville Island. However belated, in this regard Winnipeg seems to be catching up: as Stephen Phelps says in "Winnipeg's Core and Arts" in the Winter 1984 edition of Arts Manitoba - "Winnipeg is a city of anticipation. For the past couple of decades its artists have been signing up for a piece of the dream in the booming growth industry called Canadian Culture... It was expected that Winnipeg would settle quietly into a era of diminished expectations. But while the branch plants struggle to live up to their promise and wrestled with the unfamiliar trauma of economic slowdown, Winnipeg had been anything but asleep. Left to its own devices, the city's art scene had been quietly, determinedly heating up. In increasing numbers artists, writers and performers were moving into Winnipeg's inner city, into multiple bohemian studios, alternative spaces and various coffee-houses in the old garment and warehouse district, crowding together like so much fissionable material on its way to critical mass. What was one a loose assortment of studios suddenly found itself at the threshold of forming a genuine colony."
12. Refer to Time, July 16, 1984.
13. Mr. Gelber, former Chairman of the Ontario Arts Council, said that "twenty years ago, you would have needed very few words to tell the economic story of the arts in Canada. But today, in Toronto alone, more people pay to go to the arts events than to attend all sporting events combined. That may sound surprising, but it is a fact. So there is no longer any doubt that the economic spin offs from the arts related activities are extremely significant." (Business Quarterly, Fall, 1984.)
14. An article in the Economist "Business Brief", January 23, 1982, documents the rise of gay consumer culture. Information in the article shows how this can be related to their non-family status and discretionary income. The appearance of this commercial culture is also related to the appearance of a gay new middle class - note the figures supplied on the high number of professional gays involved in this commercial revival.
15. This does not apply so much to female gays. Folk and country influences have played a much larger role. So the culture is less commercialized and less identified with the city.
16. The difference here is not only one of material needs and priorities. They are cultural as well. This is documented by researchers like David Ley (consult footnote 17). This comes out in many sociological texts written about the differences between working and middle class culture i.e. consult: Henri Le Febvre in Everyday

Life in the Modern World where the author chronicles some of the differences between the middle and working class in France; in an urban context, with reference to the British and American experience, social and spatial differences among classes are discussed in The City as a Social System (unit 7) published by the Open University in 1973. Also the term cosmopolite, used in the text gives useful background to the urban sensibility which informed the culture of the new middle class in North America. The Working Class Majority by Andrew Levison, Coward & Georghegan Inc., 1974, N.Y. talks about the differences between the working and middle class in the American city. Similarly Richard Hill's article "Race, Class and The State: Metropolitan Enclave System in the United States", in the fall issue (1981) of the Insurgent Sociologist talks about the spatial behaviour of the working class, how this is related to the place they occupy in the social division of labour. "Austerity, Shelter and Social Conflict in the United States" by R. Gates and K. Murphy in Vol. 5, No. 2, 1981 edition of International Journal of Urban and Regional Research further elucidate these differences; they also discuss ethnic and gay subgroups and their relation to the housing market in the U.S.

17. Differences between the new middle class and the working class are well documented in David Ley's "A New Ideology of Livability", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, June 1980, pp. 238-258. The improvements to the built environment prompted by the new middle class's concern with livability are dealt with in Roger Friedland's article "Central City Fiscal Strains: the public costs of private growth", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1981.
18. Community activists have criticized the North Portage plan recently released. They felt local concerns were not being addressed. Not only were the needs of lower income residents being ignored, residents felt that they would probably be excluded from participating in the use of the space to be built and the amenities that were to be offered. Winnipeg Free Press P. McKinley's article "North Portage Mall set for September". (Winnipeg Free Press, May 15, 1985)
19. This comes out in a number of real estate surveys done in Winnipeg. Consult back issues of Moving to Winnipeg (late 70's editions in particular) and Real Estate News in Winnipeg.
20. Val Werier, perhaps the best known popularizer of the concept of liveability in Winnipeg, has documented the backwardness of urban and political culture in this regard, compared to Toronto and Vancouver. Consult: Val Werier Winnipeg Free Press "Environment Needs Specific Protection", March 30, 1985; "A Hog Trough Across the Assiniboine River", November 3, 1984; "How to Cover a Sidewalk", October 3, 1984; "Saving the Elm Trees of

Wolever Avenue", August 4, 1984; "Pedestrians Get Respect in
Quebec City", June 23, 1984; "Winter City", December 23, 1983;
"Portage Place, Transit not Considered", September 3, 1983;
"Historic Conservation in Winnipeg", June 6, 1983; etc.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE REALIZATION OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS
AS A SOCIAL FORCE IN THE INNER CITY -
THE POLITICS OF SPACE

A schism now appears to be developing between middle class groups and those representing the propertied poor. The reform victory of 1972 (Toronto) was a middle class victory - a success for the status quo generally. For the lower economic group, the 1972 results have led to no real gain. (Time Magazine, June 23, 1975)

Introduction: Ideas become action

In chapter three when the formation of a new urban ideology was discussed, we were talking about how changing social and demographic conditions brought into existence a new mental construct about the city. But mental constructs do not alter social relations by themselves or produce new built environments. When we talk about the actual concrete built environment, and the struggle to change it, we are no longer talking about ideological acts, we are talking about political struggle. So in this chapter, when we talk about the realization of the new middle class in the built environment we leave behind the arena of ideas for the domain of political struggle.

Essentially, the main topic of discussion in this chapter will be the struggle of the new middle class to capture control over the local state apparatus (municipal government).¹ In Toronto and Vancouver the

new middle class was able to gain control of the local state in the early 70's. This dramatically altered the political economy of the inner city. Because of these victories the new middle class was able to re-allocate civic resources. Resources were shifted away from capital and the working class to the new middle class. Instead of funds being used to subsidize redevelopment by capital or the utilitarian needs of the lower classes, increasingly civic resources were funnelled into projects which supported the conspicuous consumption of the new middle class.

In turn control of the local state led to the re-organization of the municipal bureaucracy. City planners and middle class community groups became the major beneficiaries. They became the gate-keepers of the new urbanism and so the guardians of the liveable city.

Consequently the built environment was significantly altered in the 1970's. Pedestrian spaces expanded markedly while automobile space was forcefully reduced. Street culture experienced a renaissance and middle class aesthetics were incorporated into the regulations governing the production of space in the inner city. In this way the new middle class gained control of the production of space in the inner city.

With the attainment of political power in Toronto and Vancouver the new middle class became a fully mature material-institutional² complex. It became a semi-autonomous economic, social and political force in the inner city, one capable of reproducing itself and protecting its interests. As was shown in Chapter Two, economic power was not sufficient for the new middle class to gain hegemony over the inner city. While the new middle class could displace the lower classes they did not have the economic

capacity to displace capital. Gaining control over the local state solved this economic problem for the new middle class. Political power was substituted for economic power. So control of the local state re-aligned the balance of power in favour of the new middle class and reined in capital. Since the new middle class became ascendent, the politics of Toronto and Vancouver have been dominated by struggles over the production of space between capital and the new middle class.

Winnipeg's situation differs considerably. For a number of reasons the new middle class has not become a power block. In part this stems from its weak social base. For this reason the new middle class developed a weak identity which made mobilization difficult. This also produced a weak attachment to the inner city. This is one reason why Winnipeg did not experience the inner city in a positive light. This also explains why suburban values still remain dominant.

The other reason why the new middle class did not develop into a political force stems from its economic situation described in Chapter Two. We saw that the new middle class in Winnipeg barely had enough economic momentum to hold its own against the working class and the urban underclass - which were invading its territory - let alone the strength to tackle capital. Only outside intervention, from urbanists in the federal government, enabled the new middle class in Winnipeg to make advances. Otherwise urban politics remained bound in the traditional 1950's mold, with pro-development interests in command.

As a result there hasn't been a great turn around in civic priorities. Spending is dominated by suburban interests and the municipal bureaucracy

has changed very little. While the stature of city planners in Toronto and Vancouver increased, a middle class power base simply did not exist in Winnipeg for planners to make the same advances. Politically the new middle class in Winnipeg is still in a dependent position. It has not captured control of the local state and has had to depend on allies in the federal and provincial governments for support.

Diagram Three provides a more detailed comparison of the political evolution of the new middle class in each city. First the formal political status of the new middle class will be examined. This involves looking at city council to see whether there are elected representatives of the new middle class. The existence of middle class parties and reform minded mayors are other measures of formal political influence by the new middle class. It will be shown that where their influence is strong the allocation of civic resources tends to change in their favour. Therefore, because of the different class base in Toronto and Vancouver spending priorities differ from those in Winnipeg. Thus civic spending in Toronto and Vancouver is more heavily weighted to the inner city³ than it is in Winnipeg, where suburban and pro-capital interests dominate.

The second round of comparisons will deal with institutional changes arising from control of the local state by the new middle class. In cities like Toronto and Vancouver, which have a strong middle class power base, community groups and city planners tend to play a larger role in the regulation of the built environment. The protection of community and the creation of the liveable city are the ideological planks of these two groups. Usually they are invoked at the expense of

DIAGRAM THREE

THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS AS A POLITICAL FORCE

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| One: Formal Political Presence 1-mayors | Toronto Three: -Crombie -Sewell -Eggleton | Vancouver Two: -Phillips -Harcourt | Winnipeg none |
| 2-council members 3-party | Loose majority Unformulated | Majority Team/Cope | Small minority Tentative (NDP) |
| Formal influence | Strong | Strong | Weak |
| Two: Informal Influence 1-city planners 2-new pro-urban plans 3-Zoning a) downzoning b) aesthetic Informal Influence | Strong Passed 1976 Extensive Extensive Strong | Strong Passed 1976 Extensive Extensive Strong | Weak none Incomplete Limited Weak |
| Three: Balance of Power 1-position of the new middle class 2-power 3-major middle class opposition | Dominant Strong Metro/ capital | Dominant Strong Province/ capital | Sub-ordinate Weak City of Winnipeg |

capital, embroiling the city in constant struggles between pro-development and balanced-growth advocates championed by the new middle class. Therefore in cities with a powerful new middle class there is a tendency for the power of city planners to increase, with a corresponding decrease in the control capital has over the built environment.

For instance during the 1970's new plans were adopted in Toronto and Vancouver which limited capital's expansion in the inner city. This was largely accomplished by downzoning. Furthermore design controls were adopted. These gave planners much more discretionary authority over the production of space.⁴ In Winnipeg, however, there has been no real revision to the old city centre plan adopted in 1969.⁵ Although there has been some downzoning and aesthetic zoning their effect has been rather limited. Moreover, because of failing mobilization of the new middle class, moves for such reforms have come about externally, rather than internally.⁶

In contrast to Toronto and Vancouver we see that the power base of the new middle class in Winnipeg rests in various agencies of the federal and provincial governments. Unlike Toronto or Vancouver's new middle class Winnipeg's is dependent on outside agencies. As a result it has far less autonomy. For this reason alliances are much more important in realizing the agenda of the new middle class in Winnipeg.

Control of the Local State

Control of the local state by the new middle class in Canada can be traced back to the 1972 civic elections in Toronto and Vancouver. Crombie became mayor of Toronto and Phillips mayor of Vancouver. Unlike Crombie, however, Phillips rose to power as a leader of a middle class reform

party while Crombie's power base rested on the support of a loose coalition of reformist aldermen who obtained a majority on council during the 1972 election. Since then the new middle class has had strong and permanent representation on council. After Crombie, John Sewell followed as the next mayor. Sewell was followed by Art Eggleton in 1980. Although Eggleton was more pro-development than Sewell, he still worked within the middle class agenda established with the election of the reform council in 1972.

The situation in Vancouver has been much more turbulent. After Phillips vacated the mayor's chair Volrich, an arch opponent of middle class reforms, came to power. Policies on controlled growth and rapid transit were altered. Not until Mayor Harcourt came to power were the policies of controlled growth and decentralization re-established. Through an alliance of middle of the road (Team and the NDP) and leftist (Cope) parties the new middle class has been able to maintain its hegemony within the city.

Winnipeg has not fared so well. Despite attempts to launch a number of civic reform parties in the early and middle 70's, the new middle class has never been able to mount a strong challenge to development interests. During the 70's pro-suburban projects injurious to the downtown were still being regularly approved.⁷ Street life declined as a result⁸ and retail activity declined dramatically as one suburban shopping centre after another was opened.

Only recently has the new middle class been able to establish any sort of political presence. In the September 1981 edition of Winnipeg Magazine John Bernard, a reporter, said we were witnessing the

greening of city hall.⁹ Since that time the NDP party has re-aligned itself closer to the new middle class. Evidence seems to point in the direction of a new pro-urban power block on council. Because of the balance of social classes in Winnipeg's inner city this emerging power block does not necessarily signify the new middle class is gaining hegemony. Other class interests have had to be incorporated in pro-urban platforms as well (i.e. daycare, special school funding, low income housing).

Their small numbers and relative social and ideological underdevelopment are not the only reasons why the new middle class have failed to take control of the local state in Winnipeg. Political geography has played a decisive role as well. The restructuring of Winnipeg's metropolitan government into one unitary city in 1972 put the new middle class and pro-urban forces at a disadvantage. The old city of Winnipeg was amalgamated with its suburbs, eliminating one apparatus of the local state the new middle class might have been able to control. In this way the urban electorate was overwhelmed by suburban interests. Toronto and Vancouver did not face this restructuring. They were able to retain their status as separate political entities. This prevented them from being overwhelmed by their suburban counterparts. For, while the new middle class could form a majority of the electorate in the inner city, this was impossible for the entire metropolitan area.

Reorganization of metropolitan Winnipeg into a single political entity therefore precluded the possibility of creating an autonomous political structure in the inner city which could act as a countervailing

force. By contrast two-tiered government in Toronto and Vancouver made the political apparatus accessible to the new middle class. They were able to take over the local state apparatus of the inner city, because the non-middle class electorate they had to compete against was limited and in a state of decline. Unlike their counterparts in Winnipeg they did not have to do battle with the entire suburban constituency to make modifications in their built environment.

Control of the Local State and the Allocation of Resources

Control of the state leads naturally to a discussion of the allocation of resources. The contrast between Toronto/Vancouver and Winnipeg are striking. Millions of dollars in Toronto and Vancouver have been lavished on the construction of residential and commercial spaces for the new middle classes. Harbourfront in Toronto and False Creek in Vancouver show that millions of dollars in government funds have helped to transform the inner city landscape over the past 15 years. As well extensive beautification projects have been carried out in most inner city neighbourhoods in these two cities. While some of this has happened in Winnipeg it has been on a much smaller scale and the initiative has come from outside the city. Usually these programs were initiated by the federal or provincial governments, who came up with the ideas (i.e. NIP) and fiscal incentives. In the case of Toronto and Vancouver it was the other way around.

In terms of taxation and expenditures Toronto and Vancouver have been in a much more favourable position than Winnipeg. These two cities control most of the monies they raise and spend. However, with the absorption of the city of Winnipeg into Unicity this control was lost.

The suburbs gained control. This soon became apparent in the budget.

According to Walker and Kiernan (1982, p. 240):

When the suburban dominated ICEC gained control of the structure (Unicity) it was able to translate suburban priorities into those of council as a whole. As a result, the neglect of the core continued and perhaps intensified.

One example these authors give is the 77-78 budget. They found that 40.5% of the city's capital expenditures were being funnelled into infrastructure for suburban expansion. The city was spending 60% of its budget to add 3% to the city's housing stock while it was only spending 40% of its budget to conserve and maintain the remaining 97%. Similar discrepancies were found in the budget for recreation and culture. In Toronto and Vancouver the inner city had a clear and very substantial lead on the rest of the urban area. But in Winnipeg the inner city was seriously underfunded. While the inner city accounted for 36% of the city's population it only received 17.4% of the recreation and culture expenditures (Walker and Kiernan, p.240, 1982).

Winnipeg's investment scenario reads more like an American city where public and private investment flow outside the decaying inner city neighbourhoods to the affluent suburbs. Like Winnipeg these cities had no powerful new middle class to block the movement of funds outside the city. Bill Bunge (1971), a geographer, captured the essence of this process when he developed a typology for the inner city and suburban areas of Detroit in the early 70's.

The inner city was defined as the city of need. The suburbs were called the city of superfluity. He then mapped the flow of public investment. Bunge's maps showed that Detroit was being drained of

resources on a massive scale. He concluded that through neglect and the siphoning off of funds the political system had turned the inner city into a city of death. The privileged position of the suburbs rested on this exploitation. People condemned to live in the inner city therefore had their life chances seriously eroded by the space they were forced to inhabit.

Bunge accurately described the situation of the American urban underclass and a political situation wherein suburban interests dominated which allowed this condition to arise. Although Winnipeg's position is not nearly so bleak, it is obvious that since unicity has been formed Winnipeg has steadfastly ignored its inner city, both to the detriment of the new middle class and the lower classes.

This is certainly revealed in the fiction which has been produced about the inner city.¹⁰ For instance in Toronto books like The Intruders by Hugh Garner depict social tensions arising out of the displacement of the lower class by the middle class in Toronto. Although there are problems in the inner city the picture presented is not a hopeless one. By contrast recent fiction about Winnipeg's inner city paints quite a different picture. Beatrice Culleton's book April Raintree elucidates the culture of poverty that plagues the urban underclass in Winnipeg. She shows that there is a parallel between the city of death in Detroit and the inner city inhabited by the native Canadian in Winnipeg. The inner city is everything the Chicago school said it was, only worse. Unlike the upwardly mobile ethnic populations that populated Chicago's inner city in the 1920's, the new immigrants of the post war period which migrated to the American inner city and Winnipeg's were not upwardly

mobile working class people, rather, they were a downwardly mobile urban underclass.

Nevertheless, although similar the position of the urban underclass is not nearly as bad as that present in the United States. For one thing the urban underclass in Winnipeg are better organized. They have also been more successful in appealing to the provincial and federal levels for assistance. In part this has counteracted the regressive policies of many urban governments, reducing the extremes of poverty in the Canadian city when compared to the United States.

This has actually produced a common ground between the lower and middle classes in Winnipeg. In order to stem the flow of investment outwards to the suburbs both classes have lobbied hard to the federal and provincial governments for compensating measures.¹¹ In other cities where the new middle class are dominant such measures would have simply aided the new middle class at the expense of the lower income groups. But in Winnipeg it has been different. Resources have been more evenly spread among the various social classes residing in the inner city. What this suggests is that in order to counter the suburban bias of the local state in Winnipeg a permanent alliance between the working and urban middle classes will be necessary.

Because of Winnipeg's political culture the new middle class and the working class have not been able to look to the local state for support. The City of Winnipeg still champions outmoded slash and burn techniques of urban redevelopment. Recent Core Area Initiatives proposals show that even where the other levels of government have provided money for urban renewal the city has been unable to fashion a strategy

that seriously incorporates the philosophy of the new middle class or the needs of its lower class population. Controversies over renewal policies in the North of Logan area and the North Portage Central Park area show the city still thinks of renewal in suburban terms, and is still incapable of producing urban spaces which do not bear the mark of 1950's developer mentality and the space extensive suburban culture which informs it.¹²

If there is going to be an urban renaissance in Winnipeg's inner city the new urban culture is likely to be more populist and less elitist. Compared to the middle class cultures in Toronto and Vancouver it will also probably be less exclusionary. Also the public investment to launch this culture will probably come from the higher levels of government rather than the local state.¹³

For these reasons urban renewal has been more egalitarian in Winnipeg. The lower classes have been accommodated here more than they have been in either Toronto or Vancouver.

Control of the Local State and the Role of Planners

When power passed formally to the new middle class in Toronto and Vancouver two things happened to civic government. First, power was decentralized to community groups. Second, changes were made in the bureaucracy. The major change here was the expansion of the planning department. This came about as planners became the guardians and chief advisors of the new urban order. The adoption of new plans combined with more encompassing zoning regulations (Diagram Three) were the regulatory trapping of the new status and authority that planners now had. Being entrusted with the transformation of the built environment

planners gained much more discretionary authority. Since the power planners were given rested on the role they performed as the ideological bearers of the new urban ideology, their rising fortunes depended on control of the local state by the new middle class.

With regard to the built environment, they became the surrogate delegates of the new middle class within the bureaucracy. With the middle class takeover of the local state in Toronto and Vancouver planners became key players in developing strategies to control over-development. With the new powers granted to them they were able to take over many development functions which had previously been the sole preserve of capital.

Planners in Toronto and Vancouver had a power base and the necessary ideological baggage to carry out these duties. In Winnipeg neither existed. Its planning department was dominated by an old guard of first generation planners. What few second generation planners there were tended to be isolated as a result. According to one urban activist recently interviewed, planners involved in NIP have been effectively marginalised within the department ever since the program was begun over ten years ago.

Thus, looking at Diagram Three, it is possible to establish a positive correlation between the status of city planning departments and the power of the new middle class in each city. The evidence in Diagram Three certainly points to this.

When the new middle class came to power in Toronto and Vancouver their city planning departments were radically altered. Policy formation

became much more important as planners rather than developers took over many processes involved in the construction of the built environment. Departments in both cities expanded greatly. In Toronto, for instance, the budget for the planning department rose from over one million dollars in 1979 to seven million in 1983. In 1972 there were approximately 72 planners, with the victory of the reform movement this increased to 172 (Toronto Star, March 7, 1983).

Referring to Diagram Three again, we see that planners in Toronto and Vancouver received strong mandates to develop new plans for the inner city. The general thrust of these plans was to limit development. Alongside this, measures to increase the amount of street-oriented pedestrian space were brought in. At the same time efforts were made to limit automobile space: by reducing street widths, surface parking lots and the parking requirements for new office developments so as to encourage the use of public transport. Both cities set up development controls for their downtown areas. This gave planners a great deal of say in the design and layout of new developments. Meanwhile all the inner city neighbourhoods adjoining the downtown were downzoned. The most restrictive regulations appeared in Toronto. When Mayor Crombie came to power, a 45 foot ceiling on development was put in place until a new city centre plan was developed.

New Plans and Zoning as Expressions of Middle Class Hegemony

In contrast to the abstract planning documents which laid the city out into single use areas, the new plans in Toronto and Vancouver were much more contextual. They reflected the themes of conservation and controlled growth rather than redevelopment which had been the agenda

under which planning operated when capital was in control. So mixed-use zones were substituted for general single zone uses.

In 1976 new plans for the central areas of Toronto and Vancouver were passed which incorporated these new elements. Extensive downzoning occurred. Floor space ratios for the CBD were reduced from 12 to 8 in Toronto and from 12 to 9 in Vancouver. Aesthetic zoning became more prominent as development controls were established in many inner city areas as well.

While downzoning was essentially a defensive measure to limit the extent and intensity of development by capital, aesthetic zoning represented an offensive act by planners on behalf of the new middle class. It can be interpreted as an assertion of middle class hegemony over the built environment of the inner city.¹⁴ Here is an instance when middle class values stressing the liveable city take precedence over profit-making from the maximization of land development rights stressed by capital. With aesthetic zoning planners directly entered into the production process of space and were able to put the cost of this intervention into the production costs of capital. This insured that, in future, space constructed in the inner city would reflect the values of the new middle class. Also, the added cost of producing this environment indirectly aided middle-class displacement as high cost consumer spaces usually resulted from these regulations, making the inner city a more hostile commercial environment for the lower classes.

For the most part planners in Winnipeg remain within the first generation mold. Traffic planners determine what happens to the built environment in Winnipeg to a far greater extent than they do in Toronto

or Vancouver. Unsightly barriers (recently put along the mid-town bridge on Donald Street) have been successfully put up all over the inner city unopposed. Such action in either Toronto or Vancouver would have provoked an outcry although they probably would have been prevented by design controls already in place in these two cities. In Winnipeg, however, the city's most important intersection, Portage and Main, was barricaded to pedestrians, forcing them underground. At the same time inner city neighbourhoods have been regularly eaten up by ground level parking lots. Even in areas like Osborne Village, where the new middle class appear to be in control, the fact that sidewalks have been eaten away to scarcely more than a yard in width in places shows that traffic planners are really the ones in command.

Although there has been some downzoning and aesthetic zoning in Winnipeg, this was initiated by the federal government. Downzoning arose out of the NIP program. Federal officials refused to allocate money to the city unless it instituted some sort of downzoning. Eventually the city adopted this as standard practice for the inner city. Unlike Toronto or Vancouver, however, downzoning has been a long and gradual process. In many areas it is still incomplete, while this was accomplished a decade ago in Toronto and Vancouver.

Curiously enough lower class areas in Winnipeg were the first to be downzoned while gentrifying middle class areas in Fort Rouge and Wolseley were nearly the last. This contrasts with Toronto and Vancouver where the new middle class were the first to gain from these measures.¹⁵

A similar story emerges for aesthetic zoning as well. Acting on behalf of middle class entrepreneurs who had established the Old Market

Square Association in the mid 70's, the federal government offered funds to renovate Winnipeg's warehouse district. Funds were only available if the city designated the warehouse area as a preservation district. Reluctantly the city complied and Winnipeg instituted its first extensive development control area and aesthetic zoning made its debut.¹⁶

Pressures for a new city plan have been building. Again the federal and provincial governments have been the real movers behind this as well. Although it appears that Plan Winnipeg will eventually be passed by city council its ultimate usefulness will remain a moot point. The province claims that the city is not really interested in slowing suburban expansion and reviving the inner city. The province is probably correct. There is no strong middle class base in the inner city to pressure city council to look more favourably on urban issues. Significantly, nearly 10 years after Toronto and Vancouver passed new plans to control over-development of the inner city Winnipeg hasn't even managed to pass a plan which would prevent further under-development.

All these examples show that the new middle class does not control the production of the built environment in Winnipeg. Any gains made have come from urbanists and second generation planners in the federal and provincial governments. The weak position of the city planning department in Winnipeg is symptomatic of this. Although part of the reason for its lack of initiative lies with the planning department's arrested ideological development, the major reason still has to do with the economic and social under-development of the new middle class.

Even if city planners in Winnipeg had successfully made the transition to a second generation value system their ability to initiate

reform would have been limited without an adequate middle class power base. The fate of the planning department in Calgary is instructive on this point. Here planners led by a reforming director, attempted to control downtown development. A plan was produced which was promptly ignored. Developers and conservative members of city council then launched an attack on the city planning department. The director resigned and the regulatory say of the department over planning issues was reduced. Finally drastic staff reduction were made under the pretext of economizing city services.¹⁷

Non-State Expressions of Middle Class Power: Neighbourhood Associations

Community or neighbourhood associations are the other expression of middle class power. Since they have an impact on decision making they constitute an informal part of the local state. Some cities like Winnipeg have recognized these groups formally in the city charter and some concessions have been made to them in the decision-making process (i.e. Community Committees, and RAGS). With regard to the local state, however, the distinctive thing about these organizations is that they are populist and relatively autonomous. Depending on who controls them they can either function as a support group, interest group, or at times, even a countervailing force with the local state, impeding or expediting policies established by city council or the planning department.

This has produced contradictions within the new middle class. In Toronto, for instance, these associations played a key role in mobilizing the new middle class. However once control over the local state was obtained, the interests of these neighbourhood associations began to diverge from the formal planning apparatus established by the new middle

class. Magnussen (1982) found that once the local state secured the defense of an inner city neighbourhood against the threat of redevelopment a split often formed within the new middle class. Community organizations tended to disassociate themselves from the reformers. Having got what they wanted they were content with the status quo. Their concerns became less general and their politics more exclusionary.

Problems have appeared in Parkdale and Cabbagetown, where planners have had to resist pressure from middle class neighbourhood associations to exclude "undesireables". Since pluralism has been one of the general philosophical guidelines of the new urbanism, reflected in such things as mixed land uses and the integration of different income groups, a contradiction emerges here when this egalitarian aspect of the ideology comes into conflict with the aesthetic and elitist aspect of the same ideology put forward by more conservative elements of the middle class.¹⁸

Usually this takes place after the pioneering phase of middle class resettlement. Then the more conservative members of the new middle class take over. Unlike their predecessors this group has more of an eye on beautification projects which will increase property values and very little interest in the search for diversity which prompted the pioneer middle class urbanists to resettle in the first place. Heterogeneity and the mixing of social groups, which initially was a draw to middle class resettlement, now becomes an impediment. At this mature stage entrepreneurs know there is a market for urban middle class communities in the inner city. Community becomes a marketing concept, emptied of all content. To them it only exists as a built form to be reproduced and sold as the market dictates.¹⁹ David Lewis Stein

correctly noted how the new middle class in Toronto had succeeded in homogenizing the inner city, making two distinct neighbourhoods, Cabbagetown and the Annex look the same (Toronto Star, April 3, 1984).

Planners have responded to this. One result is that they have come into conflict with community groups when they became too self interested, threatening the notions of balance and heterogeneity which planners had developed an ideological stake in maintaining. Therefore, in their capacity as ideological guardians some city planners have sought to contain the self-interested actions of specific fractions of the new middle class which threaten the legitimacy of the new urbanism as a liberal and progressive force in urban renewal.

In the Parkdale area of Toronto, for example, planners have come into opposition with representatives of one middle class neighbourhood association. With the recent influx of the new middle class into Parkdale the community was divided into two fractions. In the North, near High Park, a conservative fraction had taken control. This group became intolerant of non-middle elements moving in and voiced strong opposition to the relocation of group homes into the area. To the South, a more tolerant view prevailed. The population was more diverse and here the new middle class had only started to gentrify the area. Because of this, little opposition developed over the same issue. Nolan, a planner for the city of Toronto, expressed the difference in these words: the new middle class in North Parkdale "is an emerging new right wing composed of nouveau riche urbanites".²⁰ Nolan's less than positive statement about this group gives an indication of the divergence which has developed between fractions of the new middle class within the local state as resettlement in the inner city matures.

The situation in Winnipeg is different. Although these conservative trends are emerging as the new middle class organizes into community associations, the negative effects have been checked. The responsibility for this lies with the lower classes. Because they are well organized they have been able to resist the exclusionary practices of the new middle class. Nevertheless, middle class community associations now seem to be a fixture in the inner city. They are beginning to assert themselves. Recent action in Fort Rouge and the Wolseley area indicate that they have developed the capacity to resist unwanted development.

What remains to be seen is whether these middle class groups will be able to co-operate with the well organized lower class communities. Unlike Toronto and Vancouver they are not going to disappear. The new middle class in Winnipeg is simply not strong enough to displace them and will eventually have to devise some strategy to accommodate them. The middle class may have to do this, if it is going to counter the strong suburban bias towards suburbia and capital the local state has. To do this, conservative and self interested stances taken by the new middle class will have to be toned down.

Yhetta Gold, a social worker, said this about one association:

....the guys who have been sleeping on the river bank have been there forever. The only reason why people are harassing them right now is that the Riverborne Development Association has become a very active group. And there have been a couple of things that happened because of the Riverborne Group that have been very positive, but a couple of things are very negative. They are striving to make that neighbourhood into a really uptight middle class community. Those who are the least bit non-conformist are becoming less and less comfortable in their own neighbourhood. And land values have gone out of sight. You can't afford to buy land in what used to be a relatively moderate area. Its working against the kind of counter-culture that is attempting to live there. Its gone against

interesting development because you can't afford to buy land.

(Gillies, Duncan, Thiessen, p. 29, 1983.)

Conclusion: The balance of power

Finally, this discussion of the political culture of the new middle class will be concluded by examining the balance of power as it now stands in each city. A brief look at Diagram Three shows that the new middle class is now emerging as a political force in Winnipeg. Unlike Toronto or Vancouver, however, its power base is more evident at the federal and provincial levels. The new middle class is only now beginning to mobilize within the local state. Their power is bound to increase, although²¹ it may be necessary for them to enter into a coalition with inner-city working class communities to counter suburban interests.

With regard to the relationship between the new middle class and capital in Winnipeg, special problems are posed. One reason is that capital is articulated differently in Winnipeg, not only is it based in a slow growth sector (agriculture), with a shrinking hinterland, it is also more oriented to manufacture. Consequently office and related headquarter functions tend to locate in the suburbs rather than the city centre. So problems of over-development are rare. They are more than overwhelmed by the issue of under-development and corporate abandonment.²² Of course this affects the new middle class, since they are service and professional oriented and so bound by the locational decisions of their clientele, of which corporations represent a large percentage. This has a greater tendency to suburbanize the new middle class than would otherwise be the case. Consequently the reaction by the new middle class to capital is much more ambivalent. Unlike Toronto and Vancouver there is

a need for corporate investment in the inner city to stabilize the real estate market.

By contrast the relationship between the new middle class and capital in Toronto and Vancouver is determined by the issue of over-development.²³ Here the solution for the new middle class was political. It mobilized and successfully took over the local state. By this means it was able to set controls and limits on what capital could do in the inner city. Capital has responded by appealing to higher levels of government to thwart or block anti-business measures put forward by the local state. Here capital has been more successful and the new middle class have had some setbacks.

In both cities, capital has been able to convince the provincial government to intervene on its behalf.²⁴ This has been most evident in Vancouver, where transportation has been taken out of the control of the local state. The B.C. government has even threatened to lift the city of Vancouver's charter if it did not become more co-operative with the province in redeveloping the False Creek Area.

The relationship between the new middle class and the lower classes in Toronto and Vancouver is not central to the politics in these two cities. The lower classes have been effectively marginalized for the most part. The big issues are being fought out between capital and the new middle class.

To conclude, the information provided in Diagram Three shows that the new middle class have become the dominant political force in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver. Since they successfully took over the

local state in the early 70's they have been able to allocate resources to projects that benefit them. Their control of the local state has also allowed them to regulate the built environment. Planners have benefitted from this. In these two cities they now play a prominent role in the reconstruction of the inner city.

Although the new middle class have suffered setbacks, because provincial government support has shifted more to capital and the suburbs in B.C. and Ontario the new middle class will nevertheless remain a force to contend with at the local level regardless of what happens. They are a mature social movement, so one political defeat does not necessarily spell their demise. The new middle class have a powerful enough social and ideological (not to mention economic) sub-structure in place to fall back upon to regroup. The challenge can therefore be taken up again at some later date when the conditions are more favourable.

The new middle class in Winnipeg are not so cushioned. They are only now emerging as a political force. They are in a much more fragile state in Winnipeg than in Toronto and Vancouver. The local state has never been their ally and the chances of gaining control of it are much more remote because of the way it was restructured in 1972. If the new middle class is ever to amount to anything in Winnipeg consideration will have to be given to alliances with the lower classes and more powerful coalitions with the federal and provincial governments.

Footnotes

1. The term local state was coined by Cynthia Cockburn in her book entitled The Local State, 1975, Lon. W. Magnusson in "Urban Politics and the Local State", Studies in Political Economy, Spring 85, provides a good critique of the concept.
2. Material-Institutional complex was borrowed from the geographic literature. Borchert and Horvath are two geographers who have used this concept extensively. To them it referred to the relation between transport technologies and geographic change. In this instance the concept is given more of a sociological slant. Thus it makes reference to technology, culture and geography, but also to the idea of institutional completeness often invoked by sociologists in the study of ethnic and various other sub-cultures.
3. The relationship between class power and spending priorities certainly comes out when one examines the kinds of infrastructure each class demands and the cost of its provision. Transit facilities often show this the best: who pays, who uses it, and who is served is determined. Thus in Toronto and Vancouver vast sums are now being spent or allocated for transportation improvements. Reflecting the class balance in these two cities the bulk of improvements will favour those needing accessibility to the core, making capital and the new middle class the major beneficiaries. Vancouver is now completing its LRT line at a cost of one billion dollars. Meanwhile Toronto is contemplating 2.5 billion dollars worth of transit improvements.
4. Val Werier is a good reference for Winnipeg on this issue, acting as the city's best known urbanist. Refer to the following articles in the Winnipeg Free Press: "Environment needs specific protection", March 30, 1985; "City bureaucrats tolerate ugly parking lots", February 23, 1985; "How to cover a sidewalk", October 3, 1984; "A hog trough across the Assiniboine River", November 3, 1984.
5. This plan was clearly auto oriented. It also stressed major redevelopment rather than conservation, high rises and mega-complexes over medium rise structures. This was an inner city built in capital's image rather than the new middle class's image of the liveable city. Refer to Downtown Winnipeg, by the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, April, 1969.
6. D. Pentland, a community planner for Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhood of City Centre/Fort Rouge, claimed that downzoning was initiated because of pressure from the federal government. Unless the city agreed to downzone areas considered for Neighbourhood Improvement Programs (initiated in 73) and RRAP federal money would not be forthcoming. Eventually downzoning was applied to most other areas in the inner city.
7. Politicians in Winnipeg ignored the warnings of planners. No restraints were put on the expansion of regional shopping centres

during the 70's as a result. Consequently three new regional shopping centres were built between 1974 and 1981, more than doubling the amount of retail space located in these centres. This ended Downtown Winnipeg's role as the major centre for the mass retail market in the city. Planners and politicians, not content with undermining the retail market for downtown, now proceeded to do the same for the office and hotel markets as well. Thus more first class hotel accomodation was constructed in the suburbs in the 1970's than in the city centre. Similarly the city allowed Winnipeg's first office park to be developed near Polo Park shopping centre in 1976. Here the city's first suburban (private) high rise office tower was built. Significantly, Fidelity Trust moved its headquarters from Portage and Main (approx.) to this high rise.

8. Not only were suburban projects undermining retail trade in the downtown as a whole, in addition the construction of two shopping centres downtown, splintered the remaining market and decimated street level pedestrian shopping. This increased the percentage of retail outlets controlled by capital and reduced the presence of independent retailers (some being of the new middle class) in the downtown. Pedestrian life quickly deteriorated under these circumstances. Major thoroughfares like Portage Avenue were emptied and people panicked as the street began to look like a new skid row: full of vacant shops and so called derelicts. Pedestrian patterns were thus altered in two ways: one, the streets were forsaken for internal malls controlled by capital; second, pedestrian traffic was splintered, with its direction re-oriented from East to West along Portage Avenue, to a North-South orientation along two parallel lines, through Winnipeg Square and Eaton Place. The decline which set in from these developments sparked attempts to redevelop North Portage, which led to the formation of Winnipeg's Core Area Initiatives.
9. In his article "The Greening of City Hall" in the September 1981 edition of Winnipeg Magazine, John Bernard noted that a new generation of reform politicians were finally making their debut in Winnipeg. Five councillors were identified and Bill Neville was identified as the leader of this group.
10. In the May 1985 issue of Books in Canada Sheri Posesarski gives an informative account of how literature about the annex area in Toronto reflects the socio-economic and cultural changes that have taken place: From a middle class area in decline full of bohemians to a neighbourhood almost fully gentrified, full of Yuppies.
11. Efforts to divert more funds into the inner city have paid off to a certain extent. This is why, in the face of massive disinvestment by capital, Winnipeg's physical and social environment has not deteriorated to the extent it has in many American cities. In large measure this is the result of the strong leadership provided by leaders of the inner city's working class and underclass, and the professionals aligned with them. Like the new middle class their lobbying has been more effective at the provincial than civic level. An example of the kind of leadership present in Winnipeg's inner

city can be gleaned by looking at Lionel Orlikow's article in the Winnipeg Free Press entitled "Inner city schools have special needs". Also it should not be forgotten that working class lobbying played a part in the creation of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative and the programs which were eventually generated out of it.

12. Refer to footnote 20, chapter three.
13. So far any significant inner city initiatives on behalf of the new middle class or the urban lower class have come from the federal and, more recently, with regard to the new middle class, the provincial government. Since the NDP came to power in 1981, the federal and provincial governments have formed the most powerful inner city lobby in the city's history. Of course since the P.C.'s came to power at the federal level, in 1984, this pro-urban coalition is no longer quite so powerful.

Historically the federal government has played an important role as urban advocate in cities with a weak new middle class. Magnasson claims that the effect of the Toronto experience on federal urban renewal programs is the main reason for this. Here middle class activists successfully fought redevelopment proposals initiated by the federal government. The federal government not only acquiesced to the new urban ideology, they adopted it. This can be seen in documents produced for the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs like H. Lash's "Planning in a Human Way" in 1976.

The federal government therefore became a key agent in the diffusion of the new urban sensibility, that first arose out of the middle class rebellion against capital in Toronto and Vancouver. Without fully realizing it the federal government became an agent for the new middle class, exporting the new urban culture far beyond areas where the social and economic base which would have allowed it to flourish were in place. By this means the ideology of the new middle class was amplified across the country, as it was transplanted into cities like Winnipeg, where there was no economic or social basis for the development of this kind of culture on its own.

Winnipeg's situation, however, was unique. This can be attributed to the role Lloyd Axworthy played in developments. Axworthy was closely associated with the transformation that took place in federal urban policy. He was an aid to Paul Hellyer, who was responsible for the white paper on housing that incorporated the new middle class ideology into housing and urban policy formation such as NIP and RRAP. By establishing the Institute of Urban Studies in Winnipeg, Axworthy set up an incubator for the second generation planners and urban advocacy in a city dominated by first generation values. In turn he was able to use his influence to extend pro-urban programs in Winnipeg long after they had been wound down in other cities.

Other than some agitation by the City Planning Department at the University of Manitoba, the Institute constituted the only real bastion of second generation values until the NDP was elected in

1981. The controversial tax study carried out by the Institute in 1985 testifies (refer to Artibise, City Magazine, May 1985, summer edition), that it still plays a strong role as a pro-urban lobby in a city dominated by suburban interests.

14. Richard Babcock in The Zoning Game, University of Wisconsin Press, London, 1966, provides a good historical background on the development of aesthetic zoning.
15. The antagonism felt by the city of Winnipeg to the new middle class is reflected informally within the bureaucracy as well as in the formal political arena of council politics. For example, Val Burke, a middle class community activist and former city planning student in the Fort Rouge neighbourhood, claimed that the city deliberately treats the neighbourhood in a shabby fashion. She mentioned that Osborne Village, the areas middle class strip for conspicuous consumption in Winnipeg, is one of the last areas to be cleaned up after the spring thaw. She also mentioned how the planning bureaucracy often obstructed new pedestrian oriented developments proposed, citing the difficulty the Magpie and Stump restaurant had in closing off an under-used lane so that patrons might sit outside.
16. Precedents for aesthetic zoning do exist in Winnipeg but their contexts make them a different matter altogether. The first case of aesthetic zoning in Winnipeg would probably have been measures instituted along Memorial Blvd. after the First World War. The second case would be Broadway Avenue in the mid 60's, when setbacks were instituted to ensure high quality design and construction. These two earlier attempts were initiated by the state and capital rather than the new middle class. The state wanted itself glorified in the production of an imposing roadway along Memorial while capital wanted to increase the value of property along Broadway by encouraging high quality designs for new buildings.

The warehouse district differed however. Not only was it a project sponsored by the new middle class, its purpose was different as well. Here the stress was on the conservation and preservation of existing structures rather than the production of an entirely new built environment. In addition, the focus was on the creation of an enclave of conspicuous consumption, with references like the Properties in Halifax, Granville Island and Gastown in Vancouver and Yorkville in Toronto touted as models of what the warehouse district could be like. Refer to Deborah Lyon and Robert Fenton's report The Development of Downtown Winnipeg: Historical Perspectives on Decline and Revitalization, published by the Institute of Urban Studies in 1984, for more information on past examples of aesthetic zoning in Winnipeg.

17. A report in the Calgary Herald July 23, 1983 noted that due to the recession city staff were being let go. However, while the city workforce was reduced by 4% the city planning department was reduced by 20%. Planners stated that the department was being gutted. The developer controlled city council was getting its revenge on planners who were perceived as trouble makers.

18. A number of articles in Back to the City, edited by Laska and Spain, Pergamar Press, N.Y., 1980, describe the stages of gentrification and the social changes that follow each stage. Some writers in the book like D. Hodge even discuss the threat to diversity gentrification poses to the new urban ideology. For Toronto these changes are documented and well commented on by Wallace Immen in "The Changing Face of Cabbagetown", Globe and Mail, September 15th, 1983.
19. Refer to Robert Ferguson's article "The Yuppies Take Downtown: Marketing Neighbourhoods for the New Middle Class", City Magazine, March 1985, Vol. 7, No. 2.
20. Refer to Toronto Real Estate News, January 15, 1983.
21. A recent article in the Winnipeg Free Press (June 2, 1985), "The Yuppie Industry", describes how slow the new middle class culture developed in Winnipeg compared to Toronto and Vancouver. The article goes on to explain how this is now changing and states this will have an impact on city planning in Winnipeg.
22. Winnipeg's economic base, its evolution, accounts for why under-development rather than over-development is the major problem in the inner city. The explanation centres around the shrinking relative size of Winnipeg's financial sector, the sector capital is most likely to locate in the downtown. Being based in the grain sector, it has been a slow growth industry, as well its hinterland has progressively shrunk with the rise of other cities. Finally Winnipeg's financial sector was never able to break free of central Canada. For more information on this topic refer to Gad's "Face to Face Linkages and Office Decentralization Potential: A Study of Toronto" in P. W. Daniels, ed. Spatial Patterns of Office Growth and Location (Chichester; Wiley); 1979; and J.R. Borchert's "Major Control Points in American Economic Geography" in the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 1978. For Winnipeg consult Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, Lorimer, Toronto, 1977; Bellan, Winnipeg's First Century: An Economic History, Winnipeg, Queenston House, 1978; Terence Fay, "Winnipeg and Minneapolis Bank Resources Compared 1876-1926" in the Urban History Review, Spring, 1985.
23. This clearly comes out in John Sewell's reports on urban affairs in Toronto, where he rails against over-development. For Toronto refer to these issues in the Globe and Mail: May 21, 1985, "On the Beginning of a new era"; May 10, 1985, "Bad Plans in Transit", May 11, 1984, "A Question of Values"; May 8, 1984, "Spadina's Revenge". Also refer to Salem Alaton's article "Keeping Toronto on the Right Track" in the Globe and Mail, November 12, 1983. Sewell also refers to this issue in Halifax in "playing it again", April 16, 1985; to Vancouver in "Old Fossil Creaking On", Globe and Mail April 8, 1985. Finally D. Ley gives an idea of the extent of over-development in Vancouver, saying that in the 1970's 180 million dollars a year, on average, was invested in downtown Vancouver. Hence, although downtown took up only 3% of the land area of the city it accounted for 36% of total investment in the city. Refer to D. Ley's article

"Downtown or the Suburbs? A Comparative Study of Two Vancouver Head Offices", in the Canadian Geographer, Spring 1985.

24. With the defeat of the P.C. government in the province of Ontario in 1985 the position of the provincial government towards the new middle class in the city might take a significant turn for the better.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

*The darkest corners of hell
are reserved for those
who in time of moral crises
maintain their neutrality.*

Dante

The Issue of Class and the City

Hopefully these past four chapters have shown that a class analysis of the new urbanism involves more than a simple proof. To review the definition of class for a moment, the concept of class employed in this thesis is a structuralist one; that is, the definition of class is rooted in the economy and the production process, hence the division of labour. In this thesis the relationship between urban revitalization and class, specifically the new middle class, has been the major focus.

Although the major hypothesis can be encompassed in one statement - that is, that there is a direct relationship between the rise of the new middle class the the revitalization of the inner city in Canada - this does not tell us enough. Many things remain unanswered. For instance, if this is so, then what is the new middle class precisely? As the complex definition given in the introduction reveals, categorical statements are not possible. The new middle class is composed of three elements (economic, ideological and political) and, with respect to the

city, the three elements or levels relate to the city in specific ways. There is room for variation in the development of the new middle class in each city therefore. If one element of the new middle class in a city is less developed than another, differences in urban renewal can be expected. However, because the definition of the new middle class is a structuralist one, every element does not have equal weight. Furthermore, they are also articulated. By articulation the notion of sequence is referred to. For example, the economic level is more important than the ideological, since the power of ideology to motivate change in the city is dependent upon the mobilization of economic resources. Similarly, in order for a class ideology to exist the economy must first (i.e. division of labour) create a class. Consequently the chapters in this thesis have been ordered in sequence, starting with the economic then going to the ideological, ending with the political level.

The economic base provides the foundation for discussing the new middle class and its relation to the city. So the economic level is the necessary beginning. But this is only the start of the analysis. Understanding the economic base of the new middle class only gives a partial glimpse of the way this class is composed with regard to the city. After ascertaining the economic base of the new middle class, its evolution in each city must be traced to see in which direction it develops and to see whether an ideological and political complement to this economic base generates a new middle class culture. For it is by this culture (which consists of the successful articulation of these three levels) that the new middle class becomes a class for itself in the city. Because of this the concept of class cannot be used as some magical key which will

open up the secrets of urban revitalization. Although there are similarities between the new middle class in each city they are not carbon copies of one another. So the concept of class is developed as an analytical tool to be used in studying inner city and not as a blanket categorization simply used to define something.

This is why the examination of the economic base is only a point of departure. The existence of an economic base which will support a strong new middle class does not automatically mean the new middle class will gain hegemony over the inner city. For although hegemony is dependent on the economic base, in the final instance, it is really determined by the ideological and political development of the new middle class. Only with these developments can the latent economic power of the new middle class be channelled into an active force to remold the city.

Nevertheless, even if the new middle class doesn't have hegemony it can still exert an effect. Each chapter shows that the development of the new middle class at either the economic, ideological or political levels will affect the city in a certain way. If, as in the case of Winnipeg, all the levels remain under-developed the middle class still will be able to modify the social and built environment of the city to a certain extent. Although diluted, the urban culture of the new middle class will leave traces of itself on the urban landscape.

In this way variations in inner city revitalization can be explained, in large measure, by the differences in the historical development of the new middle class in each city. The internal development of the new middle class (at the economic, ideological and political level), and the external

constraints placed upon its development by other classes residing in the inner city, provide most of the information on why some cities in Canada have experienced an urban renaissance while others have not, why Canadian cities have had more success renewing themselves than their counterparts in the United States, having the same economic base.

To show the relation between inner city revitalization and the new middle class, three case studies of middle class development were chosen. Toronto and Vancouver were picked because they both have a powerful and fully mature new middle class which has gained hegemony over the inner city. Winnipeg was chosen to contrast with these two cities. It was picked because it has one of the most underdeveloped and weak urban middle classes among Canada's major urban centres (i.e. cities with over 500,000 people).

Chapter Two: The economic level

Reviewing the foregoing, Chapter Two contained two major points. The first point was concerned with the economic base. The second point was concerned with displacement.

Toronto and Vancouver were shown to have fully developed post-industrial economies. In both cases the economic base was dominated by a strong and fast-growing office sector geared towards decision-making and the production of information and culture (i.e. forms of art and entertainment). This economic base was shown to be the prerequisite for the resettlement of the new middle class in the inner city. The economic reverberations of this resettlement were felt mainly in the consumer sphere however. The defining feature of this was the upgrading and expansion of urban space devoted to conspicuous consumption. This was

the beginning of the new urbanism. While the revitalization which accompanied this new urban culture was a positive feature of this resettlement a negative one, in the form of displacement, was a feature as well.

In Toronto and Vancouver displacement has been severe. Through displacement the new middle class has emerged as the dominant economic force in both inner cities. Meanwhile, in Winnipeg displacement has only begun. Up until the present the office sector in Winnipeg has not been able to support large scale resettlement of the inner city by the new middle class. As a result displacement is not a generalized phenomenon in Winnipeg's inner city. So there are few zones of conspicuous consumption in the inner city. Where they do exist their development has been pain-stakingly slow. To ensure their growth and success, senior levels of government have had to force feed developments (i.e. Osborne Village and the Warehouse District). Because there has been little displacement pressure generated by either capital or the new middle class, the class composition of Winnipeg's inner city is quite different from Toronto's or Vancouver's. No one class dominates in Winnipeg. Capital, the new middle class, and the working and underclasses each have strong representation. The allocation of funds to the various groups from the Winnipeg Core Area Initiatives shows this.

Chapter Three: The social and ideological level

In Chapter Three the point was made that the presence of a strong office sector in the inner city will not always generate a distinctive form of resettlement in the inner city by the new middle class. Unless the new middle class develops an identity for itself and this identity

is tied to living in the city, there is no guarantee that they will settle in the inner city. Since they have a great deal of disposable income there is nothing to prevent them from living in the country (exurbia) for instance. Nor is there any guarantee that they will develop distinctive social or settlement forms in the city which will distinguish them as belonging to a unique and identifiable cultural complex (the new urbanism), even if they move to the city. To ensure this an identity has to be forged. As indicated in the introductory chapter, this identity is not possible in the work sphere. It is only possible in the sphere of consumption - by developing common patterns of socialization and consumption.

Thus the focus in Chapter Three is on the ideological and social forces responsible for the forging of a distinctive middle class identity. These forces originate from a number of sources. Some from within the new middle class while others come from the outside.

The urban ideology of the new middle class was constructed out of a number of sub-cultures which developed from the growth of non-family social relationships in the 1960's and 70's. Of the four sub-cultures examined in this chapter three of the four (i.e. the gay, singles and elderly) were non-family, while the fourth, the ethnic population was the only family element. Two of the non-family sub-cultures (gays and singles) were generated largely within the middle classes during the counter culture. Unlike the singles and gay populations however, the elderly were a non-middle class component. With regard to the new urbanism their role was passive and complementary. Their presence gave weight to non-family issues of interest to the new middle class.

The ethnic population, is the real anomaly. The role it played was ideological (i.e. fashions and ways of doing things) rather than social (i.e. relationships between people, eg. family or non-family). That is, the new middle class borrowed ethnic customs but not their lifestyles or beliefs. The ethnic population provided the new middle class with a model of urban living which could be adapted to a non-familial lifestyle in the city. Thus ethnic foods and socializing in public forums (i.e. sidewalks, cafes and streetliving in the inner city itself) became anchors for the new conspicuous consumption that was to develop. The similarity of this new urban sensibility with the mores of the ethnic population made alliances possible, both in terms of politics and a potential market. Hence demands for the preservation and construction of urban spaces conducive to this form of consumption found support in ethnic and middle class communities inhabiting the inner city.

In terms of the new urban culture, the elderly and ethnic populations have played a passive role. They provided examples of urban living (ethnics) and support (elderly) for a new culture which was fundamentally shaped by the singles and gay populations.

Having large disposable incomes, the singles and gay sub-cultures best epitomize the new urban culture and provide the most accurate social and cultural models for the kind of new urban life developing. Both cultures were centred around non-family relations and focused on conspicuous consumption in the consumer enclaves that arose to serve them.

In this fashion the new middle class constructed an identity out of the notion of living in the city. Predominantly centred around non-family relations and the use of public space for conspicuous consumption,

a new consciousness of the city arose among the middle class, one which distinguished it from the mores of its suburban predecessors.

Thus stress put on non-family relations by the new urban culture distinguished the new middle class from the old one, which was traditionally suburban in its spatial orientation. Furthermore, the concentration on conspicuous consumption in the inner city distinguishes the new middle class from the urban working class which was excluded from the arena of conspicuous consumption, because it lacked disposable income, and by the fact that it looked for status by migration to the suburbs rather than remaining in the core. Finally the new middle class was distinguished from capital by its sentimentalization of history and by its appropriation of ethnic customs. Capital viewed such relics as obstacles to the development of the corporate city in the inner city. While the new middle class developed a "human scaled" approach to the reconstruction of the built environment, the scale of development that capital typically promoted centred around larger than life technological imperatives and profit maximization. In this way the preservation of old buildings or the conservation of streetscapes were irrelevant to capital while they were central to the new middle class.

By these means the new middle class developed an identity for itself which set it apart from other classes residing in the city, as well as the suburbs. The new urban culture it synthesized from the four sub-cultures studied in Chapter Three became the basis for a reconceptualization of the city and a reappraisal of the kind of built environment thought appropriate to it. A new social culture, centred around non-family relations and conspicuous consumption, and a related material one,

centered around preservation, nostalgia for urban forms of the past and a more "human scale" of development, became the social and ideological cement for the new middle class in the city. This new material and social culture give the new middle class an identity and a distinctive set of class interests in the inner city which set it apart from its compatriots in the suburbs and other classes residing in the inner city. Out of this culture a new agenda was set forward in civic politics and a new social and political movement lead by the new middle class emerged in the inner city.

In the case studies of Toronto and Vancouver, it was shown that a sophisticated inner city culture centered around non-familial relations and conspicuous consumption developed. In these two cities the new middle class has successfully framed an identity for itself which has set it apart from other classes, both socially and physically. In these cities to be a member of the new middle class is to be an urbanite. Here a clear rift between suburban and urban interests has developed. In Winnipeg this had not been the case. Compared to Toronto and Vancouver, Winnipeg's middle class still identify weakly with the inner city. Few singles or gay enclaves have developed and where they do exist they do not predominate. Efforts to promote street life and the desire to conserve and preserve buildings has not kindled the popular support among the middle classes as it has in Toronto and Vancouver. Again, successful ventures in this area have come more from the efforts of middle class ideologies in the senior levels of government than it has from the successful organization of the new middle class at the civic level.

Chapter Four: The political level

In Chapter Three the importance of an identity for the new middle class and the relation of the city to this was discussed. Without a means of distinguishing itself a class cannot emerge as a political force. Without an identity it is not possible to perceive what is or what isn't in one's interest. Without a set of class interests it is impossible to organize into political bodies since they depend on some notion of interest to mobilize people. So where there is a strong middle class identity there is likely to be strong political representation for the new middle class. However, having a well-defined sense of class interest does not guarantee self-realization. At this stage politics, not culture, is the instrumental mode the new middle class needs to develop if it is to realize its aspirations in the city.

Chapter Four examines the politicization of the new middle class by looking at the local state and autonomous organizations, like neighbourhood associations. Control of the local state by the new middle class and the creation of strong middle class neighbourhood associations are seen as evidence of middle class hegemony. The effects of middle class hegemony on the city are analyzed by looking at municipal expenditures and zoning changes. Evidence of control of the local state by the new middle class can be determined by gauging whether municipalities are subsidizing the cost of creating enclaves of conspicuous consumption. Control can also be gauged by examining whether there has been extensive downzoning or aesthetic zoning, since these two zoning practices are related to efforts by the new middle class to create a more "human scale" city and preserve the existing stock of buildings. In addition evidence of strong city planning departments, which have a fair degree of autonomy,

is another sign of hegemony since this part of the bureaucracy plays a large role in reconstructing the built environment for the new middle class.

Again, in the case studies Toronto and Vancouver were found to have strong political representation by the new middle class in all the areas discussed above while Winnipeg was found to have poor representation. The consequences of this are seen in the kinds of environments constructed in each city. In Winnipeg redevelopment is still characterized by excessive accommodation to the automobile rather than the creation of more humane spaces in the city. A 1950's development mentality still exists where, if the city is going to subsidize development, it is more likely to be capital rather than the new middle class. Thus in the 1970's city council spent millions subsidizing Trizec's project at Portage and Main while it gave little support to middle class attempts to redevelop and preserve areas like the Warehouse District or the Osborne Street Village area. Similarly there is less aesthetic zoning in Winnipeg's inner city and downzoning of most inner city areas was accomplished much later than it was in either Toronto or Vancouver. While Toronto and Vancouver have strong city planning departments, which have a fair amount of discretionary authority, Winnipeg has a weak planning department with little discretionary authority.

The Summation

Because the new middle class is well developed on all three levels in Toronto and Vancouver, they are the hegemonic power block of their inner cities. All the characteristics which confirm their dominance at each level are apparent when one looks at the inner city. Economically

the new middle class has successfully displaced the lower classes from the inner city. Socially and ideologically the new middle class have produced a high cost enclave of conspicuous consumption centred around non-familial relations. They have identified themselves as urbanites and protectors of the city from the homogenization and family centred values of suburbia. Politically the new middle class have taken control of city government and the bureaucracy in these two cities. Unable to control capital in the economic sphere they have nevertheless been able to use the local state to enforce their wishes on capital.

Even with the recession and some enforced accommodation to capital by the new middle class in Toronto and Vancouver, the development game is still being carried out with the rules devised for the liveable city by the new middle class. The qualitative improvements made to the built environments of Toronto and Vancouver show that there is indeed a strong relationship between revitalizing urban spaces and the rise of a new urban middle class. The fact that Winnipeg has been slow to carry out planning and development reforms pioneered in Toronto and Vancouver provides further proof of this relationship. Much of the relative degeneration of Winnipeg's inner city can therefore be related to the absence of a strong middle class. Here, as we have seen, the new middle class is under-developed at every level. Economically its office sector is not able to support a vigorous urban middle class. Until recently the problem of displacement in the inner city has had more to do with disinvestment than gentrification. Socially and ideologically familial and suburban values dominate the way the inner city is perceived. And, although Winnipeg's new middle class is now beginning to identify with the inner city in a stronger way, its identification is still much

weaker than it is in Toronto and Vancouver. Politically the new middle class in Winnipeg have not been able to capture control of the local state. Until recently their neighbourhood associations have been weak and ineffective. Most political gains have come as a result of intervention by senior levels of government at their behest. For these reasons the new middle class does not have hegemony over inner city politics in Winnipeg.

In conclusion the costs and benefits of urban renewal are understandable in class terms. In Toronto and Vancouver the new middle class has been the main beneficiary, the lower classes have been the losers. This poses a dilemma for planners interested in revitalizing the city, since, as we have seen, there is strong correlation between urban revitalization, middle class resettlement and the displacement of the poor. How are the negative and positive moments of the new urbanism to be reconciled? Winnipeg may prove to be an interesting case in this regard since the new middle class cannot go it alone here. Perhaps the right sort of compromises with the lower classes will be made which will enable all classes residing in the inner city to take advantage of the benefits of a revitalized city.

Concluding Discussion: Where we are at

The city has changed. A new agenda now governs the way we live in our cities and how we perceive them. A new urban ideology has appeared and a new social class has arisen to dominate the city through this ideology. City planners have played a key role in this transformation and it appears that they will continue to play a significant role in future changes.

What does this mean for planners? No all inclusive answer can be given although speculation is possible. Two things can be said without fear of contradiction. First, the role of city planning has changed with the new urbanism. With the changing class composition which accompanied the new urbanism more autonomy and discretionary authority was gained by the profession and this is likely to continue as the new urban culture further develops. Secondly the class alignment of the planning profession has changed as a result of this autonomy. As a formal profession, the practice of city planning has become tied up with the well-being of the new middle class in the inner city. Consequently the position of the city planner has become much more ambivalent.

Unlike first generation planners, who arose after world war two and concerned themselves with infrastructure and the servicing of new growth, the development of a second generation of planners added a number of new roles which were not entirely complementary. In the past, what we now term first generation practices, were straight forward. Single area zoning, and land development made planning appear as if it were a neutral bureaucratic function. Planners were bureaucrats. The consensus was that the promotion of growth was in the public interest. Essentially, by fulfilling this function planners became the servants of capital, especially development capital.

The seeds for change were planted by intellectuals concerned with planning and architecture in the late 50's and early 60's. A new breed of sociologists (i.e. Gans), urbanists (Jane Jacobs) and architects (Venturi) moved from the margins of planning to centre stage. Second generation planners, who came of age in the 1960's, incorporated this

ideology. So too did the nascent new middle class, who attended the same universities. A common ground was therefore created which later helped to produce a supportative middle class constituency for this new generation of planners, a constituency which was as much concerned with soft (social issues) as hard services (infrastructure). With this new role the class alignment of planners changed. Planning was re-oriented to the new middle classes and lower classes residing in the inner city. In contrast to first generation planners, the new generation was more politicized and more activist.

Second Generation Planners: The rise of the new middle class and the addition of two new planning roles

In terms of the political role of planners two new roles appeared. One role was that of agent for the new middle class, the other was as advocate. Both roles were related to the new urban ideology, complementary at first, but later becoming antagonistic as the new middle class became more conservative. This fracturing emerged out of the contradictions of the new urban ideology itself. For instance the role of advocate that planners performed in the late 60's and early 70's was tied very much into the pluralist perspective of the city that developed as a result of the counter-culture. This vision was that everyone has a right to the city. Mixing people of different classes was therefore more progressive than separating them into homogeneous suburban ghettos. Hence, in seeking this middle class liberal vision of the city, planners became general advocates of the lower classes in the inner city: since the realization of this ideology benefitted the lower classes as well as the new middle classes. Consequently, in Toronto and Vancouver significant alliances between the urban lower classes and the new middle classes

developed. Both were opposed to the unrestricted development of capital in the inner city, particularly over freeway construction which was an integral part of this development.

Later, in the mid to late 70's, when the new middle class successfully gained control of the local state, alliances with the lower classes against capital became less necessary. In fact as time went by association with the lower classes became more of a barrier to middle class expansion, threatening their investments in property and status. As the new middle class evolved into a property owning class the complementary ties they had had with the lower classes began to turn sour and become antagonistic. This influenced the planning profession and so splits appeared among second generation planners.

Instead of two role options for planners three now appeared. First there was the role of bureaucrat, typical of first generation planners. Generally this role benefitted capital the most. The second role was that of advocate. This role developed with the emergence of a second generation of planners. Here stress on the provision of soft services and the quality of life produced a new planning constituency which contained lower class as well as middle class elements. Finally, with middle class control of the local state, a new and third role appeared, that is as agent of the new middle class. This involved downgrading the egalitarian social elements of the new urbanism for those of conservation and preservation of the built environment. This change in emphasis naturally aided the emergent proprietary interests of the new middle class and, by its nature, increasingly excluded the lower classes. In this way the urban vision became much narrower. The advocate turned

into an agent of the new middle class by this means, and social justice began to take a back seat to aesthetics and the enhancement of property values. In cities with a well developed new middle class a third class realignment for planners often took place.

The Descent: From liberalism (mixing of classes) to conservatism (everyone knows their place and stays in it)

This trend seems to be the dominant one in Toronto and Vancouver. The new middle class has become less interested in redistributing the wealth and far less tolerant of lifestyles differing from its own, particularly when they affect property values. Recent outbursts by the new middle class against prostitutes (a traditional inner city working class occupation) in inner city neighbourhoods recently taken over by them is one manifestation of this. Not surprising the strongest reactions have occurred in Vancouver's West End and the area south of Bloor and east of Yonge Street in downtown Toronto.

Planners attempting to remain faithful to the liberal version of the new urbanism and the preservation of their advocacy role are increasingly meeting resistance from their middle-class power base. Planners interested in advocacy planning are therefore caught up in the contradiction of trying to serve their middle class power base and, at the same time, trying to realize the egalitarian vision of the new urbanism. Again, in Toronto another example shows just how difficult this is becoming.

In Parkdale, a neighbourhood in the West End of Toronto, planners have been forced to oppose the middle class neighbourhood association. In their role as advocates for the retention of lower class living

space, in the form of single room accomodation, has been given priority over middle class concerns of conservation or the preservation and the upgrading of the built environment. Planners may even relax zoning and building code restrictions to allow this, an unusual move since second generation planners have traditionally opposed fewer restrictions because they tended to serve capital and threatened the new middle class.

As the new middle classes turn from renters into home owners this tendency can be expected to continue. Even apartment districts are not immune, as condominium conversion now allows ownership rights in multiple unit dwellings. This will not only affect the lower classes, lower income fractions of the new middle class will also be adversely affected, groups such as artist and students. The more tolerant and progressive elements of the new middle class will therefore be undermined as well as the lower class population base which supports the advocate planner. It remains to be seen whether advocate planners can modify these discouraging population shifts and preserve enough of a progressive electoral base. If Toronto and Vancouver are signposts the future may not be too bright. Preservation and the production of low income housing units have proven too costly for municipalities to handle, especially with the withdrawal of support by senior levels of government.

The Costs and Benefits of the New Urbanism: Can planners have their cake and eat it too

The answer to this question is probably not. Historic upgrading and the renewed emphasis on street life are probably the most innovative or, at least progressive, aspects of the new urbanism, so far as planning is concerned. Unfortunately, undue emphasis on the upgrading of properties has been the usual result. For the most part the spaces conserved

or produced out of this ideology are high cost consumer spaces and inevitably displacement occurs or some gentrifying homogenization results because of rental pressures produced. Furthermore the people displaced tend to be forced out to outlying locations or suburban communities. In terms of time, transportation costs and accessibility to centralized services displacement adds a heavy burden on to the shoulders of those who can least afford it.

Planners have attempted to reduce the social costs of this upgrading by intervening in the market place, exacting concessions from developers in order to counter the negative externalities produced. Attempts have been made to set aside land and to construct homes for low income urbanites in Toronto and Vancouver. But, as stated before, the cost has been too high and the amount of money available too low to make any appreciable difference. Market pressures have simply been too strong for planners to counter in any meaningful way. Intervention came too late. In Winnipeg, however, there is more room for hope. Upgrading has only just begun so the cost of intervening in the land and housing market of the inner city is not yet too high. The dilemma then is whether planners and politicians are willing to slow down the upgrading of inner city properties in the short run, so that a more balanced population in the inner city be maintained. It is a hard choice. In cities like Winnipeg, where middle class investment has been slow in coming, planners and politicians may be loath to do anything which will impede this investment for the sake of a better class balance and a fairer distribution of the positive features of the new urbanism.

Free Will or Pre-Determination: Two direction for urban renewal by the new middle class

Winnipeg and Toronto (Vancouver as well) provide two examples of how the inner city has been transformed by the new middle class. First, the Winnipeg scenario involves a new coalition, one where the new middle class more closely aligns itself with the urban working class and the urban underclass in the inner city. In Winnipeg the lower classes in the inner city have been shown to be every bit as powerful as the new middle class. In fact their leadership has proven to be more effective than any the new middle class has mustered so far. If the new middle class is going to successfully launch its vision of the city it will need the assistance of the urban lower classes. Even if the alliance is only one of convenience, the organizing power of the lower classes in Winnipeg is likely to ensure that this alliance will be no transitory affair, as it was in Toronto and Vancouver. Here the class makeup and organization of the inner city gives much more room for advocacy planning to flourish. The evolution of events, with the establishment of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, for instance, certainly gives strong support to this contention. It has moved away from being a political pork barrel to become a program which has populist appeal to a broad array of groups from various classes. Unlike Toronto or Vancouver the lower classes in Winnipeg have had their imprint on the way the program and the way the inner city is being developed as a result.

The second example of middle class renewal, the one applicable to Toronto and Vancouver, provides a scenario of renewal where the class base is much narrower, rather than broader, more exclusive, rather than inclusive, where, as a result, the space for advocate planners has

shrunk, rather than expanded. The direction taken by class alliances has also moved upwards, not downwards. After initially allying with the lower classes in Toronto and Vancouver the new middle class moved closer to capital once it gained control of the local state. This movement is increasingly forcing planners to act as agents of the new middle class rather than as advocates. Capital, having compromised with the new middle class sensibility, is no longer the evil force which once threatened the vision of the city that planners and the new middle class have. Over time capital has become a partner with the new middle class (even in Winnipeg, as witness North Portage, in reshaping the built environment). Meanwhile the lower classes have been alienated. Now they are a barrier to further investment by the middle class, not the allies the new middle class once united with to preserve inner city space from the ravages of large scale development sponsored by capital.

Hence the future of the advocate planner in the inner cities of Toronto and Vancouver does not look too rosy. Although the fight to make the inner city a more liveable environment seems to have been won, the question of for whom comes increasingly to the forefront. Some erstwhile reformers, such as John Sewell, have stated that a new progressive alliance will take up where the old progressive reform movement left off. Only, it was stated (in the Globe and Mail, January 4, 1985), the new centre would revolve around broad social issues, issues relating less to the city per se than social problems pertaining to society as a whole. Tacitly, in a way, this can be interpreted as a confession by reformers that the battle for space in the inner city has been lost by low income groups and that it is time to regroup around a new focus where there is better chance for success. In this new situation there

is little room for advocacy planning as the planning domain is fundamentally a spatial one and one, which, for the most part, has taken place at the civic level. These new struggles are not focussed around city government, they are centred around the provinces and the federal government. In turn they are a-spatial in emphasis and so beyond the range of most city planning practices, so far as professional activity is concerned. The only effective roles left to planners in these circumstances will be that of bureaucrat or agent of the new middle class.

In Winnipeg, because of the way class alliances are shifting a strong role for the advocate planner is still a possibility. Again the agenda for planners brings us full circle, back to the issue of economic base and the class structure of the inner city. Both these factors strongly circumscribe what the chances for reviving our inner cities are and the role planners will play in this. This does not mean that cities and planners are the helpless victims of trends. There are still choices, but these choices come at a price. For the city the price is the high economic cost of altering a pattern of development once it is established. For the planner it is a matter of will and sacrifice.

Bibliography

- Artibise, A. "An Urban Economy: Patterns of Economic Change in Winnipeg". Prairie Forum. 1, 1976.
- Babcock, R. The Zoning Game. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976.
- Bellan R. Winnipeg's First Century: An Economic History. Winnipeg: Queenston Press, 1978.
- Berry, B. "Recent Trends in Urbanization" in Cities in Transition. ed. Sytohoff; Moordhoff. Rockville, Maryland, Nato Advanced Institute Series, 1981.
- Bettinson, D. The Politics of Canadian Urban Development. Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1975.
- Bourne & Hitcock (eds.). Urban Housing Markets: Recent Directions in Policy. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Bradbury, Downs, Small. Urban Decline: And the Future of American Cities. Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institute, 1982.
- Brown, Burke. The Canadian Inner City 1971 to 1976: A Statistical Handbook. Ottawa, CMHC, 1979.
- Brownstone, Plunkett. Metropolitan Winnipeg: Politics and Reform of Local Government. Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1983.
- Bunge W. Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution. Cambridge, Mass., General Learning Press, 1971.
- Carlson, D. Revitalizing North American Neighbourhoods: A Comparison of Canadian and American Programs for Neighbourhood Preservation and Housing Rehabilitation. Washington, D.C., HUD, 1978.
- Castells, M. The City and the Grassroots. Berkley, University of California Press, 1983.
- Castells, M. The Urban Question. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977.
- Chardeci, . Theory of the New Middle Class. London, NLR, 1976.
- Cockburn, C. The Local State. London, Pluto Press, 1977.
- Cox, H. The Secular City. New York, McMillan, 1965.
- Cullen, J. and Knox, P. "The Triumph of the Eunich" Planners, Urban Managers, and the Suppression of Political Opposition", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 2, December 1981.
- Cullerton, B. In Search of April Raintree, Winnipeg, Pemmican Press, 1983.

- Davidoff, P. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" in Journal of the Association of American Planners, November 1965.
- Ehrenreich, B.J. "The Professional-Managerial Class". Radical American. Vol. No. 2 & 3, 1977.
- Faludi, A. A Reader in Planning Theory. Oxford: Pergaman Press, 1973.
- Fava, Gist. Urban Sociology. New York: ^MCroxwell, 1964.
- Ferguson, R. Neighbourhood Change: A Theoretical Interpretation of Three Inner City Neighbourhoods in Toronto. MCP Thesis, University of Manitoba, February 1984.
- Firey, W. "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables". American Journal of Sociology. 10, 1945.
- Firth, Sophia. The Urbanization of Sophia Firth. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates 1974.
- Fischer, C. The Urban Experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.
- Gans, H. The Urban Villagers. New York: Free Press, 1962.
- Garner, H. The Intruders. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.
- Gerecke, K. "The History of Canadian City Planning". City Magazine. Vol. 2, No. 2 & 3, Summer 1976.
- Giddens, A. The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies. London, Hutchinson, 1973.
- Gilles, Duncan, Thiessen. Our Place. Winnipeg: unpublished, 1983.
- Goodman, P. After the Planners. London: Penguin, 1972.
- Gutstein, D. Vancouver LTD. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1975.
- Habitat. Vol. 25, No. 1, 1982.
- Hardwick^k, W. Vancouver. Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan, 1974.
- Hartman, C. "A Comment on Neighbourhood Revitalization and Displacement: A Review of Evidence, Journal of the American Association of Planners (JAPA). Vol. 45, No. 4, October, 1979.
- Hartman, C. The Transformations of San Francisco. Totoua, N.J.: Rowan & Allanheld, 1984.
- Harvey, D. Social Justice and the City. New York: Arnold, 1973.
- Jacobs, Jane. The Life and Death of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, 1961.

- Jencks, C. Modern Movements in Architecture. New York, Anchor Books, 1973.
- Johnson, F. Core Area Report. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1979.
- Lampogani, V. Architecture and City Planning in the Twentieth Century. New York, Van Norstrand, 1985.
- Laing, M. The City: Pattern of Domination and Conflict. eds. Eliot, McCrane. New York, St. Martins Press, 1982.
- Laska, B., Spain, D. Back to the City. New York, Pergomar Press, 1980.
- Lefebvre, H. Everyday Life in the Modern World. London: Rabinovitch, 1971.
- Ley, D. "Inner City Revitalization in Vancouver". Canadian Geographer. Vol. 25, No. 2, 1981.
- Ley D. & Mercer. "Locational Conflict and the Politics of Consumption". Economic Geography. No. 56, 1980.
- Ley, D. "A New Ideology of Livability", Annals of the Association of American Geographers. Vol. 70, No. 2, 1980.
- Lorimer, J. The Developers. Toronto: Janes Lorimer Co., 1978.
- Lorimer, J. A Citizen's Guide to City Politics. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1972.
- Lynch, K. A Theory of Good City Form. London: MIT Press, 1981.
- Lynch, K. The Image of the City. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1960.
- Magnusson and Scanton. City Politics in Canada. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Mandel, E. Late Capitalism. London: New Left Books, 1975.
- Molotch, H. "The City as a Growth Machine", American Journal of Sociology, No. 82, 1976,
- McClemore, Aass, Keilhofer. The Changing Canadian Inner city. Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975.
- Neil, S. "Gentrification and Uneven Development", Economic Geographer, Vol. 58, No. 2, April 1982.
- Pickvance, C. G. Urban Sociology: Critical Essays. London: Tavistock, 1976.
- Poulantzas, N. Classes in Contemporary Society. London: New Left Books 1976.

- Rea, J. E. "Political Parties and Civic Power: Winnipeg 1919-1975, in The Usable Urban Past: Politics and Planning in the Canadian City. eds. Artibise and Stelter, Toronto: MacMillan, 1979.
- Saunders, P. Social Theory and the Urban Question. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981.
- Simpson, C. SOHO. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Smith, M. The City and Social Theory. New York: St. Martins Press, 1979.
- Solomon, A. P. (ed.) The Prospective City. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1980.
- Sternlieb and Hughes, J. "The Uncertain Future of the Central City", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 4, June 1983.
- Stone, L. Urban Development in Canada. Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1976.
- Sumka, H. "Neighbourhood Revitalization and Displacement" JAPA, Vol. 45, No. 4, October 1979.
- Thompson, E. P. The Making of the English Working Class. Middlesex: Penguin, 1963.
- Veblen, T. A Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: MacMillan, 1917.
- Venturi, R. Learning from Los Vegas. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1977.
- Walker, D. The Great Winnipeg Dream. Ottawa: Mosaic, Press, 1979.
- Walker and Kiernan. "Winnipeg" (eds.) Magnusson, W. & Sancton, A., City Politics in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Whyte, W. The Organizational Man. New York: Doubleday, 1957.
- Wirth, L. "Urbanism as a Way of Life", American Journal of Sociology, 44, 1938.
- Yashu, Man. From Court to Capital. By P. Wheatley and See T., London: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Zukin. "Loft Living as 'historic compromise' in the Urban Core", International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1982.