REACTING TO ACTIONS: EXPLORING HOW RESIDENTS EVALUATE THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS

BY

JINO DISTASIO

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in
Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

This research used a mixed-method strategy to examine five neighbourhood resident-groups. A housing-oriented approach assessed for differences in how each group evaluated their neighbourhoods. Specifically, five areas of inquiry were examined: resident confidence; neighbourhood perception; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities.

A comprehensive survey of sixteen neighbourhoods (n= 574), provided the initial foundation from which to build an understanding of the motivation for housing rehabilitation, while also determining the factors that contribute to neighbourhood stability. Subsequently, five focus group sessions and a self-directed photography exercise were conducted to provide a qualitative perspective. Ultimately, a case study of an older neighbourhood (Riverview) was used to converge the various analysis techniques into a single discussion.

The case study identified variables that influence the evaluation of the neighbourhood. Confidence was shown to be important in the evaluation process, and thus increasing confidence among residents creates the conditions necessary for leveraging further renovation, while strengthening the housing market. A conclusion is that Riverview contains a significant number of residents who are committed to preserving not only the built environment, but also the past and the memories people hold of place. The case study revealed the importance of story telling and understanding "soul" in the neighbourhood milieu.

Significant differences were observed among the resident-groups, corresponding closely to neighbourhood condition. It was concluded that the most positive residents were from neighbourhoods experiencing little signs of decline, while less favorable evaluations emerged from residents in blighted areas. A critical finding was that the Rehabilitation Area Resident Group is most likely to be influenced by the actions of other residents. This was important as increasing renovation activity in declining neighbourhoods may boost confidence, while triggering a corresponding rise in the housing market. A related conclusion was that the Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group is significantly more confident, and very likely to invest in substantial renovations.

The overall conclusion was that neighbourhoods need a mix of people and activities to sustain long term stability. Furthermore, ensuring that adequate diversity exists (social and economic) is paramount to neighbourhood sustainability. This comes from the willingness of residents to invest in the repairs needed, and through the sharing of stories and experiences about what makes particular places great. In short, people must engage the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood must engage them.

Dedication

To my family, Dayna, Nico, and Dante, this work is entirely for you. Without your love, support and smiling faces, I would not have endured the long road. I owe everything to each of you. In particular, to my amazing wife Dayna, you have always believed in me and inspired me throughout our time together, without you, I would not have succeeded.

To my father, who did not see this work completed, I remain awestruck by your hard work throughout life, you leave me a legacy that I will cherish and never forget. To my mother, you helped through many times and gave me perspective on the importance of family... "see you for Sunday dinner!"

To Kenneth Nelson, brother-in-law, your memory will not fade nor be forgotten. I will miss golfing together and your words "I just missed it." To Donny Watkins, your memory remains with me forever, you were my best friend and inspired me to learn. I miss you and wish you could have shared in this day.

Finally, to Coaches Brian Dobie and Paul Normandeau, you taught me three important life lessons that I have never lost sight of. First, never walk across the goal line, always run. Second, never give up, no matter what the score is, give your best until the final whistle and hold you head up proud. Third, always own the forth quarter and good things are bound to happen. I keep these three points close and reflected on them many times during this long process. To both of you, I sprinted across the line and owned the final quarter and gave all I had!

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Preface

In the late 1970s, the first home I lived in was demolished. It was located on a street that today is littered with rooming houses, riddled with crime, and is routinely referred to as "murder's half-acre" by local media. Regardless of the decline of my old neighbourhood, the home that once stood on the corner of Spence and Notre Dame remains part of my being, and something I am attached to . . . if only in spirit.

In that first home, many years were spent sharing the space with extended family who arrived from overseas. Like so many other immigrants, the first step in a new country involved being supported by relatives – help with a place to stay, learning the customs, and finding work. This ensured that people became established, and were able to raise the money necessary to move into a house of their own.

During the 1970s, most of us left the *old neighbourhood* but returned, for many years, on weekends to shop in the old corner stores. As a small child, I'd run through those streets and lanes without fear, without concern. As my parents shopped in nearby ethnic grocery stores, I played, never thinking about safety nor being concerned about the creeping blight that began to engulf the area – house by house, and store by store.

Today, young students at the nearby University of Winnipeg are afraid to walk down the street, and those who do so are routinely harassed or accosted by pan-handlers and the like. There is no doubt that neighbourhoods change over time, and homes, much like people, grow old and tired, and need greater assistance.

It is in these ageing neighbourhoods that people can play a vital role in contributing to the direction an area takes. Street by street, and home by home, what we do becomes important to the ultimate fate of these neighbourhoods. Perhaps many of us who left abruptly in the 1970s contributed to this pervasive decline that is now evident. As our families became established and accumulated wealth, we left in pursuit of *better places*, far from the sharing of bathrooms, and into new homes to raise growing families. This process seems likened to growing up or outgrowing something from another era that has long since

become tarnished with age. Regardless of the underlying reasons or excuses, too many of us left, while not enough remained, nor bothered to return, even on the occasional weekend to shop or meet with old friends.

It has been more than thirty years since my family abandoned the "inner city" and moved to a new neighbourhood where the types of homes are much the same but the paths taken are markedly different. It is this issue that has always played a role in my thinking about the city, yet it remains difficult for me to fully understand, and accept, why these two neighbourhoods evolved so differently.

The years spent where I live now have shaped me immeasurably in terms of what I am trying to understand in this research endeavor: that is, what makes parts of the city develop differently, and what are some of the elements that contribute to how we feel about where we live. Perhaps this research is simply trying to answer the question: *Why do some neighbourhoods decline so drastically while others remain stable and thriving places?* To understand the pretext to this thought, it is important to give context about how the events noted above contributed to my desire to better understand the changing dynamics of the city.

In my present neighbourhood (and where I have spent the majority of my life), there seems to be a spirit embodied in the streets and homes. I cannot say what this spirit is or why it is, but regardless, there is something about this neighbourhood that has bound many of us to it, while attracting others back who once left. Growing up, I listened intently to the stories told to me by area residents. As a young paperboy, I delivered to just about every house in the neighbourhood and, along the way, I was able to spend time with people– mostly warming up on cold winter days – listening to embellished stories about their lives and the neighbourhood as I sipped hot chocolate and thawed my toes.

Many talked about the flood in the 1950s. Some people would point out where the water levels rose or what they were doing when the evacuation notices were delivered. Others talked about the old swimming holes or the "monkey trails" along the river where they would spend their summers under a canopy of majestic elms. There was much nostalgia – remembering when movies, at the now vacant Park Theater, were pennies, or how the stores changed over time. I was told there were jewellers, butchers, shoemakers and

others who plied their trades along Osborne Street.

Some of my favourite stories were of the electric streetcars that ran along Osborne. Many seniors told me how they rode the cars to various parts of the city or how they occasionally stole a ride to get downtown. One senior told me, at the age of seven, he road the streetcars to the old race track at Polo Park and won $4.00 betting on the daily double; he said he liked the long shots, and had a feeling that day. Another story was from a friend who as a child, "ran numbers" for a man who went by the name of Stanley Z. He worked out of a speakeasy on Osborne where they sold "lottery tickets" in which people would bet on the last four numbers of the announced attendance at football games. These are the stories that give places an identity and a soul. They are the stuff that makes anonymous places into our places.

There are two particular stories that sparked my curiosity and contributed greatly to the present research. The first was a discussion with a neighbour who told me about an elderly man who knocked on his door one summer day. The man explained that his father had built the house in the early 1900s, and that he himself lived there for many years before eventually moving. He asked if it would be all right for him to show the home to his daughter who had never seen the place, nor visited the neighbourhood, but had just arrived from the west and was inquiring about her past.

The next day the man arrived with his daughter and he took her through the home explaining where he played and how the family spent their days. He showed her his childhood bedroom and even where the coal chute was. He also showed her where he would hide under the front porch, a place where I too hid many times as a small child. In the end, there were many tears shed but perhaps it was this old man's way of trying to ensure that his daughter knew of his legacy and where he came from.

Regardless of the many changes to the home's physical appearance, its spirit had endured, and if only for a fleeting moment, this man and daughter shared and connected with something that cannot be described but has transcended the many years and generations who have lived in this same home. It was unexplainable, but moving how this man connected with the home and tried to pass this onto his daughter who may also someday show this place to

her children and share something about her father and his past.

The second story refers to a conversation I had at a friend's wedding. My friend's uncle, a successful doctor who moved to the United States, had grown up in my neighbourhood. When I mentioned this to him, his face instantly glowed and the stories poured out; it was like we were somehow connected by the fact we lived in the same area and shared some mutual friends (although generations apart). He went on to tell about how, just the other day, he road his bike through the old neighbourhood and was so moved by how things had remained the same. He said he was able to relive moments from his youth on every street he rode through. But he added that when he turned the corner to pass "his" street and "his" house, he was overcome by emotion.

In a strange twist of fate, it began to rain as he stopped the bike in front of the home and, momentarily, he relived his childhood and youth through a flood of fond recollections. He said he wanted nothing more than to walk through that front door, like he did so many times as a child, and be greeted by his mother and family, but the tears in his eyes overcame him, and he was concerned he'd frighten the new occupants.

These stories are endearing and remind me that we cannot take away that place we hold so fondly in our very being: our childhood home and the neighbourhoods of our youth. But these stories only scratch the surface of what has led me down this road, as not all neighbourhoods remain enshrined in such a pristine state. Many fall on hard times and become something that they should never have been: a desolate place where lives are not about stories but about struggle and despair. Why do these neighbourhoods follow this path? Why did so many of us leave the inner city and migrate to the emerging suburbs? The old storefronts and streets remain in the inner city. Names have changed as have the uses, yet in the end, do we have anyone else to blame but ourselves for the adverse changes plaguing the inner city?

I am continually reminded of my enduring connection to the neighbourhood in which I currently live. One of the strongest traits is that people remain, as do many of their children. This has forged many inter-generational connections and created a village-like atmosphere. When I grew up, people knew who I was because of my family; they knew my brothers or parents. In

either case, I was recognized. This was a good feeling and it created rootedness in the neighbourhood that is not easily replicated, nor is it something born on an architect's table. More so, this neighbourhood is about the intangible feelings that have been nurtured over time, and cultivated by persistence. They are not planned or designed by ambitious students or scholars looking for the next Garden City.

In the end, the winding pathway to the present research has led me down two roads that intersect: one blessed with the positive side of urban growth, and a second lined with broken homes and forgotten dreams. I cannot explain the latter but it eats away at my mind. Why did things have to go so wrong and did I, in fact, contribute to this blight in some indirect way?

The observational lens through which I have applied all my thinking and soul searching about the city is based on my experiences in a great and unique neighbourhood. Whether this lens has made me nearsighted to the blurred distance of neighbourhood change remains unclear. My intention is to continue to search for a reasonable explanation as to why certain neighbourhoods become endeared in our hearts and live forever, while others become those areas which we try our hardest to forget – either when we lived there or when we now pass through, instinctively locking the car doors. I cannot say that the present research will get me to this point but I do hope that I can lead others to consider some of my concerns, thoughts and observations. Most important, we must continue to ask questions. It is too bad that I will never be able to go back to that first home so I too can share something with my family, but I do still have the stories that will remain and be passed on.

Chapter One
Introduction to the Study

1.0 Introduction

Over the last fifty years, urban neighbourhoods across Canada have experienced varying degrees of change. Similarly, within individual cities, the extent of change can be characterized as uneven, with some neighbourhoods exhibiting more pronounced signs of decline while other areas have thrived. The severity and pace of change have largely been mitigated through the level of maintenance undertaken to individual homes and to the neighbourhood's infrastructure. In some instances, residents have completely lost faith, and the evidence of housing deterioration has become far more prevalent, engulfing some neighbourhoods in a sea of despair.

In response to the worsening conditions that emerged in the 1970s, and onward, Federal government initiatives such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) were designed to counteract the severity and scope of decline. These rehabilitative measures were considered largely *reactive* as they dealt with the outcome of decline as opposed to being *proactive* by attempting to ensure or maintain stability in areas not yet marred by deterioration. Regardless of the level of intervention and maintenance, some neighbourhoods have declined substantially over the last thirty years while others have remained stable and desirable.

This research explores the urban neighbourhood using a housing-oriented approach that emphasizes the significance of rehabilitation activity as a stabilizing factor. Within this context, homeowners become the central subject,

and through their words and actions, this research seeks to develop a better understanding of why certain neighbourhoods remain stable or improve, while others experience the adverse effects of deterioration.

Using neighbourhood perception variables as a foundation, this study intends to specifically assess whether a resident's level of confidence contributes to a more positive evaluation of the area. Increased confidence is also postulated to lead to a greater likelihood that renovation and improvements will take place, thereby helping to rehabilitate areas presently in decline. Furthermore, in neighbourhoods whose residents exhibit low levels of confidence, it is anticipated that finding ways to raise confidence will stimulate improvement and contribute to a more optimistic outlook. Residents are drawn from 16 neighbourhoods, classified into five resident-groups: Major Improvement Area Resident Group (MIARG); Rehabilitation Area Resident Group (RARG); Conservation Area Resident Group (CARG); Emerging Area Resident Group (EARG); and Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group (MSARG). Four of the groups are based on a framework developed by the City of Winnipeg, while the MSARG is comprised of a combination of neighbourhoods types (see section 1.2).

To achieve the stated goals, this research concentrates on five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood rating and satisfaction; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities. The objective is to assess whether these areas of inquiry influence the manner in which residents evaluate the neighbourhood (positively or negatively), and whether they contribute to a desire to invest in the maintenance necessary to facilitate stability. The selection of these areas of inquiry is

considered fundamental in providing a strategic framework, and a unique perspective from which to better understand the complexity of the neighbourhood and the role of confidence as a catalyst for stabilizing place.

Numerous factors contribute to neighbourhood decline, stability or rehabilitation. Among these are weakening house prices, increased blight, or an erosion of the social fabric of the area. This research postulates that to counter-balance the negative perceptions associated with decline, it is necessary to raise the confidence of residents. Furthermore, to achieve a better understanding of the role confidence plays in contributing to neighbourhood stability, it is important to develop a sound understanding of the factors associated with either an increased or decreased level of confidence (Goetze, 1976; Clay, 1979; O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979; Varady, 1986 and Pitkin, 2001). By examining the five areas of inquiry, confidence is examined from a number of perspectives (See section 1.1 for a detailed review of confidence).

Housing markets are critical for understanding the process of rehabilitation, with Sewell (1994) stating that housing is a central component of a city's and nation's economic functioning. It is also important to acknowledge that the housing market is highly varied within individual cities and neighbourhoods (Smith, 1971; Galster, 1996). This spatial differentiation has resulted in the growth and decline of both neighbourhoods and their internal housing stock. For Bourne (1996), inner city decline and suburban expansion have resulted in the spatial differences existing within Canadian cities. He further observed that processes, such as an ageing and declining housing stock and a demographic transition, play prominent roles in contributing to the level of deterioration that has developed within inner city neighbourhoods.

As housing is such a critical component of the neighbourhood, it is essential to also define it as an economic process, driven by market activity. A suitable definition is Miron (2000), who defined the housing market as "the locus where buyers and sellers interact to exchange goods or services" (p.163). Jud and Winkler (2002) and Reed (2001) noted that housing represents one of the single largest investments people make, accounting for more than a third of a person's net worth. There is little doubt that the housing market commands a substantial portion of the economy, and Smith (1984), Miron (1988) and Galster (1996) concluded that the supply and demand of housing must be carefully managed to ensure that a balanced and stable market is achieved. In addition, Rosen and Smith (1986) pointed out that the resale housing market is often neglected in studies, yet it dominates the total volume of sales for most jurisdictions, outpacing even the new housing market in terms of dollar volume. McCann (1975) noted that the spatial reorganization of land uses within the city has resulted in residential change. During the 1970s this was characterized by the conversion and redevelopment of the housing stock, resulting in changes to the residential composition of Edmonton.

The present research views the resale housing market as a dominant visual cue for residents who derive either a sense of optimism when the market is functioning well, or a sense of desperation when prices falter and homes take a long time to sell. The ensuing perception of these conditions will undoubtably add or detract from the confidence of residents, and whether their outlook is optimistic or pessimistic (Goetze and Colton, 1980). Embedded within the economics of housing, is the emotional connection people have to their homes. Rotella (2003) contends that people become immersed in sentiment and feeling,

and it is these attributes that bind us in a spiritual manner that is not easily quantified, but essential to the strengthening of the fabric of place.

As a counterbalance to decline and to strengthen the housing market, Ulusoy (1998) concluded that home renovation contributes significantly to neighbourhood stability. She thought it paramount to consider renovation activity from three perspectives: the physical housing stock; the housing market; and change in the demographic structure of the neighbourhood. Moreover, Ulusoy noted that the physical appearance of the neighbourhood affects the perceptions of residents and that increased renovation and repair contribute to the stabilization. In an earlier study, DeGiovanni (1983) noted that the revitalization of the neighbourhood may be positively affected by risk takers who move into a neighbourhood and undertake renovations that trigger other residents to follow (both by new residents moving into the neighbourhood and by existing residents undertaking renovation and repair). The renovation decision is also influenced by the overall perception of the neighbourhood and its physical appearance, which contribute greatly to whether one is confident enough to invest in their home (O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979; Mercer and Philips, 1981; Galster and Hesser, 1982; and Basolo and Strong, 2002).

The functioning of the renovation market and the decision to invest in one's home is postulated as greatly affecting the trajectory of the neighbourhood. In areas where people see positive housing activity, their confidence and willingness to invest will rise. But equally, it is suspected that changes in the market, such as weakening prices or an increase in deteriorated housing, send mixed signals to residents, who will then become increasingly indecisive about whether to remain and defend the neighbourhood or simply flee

in the face of mounting blight.

Commercial amenities represent a less studied component of the neighbourhood. Yet the presence of coffee shops, book stores, community clubs and other functions are important in contributing to what Galster (2001) called the "bundle of spatially based attributes" (p. 2112). It is thought that the five areas of inquiry advanced in the present research represent such a bundle of attributes. Furthermore, each is contemplated as contributing an important perspective in better understanding the contributors to stability and housing rehabilitation.

As for the theoretical underpinnings of the present research, it is acknowledged that few authors limit their analysis of urban phenomena to a single explanation: see for example, Smith and Williams (1986); Bourne and Ley (1993); Temkin and Rohe (1998); Pitkin (2001); Basolo and Strong, (2002); and Charette (2003). Instead, the present research engages in a mixed method approach that intends to draw on multiple perspectives and techniques to produce a comprehensive explanation of the research problem as outlined above. Creswell (2003) offers the necessary framework for exploring the present study within what is termed a concurrent mixed use approach, in which qualitative and quantitative data converge (see Chapter Three).

Within the mixed method approach, this study draws heavily from two themes in the literature. First, there is an emphasis on housing rehabilitation defined by Gosling and Keogh (1993) as "an operation to bring a dwelling up to a baseline of habitability and improvement, seen as the enhancement of its quality, for example the refitting of a bathroom or kitchen, double-glazing windows, or insulating lofts and walls....to the act of extending a property" (p.1). An earlier,

but equally important definition is that of Barnard (1971), who broadened the scope by concluding,

> rehabilitation refers to the process of restoration or improvement of dwelling units either singly or in groups, up to or above some minimum standard .... this can include, where necessary, improvement to community facilities and services that are needed either to ensure that dwelling units rehabilitated will be maintained or to stimulate private rehabilitation of dwelling units (p.2).

In both definitions, the rehabilitation of housing is considered a means to improve the standard of the community and to ensure stability. The second theoretical explanation of housing and renovation activity is discussed within the broad rubric of gentrification, but with an emphasis on incumbent upgrading as defined by Clay (1979) and discussed by Gale (1984); Smith and Williams (1986); Ley (1993); and Carter and Douchant (1999). Incumbent upgrading is used to explain the level of housing rehabilitation undertaken primarily by existing homeowners who renovate and improve the housing stock with no significant alteration to the neighbourhood's socio-economic structure (see also Chapter Two). According to Clay, incumbent upgrading differs from gentrification; in gentrifying neighbourhoods there is a strong propensity for the area to experience a significant socio-economic restructuring, along with an escalation in housing prices and the displacement of lower income residents (both owners and renters of units that are converted).

Within the study area of the present research, it is contended that gentrification has not occurred to any significant extent, and more likely what has taken place is the result of existing residents, or new residents of a similar status, renovating and improving their homes. There is some evidence to suggest that "spot gentrification" is taking place whereby small sections of a

neighbourhood experience more significant development; however, this process appears limited to clusters of highly desirable housing or locations with river access or near attractive amenities such as parks or other natural vistas.

To formulate a conceptual framework for this research, the work of Temkin and Rohe (1998) provides the foundation from which to assess the present condition of the neighbourhood using what the authors termed a "socio-political context" (p.67). Within this context, Temkin and Rohe concluded that to assess the trajectory of the neighbourhood, it is vital to examine the social and political context of the area in order to derive a comprehensive analysis. This view is similar to that of Pitkin (2001) and Charette (2003), who advanced similar theoretical frameworks, while arguing that the use of multiple perspectives and techniques is necessary to produce a true picture of the diversity of a neighbourhood. In the work of Basolo and Strong (2002), a mixed method approach was based on the collection of survey data and the generation of statistical models as well as the inclusion of qualitative data obtained from focus groups. The outcome was a broad perspective on understanding the dynamics of the neighbourhood.

The present research is cognizant of the theoretical underpinnings associated with the process of neighbourhood change. However, this study is more concerned with the outcome of change. More precisely, this work assesses neighbourhoods that have followed distinct paths of evolution, and attempts to understand the reactions of residents to change as measured in their perceptions about the neighbourhood and the factors they identify as currently contributing to stability and the rehabilitation of housing.

Broadly, the three main theories of neighbourhood change represented in the geographical literature include the ecological perspective (Burgess, 1925; Hoyt, 1933; Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Birch, 1971; and Leven et al, 1976), the subcultural perspective (Firey, 1945; Godfrey, 1987; and Stoecker, 1994), and the more recent the political economy perspective (Harvey, 1981; Smith, 1982; Castells, 1983; and Logan and Molotch, 1987). The ecological, or Chicago School, considered neighbourhood change to be part of a natural process of evolution and is largely a deterministic process based on economics. There was very little room for residents to control the fate of the neighbourhood, as proponents of the ecological perspective advocated that neighbourhoods are subjected to changes in the urban hierarchy within cities. In the early works, theories and models emerged that were loosely based on plant biology and the invasion/succession process in the natural environment in which there is competition for dominance of a region; neighbourhoods were believed to sort themselves out based on a similar process. The ecological view also included a life-cycle aspect similar to that of Hoover and Vernon, who placed the trajectory of the neighbourhood into distinctive and predictable stages of growth. The result was that a neighbourhood was formed, eventually matured, and then declined in a natural cycle of change (Schwirian, 1983; and Pitkin, 2001).

In contrast, the subcultural perspective was based on three critiques of the ecological approach including:

- a rejection of the ecological's determinist perspective;
- a rejection of the claim that neighbourhood change is almost entirely the result of external pressures; and
- a contention that neighbourhoods are highly varied and contain subcultures as opposed to the more homogeneous structure of the ecological models (Schwirian 1983; Temkin and Rohe, 1998 and Pitkin, 2001).

Within the subcultural literature, the role of the resident is prominent, with emotions and sentiments critical to the stability of the neighbourhood. "Subculturalists generally are not prone to developing complex models of neighbourhood change, as are the ecologists, but their seemingly simple observations have spawned many neighbourhood preservation and defence efforts" (Pitkin, p.7). A further observation of the subcultural view is that neighbourhood change is not inevitable and residents can mobilize to defend their neighbourhoods.

The third school of thought is drawn from political economy and is considered one of the most influential movements of the past few decades (Smith 1982; Pitkin 2001). The political economy perspective is diverse, encompassing disciplines such as geography, sociology and political science. Broadly, the political economy perspective was born out of the neo-Marxist critiques of the North American city and the forces exerted by "larger economic and social transformations on neighbourhoods" (Temkin and Rohe, p.67). The underlying assumption is that the neighbourhood is subjected to the capitalist mode of accumulation. The urban growth machine thesis of Logan and Molotch (1987) presents an example of the antagonistic relationship between use and exchange values within neighbourhoods. The rationale is that residents derive use value (a non-economic derivative) from the neighbourhood, while other factors, such as real estate agents, exert exchange value pressure (as a result of the commodification of place). Thus, growth machine theory places the neighbourhood within the economy and is represented as a commodity (Logan and Molotch, 1987). In Smith (1982) the theory of uneven development argued that the competition for capital within cities and neighbourhoods results in an

uneven distribution of wealth. The outcome is that neighbourhoods and cities fight for capital investment with some areas becoming more deprived than others as capital is lured away by incentives and the continual commodification of place.

The three schools of thought are well-represented in the geographic literature. Each approach has strengths and weakness, and as such, Pitkin (2001) and Temkin and Rohe (1998) advocate an approach that draws from each area to best understand the dynamic nature of the neighbourhood. Further, Pitkin offers three important considerations of such a strategy, concluding that researchers must:

- acknowledge the complexity of urban life, economic conditions, and social relations;
- recognize forces from both within and outside neighbourhoods; and
- analyse change at multiple geographic scales, taking into account both micro and macro dynamics, and recognize how conception of community is changing (Pitkin, pp.19-22).

In the present research, the three points raised by Pitkin are examined by exploring the motivation for undertaking renovations, in an attempt to determine whether economics, confidence, and overall rating of the neighbourhood contribute to a resident being more likely to renovate. This study also examines the role of negative perceptions from both internal and external forces. Finally, this research uses multiple geographic scales including a Neighbourhood Survey aggregated on three levels: the entire sample, clusters of neighbourhoods and the individual level in a case study of Riverview. For Temkin and Rohe, the "socio-political" approach is an attempt to meld both the subcultural perspective with that of the political economy perspective to ensure that the neighbourhood is sufficiently examined. With respect to the socio-political approach, the

present research advocates that not only is a mixed strategy necessary, but it must include an examination of multiple possibilities that incorporate both a subcultural and political economy focus.

This research does not adhere to the ecological or determinist view. Moreover, it is the agency of persons that is viewed as the primary force that either results in the neighbourhood being defended from adversity or allows it to succumb to the pressures of decline. Neither neighbourhoods nor people can be likened to the process of plant invasion and succession; instead, people direct the growth and change that occur through the relationships they forge with one another and to the wider community.

1.1 Research Objectives and Questions

As stated, the central purpose of this research is to explore the contemporary urban neighbourhood using a housing-oriented approach that emphasizes the significance of rehabilitation activity as a stabilizing factor. The examination is facilitated by using five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood rating and satisfaction; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities.

Assessing neighbourhood confidence begins with providing a suitable definition. At the base level, the Oxford Dictionary defines confidence as possessing "firm trust; assured expectation; being self-reliance; having boldness, impudence." In this research, confidence is considered from multiple perspectives. First, it is contended that confidence is part of a wider belief system with residents in successful neighbourhoods trusting one another to undertake those actions necessary to maintain and enhance the neighbourhood.

These are persons who see the future as positive, and as result, some will undertake bold actions such as over-investing in their homes, while others will simply ensure that maintenance levels keep abreast of decline. In areas with low confidence among residents, it is contemplated that there is a lack of trust with respect to the collective desire to maintain or enhance place. People in these situations are more tenuous with their investment decision, their expectations therefore become less favourable, and they are more likely to look toward government intervention as a plausible solution.

Confidence is also a variable that is formally addressed by testing it in the logistic regression model to determine the predictors of confidence (Chapter Six). Therefore, this research defines confidence through a series of perspectives: direct questioning (e.g., how confident are you about the neighbourhood), to more informally discussing confidence in focus group settings by probing what confidence means and what factors contribute to its strengthening or lessening. Confidence will be shown to be a central neighbourhood attribute and one that contributes to a resident's renovation decision, the amount to be invested, and whether to remain. Having a favourable outlook signifies stability and ensures a positive image for existing residents and those considering the area as a potential place to live.

The genesis of confidence, as measured by the present research, is derived from the work of Varady (1986), Varady and Preiser (1998), and Mesch and Manor (1998). In particular, Varady (1986) asserted that confidence is a valid means to assess neighbourhood revitalization. The present research uses a similar method to analyse confidence by first replicating the scale used by Varady (1986) and then furthering his work by including two additional

measures. The first is to advance a qualitative explanation of confidence based on the perceptions of the residents, while the second uses binary logistic regression to isolate the predictors of confidence.

In the second area of inquiry, neighbourhood appearance and rating are examined to determine what role these variables have in influencing stability and the rehabilitation process. The use of this set of variables is based primarily on the work of Parkes et al (2002). In their study, appearance of the neighbourhood was demonstrated as being an important predictor of overall satisfaction.

The next area explored is housing market activity, which is examined through survey questions related to current sales activity and potential changes in market conditions. The importance of the housing questions is that they are scenario based, meaning that respondents are asked how they would react to various changes in the market. These types of questions determine the effect of such events as rising or falling housing prices. The fourth area of inquiry is that of home renovation, and is examined through measuring expenditures on renovations and whether the decision of residents is influenced by other activity within the neighbourhood. Scenario based questions are also used in the renovation section, with the intent of determining what factors influence a resident's decision to renovate.

The final area included relates to the neighbourhood's commercial amenities, and is explored through questioning the importance of retail amenities as they pertain to the overall functioning of the neighbourhood. Ultimately, each area is examined to determine its role in influencing how residents evaluate the neighbourhood (positively/negatively) and whether spatial differences can be observed within the neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg.

1.1.1 Research Questions

To facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the neighbourhood, and to address the aforementioned objectives, three research questions are posited to examine the five areas of inquiry, and to determine what role, if any, they play in influencing neighbourhood stability and/or the rehabilitation process.

Research Question One:

1. *Are neighbourhood perception variables relating to neighbourhood evaluation, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities, significant predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction or mobility status among residents?*

Research Question One is addressed by analysing the neighbourhood survey to determine whether the three outcome measures provide an effective means to examine neighbourhood stability and the rehabilitation of housing. This is undertaken by using the five areas of inquiry as the foundation from which to determine the predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility. The ensuing analysis reviews *Research Question One* within the context of the stated research objectives. Namely, whether the three outcome measures adequately explain the motivation of residents to renovate or favourably evaluate the neighbourhood. This question is addressed by way of binary logistic regression, which is used to determine the predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status.

Research Question Two:

2. *Does the importance of variables that predict confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction or mobility status vary among the five resident-groups?*

Research Question Two is addressed through a detailed examination of the five resident-groups, four of which are drawn from the framework identified by the City of Winnipeg, and a fifth resident-group defined by the present author as the

Major Stakeholder Resident Group (defined in Chapter Three). The intent is to measure for significant differences amongst the resident-groups. A further concern of this question is whether the Major Stakeholder Resident Group provides a useful alternative to the categories used in the City's framework.

Research Question Three:

3. *Are there factors associated with the process of rehabilitation in rehabilitated older neighbourhoods that contribute to an increased sense of neighbourhood stability and attachment, and if so, what lessons can be learned, and potentially transferred elsewhere?*

Research Question Three focusses the scale of inquiry on the neighbourhood level by using Riverview as a case study. The case study presents a mixed method approach that incorporates data from multiple sources to examine why this neighbourhood has remained resistant to decline over the last 75 years. Included in this case study is a focus group session and an innovative research technique (self-directed photography) that gives residents complete autonomy in determining what elements of the neighbourhood are important to them (See Chapter Three). By using self-directed photography, the role of the researcher becomes that of a facilitator, as opposed to a director of the research. Residents are simply given a disposable camera and asked to self-determine the most positive and negative neighbourhood elements. The selection of Riverview is based on previous work undertaken by the author. In particular, a conclusion of the author's Master's Thesis determined that Riverview was a neighbourhood possessing many intangible attributes such as soul, sense of community and an unwavering commitment to that area (Distasio, 1997). These factors were central to the philosophising about the role of confidence in contributing to the stability of this typical older neighbourhood.

Overall, the present research intends to examine what issues are important in determining how residents evaluate their neighbourhood. The uniqueness of the perspective being presented is that it views the confidence level of residents as a fundamental contributor to how they perceive the neighbourhood. By also advocating a mixed method approach, data analysis and subsequent discussion are broadened to produce a concise view of the neighbourhood.

1.2 Preliminary Geography of the Study Area

The study area is situated in Winnipeg, and consists of 16 neighbourhoods (Figure 1.1). Neighbourhood selection was based on drawing a sample from a study that placed 193 neighbourhoods into four categories: *Major Improvement, Rehabilitation, Conservation, and Emerging Areas* (City of Winnipeg, 2000). The four categories are differentiated contingent on variables that include median selling price, housing condition, percent of rental dwellings, average effective age of dwellings, percent of crimes, unemployment level and low income cut off rates. The specific methodology for neighbourhood selection, as well as a detailed discussion of each neighbourhood type, is offered in Chapter Three. A fifth neighbourhood category proposed by the present author is referred to as the Major Stakeholder Area is also discussed in Chapter Three. The Major Stakeholder designation is based on a subset of neighbourhoods thought to be experiencing higher levels of renovation, while also being more resilient to the onset of decline (Table 1.1). Each neighbourhood type included in the study is examined in detail in Chapter Four, which provides a 25 year overview of change using Statistics Canada data and other pertinent sources.

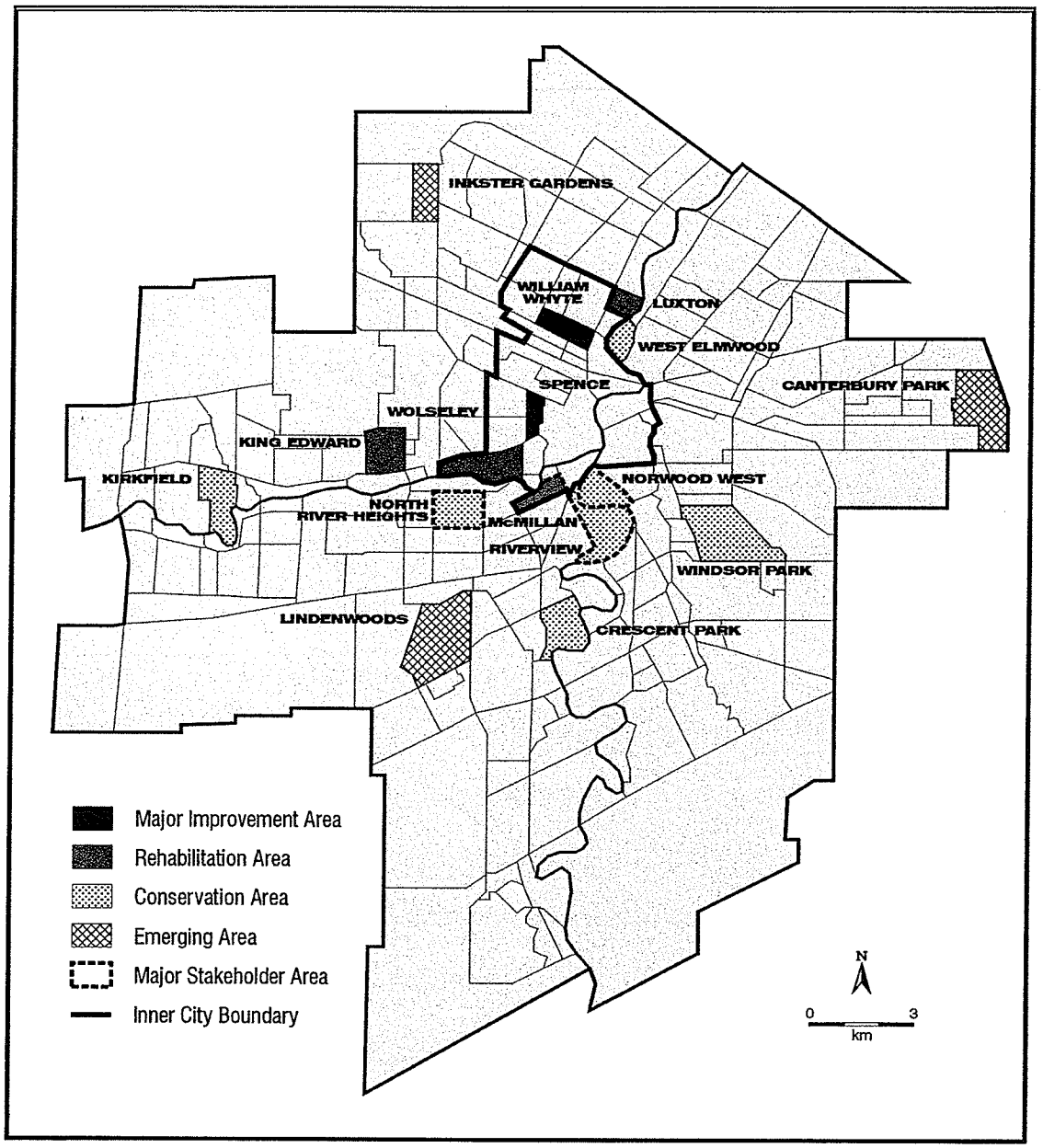

Figure 1.1 Study Area Neighbourhoods

Table 1.1 Overview of the Study Area		
Category	Neighbourhoods Selected	General Observations**
Major Improvement Area	Spence and William Whyte	Older inner city neighbourhoods with a high degree of decline and disinvestment. Substantial drops in housing values are evident as are the placarded homes and vacant lots, which are numerous in both neighbourhoods. Most renovation and repair efforts are the result of community-based groups and government sponsored initiatives.
Rehabilitation Area	Luxton, King Edward, and Wolseley	Older neighbourhoods with varying degrees of decline. Some stability is evident, especially in neighbourhoods with character homes. Housing markets are relatively stable but dependent on exposure to decline.
Conservation Area	Crescent Park, West Elmwood, Windsor Park, and Kirkfield	Stable neighbourhoods with the majority of homes in relatively good condition. These areas remain desirable with strong housing markets. Renovation and repair activity is predominately enhancement - driven with numerous additions and modifications completed to upgrade homes.
Emerging Area	Lindenwoods, Canterbury Park, and Inkster Gardens	These are relatively new subdivisions in varying states of completion. Within each area, homes differ in size and value, and community infrastructure (schools, parks and recreation space) is not fully developed.
Major Stakeholder*	McMillan, North River Heights, Norwood West, and Riverview	These neighbourhoods contain high levels of renovation activity. They have remained stable and contain character housing and/or choice locations (e.g. along rivers or central locations).

*The Major Stakeholder classification is based on a composite of neighbourhoods deemed to be experiencing significant renovations.
**Observations are based on the author's site visits to each neighbourhood

1.3 Relevance of the Study

This research examines a little studied area in geography: one that focusses specifically on the confidence of residents as a contributor to neighbourhood stabilization. Furthermore, it is believed that an examination of the neighbourhood that considers the effect of confidence about place, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities has not been undertaken to any great extent. This gap in the literature was a major conclusion

of the author's Master's thesis, "*Neighbourhood Evolution in Winnipeg: An Analysis of Riverview and Lord Roberts*" (Distasio: 1997). This study examined the neighbourhood from three critical vantage points: the physical condition of the neighbourhood, the perception of the residents about the area, and the impact of traditional measures of neighbourhood change. The research concluded that there was a need to more adequately measure the intangible attributes of neighbourhood residents, such as community soul, feeling, and sense of community, and link these with the neighbourhood's physical components, such as condition of housing and infrastructure, in order to produce a more balanced neighbourhood analysis. As a result, additional research was conducted to produce the context for the current research. Supporting rationale for this research is advanced in Chapter Two, which reviews the salient literature.

A further relevance of the study is based on the use of a mixed method approach. In using multiple perspectives and techniques, this research draws out a wide cross-section of data that is ultimately converged into a single lens that presents a detailed picture of the elements deemed important by area residents.

1.4 Research Limitations

The limitations of this research relate to the fact that the geographic literature pertaining to the neighbourhood is immense in breadth and scope, and thus, it is not feasible to include all aspects of neighbourhood studies. Therefore, this research is limited to exploring confidence about place, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities and whether these factors contribute to neighbourhood stability and the rehabilitation of housing.

The decision to limit the study to these areas is due partly to practicality, and the ability to adequately address these variables. A second limitation is that the survey component is restricted to homeowners. The decision to sample only homeowners was made because the present work is specifically concerned with exploring housing sales and renovation activities in neighbourhoods. Although renters form an important part of the neighbourhood mix, it was determined that focussing on homeowners was the most practical approach.

1.54 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters that represent key areas of investigation. This chapter has introduced the objectives and research questions and provided an overview of the study area. The second chapter reviews the pertinent literature, while Chapter Three documents the strategy of inquiry for the data collection and subsequent analysis of the Neighbourhoods Survey, The Focus Group Sessions, and the Self-Directed Photography technique. Chapter Four examines the study area using 1971-1996 census data aggregated by the five resident groups. In Chapter Five, the data collected in the Neighbourhood Survey and the Focus Group sessions are reviewed. Chapter Six addresses *Research Question One and Research Question Two* by undertaking a detailed analysis of the Neighbourhood Survey. Chapter Seven provides a case study of Riverview within the framework of *Research Question Three*. The final chapter draws conclusions and offers thoughts on potential areas for further research.

1.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the objectives and research questions. It commenced by outlining the five areas of inquiry that form the foundation for examining the dynamics of the neighbourhood. The study area has also been introduced and explored by providing a broad overview of the neighbourhoods included in the research. The addition of the Major Stakeholder Area was noted as being important in providing a contrasting perspective to that of the City of Winnipeg's classification scheme.

Chapter Two
Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the pertinent literature with respect to the objectives and research questions advanced in Chapter One. The intent is to critically examine the key themes in neighbourhood studies in order to substantiate the relevance of the present research. As noted in Chapter One, the first research objective is to assess the differences among five resident-groups with respect to the manner in which they evaluate their neighbourhoods. The second objective is to explore the neighbourhood environment, identifying the critical issues and events that may contribute to improvement, stability or decline. The final objective is to examine five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood rating and satisfaction; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities.

The chapter commences by offering a definition of neighbourhood and proceeds to discuss its territorial nature. This is followed by an overview of the concepts of sense of place and placelessness, in order to assess people's attachment, or lack thereof, to their neighbourhoods. The discussion then considers the human and physical environments of neighbourhoods. The seminal models of neighbourhood change are introduced to provide an understanding of the history and development of neighbourhood theory applicable to the present study. The chapter concludes with an examination of measurements of resident confidence, housing markets and home renovation.

2.1 The Meaning of Neighbourhood

"*Urban social scientists have treated 'neighbourhood' in much the same way as courts of law have treated pornography: as a term that is hard to define precisely, but everyone knows it when they see it*" (Galster, 200,1 p.2111).

This research assesses neighbourhoods as complex components of the larger urban system of which they are an integral part. Neighbourhoods thus contain people, the dwellings they live in, the related infrastructure, and a varying degree of amenities. Neighbourhoods also generate emotions such as feeling, soul and attachment to place which are hard to quantify but critical to the stability of place, and to developing a sense of cohesiveness among residents. It is because of these elements that people become bound to neighbourhoods but it is important to recognize that neighbourhoods are also economic creatures that provide utility to residents in that they can generate a return on investment (for those living in successful areas).

The literature related to the neighbourhood definition is diverse and Kearns and Parkinson (2001) concluded that there is no universal interpretation of neighbourhood. Rather, they explored the diversity in meaning of neighbourhood through three scales of analysis. At the micro level they envisioned a *home area*, defined as the region around the home accessible by a 5-10 minute walk. This scale is thought to create an enhanced familiarity with the neighbourhood and a sense of belonging. The next level is *locality*, which is larger and encompasses a housing market area. The third scale is the *urban district* or *region*, which includes a larger set of social and economic functions. The importance of this perspective is that it reinforces the concept of geographic scale, which is critical to the definition of the neighbourhood. Their

definition also includes a human aspect in that it recognizes the importance of the home area as a perceptual region that connects people to the neighbourhood on an more intimate level.

Keller (1968) also considered scale to be important and noted that *nearness* and *distance* are spatial attributes that form part of an interplay between the social networks that may develop. She concluded that the neighbourhood itself is but one component to consider, as it is a place where neighbours reside and where the act of neighbouring takes place. For Keller, a neighbourhood may have "boundaries and well-established traditions or be a fluid, vaguely defined subpart of a town or city whose boundaries are only vaguely apparent and differently perceived by its inhabitants" (p. 12).

Porteous (1977) considered the definition of neighbourhood to be a matter of perception and offered that "a neighbourhood is the geographic space in which one feels at home" (p. 68). Godfrey (1988) provided a similar interpretation of the meaning of neighbourhood and concluded that a definition of neighbourhood must be based on the contention that neighbourhoods are bound by a sense of place. To this point he concluded, a neighbourhood is "best regarded as an urban residential area, consisting of continuous territory, which is commonly recognized as an identifiable unit by both inhabitants and outsiders; the basis for this recognition varies widely however" (p.25). Kuo et al. (1998B) stressed the importance of distinguishing between people and place and wrote that "a neighbourhood is both a collection of individuals and a place: the people who live there and the place itself" (p. 824). Galster (2001) contended that most definitions of neighbourhood presumed two things – a spatial component and some level of social interrelationships within the area. To address the

"shortcomings" he observed in the literature, Galster offered the following definition: "neighbourhood is the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses" (p. 1751).

It is this last definition that the present author considers to be the most relevant to this research because it contains a number of elements that acknowledge that there is a "bundle" of attributes which have a spatial relevance. It also clearly notes the prominence of housing and other land uses. This definition also provides for significant latitude in defining what the bundle of attributes would include, thus allowing amenities to be representative of any study area.

The related concept 'neighbourhood environment' requires careful consideration in the present research. First, it must be discussed from two perspectives – that of the physical and the human environment. These two environments are essential for a more holistic comprehension of the term 'neighbourhood environment'. Porteous (1977) acknowledged an important distinction between these environments, noting that the human environment is considered to be the space in which people interact, and is affected by such factors as population density and behaviour. The physical environment, however, is more closely tied to the fixed features within the environment and includes entities such as the house (pp. 130-165).

In a more recent work Rotella (2003), portrayed the neighbourhood environment through 'hard' or 'soft' elements and observed that:

> Neighbourhood, as a concept, is "hard" to define in the sense that a neighbourhood is a physical artifact, a bounded and built-up space containing people, money, buildings, and other elements that can be measured with numbers. Neighbourhood is a "soft" concept in the sense that it describes a quality of civic life and of inner life, a feeling of relation to people and place, that is sustained or destroyed through the statistically unmeasurable process of culture (p.87).

It is hard and soft elements that are intertwined into the fabric of our being and force us to think about what leads neighbourhoods down different paths. Rotella explored this thought by asking how a "neighbourhood (hard) generates and sustains the quality of the neighbourhood (soft) and how does the quality of the neighbourhood (soft) in turn help to sustain or destroy the social, economic, and physical arrangements that add up to a neighbourhood (hard)" (p. 88). Therefore, tangible measures of neighbourhood must be balanced by considering the imaginative way people feel, think and react within the neighbourhood. Viewed through the soft and hard definition of neighbourhood, Rotella envisioned the "city of feeling" (constructed in words and images) and the "city of fact" (made of steel and stone, inhabited by flesh-and-blood). He concluded that there is the "task of sustaining both individual well-being and the quality of neighbourhood in the face of large-scale, often obscure, and therefore, threatening urban processes" (p.111).

The meaning of neighbourhood, as noted in the literature, reveals a deep sense of attachment to place but it also points to a more tangible or hard definition associated with territory and boundaries, demarcated on maps and planning documents. Neighbourhoods are thus part of a larger system in which many processes function in tandem to produce places we call home or locations we find when looking on a map. Regardless, neighbourhoods remain the building blocks of cities and they contain a theatre of actors who each brings a unique

skill and contributes to both the successes and failures that drive the engine of the city.

2.2 Territoriality and the Defence of the Neighbourhood

The desire to live in a stable place is discussed by Oldenburg (1997), who contended that many people want to return to or recapture the past, and live more like their parents or grandparents did. Oldenburg based this proposition on the belief that older neighbourhoods led people, in past generations, to develop a sense of place and belonging that rooted them in a more cohesive manner than is evident today (p. 4). Furthermore, the *neighbourhood*, as a place to share in daily activities such as meeting at the local coffee shop becomes an important foundation for creating a cohesive environment for people to meet 'face to face' and become emotionally attached to the neighbourhood. Attaining some level of attachment to the neighbourhood is important, yet it has become more elusive as many households appear predisposed to move in response to changing life situations, such as better employment opportunities or the desire to live in a newer or bigger home. This raises the issue of whether people become attached emotionally or economically to the neighbourhood. Moreover, it is vital to understand that attachment to place is a powerful force in determining not only where people want to live, but also how they feel about their neighbourhood, what aspects are important, and ultimately how the area evolves.

Casey (1997) viewed the neighbourhood within the context of *nearness* and wrote: "neighborhood is induced by the nearness of the things or people who co-inhabit a place in common" (p.282). "Nearness" is seen as leading to the potential for face to face and intimate encounters between immediate neighbours

but this must be a reciprocal relationship to be most effective. Nearness, then, becomes an important consideration in building neighbourhoods that have the ability to maintain stability while creating the "feeling of being at home" (p.283). Creating a positive feeling about the neighbourhood is essential to its success as a place to live. Beatley and Manning (1997) noted the critical importance of encouraging face to face contact within the neighbourhood and see it as a vital tool for connecting people to place. In fact, the authors see "these feelings of connection, in all their various forms, combining to create a sense of place" (p.174). It is also important to note that Beatley and Manning contend that there has been an erosion of community life. They see this erosion as the outcome of people becoming less involved in the community.

The above discussion leads to the question of what binds us to our neighbourhood? To address this question, the concept of attachment to place must be viewed through two key terms, namely territoriality and sense of place. These concepts appear extensively in the literature, most notably in the works of Lucy and Philips (2001), Greenberg (1999), Kuo et al. (1998), Rohe and Basolo (1997), Skjaeveland et al. (1996), Mesch et al. (1996), Earhart (1996), Nasar et al. (1995), Woolever (1992), Weeing et al. (1990), Taylor (1988), Gruber and Shelton (1987), Logan and Molotch (1987), Sack (1986), Malmberg (1980), Porteous (1977) and Lee (1968). Each author noted above provided a geographically based discussion. For the most part, sense of place is described as an abstract or intangible feeling generated for a particular place by its inhabitants, while territoriality is considered to be a function of human interaction within a defined physical environment.

Malmberg (1980) offered a starting point for understanding these terms in his discussion of the importance of territoriality, contending that humans have always lived within boundaries: "local areas in cities have been distinguished since ancient times and sealed off by night from the rest of the urbanized area" (p. 159). He asserted that the neighbourhood has been, and continues to be, one of the most significant urban components with a territorial dimension. The importance of this assertion is that the neighbourhood, by virtue of its prominent position within the urban hierarchy, is an essential element in people's lives. Thus, the events that take place in the neighbourhood, whether positive or negative, will affect how people feel about place and thus contribute to its stability or decline.

Sack (1986) wrote: "territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power. It is the means by which space and society are interrelated. Territoriality's changing functions help us to understand the historical relationships between society, space and time" (p. 5). Sack's contentions remain significant because they shed light on the connection between the human and physical environments of neighbourhoods while acknowledging that time plays a role in how places evolve. Sack ultimately rejected the notion that territoriality is a function of an ancient biological human predisposition. More so, Sack noted that perhaps [today], territoriality may be triggered by economic or political changes taking place. Based on this evolution, he asserted, "territoriality is the attempt by an individual or a group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships by delimiting control of a geographical area" (p. 29). This may include the strong desire to protect property values through investment in renovations and general maintenance of the home, and the desire

to leave when property values are threatened.

Logan and Molotch (1987) contended that the tendency of people to defend their neighbourhood is simply a function of the exploitive nature of the capitalist housing market in which individuals strive to achieve place-related goals, to which they hypothesized: "all capitalist places are the creation of activists who push hard to alter how the market functions, how prices are set, and how lives are affected" (p.3). Furthermore, they regarded the neighbourhood as a place with an embedded conflict in which people manipulate the market to gain economic advantage. Thus, Logan and Molotch considered the neighbourhood as a commodity, with places competing to attract and maintain residents. The defence of the neighbourhood would then be intrinsically tied to the "dynamics of the accumulation process" (p.100).

Porteous (1977) introduced a spatially based method for assessing territoriality within the urban environment which contained three essential components; *microspace*, *mesospace* and *macrospace*. Each level was considered important in the functional development of a region. Microspace is considered personal space, from which Porteous noted: "when not expanded to cover fixed features of the environment, personal space is mobile, carried along with the body as the individual moves through space." An example of microspace would be a park bench on which someone is sitting. Mesospace, meanwhile, extends beyond personal space to include such things as homes, parks or even a neighbourhood: "In either scenario [micro or meso], the area operates as the home base for the individual or group and is the area in which much time is spent" (pp. 27-30). In comparison, macrospace is the largest scale, and moves beyond the home base, resulting in the total area covered in normal

activities. The importance of Porteous' work is it details a set of scales from which to examine the manner in which people can exert their sense of territoriality. This can include the small, intimate personal scale and extend to the neighbourhood and perhaps to the city-wide scale as macrospace.

In a seminal study on the neighbourhood, Lee (1968) postulated that there was more connection between the physical and social environments of neighbourhoods than had been previously acknowledged in the literature. He noted, as a central issue, the difficulty of accurately defining neighbourhood boundaries. In a sense, Lee considered the concept of territoriality only one part of the neighbourhood's more complex schema. Furthermore, he pointed out that while there had been numerous attempts to view the neighbourhood from different theoretical perspectives all had shortcomings since they focussed on either the social or physical environments within the neighbourhood. In essence, to better comprehend territoriality, Lee concluded that it is essential to be able to see and understand the complex interrelationship that exists between the human and physical environments of the neighbourhood. He concluded that "planning should be directed towards the heterogeneous physical and social layouts, deliberately emphasizing the local (and therefore most effortless) satisfaction of needs" (p. 264).

Following the works addressed thus far, Taylor (1988) framed his discussion in terms of '*territorial functioning*'. Building on the existing literature, Taylor assessed the relevance of six key concepts: *personal space, jurisdiction, home range, attachment to place, privacy experiences, and privacy behaviours.* Each concept considers a person's role in the environment from the smallest scale (*personal space)* to the concept of *attachment to place.* In the latter,

Taylor contended that this would apply to the larger domains, such as the neighbourhood or district, and that people would be inclined to protect this space. The idea of *privacy experiences and behaviours* help explain a person's strong territorial attachment to place through the desire to enjoy the benefits of privacy within a functional territory or home range, and again to defend space.

The importance of territoriality for the present research is its reinforcement of the importance of place in people's daily functioning. Place is emphasized by the fact that personal space and attachment to home offer a framework for understanding the importance of the neighbourhood as a key node in the 'whole' of the urban landscape. With respect to this assertion, the territorial tendencies of people within their neighbourhoods may ultimately contribute to its stability or lack thereof. Perhaps, if people are inclined to defend their neighbourhood through a strong sense of territoriality, then there exists a greater likelihood the neighbourhood will remain stable. This reasoning can then be applied to the broader context of how confident people are about their neighbourhoods. In essence, greater confidence and a strong desire to exert territorial control may go hand in hand with the creation of stable and vibrant environments that ultimately contribute to a positive neighbourhood environment.

2.2.1 Sense of Place and the Neighbourhood

Building a strong sense of place is an important but complex contributor to creating neighbourhoods that people have a vested interest in maintaining. Woolever (1992) contended that "attachment to neighbourhood is complex and the reasons for it are not captured simply by matching the attributes of the

individual resident and his or her attitudes and behaviour, as other studies have suggested. Characteristics of the neighbourhood itself need to be incorporated into an analysis of attachment" (Woolever: 99). Greenberg (1999) concurred with this assertion: "a simple way of examining the public's perception of their neighbourhood is to divide explanatory factors into attributes of the neighbourhood and characteristics of the people" (p. 602).

In a study of housing satisfaction, Gruber and Shelton (1987) concluded that the manner in which residents evaluated their homes was independent of their view of the neighbourhood and its characteristics: "Hence, in future research, to obtain a more informative measurement of residents' evaluations of their neighbourhoods, it will be important to direct attention to measuring residents' perceptions of the image they have of their neighbourhoods as places to live, as well as whether they provide them the opportunities, comforts and amenities they desire" (p. 313).

It is important to note some of the existing contrasts with respect to neighbourhood attachment. As an example, Relph (1976) observed the disintegration of attachment to place by an increasing number of people. He contended that such a trend represented a major shift, characterized as moving from a deep association with places to that of being in a state of rootlessness. To further explain this observation, Relph reasoned that there was a reverse aspect of attachment to place known as '*placelessness*', defined as "the weakening of distinct and diverse experiences and identities of places" (p.6). In this situation, people become more detached from their present neighbourhood as the desire to move is heightened by a more rootless urban population. The level of attachment or rootlessness in neighbourhoods is a subjective but critical

aspect of understanding neighbourhood dynamics and the confidence levels of residents. Ultimately, residents who feel less rooted in neighbourhood may cause a premature decline and a reduction in investment into the broader community.

In somewhat of a contrast to Relph, Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) offered the term "placemaking" as a way to explain the manner in which human activity transforms the landscape. They saw placemaking as "the way all of us as human beings transform the places in which we find ourselves into places in which we live" (p. 1). This is an important concept since the way in which humans create and shape place plays a critical role in how neighbourhoods evolve and how people leave their imprint on the cultural landscape. The authors further noted that "we have been losing our ability to make our places locations for dwelling" and that "renovating our places are considered technical, rational acts rather than essential, poetic ones" (pp. 1-2). The interpretation of renovation as a technical act is significant since creating an emotional attachment to place must not been seen as an act of engineering; more so, it should be one of believing in place and 'making' something of it. People must be willing to make an investment in the neighbourhood, not only economically but socially and emotionally as well. It is these types of investment that will help create a better sense of stability while ensuring that residents are part of the process of making the neighbourhood a better place to live.

Duncan and Duncan (2001) noted the importance of the aesthetic attributes of place. Their contention was that people have a deep attachment to the concept of *home*, which they defined as an entrenched place distinction, creating a unique identity. Through a case study analysis, the authors contended

that changes to the fabric of place can have an effect on residents: "Long term residents tell us that new people moving into the town, with different landscape and architectural tastes, are decreasing the town's visual homogeneity and distinctiveness, making it less distinguishable from other suburbs" (p. 42). This territorial sense of protection of place is important to Duncan and Duncan, as their case study showed that the subtle changes taking place in a suburb of New York had the effect of causing residents to become concerned.

The protectionist attitude of residents is important to note because it offers an explanation as to why some places exhibit stability and a distinct character that sets them apart from other places. The authors concluded that the protectionist attitude is part of the cultural capital of the area. Furthermore, they noted that this created "an aura associated with scarce or unique cultural productions, especially the antique and irreplaceable" (pp. 43-44). According to the authors, this aura can lead to pronounced expressions of protectionism, whereby residents defend the cultural identity of place in both the built and social environments. Ultimately, it is this type of attachment to place that will contribute to the functioning of the neighbourhood and help it retain a sense of its past while maintaining stability in the physical and social landscapes.

Lucy and Philips (2001) furthered the discussion by linking neighbourhood mobility with income changes. They argued that, if "replacement in-movers" are of lower economic status, the potential for reinvestment in the neighbourhood may be compromised, thus undermining neighbourhood stability. Lucy and Philips cited three consequences associated with in-movers of lower economic status:

- Decline in the ability to reinvest causes the deterioration of building/housing to be accelerated;
- Decline in property values, and in turn, school tax revenues become evident; and
- Geographically, neighbourhoods tend to expand into adjoining areas and people's perception and confidence about living in the general area diminishes (pp. 55-59).

It is important to note that the mobility process and the resultant balance between movers and stayers must result in stability to the neighbourhood's overall social/physical fabric. This includes assessing whether "in-movers" have the financial means to undertake the maintenance and renovations necessary to promote neighbourhood stability. Furthermore, the "stayers" must also have to have the economic potential to keep abreast of basic maintenance of their homes. This balance is essential in promoting a stable neighbourhood environment. Yet, tipping the balance towards less maintenance may result in a perilous downward trend for the neighbourhood. However, Lucy and Phillips did not promote the creation of homogeneous neighbourhoods, rather, they contended that the neighbourhood must be internally diverse, while exhibiting a healthy housing market in which investment is encouraged.

In exploring attachment to place, the concept of 'neighbouring' emerges as a contributing factor. Skjaeveland et al. (1996) described neighbouring as "[involving] positive and negative aspects of social interactions, expectations, and attachments of individuals with people living around them and the place in which they live" (p. 418). The act of neighbouring adds another layer of complexity to understanding the dynamics of the neighbourhood simply by underscoring the need for human contact to take place between residents, a notion which Keller (1968) also found to be of vital importance.

2.3 Components of the Neighbourhood.

As noted, neighbourhoods are a complex component of the larger urban spatial system of which they are an integral part. Neighbourhoods contain people, the dwellings they live in, the related infrastructure, and a varying degree of amenities. These components are interrelated and form the basis from which the neighbourhood evolves. For this research, both the human and physical environments are seen as key contributors to overall stability; nevertheless, they should be viewed independently.

2.3.1 The Human Environment of the Neighbourhood

Fundamentally, it is people who create a sense of place and control the direction a neighbourhood takes as it evolves over time. Their confidence in the neighbourhood as being a positive place serves the area well in remaining stable. But similarly, a resident's lack of confidence in the neighbourhood can have the reverse effect of eroding its stability. Thus, how the neighbourhood functions is not only dependent on the tangible physical environment, but also on the collective consciousness of its residents. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the feelings generated about place because the level of attachment will help determine whether there is a sufficiently cohesive base among the residents to sustain a healthy neighbourhood. Ultimately, the reaction of residents to events such as decline and regeneration efforts will affect how residents view the neighbourhood and whether they will ultimately remain and invest, or decide to move.

2.3.2 Perception Indicators

In the pertinent literature, there is an extensive body of literature relating to environmental perception studies. It is in this literature that researchers have aspired to understand how people feel about place and how they interpret the urban landscape. Knox (1996) observed that the perception studies take one of two primary approaches: designative and appraisive. The designative approach focusses on people's imagery and mental cognition of how cities are organized. Here, the emphasis is on people's orientation within the urban environment. Appraisive approaches take the view that urban imagery reflects people's positive or negative feelings about the city and that these feelings in turn have an impact on decision-making about the urban environment (p. 261). The main difference between the appraisive and designative approaches appears to lie in understanding what impact space has on people's perception of place.

2.3.3 Measures of Perception: Designative Approaches

The seminal study to explore the designative approach is Lynch's (1960) landmark work *The Image of the City*, which transformed perception studies. His study focussed on the use of cognitive or mental mapping procedures to produce images of the city and its parts. The method used included extensive interviews along with mapping exercises to solicit mental images from the residents. The mapping exercise involved asking people to produce a mental map depicting the city based on the images derived from personal experience. This method produced a wealth of relevant spatial information about the city and its parts. Lynch found that the maps produced by people included similar themes and components. He cited five critical elements that were essential to understanding

the images being produced: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. These key features allowed Lynch to create a general mental image of the city as a whole by incorporating multiple images into a single representation. Lynch also attempted to better interpret the image of the city through an analysis of the meaning and legibility of space, striving to comprehend the look and feel of cities and to determine whether these qualities were of importance in visualizing the textures of place: "the urban landscape, among its many roles, is also something to be seen, to be remembered and to delight in" (p. 1).

More recent studies, such as those by Sheets and Manzer (1991), O'Neill (1991), Sadalla and Sheets (1993), Nasar (1994), Kitchin (1996), Kuo et al. (1998A), and Peron and Purcell (1998), have used the designative approach of cognitive mapping by focussing on smaller and more specific areas of research. However, Kitchin concluded that mental mapping is limited by the lack of reliability and its "inability to incorporate testable hypotheses" (p. 79). These issues were cited as being limitations in the use of these techniques in the more traditional sense of scientific research, and in the ability to replicate findings. Nevertheless, Kitchin still considered the use of this method an important tool to interpret the ordinary landscape.

Whether or not techniques such as mental mapping produce reliable results is unclear, but what is important is that useful qualitative information can be obtained and used to understand people's feelings and perceptions about the urban environment. Moreover, in contemporary urban research, it is imperative to give people some sense of control over the project being undertaken. Giving such control to residents is seen as a vital aspect of the self-directed photography component of the present research (see Chapter Three).

Kuo et al. (1998A) undertook a study to examine the role that changes in the landscape had on transforming images of inner city neighbourhoods. The objective of the study was to determine whether the incorporation of trees and grass in the neighbourhood had an effect on improving the image of a high density neighbourhood. The study area consisted of an urban public housing complex in Chicago that included 16 storey buildings (28 in all), housing approximately 15,000 residents. The complex itself contained two acres of courtyard space per 1,500 residents but these open spaces consisted of basic concrete slabs with limited recreational amenities.

The authors argued that the traditional stance, that treed areas promoted fear in many inner city settings, was false. The results supported their claim as people's sense of safety and positive findings towards the place, increased when residents were shown a variety of landscape images that incorporated more types of vegetation. Furthermore, the approach employed by the authors was innovative as they relied on computer-simulated photographs to derive, from the residents, a preference for what type of setting would best suit the area and their needs (p. 29).

Sheets and Manzer (1991) also examined the cognitive impact that vegetation had when added to the urban landscape. In this study, Sheets and Manzer explored the effect of the addition of trees along streets through the use of a variety of line drawings that represented different levels of vegetation. Again, residents were asked to examine the drawings and evaluate whether the added trees improved the area. The results support the idea that vegetation can have a positive effect on people's feelings about the neighbourhood. The authors concluded that scenes with ample vegetation were better, safer, and cleaner

places in which to live (p. 301). In a similar study, Peron and Purcell (1998) focussed on the relationship between cognitive processing and the preference responses to outdoor scenes. To test their hypothesis, Peron and Purcell used twelve rural and urban vegetation scenes indigenous to Australia, Italy, and the Netherlands. The main result of the research was that perception appeared to be measurable through the use of illustrations and photographs. These images were used to gauge whether or not an area was viewed as positive or negative and whether the impact of simulated features affected perception on varying levels.

O'Neill (1991), Sadalla and Sheets (1993), and Nasar (1994), successfully assessed people's perception of the physical components of the city. In particular, Nasar's study found that people tended to critically evaluate the qualities of building exteriors. In his research, the author examined three key aesthetic variables: formal, symbolic, and schemas. Nasar concluded that naturalness, upkeep, intensity of use, and style were the key factors that determined what an individual will experience when exposed to different types of building styles (p. 389). Directly related to the work of Nasar is that of Sadalla and Sheets, who detailed the impact of building materials on cognition. The authors attempted to determine whether there was a symbolic dimension to the materials used in home construction and sought to uncover meaning in the landscape through perception measures. More important, Sadalla and Sheets noted that there was cultural meaning in the selection of building materials and that this might impact the social identity of a place (p. 155). Their study incorporated the use of slides to determine how people felt about particular types of materials and whether various materials changed their overall perception of an area.

2.3.4 Measures of Perception: Appraisive Approaches

The appraisive perception studies include works from Weeing et al. (1990), Woolever (1992), Nasar and Julian (1995), and Mesch and Manor (1998). Appraisive studies explore key aspects of people's feelings about the environment. Mesch and Manor (1998) provided an important example in their study of local attachment and environmental perception. They sought to understand the determinants of place attachment through two theoretical perspectives: the community of limited liability, and the liberated community. The limited liability community model reflects the argument that local attachment results from local relationships that develop over time, but also contends that only a small fraction of the neighbourhood population experiences local attachment, as only a small number of social ties develop locally (p. 504). However, an underlying point was that attachment to place may result from a positive appraisal of the neighbourhood environment. From this stance, the authors contended that the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood may be as important as the social ties that develop there.

In a study that attempted to link urban problems with a declining sense of community, Nasar and Julian (1995) examined the psychological sense of community in the neighbourhood. In this research, the authors described an eleven-item scale to assess the sense of community among the residents. Through an examination of three suburban neighbourhoods it was determined that there was a higher sense of community in the neighbourhood that exhibited the highest level of mixed use. This included areas with a relatively complex urban texture, such as downtown locations containing many types of land uses in close proximity. They further noted that there was a greater sense of community

within the apartment complex that contained a courtyard as opposed to the complex without one (p. 179).

Related to the work of Nasar and Julian, Weeing et al (1990), attempted to produce a categorization of neighbourhoods that assessed sense of community through a four-type classification system based on the level of neighbouring and social networks which developed. The authors used indicators such as the level of interaction in conversation, visiting, and the provision of social support to friends and neighbours. The goal of the research was to determine the level of neighbourhood cohesion. Weeing et al found that neighbourhoods primarily consisting of multi-storey apartment blocks tended to generate less sense of community and cohesion than less dense single-family neighbourhoods.

Woolever (1992) examined the complexities of neighbourhood attachment. In addition to the traditional perspective of the behaviour of the residents, Woolever also included the impact of physical characteristics in influencing the level of attachment. A relevant conclusion was that "neighbourhood perceptions and evaluations are better understood by a model that includes more than individual socio-demographic predictors" (p. 112). Woolever concluded that a measurement of neighbourhood attachment needs to consider both the individual residents as well as the neighbourhood's characteristics.

2.3.5 Perception Summary

The research outlined thus far has demonstrated that there are many potential methods that could be used to assess people's perception of place, ranging from the use of cognitive mapping and photographic interpretation, to the use of surveys to measure the sense of community and neighbouring. Each

method adds a new dimension to the appraisive and designative theoretical approaches discussed. More important, it is evident that many of the studies could be considered either designative or appraisive as the line between them is often indistinguishable.

The measurement of people's perception of the neighbourhood is a complex and subjective task, involving the selection of an appropriate methodology and method of data interpretation. The use of survey material in the form of a questionnaire is useful, but supplemental research techniques can help to widen the scope of the research. As noted at the outset, photo-interpretation is an example of a supplemental technique that can be employed. Yet, the selection of a particular type of photo-interpretation methodology is also a complex issue. For this research, a method of photo-documentation called self-directed photography was selected to be used as a secondary measurement tool for understanding neighbourhood change. This method gauges residents' perceptions and feelings about the neighbourhood in which they live, and assists in evaluating confidence levels. Self-directed photography aids in elucidating an overall image of the neighbourhood that addresses both the human and physical aspects of the neighbourhood (See Chapter Three).

2.4 The Physical Environment of the Neighbourhood

Research pertaining to the physical components of the neighbourhood is broad in scope and spans decades of study by geographers and researchers in many other disciplines. It is not the intention here to examine each model or aspect of neighbourhood change, nor would this be a practical undertaking. Rather, it is hoped that a thorough overview of the literature will illuminate those

key aspects of the changing neighbourhood environment that are most relevant to the present research.

Studies in urban morphology began to take a conceptual approach with the work of Conzen (1960), who sought to identify and explain recurrent phenomena in town (urban form) evolution. This field of study was furthered significantly by Vance (1977) who studied the changing nature of the neighbourhood and the city, applying the term morphogenesis to describe urban structural change. Vance noted that morphogenesis is concerned with how a society shapes its built environments through attitudes and local practices. "Thus, social, political, religious, cultural, and economic practices are at work, and these processes normally stem from society at large rather than the ideas of a small elite" (pp. 4-5). Therefore, it can be said that neighbourhoods are not static in nature. Rather, they are in a perpetual state of spatial reorganisation. This reorganisation is the result of many contributing factors that cause neighbourhoods to change their physical form over time. Morphogenesis is then the manner by which different parts of the urban landscape restructure over time. Some areas will be built with more aesthetic quality, while other areas will be subjected to increased levels of disinvestment and decline. What is clear from the process of spatial reorganization, is that through morphogensis, some neighbourhoods benefit from stability, some suffer from decline, and others display increased renovation and renewal activities. Thus, Vance's application of morphogenesis provides one way of envisioning the city and neighbourhood through "the physical process in city shaping," which becomes critical in understanding the role of form and landscape change (p. 368).

2.4.1 Models and Typologies of Neighbourhood Structure

As noted in Chapter One, the present research is concerned with assessing the outcome of neighbourhood change. Therefore, to understand the development of the neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg, it is important to consider the various models that have been used to describe the evolution of the neighbourhood so as to better understand their present condition. The literature related to the process of neighbourhood change is extensive in scope and includes such seminal works as those by Hoover and Vernon (1959), Birch (1971), McCann (1975) Hughes and Bleakly (1975), Ahlbrant and Brophy (1975), and Ley (2000), to name but a few. Although the literature related to neighbourhood change has evolved over the last half-century, many of the more recent works owe their foundations to the early pioneers in the field. Most notable in the earliest works was the contention that neighbourhoods undergo a life-cycle pattern of development. This meant that as neighbourhoods aged there was a natural process by which the physical and human environments evolved through a set of defined stages. The premise was that neighbourhoods went through sequenced stages – starting with their inception and ending either with their destruction or, in some cases, their eventual rebirth.

In one of the earliest and certainly most prominent works, Hoover and Vernon (1959) postulated that neighbourhoods evolved through a set of specific sequences. The model developed by Hoover and Vernon was formulated on the premise that neighbourhoods evolved through a life-cycle in which periods of development could be separated into five stages of growth:

Stage One: Residential development of single-family houses.

Stage Two: A transition stage, in which there is substantial new construction and population growth.

Stage Three: A downgrading stage, in which housing is adapted to higher density use than it was originally designed for.

Stage Four: The thinning-out stage, in which density and dwelling occupancy are gradually reduced.

Stage Five: The renewal stage, in which obsolete dwellings are being replaced by new multi-family units (pp. 192-202).

The five stages of the neighbourhood life-cycle proved to be an important tool for investigating the neighbourhood and played a prominent role in the 1950's and 1960's. The life-cycle model has been replicated and elaborated by researchers, including Birch (1971), Hughes and Bleakly (1975), Ahlbrant and Brophy (1975), McCann (1975), and a more recent interpretation by Ley (2000). In the last, Ley builds on previous works to produce a typology specific to Canadian inner city neighbourhoods.

Birch's model of urban growth explained the evolution of the neighbourhood through a six-stage process that 'hypothesized' that neighbourhoods changed character over time, following a well-defined sequence (p. 78). The components of Birch's model were:

Stage One: Rural – low population density and a predominance of single-family units.

Stage Two: First wave of development– subdivision begins with high rates of new construction, predominantly single-family units.

Stage Three: Fully developed – high quality residential initial development complete. In some cases single-family units prevail but density is higher than in stage two. In other cases, an increasing number of multi-unit structures have been built. Property values and rents are at their maximum for the neighbourhood.

Stage Four: Packing – the age of structures increases, rents and property values fall, and lower income groups begin to move in. To bridge the gap between old and new rents, more people pack into the units than the units were designed to hold. This can create new slums.

Stage Five: Thinning – buildings from stage four have begun to deteriorate and children of low-income parents leave, probably for a stage four or stage two neighbourhood elsewhere in the city. Population begins to decline and older couples are left behind. This can create slums.

Stage Six: Recapture – at some point, the land occupied by an old slum becomes too valuable to justify its use in an old slum and the inhabitants become too weak politically to hold off deterioration. Property is either rebuilt or rehabilitated into more efficient uses such as high income apartments, office buildings or public offices. When the recapture is complete, the area may appear as a stage three but with higher densities (pp. 79-81).

Birch's approach advanced a more sophisticated version of Hoover and Vernon's life-cycle research by incorporating a more complex set of stages. This allowed for a more detailed appreciation of the changing nature of the neighbourhood. Birch also recognized the important role people play in determining where they live and why they move. However, Birch was more concerned with the social and economic status of the neighbourhood as opposed to the role of people's perception in influencing their desire to remain and invest in the neighbourhood.

Public Affairs Counselling, through the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), established a similar approach to those of Birch and Hoover and Vernon, in the development of a five-stage model commonly referred to as the HUD model. The five stages were:

Stage One – Healthy Viable Neighbourhoods;
Stage Two – Incipient Decline;
Stage Three – Clearly Declining;
Stage Four – Accelerated Decline;
Stage Five – Abandonment (Ahlbrant and Brophy, 1975, pp. 7-9).

In stage one, the neighbourhood is quite stable and has a high level of home ownership with income levels above that of the city-wide average. It also has a stable household composition and an adequate quality of life. In the second stage (similar to Birch's stage four), the neighbourhood begins to unravel. In this stage, obsolescence of buildings and homes becomes a factor as maintenance of dwellings decreases and costs of repairs rise. At this juncture, the neighbourhood is at the breaking point; if upgrading and regular maintenance are not performed, the area will begin to lose its population and thus begin the slow process of decline.

In stage three, decline is evident; home ownership levels continue to decrease as do property values and population. Reinvestment in the neighbourhood – in the form of regular maintenance and modernization of the structures – is at a critical juncture, meaning that investment is necessary to avoid further decline and to aid in the regeneration of the area.

Stage four is marked by massive disinvestment and deterioration of the housing stock. The public sector also loses faith and the neighbourhood exhibits advanced signs of decline. Income levels continue to slide as the area attracts those looking for cheap shelter options. The real estate market is nonexistent as the area's desirability reaches its lowest point.

The final stage (five) is abandonment of the neighbourhood. The area is an economic wasteland and the only residents left are those with no other choice but to stay. The land uses in the neighbourhood are no longer economically viable as they have fallen to such lows: renewal is the only option. However, the exorbitant costs of renewal make this option difficult for politicians (Albrandt and Brophy, 1975, pp. 7-10).

The HUD model assumes that neighbourhood change is primarily the result of weakening economic status and the ageing and obsolescence of the internal infrastructure. Much as these indicators hold merit, they again do not give sufficient weight to the perceptions of local community and city residents in contributing to the stability or decline of a given neighbourhood.

The models representing neighbourhood change from a Canadian perspective remain limited within the geographical literature. However, two prominent works, those of McCann (1975) and Ley (2000), provide an important Canadian perspective. A third study, based on The City of Winnipeg *Neighbourhood Designation Report* (2000), is included in this discussion because it provides a framework that assesses the outcome of neighbourhood change; that is, it categorizes the present neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg into four types based on many of the principles evident in the aforementioned models. Furthermore, the four designations advanced in the report are used in the present research as the foundation from which to determine whether differences exist among the neighbourhood resident groups being examined.

One of the earliest Canadian examples is the McCann Stage Model of Neighbourhood Transition, which looked at how "land use and physical change have reorganized the spatial structure of Edmonton's older residential areas" (p.101). The intent of the study was to examine residential land use change in Edmonton with an emphasis on "what location factors account for the particular distributional features of transition processes such as conversion and redevelopment" (p.2). McCann's model postulated a sequencing of the redevelopment process based on the following three stages:

Single Family Phase - This is the initial phase of the residential land-use cycle and is dominated by the construction of single-family homes. This phase is seen as lasting some time, creating a diverse mixture of housing types.

Conversion Phase - This phase is marked by an increased pressure on owners to convert their homes for more intensive use. This can be characterized initially by the conversion of large single-family homes into two - and three-unit rental properties. This conversion is seen as a means to maximize investment potential among owners through the addition of increased rental revenues.

Apartment Redevelopment Phase - This phase is marked by the increased pressure for rental properties to be constructed. This phase is also distinguished by a shift away from the conversion of single-family homes to multiple-unit dwellings, and is initially likely to be characterized by the development of lower density new construction of duplexes before making way for larger scale apartment construction.

The three phases noted by McCann provide an important perspective on the changing nature of neighbourhoods as part of the larger urban system. The McCann Model also incorporates a consideration for both density and distance within the urban structure of cities. In terms of density, McCann contended that densities would naturally increase as one moved from the initial single-family phase to the apartment phase. Within this evolution, there would be periods of stability which would occur as one moved from *single family* to *conversion* and from *conversion* to *apartment redevelopment.* With respect to distance, McCann noted that there would be a higher incidence of conversion close to the central business district where land use pressure is usually greatest.

In general, McCann developed a spatio-temporal model of urban transition marked by the shift from single-family units to higher density apartments. In a related study, Smith and McCann (1981), concluded that the dwelling conversion phase can be used as a means to assess urban decline as this may mark a transition phase. However, they also noted that in the case of Edmonton, conversions can occur from the housing market strengthening in certain sectors or varying types of accommodations. Based on the reaction of the housing market, the authors contended that "conversion thus becomes an interim measure, as the market adapts to the new environment" (p. 551). They also argued that models that presuppose the eventual formation of a slum may be misleading, and noted that: "by focussing on age as the critical factor in the decline process, the impression is also left, albeit unwittingly, that every residential area is on an inevitable downward course. Edmonton's experience, like that of Toronto, confirms that the reality is more complex" (p. 551). This is a central assertion for the present research as it appears that many neighbourhoods, especially those with an older housing stock, have been able to maintain some level of stability and resist decline while others appear more susceptible to rapid decline.

The final model of urban change discussed is that of Ley (2000), whose framework focussed specifically on inner city neighbourhood change. In his framework, Ley noted that four processes dominate inner city neighbourhoods: Decline, Stability, Revitalization and Massive Redevelopment. He explained this by stating that "areas are categorized not on the basis of their social characteristics, but rather according to the dominant processes of identifiable change. As a result, neighbourhoods with different social characteristics may

find themselves in the same category" (pp. 282-283). The typology is based on measuring changes in ten indicators that include population and household structure, economics (both household and housing), physical condition, the role of community groups, and land use pressure. Ley's typology is relevant for explaining inner city decline, a process for which he offered an important set of explanatory factors along with a set of dominant accompanying processes. As an example, obsolescence (an explanatory factor) is dominated by ageing of the built environment and social infrastructure while conflict (as an explanatory factor) is dominated by racial and class polarization. Ley's typology provides an important and descriptive means to understand the processes and factors that have contributed to the changing internal dynamics of inner city neighbourhoods.

The models noted above provided an important perspective for better understanding the processes that drive the changing nature of the neighbourhood. For the most part, the models contend that neighbourhoods evolve and develop over time, with some neighbourhoods eventually declining and subsequently being redeveloped, while others remain stable or prosperous. At this point, it is critical to reemphasize that, although the present research is cognizant of the importance of the processes associated with neighbourhood change, its primary concern remains with evaluating the outcome of neighbourhood change; that is, assessing the manner by which residents evaluate the present condition of the various neighbourhoods as opposed to focussing on their evolution over time. This task is undertaken by assessing differences among the resident-groups drawn from four neighbourhood types, represented by neighbourhoods that have undoubtedly changed over time. The framework used to compare the resident-groups is drawn from the City of

Winnipeg's (2000) neighbourhood classification system (an analysis of the methodological development of the framework is undertaken in Chapter Three).

The neighbourhood designation framework has been in place since 1978 and classifies 193 neighbourhoods into four designations (Table 2.1). Beginning with the Emerging Area, the classification system places neighbourhoods into designations based on age, condition, and other factors, and progresses to Major Improvement Areas (which would have the highest incidence of decline). As seen in the table, the majority of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg fall into the Conservation category. This designation includes neighbourhoods generally considered to be stable, which may contain pockets of housing in need of a greater degree of maintenance. Using Birch's schema, Conservation neighbourhoods could be considered a *Stage 3 (Fully Developed)* neighbourhood, as most neighbourhoods within the category are completely filled in. The Rehabilitation category appears consistent with Hoover and Vernon's *Stage 3 or 4 (Downgrading or Thinning)* or Birch's *Stage 4 or 5 (Packing and Thinning).* One could further speculate that elements of McCann's *Conversion Phase* would be present in this designation as there appears to have been pressure to convert many of the single-family homes into duplexes or rooming housings in many of these neighbourhoods, a process which has been occurring since the 1970s in neighbourhoods such as McMillan, Spence, and William Whyte.

Table 2.1 City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Types			
Designation	Definition	Total Number	Proportional Percentage
Major Improvement Area	Older areas that have experienced significant decline to the point where housing and neighbourhood infrastructure require complete renewal.	14	7.25
Rehabilitation Area	Areas in which decline is having a spillover effect to the extent that it is beginning to affect the overall stability of the neighbourhood. Some intervention would be required in order to stimulate private reinvestment and improve infrastructure.	21	10.9
Conservation Area	Neighbourhoods which are physically and socially stable and 'may be' showing initial signs of decline. The City will monitor these areas for any potentially detrimental intrusions and may intervene in isolated cases.	135	70.0
Emerging Area	Areas in which new development is being considered. The City's role will be to ensure appropriate coordination of land use and infrastructure. These areas include new residential subdivisions and neighbourhoods.	23	11.9

Source: City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Designation Report.

In one of the only critical evaluations of the Winnipeg model, Hamm et al. (1988) determined that its framework was a relevant tool in approximating neighbourhood differentiation in Winnipeg. More important, the authors noted that an important aspect of the framework was its use of custom data aggregated to the neighbourhood unit (NU). These custom data are derived from Statistics Canada, and are used because the existing data are aggregated to the census tract (CT) level, which was not perceived as being accurate in describing the structure of the smaller neighbourhoods. In fact, the authors concluded that the mean 1981 population for 135 Winnipeg CT's was 4332 while the data aggregated by NU were 2390 for the 248 neighbourhoods (this number has since risen to 2713 for the 1996 data). The authors concluded that "it is clear that the aggregation of data by the neighbourhood allows for a much more refined

measure of change than census tract analysis" (p.453). They further concurred that the City of Winnipeg places neighbourhoods into the appropriate categories based primarily on whether they are emerging, stable or declining.

2.4.2 Filtering and Succession Theories

In relation to the models noted above, many studies have focussed on the processes of filtering and succession as an explanatory means to assess urban change. Filtering theory is represented in the works of Ratcliff (1949), Muth (1973), Little (1975), and Gringsby (1984), to mention a few. Filtering and succession theories examine urban land-use change based on the assumption that urban change is the natural outcome of a dynamic housing market. At the neighbourhood level, Albrandt and Brophy (1975) wrote: "filtering is a term used to describe the process through which existing housing gradually declines in value, thereby making it available to groups of lower socioeconomic status" (p. 10). Filtering is a dynamic process that shapes neighbourhoods by allowing the existing housing stock to work its way down in relative value. The result noted by Albrandt and Brophy is that lower income groups can eventually afford housing as it ages and is passed down. The theory of filtering is not without criticism, and Ratcliff (1949) noted the problems early on:

> Filtering... is not a controllable device. The end product of filtering, at the bottom of the chain reaction, is substandard housing; thus, filtering produces the very blight which we seek to remedy. Filtering cannot increase in effectiveness without the removal of housing as it sinks below minimal standard. And if by some drastic change in conditions the rate of filtering were accelerated to the point of adequacy, the cost to property owners through the concomitant depreciation in the value of their properties would be tremendous (p. 317).

Filtering theories assume that housing units decline in value until they reach a point where the original owner sells the unit for a price that can be afforded by a member of a income group lower than that of the previous resident. Furthermore, Harris (2000) contended that filtering may have more applicability in the American city than in Canada. In fact, Harris pointed to the possibility that reverse filtering has begun to affect the Canadian city. This process is seen as a consequence of gentrification, which increases the value of housing that would otherwise be available for lower income persons (pp. 385-390).

Succession theory is related to filtering but is not exactly identical to it. Gringsby wrote: "it is important to note that, despite their similarities, succession and any of the definitions of filtering should not be interpreted as synonymous. Succession can take place without the shifts in prices, rents, and housing quality that are central to one or more of the filtering definitions" (p. 25).

Gringsby listed six main causes of succession: changes in real income; growth in the number of households; decrease in the number of households; obsolescence; changes in housing demand and supply resulting in governmental intervention; and neighbourhood deterioration. These six factors play a crucial role in determining neighbourhood succession.

Each model described above assumes that the socio-spatial reorganization of the neighbourhood is an outcome of the ageing of a neighbourhood's infrastructure. Obviously there are exceptions to this rule, as some neighbourhoods retain a high degree of stability despite the ageing process. However, for the most part, these models have contributed some important points to better understanding the dynamic nature of the

neighbourhood. For example, if reinvestment does not keep pace with an ageing infrastructure, the area will begin to exhibit the early stages of decline.

The models of neighbourhood change offered an important perspective in suggesting that most neighbourhoods eventually age and decline (though the possibility of being redeveloped always exists). Johnson (2002) and Jacobs (1961), examined neighbourhood change by suggesting that people play the most prominent role in shaping the direction a neighbourhood takes as it evolves over time. Although, their works do not constitute a model, their inclusion is important in providing an alternative perspective on the changing neighbourhood.

In her seminal work, Jacobs (1961) put forth the idea the neighbourhoods can go through a process of *slumming* and *unslumming*. Jacobs contended that to "overcome slums, we must regard slum dwellers as people capable of understanding and acting upon their own self-interests" and "that we need to discern, respect, and build upon the forces of regeneration that exist in the slums" (p. 271). For Jacobs, the formation of the slum occurred long before there were visible markers. She noted that slums form from stagnation and dullness, which result from the loss of young and energetic persons, and the failure of the area to draw newcomers. She further noted that one of the first visible signs of slum formation is the rapid loss of population and the failure to replace movers. The next characteristic is a sudden and rapid escalation of the population. Jacobs offered a cautionary point on rapid population growth, asserting emphatically that this is not a sign of the area's popularity but rather that it points to a dramatic rise in population density. It is this increased density that accelerates the physical decay of the neighbourhood as "buildings naturally wear out with disproportionate swiftness under these conditions" (pp. 275-76).

Unslumming begins with a core group of people who not only remain in the area but are immensely attached to the neighbourhood. According to Jacobs, these persons will contend that the neighbourhood is a key part of their lives and that the area is unique "despite its shortcomings." Another feature of the unslumming neighbourhood is that the area must become more lively – people must be on the streets, and there must be a sense of safety and diversity in the area. This increased presence of people will also help alleviate the dullness of the area (pp. 278-79).

The process of unslumming is by no means speedy. In fact, Jacobs noted that a critical aspect of positive change in a slum neighbourhood is characterized by a sudden drop in population. This drop in population will not result in higher vacancies, it will indicate that overall household size is decreasing. It will also signal a key shift, characterized by more people remaining and recognizing the area's potential. At this point, "the community gains competence and strength, partly from practice and growth of trust" (p. 281).

One of the most profound observations made by Jacobs is a stunning criticism of the popular notion among planners that the renewal of inner cities hinges on bringing back the middle class. Elaborating on this contentious point, Jacobs contended that "cities need not bring back a middle class, and carefully protect it like an artificial growth. Cities grow a middle class" (p. 282). This comment is one of the most decisive statements on the subject as it focusses the revitalization of process on people and argues for the need to nurture and rebuild declining neighbourhoods. It is this nurturing growth that not only helps to *unslum* neighbourhoods but also gives people the power to create better places among themselves.

Jacobs' convictions that people create place and that the presence of more people on the street adds to the liveliness of place, creating the necessary environment for stability and growth, remain applicable today as they were more than forty years ago. Cities, she observed, need to be diverse and changing. To ensure that neighbourhoods remain as diverse, those people who leave must be replaced by persons capable of contributing to the stability and diversity of the neighbourhood. When too many people leave or too many pack into the neighbourhood, signs of decline will surface. However, as Jacobs noted, despite this decline, there will remain those who are deeply committed to the neighbourhood. This powerful and emotional attachment ensures that the history, stories, and belief that positive change is possible will eventually help to *unslum* those areas that have momentarily lost hope.

In a more recent and highly innovative work, Johnson (2002) explored the city through the application of emergence theory, a theory that examines complex systems believed to display self-organizing characteristics or bottom-up intelligence. Emergence theory was first observed in the natural world in which the complex behaviour of the slime mould was examined. A key premise of the theory is that simple organisms, once thought to be regulated by a pacemaker cell (which directs behaviour) was, in fact, incorrect. More likely, behaviour was controlled on a self-organizing bottom-up basis based on the actions of individual cells: "The movement from low-level rules to higher-level sophistication is what we call emergence" (p. 18). In other words, organisms react to the actions of nearby cells. To explain further, he provided an example of a slime mould which consists of complex operations carried out by millions of cells, each reacting to other actions of other cells. The result is complex actions

that display sophisticated behaviour patterns of survival, but are based on each cell undertaking basic operations. In an urban context, emergence theory contends that self-organization can be applied to cities and neighbourhoods.

Johnson believed that cities are formed by the actions of citizens who react to events around them. He argued that land uses in early cities tended to sort themselves out based on the self-organization among citizens. He cited the development of Florence, Italy, and contended that "industries driven by ideas naturally gravitated toward physical centres of idea generation, even in an age of instant data transmissions" (p. 230).

A key concept discussed by Johnson was the way self-organizing systems result in complexity in the urban neighbourhood. He argued bottom-up growth patterns create complexities within the urban landscape. The patterns that develop reflect the natural sorting-out of places (for better or worse). This sorting process involves emergence principles such as heightened neighbour interactions and well-developed pattern recognition that become hallmarks of the self-organization of the city. Therefore, it appears that people, as part of the complex system of cities, recognize the emergent patterns that form around them in the natural world. People thus reacting to change understand where they fit, allowing cities to develop complex systems. This line of thinking suggests that areas of decline will undoubtably attract those persons with limited choice or financial means simply because they have no other logical choice.

Cities, as complex adaptive systems, are important and contribute to the diversity which develops within them. Johnson noted that within the bottom-up approach, systems become a series of layers. An example would be the neighbourhood, which would form one layer within the larger system of the

planet. Neighbourhoods are then envisioned as living systems capable of emitting signals and displaying the traits of an organism which is part of a larger living system. According to Johnson, citizens become part of a living system, recognizing the development of patterns within cities and, based on numerous factors, decide where to live. Their decision is not based solely on choice but also on their ability to afford certain areas. Therefore, there is a natural sorting or self-organization which takes place marked by: "The flow of people through the city [which] is now regulated by an intelligent traffic network, evolving and learning in response to patterns of automobile movement" (p. 232). Cities develop around these systems and adapt to the changing patterns and growth that occurs over time.

There can be little doubt that the complexity of the modern city is the outcome of human actions, including those of people finding places to live and businesses attempting to secure the best possible location to meet their needs. Whether this complexity is explained by emergent self-organizing theory remains unclear. However, Johnson does make an important contribution to our understanding of the models of neighbourhood change by contending that citizens, while acting independently, may be unwittingly part of a larger system. This larger system is based on the collective actions of citizens who, in some way, ultimately contribute to the form and function of the city.

2.5 Housing and Renovation Activity

The following section provides an overview of the housing sector with an emphasis on housing market activity and home renovation. The purpose is to conceptualize the examination of general housing concerns and renovation

activity within the neighbourhood, and to demonstrate the importance of the housing market as a key contributor to neighbourhood stability.

Sewell (1994) offered an important appraisal of the centrality of housing in stating: "housing is such a bedrock of society – that its influences permeate all aspects of social and economic life" (p. 4). In a similar vein, Smith (1971) cautioned that "shelter space is not a homogeneous commodity, and that the market for this space is not a single market in the classical sense but a series of overlapping sub-markets differentiated by location, type of dwelling, type of tenure, age and quality" (p.23). Miron (2000) defined the housing market as being "the locus where buyers and sellers interact to exchange goods or services" (p.163). He, too, observed structural differences in the housing market, evident primarily in price fluctuation. However, price differences are deemed to be essential to the healthy functioning of the market. Miron concluded that "real estate creates risks and that cities are mechanisms for reducing these risks. In part, this is because cities are agglomerations of buyers and sellers of property and thus provide a strong market for the purchase and sale of property assets" (p.171).

Smith's acknowledgement that the housing market is heterogeneous is crucial for the present research since each sub-market will have a unique set of characteristics to which residents will respond accordingly. For instance, residents ultimately choose whether to purchase a new home or invest further in their present home through renovations. In either scenario, people attempt to maximise their housing choice based on a number of factors such as financial means, housing attributes (e.g. wanting a media room) or locational amenities (e.g. desiring a home in a new subdivision etc.). Expanding on this perspective,

Harris (2000) offered a critical spatial analysis of the market by stating that the housing market (on a national level) is extremely diverse in terms of both prices and condition of dwellings. Furthermore, urban housing markets function independently of one another. As an example, Harris cited the boom and bust of Calgary's housing market as being tied to periods in which oil fortunes rose and fell during the 1970s and 1980s, while in Winnipeg and Montreal prices have "been depressed for a generation" (p. 392). He also stated that single industry towns will have the most volatile markets but noted that "even the larger cities are profoundly affected by shifts in capital investment" (p. 392).

In the study area for the present research, the housing market is clearly differentiated between the inner city of Winnipeg and its surrounding neighbourhoods. This is evident in the fact that prices can escalate rapidly as one moves outward from the lower values found in the inner city to the more desirable suburban locations. Furthermore, there is also significant housing price variation within individual neighbourhoods. This trend is evident in Winnipeg's inner city where a combination of both private and subsidized housing markets coexist. For example, the Spence neighbourhood contains a large number of homes undergoing renovations undertaken by community groups, with completed homes being marketed primarily to lower income families. In order to make these homes affordable to lower income buyers and for community organizations to absorb costly renovations in their budgets, this segment of the market is heavily subsidized from public initiatives . This "sub-market" works in tandem with the private housing market in which homes are bought and sold through real estate boards (Distasio 2003).

Market diversity is also evident in the works of Galster (1996) and Miron (2000) who both observed that not only is the market heterogeneous but so too is the housing stock. Galster recognized that "housing is a package of many salient attributes, only some of which are under the control of the owner" (p.1798). Miron argued that, because of its heterogenous composition, the overall market must be considered as being a set of sub-markets that includes homeowner, rental, commercial and industrial markets. Each of these sub-markets would then become differentiated through a set of explanatory factors such as proximity to other amenities or distance to work.

The functioning of the housing market is further influenced by supply and demand factors. These factors ensure that a neighbourhood generates enough economic activity to sustain a healthy balance between those wanting to sell their homes and those seeking to buy or rent a home in a specific area. Achieving a balance between supply and demand is not easy, as many neighbourhoods suffer from an imbalance between these two factors leading to market instability and, potentially, an increase or decrease in the overall price valuation. Smith (1971) defined housing demand noting: "demand for housing is a complex function of prices, incomes, demographic forces and so forth" (p.13). This definition remains relevant given that these factors still drive the housing market. On the supply side, Galster (1996) concluded that three distinct categories exist: unchanged existing dwellings, modified existing dwellings, and newly constructed dwellings. He further noted that the heterogeneous aspect of housing is such that "housing is not a single commodity but rather a complex set of variously related commodities" (p. 1798). This would include tangible components such as structural aspects, lot characteristics, neighbourhood

amenities and proximal location to other destinations, as well as intangible factors such as sentiment or attachment to the area.

According to Miron (1988), the demand for housing is generated primarily through changes in the pattern of population growth and changes to family and household formation. He found that although these factors have been used to explain why demand increased during the postwar period, they do not necessarily explain changes in the quality and type of housing demanded by Canadians. In fact, in his examination of the postwar period of housing construction Miron observed changes occurring in three key sectors: the demand for single-family housing, the conversion of older dwellings, and the addition of apartment units of various size. Miron's work appears similar to the McCann Model presented earlier in terms of the market segmentation he noted. Miron quantified these changes by looking at the percentage of both single-family housing and apartments, as a total of the urban housing stock. He discovered a slight decrease in the percentage of single-family homes between 1941 and 1981 (from 52% to 49.7%) and a modest increase in the number of apartments (from 35.4% to 41.7%). Miron concluded that these changes could be attributed to supply side considerations such as change in building technologies (cost and innovation) and in demand side considerations (demographic and income).

Smith (1984) furthers the demand side discussion by examining changes in family headship rates as a key indicator of housing demand. In this study, Smith determined that the demographic composition of a typical Canadian home buyer during the 1961-1981 period was marked by a significant increase in the percentage of nonfamily households, which rose from 13.1% to 24%. He

concluded that this increase could be attributed to three key factors: an increase in housing affordability levels, an increase in the supply of housing, and an increase in the per capita disposable incomes of home buyers.

In their study, Rosen and Smith (1986) asserted that too much discussion of the housing market has been focussed on understanding the dynamics of the new housing market[1]. Rosen and Smith see the lack of attention to the existing or resale market as a critical omission given that "the value of the existing stock is many times greater than the value of annual expenditures for new residential construction" (p. 510). This contention is highly relevant for the present research since the internal housing markets of the majority of the neighbourhoods in the present study are those driven almost exclusively by the resale market. The exception is in neighbourhoods classified as emerging, where some new construction remains. However, new construction is now considered to be at a dollar volume less than the resale market.[2] To put this in the perspective for the entire city, the Winnipeg Real Estate Board registered 10,539 resales for 2002, with a total volume of just over one billion dollars[3]. By contrast, new housing starts for the same year (including single-family and multiple-units) totalled 1264

1

The "new housing market" refers to those units constructed each year and are expressed as the total number of housing starts for a given year (market segments are typically denoted as single-family, row and apartments).

2

This observation is based on the fact that the three Emerging neighbourhoods included in the research are in the final stages of development and therefore resale numbers would out value the additional housing starts in each neighbourhood.

3

Resale data accessed November 17, 2003 using the Manitoba Real Estate Board Website: http://www.realestatemanitoba.com.

units, generating an estimated $200 million in new housing.[4] The difference between the new and resale housing market illustrates the importance of having stable prices in older neighbourhoods given the enormous dollar volume spent each year.

Directly related to supply and demand is the process of choosing a type of home and location, which is a complex act but represents a homeowner's most important financial decision. Reed (2001) wrote: "investment in housing represents the largest single source of wealth for individuals and has an important role in macro-economics" (p. 356), while Jud and Winkler (2002) contended that housing represents one of the single largest investments people make. In their study of homeowners in the United States, Jud and Winkler calculated that, on average, housing represented 33% of a person's net worth. A conclusion is that housing is not solely a matter of supply and demand factors but rather, it takes into account one's financial means along with one's perception of the 'aspatial' attributes of potential locations as well. Reed acknowledged that although economic considerations are important in a person's choice of housing, attention must also be given to social and demographic factors. The present research is concerned with these types of factors, and how they might influence people's perceptions of the neighbourhood and their desire to invest in or divest from the area.

4

Housing start data accessed November 17, 2003 using Statistics Canada's secure CanSim2 server: http://mercury.uwinnipeg.ca:2124/cansim2/English/index.html. The total of $200 million was extrapolated by taking the total number of new housing starts and multiplying by an average new construction cost of $150,000 (weighted to take into account multiple and single-family units).

Leven et al. (1976) pointed out that the housing preferences of individuals are important in the decision to purchase a home. It was thus concluded that households do not simply purchase a home, but rather, they invest in the bundle of amenities offered by a community including commercial functions, recreational spaces and the people themselves. The authors also claimed that the price people are willing to pay for a home depends on multiple considerations such as "structural quality, size, modernity, accessibility, scope and quality of public services, and several characteristics that define neighborhood quality" (p. 35). It is this set of characteristics that the authors called 'the housing bundle'. This bundle of housing attributes is important in attracting residents and underscores Galster's (2001) neighbourhood definition which professed that neighbourhoods offer a bundle of services to its residents. Leven et al. further stressed that households not only place value on the dwelling and the housing bundle, but they also consider the "expected future status of those characteristics" (p.35). Reed (2001) would concur with this assertion as he contended that established house values are significantly influenced by social and demographic factors.

With respect to market perceptions Goetze and Colton (1980) noted that "housing condition alone is not a sufficient criteria for understanding neighborhood dynamics" (p.186). Like Smith (1971, 1984), Goetze and Colton also observed that understanding the market is complex because each neighbourhood evolves differently. For Goetze and Colton, housing condition and market perceptions must be examined together. They argued that "market perception is defined in terms of the relative number of households desiring to move into, stay in, or leave the neighbourhood while housing condition is based on the number of units in good, fair or poor quality" (p.187). Using these

variables, the authors created a matrix that cross-tabbed condition with market perception to explain the variations in perception based on changes in either variable. The conclusion made by the authors is that there must be a sense of stability in the area to counteract decline factors with growth. On the growth side, they found that it is important to ensure that neighbourhoods do not change too rapidly, since the outcome would be escalating prices and increased speculation. More so, they envisioned a middle ground or "golden mean" as the most desirable outcome of a balanced housing market, which they defined as a "stabilization approach which identifies a golden mean between market conditions" (p.191).

The provision of and access to housing is an important societal goal; however, there still remain a large number of persons who lack quality housing. Miron (1993) addresses this fact by stating that the Canadian housing market is characterized by the "haves and have nots." He further noted that although housing has become a more accessible good for the majority in the post-war period (between 1945 and 1986), too many people still lack the opportunity to procure housing that meets their needs. Miron also contended that Canadians may have become too mobile during the post-war period and postulated that "this may have meant that individuals have come to spend less of their life in any one dwelling, forgoing the opportunity to develop a longstanding attachment to one's home" (p.361).

In the end, the housing market remains a complex entity driven not only by supply and demand but also by the sentiment of residents and their desire to find a place to call home. Yet whether one becomes endeared to that place remains difficult to predict. Furthermore, it is also becoming more difficult to access

housing that is affordable and meets one's needs. Miron sums this up by stating: "it can be argued that we cherish things that, having outlived their usefulness, are not easily re-sold" (p.361). The amount of older housing currently in need of major repair may be a symptom of this attitude in that we strive for new things but forget that the past contains a richness and diversity worth cherishing, rediscovering and reinvesting in.

2.5.1 Renovation Activity and the Neighbourhood

A major aspect of the present research is to understand what role renovation activities play in influencing the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhoods. As housing ages, the level of reinvestment (in the form of maintenance) becomes a key in determining the overall condition of the housing stock. This research contends that the level of confidence residents are have in their neighbourhoods can be influenced by shifts in renovation activity: more activity may indicate higher levels of confidence while a lack of renovation activity may signal the reverse.

The act of renovation has received much attention in the literature and has been the subject of numerous studies that classified such activity under the rubric of urban revitalization, rehabilitation, rejuvenation or as the outcome of processes such as gentrification or incumbent upgrading.

Of the processes listed above, both gentrification and incumbent upgrading require further evaluation. Gentrification generally refers to the swift act of neighbourhood upgrading and would include the following trends: a substantial increase in the cost of housing; an increased level of renovation activity; some displacement of persons previously residing in the neighbourhood; and a change

in the socio-economic level of the area's inhabitants, especially rising incomes. Displacement is generally the outcome of increased rents or housing costs to tenants and commercial proprietors. Gale (1984) and Smith and Williams (1986) contended that gentrification is the outcome of economic restructuring in the post-industrial city. This restructuring has created a structural change in the workforce that has created the conditions necessary for this type of activity. Smith and Williams defined the process of gentrification as "the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle class neighbourhood" (p.1). Ley (1988, 1991, 1996, 2000) further examined gentrification from a Canadian perspective and found evidence of such activity in Canadian cities including Halifax, Montreal and Toronto. Furthermore, Ley demonstrated that the socio-demographic composition of the neighbourhoods studied was altered through a marked change in the social structure. Clay (1979) observed that there are unique characteristics associated with gentrifying neighbourhoods; which include: central locations; close proximity to work and cultural amenities of downtown; excellent neighbourhood attributes (views of water, parks, skylines); and an abundance of character homes or homes with architectural substance (either historical or contemporary).

Clay observed that the process of gentrification is also accompanied by various types of renovation activities. He concluded that renovation activity will vary significantly, based on the socio-economic status of the renovators. For instance, he does suggest that while some activity will be cognizant of the architectural character of the home and attempt to preserve and enhance its historical aspects, other renovation activity will occur more rapidly and consist of

what he called "gut rehabilitation" in which the interiors are completely updated with modern amenities with little regard for the history or character of the home.

Incumbent upgrading is sometimes mistaken for gentrification as the outcome is similar in that the neighbourhood's housing stock is revitalized. The key distinction between these two processes is that incumbent upgrading is undertaken by the existing area residents. Clay's definition of incumbent upgrading remains the most commonly cited and is as follows:

> the major feature of this process is that physical improvement by incumbent residents takes place at a substantial rate with no significant change in the socioeconomic status or characteristics of the population. The lower or working class ambience of the neighborhood is not changed, and the physical improvements reflect greater confidence on the part of owner-investors in the neighborhood (p.7).

Clay concluded that "[incumbent upgrading] reflects neighborhood confidence and is evidence of a selective and small-scale reversal of more than two decades of sagging confidence and disinvestment in urban neighborhoods" (p. 35). He added that the factors contributing to incumbent upgrading would include increased cost of new housing, the rise of neighbourhood consciousness, and demographic pressures often caused by baby boomers renovating existing homes. Clay outlined the characteristics of upgrading neighbourhoods: they tend to lack the central locations of gentrifying areas; are almost entirely residential; do not likely have the same topographic features as gentrifying neighbourhoods; and are mostly working class areas that lack the architectural draw of gentrifying neighbourhoods. One of the most important observations that Clay made was that the there can be cases in which a neighbourhood may experience 'spot gentrification' which may take place in pockets within a neighbourhood or along a street or two. Ley (2000) added to this point by noting that the process of

neighbourhood change in some inner city areas is highly diverse. In Halifax, for instance, "decline, stability, incumbent upgrading and gentrification have been present simultaneously in the housing stock (within a few kilometres of the inner city)" (pp. 292-294).

The processes of gentrification and incumbent upgrading are important indicators of renovation activity within the neighbourhood, but as noted in Chapter One, the study area for the present research shows little evidence of gentrification. More likely, the activity taking place is that of incumbent upgrading or possibly 'spot gentrification', which may be occurring in the Wolseley neighbourhood. In fact, the Wolseley neighbourhood would be an example of what Ley describes as an area hosting multiple processes of rehabilitation.

Renovation is influenced to a large degree by the attitudes and perceptions of area residents. But the ultimate decision to invest is highly influenced by the ability of the household to afford various renovation projects. Undoubtedly, these two factors play prominent roles in determining what types of renovations are completed. Mercer and Philips (1981) placed a strong emphasis on the role of homeowners' attitudes as contributing to the decision to invest in renovation projects. Their research investigated the connection between investment in inner city properties and publicly funded rehabilitation programs. The authors found that one of the key determinants of whether inner city households undertook rehabilitation is household income. In addition, they found that the residents' views of the surrounding area were also important factors. This led to the conclusion that the attitudes of homeowners towards the physical and social changes taking place in their area will affect the desire to undertake renovations. Mercer and Philips found that "residents are much more likely to take up

residential rehabilitation if they have a positive view of the neighbourhood, its future and stability" (p. 233).

Galster and Hesser (1982) and O'Loughlin and Munski (1979) provide further support for the importance of the attitudes and perceptions of homeowners. Galster and Hesser cited the importance of geographic scale by contending that residents base their decision to renovate on either the primary neighbourhood (a small area surrounding the home which includes a dozen or so homes) or the secondary neighbourhood (which would encompass the larger neighbourhood boundary). They determined that the presence of deteriorated houses in a neighbourhood is associated with lower levels of reinvestment. This connection is important and may be further affected if deteriorating houses are within the 'primary' neighbourhood boundaries. The authors also placed an emphasis on the social considerations, stressing that "the social dimension of the neighborhood can be posited as affecting homeowners' maintenance behavior by encouraging them to conform to the other residents' norms as to what constitutes 'minimum acceptable' neighborhood housing quality" (p. 239). They determined that neighbours exert some level of pressure on homeowners to conform to community standards, or face ostracism. This type of pressure would certainly be more applicable in neighbourhoods in which homeowners have the financial ability to undertake home renovation projects.

In a study of two New Orleans neighbourhoods, O'Loughlin and Munski (1979) determined that, although both neighbourhoods were similar in composition, renovation activity was higher in one area. They determined that this was because one neighbourhood was closer to areas that had previously been renovated. This factor helped to entrench a sense of confidence among

residents, and thus contributed to the increased desire to renovate. The authors' most lucid finding was that "the cumulative nature of housing renovation in each neighborhood attracts further attention and investment, just as the contagious spread of housing abandonment quickly leads to disinvestment and neglect" (p.68). This finding is important for the present research as increased levels of renovation help improve the overall confidence level of area residents and thereby help promote the conditions necessary for further reinvestment.

In their study, Boehm and Ihlanfeldt (1986) examined factors that influence the decision to renovate among urban homeowners. They hypothesized that the decision to renovate is influenced by both internal and external factors. Internal determinants were defined as those factors that relate to the homeowner and the unit, while external factors would include the neighbourhood environment and the "relative cost of improvement" (p. 49). The authors further hypothesized a view that was supported in their conclusion that external factors did indeed influence the homeowner and the decision to renovate, and that homeowners expected their expenditures to influence the potential resale value of their home. Specifically, neighbourhood quality (an external factor) was found to be statistically significant in influencing the renovation decision. This finding is of value to the present research which also contends that external factors are critical in influencing the decision to renovate which in turn, affects the level of confidence among residents.

According to Lucy and Phillips (2000), there are inherent problems associated with undertaking renovations, especially by new 'replacement in-movers' in older neighbourhoods. To illustrate this point, they offered four key obstacles facing potential redevelopment by people moving into older areas.

First, new homeowners in areas with a homogenous housing stock are often told not to increase the value of their home by more than 20% over that of their neighbours. The rationale for this number is that going any higher may influence the home's resale potential since its value will exceed the neighbourhood average. Therefore, the authors determined that being the first to undertake substantial renovation is risky because of the potential loss of investment. Those who do invest, must be very confident about the neighbourhood and about their ability to recoup their investment upon selling the home. A second consideration is that homes in many older areas have filtered down to the lower end of the resale market and will likely attract people with moderate to low incomes. This presents a problem because in-movers may have limited resources to reinvest as they expend most of their resources on moving into the area and qualifying for a mortgage. Therefore, they will not have much ability to spend on significant renovations. The third problem with renovating older homes is that the costs may be higher because of unforeseen problems or the expense of updating ageing components such as wiring and plumbing systems. The fourth issue is that many of the renovators are "amateurs" and thus could be unaware of all that is involved in terms of permits, zoning, and general costs (pp. 55-60).

The four points offered by Lucy and Phillips acknowledge the complexities of undertaking renovations in older neighbourhoods, particularly in areas in which housing markets have declined. Therefore, ensuring that the replacement in-movers have the ability to undertake renovations is essential. As noted, if the income levels are not consistent with the neighbourhood, there is an increased risk that new residents will not have the ability to invest at a level sufficient to maintain the neighbourhood.

It is also important to acknowledge that the home and its major components have a lifespan. This lifespan is relevant because, as homes age, there is a critical juncture at which, if maintenance does not keep abreast of the ageing process, the first signs of housing decline and disrepair will become evident in the neighbourhood. Conversely, if maintenance is kept ahead of ageing, the area will more likely retain a sense of stability.

In Table 2.2 the lifespan of the major components of a typical home is illustrated. To understand the implication of the table, it is important to note that different components need to be upgraded over the years. If parts of the home fall into disrepair, such as painted surfaces, windows, the roof, or other exterior components, this will affect how people evaluate the neighbourhood. The average cost of renovations will also likely rise as the home ages. Therefore, the average maintenance costs in neighbourhoods with an ageing housing stock (where homes are older than 50 years) will be greater than in a newer suburban area. Based on this assumption, stability is more likely to be ensured in neighbourhoods where residents engage in the continual process of maintenance and renovation.

Table 2.2 CMHC Average Life-Cycle of Major Housing Components			
Item	Life-Span (years)	Item	Life-Span (years)
Roof	15	Lighting	30
Painting: Interior Exterior	 15 5	Flooring: Carpet Vinyl Tile Parquet	 10 10 10
Glazing (30%)	20	Cladding (10%)	35
Doors (entry/interior)	20	Appliances	15
Kitchens	35	Fire Systems	20
Mechanical: Domestic Hot Water Electric Baseboards	 15 20	Concrete: Curbs/Walks Patio Stones	 25 20
Asphalt	10	Landscaping	15
Sewers/Drains	45	Building Superstructure	30
Wood Decks	20	Bathrooms	35
Caulking	10		

Source: CMHC Internal Document (1998)

With respect to the life-cycle of the major components of the home, McCann (1975) noted that the average life expectancy of a wood-framed house is approximately 60 years.[5] This finding is important because it underscores the need for continual maintenance. Although the rate of decline will vary between homes, it is important to examine the structure and age of the housing stock to ensure that older areas are monitored for signs of decline.

Ulusoy (1998) contended that housing renovation is a vital determinant of neighbourhood change, noting that "the condition of the physical housing stock is an important factor in determining a neighbourhood's status, whether declining, improving or stable" (p. 244). The data presented in Table 2.2 support the claim

5 Although McCann's study focussed on Edmonton, the life-expectancy of a wood- framed home in Winnipeg would be similar.

that if regular maintenance is not performed, signs of decline will become more evident as major components wear out and are not replaced in a timely fashion. Similarly, keeping abreast of maintenance will signal stability and confidence in the neighbourhood, especially in those areas that are ageing.

In a discussion of housing as a utility factor, Bourne (1981) offered five distinctive 'housing services' that are considered the most important: shelter and privacy, satisfaction (type and function of the home), environmental quality (physical and social), accessibility (work, school, and amenities) and, finally, equity (its exchange value or return on investment potential) (pp. 12–15). A critical point made by Bourne was that:

> it is impossible to separate the urban housing stock from its location and neighbourhood context. The importance of the external relationships – the spatial externalities – which link the fortunes of any dwelling unit or set of units to those of its neighbour is such that any study of the housing stock must be parallelled by one which examines change in the broader neighbourhood context (p. 20).

This assertion appears to support the notion that the neighbourhood's amenities cannot be examined in isolation from other factors, such as the condition of housing or the attitudes of residents. Bourne clearly illustrated the complexity that exists in the utility of housing and the diversity of images that are generated by the residents of a given place. In view of this, the underlying 'aspatial' attributes begin to play an important role in shaping the image of the area, resulting in investment in or divestment from the neighbourhood. Obviously, the level of renovation, in the form of general maintenance or aesthetic enhancement, will play a dominant role in influencing the overall confidence in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, it appears that the actions of some in the neighbourhood may influence the decision of others to renovate their homes.

Furthering the discussion of housing activity and neighbourhood evolution, Ulusoy (1998) offered an important consideration for the present research by noting that "changes in the urban neighbourhood cannot be studied and understood solely through analyzing the physical condition of the built environment because understanding the meanings of physical change and its interactions with other dimensions of change is needed" (p. 245). This point is expanded by Greenberg (1999) who, in his study of improving neighbourhood quality, concluded that giving weight to residents' personalities and beliefs is critical in understanding their ratings of neighbourhoods, and that addressing physical decay also requires attention to the views of residents (pp. 619-20). Again, it appears that housing is only one part of the neighbourhood's bundle of services. Looking at housing while excluding other key factors, such as the attitude of residents, will not provide an accurate representation of the area.

Foster (1994) explored renovation through an analysis of 1991 data from Statistics Canada, which grouped types of renovations by the work being done (Table 2.3). His findings indicated that younger homeowners tended to undertake renovations quickly upon buying the home, while owners over the age of 40 tend to own their homes for five years prior to renovating (p. 1). Another key finding was that only a small number of renovators (4.5%) accounted for nearly half of all renovation expenditures. Furthermore, the author suggested that, of the various types of projects undertaken, those exceeding $7,000 (in 1991$) were considered higher-end renovations (pp. 1-2).

Table 2.3 Renovation Types	
Repair and Maintenance	Expenditures made on an existing structure or piece of equipment to keep it in good working condition and appearance so as to maintain it in "as new" condition as possible. Includes repairs done to broken, damaged or malfunctioning components of the structure or equipment. Includes service contracts and cleaning of equipment. Excludes housekeeping costs.
Equipment Replacement	Installation of equipment that replaces an existing unit. Includes upgrading to superior quality of equipment and conversion from one type of unit to another (such as replacing an electric water heater with a gas-fueled unit).
Additions	Structural extensions or additions to the property (such as rooms, decks, garages, carports, garden sheds, etc.), in-ground swimming pools, fences, patios, driveways and major landscaping.
Renovations and Alterations	Work done that is intended to upgrade the property to acceptable building or living standards, rearrange the interior space, or modernize existing facilities in order to suit changing needs without changing occupancy. Includes jobs such as remodeling rooms, adding or replacing doors and windows, renovating exterior walls, upgrading insulation and adding eavestroughing. Includes any finishing in new homes and the cost of any equipment or appliances that were part of the renovation project. Excludes jobs that include only painting, wallpapering or other repairs and maintenance.
New Installations	The installation of equipment that did not previously exist on the property or that was installed in addition to the equipment on the property.

Statistics Canada: Housing and Renovation Expenditures 62-201X1B 1996.

The renovation classifications identified by Statistics Canada will be further explored in the Neighbourhood Survey analysis, which uses these categories to denote renovation activity in the City of Winnipeg by type and price range.

With respect to prices paid for renovation, Harris (2000) observed that there has been a marked increase in the value and importance of renovation activity in the last few decades. In fact, Harris pointed to the rise in the "do-it-yourself" market as stores such as Home Depot have begun to create a new industry of "homeowner" renovators by catering to owners and *not* contractors. Harris concluded that the published data on renovation activity may not be an accurate measure of renovation since so much of the work undertaken on homes

is done "under the table" without building permits or receipts from contractors (to track both PST and GST amounts as well as labour activity). Carroll (2002) also considered renovation expenditures to be of great importance and noted that renovation spending now exceeds investment in new housing starts.

Renovation undertaken by residents has a great impact on a neighbourhood's social and physical fabric. Beginning with the process of renovation, general maintenance must be undertaken to stabilize the housing stock and project a positive image of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, undertaking renovation will improve the overall value of the dwelling, thereby improving one's investment potential. Lastly, renovation may lead others to invest in their homes because of a greater confidence in the neighbourhood that is achieved as more homes become better maintained. Therefore, being more confident about the neighbourhood may also prevent the area from exhibiting the first signs of decline.

2.6 Measures of Neighbourhood Confidence and Satisfaction

The literature reviewed to this point has demonstrated that the decision to renovate or sell one's home is affected by many extraneous factors within the neighbourhood, such as how people feel about the neighbourhood and the activity taking place around them. It is the intent of this research to confirm that one such factor, the confidence level of residents, plays an important role in contributing to the stability of a neighbourhood. However, as the literature pertaining specifically to the concept of neighbourhood confidence is lacking in breadth and scope, it is anticipated that the present research will be able to add to this discussion.

Of the seminal studies on the subject of confidence and sentiment, the most frequently cited are those of Varady (1986); Varady and Preiser (1998); Varady and Wang. (2001); Goetze (1976, 1979); Goetze and Colton (1980); Clay (1979); Mercer and Phillips (1981); and Galster and Hesser (1982). These authors contended that confidence is important, albeit subjective in assessing a resident's perception of the neighbourhood's general condition (present and future). They further stressed that confidence is important not only in contributing to the renovation decision but also in creating a positive housing market, thereby stabilizing prices.

In a study of Winnipeg neighbourhoods, Carter and Douchant (1999) concluded that "confidence in the neighbourhood is a crucial factor in retaining residents and maintaining or upgrading the quality of the neighbourhood" (p. 21). The authors considered confidence to be a key determinant in creating the conditions necessary for the undertaking of renovations among existing residents, while also contributing to the establishment of a stable housing market (with respect to home sales and prices). Varady (1986) noted that individuals most confident about their neighbourhood tended to be those who interacted more frequently with neighbours and lived in neighbourhoods that tended to display a higher level of cohesiveness among residents. Rohe and Stewart (1996) concurred, noting that those most satisfied with the neighbourhood tended also to be confident about the neighbourhood. Furthermore, Rohe and Stewart concluded that renovation expenditures increased with their level of confidence in the future of the neighbourhood, a finding supported by Galster 1987, Varady 1986, and Goetze 1979.

In their examination of residential satisfaction, Gruber and Shelton (1987) determined that those most satisfied with their neighbourhood tended to perceive the area as attractive, pleasant and friendly. A study by Temkin and Rohe (1998) concluded that "both loyalty and attachment to the neighborhood are higher in neighborhoods that remained stable over time as do neighborhoods where a higher proportion of residents believe they live in a good place" (p. 84). Therefore, striving to ensure that residents are confident about the neighbourhood and its future is important in contributing to stability. Mesch and Manor (1998) concurred with this finding, concluding that residents generally become more attached to places they perceive to be good places to live. They offered a critical distinction between attachment and satisfaction by stating that "the first [attachment] refers to the sentiments that develop toward place, whereas the second [satisfaction] refers to the evaluation of features of the physical and social environment" (p. 509). This distinction is important for the authors as they found that "neighborhood satisfaction predisposes one to place attachment" (p. 509). Therefore, they determined that people who evaluate a neighbourhood positively are likely to be more confident about the area's future and will likely become more attached to the neighbourhood, therefore remaining in the area longer. Theodori (2001) found the same, noting: "Higher levels of attachment to one's community resulted in perceptions of greater well-being. In addition, the greater the satisfaction with their local community, the more likely they were to express greater individual well-being (p. 626).

On the subject of neighbourhood confidence, Varady (1986) observed that "housing experts generally agree that, in order to slow and reverse patterns of neighbourhood decline in central city areas, it will be necessary to raise the

confidence levels among existing residents" (p. 481). While noting that the correlation between homeowner confidence and levels of housing renovation may not be as strong as was speculated, he did acknowledge that little is known about this aspect of neighbourhood studies. Varady concluded that "previous research on the determinants of neighbourhood confidence has been speculative in nature" (p. 482).

One of the key objectives of his research was to formulate a more accurate measure of neighbourhood confidence. Varady cited MacMillan's (1980) four-stage model of neighbourhood mobility[6] as an important stepping stone for his approach in measuring and assessing confidence. MacMillan's four stages consisted of dissatisfaction, plans to move, the search, and the move itself (Varady, p. 283). The key for Varady is that dissatisfaction is closely related to the confidence level of neighbourhood residents and ,therefore, an increasing dissatisfaction will lead to lower confidence in the neighbourhood. Certainly, the reverse is true in areas with high satisfaction.

Varady's methodology and data collection techniques are important to note for the present research as some procedures were replicated. First, primary data were obtained from a longitudinal Urban Homesteading survey administered by HUD in 1975. This study collected data for 40 neighbourhoods in 23 cities. To complement this data source, Varady conducted personal surveys, administered windshield surveys and included supplemental census data for the same 40 neighbourhoods (pp. 484-485). With respect to measuring confidence, Varady developed a two-question index to gauge people's confidence levels. The

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MacMillan (1980), Mobility in the Housing Allowance Demand Experiment. Cambridge, MA.

questions addressed confidence from two perspectives: how residents rate the neighbourhood today, and in three years. From this, the results were cross-tabulated to produce an index. The present research incorporates this framework as a measurement instrument within the survey questionnaire (see Appendix A).

The Conference Board of Canada uses a similar two-question method to obtain consumer confidence indexes. However, the distinction between the two methods is that the Conference Board asks, "what do you think the economy will be like in six months" rather than in three years. This shorter time frame is more appropriate given the more rapid fluctuations in the economy compared to slower-changing neighbourhoods.

Goetze (1976) employed a different approach to measure confidence in the neighbourhood by using a series of neighbourhood typologies to assess perception changes in various Boston neighbourhoods. A critical issue in his study was his assessment that "it is important to discover means of effective early intervention before fix-up becomes more costly and confidence in particular neighbourhoods wanes" (p. 24). His study recognized that early signs of decline need to be addressed before the neighbourhood begins to decline at an accelerated pace. Furthermore, he stressed that neighbourhood dynamics must be clearly understood in order to target programs effectively and implement solutions to curb decline. With respect to this, housing is seen as being at the heart of any redevelopment:

> The condition of the housing, although sometimes illusive, is a 'hard' indicator of the health of the housing stock which can be measured and quantified. However, it is also necessary to examine another dimension of residential health which is often more difficult to define, the strength of the housing market- the balance between the number of households trying to move into, stay, and leave the area (p. 30).

It is speculated that achieving a balance between those moving into, staying and wishing to leave is critical in shaping the image of the neighbourhood and the overall level of confidence among residents. Furthermore, Goetze contended that planning officials need to consider that "to be effective, city policy must become attuned to subtler differentiations and devise means of affecting neighbourhood confidence rather than simply restoring deteriorating housing" (p. 31). Therefore, confidence is more than the physical process of fixing up homes; it is about *fixing* people's feelings about their neighbourhoods and how those feelings (both positive and negative) are affected when different events take place in the neighbourhood .

Galster and Hesser (1982), O'Loughlin and Munski (1979), Mercer and Phillips (1981), DeGiovanni and Paulson (1984), and Greenberg (1999) have all stressed the importance of the attitudes of residents with respect to undertaking renovation activities. These authors demonstrated that there is merit in assessing the attitudes of residents and the factors that may contribute or detract from their willingness to undertake renovations. In particular, Greenberg (1999) offered an important consideration for the present research in concluding that people's sentiment about the neighbourhood may not reflect reality as residents become overly sensitive to actions such as increased blight or crime taking place in the neighbourhood. He further stressed the importance of building confidence by reversing the signs of decline, especially the perception that crime rates are high. These two issues are paramount for Greenberg in helping to rebuild the neighbourhood.

To conclude, confidence is an important attribute for residents to feel a part of the neighbourhood emotionally in order to invest economically in its future. Goetze (1976) provides a closing remark by stating: "a neighborhood's loss of confidence may derive from low resident incomes, or from speculative or exploitive actions on the part of some housing suppliers" (p. 45) whereas "maintaining neighborhood confidence is a function of keeping up latent housing demand–the general reservoir of potential residents who consider the neighborhood an attractive place to make a home" (p.136).

The purpose of this section has been to highlight the importance of housing as a key component in understanding the complexities of the neighbourhood. Moreover, it has been shown that housing activity, in the form of renovation or housing sales, is a critical indicator by which residents evaluate the neighbourhood. In the end, consideration of residents' confidence has been also shown to play a central role.

2.7 Relevance of the Literature

The literature reviewed in this chapter provided sound support for the objectives of the present research. Specifically, it was shown that the neighbourhood is a complex component of the larger urban system and that in order to understand the dynamics that influence the neighbourhood's changing character, the perceptions of residents and the functioning of the housing market (including sales and renovation activity) must be considered.

Galster (2001), Bourne (1981), and Leven et al. (1976), among others, pointed to the fact that the neighbourhood and housing provide residents with a bundle of services. This 'bundle' is vital to the present research, which contends

that the manner in which residents evaluate housing and the neighbourhood is based on a number of factors, such as the condition of housing, the general appearance of the neighbourhood, and the expenditures made on renovation by residents. The work of Boehm and Ihlanfeldt (1986) is also relevant in that they determined that there are both internal and external factors that influence the decision to renovate. Similarly, Galster and Hesser (1982) concluded that residents may exert pressure on each other to maintain their homes, thus supporting the contention that external factors are important in influencing the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhood. This is a position advanced in the present research through survey questions that seek to determine whether homeowners' decisions to renovate were influenced by the actions (or lack thereof) of their neighbours.

The literature has clearly demonstrated that there is an inherent protectionist attitude among residents (Sack 1986, Logan and Molotch 1987, Duncan and Duncan 2001). This finding is essential to the present research since defending the neighbourhood, as understood through territoriality (Sack 1986), enables residents to exert control over the environment based on either economics (Logan and Molotch) or perhaps by preserving and maintaining the aesthetics of place (Duncan and Duncan). Yet it is important to acknowledge that Lucy and Phillips (2001) stated that maintaining the neighbourhood ultimately revolves around ensuring that replacement in-movers have the means and ability to invest in the area, thus concluding that the economic composition of in-movers must remain consistent with the fabric of place to ensure that they have the ability to invest. For some neighbourhoods, replacement in-movers will be at a disadvantage as they will expend financial resources simply on the home itself

and may lack the ability to invest in its rehabilitation or maintenance. This fact is important in the present study and will be most evident in the inner city where the housing market has been weak, possibly limiting people's ability to invest.

The protectionist attitude of residents is important in examining the neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg. This is most evident in the connection between protecting one's neighbourhood and home with ensuring a strong sense of confidence among residents. Furthermore, determining whether neighbourhood condition influences the decision not only to invest in the neighbourhood but also to remain there and to defend the fabric of place through increased confidence is a central contention of this research.

The literature relating to perception and attachment to place included works by Lynch (1960), Sheets and Manzer (1991), Woolever (1992), Markwell (2000), Aitken and Wingate (1993), and Haywood (1990), and further emphasised the significance of the cognitive processes associated with the evaluation of the neighbourhood. This work laid the foundation for the photographic exercise undertaken in the present research by clearly advocating that self-directed photography is an important tool that provides a unique vantage point from which the complexity of the neighbourhood is viewed through the eyes of the residents. This view, unobstructed by the rigours of formal questions, provides both clarity and an innovative means from which to better understand those elements of the neighbourhood that residents embrace or reject.

The material relating to the neighbourhood models focussed on seminal works including those by Hoover and Vernon (1959), Birch (1971), Ahlbrant and Brophy (1975), McCann (1975), and Ley (2000). This overview set the stage for better understanding the factors that help explain the changing nature of the

neighbourhood. Moreover, the models illustrated that neighbourhoods are subjected to a number of processes that ultimately contribute to the changes that take place as neighbourhoods evolve. The models reviewed also supported the use of the City of Winnipeg's system of neighbourhood classification. It was determined that, in a broad sense, the City's classification system provides an accurate picture of the neighbourhood differentiation existing within Winnipeg. The relevance of this finding is important in that the present research analyses whether differences exist among resident-groups drawn from the four neighbourhood types denoted by the City of Winnipeg. A further reason for considering the City's classification system is that it uses neighbourhood boundaries that are much smaller than the census tracts used in Statistics Canada's general profile, a point reinforced by Hamm et al. (1988).

The final section of the chapter focussed on housing market activity (sales and renovation) and ended with an assessment of confidence as a factor in influencing the manner in which residents evaluate the neighbourhood. The works of Smith (1971, 1984), Miron (1988, 2000), Galster (1996), Rosen and Smith (1986), Reed (2001), and Jud and Winkler (2002) pointed to inherent market complexity. This complexity is denoted through the functioning of the housing market and its role in promoting a stable neighbourhood environment. This is a key point for the present research, which contends that the functioning of the housing market influences the decisions of residents to stay in the neighbourhood, sell their homes or invest in further renovation. Leven et al. (1976), Goetze and Colton (1980), and Miron (1993) advanced the idea that market perceptions are key factors in influencing residents to invest in a neighbourhood.

The literature also demonstrated that a key component of the housing market is the ability of residents to make necessary expenditures for the purchase and reinvesting in housing. These expenditures will help ensure that the fabric of the neighbourhood and the housing stock is maintained at a sufficient level. However, inherent in the undertaking of renovation activities are the processes of gentrification and incumbent upgrading which may influence the level and type of renovation activity taking place. Clay (1979), Ley (1986, 1988, 1991,1996) and Carter and Douchant (1999) observed that these processes will have an effect on the neighbourhood. It was observed that the study neighbourhoods of the present research are most influenced by incumbent upgrading, although some evidence may suggest that spot gentrification is occurring.

It is not the intent of this research to examine the processes that have contributed to neighbourhood change. Rather the intent is to assess the manner in which residents react to the outcome of neighbourhood change. The factors that influence the desire to invest in and maintain place are examined in detail. Also important are the changes that have taken place in the housing market which may contribute to a more positive or negative view of the neighbourhood, and how these changes affect overall confidence in the neighbourhood. The work of Mercer and Phillips (1981), Galster and Hesser (1982), O'Loughlin and Munski (1979), Ulusoy (1998), and Greenberg (1999) offered important evidence of the significance with regard to attitudes and perceptions of market activity as contributing factors to stabilizing the neighbourhood and influencing the actions of residents. Furthermore, the literature clearly demonstrated the importance of considering the aspirations of residents as being a key determinant in their

decision to renovate. Thus, the aspirations of residents are considered an integral part of the present research with respect to better understanding which factors contribute to a positive view of the neighbourhood.

The final section of the literature review examined confidence about place. This perceptual variable was shown to contribute significantly to the decision to expend resources in the neighbourhood both socially and economically. The works of Goetze (1979), Varady (1986), Galster (1987), Gruber and Shelton (1987), Rohe and Stewart (1996), Mesch and Manor (1998), Temkin and Rohe (1998), Carter and Douchant (1999), and Theodori (2001) concurred that people's confidence and satisfaction are important determinants in predicting how people react to events taking place in the neighbourhood.

Briefly, the literature reviewed has confirmed that the objectives of this research are noteworthy and will offer an important perspective in better understanding the factors influencing the manner in which residents evaluate the neighbourhood. Moreover, the material suggested that assessing housing market activity through the confidence levels of local residents will provide a unique perspective on better understanding the dynamics of the neighbourhood.

2.8 Chapter Summary

Neighbourhood residents, their confidence about place, the physical condition of the neighbourhood, and housing activity are all integral components of a neighbourhood. Therefore, to understand the dynamic nature of the neighbourhood requires an extensive knowledge of the factors contributing to the manner in which residents evaluate their local neighbourhoods. This is critical because residents ultimately control the direction a neighbourhood takes through

their actions and reactions to events taking place. This includes their willingness to invest in the neighbourhood's built and social environments and to defend its territorial integrity. When people give up on their neighbourhood and divest socially and economically (by moving, or neglecting maintenance), the neighbourhood invariably will begin to exhibit the early stages of instability, possibly leading to decline and deterioration. Without rehabilitation efforts, the stability of the area will eventually erode, leading to adverse change.

Chapter Three:
Research Strategy

3.0 Introduction

This chapter delineates the methodological framework for the present study. It commences by examining the strategies used to address the research questions posited in Chapter One. The survey instruments are then introduced to conceptualize the techniques applied in the collection and analysis of the primary data generated and used in the present study. This includes rationalizing the selection of survey questions, as well as detailing the sampling and analytical techniques used in the neighbourhood survey, the focus groups, and the self-directed photography technique conducted in Riverview. The chapter also includes a brief overview of the neighbourhoods selected.

3.1 Data Sources and Collection Methods

Primary data used in this research include customized Statistics Canada tabulations[1], neighbourhood and housing statistics from the City of Winnipeg and housing sales data obtained from the Winnipeg Real Estate Board. Primary data generated by the author include a phone survey of residents of sixteen neighbourhoods, a windshield survey of those same neighbourhoods, five focus-group sessions, and a self-directed photography exercise. Each data set is used to address the central subject of this research, namely, whether confidence about place, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities

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The customized census data aggregated to the neighbourhood geographies, and used by the City of Winnipeg, were derived by The Community Data Network (CDN).The CDN is a group of social and government agencies which collaborated to ensure the neighbourhood boundaries were designed to reflect a more accurate representation of the neighbourhood structure and are, in most cases, smaller than the census tracts used by Statistics Canada.

influences the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhood and contribute to the area's stabilization or rehabilitation of housing.

3.1.1 The Research Strategy

The research design for the present study employed a concurrent mixed approach. According to Creswell (2003), a concurrent mixed approach is a strategy of inquiry that allows the researcher to converge qualitative and quantitative methods, with the result being a comprehensive analysis of a research problem. Therefore, in an effort to better understand the processes that affect the rehabilitation process in neighbourhoods, the factors homeowners express as important in contributing to the stability of the area were examined. Using quantitative data obtained from a survey of 16 neighbourhoods, logistic regression and correlation analysis were used to identify the variables most strongly associated with a positive neighbourhood evaluation and those contributing to a greater likelihood of renovation activity. In addition, qualitative insight was gained from focus group sessions, and a photographic technique referred to as self-directed photography. Each method was then converged to address the central problem of this research, namely, examining the variables that are most important in contributing to the rehabilitation and stabilization of the neighbourhood as observed through the actions of residents.

Few authors studying urban phenomena tend to confine themselves to a single theoretical perspective. Instead, authors such as Smith & Williams (1986), Bourne & Ley (1993), Temkin & Rohe (1998), Pitkin (2001), Basolo & Strong (2002), and Charette (2003), advocated the use of multiple theories and perspectives to study urban processes such as neighbourhood change,

revitalization, gentrification and population turnaround. For Smith and Williams, examining the process of gentrification included developing a more profound understanding of the economic, social, and spatial restructuring of cities. They wrote, "we should strive to consider the broad range of processes that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between these seemingly separate processes" (p.3).

Pitkin examined neighbourhood change from multiple perspectives, espousing that change cannot be understood from merely one theoretical viewpoint. In his study, Pitkin noted that the three main theoretical perspectives used to examine neighbourhoods include the ecological, the subcultural and political economy based approaches. His contention was that a broad based strategy of inquiry would help ensure that it would

> ...retain the ecologists' interest in analytical consistency, the subculturists' pleas for human agency and concern for the 'micro,' and the political economists' disposition toward analyzing the political, economic and social forces from various scales of analysis that impact neighbourhoods (p.3).

Basolo & Strong (2002) examined Community Development Corporations and their role in contributing to inner city renewal. The authors examined the research problem using a similar strategy to that of the present research. First, they conducted a neighbourhood survey and used logistic regression to determine the predictors of neighbourhood and housing satisfaction. The second phase of the mixed approach included focus group sessions, which allowed the researchers to converge the findings to produce a comprehensive examination of the revitalization process underway in an inner city neighbourhood.

In a more recent study, Charette focused her attention on inner city population turnaround and acknowledged that several theoretical paradigms are

critical to obtain an accurate understanding of the processes affecting change. A conclusion derived from her work is that any study must include an ecological perspective (with a focus on the spatial and demographic factors), a neo-classical emphasis on housing preferences, and a subcultural approach that includes values, culture and post-industrialism. It is through this diverse set of perspectives that the researcher is then able to develop a comprehensive assessment of the structural changes taking place in the inner city.

Temkin and Rohe combined political economy and subcultural theory into what they termed "a sociopolitical context that can greatly affect a neighborhood's trajectory" (p.67). In each of the studies noted above, the authors sought to engage their understanding of urban problems from a position that was not confined to a single theoretical view. More so, the authors applied a mixed approach aimed at achieving a more comprehensive evaluation of their respective research problem(s).

The present research problem, as outlined, has benefited greatly by not subscribing to a single methodological or theoretical view. The logic of not applying a single lens in the present study was based on two guiding approaches that were used to establish a broad but sound theoretical foundation. First, the author examined constructivism, which allows researchers to embed themselves in the processes related to understanding the phenomena being studied. Creswell (2003) noted that this method provides the researcher with the ability to explore the subjective meaning of the lived experience, and to look for complexity in the views being examined. He concluded that a strength of the constructivist view is that it is broad, "rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories" (p. 8). Therefore, the goal of this type of research is to emphasize the views of the

participants being studied. For the present research, the focus group sessions and the self-directed photography technique provided excellent examples of how the author was able to "make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world" (p.8).

Constructivist research has several related assumptions that were considered in conducting the present research:

- Humans construct meanings as they engage the world they are interpreting;
- Humans engage the world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspective; and
- The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community and thus the inquirer generates meaning from the data collected in the field (Crotty 1998).

Constructive theory was therefore part of the mixed approach guiding the present research and provided the means from which to examine the ways in which residents engage themselves in the neighbourhoods in which they reside.

The second method of inquiry was drawn from a pragmatic knowledge claim. Cherryholmes (1992) noted that pragmatists anticipate outcomes from multiple perspectives and then choose, from among the many possibilities, that course of action most likely to lead to a desired outcome. For Creswell (2003), pragmatism is not based on subscribing to one method or philosophy; it is a problem-centered approach. Researchers, therefore, choose the methods, techniques, and procedures that best meet the objectives of the research so as to concisely explain the problem(s) being studied. Creswell noted that "pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different world views, and different assumptions, as well as forms of data collection and analysis in a mixed method study" (p.12). Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) noted that pragmatism is the means from which the researcher focuses on the problem and uses multiple

approaches to extract information and knowledge of the issue being examined.

A pragmatic approach was taken for this research because it allowed for multiple methods and strategies to be used to address the central problem advanced in this work. Therefore, the mixed approach noted above afforded the author the means to explore a number of related perspectives in order to gain a clearer understanding of neighbourhood rehabilitation and why certain neighbourhoods exhibit increased stability. Yet this research is also constructivist in nature, as it was important – in the focus group sessions and the self-direct photography technique – to listen to the voices of participants and interpret the meanings embedded in the pictures. It was not until this point that the concurrent mixed approach became relevant in converging the quantitative analysis and the qualitative perspectives into a single meaning capable of explaining the research problems advanced by the present study.

3.2 Primary Data – The Neighbourhood Survey

Data generated by the author were obtained through a survey of 16 neighbourhoods, resulting in the completion of 574 questionnaires. Participants in the neighbourhood survey comprised a cross-section of residents drawn from a framework established by the City of Winnipeg. The intent of the survey was to collect data on the confidence levels of the residents, housing market activity, home renovation, commercial amenities, and other neighbourhood attributes (see Appendix A for the survey template).

The neighbourhood survey included a sub-sample identified as the *Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group (MSARG),* and was comprised of those persons who had extensively renovated their homes and/or greatly increased their

relative value. The four neighbourhoods included in the *Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group* are also areas exhibiting increased renovation activity. Including the MSARG was important because it enabled the author to assess whether their responses contrasted with the remaining resident-groups included in the research. The sampling procedure used in the neighbourhood survey is discussed in Section 3.3.

3.2.1 Overview of the Selected Neighbourhoods

The following section provides overviews of the characteristics of the sixteen neighbourhoods included in the research (Table 3.1). The purpose is to provide introductory comments and highlight prominent internal features based on observations derived during repeated site visits by the author. A more detailed discussion of the study neighbourhoods is presented in Chapter Four, which includes an analysis of the supporting data and literature. For a map illustrating the location of each neighbourhood see again Figure 1.1.

Table 3.1
Neighbourhood Selections

Major Improvement Area	Rehabilitation Area	Conservation Area	Emerging Area
William Whyte	Luxton	Crescent Park	Lindenwoods
Spence	King Edward	West Elmwood	Canterbury Park
	Wolseley	Windsor Park	Inkster Gardens
	McMillan*	Kirkfield	
		North River Heights*	
		Norwood West *	
		Riverview*	

*denotes Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group.

This study includes two *Major Improvement* neighbourhoods (Spence and William Whyte). Spence is located in Winnipeg's inner city and since the 1970s, this neighbourhood has experienced an accelerated level of decline. Evidence of decline was observed throughout the area, most visibly in the ageing housing stock, the proliferation of vacant and placarded homes, and the empty lots which dominate the area. There have also been extensive residential conversions taking place, resulting in owner-occupied single-family homes becoming rooming houses, duplexes and triplexes. Spence also struggles with low property values and a negative perception among Winnipeg residents who mostly see the area as a high crime - low income neighbourhood. Throughout the area, placarded homes and graffiti remain visible markers of the problems associated with an advanced level of neighbourhood decline. Although negative aspects of the neighbourhood dominate, it is important to note that increased optimism has emerged in recent years as community groups and residents have increased their renovations and community stabilization efforts.

Located in close proximity to Spence, William Whyte remains an ageing and centrally located neighbourhood. Housing types are mixed with a high percentage of single-family homes, most of which need major repairs. Dwellings in the area are small, and vary from bungalows to one-and-a-half storey homes with front porches. As evidenced by the numerous "for sale" signs that littered many streets, the resale housing market is weak and most likely characterized by low prices and lengthy listing periods. This neighbourhood also has more prominent urban problems including numerous placarded homes, empty lots and graffiti-laden garages and trash bins. In fact, much of the graffiti was observed to be the work of street gangs who vie for control of the neighbourhood.

The low property values in Spence and William Whyte have contributed to a weakening property tax base for the City of Winnipeg. In some cases, property assessments have dropped to just a few thousand dollars. As an example, Figure 3.1 displays property assessments in a part of Spence where some values have fallen below $10,000. In many cases, these homes had valuations in excess of $50,000 in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The two neighbourhoods in the Major Improvement classification are best characterized as areas having undergone a sustained and extensive period of decline.

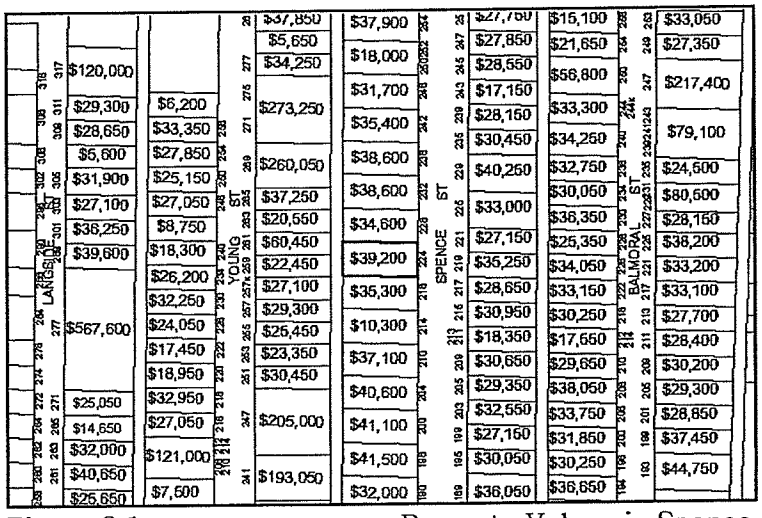

Figure 3.1 Property Values in Spence
Source: City of Winnipeg Assessment Department based on the 1999 assessment year.

Wolseley, Luxton, King Edward and McMillian are classified as *Rehabilitation* neighbourhoods. Wolseley, although regarded as an older area of the city, has exhibited increased stability including considerable renovation activity. Although this neighbourhood is located just outside the inner city, it remains central within Winnipeg. In terms of the general age of dwellings, housing ranges from new infill units to homes that are in excess of 100 years. Throughout the neighbourhood, large character homes dominate the streets that

hug the banks of the meandering Assiniboine River, which bounds the south portion of the neighbourhood. Many of these homes, built for Winnipeg's elite, have been converted into multi-family homes over the last few decades. However, evidence suggests that some are being renovated and returned to their former glory as large single-family homes. Nevertheless, within the neighbourhood, pockets of decline remain evident, especially when one moves away from the river and toward bustling Portage Avenue, which is one of the city's major thoroughfares. It is in this part of the neighbourhood that homes become smaller and are less desirable for renewal and renovation.

Luxton is an older neighbourhood that has increasingly shown its age. Housing types are mixed and contain areas of blight along with pockets of revitalized housing and infrastructure. Luxton also benefits from having a river nearby, in this case the Red; this has made parts of the neighbourhood very attractive. Homes are generally at the more affordable end of the spectrum and are comprised of mostly small bungalows and older two storeys (see Chapter Four for examples). Luxton is on the fringe of the inner city, and as such, is also quite centrally located (See Figure 1.1).

King Edward is located outside the inner city, along a major thoroughfare (Portage Avenue) and is close to a major commercial cluster known as the Polo Park shopping district. This area includes a major mall, a massive concentration of big box type retailers, and some industrial facilities. Housing in this neighbourhood is diverse in age and condition, with some homes having undergone renovation and repair, while others appear to be in the final stages of their life-cycle. This neighbourhood is also situated under flight paths of the nearby Winnipeg Airport. Routinely, overhead flights rattle area homes and are a

source of noise pollution in the general area, which is certainly a factor that contributes to making this area less desirable than it might otherwise be.

The final neighbourhood in this classification is McMillan. This neighbourhood is relatively small and is located just outside the downtown boundaries. It contains a variety of housing types with single-family and apartments intermixed. There are also pockets of decline and stabilization. An aspect of this neighbourhood's appeal is that the majority of homes are large and exhibit architectural character. These features have led to many homes being converted into multi-family units and rooming houses. Recently, there are signs that indicate this trend is reversing as some homes have been converted back to single-family use. Consequently, this neighbourhood remains in a state of transition but its location remains a great asset, especially its relationship to Corydon Avenue, which is a popular commercial enclave known as "Little Italy".

The *Conservation* neighbourhoods comprise 70% of Winnipeg's total. As such, this research included seven of these neighbourhoods: North River Heights, Crescent Park, Windsor Park, Norwood West, West Elmwood, Kirkfield, and Riverview (see Figure 1.1).

North River Heights is an older neighbourhood that has retained its stately heritage. It was developed during the early 1900s and has consistently maintained its character and exclusivity. Throughout the last hundred years, North River Heights contained Winnipeg's wealthy in large character homes, most of which still exist. The neighbourhood layout is a standard grid with residential streets running north-south. They are book-ended by two busy thoroughfares: Academy Road and Corydon Avenue. Both the distinctiveness of the neighbourhood and its large character homes have remained well-preserved,

ensuring that this area maintains significantly high market values.

Crescent Park is another older suburban neighbourhood, similar to North River Heights, but not quite as old or stately. Crescent Park is a stable neighbourhood whose housing is predominately in the fifty plus age range. This neighbourhood is located along the Red River and contains mainly middle and upper middle-class residents living in large character homes. It was part of the older suburban expansion of the city with the majority of development taking place during the 1930-60 period. For the most part, the neighbourhood has retained a strong sense of stability but pockets of decline have set in along some of its busier streets and in some of the smaller homes which lie close to Pembina Highway, another major thoroughfare in Winnipeg.

Windsor Park and Norwood West contain a high percentage of Winnipeg's Francophone population. These neighbourhoods are close to each other with Norwood West being situated on or near the banks of the Red River. Both neighbourhoods are located just outside of downtown and have excellent access to both the central city and to the emergent suburban areas of south Winnipeg, situational features that have made them quite desirable. Housing activity in the area has been quite positive with many homes undergoing renovations and being well-kept by owners. One distinctive feature is that in Norwood West, one street meanders with the banks of the Red River, and homes along this scenic drive are highly sought after. Internally, both neighbourhoods display high variability in house types, prices and in the condition of the stock. Housing ranges from 700 square foot bungalows to 3500+ square foot two-and-a-half storey character homes built in the early 20th century.

The remaining neighbourhoods (Riverview, West Elmwood, and Kirkfield) are situated in various parts of the city. All three are considered older but, for the most part, have remained somewhat stable in terms of housing and general condition. Internally, these neighbourhoods exhibit high levels of variability and it is not uncommon to see dilapidated housing clustered throughout each. Equally important is that within each neighbourhood, there are numerous pockets of housing that stand out in terms of their high value and distinctiveness among homes in the vicinity. The relatively high value of these homes resulted from extensive renovation and upgrading as well as the demolition and replacement of old units with large modern homes.

The final neighbourhoods are classified as *Emerging*, and include Lindenwoods, Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens. Each of these neighbourhoods is located in newer suburban areas of Winnipeg, with the majority of housing built within the last 20 years. Lindenwoods is a newer, exclusive area of the city. It is located in the growing suburban region of south Winnipeg and began development approximately 20 years ago. The homes in this neighbourhood tend to fall into the upper-class range, making the neighbourhood fairly homogenous. For the most part, this neighbourhood consists of large, detached single-family homes in excess of 2000 square feet, although there is some lower density, multi-family housing being built on the fringe, and tailored to the 55 plus age cohort. House prices would be characterized as very high. A prominent feature in the centre of the neighbourhood is a lake with a pedestrian footbridge and water fountain. As one could expect, homes in this part of the neighbourhood generally command the highest prices.

Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens are located on the city's eastern and northern fringes respectively, with both having excellent access to the Perimeter Highway, which encircles the city and connects to the regional highway system. Housing markets remain quite stable with the infilling of remaining lots nearing completion. For the most part, these neighbourhoods, although new, do not have quite the same stature as Lindenwoods, but are nonetheless important examples of emerging neighbourhoods. Housing in these two neighbourhoods are a mix of bungalows, small two-storeys and split-level homes whose values are substantially less than Lindenwoods.

The sixteen neighbourhoods reviewed above point to clear differences among the four neighbourhood classifications. These differences are explored in detail in upcoming chapters which examine the results of the neighbourhood survey, the focus group sessions and the self-directed photography exercise.

3.3 Survey Question Development

The instrument used in the neighbourhood survey contained 46 closed-ended questions (Appendix A). The rationale for the use of closed-ended questions was to ensure that the phone interviews were held to an acceptable length of time, which was deemed to be a maximum of 15 minutes. Two reasons were paramount. First, it was believed that asking potential respondents to undertake a neighbourhood survey lasting less than 15 minutes would result in a higher response rate. Second, lengthy phone interviews could potentially result in the data quality degrading toward the end of the survey as respondents might become bored or distracted during a long and complicated survey. Therefore, a pilot test was undertaken to ensure that the questions were concise and allowed

the survey to be completed in 10-15 minutes.

Frey and Oishi (1995) would concur with this approach as they observed that long interviews can take place but caution that both the interviewer and the respondent can suffer from fatigue which will affect the quality of the data being collected. Similarly, Fink (1995) suggested that four or five point scales are the most suitable for an efficient phone interview. Fink also contended that larger scales complicate matters, and are more suited for surveys completed in-person. Mason (2003) has concurred, strongly advising that phone interviews should be under 20 minutes to ensure quality answers and attentiveness.[2]

The majority of questions in the present research were structured using standard five-point scales, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree or asking a respondent to rate an item on a scale of 1-5. Other questions had respondents choosing from a selection of choices, such as asking "which of the following best describes your neighbourhood's appearance." It must be acknowledged that by concentrating on ranked or categorical data, the subsequent method of analysis was affected. Therefore, the use of ranked or categorical data, as opposed to the collection of continuous data, resulted in the analysis relying on nonparametric statistical tests (see Chapter Six). Although the strength of nonparametric tests is powerful, the collection of continuous data would have allowed for a greater range of tests to be considered. However, as noted, the use of ranked or categorical data was deemed essential in undertaking an efficient phone survey. Furthermore, the use of categorical data is a common method used in similar surveys, such as those concerned with rating satisfaction

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Mason, G. (2003). Prairie Research Associates Phone Interview Techniques and Guide. Accessed: December 15, 2003, http://www.pra.ca

with a particular event. A further shortcoming in this method of questioning relates to one's inability to probe respondents about their specific choices. However, this limitation was overcome in subsequent focus group sessions, which undertook a more probing method of analysis (see Section 3.1.5 for a discussion of the focus group methods).

Specific survey questions were also posed to replicate and challenge the relevance of previous research. This included Varady's (1986) two-question confidence measure, which provided a base to assess for variation in the confidence levels among the five resident-groups (see survey questions 4 and 5 in Appendix A). A more direct confidence assessment question was developed by the present author: it had respondents indicate how confident they presently are about their neighbourhood on a scale of 1 to 4 (see survey question 44). This proved to be a very important question and allowed for a comparison to be made with Varady. Further survey questions, such as asking whether respondents planned to remain in the neighbourhood, were included as dichotomous variables in the logistic regression analysis.

The remaining survey questions were categorized by thematic area starting with rating the neighourhood's appearance, renovation activity, housing sales, commercial amenities, and ending with a section that assessed the perceptions of residents. Each section included a number of scenario-based questions that had respondents indicate what their reaction would be to potential events. The intent of the scenario based questions was to determine how people react to changes in their neighbourhood, such as increased or decreased levels of housing activity or a sudden rise in deteriorated housing.

3.3.1 Discussion of the City's Neighbourhood Framework

As noted in Chapter Two, the Winnipeg Neighbourhood Designation report classified neighbourhoods as Major Improvement, Rehabilitation, Conservation or Emerging areas. It was concluded that this framework was an acceptable foundation from which to assess for differentiation among the resident-groups. Furthermore, given that the City has used this classification method since 1978, it provided a sound and well-tested measure of neighbourhood typology. Hamm et al. (1988) concluded that the framework provided an effective measure of neighbourhood typology as the City's neighbourhood unit was much smaller than the more traditional census tract. Parkes et al. (2002) also provided evidence that using locally developed typologies (such as the City of Winnipeg's) should be considered. They contended that locally-based variables provide an accurate measure of neighbourhood differentiation as local agencies have a better understanding of the environment, and therefore, are more likely to include variables reflecting unique local attributes.

To better understand this scheme it is important to review its development and current structure. First, 16 primary sources of data are used in the determination of each neighbourhood's classification. Drawn from two primary sources (the City itself and Statistics Canada), these data represent four key sectors: housing, population, income and crime. To model the results, these data are then analysed using the *Housing Policy Neighbourhood Designation Index* (HPNDI). The HPNDI formula assesses each indicator to produce a weighted index with a total possible score of one.

The formula is as follows: $HPNDI = M + H + L + R + A + C + U$[3].

The neighbourhoods are then ranked to determine their classification. For example, neighbourhoods scoring <0.38 were classified as Major Improvement, whereas Rehabilitation neighbourhoods ranged from 0.45 to 0.58. Scores in excess of 0.58 were classified as Conservation areas. The HPNDI formula for Emerging areas differed slightly as the age of housing and geographic location were also factored to differentiate between Conservation and the newer Emerging neighbourhoods. The HPNDI formula determined that discrepancies exist between neighbourhood classifications. For instance, Major Improvement neighbourhoods scored <0.38 while the next designation (Rehabilitation) ranged from 0.45 to 058. The reason for this discrepancy is that no neighbourhoods fell between 0.38 and 0.44, making this a logical divide.

Although the classification method used by the City is thought to have produced an accurate measure of Winnipeg neighbourhoods, there are some concerns with its accuracy. This first concern is how the thresholds between classifications are determined. At present, the City uses a panel of local agencies and experts to help interpret the initial HPNDI results and classify the neighbourhoods accordingly. The problem with this method is that it is a subjective process and can lead to errors, such as determining the separation point between Major Improvement and Rehabilitation neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the subjective nature of the interpretation process may itself be

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M – Median Selling Price; H – Housing Condition Indicator; L – Low Income Cut Off Indicator (LICO); R – Percent of Rental Dwellings; A – Average Effective Age; C – Percent of Crimes Indicator; U – Unemployment Rate Indicator.

influenced or even biased by community organizations[4] which might not want to see more neighbourhoods classified as Major Improvement. In fact, it would also not be in the best interest of the City to see more neighbourhoods fall into this classification as this could invariably lead to increased negative perceptions and potentially to a decline in property assessments.

A second problem with the HPNDI method is that within each classification, there can be a range of neighbourhoods. For example, the fact that all newer suburban areas are classified as Emerging Areas does not account for the differences that exist among suburban neighbourhoods. As an example, the income levels and average value of resale housing between Canterbury Park and Lindenwoods are shown in Chapter Four to be extreme. Therefore, it is thought that a series of sub-categories would more accurately reflect potential internal differences among neighbourhoods within each classification. In fact, within the Major Improvement neighbourhoods, it can be argued that some are showing signs of improvement, such as upward trending resale prices or reduced crime. Yet, in its present form, the HPNDI formula has no means to account for variation in either increased positive or negative activity within a neighbourhood.

A third area of concern is that the HPNDI formula does not account for the intangible attributes of a neighbourhood, such as its social capital, community activism or the confidence level of area residents. For example,

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Community organizations are used in the context of those agencies working in the inner city to improve the housing and social condition. This would include the Spence Neighbourhood Association, which has been active in rehabilitating homes and offering assistance in creating a better neighbourhood through such programs as increasing lighting on front and back lanes to providing peep holes and door buzzers for rooming houses (Distasio, 2002).

within Major Improvement neighbourhoods there is strong indication of an increased level of involvement among community members, and this activity is having a positive effect on changing the negative perceptions of these areas. However, by grouping together all the Major Improvement neighbourhoods, or other neighbourhood types for that matter, positive activity taking place is overlooked or submerged. One could further speculate that a neighbourhood such as Wolseley, which is classified as a Rehabilitation area, should include an indication of the level of community activity (both in renovations and in the social aspects of the neighbourhood). With such a demarcation, one would be aware of the positive community atmosphere existing there.

A fourth concern is the omission of a renovation variable within the formula. A measure of renovation, either by total number of permits or the types of renovations taking place is critical in assessing the level of activity in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately, the present model relies solely on a housing condition variable to assess this aspect of the neighbourhood.

A final area of concern is that the Conservation classification accounts for a disproportionate share of Winnipeg's total neighbourhoods. At 70%, or 135 neighbourhoods, this designation is much higher than the next category (Emerging), which has 23 neighbourhoods, or a 12% share of the total. With such a discrepancy, one might conclude that Winnipeg's neighbourhood structure is highly homogeneous, and lacks diversity. It could also be concluded that perhaps there are problems in the HPNDI formula in that too many neighbourhoods are grouped into this one category.

Despite these shortfalls, the framework does provide a sound approximation of the neighbourhood structure of the city. As such, this research

contends that it is a valuable tool to use in examining differences among the resident-groups included. Furthermore, the present research challenges the framework by including the Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group (MSARG), which is derived from a cross-section of neighbourhoods and classifications, and is intended to show that certain neighbourhoods, displaying increased confidence, are more stable and more resistant to the signs of decline.

3.3.2 The Focus Group Sessions

The purpose of a focus group is to consider the opinions of a target audience related to a specific topic (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990). This allows for the gathering of information in an open and sharing environment. Focus groups allow researchers to analyze the thoughts and perceptions of groups of people and determine why they hold these feelings. For the most part, focus groups are considered a qualitative endeavor, generating a broad perspective on a number of issues.

For this research, the focus group sessions allowed the questions used in the neighbourhood survey to be explored and probed in more detail (See Appendix A). This was important because residents were able to express their views in a more open-ended manner as opposed to the closed-ended structure of the neighbourhood survey. The focus groups also probed residents on their confidence about the neighbourhood, their reaction to housing and renovation activity and the importance of commercial amenities.

The coding of the focus-group session is a subjective process that produces excellent results; however, proper collection methods are important to ensure accuracy. The data were collected by tape recording each of the five

focus-group sessions.[5] Subsequently, sessions were transcribed and entered into a word processor. Using content analysis techniques, data were coded and prepared for further analysis and integration with the Neighbourhood Survey results. This was based on examining the data for key thematic areas and recurrent comments so as to determine trends and commonalities as well as differences among each focus group session (Stewart and Shamdasani 1990).

3.3.3 Self-Directed Photography

The self-directed photography exercise examined a promising but seldom used analysis technique within neighbourhood studies. This technique allows residents to take pictures of various features within the neighbourhood that they believe contribute to either a positive or negative perception of the area. Self-directed photography has also become more prominent in the geographical literature, most notably by authors such as Foote (1986), Larkham (1986), Haywood (1990), Aitken and Wingate (1993), Rose (1996), Sternberg (1997), Crang (1997), and Markwell (2000). In the majority of these studies, research subjects were provided with a camera and asked to photograph a desired target area. For the most part, this technique has been used to interpret tourists' perceptions of various destination sites. In these exercises, participants were asked to photograph positive and negative aspects of chosen tourist destinations. This purpose was to determine which sites garnered the most attention and why, and also to determine why particular areas evoked negative

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All participants were advised of the tape recorder and asked for consent prior to commencing the session. The rationale for also taking hand written notes is in the event the recorder fails, the research still has a solid account of the session.

feelings. Self-directed photography has also been used, with success, to explore residential areas through images generated by local residents. However, this method is still poorly represented in the literature and, as such, there are limited studies from which to draw.

Markwell (2000) explored the concept of photo-documentation in his study of tourist destination areas. He noted that understanding the importance of place is critical for this type of research, referring to it as a key aspect of interpretive human geography. Furthermore, he noted that other disciplines have used photo-documentation techniques with great success and that the use of visual imagery is a vital aspect of geographical research. To this end, Markwell noted that this technique "allows the subjective experience of place to be critically uncovered and understood" (p. 91). The technique is also important in understanding the intrinsic attachment that people have to place and how these relationships act as a guide for understanding which aspects of a place are most evident in people's cognitive representations of the landscape.

Markwell pointed out that, while self-directed photography has been used with success in other disciplines, "few geographical studies have been carried out using self-directed photography" (p. 92). The limitation of this technique includes the high costs involved and the difficulty of finding participants. Markwell concluded that the empowerment of participants is an effective means of obtaining useful results. He also stressed the need to combine this method of data collection with other forms, such as interviews, surveys, or personal observation techniques (pp. 98-97).

In a study of residential areas, Aitken and Wingate (1993) discussed the importance of self-directed photography as a tool to understand the images of

places as seen through the eyes of three test groups: middle-class subjects, homeless persons and children with disabilities. Like Markwell, Aitken and Wingate saw the use of this method as a means of empowering residents to produce images of their neighbourhood as they envisioned it. Furthermore, they linked the use of self-directed photography to cognitive mapping and to the work of Lynch, noting that "self-directed photography may be viewed as cognitive mapping which serves to reaffirm the *self* by partially apprehending the *real*" (pp. 66-67).

Crang (1997) explored how the use of visual interpretation can be used to explain geographical phenomena. He concluded that "geographers have shown the centrality of representations of landscape to understanding social geographies" (p. 359). Crang cited the importance of *envisioning* as key to how people interpret and understand the world and wrote: "there is here the possibility to employ the ways people normally envision places and use the practice of picturing to relate to them" (p. 370). Crang observed the pitfalls in the use of this method in geography and cautioned that the careful selection of a method of interpretation is essential, as the practice of picturing opens up possibilities for looking at the ways images are embedded in time and space and he concluded: "addressing the practices of seeing, in this case, photographic ones, may prove a useful approach, not a panacea" (p. 371).

In the discussion so far it has been noted that the use of photo-interpretation offers a secondary and supplementary perspective on neighbourhood change. What is clear is that the selection of a self-directed method of photo-interpretation may yield some important findings with respect to understanding the significance of place through the eyes and feelings of its

residents. However, the use of this type of research has a number of shortcomings. First is the cost, both in the provision of a disposable camera, and the subsequent cost of processing the film, which can limit the number of subjects. A second issue is the selection of a representative sample from a neighbourhood, and one that would not be biassed towards selecting only photographers. A final issue is that of participant safety. Given that subjects are asked to undertake this exercise independently raises the risk level, especially in areas with high crime rates. Therefore, the use of self-directed photography is considered an essential but supplementary technique that will serve as a visual interpretation of the neighbourhood. The method will help to understand the importance of place and sense of neighbourhood as seen through the cognitive visions of the residents.

In terms of a methodological approach, Haywood's (1990) urban visit assessment method provides an important foundation for the present research. The purpose of Haywood's study was to determine which areas of Toronto tourists found to be the most enjoyable or distressing during their trip. The author used the disconfirmation model of customer satisfaction as a framework for understanding the perceptions generated. Drawing on the principles of this model, people were asked to consider the attractiveness of the city based on the "visitor's evaluation of the quality of the urban experience" (p. 25). The main objective of the project was to understand the positive and negative aspects of the visit to the city. Haywood noted some important shortcomings from the use of this technique that have implications for the present research, including:

- Some people did not feel comfortable using a camera;
- Some did not feel comfortable taking pictures in certain instances when they did not feel safe;
- The use of amateur photographers means that some of the images may be distorted due to inexperience in taking pictures;
- The short period of time for taking the pictures limited the range of pictures that could be taken over a longer period of time;
- The limited time of tourists results in photographs coming from only major destination sites or, in fact, one or two places they visited; and
- The amount of time that is involved in overseeing such a project is a hindrance (pp. 27-30).

Despite the noted shortcomings, the overall benefit of using this technique seemed to outweigh the negative aspects. Haywood indicated that this technique can serve as a means of involving citizens in the planning and design process. Furthermore, he noted that self-directed photography can be used as a means of comparing two areas of a city or, in fact, two cities (p. 29).

It is clear that there is a need to select a method to ensure that a self-directed photography exercise works effectively. Rose (1996) addressed this problem by offering a method for the geographical interpretation of visual materials. He cited the importance of cognitive interpretation as a means by which human geographers may attempt to decipher a coherent assessment of the intended subject area. Unlike Haywood, Rose saw the need to select specific areas as critical in managing the outcome in a more efficient manner. This more structured approach allowed for a systematic survey of site, while allowing for greater comparison as all participants evaluate the same region of the city. Therefore, if a project is limited to the more manageable boundaries of a neighbourhood and uses local residents, the outcome should produce a more accurate portrayal of the area based on a deeper knowledge of its geography. This may be seen as a key difference in the use of this technique in the present research as compared to that undertaken in tourist areas where participants had

no previous knowledge of the area or its unique geography.

The methodology used in the self-directed photography exercise consisted of placing an advertisement in a community newspaper and local billboards, eliciting volunteers to participate in a survey of the neighbourhood. They were not told they would be photographing images until they contacted the author, so as not to specifically solicit photographers. Following the selection of a small sample size of 15 residents, each participant was given a camera and asked to take 4-6 images considered to represent positive aspects of the neighbourhood and 4-6 images regarded as negative.

Data collected from participants' cameras were then coded and compared to assess the results. Coding of the images was done thematically by placing images into representative categories. First, the positive images were grouped into similar categories, such as the natural and the built environments. From this, they were further sub-divided based on related themes, such as housing or parks. The final step in the coding determined if a geographical pattern existed based on where the majority of images were taken. This was used to determine important areas of the neighbourhood. The same steps were taken in the coding of the negative images. The limitations of the use of this technique were related to the costs of both purchasing disposable cameras and processing the film. Therefore, the number of participants was limited to fifteen.

Markwell (2000) and Aitken and Wingate (1993) provided a sound methodological foundation upon which the coding and analysis of the present results were based. Markwell acknowledged that the process of self-directed photography is of particular importance to human geography because it helps to better "understand the importance of place to people" and moreover,

participants are able to "use photography as a means of telling their own stories through the photographs they took" (Markwell, 2000, p. 91-92).

In order to interpret the results of photographs taken, Markwell noted the importance of content analysis by stressing that a proper framework for analysis of the images is critical. The following criteria are, according to Markwell, critical to a successful endeavour, and were employed in the present research:

- Tabulating the total photographs taken.
- Categorizing photographs into various phenomena (cultural, natural).
- Describing each photograph in written form.
- Cataloguing photographs by both description provided and the researcher's interpretation (pp. 92-95).

Each step noted above was critical, but ultimately the coding/analysis process remained subject to the researcher's ability to organize the images into representative categories. Therefore, the subjective process of coding images was carefully managed to ensure accuracy/consistency in the categorization of images. The accompanying written descriptions (supplied by the participants) played a vital role in furnishing the researcher with the necessary information to increase the accuracy of the interpretations.

Markwell's methodology was similar to an earlier work of Aitken and Wingate (1993), who also stressed that this procedure is subjective and based primarily upon the interpretations of the researcher. Nonetheless, great emphasis is placed upon the coding procedure. For their purposes, Aitken and Wingate catalogued images into a number of categories including the environment (natural and built), social relations, and images that were dynamic/action oriented. What is unique about the categorization of the images is that the researchers cross-tabulated the results by the different types of subjects used in the exercise, namely – children denoted as being middle-class,

homeless or those who had cerebral palsy (p. 65-69). As a final thought, a key consideration in the use of this procedure remains largely a supplemental technique. For the present research, the results of this exercise are (where possible) compared to those gathered in the city-wide survey to provide a more complete picture of the neighbourhood environment.

3.3.4 Census of Canada and City of Winnipeg Data

Data from customized Statistics Canada tabulations for the years 1971-1996 were used to better understand the neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg. The benefit of these data is that they are aggregated to match the neighbourhood boundaries used by the City of Winnipeg. The longitudinal structure of the data set established key trends, such as changes in housing prices and condition, repairs needed, socio-economic indicators, demographics, and other pertinent socio-spatial characteristics.

Primary data from the City of Winnipeg included building permit activity, resale housing averages, placarded homes, demolished homes, housing condition, and maintenance and occupancy orders. These data were used to develop profiles of the neighbourhoods and to help explain the differences existing among the neighbourhood types (see Chapter Four). Building permit data were used to construct a Renovation Index to assess the level of housing activity in the 16 neighbourhoods.

3.4 The Research Questions

The present study advanced three research questions. Each question was important in providing a better understanding of the dynamic nature of the

neighbourhood. This included examining the variables associated with neighbourhood stability and those that contributed to the rehabilitation process. As noted, the research questions are:

1. *Are neighbourhood perception variables relating to neighbourhood evaluation, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities, significant predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction or mobility status among residents?*

2. *Does the importance of variables that predict confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status vary among the five resident-groups?*

3. *Are there factors associated with the process of rehabilitation in rehabilitated older neighbourhoods that contribute to an increased sense of neighbourhood stability and attachment, and if so, what lessons can be learned, and potentially transferred elsewhere?*

Research Questions One and Two:

To assess and compare the strength of the predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status, three separate logistic regression models were postulated. The predictor variables used in each model were derived from five areas of inquiry that included confidence level, neighbourhood rating, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities. Using a strategy similar to that of Melchert and Naroff (1987); Basolo and Strong (2002) and Parkes et al (2002), two scales of analysis were used: the first examined the entire sample (n=574), while the second was based on constructing a logistic regression model for each of the five resident groups, for a combined total of 18 models. In the *Confidence* and *Satisfaction* models, the dependent variables were coded dichotomously with 1= very confident or satisfied and 0=less the very confident or satisfied. The rationale for coding the variables in this manner is that it represents "a strong statement of the residents' attitudes" (Basolo & Strong, p.94).

The first model postulated was the *Confidence Model* and is based on using *Confidence Level* as an outcome variable: coded as 1= very confident; 0= less than very confident. The use of confidence as an outcome measure was derived from Varady (1986), Varady and Preiser (1998), and Mesch and Manor (1998). In the first two studies, confidence was used to examine overall neighbourhood satisfaction and whether it contributed to the revitalization process. In Mesch and Manor's study, logistic regression was used to assess sentiment about the neighbourhood, and although "confidence" was not specifically used, the outcome measure "sentiment" is considered similar in that the authors suggested it relates to the subjective manner from which residents evaluate neighbourhood characteristics. Sentiment was therefore considered consistent with the variable *Confidence Level* as both were derived from a resident's subjective appraisal of the neighbourhood.

The second model formulated was the *Mobility Model* and used *Mobility* as the outcome measure and is coded as follows: *1=planning to stay in the neighbourhood; 0=planning to move.* The use of mobility as an outcome measure was documented in the works of Boehm and Mark (1980) and Varady and Wang (2001). In both studies, the mobility decision was observed as being influenced by a number of variables including the level of attachment to the neighbourhood, overall housing satisfaction, and the subjective appraisal of the neighbourhood's quality.

The third model formulated was the *Neighbourhood Satisfaction Model* and it consisted of the outcome variable *Neighbourhood Rating*: coded as 1= very satisfied; 0= less than very satisfied. Parkes et al (2002) employed this strategy in assessing the predictors of neighbourhood dissatisfaction. Their

findings suggested that overall housing satisfaction and the general appearance of the neighbourhood are predictors of dissatisfaction. Furthermore, an important finding was that socio-demographic factors are less important than the perceptions residents had of the physical attributes of the neighbourhood. The Parkes et al study also consisted of examining a set of neighbourhoods, differentiated in a similar manner to that used in the present research. Basolo an Strong (2002) examined satisfaction as it related to the perception of housing and other neighbourhood amenities. The coding of the dependent variable *Satisfaction* by Basolo and Strong was coded consistently with the present study.

Each of the above-noted studies also used regression in a similar manner to that of the present research. Although it is not the intent of this research to reconstruct the models noted above (nor would this be possible), the outcomes and associated variables are explored to determine whether confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status, as measured in the present research, offer effective predictors of neighbourhood stability and add to the likelihood of increased housing rehabilitation.

Research Question Three:

The final research question examined Riverview to determine if the characteristics of this neighbourhood are such that lessons can be learned from the collective experiences of the area residents. This question was assessed through a qualitative lens that used the results of the Neighbourhood Survey, a focus group session and the self-directed photography technique to provide an analysis that converged multiple approaches to offer a potential explanation of the dynamics of the neighbourhood that contribute to both stability and to the

rehabilitation process.

In each of the three research questions, the central objective remained to better understand the subjective attributes from which residents evaluate the neighbourhood and ultimately influence the rehabilitation process, leading to either stability or to the emergence of increased deterioration of housing and/or decline of the area.

3.4.1 Survey Methodology

The methodological framework for the neighbourhood survey was based on statistical science relating to the development of an appropriate survey design. Salant (1994), Fink (1995), Nachmais (1996), Levy (1999) and Tate (2000) concur that any research needs to be organized along scientific parameters in order to achieve accurate measures of data being investigated and to enable generalizations about the findings to be made at the conclusion of the project.

The selection of a *study population* was a crucial first step in the survey development phase. For the present research, this variable consisted of the 667,209 citizens who resided in Winnipeg as of the 1996 Census day. However, as this research was concerned with homeowners, the actual *study population* became smaller because this research drew only one respondent from each of the 151,095 homes owned in the City of Winnipeg. The rationale for using the number of owner-occupied homes is that only one person per home is needed to conduct an accurate neighbourhood survey. The study sample is thus drawn exclusively from this population.

The second step in the research design was to establish a *representative sample.* The representative sample is a subset of the population and is used in determining generalizations about the entire population (Nachmias: 179). One of the most important aspects in the selection of a *representative sample size* is the ability to accurately interpret and make generalizations for the entire population being studied. However, the selection of a representative sample size also involves accounting for sampling error. Salent (1994) provided a useful framework for determining these components. From a review of the data, it was determined that a sample size of 383 would statistically represent a *population* between 100,000 and 1,000,000 with a sampling error of +/- 5% (p. 55). For the current research, this was determined to be an acceptable level of error and it provided a manageable survey size in terms of both costs and ability to effectively organize the data. Nevertheless, the sample size of 383 was increased so as to draw approximately 35 residents from twelve neighbourhoods included in the study area for a total of 420 survey respondents.

The next step was to select a sampling method to ensure accuracy was achieved in the selection of homeowners. According to Nachmias, "once researchers have defined the population, they draw a sample that adequately represents the population...this involves selecting a sample from a *sampling frame* which is comprised of a complete listing of the sampling units" (Nachmias: 181). For the present research, the sampling frame consisted of the Henderson's Directory of Winnipeg. It was determined that this sampling frame contained the most accurate and accessible listing of homeowners. It was also selected because it lists names of persons by street address, including their phone number, which was used to target neighbourhoods.

The sampling technique employed in the neighbourhood survey was based on a proportional stratified sampling framework. This ensured that the neighbourhood survey was an accurate and representative measure of the Winnipeg population. According to Nachmias, the use of proportional stratified sampling "ensures that different groups of a population are adequately represented in the sample so as to increase their level of accuracy when estimating parameters" (p. 189).

3.4.2 The Neighbourhood Survey - Area Selection

As noted, the Neighbourhood Survey consisted of drawing a representative sample of 383 (which was rounded-up to 420) from the sampling frame (Henderson's Directory). In order to achieve a required level of confidence, a proportional stratified sample ensured that a representative sample from the sixteen selected neighbourhoods was completed. This was done by determining the total number of neighbourhoods (by type) in the city and then making approximate selections of each based on their distribution (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2
Neighbourhood Typology In Winnipeg

Type	Total Number	Proportional Percentage	Number of Neighbourhoods included in the Present Sample
Major Improvement Area	14	7.25	2
Rehabilitation Area	21	10.9	3
Conservation Area	135	70	4
Emerging Area	23	11.9	3
Total	193	100	12

The proportional percentage resulted in the selection of four Conservation, three Emerging, three Rehabilitation and Two Major Improvement neighbourhoods for the city-wide survey. This mix represented a reasonably stratified and representative sample of each neighbourhood type. Following the review and selection of neighbourhood types, individual neighbourhoods were chosen. This was accomplished using an index of all 193 neighbourhoods and selecting the appropriate number of neighbourhoods for each of the four neighbourhood classifications. It is contended that the sixteen neighbourhoods selected in the present research represent a proportional cross-section of types and locations within Winnipeg.

As noted, the number of survey respondents was 420, representing 35 homeowners from each of the twelve neighbourhoods sampled in the survey. Further samples were selected from the remaining four neighbourhoods which denoted the Major Stakeholder survey. Neighbourhood selection was based on drawing a cross-section of Winnipeg neighbourhoods, representing the four primary designations (Major Improvement, Rehabilitation, Conservation and Emerging) and were proportional to the overall distribution noted in Table 3.2. Selection was undertaking be examining various characteristics to ensure diversity.

3.4.3 The Neighbourhood Survey Technique

The method employed for the neighbourhood survey was to conduct telephone interviews using the Henderson's Directory as the sampling frame. To ensure a random selection, every *n th* street and *n th* household were selected in each neighbourhood. Telephone interviews were continued until the proportional

number of survey participants was achieved. As the Henderson's Directory lists the population by street, a detailed street map was used to randomly select streets within each neighbourhood to sample. These selections were cross-referenced by actual street address to ensure that there was no overlap between neighbourhoods, and to ensure each street and homeowner had an equal chance of being randomly selected for inclusion in the survey.

Response rates were assessed by individual neighbourhood and tracked in a number of ways. First, phone lists were used to initially call potential respondents. If a person declined, he/she was removed from the list and the caller would proceed to the next eligible person until the target number was met. Should a person have requested a call back or if there was a no answer, this too was noted and the person would be contacted again. It was estimated that the phone survey required approximately 10-15 calls per completed survey (or between 4,000 and 6,500 total calls)[6]. The response rate for the mail out survey was more easily measured (see Table 3.3).

3.4.4 The Major Stakeholder Survey

To compare the findings of the neighbourhood survey with those of the Major Stakeholder Area Resident-Group, a second, more targeted survey was employed using only homeowners identified by this research as having completed renovations within neighbourhoods experiencing a high degree of positive housing activity. The sample for this survey was drawn from four

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6

The estimate of 10-15 calls per survey includes call-backs and no answers. With this taken into account, the response rate for those contacted was approximately 25%. It should also be noted that there were no incomplete interviews and relatively few outright refusals (less than 15).

Winnipeg neighbourhoods deemed to be experiencing relatively high levels of renovation activity (Table 3.1). The method for selecting the households for this survey entailed a reconnaissance of the four neighbourhoods in order to develop a sampling frame, for which a targeted windshield survey was administered. Surveys were then submitted directly to each household by the researcher.

The sampling method employed for this segment of the research was *cluster sampling* because it offered a practical method of dealing with the Major Stakeholders within the defined area. According to Levy (1999) *cluster sampling* is often the most economical method of sampling and is used more frequently than other methods (p. 229). For the current research, the first step was to clearly define the areas to be sampled, namely, the four neighbourhoods, and identify all homes considered to have undergone major renovations. This was called the establishment of the *listing units.* The next step was to distribute surveys to the designated homes based on the principles of cluster sampling. This was accomplished by first selecting the desired sample size and then selecting a random street from which to begin. Following this, every *n* th household, designated as being a Major Stakeholder, received a survey questionnaire. Once the desired response rate was achieved, the results were compared with the findings of the neighbourhood survey to test for variance.

For the present research, a 30% response rate was used as the minimum rate acceptable. The sample size consisted of 250 homes in the four neighbourhoods, representing a 5% sample of all the detached single-family housing units falling within the boundaries. Therefore, the target response was 75 residents. The survey questionnaires were distributed based on a proportional distribution of the 250 surveys to the four neighbourhoods (Table

3.3). It should be further noted that, as the survey only targeted home owners, surveys from rental properties were discarded. The response rate was an acceptable 60%.

Table 3.3:
Major Stakeholder Survey

Neighbourhood	Total Detached Units	Percentage of Total	Proportional Number of Surveys	Minimum Acceptable Returns (30%)	Return Rates
North River Heights	2085	42	105	31	47 (44.7%)
Norwood West	1210	24	60	18	43 (71.6%)
Riverview	1420	28.5	71	21	50 (70.4%)
McMillan	260	5.5	14	5	9 (64.3%)
Totals	4975	100	250	75	149 (59.6%)

3.4.5 Data Analysis Methods

The analysis techniques employed in the present research were intended to address the objectives and research questions. The process began by coding the data by question and neighbourhood type. Once the data were entered and coded[7], specific analysis techniques were used to assess the frequency of responses, the reliability of the data, and to conduct a comparative analysis to determine if there were any statistically relevant differences or similarities in the data among the resident-groups. The specific analysis techniques used are presented in Chapters Six and Seven.

7

Data were coded and analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) software version 11.

3.5 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to denote the methodological strategy for investigating the objectives and research questions set forth by this research. Two important sampling methods were deemed to be required to deliver the necessary results. As such, both a proportional stratified and a cluster sampling technique were advanced to ensure that the sampling process was statistically significant, and represented an accurate reflection of the neighbourhood structure of Winnipeg. A windshield survey was also included and viewed as the most economical and efficient means to obtain a sample from the Major Stakeholder neighbourhoods.

Ultimately, the research strategy proposed was based on a mixed use approach that converged the quantitative results derived from statistical techniques with the qualitative material obtained from the focus group sessions and self-directed photography technique. The outcome is considered to be a sufficiently broad perspective that delivered the necessary base from which to truly understand the complexity of the neighbourhood and the influences that affect stability and the housing rehabilitation decision.

Chapter Four
Analysis of the Study Area

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of Winnipeg's urban structure with an emphasis on the sixteen neighbourhoods examined in the present research. The primary data used in the analysis are based on customized Statistics Canada data (1971-1996), geocoded to correspond with the City of Winnipeg's neighbourhood boundaries (see Appendix B). The primary rationale for the inclusion of these data is that each neighbourhood boundary has remained consistent over this period. A second reason is that since the neighbourhood data correspond to the city's boundaries, it is possible to draw comparisons with the survey material generated by the present research, which used the same geographic area. Statistics Canada data, based on census tracts (CT), were not included because the CT boundaries do not correspond with those used by the City of Winnipeg. Therefore, because of this limitation, census data prior to 1971 are not discussed.

The neighbourhood observations presented in this Chapter were drawn from repeated visits to each of the neighbourhoods included in the study. Using a method similar to the work of Leo and Shaw (2002), the author rode through many of the neighbourhoods on a bicycle to appreciate the composition and complexity of each area. As Leo and Shaw noted, a bicycle offers an effective means for examining the neighbourhood without drawing as much attention as one would by either driving slowly through the neighbourhood in a vehicle or by walking. The key streets and the location of each neighbourhood are presented in the following map (See also Figure 1.1 for the neighbourhood types).

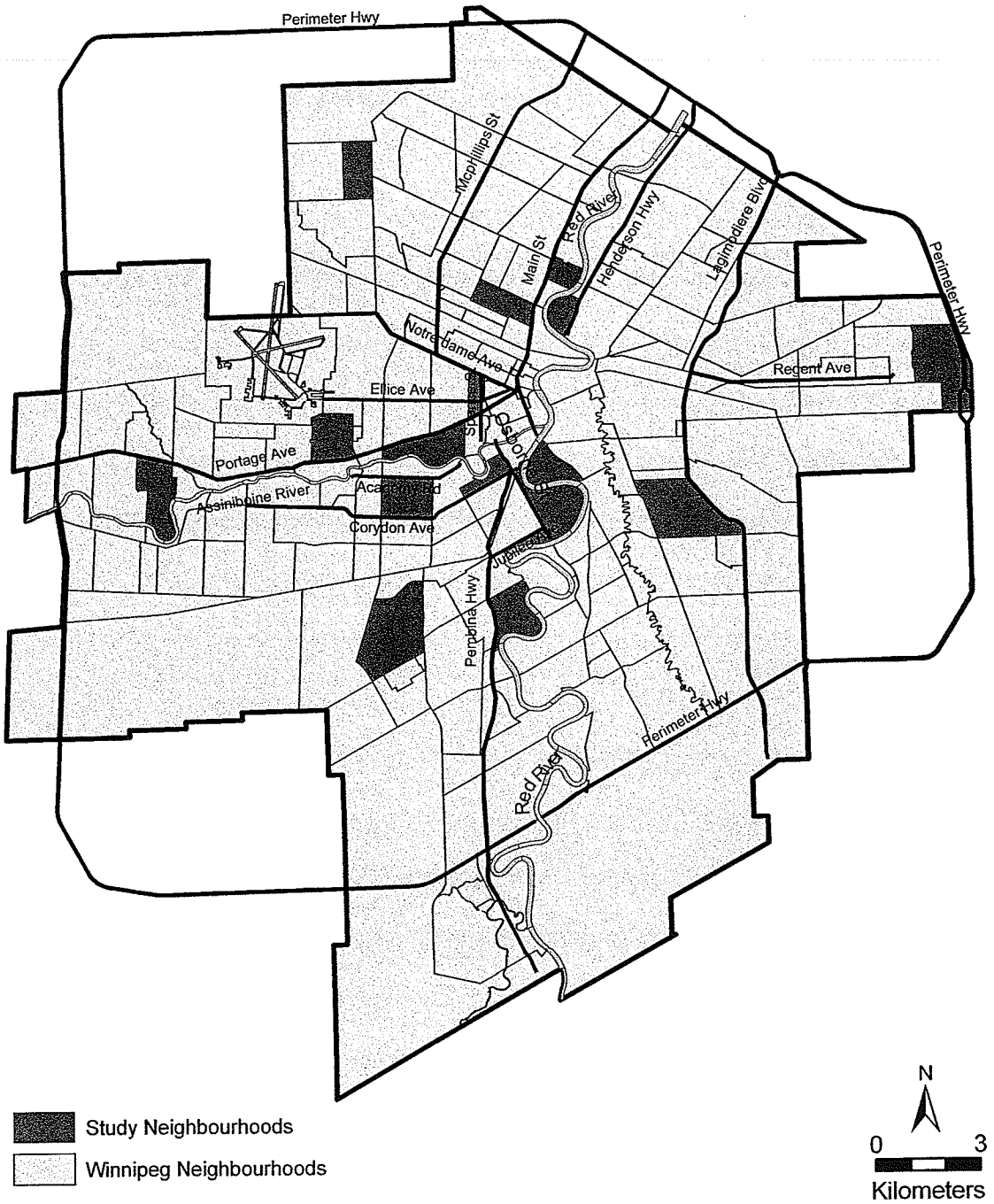

Figure 4.1

Major Streets of the Study Area

4.1 The Neighbourhoods of Winnipeg: A Twenty-Five-Year Overview

This section discusses the sixteen neighbourhoods, providing a sense of their development over the last quarter-century. The guiding question is: What factors have contributed to the changes which have taken place in these neighbourhoods over the twenty-five year period between 1971 and 1996? The review points to significant change within and substantial differences among the neighbourhoods included in this study. This change can be characterized as being the result of the slow growth of Winnipeg coupled with an increased level of decline in the inner city. The decline of the inner city was heightened by factors such as an extensive and continuing population loss, a substantial decline in the value of housing, and an increased level of poverty among residents. The following discussion begins with an overview of the historical development of Winnipeg to provide the necessary context for the more detailed discussion of the individual neighbourhoods.

4.1.1 Winnipeg: A Brief Overview of its Growth and Stagnation

The City of Winnipeg remains a slow-growth centre, with its 1996 population of 620,000 increasing at less than one percent over 1991.[1] Leo and Brown (2000) characterized Winnipeg's growth as slow but highlighted a number of important trends. Most notable was that although slow growth occurred within city boundaries, faster growth was happening in the Census Metropolitan Area (excluding the city), which grew by nearly 10% between 1991 and 1996. They

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1

Statistics Canada census data aggregated by City of Winnipeg neighbourhood and the inner city boundaries were accessed from http://winnipeg.ca/census1996 (September 1, 2003). This data set corresponds and supplements those data listed in Appendix B but contains more extensive tabulations based on inner city and non inner city designations.

also observed that Winnipeg, like other North American cities, has seen recent growth concentrated in suburban areas, while the inner city exhibited increased signs of decline and depopulation. The census data support this finding as the inner city experienced a population loss of 3.5%, while Winnipeg (excluding the inner city) grew at a modest 1.5% (1991-1996).

According to Nader (1976) and Burley (1988), the historical development of Winnipeg was fuelled by land speculation during the 1870s and 1880s when property values in the "Portage and Main" area rose considerably. The rush to buy property was so intense that Burley wrote: "Winnipeg grew so rapidly in 1881-82 that it could hardly accommodate its population. Finding housing was scarce or too expensive, some newcomers just pitched tents" (p.65). Much of the land speculation during the late 1870s and early 1880s was the result of heated competition for the Canadian Pacific Railway's mainline, which would eventually locate in the city in 1881 (beating out its competitor, the City of Selkirk). In November 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, Winnipeg was integrated into the transcontinental line connecting the country from coast to coast. The presence of the rail line helped to establish Winnipeg as a wholesale and distribution centre, feeding the growing markets of western Canada. Nader indicated that Winnipeg's prominence reached its peak in the early 1900s: "by 1900 Winnipeg-based firms dominated the wholesale trade from Lake Superior to the Pacific Coast; the construction of the Crow's Nest Railway in the late 1890s had, for example, brought the booming mining communities of southwestern British Columbia within the city's sphere of influence" (p. 271). Within this context, McCann and Simmons (2000) observed that many goods and immigrants passed through Winnipeg, bound for the

growing west or to export markets in Europe. The authors further noted two important points which may have eventually contributed to Winnipeg's decline: first, most immigrants *passed* through the city on route elsewhere and those who did remain were most likely directed to Winnipeg by the federal government; second, much of Winnipeg's prosperity in sectors such as banking, wholesale trade and transportation "were connected primarily to financial, distribution, and industrial corporations based in Montreal and Toronto" (p. 90). These two factors moved much of the power out of Winnipeg and made the city increasingly susceptible to decisions rendered outside of the province.

The early 1900s brought further growth and prosperity to Winnipeg, but the good fortunes of the economic boom of earlier decades began to dissipate after 1910. Nader pegged the first signs of decline as emerging after the speculative real estate boom subsided about the time World War I began. This, coupled with the opening of the Panama Canal and the emergence of Vancouver as a major hub for the shipment of grain and goods, compounded the erosion of Winnipeg's dominance heretofore provided by the rail industry and its associated wholesale and distribution activity.

Lyon and Fenton (1984) traced the development of Winnipeg's downtown, citing the same factors as Nader as contributing to the decline of Winnipeg's prominence as a distribution centre. The authors pointed out that although Winnipeg boomed at the turn of the 20th century, problems associated with dilapidated housing, overcrowding, and increasing incidences of unsanitary conditions, marred much of the early growth. Furthermore, they concluded that much of the land speculation contributed to the poor housing conditions as residential, commercial and industrial land uses commonly encroached upon each

other. Their conclusion concurred with that of Artibise (1972) who contended that a power struggle was underway in which Winnipeg's elite dominated the growth period that characterized the early development of the city. He concluded that this growth-oriented development had contributed significantly to the wedge driven between the emerging rich and the growing number of poor who were concentrated in the inner city. To this point he added that:

> after forty years of prodigious growth, Winnipeg in 1914 still lacked decent housing, good schools, adequate recreation facilities, and integrated neighbourhood planning. Above all else, Winnipeg lacked any powerful group which understood the City as a whole and who wanted to deal with it as a public environment; one belonging to and affecting all citizens (p.6).

Lyon and Fenton pointed to the increased poverty concentrated in the inner city as the shadow of the 1930s Depression crept through Winnipeg: "Many properties fell behind in taxes. The result was the abandonment of both developed and undeveloped properties, which then reverted to municipal control" (p.60). The post-World War II period also marked the deepening of the divide between the increasingly deteriorating inner city and the beginnings of a suburban expansion period in Winnipeg. As a result of the worsening social condition, Lyon and Fenton discussed the rise of both multi-family and rooming houses in various parts of the inner city (Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

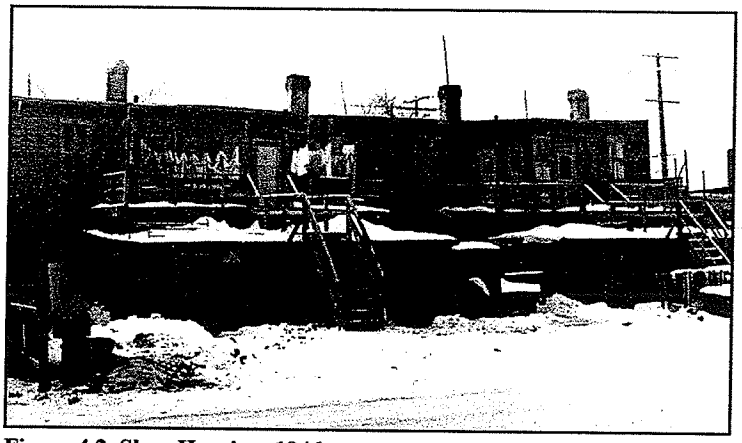

Figure 4.2. Slum Housing, 1946
Source: Winnipeg Tribune Photo Collection, University of Manitoba Archive Repository Collection

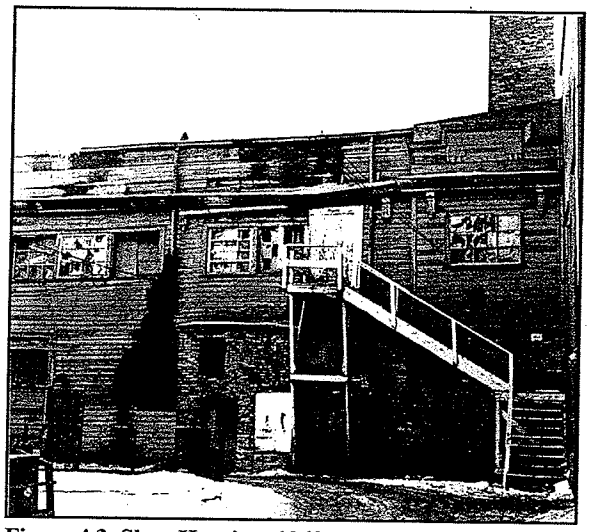

Figure 4.3. Slum Housing, 1968
Source: Winnipeg Tribune Photo Collection, University of Manitoba Archive Repository Collection

The weakening of Winnipeg's economic base is evident in the work of McCann and Simmons (2000), who noted that as the economy of Alberta grew during the post-World War II period, its principal cities began to dominate the western economy, pulling away many of Winnipeg's commercial, transportation and financial services. The result was the slowing of economic growth within the

city, and a deceased position within Canada's urban hierarchy. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 help illustrate the substantial decline that began to dominate much of the inner city. An important point made by Lyon and Fenton is that a lack of zoning controls prior to 1948 contributed to the emergence of blight as many areas became home to incompatible land uses, especially in the Point Douglas neighbourhood located near the Canadian Pacific Railway yards in central Winnipeg. This area hosted a mix of industrial functions, substandard housing units and, according to Levine (2003), a growing number of brothels and other like activities that began to thrive in the area.

During the growth-oriented 1960s, the inner city remained an area with increased signs of decline. This came at a time when Winnipeg's suburban population began to expand, especially between 1946 and 1970. Lyon and Fenton pointed out that advocates of urban renewal began to consider areas of the inner city for redevelopment and as early as 1961, "six studies focussing on housing and potential areas for urban renewal" had been developed for blighted inner city areas (p. 69). These studies called for the removal of existing structures in the hope that large-scale redevelopment would end the cycle of decline.

From the 1960s to the present, the inner city of Winnipeg has been the focus of countless efforts to improve the lives and living conditions of those who have lived there. From the urban renewal schemes of the 1960s to the Residential Rehabilitation and Assistance Program (RRAP) and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) of the 1970s, and the more recent Core Area Initiative and the Winnipeg Development agreements of the 1980s and 1990s, there has been no shortage of attempts. Yet, at present, the inner city continues to struggle to find a way to capture the imagination of its residents and others to

encourage them to invest and live in this once rich and vibrant part of the city. Very recently, there have been sparks of hope emanating from neighbourhoods within this area. This has been in the form of community-based efforts focussed on rehabilitating the neighbourhood one home at a time through increased renovation and improvements. Yet the road to stability remains marked by an almost insurmountable number of homes in need of attention and a scarcity of resources for those few agencies committed to finding solutions.

What appears to be one of Winnipeg's most problematic issues is the composition of its housing stock, which can generally be characterized as ageing, with increased signs of deterioration evident in centrally located neighbourhoods. The City of Winnipeg assessed the average effective age of housing[2] in Winnipeg to be 1952, or presently over 50 years old. One could reasonably conclude that housing of this age will require substantially more investment as many of the components of the home need upgrading or replacement (see Figure 2.2 for the life expectancy chart of internal components). Furthermore, of the 246,000 dwelling units in the city (as of the 1996 Census), 40% were built prior to 1960. This is a significant number when one also takes into account that 23,000 dwelling units, or nearly 9% of the entire housing stock, are considered to be in need of major repair. Many of these homes were located within the inner city where this average rose to just over 12%. Furthermore, average housing prices in the city experienced a modest increase over the last decade, rising to $95,000 in 1996; this was $30,000 higher than the average value of inner city properties.

2

Average Effective Age is calculated by using the year of construction and averaging the homes in the neighbourhood. Data used in the estimate are from the Assessment Department, City of Winnipeg. See Appendix B for the data set.

The situation is corroborated by assessing the resale housing market which not only exemplifies the stark differences between the inner city, and non-inner city, but also provides a more accurate picture of the housing activity taking place (as compared to the self-identified values of Statistics Canada measures). The average increase for homes on the resale market for Winnipeg was 10% between 1989 and 1999 (up from $78,000 to $86,000). By contrast, both the Spence and William Whyte neighbourhoods experienced a dramatic decline in the selling price, which plummeted by 64% and 51% respectively. In 1999, homes in these neighbourhoods sold at a average price of $16,000 (Spence) and $17,500 (William Whyte), down from $45,000 and $36,000 just a decade earlier. Among the other neighbourhoods included in this study, the lowest average resale value (excluding Spence and William Whyte) was Luxton at $49,700, while the highest was Lindenwoods at $172,000 (see Appendix B for a complete list).

The social environment can also be segmented by examining the differences between inner city and non-inner city areas, especially in terms of the level of poverty. For example, the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (1999) determined that 52.8% of inner city children lived in poverty[3], a number that was more than the double the 1996 citywide average of 22.5%. Furthermore, child poverty rates for single families, which sat at just over 50% for the city, stood at a staggering 73% for the inner city. Including children, in 1996, the overall incidence of poverty in the inner city was 40%, compared to 19% for the non-inner city. The significant differences in these numbers suggest a wide economic and social separation between inner city and non-inner city residents.

3

The Social Planning Council used Statistics Canada 1996 Measure of Low Income Cut Off (LICO) to assess the poverty situation.

Although a discussion of poverty and the outcome of living in poverty are beyond the scope of this research, the above-noted contrasts between the inner city and non-inner city point to an erosion of quality of life in the former, and contribute significantly to the problems facing persons living in these neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the high incidence of poverty has a significant effect on this research since the amount of money homeowners living in poverty have for renovation and maintenance expenditures is significantly less than the financial resources available to those in more affluent neighbourhoods (or, for that matter, in areas where residents live above the poverty line).

4.1.2 Major Improvement Area

Major Improvement neighbourhoods underwent significant change between 1971 and 1996. For the most part, these neighbourhoods experienced continued decline in the physical and social components, including a worsening of the housing stock, a pronounced loss of population, and a marked increase in the level of poverty among residents. Both Spence and William Whyte have exhibited clear signs of decline for some time; in fact, in recent decades, the rate of decline in these two neighbourhoods has accelerated. Extreme poverty and urban decline are pronounced within these neighbourhoods which, for the most part, continue to require substantial reinvestment efforts because deterioration of the housing remains a persistent and critical problem (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Not only do the photographs in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 illustrate some of the housing problems facing residents in these neighbourhoods, they also highlight another issue, namely the cost associated with bringing such homes back to a habitable condition, assuming they would be worth saving.

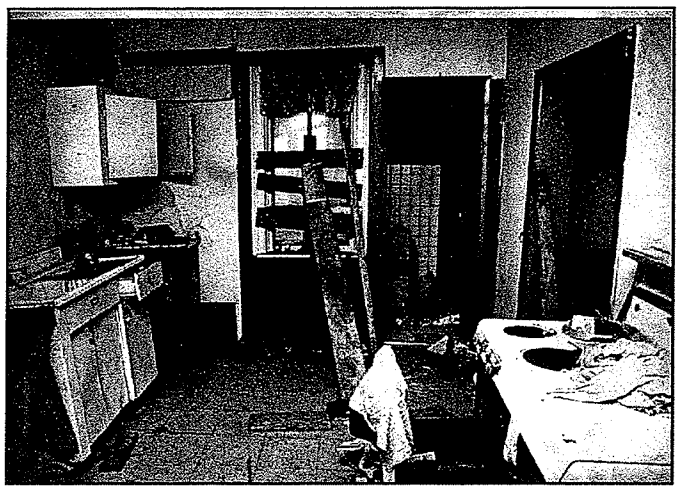

Figure 4.4. Slum Housing, 1979
Source: Winnipeg Tribune Photo Collection, University of Manitoba Archive Repository Collection

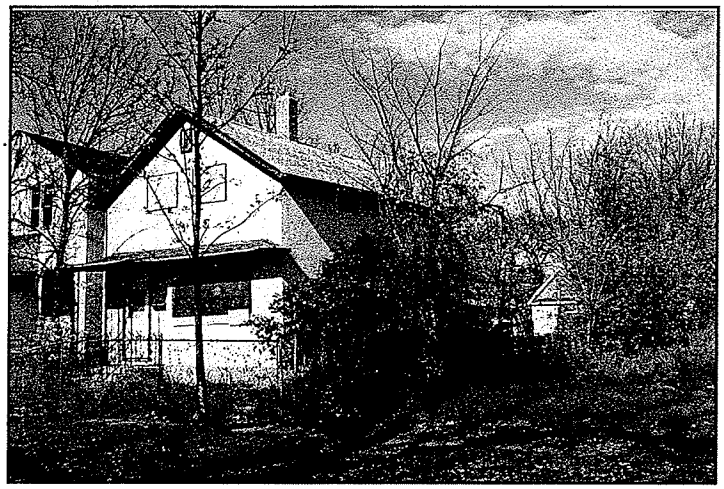

Figure 4.5 Combined Boarded-up Home with Adjacent Empty Lot

Numerous visits to these neighbourhoods made it clear that an ever-increasing number of homes are falling into disrepair. Block after block contain empty lots and boarded-up homes, offering evidence of the challenge facing these neighbourhoods. Along one street in William Whyte, many homes fell victim to an arson spree which saw countless (and mostly placarded) homes burned.

The response to this situation has been significant with respect to government intervention initiatives. Programs such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) tried, in the 1970s, to combat urban decline through massive investments into capital-based projects that attempted to rehabilitate the aging housing stock, improve the infrastructure, and provide a better social environment for remaining residents. Both programs were created when the National Housing Act was amended in 1973. In fact, "these two programs were created in direct response to the heavy criticisms made against urban renewal projects of the 1960s" (NIP, 1981, p. 1). In essence, these programs attempted to deviate from the "bulldozer" approach used in urban renewal schemes, and preserve existing neighbourhood resources. A notable aspect of the NIP approach was that it allowed residents to become involved. This was critical because a lack of resident involvement was a strong criticism of the urban renewal approach.

In William Whyte, a NIP neighbourhood, problems such as declining population and increased deterioration began to intensify in the 1970s, resulting in a drop in the number of families and a growing proportion of housing and community infrastructure in need of extensive repair. In a 1981 evaluation of the area, the housing stock was identified as being substandard and having a high level of abandonment (NIP 1981: 78).

The trends established in the 1970s continued into the 1980s with little change occurring to the fabric of the neighbourhoods. In the 1980s, a tri-party agreement between the Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments resulted in further investment in the inner city. This program was the Core Area Initiative

(CAI), which allocated $196 million to improve the social, economic and physical environments of the inner city over a ten-year period. This was the largest investment ever applied to Winnipeg's inner city, and it was said to have levered a further $500 million in spinoff investments from the private sector. As much as $70 million per year, for ten years, was injected into the inner city of Winnipeg (CAI, 1992).

Even with $70 million per year spent, many contend that the CAI did little to reverse the trends of decline in Spence, William Whyte, and other inner city neighbourhoods. Gerecke and Reid (1990) and Keirnan (1986,1987) debated the merits of the CAI and its effect on the inner city. Keirnan defended the program, calling it a success and a milestone in the planning profession, since the inner city was the recipient of hundreds of millions of dollars of new investments which flowed into programs that helped to stimulate further activity. However, Gerecke and Reid contended that the reverse was true: that the CAI did little to improve the lives of those living in the inner city. Their main argument was that the CAI was too heavily weighted in favour of what they called "bricks and mortar efforts" as opposed to social and economic programs aimed directly at the residents languishing in poverty, who were deprived of access to better housing and opportunities. Gerecke and Reid also concluded that nothing had changed socially in the inner city over the course of the CAI and stated: "with its emphasis on mega-projects and its apparent desperation to want to build anything, anywhere, it is simply urban renewal in Yuppie clothes" (p.21).

However, it must be acknowledged that without the investments made by the CAI, many Winnipeg neighbourhoods would have suffered even more decline. On the positive side, the CAI stimulated many grassroots responses to

neighbourhood decline, with community groups such as the Spence Neighbourhood Association, and outside organizations such as Habitat for Humanity stepping in to fill the void left by a decreased commitment from all levels of government once the CAI project ended. These non-governmental efforts to curb decline are evident in the clusters of infill homes which were added to William Whyte in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, the homes photographed in Figure 4.6 replaced three previously existing units which were either burned by arsonists or fell into such disrepair that the cost to renovate would have been economically unfeasible.

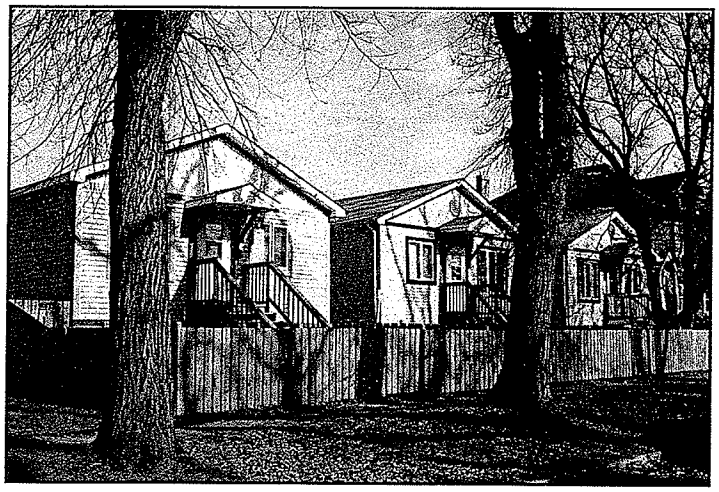

Figure 4.6 **Infill Homes in William Whyte**

The changes in Spence and William Whyte between 1971 and 1996 can be characterized by a significant decline in population, a corresponding drop in the number of families and children, high levels of mobility, and a worsening of housing and community infrastructure. The population loss in William Whyte and Spence was approximately 37%, with census families experiencing a similar fate, dropping 38% in Spence and 42% in William Whyte. This has had a pronounced

impact on the overall make-up of the neighbourhoods, which experienced a transition in demographic structure to more single persons and an aging population.

Employment rates were also affected during this period, with a tripling of the unemployment rate in Spence, from 10.3% in 1971 to 30% in 1996. In William Whyte, the change went from 13.1% in 1971 to 26.5% in 1996. When compared to the 1996 employment rate for the city (8.2%), these numbers become even more startling. The high rate of unemployment is underscored by the low average family income. Although data on family income are not available for the entire 25-year period, the last decade showed a substantial gap with these neighbourhoods nearly $30,000 below the city's 1996 average of $53,000. The difference in income can be partly accounted for by the chronically high levels of unemployment in both neighbourhoods. The situation appears to have worsened since 1981 as unemployment rates began their ascent into the high double digits, whereas the city average remained somewhat more consistent, averaging 8%.

In terms of housing characteristics, Spence and William Whyte exhibited a number of problems. First, the number of dwellings declined in both areas. This decline can be attributed to changes in the housing market structure, which saw a reduction in both the number of apartment and single-family units (Figure 4.7). During this period numerous single-family homes were demolished either to make way for new developments or simply to be removed because they were vacant and most likely in need of repairs beyond what was economically feasible. Low income and high unemployment also help explain the lower levels of home ownership consistently exhibited in each neighbourhood between 1971 and 1996 (Figure 4.8).

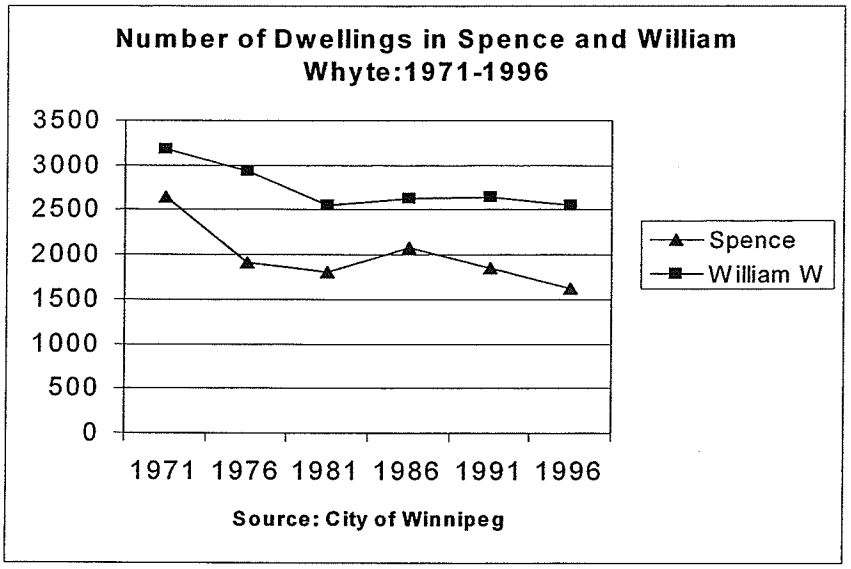

Figure 4.7

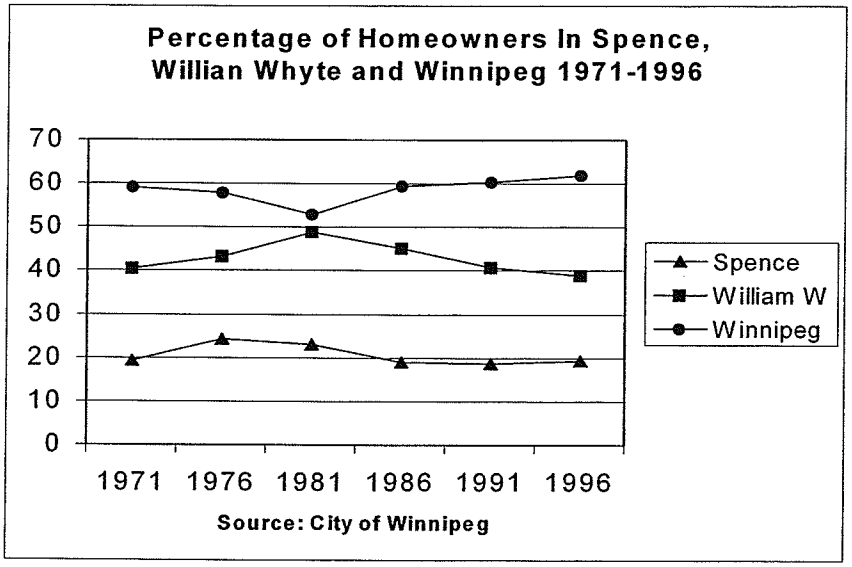

Figure 4.8

Perhaps most striking is that in Spence, 80% of residents rented their homes in 1996, a figure 42% higher than the city's average. Although home ownership in William Whyte was nearly double that of Spence in 1996, it is evident that both areas have had significantly higher percentages of renters compared with the rest of the city.

An underlying concern regarding low rates of home ownership was raised by Distasio et al. (2002). In this study, the Spence neighbourhood was determined to have the highest concentration of rooming houses in the city. The study revealed that area residents had negative perceptions of rooming houses, believing they affected the overall housing market by driving down demand and subsequently prices for homes in the neighbourhood. Area residents also felt that rooming houses contributed to an increased level of crime, were noisy, and that landlords paid little attention to the condition of their buildings or to the type of tenants they housed. However, persons living in rooming houses were concerned about survival and simply having access to housing that was one step above living on the street, where many tenants said they had lived at one time or another.

Although rooming house tenants acknowledged that life was hard in these places, they felt that they were part of the community and that a few bad tenants were giving this form of shelter a bad reputation. Regardless, this negative perception has affected the housing market as many of these places were deemed by area residents to be highly visible either by the numerous mailboxes dangling on the front porches or the mazes of wooden stairs that have been added to the back of "legal" rooming houses.

The condition of the dwellings and the period of construction may also play a contributing role in accelerating the level of decline in Spence and William Whyte. For the city as a whole, about 20% of housing was built prior to 1946. In William Whyte, 63% of dwellings were built before 1946, while in Spence the figure was somewhat less, at 50%. These older homes need a significant amount of maintenance, due both to the ageing process itself as well as the

obsolescence of their mechanical and internal components, many of which require upgrading or replacement (refer to Table 2.2).

In the development of the City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Designation report, housing variables were assessed by neighbourhood. These variables included the number of placarded homes[4], the average effective age of homes, the number of maintenance orders and demolition permits issued and a housing condition indicator (see Appendix B for a complete list by neighbourhood). With respect to placarded homes, the 1999 citywide average was less than one per neighbourhood while Spence (11) and William Whyte (28) had the highest numbers of all city neighbourhoods. The same was true for maintenance orders and demolition permits, which in these areas were also many times that of the city average. In fact, the 1999 city average per neighbourhood was 2.4 maintenance orders and one demolition permit, while Spence had 116 and 54 respectively, and William Whyte an astonishing 252 and 81 total orders and permits issued. These high numbers of permits issued point out a significant level of decline within these two neighbourhoods.

The variable "effective average age of dwellings" calculates a base year for the housing in the neighbourhood. For William Whyte, it was 1914, and for Spence 1906, making the stock substantially older than Winnipeg's overall average of 1952. This average clearly indicates that the majority of the housing in each neighbourhood is in excess of 80 years old. To better explain the level of housing activity, a renovation index was created based on the work of Carter and Douchant (1999): the number of permits issued for repairs and alterations

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4

The term *Placarded Homes* is used by the City of Winnipeg to denote units that are boarded-up or vacant as a result of either insanitary condition, arson or other reason that does not allow occupancy.

between 1994 and 1998, was divided by the number of homes (see also Appendix B). For the City of Winnipeg as a whole, the average was 2.46 permits, while in Spence and William Whyte the averages were 6.52 and 4.09 respectively. These averages are important because they suggest that there is a higher level of activity taking place in these neighbourhoods. Although much of this activity is thought to be the result of community-based efforts, it nonetheless underscores the fact that activity is occurring.

From this brief description, it is evident that Spence and William Whyte were in a state of transition between 1971 and 1996. This was clearly evident in the demographic, economic and physical landscapes which were shown to be markedly different from the city's average. The outcome is clear: both Spence and William Whyte are in a precarious position as their housing stock is significantly dated and predominately in need of repairs. The cost of these repairs may be prohibitive due to the inability of owners to invest or simply because damage has escalated to the point where repairs are not feasible. Furthermore, the poor housing situation is compounded by the fact that the resale housing market has collapsed, causing values to plummet more than 50% so that homes sell for less than $20,000. Distasio (2003) pointed out that this weakened market condition has produced a difficult situation to resolve, resulting in a substantial market gap. This gap is caused by weak housing prices coupled with the high cost of repairs. The value of the home after renovations ends up being much more than the market price. Therefore, those who undertake the substantial renovations that are required, will not likely be able to recoup their money should they try to sell the home, nor would banks be willing to finance such investments with conventional mortgages. To manage this market gap, community groups and

government programs play an important role since homes are purchased and renovated using government money to help offset the market gap to make the homes affordable. The end result of this market gap is that community groups eventually have to sell homes to prospective buyers at less than the purchase price plus renovation costs. Under these market conditions, community groups cannot build up reserve funds to invest in future initiatives.

4.1.3 Rehabilitation Areas

Rehabilitation Areas are defined as "areas where decline is having a spillover effect to the extent that it is beginning to impact the overall stability of the neighbourhood. Some intervention would be required in order to stimulate private reinvestment and improve infrastructure" (City of Winnipeg 2000, pp. 1-3). With reference to this definition, Wolseley, Luxton and King Edward experienced varying degrees of change between 1971 and 1996. Although this change is less significant than that experienced in the Major Improvement neighbourhoods, there have been signs of decline nonetheless. Wolseley remains a partial exception to this as it experienced an increased amount of renovation activity, along with a stabilizing real estate market. However, in the case of Wolseley, significant internal variation exists as large pockets of housing in need of extensive repairs remain. The pattern of renovation in Wolseley would be described by Clay (1979) or Ley (1988) as being incumbent upgrading or even spot gentrification since the majority of activity is clustered in pockets of more desirable locations; for instance, along the river.

Rehabilitation neighbourhoods have also received funding from government initiatives, including the NIP, RRAP and CAI. Community-based

organizations and local activists have also contributed to some of the positive developments in these areas. Housing is generally in more stable condition than in the Major Improvement neighbourhoods, but decline remains a problem. In Figure 4.9, two Luxton area homes are shown as examples of older housing (most likely 1910s) which have remained in somewhat stable condition. Both homes have also been updated with new windows, paint and other cosmetic upgrades (as observed from the front and back of the homes). These homes provide an excellent example of the stability that remains in these neighbourhoods[5].

Figure 4.9 **Typical Housing Renovated in Luxton**

In visits to each of these neighbourhoods, a common thread binding them together is the intermixture of decline and stability within the housing stock. Furthermore, a key trait observed in the more stable and renovated housing stock is that it tends to be associated predominantly with larger character homes. This

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In discussion with the owner of the home appearing on the left, it was stated that the home was extensively renovated in the interior. The owner also felt that his work was well received by neighbours and commented that perhaps his efforts influenced others.

further underscores the work of Clay and Ley who concluded that the upgrading of homes is somewhat dependent on the quality of the units, their locational attributes and proximity to amenities. Wolseley and Luxton abound with these attributes as both have river front properties and parks and are well connected to downtown. In Wolseley, high renovation activity was observed in homes that exhibited architectural distinction and were either on or near river front areas or located close to natural amenities. In Luxton, similar observations are drawn, with many upgraded homes being larger homes in relative proximity to the river. It should be noted that, in comparison, homes in Wolseley were larger and originally built for upper middle-income residents, while in Luxton and King Edward, homes were more modest and likely built for lower or middle-income, working-class residents. In fact, King Edward is perhaps the best example of a typical "blue collar" working-class neighbourhood with homes that range from small 1000 square foot bungalows (Figure 4.10) to slightly larger two-storey homes that lack architectural distinction. One could conclude that this neighbourhood would meet the requirements of incumbent upgrading.

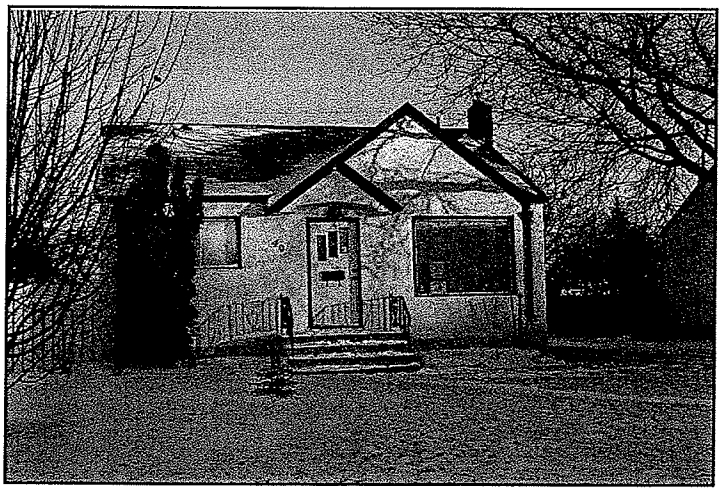

Figure 4.10 **Small home King Edward**

In terms of population, each neighbourhood experienced a decline between 1971 and 1996. This decline was quite significant for Wolseley, which lost 33% of its residents. However, between 1981 and 1996, the drop in population became less severe and appeared to stabilize. The stabilization of Wolseley's population may be attributable in part to the increased interest in the area and general improvement in the housing market (sales and renovation activities). Whether one would suggest that this is the result of what Jacobs called 'unslumming' is complex since Wolseley, though a neighbourhood in decline, never spiralled down to the level of a *slum* or, for that matter, a Major Improvement area (as defined by the City of Winnipeg). In terms of the overall population change between 1971 and 1996, Luxton and King Edward declined 28.5% and 24% respectively.

The decline in population resulted in a corresponding drop in the number of census families. Between 1971 and 1996, there was an overall drop of 33% in Wolseley, 28% Luxton and 15% in King Edward. A plausible explanation for the loss of families is the out-migration of those able to access newer suburban housing and/or the ageing of the neighbourhood population, whose children left as they matured and entered the workforce or sought education elsewhere.

The level of employment in each of the neighbourhoods remained fairly consistent with the Winnipeg averages, with all three neighbourhoods close to the 1996 unemployment level of 8% for the city. Family income levels also displayed a consistent increase from 1981 to 1996, but remained below the city average, with Luxton and King Edward being approximately $12,000 less while Wolseley was about $5,000 lower (during each Census period). Of these neighbourhoods, Wolseley remained closest to the city average for income, a fact that may be partially explained by the positive housing activity in the neighbourhood and the

fact that it is attracting persons into the area who have the ability to undertake renovations and repairs to many of the older character homes. This observation is important and one that Lucy and Phillips (2000) would consider an example of replacement in-movers having the capability to invest in the neighbourhood at a level sufficient to improve the home.

With respect to housing, change in Wolseley, Luxton and King Edward has been less significant than in the Major Improvement neighbourhoods; consequently, the percentage of homeowners in Luxton and King Edward was above the City's average throughout the 25-year period (Figure 4.11). In fact, King Edward's 75% home ownership rate was nearly 13% higher than the city average in 1996, and Luxton's was 9% higher. In King Edward, it was noted that this neighbourhood contains the newest housing stock, but the level of home ownership has declined slightly since 1971. Although this decline has been minimal, it may represent the first signs of the conversion of owner-occupied homes to rental units or an increase in rental properties.

In comparison, Wolseley was approximately 18% below the City average in 1971, but as of 1996, had climbed to just 7% below. For Wolseley, it is speculated that rental housing began to proliferate as larger single family homes were carved into triplexes and rooming houses from the 1950s onward. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the trend in Wolseley has been more towards renewal of housing. This is certainly evident in the conversion of rooming houses back to single family use and in the general upgrading of the stock.

The level of home ownership in each neighbourhood have contributed to a stabilizing of the housing stock and further support the possibility that population loss in these neighbourhoods is most likely due to a graying of the

neighbourhood's residents and potentially to the conversion of multi-family dwelling into single-family use. The median resale housing prices (from 1989 to 1999) in these neighbourhoods increased by 10% in Wolseley and 4% in King Edward, while they dropped 9% in Luxton. In terms of 1999 resale value, Wolseley ($77,250), was closest to the city average ($86,725), while resale values for King Edward ($66,725) and Luxton ($51,725) were well below the city average. These lower values do not necessarily point to a weakening market, but rather indicate that these neighbourhoods remain affordable places to live.

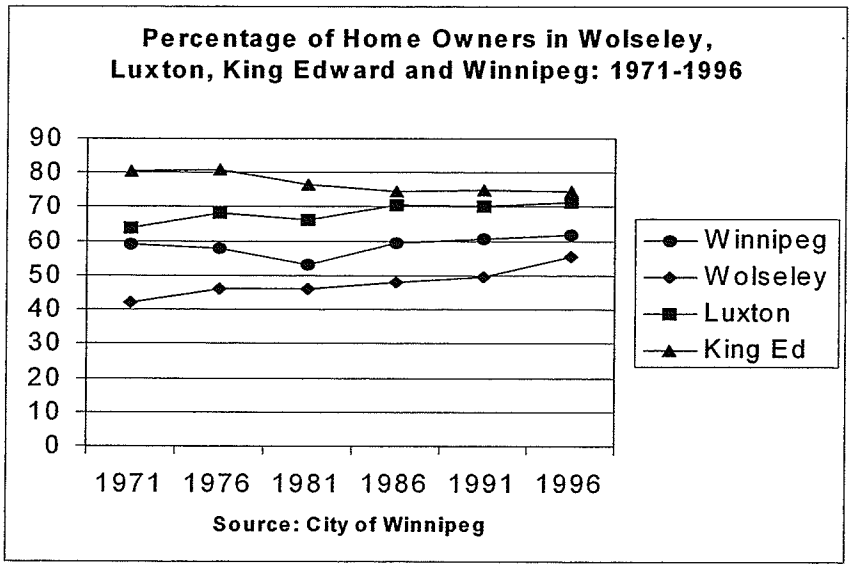

Figure 4.11

The majority of Wolseley's housing (82%) was built prior to 1946, with the city calculating the effective age to be 1915. The age of the stock reflects two important traits: large character homes and the conversions of many such homes to multi-family triplexes or rooming houses. Often, it has been large character homes which were converted into multi-family units and rooming houses as markets slumped in the 1970s (Figure 4.12). Anecdotally, there appears to be a

movement afoot to convert many of these homes back to single family use. Some of this activity may be explained by the high renovation index, which was calculated to be 4.98 (approximately double that of the city average of 2.46). There was only one placarded home in the neighbourhood as of 1999 but the city did issue 76 maintenance and 15 demolition orders, both well above the city averages but understandable given the relative age of many of the homes.

As previously stated, Wolseley is an older neighbourhood whose housing

Figure 4.12 **Large Character Home in Wolseley**

was initially built for Winnipeg's middle to upper-middle classes. Its prominent position along the Assiniboine River made it an ideal location for large character homes. What is interesting about its old housing is that only 16.5% were in need of major repairs as of 1996. Although this figure was almost double that of the city average, it is nonetheless quite impressive given the relative age of the housing stock. Certainly the character home depicted in Figure 4.11 helps to visually explain the desirability of this neighbourhood. Furthermore, with such an old stock, the general level of stability in the neighbourhood is a testament to the perseverance of the residents.

With a 10% increase in the median selling price of homes between 1989 and 1999 and an active renovation component, Wolseley's housing market displayed a number of positive trends. This is important because it contributed to the area's increased desirability, while boosting the confidence of residents to purchase and renovate homes. Furthermore, replacement in-movers are also likely to have the income to contribute to the repairs and upgrading needed to maintain the quality of the housing stock.

Luxton's housing is quite old: with 81% built prior to 1946, it has an effective age of 1917. Again, Luxton is an older neighbourhood that has experienced much change over the last few decades. In terms of major repairs needed in 1996, it was higher than Wolseley, at 22.2%, but given its age and location it was expected that Luxton would have a higher than average number of homes in need of repairs. This was also evident in the fact that no new housing was built in the area between 1980 and 1996. Other indicators include having four placarded homes in 1999 with 28 Maintenance Orders and 12 permits for demolition (both above the city averages noted). Despite a 9% drop in the resale housing market between 1989-1999, Luxton had a renovation index score of 3.74 in 1999, which was slightly higher than the 2.46 average for the city. Again, based on observations, those homes exhibiting signs of regeneration and stability tended to have positive attributes (location or character), while those in decline were smaller bungalows with less than 800 square feet and were clustered in groups near Main Street, a very high volume thoroughfare. This is an important observation as perhaps Luxton's proximity to William Whyte, which is located on the opposite side of Main Street, may play a role in influencing the perceptions of residents that blight may be creeping toward their neighbourhood, and ultimately

their decision to invest in their homes.

King Edward's housing stock is the newest of the Rehabilitation neighbourhoods with 48% of it being built prior to 1946, resulting in an effective age of 1934. Given its location at a fair distance from the inner city, housing expansion continued into the 1950s and 1960s; in fact, 26% of its housing was built between 1946 and 1960. However, even though its housing stock is newer, 16.2% of units were in need of major repairs in 1999 (well above the city average). There were no placarded homes in the neighbourhood, but the 58 maintenance orders and 84 demolition permits were substantially above the city averages. This neighbourhood remains a working class area in which most of the renovation activity is undertaken by existing residents. Although the majority of homes lack locational amenities, a strong sense of community appears to be the most likely contributor to the more stable condition that prevails. King Edward also faces some barriers: it is in the flight path of the Winnipeg International Airport and shoulders a Canadian Forces Base (with aircraft). These sound pollution issues may influence whether or not people choose to locate in this neighbourhood.

It is evident that the three Rehabilitation neighbourhoods were somewhat better off than those designated as Major Improvement areas. However, these neighbourhoods are by no means immune to the impacts of an ageing housing stock, nor have they escaped having homes in need of major repairs. Given that the housing stock is quite old in comparison to the city average, all three Rehabilitation neighbourhoods face a tough future in mitigating the forces of decline. What remains to be seen is how people perceive these changes and whether there is significant confidence in the future to merit the investment

necessary to maintain the fabric of place. Based on the author's observations, it appears that Wolseley's confidence is rising as it is an area experiencing significant investment activity. Whether the processes underway are consistent with spot gentrification or incumbent upgrading is a moot point, since what is critical is that the reactions of the residents to the functioning of the market are generally positive and have contributed to increasingly stable conditions.

4.1.4 Conservation Areas

Crescent Park, West Elmwood, Windsor Park, and Kirkfield comprise the Conservation neighbourhoods studied and are defined as "neighbourhoods which are physically and socially stable and 'may be' showing initial signs of decline" (City of Winnipeg, 2000, pp.1-3). These neighbourhoods are located outside of the inner city, with Kirkfield being the newest (with respect to the housing stock) and the .outermost of the group. Between 1971 and 1996 these neighbourhoods remained quite stable, resulting in limited or no intervention by targeted neighbourhood programs such as the NIP, RRAP or CAI. In fact, compared to the others, Kirkfield exhibited a period of growth and prosperity that included an increasing population, higher than average incomes and a growing housing market.

With respect to population change, Kirkfield experienced a modest gain (11.5%), while the remaining areas experienced declines ranging from 26% in Crescent Park to nearly 30% in both West Elmwood and Windsor Park. Although not as dramatic, the number of census families also decreased in Windsor Park (11%), Crescent Park (19%) and West Elmwood (27%). By contrast, Kirkfield experienced a gain of 22%. That Kirkfield was the only neighbourhood to display

positive growth during this period can be explained by the fact that it is the newest neighbourhood of this group, its suburban location remained a draw and it continued to add a substantial amount of new housing. The remaining areas all appeared to have experienced a maturing of their populations, with children most likely leaving and household's generally graying.

With respect to family income and unemployment in 1996, Kirkfield and Crescent Park had incomes $13,000 above the city average of $53,000 and, correspondingly, unemployment rates were well below the city average of 8.2%. Windsor Park was more consistent with the city with respect to both income and unemployment, while West Elmwood's family income of $44,000 was approximately $9,000 lower than the city's and unemployment was slightly above the city average. Overall, as a group, these neighbourhoods have displayed much more stable characteristics than the previous two neighbourhood types.

The total number of dwelling units in these neighbourhoods remained consistent; the exception was Kirkfield, which saw the number of dwellings increase by 45%. Again, the fact that this neighbourhood remained a growth area for much of the 1970s explains the positive numbers in both population and family units. Kirkfield contains the newest housing, with 57.5% of all stock being built between 1961 and 1980, a figure well above the 39% average for the city. Furthermore, although Kirkfield was the only neighbourhood to see a decline in the overall resale value of housing between 1989 and 1999 (dropping by 9%), the 1999 resale value of nearly $88,000 was still $1000 above the city average (Figure 4.13).

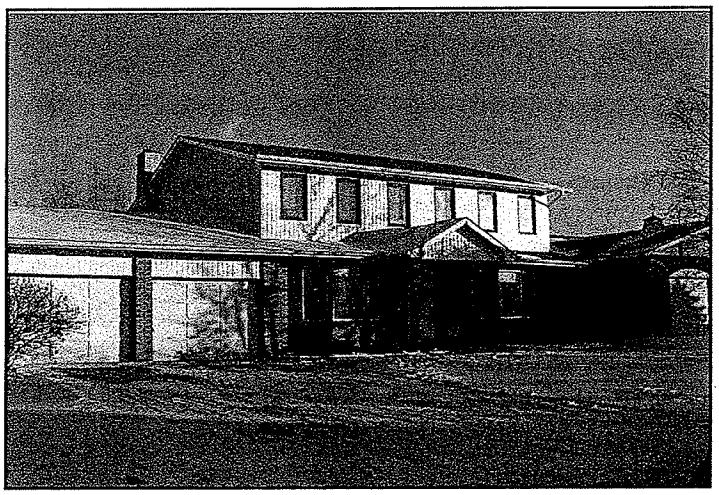

Figure 4.13 **Kirkfield Housing**

The style and quality of homes varies in Kirkfield, and repeated site visits revealed a range of housing values, from the $200,000 range to well under the resale average of $87,500 for the area. It is important to note that Kirkfield's neighbourhood amenities are numerous and include a private golf course (with homes lining some fairways), extensive parks and green spaces, and a large community centre. What appears to have occurred in the neighbourhood is that the more modest-sized homes were constructed during the first boom period (1961-1980). This period included substantive growth, most likely related to the golf course which attracted wealthier persons and, subsequently, even larger and more expensive homes that line the fairways.

West Elmwood was the only neighbourhood to show a decrease in the number of homes: from 975 in 1971 to 890 in 1996. The loss of homes in West Elmwood can be attributed to the fact that it is an older and more centrally located neighbourhood that had housing removed for commercial expansion or replacement due to increased age and/or serious structural deficiencies.

In terms of home ownership, there are again some commonalities (see Figure 4.14). Each neighbourhood had a high percentage of homeowners in comparison to the city average, a finding thought to have contributed to the overall stability in these areas. The highest percentage of homeowners as of 1996, were in West Elmwood (85%), Windsor Park (82%) and Crescent Park (77%), all of which were 15 to 20% higher than the city average of 62% (Kirkfield at 65%, was slightly above the average).

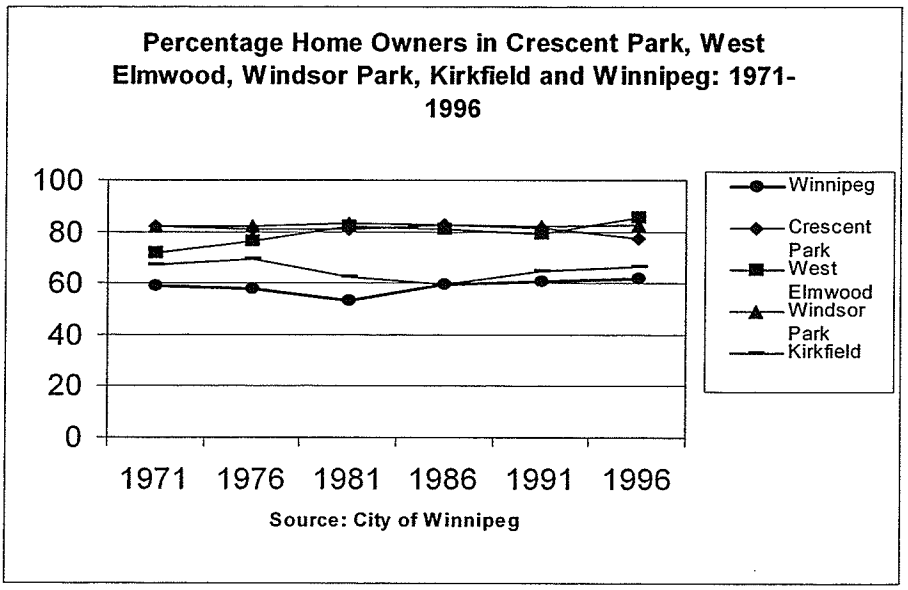

Figure 4.14

As already noted, 20% of all city dwellings were built prior to 1946. By contrast, only 2% of homes in Windsor Park fall into this category, while the figures are 4.7% in Kirkfield and 12% in Crescent Park. On the other hand, Elmwood, at 77%, is the only neighbourhood to exceed the city average for homes built during this period. The city's effective age calculations ranged from 1924 in West Elmwood to 1963 in Kirkfield, further demonstrating the varied age of the housing stock among the neighbourhoods in this neighbourhood type.

In Crescent Park, most of homes were built during the post-World War II suburban expansion phase. In fact, nearly 69% of all units were built between 1946 and 1960, and the average effective age is 1954. This neighbourhood is a mix of larger two-storey and bungalow homes that still command resale values nearly $15,000 higher than the city's 1999 average of $86,000. Interestingly, 15 permits were issued for demolition between 1983 and 1998, but based on general observation during site visits, it is possible to conclude that the demolished housing was most likely replaced with new infill units of considerably more value, and that present owners or owners who inherited housing in the neighbourhood undertook these major investments.

In West Elmwood, the greatest concentration of home building took place prior to 1946. However, 18% of homes were built during a second peak between 1946 and 1960. Since then, only a small percentage of units have been added; the neighbourhood is fully built with little room for expansion. West Elmwood remains a desirable neighbourhood with excellent amenities. It is located on or near the banks of the Red River, is very close to downtown, has a well-developed community infrastructure, including parks and trails, and contains an abundance of character housing. Figure 4.15 helps illustrate the distinctive character of the area, which contains a wonderful canopy of elms and larger character homes on streets that meander in concert with the course of the Red River. With an effective housing age of 1924, the fact that relatively few homes are in need of major repair points to the stability of this character neighbourhood.

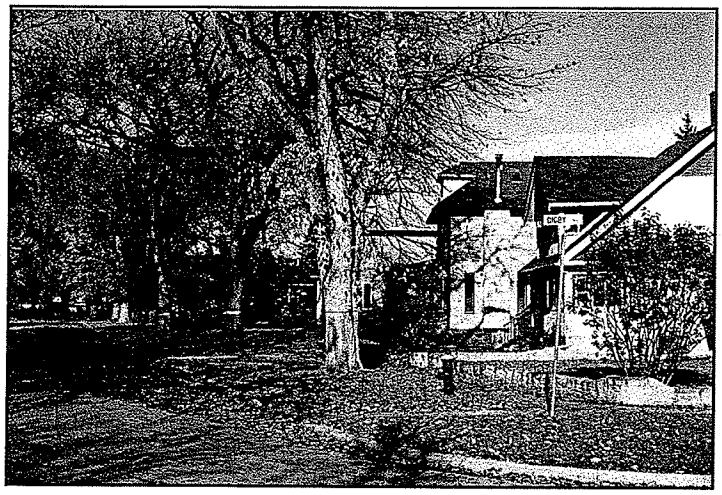

Figure 4.15 **Character Homes in West Elmwood**

With a nearly 10% rise in the resale value of West Elmwood homes between 1989 and 1999, and the highest renovation index of 10.56, this area has experienced a strong period of growth. The 1999 resale value of dwellings in West Elmwood was $65,000, approximately $20,000 lower than the city average. However, this lower value still represents a key segment of the Winnipeg housing market, which is dominated by homes selling in the $50,000 to $75,000 range. Furthermore, this neighbourhood represents an excellent example of an area undergoing renovation activity through incumbent upgrading, a finding supported by the results obtained by Carter and Douchant (1999).

In Windsor Park, the majority of homes were built prior to 1971, resulting in an effective average age of 1961. The area experienced two boom periods of housing construction: first, between 1946 and 1960, when 43.5% of housing was built and second, between 1961 and 1970, when 46% of units were added. Since 1970, relatively few units have been added. These phases also correspond to a strong growth period for the city as a whole, which expanded by almost 40% during the 1961 to 1970 period. Housing in the neighbourhood is generally a mix

of bungalows, split levels or raised bungalows, with some two-storey homes. The size of the housing is consistent throughout the neighbourhood. In fact, it is not uncommon to see streets that contain many homes of identical size and construction (exclusive of the exterior colour and finishing materials). This clustering of similar homes is the result of large-scale developers marketing pre-built units that predominate in the neighbourhood.

The number of homes in need of major repairs mirrors the age differential noted above as the percentages ranged from 1.3% in Crescent Park to a high of 16.2% in West Elmwood. For Windsor Park and Kirkfield, the numbers were below the city average of 9%, at 6.8% and 5.5% respectively. The differences in the condition of dwellings can to some degree be accounted for by the age differential between these neighbourhoods. It was noted that West Elmwood had the oldest housing stock requiring the greatest level of repair. By contrast, Crescent Park's housing stock is older than that of the remaining neighbourhoods but is in better condition. So age, although a contributing factor in the condition of housing, is not the only factor.

The response of the residents needs to be factored in: do they feel strongly about investing in the neighbourhood's future and will this investment be supported by a stable housing market and a stable social environment? West Elmwood stands out because, although it had an effective age of 1924, it still had the highest renovation index. This bodes well for the contention that age, although a key factor, does not necessarily mean the neighbourhood's housing will be neglected. However, it is a general observation that location and architectural distinctiveness remain critical factors in influencing potential residents to purchase.

The four neighbourhoods in the Conservation neighbourhood type represent a set of areas that appeared to be more closely related to the City of Winnipeg averages than the first two types of neighbourhoods discussed. Specifically, less population change, and a housing stock in better overall condition, point to a more stable environment. This, coupled with solid income levels and low unemployment rates, added further to their stability. Housing market activity was characterized by a fairly strong resale market in which three of the four neighbourhoods experienced increases in the average resale value of homes.

4.1.5 Emerging Areas

Emerging neighbourhoods are described as new developments located on the periphery of the built-up area of the city. These developments exhibit significant population increases, have rapid rural to urban land use change, and tend to focus on the single-family dwelling as the dominant type of housing initially constructed. Lindenwoods, Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens are all located on the periphery of the built-up area of Winnipeg. All three neighbourhoods have had significant population increases, and have undergone agricultural to urban residential land use change. Each neighbourhood has required major capital investment including infrastructure (sewer and utilities), schools, roads, and recreation facilities, to name a few. For the most part, government intervention has been limited to standard investments in the expansion of community infrastructure. The relative newness of both the housing stock and the general area has limited the need for monitoring by the City for signs of decline. For instance, the homes shown in Figure 4.16 provide examples

of the exclusive nature of Lindenwoods, which is an affluent and emerging neighbourhood. The lake view homes in this photograph range between $250,000 to $300,000+ in price. In the Winnipeg housing market, Lindenwoods exudes an aura of exclusivity as *the* suburban address of distinction and commands the attention of the market as a prime destination. Homes in both Inkster Gardens and Canterbury Park are valued much less, with 1999 resale averages ranging from the mid $80,000's to $90,000.

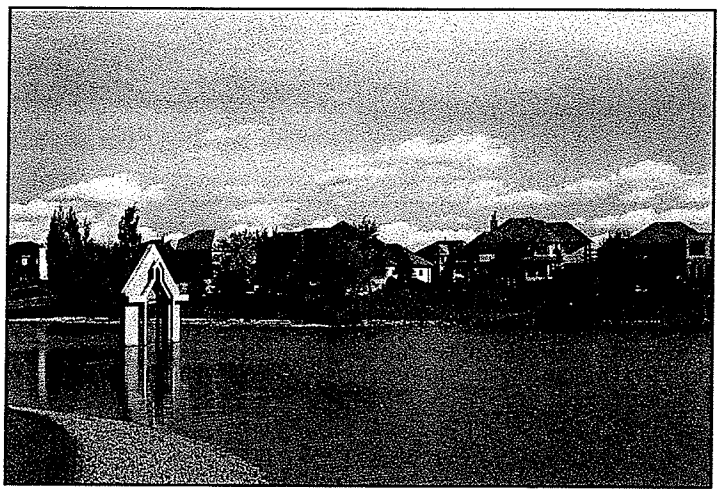

Figure 4.16 Lakeside Homes in Lindenwoods

As one would expect in newly emerging neighbourhoods, recent population change in Lindenwoods, Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens has been significant. For example, the population of Lindenwoods rose more than 300% between 1986 and 1996, and population growth in Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens was equally significant during that period. This growth is attributed entirely to the fact that these areas are new subdivisions: the first homes in Lindenwoods were occupied in 1983. For the most part, each experienced its greatest growth during the 1980s. The same upward trend is evident among census families, their numbers in these neighbourhoods mirroring

population growth.

Unemployment and income levels for Lindenwoods, Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens present some interesting results. In Lindenwoods, the unemployment rate between 1986 and 1996 consistently remained 3 to 5% lower than the city average. This finding was expected given the high socio-economic status of the area. Furthermore, family income levels in Lindenwoods consistently exceeded those of the other neighbourhoods and the city's average by $30,000 to $34,000 in each census. However, in Inkster Gardens the result was surprising as the 1981 unemployment rate of 12.3% was nearly 7% higher than the city average. By 1986, this number had dropped to 2.2%, a full 6% lower that the city's average, while in both 1991 and 1996 Inkster Garden's unemployment rate climbed to about 1% higher than the city average in each census year. It is hard to account for these extreme changes, but perhaps the mobility into the area may have contributed to the fluctuation. Canterbury Park's unemployment averages were consistent with the city except for 1996, when the area was about 3% lower. As for income levels, Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens remained more or less even with the city average in each census year.

The percentage of homeowners in these neighbourhoods was much greater than the city average of 62% (1996). The highest concentration of homeowners was in Lindenwoods with 94%, while Canterbury and Inkster Gardens had 87% and 86% respectively. The high percentage of homeowners is consistent with the fact that each area was newly developed and contained predominately single-family homes and few multiple-family units.

Mobility numbers reflect a high level of transition, which is indicative of the emerging status of these neighbourhoods. For example, Lindenwoods, in 1986, recorded a 100% mobility rate. Obviously, this number represented people initially moving into the area. For Inkster Gardens, the percentage of movers in both 1981 and 1986 was in the 90% range, again indicating the initial phase of development. Canterbury Park's numbers were slightly less, but nonetheless reflected the same pattern during the same time period.

The final set of data is age and condition of the dwelling units. Age of housing is best described through the city's effective age, which was 1988 for Lindenwoods, 1985 for Inkster Gardens, and 1984 for Canterbury Park. Age of housing usually corresponds with its condition, and since these were new developments, very few homes required repair beyond regular maintenance. In fact, all three neighbourhoods had less than 3% of their housing needing major repairs. For relatively few homes requiring substantive repairs, it is speculated that these were homes that were in the area prior to the start of the planned subdivision. In fact, such homes still exist in the periphery of each neighbourhood, some still located on agricultural land.

The three Emerging neighbourhoods represent newly developed areas in the city in which most houses were built between 1981 and 1996. Generally speaking, the census data averages, for the indicators examined, remained somewhat consistent with the City of Winnipeg as a whole. However, Lindenwoods was a notable exception, consistently exceeding the city average in numerous categories. One could conclude that Lindenwoods attained its position among Winnipeg's upper echelon neighbourhoods by becoming a relatively homogeneous concentration of affluent homeowners.

4.1.6 Major Stakeholder Areas

North River Heights, Riverview, McMillan and Norwood West comprise the Major Stakeholder group. As discussed previously, housing in these neighbourhoods has undergone significant renovations, and has consistently been well maintained. The neighbourhoods are well-established, but change has occurred to both the physical and social fabric in each of them over the last quarter-century. Government programs (NIP, RRAP and CAI) have been extended into Riverview, McMillan, and Norwood West, but not North River Heights. These neighbourhoods were selected for this study because each area contained a high percentage of homes deemed by the author to reflect a significant level of renovation and investment. In addition, they appeared to contain homes that were valued much higher than those of the area's average. Although the selection of these homes, and ultimately neighbourhoods, was a subjective process, it was nonetheless considered an accurate measure based upon extensive fieldwork and previous experience.[6]

Generally speaking, each neighbourhood occupied a prominent location, with both Riverview and Norwood West having a number of homes facing the Red River (Figure 4.17). These homes command some of the highest values in the Norwood West neighbourhood. Furthermore, many homes along this scenic riverside drive have undergone extensive renovations and repairs, further adding to their desirability and value. For the most part, homes in Norwood West are

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The author conducted nearly 3,000 similar home assessments during the completion of a Master's Thesis (Distasio 1997). Further experience was gained while he was employed with Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (1997-2000) in both Market Analysis and Default Management, both of which required an extensive background in housing market dynamics including pricing and appraisals of both single family and multiple units.

high quality. The types of homes vary, although there is a strong mix of older two-storey brick and more recent one-and-a-half storey homes. The area contains one prominent planning feature: homes face a park area and have no front vehicle access as traffic flow is managed exclusively by back lanes. This part of the neighbourhood is commonly referred to as the "Flats" and is based on the Radburn design[7], which is arguably largely responsible for it becoming very desirable. Interestingly, when this part of the neighbourhood was planned, the majority of the homes were relatively small 1000 to 1200 square-foot bungalows, intermixed with some one-and-a-half storey units. In recent years, many of the smaller homes have been sought after and converted by way of major additions that either extend into the back yard or add a second storey.

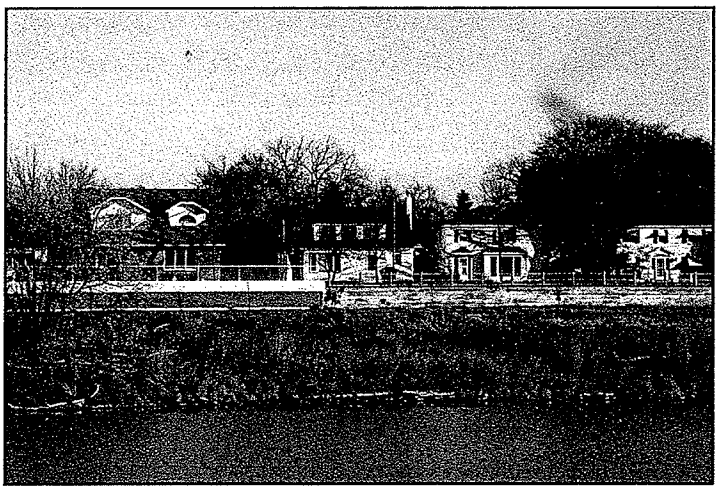

Figure 4.17 **Norwood West Homes along Lyndale Drive facing the Red River.**

7 For a review of the Radburn plan see: Schaffer, D. (1982). *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Riverview also contains a scenic river front area whose homes face a parkway that contains an extensive set of trails connecting the neighbourhood with downtown. Housing in Riverview consists of an extensive mix of types and styles, which is similar to Norwood West. The majority of character homes are clustered near Osborne Street. Many of these homes are large, two-an-one-half-storey brick homes of around 3000+ square-feet that were constructed for an emerging wealthy citizenry which, during the early 1900s, rode into the neighbourhood using the electric streetcars that ran along Osborne Street from downtown and into Riverpark, a former amusement park (see Chapter Five for an additional discussion). A prominent feature in Riverview is newer housing units built after the demise of Riverpark in the late 1940s. This resulted in the last large parcel of land being subdivided, with lots being sold in the 1950s. The majority of the units added during this phase of development included bungalows, ranging from 900 to perhaps 1250 square-feet. As in Norwood West, many of these homes remain sought after and have been substantially upgraded, especially those with river views on Churchill Drive.

North River Heights is a traditional neighbourhood in the sense that it is predominantly comprised of single family homes arranged in a standard grid pattern. This neighbourhood was developed during the early part of the 20th Century and has consistently maintained its character and exclusivity. At the turn of the last century, this neighbourhood contained some of Winnipeg's wealthiest families who lived in large character homes. Resale house prices in North River Heights have remained significantly higher than the city average of $86,000, with some homes capturing prices in excess of $200,000. Overall, the architecture in North River Heights is consistent but the price and the size of homes vary. North

River Heights' location is quite central and residents have easy access to downtown, as well as a major shopping mall known as Polo Park. They are also a short walk or ride from Winnipeg's largest park, Assiniboine Park. Some commercial activity is clustered on Corydon Avenue and Academy Road, both of which run through the neighbouhrood. Both streets contain an eclectic mix of coffee shops, wine stores and other unique and interesting activities.

McMillan is the smallest of the four neighbourhoods, and is located just outside the downtown boundaries. It contains a mix of housing types, with single-family homes and apartments intermixed. This neighbourhood contains both pockets of decline and stabilization. Housing prices have remained moderate, with some sales above the citywide average but others at the lower end of the spectrum. One aspect of this neighbourhood's appeal is that the majority of its homes are fairly large and exhibit both character and distinctive design features such as ornate cornices and screened verandas. These features make the homes especially appealing for renovations (Figure 4.18). However, the large size of the homes has also led to the conversion of many of them into multi-family units and rooming houses. An example of the type of home converted into a rooming house is shown in Figure 4.19. The most dominant feature is the addition of the maze of stairs which is a building code requirement adopted by the City of Winnipeg to that ensure egress is possible from all floors. There are some signs that this trend is reversing, with many homes being converted back to single family use. Consequently, this neighbourhood remains in a state of transition. McMillan is also well situated and has excellent access to downtown and other parts of the city.

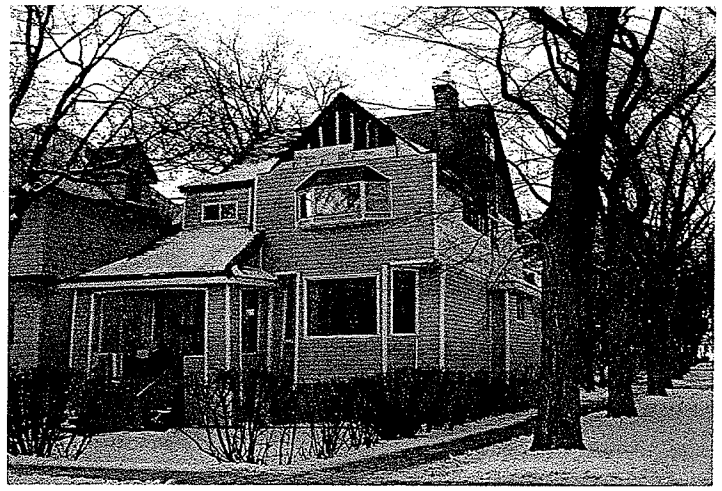

Figure 4.18 **Character Home in McMillan under repair**

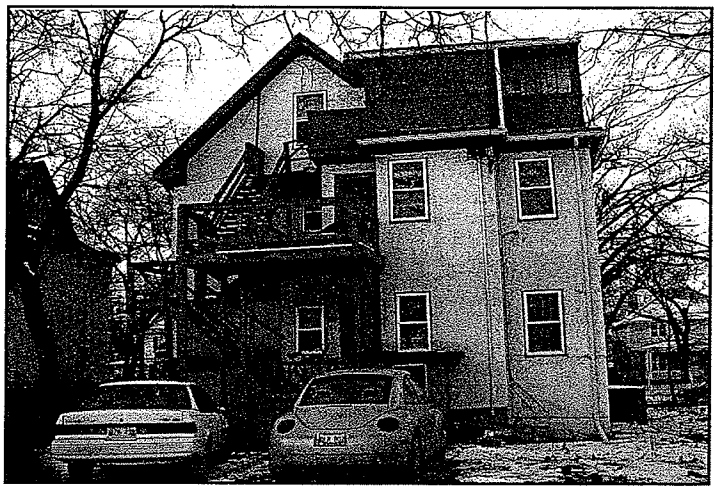

Figure 4.19 **McMillian Area Rooming House with Back Balcony and Exits**

In terms of population, there were significant losses from each of these neighbourhoods between 1971 and 1996. The decline was 36% in McMillan, 25% in both Riverview and Norwood and 20% in North River Heights. For each of the neighbourhoods, population loss was greatest between 1971 and 1981, a period of active suburban expansion. With the city experiencing slow population growth during this period, it would be reasonable to assume that much of the growth in

the suburban developments was the result of a redistribution of the existing population, including residents from the four Major Stakeholder neighbourhoods.

Population change in the four neighbourhoods was also characterized by a decrease of census families. McMillan experienced the greatest loss of families with a 47% drop. Although this area experienced a slight increase in the numbers of families between 1991 and 1996, the overall loss has nonetheless been significant. It should be noted that some losses of population and families in the McMillan area can be accounted for by the loss of available housing units. Given that this neighbourhood straddles the Corydon Avenue strip or "Little Italy", a high density commercial street, and the fact that many of the present commercial buildings were converted from preexisting single-family and apartment units, some losses can be attributed to the morphological change in that street's composition. Distasio et al. (2002) found that there was a proliferation of rooming houses in the neighbourhood during this time period which may correspond with the exodus of families. The drop in the number of census families for Norwood West and Riverview was approximately 21%, while North River Heights declined the least, at 13%.

With respect to unemployment rates, the neighbourhoods remained consistently below the city average. The exception was McMillan, which experienced slight variation, including a few years in which the rate was 3 to 4% higher than the city average. In terms of family income, the neighbourhoods remained similar to the city average. For the 1996 Census, McMillan slightly exceeded the city average of $53,000,while Riverview and Norwood west were above it by $4000 and $6000 respectively. Only North River Heights was noticeably higher than the citywide average - by nearly $17,000. Interestingly,

North River Heights experienced an income drop of nearly $5000 between 1991 and 1996. This drop could have resulted from the graying of this neighbourhood. Perhaps, as more residents retire and begin to draw on pensions and savings they would most likely have less income than when in the workforce. A second plausible explanation would be an increase in the number of younger families who would have lower incomes because they would not yet be well advanced in their careers.

The level of home ownership in three of the four neighbourhoods was consistently higher than the citywide average for the entire 25-year period, with North River Heights, at a 92% home ownership rate, exceeding it by 30% (Figure 4.20). This high figure for North River Heights is consistent with the fabric of the neighbourhood which is dominated by single-family homes. The exception is McMillan, whose ownership rate averaged about 20% between 1971 and 1996, or less than half the average for the entire city. This low level may in part be attributed to the high number of apartment units that dominate parts of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the conversion of many large character homes into multi-family units and rooming houses has also contributed to low levels of home ownership.

As previously noted, the rooming house conversion trend is beginning to reverse and higher levels of home ownership are emerging in McMillan, especially since 1981. Distasio et al. (2002) found that much of the rooming house stock in this neighbourhood was beginning to be sold off as market pressure has led many of these units to be converted back into single family units or to smaller duplex-style townhouses.

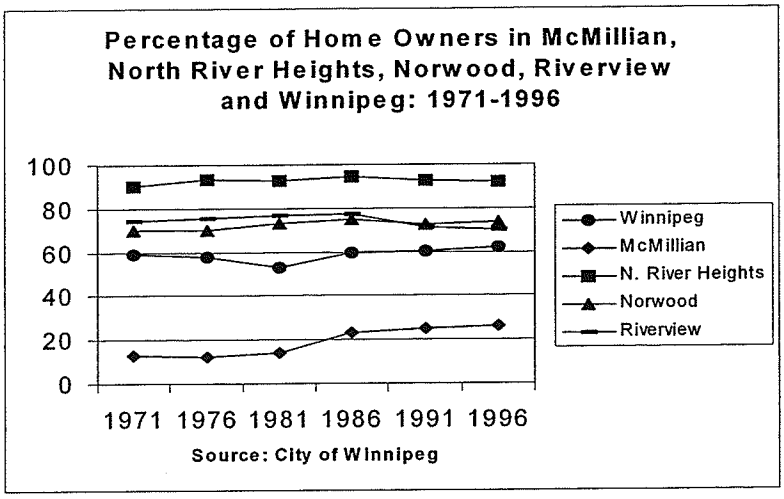

Figure 4.20

The majority of homes in the Major Stakeholder neighbourhoods were built prior to 1946. For McMillan, this percentage is 56%, while in North River Heights it is nearly 74%. For Norwood and Riverview, the number of homes built prior to 1946 drops to 47% and 43% respectively. All four neighbourhoods experienced a second period of housing construction between 1946 and 1960, after which there was little physical space left for further expansion. The effective age of the homes in these neighbourhoods ranged from 1911 in McMillan to 1934 for River Heights and 1935 for both Riverview and Norwood West.

The condition of homes in these four neighbourhoods is quite similar with the majority requiring regular maintenance. As for housing needing major repairs each of the four neighbourhoods, in 1996, had percentages between 13% and 15%, slightly higher than the city average of 9%. Given that a predominant number of homes are over 50 years old, this small variation from the city average reflects positively on the overall housing condition in the four neighbourhoods; all have managed to retain a reasonable level of stability. Placarded homes were almost nonexistent, with the exception of one listed in McMillan.This

neighbourhood was also the only one having a relatively high number of maintenance and demolition permits, at 51 and 26 respectively. The remaining neighbourhoods were quite low in comparison although Norwood West listed 14 permits for demolition between 1983 and 1999. Several of these demolitions resulted in new and substantially more expensive infill homes being constructed. The same is true for Riverivew for which seven such permits were issued. The renovation index calculated for these neighbourhoods resulted in each being slightly above the city average, offering further evidence of neighbourhood stability. Resale activity was also positive, with Riverview, Norwood West and McMillan experiencing increases of 5% to 7%, while North River Heights rose less than one percent. However, value in the latter was $15,000 higher than the city's average of $86,000 (between 1989-1999).

Overall, these neighbourhoods are comprised of older character homes that are, for the most part, in good condition given their age. These neighbourhoods also remained quite stable and continued to be desirable locations with healthy housing markets. The possible exception is McMillan, which remained a neighbourhood in transition. However, the transition in McMillan appeared to be quite positive, with population stabilizing and home ownership levels climbing. Nonetheless, each neighbourhood offered a glimpse into the dynamics of urban morphology. Thus, comparing the "feelings" of Major Stakeholder residents to those of other neighbourhoods may offer potential insight for better understanding the positive processes that result in residents being more confident and optimistic about the future.

4.3 Summary

This chapter achieved two important objectives. First, it provided an overview of the study area, including a general description of Winnipeg's structure and historical geography; and second, it noted that differences exist among the sixteen neighbourhoods. These results were important in providing a perspective on understanding what factors contribute to the present condition of each neighbourhood and, ultimately, how residents react to others neglecting their homes or conversely to the positive sight of others undertaking renovations. Duncan and Duncan (2002) help explain some of these observations. For instance, perhaps stable neighbourhoods possess the protectionist attitude to fight the challenges of decline and mount the necessary offensive to ensure that the fabric of place is maintained. This attitude is at the core of the neighbourhood's soul and its residents must be aware that their feelings about place fuel the furnace that drives the neighbourhood's engine. It is then only a matter of finding the right temperature that is at issue, since being either too hot or too cold will affect the climate of the neighbourhood. It is also important to emphasize the importance of the political economy perspective advanced by Logan and Molotch (1994), who considered changes in the neighbourhood to be related to a decline in the exchange value and that people, fearing for the loss of their investment, draw their capital, seeking refuge in other neighbourhoods. Furthermore, Logan and Molotch argue that the capitalist mode of accumulation puts further pressure on people to move as new subdivisions are marketed and sold as "must buy" locations thereby creating artificial demand.

The loss of families and individuals has greatly altered the demographic composition of the majority of neighbourhoods reviewed in this chapter, as only Emerging neighbourhoods and Kirkfield (Conservation) experienced population gains between 1971 and 1996. Growth in these neighbourhoods was accounted for as each experienced a significant period of housing construction. Housing market differentiation was also evident in many of the neighbourhoods that faced the reality of an ageing housing stock, and one in need of increasing repairs. It was speculated that the ability to invest in necessary maintenance was a function of both income and, potentially, the type and location of the housing (Lucy and Phillips 2000, Clay 1979 and Ley 2002). In neighbourhoods with greater numbers of character houses or residents or in-movers with high incomes, the costs of renovating may be more easily absorbed. This is certainly in line with Lucy and Phillips (2000), who contended that the churn within the neighbourhood must produce stability and in-movers with the ability to contribute positively to the maintenance of the housing stock.

In Major Improvement neighbourhoods such as Spence and William Whyte, the average effective age of housing was over 80 years. Housing of this age no doubt needs both minor and major work. Yet with nearly 40 placarded homes in 1999, and a total of 135 units demolished between 1983 and 1998, the residents in these neighbourhoods face a tough challenge. On top of this mountain of problems, housing prices plummeted more than 50% over a 10-year span during which the city as a whole experienced a 10% increase in housing prices. This further underscores the devastation that has occurred. Not only did people leave, so too did their confidence in these places being desirable. The outcome is two neighbourhoods facing a tough ascent in which residents and community efforts

have become more and more important in enabling people to afford the cost of buying and renovating a home to bring it to an inhabitable level. One could further speculate that both Varady (1984) and Goetze (1979) would contend that confidence in these neighbourhoods has eroded and residents are not optimistic about the future of the neighbourhood nor in taking a chance on expending resources to maintain or improve the housing. Perhaps the observation of O'Loughlin and Munski (1979) – that housing abandonment is not only contagious but spreads quickly, leading to disinvestment and neglect – rings true in the Major Improvement neighbourhoods studied.

Rehabilitation neighbourhoods fared somewhat better in that they exhibited sparks of potential. Most notably, the residents of Wolseley displayed a remarkable degree of vigor in maintaining an ageing neighbourhood with the average house dating back to 1915. Perhaps the abundance of character housing and a choice setting along the river contributed to people's willingness to remain in and invest in the neighbourhood. In the case of Wolseley, it was hypothesized that spot gentrification may be occurring, especially along the most desirable locations near the river or among clusters of large character houses. Observations in Luxton point to similar findings, but smaller homes in less desirable locations tended to exhibit increased signs of deterioration, especially homes in proximity to Main Street. King Edward was offered as an example of a blue collar neighbourhood whose housing stock is at the lower end of the scale but has nonetheless exhibited some sense of stability.

The majority of Winnipeg neighbourhoods are classified as Conservation. The neighbourhoods discussed in this research confirmed that there is a greater level of stability in these areas, but internal variability exists nonetheless. Of the areas reviewed, West Elmwood provided a good example of a neighbourhood with medium housing prices but a strong sense of community. This was evident in the high level of renovation activity and the fact that prices climbed by nearly 10% between 1989-1999. This is a neighbourhood that also enjoys an excellent location, situated on the banks of the Red River. The character homes in the area, although smaller than those in Wolseley, also tended to be the most highly sought after and are likely the main types being renovated and improved. Carter and Douchant (1999) found similar evidence of high renovation activity in this neighbourhood. Yet with 1999 resale housing values at approximately $65,000, this area remains an affordable and attractive destination.

The Emerging neighbourhoods offered the least diversity and in fact can be described as new subdivisions that differ simply in that Lindenwoods is the most expensive while Canterbury Park and Inkster Gardens are priced more in line with the City of Winnipeg average. As each of these neighbourhoods is relatively new, housing activity has been limited to the new housing market for much of the last decade. However, resale activity is becoming more pronounced as each neighbourhood has matured and is nearing completion.

The final group of neighbourhoods comprised the Major Stakeholder type. This group exhibited a number of important traits, such as character homes, choice locations and positive housing activity. Their effective average ages are in the mid-1930s with the exception of McMillan, which is 1911. In fact, McMillan is designated as a Rehabilitation neighbourhood by the City but was included in this

group because it is unique in displaying positive housing activity among its residents. Overall, these neighbourhoods contain elements which have contributed to their longevity and stability. Each has remained a destination, commanding higher than average housing prices, and appears to have a core of residents who are fiercely loyal to the neighbourhood, defending its housing. Of the neighbourhoods, North River Heights remains a place embedded in the collective psyche of Winnipeg as being an exclusive, if not staunch neighbourhood. Housing on the resale market in this area sold for $20,000 more than the 1999 Winnipeg average, with large character homes commanding substantially higher prices.

In conclusion, the findings in this chapter have provided the foundation for this research. Key differences among the neighbourhoods studied have been highlighted, but more evidence is necessary to help explain the nature of these differences. Subsequent chapters will undertake this challenge by exploring, in detail, the results of a survey of the 16 neighbourhoods. It is anticipated that the findings of the survey will help to explain further why these neighbourhoods are different and what factors contributed to the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhoods.

Chapter Five:
The Neighbourhood Survey and Focus Group Results

5.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the findings of both the Neighbourhood Survey and Focus Group Sessions. The results are presented in a manner consistent with the order they appeared on their respective templates (see Appendix A). As was noted in Chapter Three, the Neighbourhood Survey instrument consists of 45 closed-ended questions, organized into four specific themes: (1) neighbourhood condition and confidence; (2) renovations and expenditures; (3) housing market activity; and (4) commercial amenities. The Focus Group Sessions include 15 open-ended questions, derived from the same thematic areas noted above. As similar questions are used in both instruments, the results are discussed simultaneously, but are differentiated by noting where the data are drawn from (e.g. either the Neighbourhood Survey or the Focus Group Sessions).

The chapter concludes with a presentation and review of two applications of the data. The first is Varady's (1986) confidence measure which was replicated in the present research. The second proposes a potential method of categorizing the confidence level of residents by adding a third variable to Varady's index. The *Neighbourhood Confidence Index* proposed by the author is considered a first step in building a more dynamic appreciation of the confidence levels of residents within the neighbourhood environment.

The Neighbourhood Survey data were captured during a four month period between August and November 2001, resulting in 574 surveys being accumulated. The Focus Group Sessions were conducted during a two week period in January 2004, and consisted of representatives from each of the

resident-group neighbourhoods. In total, 46 persons took part, with 8 to 10 persons attending the sessions, each of which lasted approximately 90 minute.[1] The resultant data sets comprise a cross-section of Winnipeg neighbourhoods, representing the five resident-groups examined in the present research. The distribution of the completed Neighbourhood Surveys is summarized in Table 5.1. The response rate to the Neighbourhood Survey is based on two measures. First, 250 Major Stakeholder surveys were distributed to individual homes; the response rate was 60%. The phone interview response rate was 25% (See also Chapter 3).

Table 5.1
The Neighbourhood Survey Sample by Resident Group

Resident Groups	Frequency	Percent of Sample
Major Improvement Area Resident Group (MIARG)	75	13.1
Rehabilitation Area Resident Group (RARG)	105	18.3
Conservation Area Resident Group (CARG)	145	25.3
Emerging Area Resident Group (EARG)	100	17.4
Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group (MSARG)	149	26.0
Total	574	100.0

The Neighbourhood Survey data are analysed by first examining the results for the entire sample and then moving to a more detailed analysis that focuses specifically on the resident-groups. Where possible, data from the Focus Group Sessions are inserted to provide both supplementary comments and expand the discussion within each theme area noted at the outset of this chapter.

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This chapter includes the material from the Focus Groups Sessions conducted within the four classification areas used by the City of Winnipeg. The Major Stakeholder focus group data are represented by a session held in Riverview with discussion deferred to Chapter Six, which presents a case study of this neighbourhood.

5.1 The Neighbourhood Survey and Focus Group Results

The results of both the Neighbourhood Survey and Focus Group Sessions point to key differences among the resident-groups. Most important, the overall findings indicate that the Major Improvement Area Resident Group (MIARG) data correspond to the City of Winnipeg's classification for areas in decline (see also Chapter Three). This is evidenced by low levels of confidence, limited ability to invest in renovations, and a generally pessimistic outlook on the neighbourhood's future. The conclusion drawn is that this resident-group displays characteristics associated with advanced neighbourhood decline. In the Focus Group session, residents repeatedly voiced their concerns about the problems they face on a daily basis including gang activity, crime, and prostitution, but they also defend their neighbourhoods through the desire to remain and make a difference. They contend that their neighbourhoods suffer from a bad reputation which compounds the problems and the negative perceptions to the point where one resident tells friends she lives downtown as opposed to the inner city.

The Rehabilitation Area Resident Group (RARG) appears more stable; however, this group is susceptible to being influenced by either negative or positive neighbourhood activity. A key finding for this group is that when changes take place in the neighbourhood they will be closely observed by residents. The conclusion is that this resident-group is on the cusp of either exhibiting increased signs of decline through disinvestment or out migration, or remaining stable with investment in renovations and/or improvements. This finding is critical in that these neighbourhoods must be closely monitored, with residents being pro-active, as opposed to reacting – once decline appears –

whether by government intervention or otherwise. RARG neighbourhoods also appear to be positively influenced by increased activity, which is concrete evidence that any type of investment will be well received by area residents.

Both the Conservation and Emerging area resident-groups (CARG/EARG) display a high level of stability and appear more resilient to decline. The findings suggest that these two resident-groups are quite stable, with residents positive and sure that their investments are protected. However, specifically within the CARG, comments arising from the Focus Group session appear to suggest that residents are complacent in their outlook and it is thought that this lackadaisical attitude may result in some neighbourhoods being caught off-guard should signs of decline emerge.

The Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group (MSARG) provides a more challenging interpretation because of the mix of neighbourhood types. As has been previously noted, this group is comprised of both Rehabilitation and Conservation neighbourhoods, but overall, residents are highly confident about their neighbourhoods and the future. This resident-group consistently displays increased stability and a willingness to protect the neighbourhood. The outcome is increased renovation and investment activity, and a greater likelihood of residents remaining in the neighbourhood, even as their housing needs change.

5.1.1 The Neighbourhood and General Appearance

The Neighbourhood Survey commenced by posing a series of related questions to gauge the perceptions of residents about the condition and appearance of the area. Residents were first asked how long they had resided in both their present home and the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods with a high

variance (measured in years) contain residents who have lived in multiple homes. Therefore, neighbourhoods with high variance display an increased sense of stability and confidence, especially if people have decided to remain in the neighbourhood as their housing needs changed as families grew or as they retired.

A second set of questions probed more specific issues, such as how people rate the neighbourhood's appearance today and in the future, and whether they plan to remain over the next five years. This set of questions is important for a number of reasons. First, two of these questions replicate those used in Varady's Confidence Index, and second, they provide an excellent overview of how people describe and rate the neighbourhood. This is considered effective in determining if differences exist among the resident-groups based on the general condition of the area and future expectations. Although each of these measures is based on a subjective appraisal by respondents, they are nevertheless seen as providing a critical self-evaluation of the neighbourhood.

With respect to assessing length of time in the home and neighbourhood, persons in all areas averaged have lived an average of 15 years in their present home, and 18 years in the neighbourhood. This difference suggests that a number of respondents have lived in more than one residence in the same area. It is contended that this is the outcome of persons (as adults) either moving from one home to another, or perhaps, respondents growing up in the neighbourhood and remaining once they entered home buying age.

The resident-groups show variation with respect to length of time in their present home and neighbourhood (Table 5.2). Residents in the CARG have the highest average, at 21 years in the neighbourhood and 18 years in their present

home. As expected, residents in the EARG have the shortest lengths for both home (12.5 years) and neighbourhood (14 years), which correspond to the relative *newness* of these neighbourhoods. Residents in both the MIARG and RARG are very consistent with the Neighbourhood Survey average.

Table 5.2
Years In Home and Neighbourhood by Resident Group

Resident Group	Years In Neighbourhood	Years in Home	Difference
MIARG	18.6	16.5	2.1
RARG	18.4	15.6	2.8
CARG	21.2	18.0	3.2
EARG	14.0	12.5	1.5
MSARG	17.9	13.3	4.6

A mixed result is that residents in the MSARG have the second lowest length of time in their present home (13.3 years) but are consistent with the overall average at 17.9 years in the neighbourhood. The difference between these periods is just over 4.5 years, which is the largest range observed. This is an indication that residents in the MSARG have changed homes much more frequently, possibly through upgrading or choosing to remain once they became home buyers or when they became "empty nesters" or retired. This is a positive finding and provides evidence of an increased level of attachment, and a willingness among residents to remain in the neighbourhood as their lifestyles change.

To further examine what factors contribute to persons remaining in the neighbourhood for an extended period of time, the Focus Group Sessions began by asking residents why they chose their present area. In the EARG Focus Group Session, residents consider buying a new home to be very important; this offers them choices such as new designs and amenities: "I left an older part of the city because I wanted to buy a new house without the

hassles I had in my old home." This type of sentiment was echoed by others in the EARG session who appreciate the fact that new homes offer convenience and lack of maintenance.

In contrast, residents from the CARG focus group session were more inclined to state they had lived in the area their whole life and wanted to remain. "I first rented a house in the area but my kids started going to school nearby and we fell in love with the place and it's a great location, so we bought a home and have been here for 25 years." Convenience and location were recurrent themes in all the focus group sessions, except in the EARG in which respondents claimed the car gives them all the convenience they need. For residents in the MIARG focus group session, the predominant reason for choosing the neighbourhood is a central location, followed closely by affordable housing. One MIARG resident summed up the discussion by stating, "we feel a richness in the community that has been overshadowed by the prostitution and gang houses; but there are just as many good things: people working together and helping each other to make things better." MIARG residents were also the only group to defend their neighbourhoods in saying they are good places but have a bad reputation: "I'm sick and tired of defending my neighbourhood to others who don't understand that this is a good place despite the obvious faults."

In the RARG focus group session, residents were diverse in opinions with many pointing to the walkability of the area and the importance of nearby commercial amenities: "I enjoy the street life and the 'feel' of older character neighbourhoods, especially those with commercial shops nearby." An interesting observation is that character homes were only mentioned in the

RARG focus group session, which corresponds to the fact that these areas are older and contain numerous examples of character homes. A second distinction in the RARG session was a discussion relating to sense of community and the importance of neighbours; this was summarized by one respondent: "I wanted to be able to knock on my neighbour's door to get sugar if I needed it, and I did not feel that I could get this done in the suburbs."

Determining how residents evaluate the neighbourhood was assessed in The Neighbourhood Survey by two means: selecting from a series of responses (Table 5.2), or rating the neighbourhood on a scale of 1-5. With respect to the first measure, 72% of respondents indicate they consider the neighbourhood to be in either *Excellent* or *Good Appearance*, while only 7.5% consider the neighbourhood to exhibit some level of decline (Table 5.3). From the data presented in Table 5.3, relatively few residents consider their neighbourhoods to be exhibiting signs of decline. However, among the resident-groups, differences emerge (Table 5.4). This is highlighted by the fact that 40% of respondents in the MIARG assert that their neighbourhood is either *Clearly Declining* or *Starting to Decline.*

Table 5.3
Overall Rating of the Neighbourhood's Appearance

Response	Frequency	Percent
Excellent	158	27.5
Good	253	44.1
Stable	110	19.2
Starting to Decline	27	4.7
Clearly Declining	16	2.8
Not Sure	10	1.7
Total	574	100.0

Table 5.4
Assessing the Neighbourhood's Appearance by Resident-Group

Resident Group	Response	Frequency	Percent
MIARG	Excellent	2	2.7
	Good	16	21.3
	Stable	22	29.3
	Starting to Decline	15	20.0
	Clearly Declining	15	20.0
	Not Sure	5	6.7
	Total	75	100
RARG	Excellent	29	27.6
	Good	41	39.0
	Stable	25	23.8
	Starting to Decline	8	7.6
	Clearly Declining	1	1.0
	Not Sure	1	1.0
	Total	105	100
CARG	Excellent	37	25.5
	Good	74	51.0
	Stable	33	22.8
	Starting to Decline	1	0.7
	Total	145	100
EARG	Excellent	41	41.0
	Good	39	39.0
	Stable	15	15.0
	Starting to Decline	2	2.0
	Not Sure	3	3.0
	Total	100	100
MSARG	Excellent	49	32.9
	Good	83	55.7
	Stable	15	10.1
	Starting to Decline	1	0.7
	Not Sure	1	0.7
	Total	149	100

In contrast, the Focus Group Sessions addressed neighbourhood appearance by asking respondents to state the most positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood. The MIARG session reinforced the pessimistic view held by many residents, to which one focus group attendee offered: "most of these neighbourhoods are at the bottom of the pile. Sometimes I tell

people I live downtown instead of using the neighbourhood name," while another said: "many of us in the neighbourhood have decided that we can't wait for government to help, so we just decided to help ourselves out of this misery."

Although the MIARG focus group session did not result in many positive comments about the area, the Neighbourhood Survey found that just under 30% consider the area to be stable. This is important in that there appears to be a core of residents who see stability and the potential for improvement. Perhaps, a means of strengthening these neighbourhoods would be to improve overall confidence, anticipating this would influence others. The RARG focus group session also produced some interesting findings. First, many point to the fragile nature of the neighbourhood, especially with respect to being very cognizant about the actions of others. This is emphasized by residents who indicate decline is present and, as such, are apprehensive of the future and thus hesitate starting substantive renovation projects. In the Neighbourhood Survey results, the MSARG displayed a more positive appraisal of the area with 88% of respondents considering the neighbourhood to be either *Excellent* or *Good*. The result for the EARG is similar in that 80% of respondents indicate the neighbourhood is *Excellent* or *Good*.

The second method used to evaluate the neighbourhood was to ask respondents how they presently rate the neighbourhood on a five point scale (1 being extremely bad and 5 being extremely good). For the sample, just under 4% rate the neighbourhood poorly (1-2 rating), 18% are in the middle (rating 3), and 78% of the sample rate the neighbourhood favourably (4-5). The results vary among the resident-groups with 22.6% of MIARG

respondents rating the neighbourhood in the 1-2 range. In fact, the MIARG is the only group to register a rating of 1 (extremely bad), while also having the lowest rating for extremely good (5). Although the EARG has the highest percentage of residents rating the neighbourhood as a 5, most groups were positive (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5
Rating the Neighbourhood's Overall Appeal
by Resident Group

Resident-Groups	Response	Frequency	Percent
MIARG	1	4	5.3
	2	13	17.3
	3	33	44.0
	4	17	22.7
	5	7	9.3
	Total	74	100
RARG	2	3	2.9
	3	23	21.9
	4	51	48.6
	5	28	26.7
	Total	105	100
CARG	3	28	19.3
	4	76	52.4
	5	40	27.6
	Total	144	100
EARG	2	2	2.0
	3	15	15.0
	4	43	43.0
	5	40	40.0
	Total	100	100
MSARG	3	6	4.0
	4	91	61.1
	5	51	34.2
	Total	148	100

With respect to the evaluations of the neighbourhood, it is clear that there are a number of trends. First, respondents from MIARG remain somewhat disillusioned by the decline that has crept up around them. This sentiment is echoed in both the Neighbourhood Survey and in the subsequent

Focus Group Session, with most sensing the increased pressure associated with decline. For the RARG, they appear more concerned with the events taking place around them, including both the positive and negative elements. The reason for concern arises from an apprehension among residents as to whether the neighbourhood's status will be stable or decline. The three remaining resident-groups exhibit much more confidence, contending that their respective neighbourhoods are excellent places to live.

At the outset of this chapter it was noted that a two-question confidence measure was included in the Neighbourhood Survey based on Varady (1986). The first of these questions was noted above in which respondents assessed the neighbourhood on a scale of 1-5, while the second question in Varady's index assessed the future expectation of respondents by asking them what the neighbourhood will be like in three years.

When asked if the neighbourhood would be *Better, Worse, or About the Same* in the next three years, nearly a quarter of Neighbourhood Survey respondents state that the area will be better, while only 4.2% believe the neighbourhood will worsen. The majority of respondents (72%) feel the neighbourhood will *Remain the Same* (Table 5.6).

When examining the resident-groups, distinctions emerge (Table 5.7). A highlight is that 26.7% of MIARG respondents indicate their neighbourhoods will become a *Better Place* in the next three years, double the 13.3% who believe the area will become *Worse*. This is a significant result given the negative views residents expressed about the neighbourhood.

Table 5.6 Neighbourhood Condition in Three Years (Entire Sample)	
Response	Percent
A Better Place	23.3
A Worse Place	4.2
About the Same	72.0
Total	100.0

Table 5.7
Neighbourhood Condition in Three Years by Resident Group

Resident-Groups	Response	Frequency	Percent
MIARG	A Better Place	20	26.7
	A Worse Place	10	13.3
	About the Same	44	58.7
	Total	74	98.7
	Missing	1	1.3
	Total	75	100.0
RARG	A Better Place	28	26.7
	A Worse Place	6	5.7
	About the Same	70	66.7
	Missing	1	1.0
	Total	104	99.0
CARG	A Better Place	19	13.1
	A Worse Place	4	2.8
	About the Same	121	83.4
	Missing	1	0.7
	Total	144	99.3
EARG	A Better Place	23	23.0
	A Worse Place	2	2.0
	About the Same	75	75.0
	Total	100	100.0
MSARG	A Better Place	44	29.5
	A Worse Place	2	1.3
	About the Same	103	69.1
	Total	149	100.0

It is important to acknowledge that the response category "*About the Same*" presents a mixed finding as it can be interpreted as being either positive or negative. As such, future expectations were cross-tabulated with present neighbourhood appearance to differentiate this issue (Table 5.8). What is important is that those who presently rate the neighbourhood favourably *(Excellent, Good* or *Stable)*, also contend that the neighbourhood

will remain as such or get better over the next three years. Less positive results are observed among those who state the neighbourhood is clearly declining as most expect this trend to continue. This pessimistic outlook is discouraging and points to the problematic nature of neighbourhoods presently perceived as declining.

Table 5.8
Present and Future Condition of the Neighbourhood
(Entire Sample)

Present Condition	Future Condition			
	A Better Place	A Worse Place	About the Same	Total
Excellent	36.1	1.3	62.6	100.0
Good	21.0	2.4	76.6	100.0
Stable	13.8	5.5	80.7	100.0
Starting to Decline	15.4	11.5	73.0	100.0
Clearly Declining	12.5	43.8	43.8	100.0

When the data in Table 5.8 are cross-tabulated for each resident-group, the findings are startling (Table 5.9). First, totalling those who indicate the neighbourhood will become worse and those who contend the area will continue to decline, the scores range from a low of only 2% in the MSARG to a high of 38% in the MIARG. For the MIARG, many anticipate that the neighbourhood is either going to get worse or remain in decline. In the RARG, just over 10% envision a more negative future, with most being optimistic.

The findings for the rating of the neighbourhood indicate that there are differences among the resident-groups. These differences correspond to the City's framework, especially for the MIARG, most of whose observations remain negative. The results for the RARG are also consistent in that residents in these areas display a sense of indecision about the neighbourhood and its future. Again, this stems from the fact that decline has

set in, and many are unsure which way the scale will eventually tip; toward more decline, or perhaps toward a greater sense of stability. The MSARG and EARG appear much more positive in their outlook and this results in a high rating for these neighbourhoods and their future.

Table 5.9
Cross Tabulation of Present Neighbourhood Appearance
By Neighbourhood Condition in Three Years
by Resident Group

Resident Group	Present Condition	Future Condition		
		A Better Place	A Worse Place	About the Same
MIARG	Excellent	1.4	0.0	1.4
	Good	6.8	1.4	13.5
	Stable	10.8	2.7	16.2
	Starting to Decline	2.7	1.4	14.9
	Clearly Declining	2.7	8.1	9.5
	Not Sure	2.7	0.0	4.1
RARG	Excellent	11.5	0.0	16.3
	Good	13.5	1.0	25.0
	Stable	1.0	1.9	20.2
	Starting to Decline	1.0	1.9	4.8
	Clearly Declining	0.0	1.0	0.0
	Not Sure	0.0	0.0	1.0
CARG	Excellent	5.6	1.4	18.8
	Good	6.3	0.7	43.8
	Stable	1.4	0.7	22.9
	Starting to Decline	0.0	0.0	0.7
EARG	Excellent	15.0	0.0	26.0
	Good	5.0	1.0	33.0
	Stable	2.0	1.0	12.0
	Starting to Decline	1.0	0.0	1.0
	Not Sure	0.0	0.0	3.0
MSARG	Excellent	14.1	0.0	18.8
	Good	13.4	1.3	40.9
	Stable	1.3	0.0	8.7
	Starting to Decline	0.0	0.0	0.7
	Not Sure	0.7	0.0	0.0

An indication of stability can be found by asking respondents whether they will remain in the neighbourhood for the next five years. For the entire

sample, 82% indicate they plan on remaining in the area. However, when the resident-groups are examined independently, differences are noted (Table 5.10). For those who indicate they plan to leave in the next five years, the overall percentages are low. The highest percentage planning to move is found in the MIARG, from which 14.7% plan to move, while nearly 18% are unsure as to whether they will remain. Both these results are the highest among the resident groups and further point to the instability within these neighbourhoods.

Table 5.10
Residents Planning to Stay in Neighbourhood for Five Years
by Resident Group

Resident-Groups	Response	Frequency	Percent
MIARG	Yes	50	66.7
	No	11	14.7
	Not Sure	14	18.7
	Total	75	100.0
RARG	Yes	90	85.7
	No	10	9.5
	Not Sure	5	4.8
	Total	105	100.0
CARG	Yes	113	77.9
	No	5	3.4
	Not Sure	25	17.2
	Total	143	100.0
EARG	Yes	86	86.0
	No	8	8.0
	Not Sure	6	6.0
	Total	100	100.0
MSARG	Yes	127	85.2
	No	9	6.0
	Not Sure	13	8.7
	Total	149	100.0

To better understand mobility, the Focus Group Sessions probed respondents for reasons why persons have left the neighbourhood. Although this was a highly speculative question, it was nonetheless important in

gathering a sense of what changes have taken place. The comments ranged from people moving to find better housing to changes in lifestyle as a result of retirement or divorce. In the MIARG Focus Group Session, the discussion focussed on an increased perception of crime and poverty. Many indicate that those who left did so because they feared for their safety or sought a better neighbourhood, using the inner city as a stepping stone. Others claim that crime and gang activity have spread and "some people simply gave up and could not tolerate the crime and other issues." Both the RARG and CARG sessions produced similar results with most stating that others have left due to retirements or downsizing of homes because children left. In the EARG session,, respondents overwhelmingly point to the fact that people left to trade-up to better homes or because of job transfers to another city. In fact, the EARG session highlighted an interesting point in that there does not seem to be a great sense of attachment to the area and that leaving is simply a routine way of life. In the other focus group sessions, there seemed to be more passionate reasons for leaving: divorce, fleeing crime and or poverty or simply being unable to remain; whereas, in the EARG session, housing is simply seen as a commodity which can be disposed of, if necessary.

5.1.2 Renovation Activity

Renovation activity is critical in contributing to neighbourhood stability and influencing the rehabilitation process. Certainly, as homes age, the level of maintenance increases, but equally important, people's housing preferences change; for example, some may want larger homes or additional features such as a family or a media room. These shifting preferences result in a number of

possibilities such as remodelling the home to accommodate new uses or simply moving from the home to a newer place that has the sought-after amenities. Investing in renovations is believed to affect the level of confidence people have about the neighbourhood, with increased renovation contributing positively to overall confidence.

To examine renovations in more detail, a set of questions in the Neighbourhood Survey sought to determine whether residents plan to renovate their home within the next year and, if so, what projects they are planning to undertake, and in what price range. The same questions were also asked regarding past renovations. Both sets of questions are important because they provide an understanding of the motivation levels of the residents to invest in their home and the neighbourhood.

The Neighbourhood Survey included questions asking residents to describe the renovation activity taking place in the neighbourhood. In response, 23% contend there is a *Substantial Amount* of activity, 36% note there is a *Fair Amount*, and 25.5% feel there is only *Minor Activity*. Among the resident-groups, substantial differences are evident. Most important, 57% of MIARG respondents state there is '*Not Much at All*' or only '*Minor Renovations*' taking place. This is contrasted by the fact that 92% of MSARG respondents state renovation activity is either '*A Fair Amount*' or a '*Substantial Amount*'. The remaining resident-groups are very similar to the overall average for the entire sample, with most stating there is a fair amount of activity.

When prompted as to whether residents have renovated or plan to do so, just over half of the Neighbourhood Survey respondents (53.7%) state that

they plan to renovate within the next year, while 77.2% indicate they have previously renovated (Table 5.11). Within the same table, the resident-groups display variability, with the MSARG being the most likely to have renovated in the past, and to do so within the year. In contrast, the MIARG has the lowest percentage; nonetheless, although lower, a significant number of residents have renovated and intend to do so once again. It is important to emphasize that it is difficult to compare these two periods because the first is based on a five year window while the second is on a one year period. Therefore, although substantial differences exist, it is not thought to be reflective of a declining situation but simply a shorter time frame.

Table 5.11
Percentage of Residents Indicating they Have or Plan to Renovate
By Resident Group

Resident and Overall Average	Have Renovated in the Past Five Years	Plan to Renovate within the Year
MIARG	66.2	44.6
RARG	80.8	53.4
CARG	77.1	52.6
EARG	67.7	48.0
MSARG	87.0	63.9
Average for Sample	77.2	53.7

The types of renovations planned or previously undertaken are coded using the Statistics Canada guidelines noted in Table 2.3. With respect to the overall sample, the majority indicate they plan to undertake *Renovations and Alterations*, which are defined as upgrades intended to modernize the home; they vary from rearranging the interior space to adding new windows (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Type of Renovations Undertaken: Past and Future		
Category	Past Renovations	Future Renovations
Repair and Maintenance	31.9	27.2
Equipment Replacement	2.2	1.7
Additions	12.7	5.6
Renovations and Alterations	48.6	64.2
New Installations	4.6	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

The resident-groups display differences when examining the types of renovations (Table 5.13). With respect to future plans, a positive finding is that 11.3% of residents in the RARG plan to build an addition to their homes, which is in addition to the 12% who did so within the last five years. This is the highest percentage, and is an excellent indication of the desire of residents to invest substantial amounts of money into their homes. In the MIARG the highest percentage of renovations is expected to be in the *Repair and Maintenance* category, which consists of basic expenditures intended to keep the home in good working order. This finding is underscored by the fact that much of the housing is older, and thus keeping internal components working is often a priority for residents who may not have money for either cosmetic or larger-scale renovations, such as adding a recreation room or upgrading kitchen cupboards.

Although it was noted that making comparisons between past and future renovation plans is difficult, it is noteworthy that only 4.3% of the MSARG are planning additions to their homes, whereas 24.8% report past additions. Although this finding may appear negative, it should be viewed as extremely encouraging because, combined, nearly 30% of residents within these neighbourhoods are investing substantially in their homes. This is truly

an indication of the active renovation markets in these neighbourhoods.

Table 5.13
Type of Renovation: Either Completed or to be Undertaken
by Resident-Group

Resident-Group		Past Renovations	Plan to Renovate
MIARG	Repair and Maintenance	23.4	40.6
	Equipment Replacement	2.1	0.0
	Additions	4.3	0.0
	Renovation and Alterations	70.2	59.4
	New Installations	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0
RARG	Repair and Maintenance	47.0	30.2
	Equipment Replacement	4.8	3.8
	Additions	12.0	11.3
	Renovation and Alterations	36.1	54.7
	New Installations	0.0	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0
CARG	Repair and Maintenance	52.8	36.4
	Equipment Replacement	2.8	1.3
	Additions	6.6	6.5
	Renovation and Alterations	34.0	55.8
	New Installations	3.8	0.0
	Total	100.0	100.0
EARG	Repair and Maintenance	19.1	12.5
	Equipment Replacement	0.0	2.1
	Additions	8.8	4.2
	Renovation and Alterations	54.4	75.0
	New Installations	17.6	6.3
	Total	100.0	100.0
MSARG	Repair and Maintenance	12.4	20.7
	Equipment Replacement	0.9	1.1
	Additions	24.8	4.3
	Renovation and Alterations	59.3	72.8
	New Installations	2.7	1.1
	Total	100.0	100.0

In terms of cost of the proposed renovations, 68% of the Neighbourhood Survey Respondents indicate they plan to spend less than $10,000 on renovations, which is similar to the 69.6% for past renovations (Table 5.14). The resident-group findings correspond closely to the overall distribution noted in Table 5.14, with the highest percentage of renovations costing less than $10,000 for both periods. In terms of those spending in the

higher ranges, 16.5% of the MSARG plan to spend more than $20,000. This level of investment is several times greater than that of residents in other areas. For the most part, less than 5% of the latter indicate they plan to spend this amount. This is also consistent with the spending during the previous five years.

Table 5.14
Price Range for Past and Estimated Cost of Future Renovations (Entire Sample)

Price Range	Past Investments	Expect Investments
0-999	8.8	14.7
1000-2999	22.3	23.7
3000-5999	23.3	17.0
6000-9999	15.2	13.0
10000-14999	8.3	6.7
15000-19999	2.4	4.0
20000+	11.9	7.3
not sure	7.8	13.7
Total	100	100

The Neighbourhood Survey included an additional set of renovation questions, consisting of residents scoring their responses, with one being the least likely to renovate and five being the most likely to renovate (Table 5.15).

Table 5.15
Resident's Reaction to Various Renovation Scenarios (Entire Sample)

Likelihood of renovating should:	Number of Responses	Average Score (1-5 Scale)
Property Values Increase	528	3.55
House Values Increase	529	4.00
More Confident about the Neighbourhood	521	3.73
If Other Residents were Renovating	517	3.44
If Neighbours were Neglecting Their Homes	515	2.79

Of the responses, *House Values Increase* garnered the highest average, at 4.0, indicating motivation for renovations may be related to the return on investment. This is important in that neighbourhood efforts aimed at raising property values can be used to offer incentives to residents to undertake

renovations. Equally important is that the lowest score was for renovating *If Neighbours Were Neglecting Their Homes.* Not renovating because of neglectful neighbours substantiates the problems that are experienced in areas of decline, where it is less likely that residents would renovate their homes under such circumstances.

When compared to results from the individual resident-groups, the data in Table 5.8 offer two important findings. First, the RARG has the highest average scores in each question, including an average of 4.6 for the question on confidence. Consistently high scores within this resident-group indicate that positive change would likely occur should improvements take place. High ratings also occur in the MIARG for renovations to occur if *House Values Increase* and if a respondent is *More Confident about the Neighbourhood.* This is an excellent indication that programs to increase house values and neighbourhood confidence would be well received by these two resident groups, with the outcome being a more stable neighbourhood.

In shifting the discussion to the Focus Group Sessions, renovation questions were begun by asking respondents why people in the neighbourhood renovate their homes. The responses were diverse and point to distinctions among the resident-groups. First, the MIARG is the only group to state they renovate because they could access programs that offer financial support to rehabilitate ageing housing. Furthermore, they also point to the importance of community organizations in providing support to undertake work. In fact, this group appears territorial in wanting to renovate in order to protect the neighbourhood and its housing from encroaching decline, but concedes that they face insurmountable obstacles such as gangs, increased

poverty and disillusionment among residents who have effectively "given-up on the area and moved." In the end, renovations are considered more of a necessity rather than an opportunity for them to enhance their homes. This points to the fact that most bought homes because they were inexpensive but acknowledge they need extensive repairs.

In the RARG focus group session, respondents were more apprehensive in their comments, and talked more about the need to renovate because homes are ageing and require more maintenance as opposed to undertaking aesthetic enhancements. To this thought, one respondent offered a powerful statement: "We are custodians of the neighbourhood. My home was in the same family for 70 years. I feel responsible to the house to make sure it retains its history and value but on the same hand, there is decline in the area and this is affecting our desire to renovate because we are concerned about the future." It is through this statement that the RARG respondents express their fear and indecisiveness about the risks of renovation, commenting:

- How much money can we invest in our home?
- Sometimes I wish I could airlift our home elsewhere.
- How much money can I invest in my home when others are not?
- We love the home but it is getting harder.
- Why do so many people start renovations but don't finish? This looks worse.

In the CARG focus group session, respondents were less forthcoming about the reasons for renovating. Most believe the housing in these neighbourhoods is ageing and needs attention and consider renovations part of the ongoing process of owning a home. Others contend that renovations allow people to remain in the area and offer them the ability to create the home they want: "We looked for a home that needed to be renovated so we

could make the changes we wanted. This gave us a great opportunity to change things to suit our needs."

A distinction arose in the EARG focus group session, in which the home is viewed as a commodity. While many indicate renovations are important, most note they are undertaken to add to the resale value of the home. In fact, one respondent postulated that "there was an age factor: when a home ages (10 years plus) you just leave." There was an acceptance of this comment by others who also asserted this is important: "why renovate when you can simply build new or move?" The responses from the EARG session point to a lack of attachment to the area; homes are places where people sleep, mostly in isolation from other elements of the neighbourhood. There did not seem to be any sentiment in the responses of residents, nor any sense of loyalty to the area. Simply put, housing is considered a disposable commodity; once it outlives its usefulness, one buys something new.

In contrast, the Neighbourhood Survey included three scenario-based questions on renovation activity (Table 5.16). For the variable *Renovate Despite Dropping Property Value* and *Increased Decline* 43% of respondents agreeing with this statement; they would hold-off on renovations. On the other hand, 35% disagree and would not hold-off on renovations despite a decline in property values. This is a mixed result, showing some are concerned while others are not. The individual resident-groups display similar indifference with the MSARG, EARG and RARG ranging from 47%-49% in agreement with this statement, to the MIARG and the CARG which are both lower at approximately 37%. Regardless, it is difficult to say that the responses point to a single finding.

Table 5.16 Level of Agreement Toward Three Possible Renovation Scenarios			
Response	Renovate Despite Dropping Property Value and Increased Decline	Increased Confidence as a Result of More Renovation Activity	"My" Renovations Will Influence Others
Strongly Agree	6.4	20.1	6.5
Agree	37.0	65.8	48.7
Undecided	21.3	5.5	20.1
Disagree	28.6	7.4	22.0
Strongly Disagree	6.6	1.2	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The variable *Increased Confidence as a Result of More Renovation Activity* produces significant agreement among respondents. This is highlighted by the 86% of respondents who are in agreement with this statement, while only 8.6% are not. For the resident-groups, agreement with this statement ranges from a low of 75% in the MIARG, to a high of 93% in the EARG. High agreement with confidence being an important visual marker (e.g., stimulating other residents) is a critical ingredient in creating more stable neighbourhoods, especially in declining areas where a burgeoning level of renovation activity may boost confidence.

The question about whether renovation activity boosts confidence was asked in the Focus Group Sessions. For the MIARG session, seeing the tangible evidence renovations offer is important in contributing to a more stable neighbourhood. Respondents would also consider this a convincing indication that the area is becoming better. However, they acknowledge that further efforts, such as reducing crime or removing prostitution activities, would be needed to make a difference. For the RARG session, there is much more debate and indecision as to whether confidence would be raised: "When I see renovations it improves my confidence and also that if I do something,

perhaps others will follow suit." On the reverse, one respondent remarked that "If I thought the evidence of decline outweighed the positive, I would seriously consider moving. I am already concerned about whether to renovate and whether I would lose too much money." By far, the responses in the RARG session remain consistent in the sense that they are concerned that the condition of the neighbourhood could go either way. This environment is also thought to contribute to the hesitation among respondents to say changes in the area are positive.

Respondents in the CARG session are quite adamant that confidence would be improved through increased renovations but a distinction is that renovations are 'expected', much like peer pressure. The contention is that they feel obliged to undertake renovations, and that in doing so, they ensure stability and confidence in the neighbourhood. In the EARG, most submit that it would make no difference as to whether confidence would be boosted by renovations. The sentiment among residents is that anything undertaken is either aesthetic in nature or a matter of completing work needed (e.g. adding a paved driveway, lawn or deck). "We choose to live in our neighbourhoods because we can. If something happens, we can leave. For some in other areas, they don't have the financial means and they can't leave."

A critical area of analysis included in the Neighbourhood Survey determined whether renovation activities have an impact in leveraging others to renovate. To answer this, respondents were asked if their renovations would cause others to follow suit (Table 5.16). A positive finding is that 55% of respondents *Strongly Agree or Agree* with this statement, while 24.5% feel their renovations would not cause others to consider renovating. This

indicates that persons agree that their renovations will influence others and have a positive impact on the neighbourhood. Individually, the resident-groups exhibit variation, ranging from a low of 33% in the MIARG who *Strongly Agree or Agree*, to the highest rating in the RARG, at 72%, followed by the MSARG, at 60%. As for the two remaining resident-groups, just over 50% agree with the statement.

Residents in the RARG are the most likely to be positively influenced by increased renovations within the neighbourhood. This is one of the most significant findings as it points to the positive influence renovation activity will have in these areas defined as beginning to display increased signs of decline. Equally important is that the RARG also has the least number of residents who disagree with this statement (18%), which bolsters the critical nature of this result. In comparison, the MIARG has the highest percentage who disagree that their renovation influences others, at just over 40%. This is an indication that these neighbourhoods remain in a state of decline and that renovations, although important, are not thought to be the panacea for improving the situation. These results also complement the Focus Group Sessions, whose findings were similar.

The final component of the Neighbourhood Survey's examination of renovation highlights the factors likely to prevent respondents from investing in their present home. Some 37% contend their '*Home Does Not Require Any Upgrades*' while nearly 35% '*Could Not Afford Renovations*' at this time. When examining the resident-groups individually, some interesting contrasts emerge. With respect to factors that would prevent renovations, the MIARG, RARG and CARG, have high percentages of respondents (compared to the

remaining resident-groups) who indicate they '*Don't Intend to Stay in the Area*' (13-14%). Both EARG and MSARG respondents indicate their homes '*Did Not Require Renovations*' (40%) as being the primary reason. The one response that appears consistent is '*Can't Afford Renovations*', which ranges from 28% to 39% among the resident-groups.

5.1.3 Housing Market Activity

The housing market is an essential element of the neighbourhood with its performance, or lack thereof, providing an indication of the overall status of the area. This includes examining sales and determining whether increasing or decreasing house prices affect the neighbourhood and/or cause a loss of confidence. As a starting point, respondents in the Neighbourhood Survey were asked to describe the functioning of the local market and the factors that contribute to a likelihood of selling one's home.

In describing their perceptions of the housing market, most Neighbourhood Survey respondents consider sales activity as being quick (59.8%), while 21% note the pace is average and 8.8% state sales are currently slow. As for reasons that would motivate a resident to sell, 23% state it would be to *Move to a New Area*, while 20% contend *a Loss of Confidence* would be a cause, and 9% cite *Increasing House Prices.*[2] It is important to note that 48% of respondents are currently unsure as to what would cause them to sell. Perhaps this high uncertainty relates to a reluctance of many to even *consider* selling their home at this time.

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Increasing house prices means that a resident would sell his/her present home to make a profit.

With respect to both issues noted above, the resident-groups vary considerably. First, 49% of MIARG respondents indicate that sales are slow and nearly 60% would move to a better neighbourhood if they had the chance. In contrast, 84% of MSARG respondents state sales are quick, but 43% would sell should they experience a loss of confidence. A loss of confidence was high among all the groups, ranging from a low of 18% in the EARG to 43% in the MSARG. In each resident-group, those indicating that sales were quick exceed 50%, with the exception of the MIARG, among whom just under 10% consider sales to be at this pace.

The Focus Group Sessions further examined housing issues by asking what factors have contributed to persons selling their homes, what the result of rising or declining property values would be, what increased housing activity means, and whether a loss of confidence would contribute to the decision to sell.

In the MIARG focus group session, the responses to why someone would sell relate to personal safety concerns or problems relating to crime and gang activity. Respondents contend that those who have moved effectively "gave-up" and left as a result of a combination of factors that include neighbourhood decline and increased social problems. It is also thought that some use the inner city as a stepping stone, and once people improve their economic circumstances, they move out: "not many people sell their home to make a buck; it's more like how much did you lose and whether you can pay the bank." Also, most feel they would not sell as a result of increased prices, because this would be a good thing and would help dispel the negative perceptions of the inner city as a whole. Overall, residents in the

MIARG view the housing market with skepticism as many note that low overall property values have contributed to a lack of confidence in the area. People are "scared of losing not only their shirts but their pants," contended a respondent who has fixed up his home but acknowledges that he is digging himself into a financial hole as it would be hard to recoup all his investments should he even consider selling.

The perceptions of housing sales were somewhat more subdued in the RARG focus group session. For most, the reasons people move from these neighbourhoods relate to either retirement or opportunities to live in better neighbourhoods in "newer parts of the city." Whether one would sell if values changed, one respondent expressed confusion: "values have dropped but I can't afford to lose money and would not be able to find something comparable anyway, so what do I do." In this focus-group session housing sales are viewed as part of life in the neighbourhood and, as such, they are not overly concerned with the market as most activity is generally positive. At present, the indication is that sales are moderate and not changing the property values to any great extent, and thus, most have no reason to be concerned about the value of housing, nor the amount of sales activity taking place.

The CARG focus group session produced a more positive outlook on the housing market. There is the belief that sales are excellent and prices are trending upward. Most intend to stay and would not be inclined to sell even if prices rise or drop suddenly. Again, those leaving the area are more likely to be retiring than looking for something better.

The most striking comments arising in the Focus Group Sessions were the responses from the EARG attendees that relate more to the desire to "move up to something better or bigger." As has been noted, homes in these neighbourhoods are treated like disposable assets and when needs change, it is easier to build a new home with the desired features than it is to renovate: "why bother with the hassle" said one person. In terms of reasons for moving, the most commonly offered suggestion was "being transferred out of province" or the desire to "trade-up to something better."

In the Neighbourhood Survey, housing market activity is viewed from a number of perspectives including a set of questions to which respondents indicate whether they would be more or less likely to sell their home (Table 5.17). The most common factor motivating someone to sell his/her home is the sight of more deteriorated housing in the neighbourhood, while increasing local property values scores lowest. These two contrasting points provide a good indication that stabilizing the neighbourhood through housing programs that improve the stock will have the effect of contributing to a positive outlook, while not necessarily triggering a sell-off of housing.

Table 5.17
Reactions to Housing Activity Statements - Entire Sample

Likelihood of a Respondent Selling Should:	Total Responses	Average Score (1-5 Scale)
Increased Deteriorated Housing	552	3.7
Dropping Property Values - Sales	542	2.9
Property Values Increase - Sales	550	2.8

The next set of questions on the Neighbourhood Survey relate to sales activity, with respondents prompted to either agree or disagree with a statement (Table 5.18). To begin, 49% of respondents agree that more homes

for sale on the block indicate a healthy housing market. This finding is consistent within the resident-groups, the exception being the MIARG, 44% of whom disagree and do not consider this to be a sign of a healthy market. This response is indicative of the problems associated with trying to sell one's home in light of the substantial drops in property values experienced recently in the inner city (See Chapter Four).

Table 5.18
Agreement Levels for Five Housing and Sales Related Scenarios
(Entire Sample)

Response	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	8.6	12.3	2.8	6.9	1.4
Agree	40.5	54.5	12.8	55.1	20.4
Undecided	20.6	12.2	17.9	12.7	24.8
Disagree	28.4	18.9	55.2	23.2	.49.7
Strongly Disagree	1.9	2.1	11.1	2.1	3.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

1 - More Homes For Sale on the Block Is Healthy
2 - More Homes Selling and At Higher Prices Raises Confidence
3 - Sell Home Because of Increasing Prices
4 - Decrease of Confidence because of Slow Sales
5 - Sell Home as a Result of a Decline in Property Values

When asked if confidence about the neighbourhood would increase if more homes sold, and at higher prices, 67% *Strongly Agree or Agree* that this would raise their level of confidence. With respect to the resident-groups, both the EARG (78%) and the RARG (77.1%) score the highest responses for *Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing* with the statement. This is an excellent indication that a healthy housing market and rising prices are important contributors to a more positive outlook.

Neighbourhood Survey respondents were also asked if they would sell their home should housing prices in the neighbourhood increase. Only 15.6% *Strongly Agree or Agree*, while 66% state they would not sell their homes if prices increase. The results for the resident-groups are similar with the

exception of the MIARG. Overall, nearly 40% of the respondents would sell their homes if prices increase; in contrast, only 5.4% of the MSARG respondents would sell their homes. Again, these two results should be looked at from the context of the declining market in the inner city where some property values dropped by over 60% between 1989 and 1999 (see Chapter Four).

Therefore, it would certainly seem reasonable for persons in the MIARG to seize the opportunity to sell their home should prices begin to rebound. For the other resident-groups, the findings are similar to the responses from the Focus Group Sessions, in which residents were adamant that they would not sell if prices went up. Again, this is a solid indication that an improving housing market would not result in most residents trying to achieve a return on their investment by selling to make a quick profit.

When asked if confidence in the neighbourhood would decrease as a result of homes taking a long time to sell, 62% of respondents *Strongly Agree or Agree* with this statement, while 25% state this would not affect their confidence. Individually, the resident-groups are quite similar in responses, with the majority agreeing with this statement. This is further evidence that housing activity and confidence are related; thus, stabilizing markets through increasing house values and other means will greatly assist the neighbourhood in becoming a better place.

The final variable listed in Table 5.18 asked respondents if they would sell should property values decrease. The majority (53.4%), would not sell their home if property values declined while only 22% would (nearly a quarter are undecided). When explored by resident-groups, the results are quite

similar, the exception being the EARG, 35% of whom indicate they would sell if property values declined (the highest such rating among the groups). Perhaps the higher percentage in the EARG is further evidence that many respondents in these areas appear to treat their homes simply as disposable assets, and thus, a sudden loss in equity would trigger a sell-off in much the same fashion as some would sell stocks that lose value on the market. However, for most, the desire to sell is not based on market fluctuations nor in the ability to make a profit during an upswing in prices.

A similar set of questions were asked in the Focus Group Sessions, with most participants displaying indecision about whether they would sell should values decline. For example, in the MIARG session, the fact that prices have dropped to such a great extent means that most could not sell: "at this point, the bank owns my home and I couldn't sell it if I tried." Similar sentiment was observed in the RARG session where there was a concern about the 'duality of the market' in which pockets of the neighbourhood exhibit stable attributes, while other areas tend to be characterized by increased blight and lower housing values. This mixed market situation is thought to contribute to the indecisiveness among residents in these neighbourhoods. Perhaps, being in close proximity to deteriorated housing or in clusters of renovated units contributes to the mixed perceptions residents in the RARG have about their neighbourhoods.

Overall, the functioning of the housing market is important, but not to the same extent as observed in the renovation section. For respondents, most acknowledge that the housing market is important, yet factors such as declining house prices do not seem to affect the decision to sell one's home to

any great extent. The exception is in the MIARG, but again this is explained as being a result of decades of decline and substantial losses in property value. The responses from the RARG are more complex: on the one hand, they appear confident, but this can be shaken should the market begin to weaken or if signs of neighbourhood decline become more prevalent. For the EARG, the fact that they have the ability to buy and sell homes at will, appears to make them immune to the effect of a changing market, yet many indicate they would sell if the values dropped. Perhaps, this underscores this author's contention that residents in these areas tend to treat housing simply as another asset in their financial portfolios.

5.1.4 Commercial Amenities

The commercial amenities section of the Neighbourhood Survey is brief, containing five questions in which a statement was read and respondents were asked to agree or disagree (Table 5.19). The intent was to gauge the preferences of respondents with respect to whether commercial amenities have an impact on their perception of the neighbourhood.

Table 5.19
Commercial Amenities in the Neighbourhood
(Entire Sample)

Response	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	12.5	9.7	13.6	8.7	1.1
Agree	53.3	47.8	56.3	36.7	10.2
Undecided	10.4	12.3	13.0	20.7	1.1
Disagree	21.8	28.3	16.0	32.0	62.9
Strongly Disagree	2.1	1.9	1.1	1.9	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 – Commercial Amenities Improve Stability
2 – Commercial Amenities are Important in Choice
3 – Streetscaping Increases Confidence
4 – Themes Increases Confidence
5 – Decline in Commercial Activities – Sell Home

The first question asked respondents if they feel commercial amenities (e.g. restaurants, coffee shops, stores) add to the overall stability of the neighbourhood. The results for the entire sample reveal 65% of respondents *Strongly Agree or Agree* this is important, while 21% *Disagree or Strongly Disagree*. When the resident-groups are examined, the EARG scores the highest disagreement level, with 35% stating they *Disagree or Strongly Disagree* with the statement. The remaining areas show a high degree of similarity, with the majority of respondents supporting this statement.

The second question asked if commercial amenities, such as those noted above, would be a consideration for selecting a new neighbourhood (should they move). For the entire sample, just under 58% *Strongly Agree or Agree* this would be an important consideration, while 30% *Disagree or Strongly Disagree*. When assessing for differences among the resident-groups, both the RARG and the MIARG score the highest support for this statement, with approximately 65% of respondents *Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing*. The highest level of disagreement was in the EARG where 39% of respondents *Disagree or Strongly Disagree* that commercial amenities are an important selection choice for a new neighbourhood.

The next question asked whether streetscaping would have a positive impact on confidence about the neighbourhood. Examples include upgrading street lighting and/or adding decorative features such as planters etc. Overwhelmingly, 70% of respondents either *Strongly Agree or Agree* that it would. For the most part, the results for the resident-groups are very consistent in both those agreeing and disagreeing, with most indicating that streetscaping would boost confidence.

The fourth question, which was essentially a follow-up question to the third, asked respondents if adding a cultural/ethnic theme to street improvements, such as a 'Little Italy' or 'China Town' would improve overall confidence about the neighbourhood. The results are 45% *Strongly Agreeing or Agreeing*, as opposed to the 70% that support streetscaping projects noted in the previous question. Furthermore, 34% of respondents either *Disagree or Strongly Disagree* with this statement, which is more than double the negative response level of the previous survey question. The breakdown by the resident-groups is also quite similar with no real significant differences noted.

The final question asked respondents whether they would consider selling their home if there is a noticeable decline in commercial amenities in the neighbourhood. This question produced high disagreement, with 67% of respondents *Disagreeing or Strongly Disagreeing*. In fact, only 11% *Agree that they would consider selling,* while 21% indicate they are *Undecided.* As for individual resident-groups, the results are similar for both agreement and disagreement.

The Focus Group Sessions yielded mixed results for commercial amenities. Participants in the EARG session saw commercial functions as unnecessary as the car is used most often. In fact, stores are "places most simply stop to or from work as an afterthought." Perhaps one of the most stark observations was made by one EARG respondent who said: "I love going to Corydon but when I drive with my kid, he is scared of the big trees and old homes; it's such a different world for him." This group appeared indifferent to the need or desire to use local shops and services. The same result was found in the CARG session in which respondents stated that they like nearby stores

but it is not overly important in their choice of a neighbourhood, nor would it be a factor should fewer stores remain open. Perhaps in these areas, residents have chosen to live in more homogeneous surroundings, and do not necessarily find a mix of land uses either appealing or desirable.

For the RARG focus group session, commercial amenities are much more critical, and supporting local shops remains part of the appeal of these neighbourhoods. Many also indicate they would not have bought a home in the area if there were not a cluster of stores. A key distinction for this group is that they tend to favour the smaller independent shops: "the mom and pop stores will always get my business; it was a sad day when Subway moved onto the strip." From the sessions, the MIARG is the most likely to frequently use nearby shops and their central location within the neighbourhood is excellent in terms of being able to walk to whatever services are needed. The importance of commercial shops in the MIARG is further strengthened by the fact that most people did not own cars and thus being able to walk to stores remains critical.

5.2 Exploring Neighbourhood Confidence

The material included in this chapter has provided clear evidence that the resident-groups are divergent in their responses to various neighbourhood issues as presented in both the Neighbourhood Survey and in the Focus Group Sessions. In a final area of discussion, confidence is examined from a number of perspectives. First, in the Neighbourhood Survey, 86% of respondents feel *Somewhat or Very Confident* about the neighbourhood, while just over 10% are *Not Confident* (with the remainder

unsure). Within the resident-groups, extreme variations are evident. First, 43% of MIARG respondents are *Not Overly Confident or Not Confident At All* about the neighbourhood's future (more than four times the 10.3% average for the entire sample). Furthermore, MIARG respondents are also well below the average for being positive about the future of the neighbourhood. In stark contrast, 98% of respondents from the MSARG are *Somewhat or Very Confident* about the neighbourhood's future. This is an exceptionally high rating, and is an excellent indication of the great level of attachment people have to these neighbourhoods.

The Focus Group Sessions produced similar results with the MIARG being least confident, whereas the EARG is very confident. In the CARG session, results are generally positive with most indicating they are confident: "I can say with certainty that I feel very good about the neighbourhood. I am confident to renovate, I would be confident in selling my home and I am confident enough that I plan to stay for some time." This sentiment epitomizes this group who consider these neighbourhoods as excellent places with a positive future. In contrast, the RARG session was mixed, with most being confident but cautious about the future. This indecisiveness has been a recurrent trend within this group, in which many see great potential but remain concerned about the decline in the area.

5.2.1 Applying Measures of Confidence

As is noted in Chapter Two, Varady (1986) developed a two question *Confidence Index*. The intent of the index was to assess the present condition of the neighbourhood and the future expectations among residents. Varady's

index works by cross-tabulating two variables and assigning categories based on the level of confidence: *Optimistic, Neither Optimistic Nor Pessimistic,* and *Pessimistic.* Using the same criteria as Varady, Table 5.20 demonstrates the variability in the level of confidence for the entire sample.[3]

Table 5.20
Varady's Confidence Index
Neighbourhood Survey - Entire Sample

Expected Changes	Present Rating of the Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	So-So	Relatively Good
Better	<1% (1)	2.8% (1)	20.5% (1)
Same	1.9% (3)	14% (2)	56% (1)
Worse	2% (3)	1.2% (3)	1.2% (3)

(1) Optimistic (2) Neither Optimistic or Pessimistic (3) Pessimistic.

The result of the index points to an overall positive outlook for the entire sample as nearly 80% of respondents are *Optimistic* and generally confident. This supports the finding of the present research, which determined that 86% of respondents are *Very or Somewhat Confident* about the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the index shows that relatively few persons are pessimistic about the neighbourhood and lack confidence in it, which is also consistent with the findings noted in the present research.

Within the resident-groups, variation is evident and characterized by a high level of confidence among the MSARG, EARG and CARG, but a lower level of confidence exists for both the RARG and MIARG (see Appendix C, Tables C-1 A-E). A distressing result is that nearly 25% of respondents from the MIARG are not overly confident about their neighbourhood and are

[3]The percentages may not total 100% due to rounding and estimates.

generally pessimistic about the future, while an additional 30% are in the middle. In contrast, only 1% of respondents from the MSARG are pessimistic or not confident. In the RARG, 7% are pessimistic while 18% are in the middle.

In the RARG and MIARG neighbourhoods, it is the residents 'in the middle' who must be convinced that these areas are places in which change is possible. These "So-So" residents may also benefit most from the actions of others who renovate and upgrade their homes. In fact, if the confidence level of the 30% of "So-So" residents in the MIARG could be increased, it would have a far-reaching effect in improving the overall confidence, while contributing to a more stable neighbourhood environment. Perhaps the fact that nearly all respondents in the MSARG are confident underscores the importance of finding ways to stimulate a positive resolve among residents. With such high confidence and optimism levels within the MSARG, it is also reason enough to further explore why this resident-group is so much more convincing in their neighbourhood sentiment. Clearly, this alone is evidence that there is something special about these neighbourhoods.

As was noted at the outset of this chapter, the present author proposes a second and more dynamic measure of confidence (Table 5.21). The *Neighbourhood Confidence Index* being advanced builds on Varady's measure by adding a third variable drawn from the Neighbourhood Survey. It is believed that by including a more direct measure of confidence, as assessed in the present research, the result is more robust.

Table 5.21 The Neighbourhood Confidence Index				
Name	Neighbourhood Confidence	Future Condition	Neighbourhood Rating	Percent (100)
Major Stakeholders/ Investors	Very Confident	Become Even Better or Remain Very Good	5	24
Stabilizers/ Stayers	Confident	Become Better or Remain Good	4/5	51
So-So	Somewhat Confident	Remain Same	3	16
Pessimists	Not Overly Confident	A Worse Place or Remain in Poor Condition	1/2 or 3	5
Lost Hope	Not Confident at All	Become Worse	1/2	4

At the top of the scale are those persons listed as *Major Stakeholders and Investors*. These residents are believed to be the core group who invest heavily into the neighbourhood and are effectively the gatekeepers of stability. They are likely to invest significantly and view the neighbourhood as an excellent place and one in which the future is equally positive. This group would have many of the traits found in the MSARG, in which residents are very confident about the neighbourhood and are likely to invest substantially in their homes.

The *Stabilizers/Stayers* also play a significant role in maintaining and strengthening the fabric of the neighbourhood. This group is positive about the future and confident that it will remain as such. For the most part, residents from the CARG would fit this description as they are confident about their neighbourhoods and likely to remain for a long time. Residents from the EARG would also be found in this category as they are confident about the neighbourhood although not as attached as the other resident-groups.

In the middle are those residents considered to be "*So-So*". This group is hesitant about both the current and future status of the neighbourhood. In fact, this category displays characteristics consistent with the RARG in which there is much indecisiveness among residents who see the area as teetering between decline and stability. The result is a higher propensity for them to be influenced by either increased or decreased housing activity. This category would also include residents from the MIARG who are also "in the middle" and unsure as to whether they would remain or if they are confident about the neighbourhood.

The final two categories are *Pessimists* and *Lost Hope*. People in both of these categories have effectively given up on the neighbourhood and see little potential for improvement. The distinction between these two groups is that those who have lost hope remain unconfident and expect an even worsening of an already bad situation. These persons tend to be homeowners who are trapped in the area because they have lost substantial amounts of money in their homes, so much so that it is impossible for them to sell because the amount owing to the bank would be many times that which they could realize from a sale[4]. These two groups are drawn from the MIARG and from residents in the RARG who are not confident about the neighbourhood. In

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This comment is based on both data from the Focus Group Sessions and personal experience in working in Default Management at Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. In this position, the author worked first hand with homeowners facing this precarious situation, many of whom simply walked away from their homes, declaring bankruptcy or facing massive summary judgments. It is strongly believed that there are numerous homeowners within the inner city still holding mortgages worth many times their present value; thus countless persons remain trapped, with the only option being to walk away and face the consequences or try in vain to sell. Certainly, those mortgages taken out in the mid-1980s and early 1990s will mature and free people from debt but they will not experience the gains in the housing markets of other neighbourhoods. In fact, a mortgage taken out in 1980 for $65,000 will mature in 2005 and will most likely be worth half of its original value (certainly exclusive of interest paid which would make the situation more dire).

the latter, it is speculated that most would live in close proximity to areas of decline.

The *Neighbourhood Confidence Index* is presented as a first step toward better understanding the dynamics associated with shifts in confidence among residents. Some neighbourhoods will invariably remain places in which confidence is high, while others will begin to spiral downward, characterized by increasingly low levels of confidence and a pessimistic outlook on the future. The *Neighbourhood Confidence Index* contends that finding ways to increase the confidence of the "*So-So*" residents is critical; however, achieving this goal is more complex and must start with stabilizing the housing market, increasing the renovation activity and creating a better environment.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has reviewed and described the results of the Neighbourhood Survey and the Focus Group Sessions. The findings indicate that the resident-groups show considerable variation with respect to a number of variables. This is emphasized by the fact that the MIARG tends to be below the average for the entire sample in a number of variables, including confidence, willingness to invest and even in the desire to remain in the area. A key conclusion is that there still is a high percentage of "*So-So*" residents in this group who must be convinced that it is worthwhile remaining in the area. However, as was noted in the Focus Group Sessions, many will continue to use inner city neighbourhoods as a stepping stone to something better. Therefore, striving to build confidence and reduce the transitory tendencies of

residents is critical in achieving a more stable neighbourhood environment.

For residents in the RARG, the findings are more layered in indecisiveness and apprehension about the future. The focus group session pointed to contradictory statements such as, "I love the area, but it is declining" or "I want to stay but should I invest any more money with decline increasing?" Perhaps the single most important finding of this research is that a more concerted effort must be placed on strengthening these neighbourhoods by increasing the confidence of residents. To wait any further will simply invite the processes associated with decline to gather more momentum, which will undoubtably swing the pendulum further to the decline side. The result will be disinvestment and a gradual enlargement of the number of Major Improvement neighbourhoods in the inner city, which will, in turn, swallow more Rehabilitation areas should interventions not be occur.

What is interesting about the CARG is that it remains a collection of stable neighbourhoods that are well-perceived by residents. However, an undercurrent of increasing complacency was observed to be flowing through these neighbourhoods. Many residents feel their neighbourhoods are immune to the signs of decline experienced elsewhere. This attitude is certainly expected since the majority of these neighbourhoods are generally in good condition, but this could be an issue should these neighbourhoods begin to experience increased signs of decline that might trigger panic selling.

The EARG focus group session and to a lesser extent the Neighbourhood Survey data point to a few unexpected findings within this group. First, the level to which the focus group respondents felt that housing was simply a commodity to be bought and sold was unexpected. Certainly,

with the affluence of many of these neighbourhoods, it was thought most would be proud of the area and willing to defend its character; however, there was no real evidence that persons are committed to the neighbourhood. A conclusion is that perhaps these areas are not 'yet' neighbourhoods but are presently only collections of assets from which one builds a stronger portfolio. This harsh view is borne out by the fact that although most are confident and optimistic about the area, something is clearly missing: sentiment and attachment. In the focus group session, many pointed to the lack of community infrastructure, such as stores and green space, and as one person noted, "it's like a lunar landscape out here." Perhaps these views will change as the area matures and eventually develops a sense of an identity.

In the MSARG, the findings are very encouraging and point to strong elements of community attachment. People love their neighbourhoods and are willing to invest with their heart, soul and pocketbook. This was clearly evident in the fact that nearly 100% of residents are confident about the neighbourhood, to the extent that many have invested tremendous amounts of money to remain in the area. The focus group session results for this area are deferred to Chapter 6, which examines Riverview as a case study. The findings, as will be shown, point to a sense of spirit unlike that in the other areas.

In closing, this chapter has provided the first step toward better understanding the elements necessary for residents to positively evaluate the neighbourhood. A substantial difference among the resident-groups was shown to exist in a number of areas. However, it is believed these differences can help in offering solutions; by learning from the successes and failures of

each resident-group, criteria for improving the outlook of all neighbourhoods will emerge. The development of the *Neighbourhood Confidence Index* is thought to be a first and basic step towards using confidence as a possible tool in building and maintaining better places, places that capture the souls and imaginations of their residents.

Chapter Six
The Neighbourhood Survey Analysis

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the Neighbourhood Survey using rank-order correlation analysis and binary logistic regression to uncover key trends in the data. These analytical procedures are specifically used to address the following research questions;

1. *Are neighbourhood perception variables relating to neighbourhood evaluation, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities, significant predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction or mobility status among residents?*

2. *Does the importance of variables that predict confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status vary among the five resident-groups?*

The primary data to address *Research Questions One and Two* are derived from a survey of sixteen neighbourhoods (n=574), representing the five resident-groups examined. These data are based on the responses to a questionnaire containing 45 structured questions (Appendix A). The chapter commences with an introduction to the analytical techniques, and then proceeds to address each research question in turn. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings.

To provide an initial exploration of the data, neighbourhood perception variables relating to confidence, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities, are examined for significant associations. The intent is (a) to determine whether relationships exist among this set of variables and (b) to assess if they can be used to better understand the factors that residents consider important both in evaluating the neighbourhood and contributing to the rehabilitation process. The technique used in this phase of the research is the Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient test, which is a nonparametric

bivariate analytical measure (see Section 6.3).

To further analyse the Neighbourhood Survey data, binary logistic regression is used. The application of this statistical procedure is based on its ability to generate predictive outcomes using a dichotomous dependent variable and either categorical or continuous independent variables. An additional strength of binary logistic regression is that data are analysed to isolate the effects of multiple independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable, while also assessing the separate effects of each variable included in the regression model (Peng et al., 2002).

The Neighbourhood Survey variables analysed in the correlations and binary logistic regression test include those measured on a five-point scale[1]. The variables examined are drawn from five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood evaluation; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities (Table 6.1). For the logistic regression technique, it was necessary to recode categorical variables into dichotomous or binary variables to ensure that the dependent variables *(Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction and Mobility Status)* fit the parameters of the regression model (see section 6.2). Using a strategy similar to that of Parkes et al. (2001) and Basolo and Strong (2002), the dependent variables are also included as independent variables, e.g., in the Confidence model, both *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Mobility Status* are entered into the equation.

1

As the scales used yield ordinal data, they are appropriately analysed using nonparametric tests. Siegel (1956), Hollander and Wolfe (1999) and Urdan (2001) concur that observations which are not interval, fail to meet a fundamental requirement of parametric testing and must be treated as nonparametric. Therefore, the nonparametric Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient and the Binary Logistic Regression are used to conduct the analysis used in this chapter.

Table 6.1
Logistic Regression and Correlation Variables

Dependent Variables	Coding
Confidence (44)	1= Very Confident 0= Less than Very Confident
Mobility Status (6)	1= Planning to Remain in Neighbourhood 0= Planning to Move
Neighbourhood Satisfaction (5)	1= Very Satisfied 0= Less than Very Satisfied
Independent Variables	
Future Expectations (4)	1= Neighbourhood to Become Better 0= Neighbourhood to Become Worse
Perception of Housing Market Activity (37)	1= Positive About Housing Market 0= Negative About Housing Market
Perception of Renovation Activity (36)	1= Extensive Renovation Taking Place 0= Limited Renovation Taking Place
Neighbourhood Appearance (3)	1-5 scale
More Confident About the Neighbourhood-Renovate (10)	1-5 scale
Sales Due to Dropping Property Values (18)	1-5 scale
Sales Due to Increasing Property Values (19)	1-5 scale
More Homes Selling is Positive (20)	1-5 scale
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices (22)	1-5 scale
Renovate-Increasing Property Values (8)	1-5 scale
Renovate-Increasing House Values (9)	1-5 scale
Renovate if Other Residents Renovate (11)	1-5 scale
My Renovations Influence Others (15)	1-5 scale
Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market (23)	1-5 scale
Commercial Amenities Improve Stability (25)	1-5 scale
Cultural Themes Increase Confidence (28)	1-5 scale
Control Variables	
Length in Present Home (1)	Continuous
Value of Home (43)	1= More than $100,000 0= Up to $100,000
Single	1= Single 0= Other
Married	1= Married 0= Other
Married with Children	1= Married with Children 0= Other
Retired	1= Retired 0= Other

*The numbers in parentheses indicate the corresponding survey question. Please refer to the survey template in Appendix A for a further description.

6.1 Spearman Rank Order Correlation Analysis

The Neighbourhood Survey data are first explored for significant associations among the variables listed in Table 6.1. This is undertaken by using the Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient test, which assesses the strength of the relationship between variables, measured at the ordinal level. Specifically, the Spearman test is based on a coefficient, which is used to determine the direction and magnitude of the relationship between two variables. A correlation coefficient of .00 would indicate that no relationship exists between variables, while a coefficient of +/-1.00 indicates a perfect correlation[2]. The Spearman test is selected because of its ability to generate the same inferences as the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient but within a nonparametric structure[3]. The outcome of the Spearman procedure is a set of correlations that can be used to derive an initial understanding of the variables residents deem essential in their evaluation of the neighbourhood.

An important limitation of any correlation measure is that the results do not infer *causation* between variables and, thus, the results cannot be interpreted to suggest that one variable has caused change in another to occur. "Correlation (co-relation) simply means that variation in the scores on one variable *corresponds* with variation in the scores on a second variable" (Urdan: 61). Therefore, the correlation analysis is followed by the more predictive capabilities of binary logistic regression (see Section 6.2).

2

While the Spearman Rank-Order correlation coefficient may be formally tested for significance, Rowntree (1991) and Urdan (2000) concur, that in general, correlation coefficients between -.20 and +.20 represent a weak correlation, -40 and +.40 are moderate and those larger than +/- .50 represent a strong relationship.

3

Both Urdan (2000) and Rogerson (2001) consider the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficent test an appropriate measure when analyzing ordinal data.

6.1.1 Correlation Analysis of Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction and Mobility Status

The data are initially explored for significant correlations to determine whether relationships exist within the variables comprising the Neighbourhood Survey, and specifically, with the three dependent variables used in the regression analysis: *Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction,* and *Mobility Status.* A correlation matrix is listed in Appendix D, and includes the variables listed in Table 6.1, with significant correlations denoted accordingly.

It is contended that assessing the level of *Confidence* among residents provides a valid indication of their overall perception of the present and future quality of the neighbourhood. In the Neighbourhood Survey, *Confidence* was derived from a five-point scaled question that required respondents to indicate how confident they presently are about the neighbourhood.

The analysis of *Confidence* reveals a number of significant correlations. Of particular importance is the relationship between *Confidence* and both *Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Neighbourhood Satisfaction.* These correlations indicate that an increase in *Confidence* is positively associated with a rise in the rating of the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood's general appearance. An interpretation of these correlations is that neighbourhoods with higher levels of *Confidence* are also areas that are favorably appraised by residents.

Confidence is also positively related to three important perception variables: *Future Expectation; Renovation Activity;* and *Housing Market Activity.* These correlations establish an association between increasing *Confidence* and a more positive outlook on the neighbourhood's future. As well, as *Confidence* rises, so too does the perception that the housing market is positive and that

substantial renovations are taking place. A possible interpretation is that as *Confidence* increases, so does the perception that one's renovations will influence others (see also the correlation of *Confidence* with *My Renovations Influence Others).* In neighbourhoods with residents who are highly confident, perhaps renovation activities are more favorably viewed by neighbours, whereas in the case of declining areas, increasing renovation activity and *Confidence* would contribute to stabilizing the neighbourhood.[4]

The correlations between *Confidence* and both *Sales Due to Dropping Property Values* and *Sales Due to Increasing House Prices* are negative. The result is thought to be a general indication of the association that exists between *Confidence* and neighbourhood attachment. Specifically, as *Confidence* rises, residents appear less inclined to sell their homes should property or house values rise. This indicates that *Confidence* is an important stabilizing factor in the housing market and contributes to creating a strong bond to the area.

The second variable examined is *Neighbourhood Satisfaction.* The correlation matrix reveals fewer correlations, and generally weaker coefficients than in the discussion of *Confidence.* Of particular importance, *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* is shown to be positively associated with *Future Expectation, Renovation Activity,* and *Housing Market Activity.* This set of correlations indicates that favorably rating the neighbourhood is significantly associated with positive perceptions of the housing market (sales), renovation activity, and an optimistic outlook. The negative correlations of *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* with

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4

The work of community-based organizations is important to the rehabilitation process in declining neighbourhoods. However, the role of the individual homeowner is also central. The "sight of residents renovating" sends a signal that not only is a home being renovated but residents are seeing the effects of a changing neighbourhood. In contrast, a sign on the front lawn stating the home is being renovated by a government sponsored program is important but not to the same level as having a friend or neighbour initiate a project.

both *Sales Due to Dropping Property Vales* and *Sales Due to Increasing House Prices* are further evidence of the stabilizing effect of positive neighbourhood ratings as residents with higher satisfaction levels may be less likely to sell due to market fluctuation.

The final dependent variable examined is *Mobility Status.* The associations listed in the correlation matrix result in similarities with both *Confidence* and *Neighbourhood Satisfaction.* In particular, *Mobility Status* is also negatively correlated with both *Sales Due to Dropping Property Vales* and *Sales Due to Increasing House Prices,* while positively correlated with *Housing Market Activity, Neighbourhood Appearance,* and *My Renovations Influence Others.* The findings suggest that the decision to remain in the neighbourhood is associated with a more stable housing market (as those planning to remain would be less likely to sell and more likely to consider their renovations as influencing others).

6.1.2 Summary of The Correlation Analysis

The correlation analysis has reviewed whether associations exist between *Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Mobility Status* and other variables listed in Table 6.1. The results demonstrate that a number of significant relationships exist, and point to the importance of *Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Mobility Status* as key stabilizing factors within the neighbourhood. However, this initial review of the data merely reveals that associations exist among the variables examined. Therefore, to gain a greater understanding of these findings, the following section explores these data using binary logistic regression to determine the predictive probabilities of each outcome measure, while also assessing for variation among the resident-groups.

6.2 Predictors of Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction and Mobility Status

The analysis of the Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient has provided an indication of the associations among variables included in the following binary logistic regression analysis. The latter is conducted to identify the most significant predictors of three outcome measures: *Confidence, Neighbourhood Satisfaction,* and *Mobility Status.* Each is treated as a separate dependent variable. The following analysis formulates a logistic regression model for each dependent variable at two scales: the entire sample and each resident group for a combined total of 18 models.

Data relating to the characteristics of the sample are drawn from the *Neighbourhood Survey* (n=574), and are assumed to be neither normally distributed nor continuous. In light of these assumptions, logistic regression is an appropriate technique for analysing these data (Smith and Hiltner, 1988). A second important reason for selecting logistic regression is its applicability in the social sciences. Pampel (2000) concluded, "many social phenomena are discrete or qualitative rather than continuous or quantitative in nature – an event occurs or it does not occur, a person makes one choice but not the other" (p.1). Within this context, it is contended that a person is either confident about the neighbourhood or not, is satisfied with the neighbourhood or not, and plans to stay or move. In each instance, the outcome variable is binary or dichotomous, but the underlying assumption is qualitative in nature, and thus, the application of this test is well suited to analysing the Neighbourhood Survey data.

6.2.1 The Formulation of the Logistic Regression Models

The formulation of the logistic regression models is based on the examination of five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood evaluation; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities. These are analysed in order to address the two research questions posited at the outset of the chapter.

The models are developed using the *Enter* method in SPSS, which consists of fitting the independent variables from the five areas of inquiry into each model (SPSS, 1999)[5]. In subsequent regressions, only those independent variables found to be significant ($p=<0.100$) are included in the final regression.[6] The final regression consists of rerunning the model until only those predictor variables with a p-value $=<0.05$ are present, with the exception of the control variables, which remain in the equation (see again Table 6.1 for a description of the variables included).

Once a final model is developed for each outcome measure, the next step is to validate its strength and fit based on examining the following statistics:

- an evaluation of the overall model;
- a goodness of fit estimate;
- a statistical test of the individual predictors;
- a validation of the predicted probabilities (Peng et al, 2002).

The overall evaluation of the model is based on the Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square), which determines if there is an improvement over the intercept-only model (also referred to as the null model). If the result is

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5

The logistic regression analysis was carried out by the binary logistic regression procedure in SPSS version 11 in a Windows 2000 environment. The output of the SPSS analysis is noted in Appendix F.

6

Both Hosmer and Lemeshow (2000) and Finlayson (2002) contend that setting the criteria for removal at $p<0.100$ is appropriate for logistic regression.

significant (p=<0.05), the logistic model is deemed to be more effective than the null or intercept only model. The second step is to determine the goodness-of-fit of the model through the Hosmer-Lemeshow (H-L) test. Peng et al. (2002) contended that the H-L test is an important statistic as it is used "to assess the fit of a logistic model against actual outcomes using an inferential goodness-of-fit test" (p.6). The H-L statistic is a Pearson chi-square statistic, and it should have an approximate X^2 distribution equal to the displayed degrees of freedom. If the result of the test is insignificant (i.e., p=>0.05) then the model is assumed to adequately fit the data (SPSS, 1999). Goodness-of-fit can also be looked at using the Cox and Snell R^2, which is considered a supplemental or pseudo R^2 statistic, and is generally interpreted as the percentage of variance in the outcome measure accounted for by the independent variables included in the regression.

The third step is to evaluate the predictive probabilities of the model by consulting the results of a classification table that denotes the validity of the predicted frequencies of the dependent variable, and is expressed as the percent correct. The classification table helps assess the performance of the model by cross-tabulating the observed response categories with the predicted response categories (SPSS, 1999). Peng et al. contended that a percent correct in excess of 50%, represents an improvement over the event occurring by chance. The classification table also includes a measure of improvement in the model by providing two scores. The first is based on the predictive probabilities when only the control variables are tested, while the second score includes the percent correct once the independent variables are included in the equation. The individual predictors can then be assessed using the Wald Chi-Square Statistic,

which suggests whether a variable's presence is significant *(e.g., p=<0.05)*. A final examination is based on reviewing the predictive odds of each variable which is represented by an odds ratio, and denoted as Exp(B). According to Peng et al. (2002), "the central mathematical concept that underlines logistic regression is the logit – the natural logarithm of an odds ratio" (p. 3). The odds ratio is also useful because it predicts the odds of an event occurring for each one-unit increase in an independent variable's score.

6.2.2. The Dependent Variables

The three dependent variables included in the regression models are represented by a measure of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction, and through mobility status (measured by whether a resident plans to move within the next five years). In each outcome measure, the variable is coded dichotomously: *Confidence* (1 = very confident and 0 = less than very confident); *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* (1 = very satisfied 0 = less than very satisfied); and *Mobility Status* (1 = plans to stay 0 = plans to move within five years). The variables used in the binary logistic regression test are listed in Table 6.1. It should be further acknowledged that the dependent variables are also entered into the equation as predictor variables (e.g., both *Confidence* and *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* are entered into the *Mobility Model*.[7]

7

The rationale considering the dependent variables as predictors is based on the work of Basolo and Strong (2002) and Kearns and Parkes (2002), who employed a similar strategy.

6.2.3 The Independent Variables

The 16 independent variables included in the regression are also described in detail in Chapter Five, which presents the frequencies of the summary analysis of the Neighbourhood Survey. As was noted, the independent variables are drawn from five areas of inquiry: confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood evaluation; housing market activity; home renovation; and commercial amenities.

The variables relating to *Confidence* and *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* include those used to describe the present appearance of the neighbourhood and the perception of the future condition of the area. The majority of these variables are measured using a five point scale that required respondents to either agree or disagree with a statement being read or rate their response on a scale of 1-5 (See Table 6.1 and Appendix A). In some instances, responses are measured using a yes or no category, such as whether a respondent planned to remain in the neighbourhood for the next five years. In these cases, the variable is treated as binary and coded accordingly.

In the variables relating to home renovation, housing market activity, and commercial amenities, five point scales are used. Additionally, some questions asked respondents to agree or disagree with a hypothetical statement being read;.for example, would respondents be more likely to renovate or sell their home should an event occur? These types of questions are considered relevant in assessing the factors that contribute to stability and whether a person will renovate. Variables also include those asking respondents whether they have renovated or plan to renovate (yes/no) and also how much they have spent or plan to spend on improvements (coded on a seven point scale). A final set of

variables is based on having respondents describe activity in the area, such as the level of renovation activity or the pace of housing sales (See Appendix A for the scales for each question).

The socio-demographic variables included in each regression are: length of stay in the present home (measured in years); family composition (married no children, married with children, single, and retired); and value of home. Each socio-demographic variable is coded dichotomously, with the exception of length of stay in the present home which is a continuous variable. The socio-demographic variables are treated as control variables and are entered into the equation as a block prior to forcing in the independent variables. The variable *Home Value,* was coded as 0= home values up to $100,000 and 1 = home values in excess of $100,000.[8]

6.2.4 The Predictors of Confidence

The six logistic regression models for *Confidence* are first summarized in Table 6.2 (for the entire sample), while Tables 6.2A-E present the results for the Resident Groups. For the initial model (Table 6.2), the significant Chi-Square value (p=.000) and the insignificant H-L statistic (p=.533) indicate the data fit the model well, thus rejecting the null model. The inclusion of independent variables into the equation resulted in an improvement in the predictive probabilities by10% (see the classification results). In total, seven variables in the Confidence Model are statistically significant, with six having a positive effect on *Confidence.*

8

Using the 1999 median housing resale value of $86,725 as a base, the $100,000 threshold is a value that represents housing above and below the average for the city.

Table 6.2
The Confidence Model

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.970	.276	12.332	1	.000	2.638
Years in Present Home*	-.005	.014	.118	1	.731	.995
Single*	-.507	.710	.511	1	.475	.602
Married*	.075	.592	.016	1	.900	1.077
Married with Children*	.053	.406	.017	1	.896	1.055
Retired*	-.114	0.59	.038	1	.846	.892
Neighbourhood Satisfaction	.773	.257	9.031	1	.003	2.167
Neighbourhood Appearance	1.363	.243	31.555	1	.000	3.91
Future Expectations	1.328	.342	15.071	1	.000	3.772
Renovation Activity	.803	0.31	6.697	1	.010	2.233
Housing Market Perception	.888	0.306	8.429	1	.004	2.430
Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market	-.635	.149	18.263	1	.000	.530
Constant	-10.484	1.455	51.902	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	277.133	12	.000
Goodness of Fit test: Hosmer and Lemshow	7.037	8	.533

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.45
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 71.3
Improvement (All Variables) = 81.3%

*denotes control variables

The findings concerning the *Confidence Model* suggest that those respondents who favourably appraise the neighbourhood (*Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Neighbourhood Appearance*) are more likely to be confident. Similarly, respondents indicating they expect the future of the neighbourhood to become better (*Future Expectations)* are 3.7 times more likely to be confident than persons contending the neighbourhood will become worse. For each variable, the perception of the neighbourhood is critical in predicting *Confidence*, indicating that the condition of the area and the expectation of the future are determinants of a positive outlook.

In addition to the renovation and housing market variables, respondents are more likely to be confident if they consider the housing market to be active, live in housing valued in excess of $100,000, and describe renovation activities as being extensive. The only variable having a negative effect on *Confidence* is

that in which a resident considers the housing market to be weakening (*Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market*).

Several conclusions can be drawn from the *Confidence Model.* First, to instill a strong sense of confidence, it is paramount to create a vibrant neighbourhood environment. Residents must view the neighbourhood positively including both its present and future condition. Second, the *Confidence Model* also underscores the importance of a healthy housing market and accompanying renovation activity. The fact that becoming less confident arises from a weakening of the housing market substantiates a finding observed in the correlation analysis that suggested the market is fragile and susceptible to changes in perceptions.

In examining the results for the resident-groups (Tables 6.2A-E), the findings suggest that the five models fit the data well. Specifically, all models reject the null model, having a significant p-value with respect to the initial Chi Square results, and an insignificant H-L statistic. When examining the percent correct, all models showed an improvement when the independent variables are forced into the equation, which range from just over 7% (MSARG Model) to greater than 25% (MIARG Model). The differences evident in the models relate to the predictor variables present in the final regressions and are discussed below.

Table 6.2A
The Confidence Model
Major Improvement Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	1.329	.579	5.274	1	.022	3.778
Single*.	.882	1.537	.329	1	.566	2.415
Married*	2.660	2.788	.911	1	.340	14.300
Married with Children*	-2.358	2.690	.769	1	.381	.095
Retired*	-.257	1.175	.048	1	.827	.773
Neighbourhood Satisfaction	2.827	1.325	4.550	1	.033	16.897
Neighbourhood Appearance	3.711	1.321	7.886	1	.005	40.893
Commercial Amenities Improve Stability	3.438	1.244	7.640	1	.006	31.110
Years in Present Home*	-.146	.068	4.587	1	.032	.864
Constant	-33.347	11.531	8.364	1	.004	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	68.313	8	.001
Goodness of Fit test: Hosmer and Lemshow	3.687	8	.884

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.634
Classification Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 64.6%
Improvement (All Variables) = 90.8%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.2B
The Confidence Model
Rehabilitation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	1.349	.781	2.981	1	.084	3.852
Years in Present Home*	.020	.040	.241	1	.623	1.020
Single*	1.988	1.895	1.100	1	.294	7.299
Married*	-1.661	1.762	.890	1	.346	.190
Married with Children*	.692	1.171	.349	1	.555	1.997
Retired*	-.846	1.724	.241	1	.623	.429
Neighbourhood Satisfaction	1.398	.686	4.149	1	.042	4.047
Neighbourhood Appearance	1.825	.573	10.160	1	.001	6.206
Future Expectations	3.985	1.245	10.243	1	.001	53.811
My Renovations Influence Others	1.067	.477	5.007	1	.025	2.908
Constant	-24.469	5.692	18.483	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	277.133	12	.001
Goodness of Fit test: Hosmer and Lemshow	5.812	8	.668

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.588
Classification Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 72.2%
Improvement (All Variables) = 86.6%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.2C
The Confidence Model
Conservation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.561	.455	1.523	1	.217	1.753
Years in Present Home*	.056	.024	5.452	1	.020	1.058
Single*	.487	1.431	.116	1	.733	1.628
Married*	.842	1.251	.453	1	.501	2.322
Married with Children*	-.158	.688	.053	1	.819	.854
Retired*	-.257	1.175	.048	1	.827	.773
Neighbourhood Appearance	1.331	.391	11.616	1	.001	3.786
Future Expectations	3.565	1.088	10.746	1	.001	35.353
Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market	-.516	.243	4.509	1	.034	.597
Commercial Amenities Add Stability	.768	.241	10.117	1	.001	2.156
Constant	-14.936	3.552	17.682	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	63.309	8	.001
Goodness of Fit test:			
Hosmer and Lemshow	5.049	8	.752

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.370
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 64.3%
Improvement (All Variables) = 76.2%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.2D
The Confidence Model
Emerging Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	-.097	.734	.018	1	.894	.907
Years in Present Home*	.033	.040	.702	1	.402	1.034
Single*	-3.593	2.065	3.028	1	.082	.028
Married*	.462	1.825	.064	1	.800	1.587
Married with Children*	1.104	1.627	.461	1	.497	3.018
Retired*	1.519	1.195	1.615	1	.204	4.566
Neighbourhood Appearance	2.917	.710	16.875	1	.000	18.489
Future Expectations	2.064	.963	4.593	1	.032	7.874
Constant	-17.938	4.006	20.055	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	61.898	7	.000
Goodness of Fit test:			
Hosmer and Lemshow	13.252	8	.103

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.475
Classification Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 70.8%
Improvement (All Variables) = 83.3%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.2E
The Confidence Model
Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	1.371	2.064	.441	1	.507	3.938
Years in Present Home*	-.048	.041	1.392	1	.238	.953
Single*	.608	3.036	.040	1	.841	1.836
Married*	-.018	1.677	.000	1	.991	.982
Married with Children*	-1.904	1.179	2.610	1	.106	.149
Retired*	-1.939	2.181	.791	1	.374	.144
Neighbourhood Satisfaction	3.095	.982	9.935	1	.002	22.090
Neighbourhood Appearance	3.289	1.389	5.603	1	.018	26.808
Describe Renovations	5.275	2.260	5.448	1	.020	195.372
Housing Market Perception	3.526	1.469	5.763	1	.016	33.999
Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market	-1.637	.575	8.121	1	.004	.194
Constant	-25.391	8.142	9.726	1	.002	.000

Test		x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation				
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)		52.465	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test: Hosmer and Lemshow		4.848	8	.774
Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.324				
Classifcation Result:				
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 81.7%				
Improvement (All Variables) = 89.0%				

*denotes control variables

In the MIARG model, rating the neighbourhood positively remains an important predictor of *Confidence*. However, a critical difference in this model is the inclusion of *Commercial Amenities Improve Stability*. This is considered a key predictor, and one that emphasizes that commercial amenities are important, especially with respect to those being within walking distance. A distressing finding is that *Years in Present Home* has a negative coefficient, meaning that for each year persons reside in a Major Improvement Neighbourhood, they are less likely to be *Confident*. This finding should be taken within the context of the changing housing market, which was characterized as having weathered substantial drops in the value of homes. Perhaps those persons who have remained in the area for an extended period of time have also lost value in their homes as well as confidence in the neighbourhood.

In the RARG Confidence Model a consistent finding is that persons rating the present and future of the neighbourhood favourably are more inclined to be confident. The fact that the variable *My Renovations Influence Others* is significant, underscores the importance of perceived renovations in promoting neighbourhood confidence. This finding also indicates that persons who contend their renovations influence others are nearly 3 times more likely to be confident than those not believing their renovations will influence others.

The CARG Confidence Model includes both *Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Future Expectations* as predictors of *Confidence*. The inclusion of the variable *Commercial Amenities Add Stability* is thought to be important in contributing to the diversity of place. The variable *Lose Confidence-Weakening Housing Market* produces a negative effect on *Confidence*, the result being that residents become less confident in the neighbourhood as the frequency of housing sales increases. This suggests that homes taking a long time to sell are collectively a negative factor that influences a resident's confidence in the area. In comparison, the EARG model consists of only two predictors of *Confidence: Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Future Expectations.* In addition, the control variable *Single,* contributes to a person being less likely to be confident. Perhaps the social isolation of some single persons contributes to lower confidence.

In the MSARG Confidence Model, the five significant variables point to similar findings: that *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Neighbourhood Appearance* are crucial determents of *Confidence*. The MSARG model also includes two variables that were absent in the other resident-groups: *Describe Renovations and Housing Market Perceptions.* Both predictors are important in this context as being confident relates to the perception of increased renovation activity

(Describe Renovations) and the belief that the housing market is robust (*Housing Market Perception).* This finding is important as it links *Confidence* with a positive housing environment.

Overall, the results of the *Confidence Models* confirm the findings observed in the correlations and the Focus Group sessions in that many neighbourhood attributes influence the confidence level of residents. For the entire sample, the range of predictors is much more robust and provides evidence that stable neighbourhoods and the rehabilitation process are influenced by the level of confidence. However, it does appear that rating the neighbourhood's appearance positively is a key contributor to being confident. This underscores the need to continue to expand programs that help beautify the neighbourhood which, in turn, may stimulate more amenable appraisals and a higher level of confidence among residents.

6.2.5 The Predictors of Neighbourhood Satisfaction

The results of the six *Neighbourhood Satisfaction Models* are summarized first for the entire sample in Table 6.3, and then for the Resident Groups in Tables 6.3A-E. For the initial model (Table 6.3), the significant Chi-Square value (p=0.000) and the insignificant H-L statistic (p=.727), indicate the model fits the data well, thus rejecting the null model. The model also shows an improvement in the percent correct, as once the independent variables were included in the equation, there was a 13% improvement in the predictive probabilities of the model. The initial table also discloses that there are three significant predictors: *Neighbourhood Appearance; Have Renovated Previously;* and *Sales Due to Increasing Property Values,*

Table 6.3
The Satisfaction Model

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	-.011	.031	.138	1	.710	.989
Years in Present Home*	.091	.678	.018	1	.894	1.095
Single*	-.483	1.576	.094	1	.759	.617
Married*	.425	1.402	.092	1	.762	1.529
Married with Children*	.742	.933	.633	1	.426	2.101
Retired*	.213	1.353	.025	1	.875	1.237
Neighbourhood Appearance	2.951	.628	22.108	1	.000	19.125
Have Renovated Previously	1.738	.649	7.171	1	.007	5.684
Sales Due to Increasing Property Values	-.487	.230	4.487	1	.034	.615
Constant	-12.989	2.849	20.784	1	.000	.000

Test		x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation				
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)		71.235	9	.000
Goodness of Fit test Hosmer and Lemshow		5.282	8	.727

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.437
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 71.8%
Improvement (All Variables) = 84.7%

*denotes control variables

Neighbourhood Appearance remains an important predictor with residents being more likely to be highly satisfied with the neighbourhood if they consider the area to be in good condition. The variable *Have Renovated Previously* does not appear as a significant predictor in the *Confidence Model*, indicating that persons have more satisfaction with the neighbourhood if they have previously renovated. The model also discloses that residents who rate the neighbourhood's appearance positively exhibit higher levels of neighbourhood satisfaction. This supports the contention that creating better neighbourhoods by improving their appearance helps to strengthen the market.

The results of the Resident Group Models (Tables 6.3A-E) are similar with the overall model in that relatively few predictor variables are present. For each model, the initial Chi-Square value is significant (p=<.05), while the H-L statistic remains insignificant in each model. Thus all five models fit the data

well, and reject the null model. Each model also shows an improvement in the percent correct once the independent variables are included in the equation.

Table 6.3A
The Satisfaction Model
Major Improvement Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.198	.107	3.400	1	.065	1.219
Years in Present Home*	3.359	2.847	1.392	1	.238	28.766
Single*.	-14.059	54.599	.066	1	.797	.000
Married*	-7.753	4.475	3.001	1	.083	.000
Married with Children*	3.139	3.008	1.089	1	.297	23.080
Retired*	-12.141	5.995	4.101	1	.043	.000
Sales Due to Dropping Property Values	-2.515	1.123	5.015	1	.025	.081
Neighbourhood Appearance	2.799	1.501	3.479	1	.042	16.425
Constant	-3.446	3.823	.812	1	.367	.032

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	17.099	8	.029
Goodness of Fit test Hosmer and Lemshow	3.958	8	.982

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.244
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 83.7%
Improvement (All Variables) = 89.0%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.3B
The Satisfaction Model
Rehabilitation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.926	.605	2.343	1	.126	2.524
Years in Present Home*	.015	.025	.384	1	.535	1.016
Single*	1.509	2.004	.567	1	.451	4.521
Married*	.353	1.699	.043	1	.836	1.423
Married with Children*	.213	.887	.058	1	.810	1.237
Retired*	-.269	1.633	.027	1	.869	.765
Neighbourhood Appearance	2.049	.485	17.865	1	.000	7.759
Cultural Themes Increase Confidence	.721	.311	5.365	1	.021	2.057
Constant	-12.503	2.988	17.508	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	39.949	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test Hosmer & Lemshow	8.717	8	.383

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.324
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 91.8%
Improvement (All Variables) = 95.1%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.3C
The Satisfaction Model
Conservation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.307	.459	.448	1	.504	1.359
Years in Present Home*	-.001	.026	.001	1	.973	.999
Single*	.190	1.215	.025	1	.876	1.210
Married*	-.263	1.068	.060	1	.806	.769
Married with Children*	.071	.609	.014	1	.907	1.074
Retired*	-.532	1.157	.211	1	.646	.587
Confidence	1.560	.490	10.143	1	.001	4.758
Renovate-Increasing Property Values	.390	.192	4.138	1	.042	1.477
Constant	-3.222	1.327	5.896	1	.015	.040

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	18.451	1	.018
Goodness of Fit test			
Hosmer and Lemshow	8.077	8	.426

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.138
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 73.1%
Improvement (All Variables) = 77.5%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.3D
The Satisfaction Model
Emerging Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	-1.684	1.117	2.271	1	.132	.186
Years in Present Home*	.022	.043	.255	1	.613	1.022
Single*	.642	3.096	.043	1	.836	1.900
Married*	.732	1.629	.202	1	.653	2.079
Married with Children*	-.761	1.451	.275	1	.600	.467
Retired*	1.225	1.140	1.154	1	.283	3.404
Neighbourhood Appearance	4.242	1.119	14.361	1	.000	69.544
Constant	-18.755	4.660	16.196	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	58.165	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test			
Hosmer and Lemshow	4.657	8	.701

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.454
Classification Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 63.5%
Improvement (All Variables) = 84.4%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.3E
The Satisfaction Model
Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.772	1.037	.554	1	.457	2.164
Years in Present Home*	.049	.027	3.267	1	.071	1.050
Single*	-2.826	1.191	5.636	1	.018	.059
Married*	-.971	.930	1.088	1	.297	.379
Married with Children*	-.650	.679	.915	1	.339	.522
Retired*	-2.932	1.340	4.790	1	.029	.053
Neighbourhood Appearance	2.56	.490	27.255	1	.000	12.932
More Homes Selling is Positve	.553	.204	7.335	1	.007	1.738
Constant	-13.075	2.653	24.288	1	.000	.000

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	76.856	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test Hosmer and Lemshow	4.928	8	.864

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.324
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 67.2%
Improvement (All Variables) = 88.4%

*denotes control variables

In the EARG model there is one significant variable: *Neighbourhood Appearance.* For the MIARG, two variables are included in the final model: *Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Sales Due to Increasing Property Values.* With respect to the latter, being less likely to sell may also be related to the marked drop in property values, which was shown to be upwards of 60% in some Major Improvement neighbourhoods (See Chapter Five). In this case, perhaps residents have become disillusioned with a weak housing market and a loss of investment. For the RARG Model, the variable *Cultural Themes Increases Confidence* is significant. This indicates that strengthening an area's cultural aspects, such as promoting a "Little Italy or China Town" is an important determinant of a resident being satisfied with the area.

The CARG Satisfaction Model differs from those of the other resident groups. First, the variable *Confidence* is included and indicates that for those

persons being confident about the neighbourhood, they are more than 5 times more likely to rate the neighbourhood favourably than those rating the neighbourhood unfavourably. A second distinction is that residents who renovate as housing prices increase, are also more satisfied with the neighbourhood. Combined, this is an excellent indication of the linkages between neighbourhood attachment, renovation and housing market activity, as rising housing prices may cause persons to renovate as opposed to sell, especially if they rate the neighbourhood favourably. The outcome of this finding is that rising prices are linked to expenditures on renovation.

The MSARG model includes two variables: *Neighbourhood Appearance* and *More Homes Selling is Positive.* It was found that where the housing market is perceived to be functioning normally (a good balance between supply and demand and steady prices), residents are more inclined to view home sales as being positive.

Overall, the *Neighbourhood Satisfaction Model* produces general findings that contribute to a better understanding of the factors necessary to maintain a stable neighbourhood. What is clear from the results is that residents are less likely to sell their homes if they rate the neighbourhood more favourably. In turn, this contributes to stability and a more positive outlook toward the neighbourhood. Furthermore, those rating the neighbourhood favourably are persons who had previously renovated, possibly an indication that there is pride associated with undertaking the rehabilitation of housing. These residents are undoubtedly proud of their homes and thus are more inclined to view the neighbourhood positively, while also intending to remain in the area as house prices rise.

6.2.6 The Predictors of Residential Mobility

The final model formulated is the Mobility Model and includes five significant predictors of remaining in the neighbourhood (Table 6.4). The resident group models are presented in Tables 6.4A-E. For the initial model (Table 6.4), the significant Chi Square value (p=0.000) and the insignificant H-L statistic (p=.608), indicate the model provides a good fit of the data and rejects the null model. The model also shows a slight improvement in the percent correct as once the independent variables are included in the equation, there is a 1.9% improvement in the predictive probabilities of the model.

Table 6.4
The Mobility Model

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.015	.015	1.045	1	.307	1.015
Years in Present Home*	.088	.269	.106	1	.745	1.092
Single*	.112	.658	.029	1	.865	1.119
Married*	-.090	.535	.029	1	.866	.914
Married with Children*	.692	.349	3.937	1	.047	1.999
Retired*	-.025	.568	.002	1	.964	.975
Streetscaping Increases Confidence	.554	.138	16.085	1	.000	1.740
Sales Due to Increasing Property Values	-.717	.114	39.861	1	.000	.488
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices	-.296	.155	3.627	1	.048	.744
Dropping Property Values -Sell	-.635	.148	18.405	1	.000	.530
Constant	4.093	.971	17.788	1	.000	59.931

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	106.759	10	.000
Goodness of Fit test: Hosmer and Lemshow	6.349	8	.608
Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.185			
Classifcation Result: Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 81.2 % Improvement (All Variables) = 83.1%			

*denotes control variables

With respect to the first variable in the model, *Streetscaping Increases Confidence,* residents are more likely to remain in the neighbourhood if they agree with the statement: "*Adding decorative streetscaping features; such as new light fixtures or planters to the main commercial area in the neighbourhood*

would improve my overall confidence in the neighbourhood." This is an encouraging finding that again points to the relevance of commercial amenities in the neighbourhood. In relation to the three remaining variables, the coefficients are negative, indicating that persons planning to remain in the neighbourhood are less likely to sell their homes as a result of an increase in the selling price of homes, whether property values increase or values subsequently drop.

A conclusion based on the results of this model is that the housing market is a good predictor of residential stability and, more important, however, planning to stay in the neighbourhood must be seen as an evidence of a strong sense of attachment to the area, as they are not inclined to sell if prices rise or fall. Furthermore, being married with children is also a predictor of staying in the neighbourhood. Therefore, having families in the neighbourhood contributes to stability and longer term residency, in part because some of these families have children in school.

The results of the Resident Groups Models (Tables 6.4A-E) are similar with the overall model in that few predictor variables are present. For each model, the initial Chi-Square values are significant ($p=<.05$), while the H-L statistic remains insignificant in each instance, with the exception of the EARG for which the model did not fit the data. Each model also shows improvement in the percent correct once the independent variables are included in the equation (with the exception of the EARG).

Table 6.4A
The Mobility Model
Major Improvement Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.502	1.402	.127	1	.721	1.649
Years in Present Home*	.141	.055	6.591	1	.001	1.152
Single*	-7.880	26.142	.091	1	.763	.000
Married*	-8.759	26.124	.112	1	.737	.000
Married with Children*	.609	.919	.439	1	.508	1.838
Retired*	-10.135	26.136	.150	1	.698	.000
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices	-1.31	.415	9.964	1	.002	.270
Constant	11.555	26.156	.195	1	.659	13.42

Test		x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation				
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)		31.279	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test				
Hosmer and Lemshow		7.142	8	.521

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.373
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 76.1%
Improvement (All Variables) = 85.1%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.4B
The Mobility Model
Rehabilitation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.768	1.280	.360	1	.549	2.155
Years in Present Home*	-.026	.044	.352	1	.553	.974
Single*	-2.160	2.160	1.000	1	.317	.115
Married*	-3.625	2.097	2.987	1	.084	.027
Married with Children*	2.925	1.446	4.091	1	.043	18.631
Retired*	-.631	2.099	.090	1	.764	.532
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices	-2.908	.918	10.043	1	.002	.055
More Homes Selling Is Positve	1.693	.635	7.106	1	.008	5.436
Renovate Increasing Property Values	-4.069	1.484	7.520	1	.006	.017
More Confident About the Neighbourhood - Renovate	3.245	1.238	6.866	1	.009	25.649
Constant	9.303	4.857	3.669	1	.055	14.302

Test		x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation				
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)		44.463	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test				
Hosmer and Lemshow		4.164	8	.984

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.138
Classification Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 85.9%
Improvement (All Variables) = 91.8%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.4C
The Mobility Model
Conservation Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	.562	.593	.897	1	.344	1.754
Years in Present Home*	.054	.036	2.232	1	.135	1.056
Single*	1.389	1.770	.615	1	.433	4.01
Married*	.452	1.500	.091	1	.763	1.572
Married with Children*	-.023	.740	.001	1	.975	.977
Retired*	-.527	1.640	.103	1	.748	.591
Streetscaping Increases Confidence	1.085	.297	13.319	1	.000	2.96
Sales Due to Increasing Property Value	-.688	.307	5.019	1	.025	.503
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices	-.944	.383	6.091	1	.014	.389
Sales Due to Dropping Property Values	-1.014	.394	6.634	1	.010	.363
Constant	3.753	2.115	3.148	1	.076	42.648

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	89.098	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test			
Hosmer and Lemshow	10.564	8	.228

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.315
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 78.2%
Improvement (All Variables) = 86.4%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.4D
The Mobility Model
Emerging Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	-0.213	.609	.123	1	.726	.808
Years in Present Home*	.037	.045	.655	1	.418	1.037
Single*	6.911	29.468	.055	1	.815	1002.990
Married*	-.240	1.344	.032	1	.859	.787
Married with Children*	.963	1.247	.596	1	.440	2.618
Retired*	-.132	.966	.019	1	.891	.876
Constant	1.102	.822	1.798	1	.180	3.011

Test	x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation			
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)	3.812	6	.702
Goodness of Fit test			
Hosmer and Lemshow	9.785	8	.228

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.381
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 85.7%
Improvement (All Variables) = 85.7%

*denotes control variables

Table 6.4E
The Mobility Model
Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group

	B	*S.E.*	*Wald*	*df*	*P*	*Exp(B)*
Value of Home*	1.732	1.506	1.323	1	.250	5.654
Years in Present Home*	-.003	.038	0.007	1	.936	.997
Single*	1.442	1.195	1.456	1	.228	4.230
Married*	2.274	1.122	4.104	1	.043	9.715
Married with Children*	.895	.866	1.066	1	.302	2.446
Retired*	1.848	1.406	1.726	1	.189	6.346
Constant	-5.552	2.838	3.829	1	.050	0.004
Renovate if Others Renovate	1.329	.433	9.435	1	.002	3.778
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices	-1.357	0.374	13.19	1	.000	.257
Commercial Amenities Improve Stability	1.085	.367	8.734	1	.003	2.959

Test		x^2	*df*	*P*
Overall Model Evaluation				
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients (Chi-Square)		35.291	8	.000
Goodness of Fit test				
Hosmer and Lemshow		8.33	8	.402

Cox and Snell R^2 = 0.236
Classifcation Result:
Initial Percent Correct (Control Variables only) = 85.5%
Improvement (All Variables) = 90.1%

*denotes control variables

In the case of the EARG Model, no variables were found to be significant in the final model. In the MIARG, the findings for the Mobility Model link length of stay in the present home with the desire to remain in the neighbourhood, suggesting that length of residence is a stabilizing factor for this group. In the RARG model, a key predictor of persons staying in the neighbourhood is whether they felt more confident about the neighbourhood's future and would renovate as a result. This indicates that confidence is tied to mobility and that for those deciding to remain in the neighbourhood, it is imperative that they have confidence in the neighbourhood's future.

The results for the CARG Mobility Model also indicate that residents are more likely to remain if they consider commercial amenities (*Streetscaping Increases Confidence)* to be important and that rising property or home values would contribute to a resident being less likely to move. Again, the significant

predictors support the contention that the housing market is critical to neighbourhood stability, and rising prices are more likely to result in someone staying as opposed to leaving the area.

In the MSARG model, the variables predicting staying in the neighbourhood are consistent with the other resident groups with the exception of *Renovate if Others Renovate.* The significance of the latter predictor is that it indicates residents are more likely to remain in the area if they agree that they would renovate if others renovated. In common with the results disclosed for the other groups, residents would be less likely to move if house prices were to rise, further supporting the relevance of promoting a healthy housing market that not only stimulates additional sales, but encourages more persons to remain.

Overall, the results of the Mobility Models suggest that the residents would be less likely to move if the housing sector show marked gains in value. Furthermore, within the models tested for the groups there is consistency in the significant predictors, especially with respect to linking confidence to the desire to remain in the neighbourhood. This includes both confidence in the housing market and in the commercial amenities in the area, which are both shown to be critical.

6.3 Addressing the Research Questions

At the outset of the chapter, two research questions were posed for the purpose of assessing the relevance of the three outcome measures included in the regression analysis:

1. *Are neighbourhood perception variables relating to neighbourhood evaluation, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities, significant predictors of confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction or mobility status among residents?*

2. *Does the importance of variables that predict confidence, neighbourhood satisfaction and mobility status vary among the five resident-groups?*

6.3.1 Research Question One

Of the three outcome measures assessed, the Confidence Model is thought to have included the most robust set of predictor variables. Drawing from four of five areas inquiry (confidence in the neighbourhood and its future; neighbourhood evaluation; housing market activity; and home renovation), the breadth and scope of the Confidence Model confirms a contention of the research: that the confidence level of residents does play a pivotal role in contributing to neighbourhood stability, and to a greater likelihood that residents would initiate housing rehabilitation if they are confident about the area and its future. This is based on the inclusion of variables that established a link between *Confidence* and satisfaction, appearance and positive perceptions of the housing market. By continuing to invest in community infrastructure, better looking neighbourhoods are formed, and in turn, this will contribute to a greater level of confidence arising and being maintained among residents, while also reinforcing a sense of stability. However, as was suspected, *Confidence* is not something that is born overnight, rather; it develops from the collective sentiment arising among neighbourhood residents who not only see the present status of the neighbourhood as being great, but also contend that the future will be equally rewarding, with their investments in the neighbourhood (socially and economically) protected and worthwhile. To achieve this state, there is the need

to ensure that both the housing market and the level of renovation expenditures are vigorous and project a positive image – the sight of people renovating or simply cleaning windows on a spring day sends a message that people care about the area. In contrast, a 'for-sale' sign that sways in the breeze for months can have an adverse affect on the neighbourhood's collective psyche.

Within the Confidence Model, there is also evidence of a "swing variable." The fact that confidence can wane during a weakening of the housing market is evidence of the absolute necessity to ensure that house prices remain stable and the neighbourhood displays a positive image, not only among area residents but also to replacement in-movers who exert tremendous pressure on the area through their decision to purchase a home there. Should confidence be shaken by such events as a downturn in the market, the ripple effect can have a far-reaching impact on the neighbourhood, especially for those areas that are teetering between stability and decline. A good example would be Rehabilitation areas that exhibit traits of both market conditions. Therefore, applying pressure on the market in the form of counteractive measures, such as increased renovation activity, will help to ensure the neighbourhood's stability and outlook are solid and outweigh any negative factors, such as weakening prices or the reluctance of some to invest in their homes.

Achieving a high level of *Confidence* among residents is the direct result of a combination of many variables that work in concert to ensure that neighbourhoods are secure and comfortable. It is striving to find the right "comfort level" that is the most difficult aspect of creating better places. This includes adjusting the balance between the supply and demand of housing, creating more inviting environments, including well-kept housing and

neighbourhood infrastructure, and ensuring that people are cognizant of the future so that the area is a good place, not only today, but five years from now. In the final analysis, one must be comfortable and committed to the neighbourhood for the long term and this must include a willingness and ability to invest in the area, socially, economically and emotionally.

Within the literature, the work of Boehm and Mark (1980) was to a large extent confirmed because the quality of the area was deemed to be a factor that contributes to neighbourhood stability. They concluded that "to achieve neighborhood stability, resources must be spent both on improving the perceptions of the neighborhood as well as on the neighborhood characteristics themselves" (p. 318). This point is of particular importance as it is clear that confidence is related to the appearance of the neighbourhood and the value of housing. Furthermore, Boehm and Mark also determined that as the values of housing increase, there is a greater likelihood that a person will remain. The Mobility Model confirmed this observation as it was shown that an increase in housing or property values would result in someone being more likely to remain. Although Boehm and Mark did not formally include a measure for commercial amenities, they speculated that this would help stabilize neighbourhoods. As was found in the Mobility Model, improving the appearance of commercial amenities was a determinant of remaining in the neighbourhood.

In the work of Parkes et al. (2002) the predictors of dissatisfaction were examined. Their findings suggested that the physical renewal of the neighbourhood is critical but so too is the role of community spirit and sentiment. In the Confidence Model, it is believed that these factors are accounted for as those being confident also tended to rate the neighbourhood

favourably while also viewing the future as being positive. Parkes et al., also found that "housing satisfaction and the general appearance of the area were the two factors most strongly related to neighbourhood satisfaction" (p. 2436). With respect to the present research, the Confidence and Satisfaction Models both account for these factors based on the inclusion of rating the neighbourhood's appearance favourably, and citing the positive role of renovation and market conditions. In each of these predictors, it is clear that housing and neighbourhood satisfaction or sentiment are an outcome of being more confident about the neighbourhood.

The work of Mesch and Manor (1998) is also important becasue they contended that the positive perceptions of the neighbourhood among residents, is crucial in fostering neighbourhood attachment. To strengthen the level of attachment, Mesch and Manor concluded that favourably rating the physical attributes of the neighbourhood was paramount. In the analysis of the Neighbourhood Survey, the link between rising confidence and neighbourhood satisfaction established this relationship in both the logistic regression models and the correlations. Mesch and Manor also determined that individuals who positively evaluated the neighbourhood are more likely to remain in the area and form a bond through a greater sense of attachment. This finding is important because in the Confidence Model, rating the neighbourhood's appearance and indicating the future is going to be better, not only confirm the findings of Mesch and Manor, but also add a new dimension in the form of linking these variables to being confident.

In the work of Varady (1986), confidence was specifically addressed to measure what neighbourhood factors are important in the rehabilitation process.

Varady's findings suggested that confidence was not related to level of renovation expenditures. This is a consistent finding with the present research as the level of spending on renovations was not a predictor of confidence. However, this should be viewed as a being more of a positive finding in that confidence is considered to be more of an intangible feeling or emotion that greatly affects the neighbourhood's stability. Moreover, confidence was shown to be linked to the perceptions of both an active housing market and the level of renovation taking place. Therefore, a key conclusion is that confidence is influenced by the subjective appraisal of the areas by residents regarding the activities taking place around them.

A second observation drawn from the work of Varady is that a counteractive measure is necessary to ensure stability. To this he concluded that "highly visible home improvements combined with some limited level of betterment of public services can induce other families to improve their properties" (p.497). Varady's finding was both confirmed and expanded as evidence was provided to support the need to improve the appearance of the neighbourhood, and increase the visibility of renovation activity, to strengthen the level of confidence, and add to the desire of others to undertake renovations.

An important consideration in Research Question One has been to determine if one outcome measure is more effective than these in assessing the rehabilitation process and, if so, which predictors are present. From the review of the findings of the logistic regression results and the literature, it does appear that the Confidence Model is the most effective outcome measure in describing the rehabilitation process. The combination of factors included in the model point to the establishment of the conditions necessary to promote a level of

confidence among residents that results in the desire to invest in the neighbourhood. As in the literature, the role of positively rating the area's appearance and being generally satisfied are central to the rehabilitation process. It is thought that residents who are less confident about the area will not consider their investment as being secure and become indecisive about the present and future status of the neighbourhood.

Among the models presented, there does not appear to be any evidence to suggest that the motivations for improving the neighbourhood are monetary in nature, nor do they suggest the presence of gentrification. In contrast, Clay (1979) and Ley (1986) sought to examine gentrification as a explanation of inner city renewal during the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the discussion within these works contended that gentrification is based on a number of shifts that accompany gentrifying areas, including changes in incomes, displacement of lower income groups and, most important, an upgrading of the quality of the housing stock. In the present research, it has been suggested that gentrification is not a factor that is evident in the neighbourhoods comprising the study area. Moreover, it is strongly believed and confirmed in both the Focus Group Sessions and the regression models that it is most likely "incumbents" who are the drivers of upgrading the housing stock. As was noted in Chapter Two, incumbent upgrading is a process by which existing residents fuel the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood, with the potential for what Clay described as "spot gentrification" to occur in pockets of highly desirable areas. In either case, the intent of this research has been to document the process by which existing homeowners evaluate and choose the course of action that best meets their housing needs. Therefore, the emphasis remains on explaining the outcome of

the models and data based on the contention that it is the existing owners who are the primary generators of rehabilitation activity. They therefore directly control the fate of the area's stability through their decision to remain or move and, if the former, the degree to which they plan to invest in the neighbourhood.

In searching for a more applicable theoretical foundation from which to explain the results, Temkin and Rohe (1998) offer an excellent example of viewing the neighbourhood from multiple perspectives in order to understand the driving forces behind investment and decline. This study concluded that it is a combination of factors that influence a neighbourhood's trajectory including, most prominently, social and economic forces. Temkin and Rohe defined this as the socio-political context of the neighbourhood. It is contended that this perspective best represents the data examined for this endeavour. Temkin and Rohe advocated that the socio-cultural milieu, defined as the degree to which "residents feel that the neighbourhood has an identifiable spatial and symbolic environment within the larger city," creates an identity and helps define the neighbourhood on the basis of the level of interaction and comfort among residents (pp.65-67). But this milieu is also influenced by the economic functioning of the market which limits the potential ability of owners to undertake the renovations necessary and defend the neighbourhood from adverse change. The result is that neighbourhoods face a fork in the road, with one route leading to a stable outcome characterized by a core of residents able to defend the area through investments, while also creating an ongoing demand in the area by others. In the second route, decline is derived from the inability or lack of desire of residents to defend their neighbourhood and as a result a

downward succession of the quality of housing leads to a defeated neighbourhood.

An observation noted in this study is the clear divide between these two outcomes. Both Major Improvement and Rehabilitation neighbourhoods appear to be progressing toward decline, disinvestment and defeat. An exception may be that Rehabilitation areas have not quite reached the final step of the Temkin and Rohe model but they are weak nonetheless, and increasingly face the mounting pressure brought about by decline, with fewer residents able to defend the integrity of the neighbourhood. The majority of Conservation and Emerging neighbourhoods remain stable and desirable. They both have the people to defend the neighbourhood and invest in the needed repairs and maintenance. The same can be said for the Major Stakeholder areas that are also well-defended and able to withstand downward pressure. As was raised in Chapter Two, the models of neighbourhood change do incorporate some measures for a potential reversal of the downward succession, but this is a most difficult challenge and, as has been advocated by the author, it is critical to be *proactive* and instill mechanisms prior to decline gaining a foothold, rather than being *reactive* to decline once it engulfs an entire neighbourhood.

This is the challenge facing the Rehabilitation neighbourhoods as there is an opportunity to invest in a climate that would welcome any reinvestment efforts with open arms; yet the current policy environment dictates otherwise. Perhaps a dollar invested today in these neighbourhoods would have a much greater return on investment than waiting until they become Major Improvement areas, at which time where it may take much more of an effort to achieve even a small victory.

In closing, each model combined attributes that aid in the stabilization of place. The Confidence Model is thought to provide a balance between market conditions and the role of positive perceptions among residents. In contrast, the Satisfaction Model produced fewer predictors but still concluded that renovation activity and a favourable rating of the neighbourhood are important predictors of being satisfied. The Mobility Model was accurate in that those planning to remain in the area are less inclined to sell; however, this merely established a link between the desire to remain and not wanting to sell even if prices rise or fall. There was no real diversity in the model and no predictors were present to indicate that other factors were important, such as rating the neighbourhood favourably. Therefore, the conclusion is that *Confidence* is an excellent measure of the perceptions of residents and merits closer attention in future neighbourhood studies.

6.3.2 Research Question Two

Among the resident groups, there were significant differences with respect to each model and to the presence of varying predictors. Clearly, the results for the *Emerging Area Resident Group* models confirmed the findings of the focus group session as there was not an adequate level of sentiment or attachment. This was emphasized by the lack of perception based predictors in any of the models. In fact, two of the models contained only *Neighbourhood Appearance*. But this finding was expected given that these areas are new, with the majority of homes being built during the last decade. The omission of renovation variables was also expected as no real significant work would be required. It must be reiterated that the neighbourhoods comprising the EARG are

those that have a limited history; they have not lived through changes, nor do they contain pockets of decline or revitalization as experienced in the other neighbourhood groups. Therefore, why would this resident-group display characteristics associated with a neighbourhood, when it is not a neighbourhood itself? Perhaps the answer is that this resident-group is not necessarily a neighbourhood group but instead a collection of like-minded persons living in similar homes in an area still developing an identity and crafting a purpose.

The *Major Improvement Area Resident Group* models produce weak results for both Satisfaction and Mobility. However, in the Confidence Model, the inclusion of *Neighbourhood Satisfaction* and *Neighbourhood Appearance* are important in continuing the work underway in these struggling neighbourhoods to reverse decades of decline. Certainly, if these variables contribute to being more confident about the area, it is essential that renovations and repairs continue. However, as has been noted, a disconcerting finding is that *Confidence* decreases with length of stay in the area. An interpretation of this is that longer term residents have lost faith in the area after it has been subjected to decades of decline and deterioration. In a discussion of "un-slumming" Jacobs (1961) noted that it was important for a core of residents to remain in the area to help reverse the stagnation. Although this research suggests the reverse is true and that long term residents are more likely not to assist in the rehabilitation process, one must also consider the importance of a core of persons who can share stories about how the area has improved over the years. This could be the essence of what Jacobs was implying – that a core of residents helps explain what happened to the area in the past and how things are slowly turning around for the better.

In the *Rehabilitation Area Resident Group* the findings are also consistent with the observations drawn from the focus group session because there is a strong indication that this group is susceptible to being influenced by changes in perceptions. Most important, the Confidence Model helps reaffirm the fragile nature of the housing market and the need to strengthen the level of resolve among residents to remain and defend the neighbourhood from decline. Furthermore, a central finding is that those residents who perceive their renovations influence others are also more likely to be confident. This is an excellent indication of the role that *Confidence* plays in promoting additional rehabilitation activity. Related to this is the odds ratio for *Future Expectations,* which indicates that residents are nearly 54 times more likely to be confident if they consider the future of the neighbourhood to be better. This is a central finding and one that greatly strengthens the contention of the present research – that investments into these types of neighbourhoods will generate the most responsive return on investment. The RARG Mobility Model also points to the strengthening role of *Confidence* as those planning to stay in the area indicated that they agree they would undertake renovations if they felt more confident about the area and that homes selling increases *Confidence.* The outcome of the inclusion of these two variables is that for persons to remain, they must be confident to renovate and confident in the housing market being healthy.

In the *Conservation Area Resident Group* models, the findings are generally consistent with the other groups. However, some key exceptions emerge with respect to the appearance of commercial amenities in two models. A second finding is that the inclusion of *Years in Present Home* in the Confidence Model suggests that *Confidence* rises with each year a person

resides in the area (in contrast to the reverse found in the MIARG). Overall, the CARG models produce findings consistent with stable neighbourhoods as the appearance, future expectation and inclusion of commercial amenities are all contributors to people being confident, satisfied and planning to remain in the area.

The *Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group* models included a series of key variables. First, in the Confidence Model, the results are more in line with the overall model, as a number of predictor variables are present. Overall, this model provides an excellent indication of the activity currently underway. As was shown in previous chapters, this resident group is thought to be highly active in renovations and very confident about the neighbourhood. This contention has been corroborated by the model because persons rating both renovations and the housing market as being active are also very confident about the neighbourhood.

In summary, each model presents an important perspective on better understanding the factors that contribute to neighbourhood stability and the rehabilitation of housing. First, the models confirm that the City of Winnipeg framework is an adequate measure of neighbourhood differentiation. This is based on the fact that both Major Improvement and Rehabilitation Areas are more likely to be mired in decline, although both areas seem receptive to the positive signs that could be instilled through a strengthening of the housing and renovation markets. Conservation Areas are also found to be consistent with more stable neighbourhoods, whereas Emerging Areas are too new to exhibit significant characteristics associated with having evolved into a neighbourhood.

The exception to the City model is the Major Stakeholder Resident Group whose inclusion raises concerns with the City's classification scheme. It is possible that too many neighbourhoods are lumped into the Conservation category and inadequate weight is given to the renovation and community development aspects of the neighbourhood, thus hindering the accuracy of the formula. Overall, the MSARG also confirmed that homeowners in areas experiencing increased levels of rehabilitation are more likely to be confident about the present and future of the neighbourhood.

Embedded in Research Question Two is a need to assess whether one outcome measure proved more effective than others in better understanding the dynamics of the neighbourhood. It does appear that the Confidence Model is consistently the most diverse, containing numerous variables from the areas of inquiry. Within these areas of inquiry there is even a greater level of consistency among the groups. Most certainly, both *Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Satisfaction* are evident in many models, appearing 12 times. In contrast, *Future Expectations* occur in only three instances. Renovation variables that contribute to a resident being more confident, satisfied or likely to remain, appear five times, whereas commercial amenities are evident on four occasions. Of the six control variables included in each regression, 8 have been found to be significant, including length of stay in current home (present in 3 models), with two being positive and one being negative, as was evident in the MIARG model for *Confidence*.

A key conclusion drawn from the resident-group analysis is that, above all, creating better neighbourhoods must begin by cleaning them up. Although this is a simple step, it is one that has not been successfully implemented in

enough neighbourhoods to the degree needed to see significant turnaround. A second finding is that RARG neighbourhoods must be targeted with vigour and expedience to avoid their gradual coalescence into Major Improvement areas. This can be accomplished by two strategic measures: investment in renovation subsidies and stepping up community infrastructure projects to create an environment capable of leveraging additional money.

In suggesting this course of action, the author is not advocating the abandonment of efforts underway in the inner city; the intent is not only to refocus attention back into the inner city, but also place control more squarely on the individual homeowner. In the focus group session, a thread of discussion centred on the issue that the perceptions of residents, although influenced by "government sponsored programs," may have actually become immune to their presence in the neighbourhood. This means that for every home renovated by a community group that places a sign in the front lawn[9], the effects are not as significant as seeing an individual taking pride in the neighbourhood by simply cleaning windows or painting a porch. It is further contended that raising house prices in the neighbourhood through artificial subsidies offered to homeowners and groups provides a false indication of the true value of "market homes" in comparison to those being "subsidized." Therefore, a key finding is that continuing to create the conditions necessary for homeowners to help themselves in Major Improvement neighbourhoods is perhaps the best course of action; a similar strategy would be particularly beneficial in Rehabilitation neighbourhoods, where residents appear most welcoming to support.

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In inner city neighbourhoods targeted by government sponsored programs, a large sign is usually placed on the front of the home being renovated.

6.4 Chapter Summary

The statistical analysis of the data has demonstrated that the objectives of the research questions posited at the outset of this work are important within the context of understanding the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhood and in determining the factors important in the rehabilitation process. What is clear from *Research Questions One and Two* is that how residents evaluate the neighbourhood is based on a combination of factors, among which are confidence, the perceptions of the neighbourhood's appearance, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities. A finding of this research is that there is a great deal of complexity within the neighbourhood. Perhaps the neighbourhood cannot be studied without considering the strong interconnections among these factors as described in the Confidence Model. Improving *Confidence* through the action of renovation and, as a consequence, influencing others to renovate may, in fact, work to raise prices and stabilize the housing market, thereby reducing the desire to sell as a result of dropping prices (caused, in some degree by a deterioration of housing and community infrastructure). Therefore, ensuring positive reactions will result in a greater level of confidence to renovate, which has a secondary effect of stabilizing housing markets. Yet to get the "ball rolling" it is perhaps best to start with the basic task of enhancing the appearance of the neighbourhood and instilling a sense among residents that the neighbourhood is a place that will continue to get better.

Neighbourhoods are ever-changing, but managing change is best accomplished by harnessing the positive perceptions of residents who must ultimately contribute to neighbourhood stability. They must take the first step

and be encouraged by the actions of their fellow residents. Furthermore, counterbalancing the forces of neighbourhood decline with rehabilitation offers the best avenue of producing a positive effect on people's confidence in the neighbourhood, and their willingness to react by investing in the renovations necessary to maintain the fabric of place.

Chapter Seven
Riverview: A Neighbourhood with Soul

7.0 Introduction

The sign on the front door read *"After Fifty Years in Business, Gone Fishing!"* In the summer of 2003, Turks' Upholstery closed its doors for good after plying its trade on Osborne Street for more than half a century. During its long stay, numerous changes took place in nearby Riverview. In the 1950s, the electric streetcars that ran along Osborne street stopped bringing summer revelers into Riverpark as new roads and cars pushed people into Winnipeg's emerging suburbs and beyond. The breadth and number of shops gradually dissipated as the shoemaker, butcher, druggist, dress maker, banker, and small grocers left as Safeway and Loblaws syphoned off customers into 'supermarkets' with parking lots accommodating hundreds of cars. Even the old Park Theater, which held out until the early 1990s, closed its doors as discount cinemas sprang up in big box malls with ample free parking.

Off the main thoroughfare, families moved in, children grew up, and faces came and went. For those who remained, they tried to "hold down the fort" as best they could to ensure the area retained its uniqueness as an enclave, reminiscent of a small village or community. In the meantime, homes aged and additions were built to meet the changing needs of growing baby boom families. In parts of the neighbourhood, signs of decline emerged in the small ageing homes that lined working class streets like Morley and Brandon. In other areas, the trend was more toward renewal and improvement, with character homes selling for upwards of $200,000 on stately streets such as Baltimore and Oakwood. Shaded by a canopy of majestic elms during the summer, Riverview

remained a mix of people, places and amenities that have bound generations to this neighbourhood that meanders gently with the banks of the Red River.

The closure of Turks' is but a microcosm of the wider change in this neighbourhood as the experience of Riverview parallels those in many other places that followed a similar pattern of growth. Perhaps Turks' longevity stands as a testament to the potential of place, and to the persistence of some to remain. It also stands for the fact that neighbourhoods are subjected to the larger forces of economic restructuring that have altered the urban landscape of cities. Today, the only remnants of Turks' presence are a few old signs, tossed to the side of the building, and a "for rent" advertisement in the window, that carefully conceals a farewell message left by an ageing owner, on a changing street, in a place that is much different from when he first arrived.

In the preface, "soul-searching" was raised as a potential means to understand the very fiber of place that binds people to their neighbourhoods. For some time, the author struggled with this thought and how it could be integrated into the present research, as "soul" was not evident in the collection of census data; nor did it emerge in the neighbourhood surveys or related analyses (correlations, regressions etc.). There was simply no means to address the question of whether there was a sense of soul that created better neighbourhoods or contributed to ensuring the stability of place.

It was not until the focus group sessions that traces of soul surfaced. It was more of a feeling that there was something embedded in the psyche of residents. But even so, in the first focus group session with the EARG, what developed was a sense that these areas were *subdivisions* and not yet *neighbourhoods*. There was almost a sense of sterility in that these places had

not yet developed an identity, and thus, they appeared to residents as more of a *commodity* than a *community.* In the CARG session, differences were evident in that residents were proud but complacent, taking stability almost for granted. In the MIARG group, residents were weary about the neighbourhood, and tired of defending its character, while in the RARG, residents were both apprehensive and indecisive as a result of the imbalance between decline and stability that seemed to swing in either direction.

An undercurrent within each group was that there seemed to be the potential for a more active community engagement as residents were committed to these neighbourhoods but not quite bound to them on a more spiritual level. For persons living in the declining inner city, their determination to make a difference was obvious. This sentiment was also felt in the RARG as they too were prepared to do what it takes to better their neighbourhoods. These two focus group sessions evoked a sense that these places could, once again, become something other than a collection of deteriorating homes and forgotten stories of more prosperous times.

It was not until the last focus group session in Riverview that a definite shift became clear among the residents. This shift gelled through the emotions and sentiment that arose in the voices of the residents who gathered at the local community centre to share stories, and offer reasons why this place was different. It was during this session that the author felt a convergence of theory, thought and observation. For the first time in the research process there was indeed a connection to that one line in the preface that had not yet surfaced: *"The observational lens through which I have applied all my thinking and soul searching about the city is based on my experiences in a great and unique*

neighbourhood." Perhaps along the route of quantitative research, the author forgot the importance of rootedness and the binding connection people have to place. It is on this level that the author came full-circle to rediscover the true meaning of neighbourhood, here among residents who have so warmly embraced this place they call home.

7.1 Chapter Organization

It is the intent of this chapter to bring forth the voices, comments and pictures of Riverview residents, to unfold a sense of soul that thus far has been missing. The chapter commences by reviewing the geography of the neighbourhood and then proceeds to discuss the results of the Focus Group Session and self-directed photography exercise. Chapter Three noted that self-directed photography permits residents to define the neighbourhood by photographing images *they* consider relevant. The application of this technique, in the case-study neighbourhood of Riverview, proved to be a positive endeavour, and indicates there is potential for further research within this emerging field of geographic study. In Chapter Three, it was also acknowledged this technique should be considered supplemental and, as such, the material discussed in this chapter is supported by relevant neighbourhood data generated through the Neighbourhood Survey and Focus Group Session. The chapter concludes by addressing the final research question.

7.1.1 Geography of the Study Area

Riverview is a medium-density neighbourhood consisting mostly of single family homes that range from new infill units to 100+ year old character homes. The neighbourhood is located close to the inner city (see again Figure 1.1), and is unique in that the entire eastern edge is bounded by the Red River. Along the banks of the Red River, a parkway has been developed that extends for approximately four kilometres (Figure 7.1). This parkway contains extensive green space, community gardens and trails that not only run through the area, but which also connect the neighbourhood to The Forks on the north and the nearby neighbourhood of Elm Park (across a historic pedestrian bridge on Jubilee Avenue) to the southwest. Riverview's western boundary is Osborne Street, a four-lane thoroughfare that separates the neighbourhood from other parts of the city.

Internally, the geography of the neighbourhood consists of numerous parks, a high school, two elementary schools, a large hospital complex, and a community centre. The main commercial district runs along Osborne Street, and consists of a mix of medium-density apartments (mostly 3-4 storey walk-ups), and strip-commercial functions. On the northern fringe of Osborne Street, newer senior citizen and condominium apartments have recently been constructed on land once designated as light industrial. The commercial functions that remain on the street are mostly book stores, restaurants, hair salons, and appliance repair shops. More recently, there has been the addition of used clothing stores and a few antique shops. As was advanced at the outset, many of the older traditional shops have long since departed.

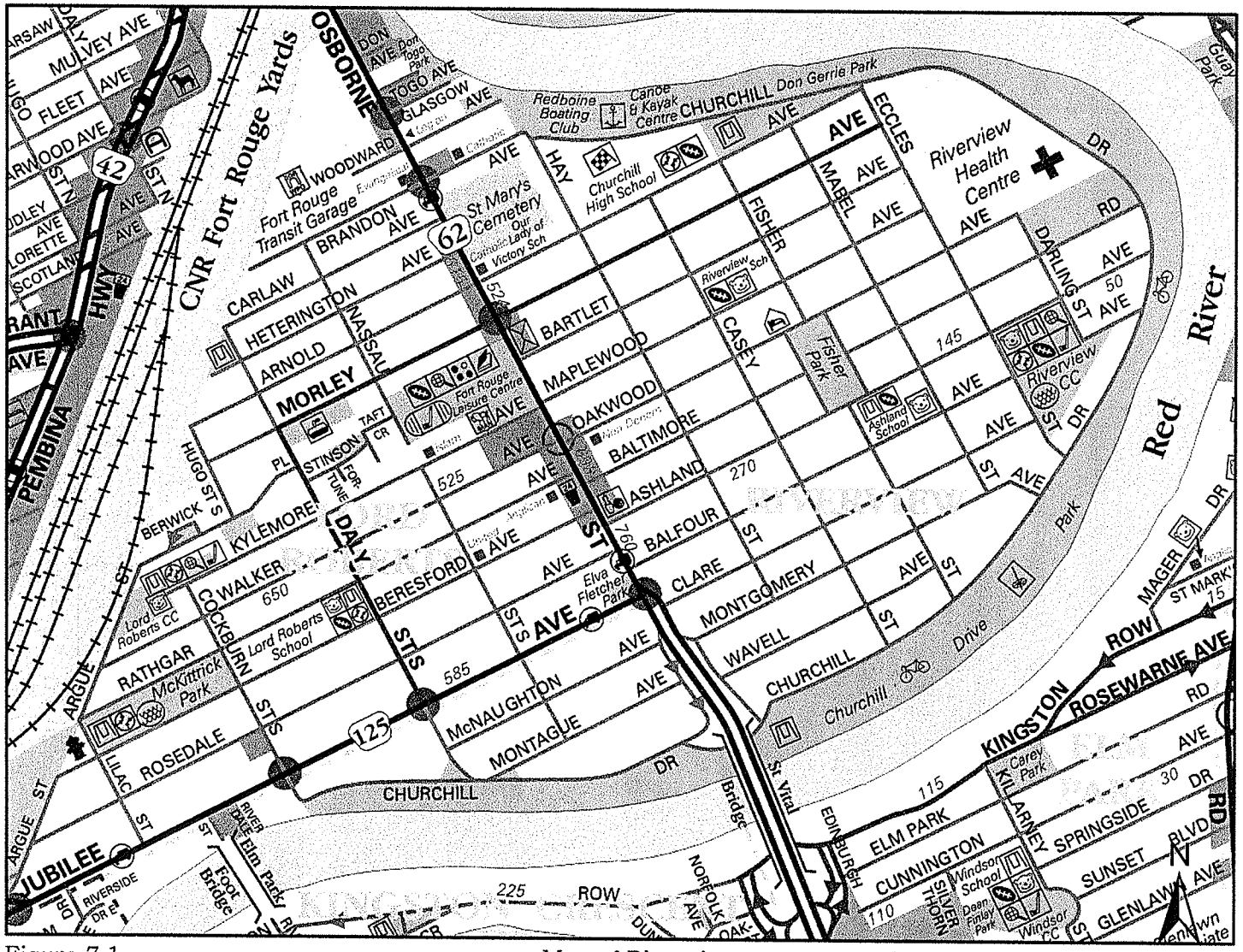

Figure 7.1 Map of Riverview Source: Sherlock Custom Map

The arrangement of Osborne Street is a classic streetcar pattern with the clusters of commercial functions and higher density apartments situated in close proximity to the former trolley stops, many of which continue as bus stops. Furthermore, the linear dispersal of commercial functions radiates outward from the stops, running both north and south. The streetcar influence is also evident in the arrangement of housing in the neighbourhood, moving laterally off Osborne and into the neighbourhood streets, the age of housing decreases as one moves farther east toward the river. For the most part, the oldest and largest character homes are approximately 1-1½ blocks laterally from the trolley stops located on Osborne (a reasonable walking distance for the wealthier residents at the turn of the last century).

In some respects, the Riverview area is a streetcar suburb, with the entire neighbourhood being developed primarily as a result of the electric streetcar line that ran from central Winnipeg, along Osborne Street and into the Riverpark area, beginning in the 1890s. As observed previously, both residential and commercial patterns were highly influenced by the electric streetcars; however, there is no evidence to suggest that Riverview was the creation of a real-estate syndicate using construction of its own streetcar line as a tool to market and convert land holdings into residential subdivisions[1]. Instead, the initial magnet, and most notable historical feature of the area was Riverpark, an amusement park that, at the turn of the last century, was Winnipeg's biggest tourist attraction. This area consisted of games, toboggan slides, a horse race track, a

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For a discussion on the street car suburb see: Sam B. Warner. (1962), *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; and H.J. Selwood (1978), Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg, 1891-1914, *Urban History Review,* No.3-77, Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

boardwalk, and one of the largest roller coasters in the country. Thousands of people flocked to Riverpark by streetcar, especially on Sundays, the one day off during the week enjoyed by workers and their families (Distasio, 1997).

The 1996 Census indicated that the Riverview neighbourhood contained 1,780 dwelling units, of which 70% were single family, with 68% being owner occupied. In terms of period of construction, 47% were built before 1946. Overall, the neighbourhood's housing stock, as of 1996, was considered to be in good condition with some homes having undergone extensive renovation and upgrading. Nearly a third of the housing units was listed as requiring minor repairs (32%), while 14% of the housing stock was classified as needing major work (Statistics Canada: 1996). Given that the average age of the housing stock exceeds fifty plus years, the overall condition of the housing is in relatively good condition.

Comparable housing data from the City of Winnipeg calculated Riverview's effective age of housing at 1935, nearly 20 years older than the city average (see Appendix B). The City data also place the condition of housing in the area as slightly above average. Between 1983 and 1998, there were 7 demolition permits issued. It is clear from a detailed review of the area that these permits were for new units that replaced aged homes. Residential permit activity in the neighbourhood has been lively with 74 permits issued between 1994 and 1998. As pointed out in Chapter Four, the result of this activity is a Renovation Index of 3.84, which is high among the neighbourhoods included in

this research[2]. The average value of housing in the area is $86,500, which was almost even with that of the city (See again Appendix B).

Perhaps one of the most important features of the area is Riverview's geography relative to other parts of the city. The fact that Riverview is bounded by the Red River and Osborne Street, effectively isolates it from other sections of Winnipeg. This isolation has created a cohesive and unique neighbourhood, one that exhibits a strong sense of "small town" dynamics and a high level of attachment to place (Distasio, 1997).

7.2 The Focus Group Session

The Riverview Focus Group session took place at the Fort Rouge Leisure Centre. In total, 9 community members shared their thoughts and emotions about the neighbourhood. The responses indicated that Riverview is a place into which generations have invested, with many remaining as they grow up or return "home" later in life. The Neighbourhood Survey data support the belief that people stay long term as, on average, residents have lived nearly 20 years in the neighbourhood (fourth highest among the 16 neighbourhoods studied). Furthermore, Riverview residents rated their neighbourhood's appearance as being 4.6 out of 5, second only to Lindenwoods.

The Focus Group Session began with persons being asked why they initially chose the neighbourhood. The reasons ranged from 'have lived in the area my entire life" to "we were looking for somewhere to raise a family."

2

The 74 permits is not reflective of the actual amount of work undertaken in the area as many renovation projects by homeowners and/or small contractors tend to be completed without permits. The same is true for most neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

There was also the feeling of surprise by two persons who had moved to Winnipeg, and simply drove around looking for a place. In fact, both indicated that they stumbled onto Riverview by accident with one noting:

> we drove around the city and into various neighbourhoods. Then we came up Osborne and took a left turn. This was the best thing we ever did. I remember driving up Baltimore for the first time in the summer and gazing up at this outstretched canopy of elms. On the corner of a park, we saw the home of our dreams. We would not ever consider moving and feel that we are bound to this place and our many friends.

Three other persons noted that they left Riverview for various reasons but were drawn back because of the comfort they took in being in the place of their childhood.

Overall, the reasons for selecting Riverview vary but point to the magnetism this place has for those living in it. This relates directly to the sentiment and emotion contained in the responses as many were drawn back after years away, and those who found the neighbourhood expressed a strong desire to remain as they too are now part of the community. A comment by one focus group participant summarizes this sentiment:

> Riverview, like other areas, has problems, but these are overcome by the long term stay of most. This neighbourhood is not transient, most stay a long time or never move for that matter. People are then more likely to invest in the area and form strong links with friends and family. This is the result of a sense of history among residents who share stories and tell others about what happened in a particular home. This adds to the culture of the area and it gives it a uniqueness that I can't begin to describe here.

When asked to share the most positive and negative aspects of the neighbourhood, most elaborated on the bond people have with each other and the strong ties among family and friends:

> This neighbourhood is best described as a web which connects people to each other, nature and business. The great thing about Riverview is that it's not about keeping up with the Jones, it's about knowing the Smiths, the Zelinskis, the Browns etc, that's what this place is.

Other positive attributes relate directly to the residents themselves, and it was noted that it is not so much the physical spaces in the area, but more so, it is the people: "the best thing is the warm and wonderful feeling your get driving home to have a local child say hello to you as you walk from the car." Another person summed up the discussion by stating, "there is a sense of soul in the community which you don't find in the suburbs; we are a family of friends."

The negative comments emphasize the busy nature of Osborne Street and the increase in graffiti, which is becoming more of a problem. As in the RARG session, a few persons were bemused by the recent addition of chain restaurants like McDonald's and Subway on Osborne Street. Most simply do not like the traffic they generate, especially the late night drive-through traffic. Other issues raised were related to the state of the infrastructure, with a specific emphasis on the condition of the roads: "some of the back lanes are a war zone, it's time that we got some money to repair streets." Another person was more concerned about the condition of some of the older apartments on Osborne:

> I'm starting to wonder about the shabbiness of the blocks at Morley and Osborne, they seem to go through cycles of good and bad tenants. I think it's starting to go to the bad, especially when you see all the crap piled out back like filthy mattresses, broken furniture and other items. Shouldn't the city do something, or what about the owner?

When the discussion shifted to renovations in the area, the comments were very positive and point to the community aspect of renovation, such as people helping each other or learning from the successes or failures of others. The majority observed that renovation activity is considered an investment that

helps preserve and maintain the character of the neighbourhood:

> For the area to remain such, families have to make an investment. But it's different here because those who move away or come back learn from others: they teach each other about the strong values of the neighbourhood and what it means to ensure it stays such a wonderful place. Some of this is about making sure we all do our part.

This sentiment was echoed by most who commented that the sharing of values is important to connect people to their homes on a more spiritual level, which is elevated through the sharing of history and stories. Therefore, the feeling is that one not only preserves the home, but ensures its family history is retained for other generations (family or not). Unlike the comments in the EARG session that viewed houses as commodities, the observations in Riverview are that *homes* are treasures that connect families to those who lived there previously. Many also talked of neighbours who shared stories of the homes in the area, so even though new people move in, they are "quickly brought up to date as to who lived in the home and did what to it."

This point is important and links well with the comments the author made in the Preface regarding the senior who came back to the neighbourhood to share the story of his home with his daughter and the present owner. Others talk of the excitement of renovations and the discovery of something unique, such as a piece of the home hidden by "the tacky decor of the 70s." Renovations also bond neighbours who are able to share stories about how they did something right or wrong to the home or how to save money. Most also spoke of ensuring that the contractors used are from the neighbourhood because they have great experience working with the homes and know them well. With respect to the level of attachment to the area one person raised a key point saying:

> Most in Riverview could afford so much more, and live in the suburbs and such, but most of us choose to live below our means. We are people who walk to work, spend time in the community and feel enlightened by repairing and preserving the bits of history in the homes. They may only be bricks or wood but we feel a duty to not walk away from them like has happened in other areas.

This clearly demonstrates that many persons in the area remain because they have a connection to the neighbourhood, and although their financial circumstances have changed, they have chosen to remain.

Renovations are thus considered more than the physical repair, they include the social elements of preserving history. It is clear from the comments made that there is great satisfaction in completing a large job or taking comfort in helping neighbours when they need support or advice. Others felt a sense of creativity in renovations, and learning from the experiences of others who completed similar projects. Riverview was the first Focus Group session in which such a strong desire to help one another in the repairing and maintaining of their homes was expressed..

The Neighbourhood Survey helps confirm some of the strong sentiment observed in the Focus Group session as nearly 60% of residents indicated they plan to renovate in the next year (third among the 16 neighbourhoods), with most planning to spend in excess of $10,000.

In the Focus Group session, most residents indicated they renovate because of the above noted obligations to the home and community. Therefore, residents don't necessarily consider that their renovations will have an influence on others, but hope they would simply encourage others to keep the area in good shape: "One invests in the home not only economically but socially." But when the group was asked whether confidence in the area would rise as a result

of more activity on the street, most agree and consider this to be a great signal of positive activity with one person stating, "confidence about the area is high from my perspective. I can say that homes close to me have spent a hell of a lot more than me and that's good but I don't feel that I need to follow their lead, although they joke about my handiwork."

As in the other Focus Group Sessions, the material relating to housing was viewed with less enthusiasm. Residents indicate that sales in the area are excellent, and there have been numerous bidding wars for the few homes on the market: "One house was actually listed for an outrageous $300,000, though I'm told it sold for closer to $225,000. I guess some people are trying to cash out, but thankfully this is only a few." When asked why others have moved, most state the main reason is retirement. However, it is also contended that some retirees are selling their larger homes and buying smaller units in the area or moving into the seniors housing or condominiums along Osborne Street. Both of these options are also noted as being the means by which residents can remain in the area for as long as possible.

The thought of selling one's home if prices increase is moot, as the general feeling of the group is to remain regardless of whether prices go up or down. It was also reiterated that prices have risen dramatically, and only a few residents have sold to make a profit, but this is not considered a trend. One person said she has lived in the area since the early 1970s, and noted "the market has simply followed the economy, with prices rising in the 1970s, peaking in the 1980s, dropping a bit in the 1990s and then rebounding the last few years." The high demand for housing probably results from a number of factors, and one person noted: "Homes in the area have a 'tax' on them in the

sense that one pays extra for living here above other neighbourhoods. This is the result of the desirability of this area and that some are willing to pay so much money to live here." The prevailing view among the group is that most simply love the area and are not concerned about the housing market to any great extent.

Commercial amenities in the neighbourhood are considered an asset to the area and have "experienced a rebound in the mix of eclectic shops on Osborne as of late." Many feel obligated to support the local stores because it promotes a sense of community: "Its nice that owners live and work in the area and so when you buy something you support two aspects of the neighbourhood." Another resident said, "there is a relationship created here between the owners and the residents: they support our schools our teams and give with open hearts for socials and other charity events, so we need to help them as they do for us."

Overall, there is a consensus among the group that the local shops are important to the neighbourhood and its stability. The walkable nature of the neighbourhood also helps the commercial strip prosper as most residents enjoy walking up to the dollar store or to Safeway for milk or meeting at "Woo's Café for the $1.99 breakfast special."

The final segment of the Focus Group Session related to confidence. Overwhelmingly, residents are very confident about the neighbourhood and its future. Confidence is also cited as boosting renovations, while a lack of confidence, although hard to imagine for this group, would have a detrimental effect on the neighbourhood. The high level of confidence is also evident in the Neighbourhood Survey, in which 95% of residents are either Somewhat or Very Confident about the neighbourhood (which is very high among the 16

neighbourhoods).

Overall, the Focus Group Session in Riverview resulted in a feeling of attachment to the area that was not experienced in the other four sessions. The strong connection people have to the neighbourhood remains evident in both the desire to stay, and to invest in the maintenance needed to their homes. Thus, housing is important, but it is also the means by which present residents become connected to those who lived there before them. The sharing of stories about homes, the people living there previously, and the neighbourhood itself, are seen as the mechanisms for ensuring the neighbourhood retains its sense of history, along with an entrenched value system based on neighbourliness and community. Sense of community arose in almost every aspect of the session, with respondents quick to cite the importance of family and neighbours. One person felt that:

> we are part of a larger relationship that we have with people and the wider neighbourhood. Yes, housing is important, but it is second to the neighbours that live in the homes. It's really about them and the relationships we all have that makes Riverview a neighbourhood.

Emotion and sentiment have also contributed to the forming of a lasting bond that people have with this neighbourhood. This is not a *created* feeling, nor can it be *recreated* at will. More so, it is something that is intangible but nevertheless a stirring presence. Describing the *feelings* of residents in Riverview is much like the debate on the human soul: we all know that something guides us from the inside and makes us who we are, but it is not fully understood what this force is. In Riverview, and other similar neighbourhoods, there is something that has been cultured over the years. It rises as a sense of enlightenment that has been cultivated in the streets and homes. It is clear that

the isolation of Riverview has made this place stronger, but perhaps it's also the connections people have to each other that have solidified the glue binding the "pieces" of place.

7.3 Self Directed Photography: The Results

During September and October 2001, 15 Riverview residents volunteered to take part in a self-directed photography exercise. Each participant was given a disposable camera containing 18 exposures and ASA 800 speed film with flash to maximize the results from a variety of conditions (e.g., low to bright light). Upon agreeing to participate, each participant received instructions on how to complete the project, including the following:

- participants are free to photograph any subject within the neighbourhood but to respect private property;
- take general caution to ensure personal safety (this includes being careful not to take pictures on the road, especially Osborne Street);
- if the desired shot can not be achieved due to an obstruction or other problem, simply describe the intended target and photograph the image regardless; and
- if anyone observing the exercise has questions regarding the project's validity, they are to be given the contact information for the thesis supervisor and the author.

Instructions and requirements regarding the project itself were also communicated to each participant and included:

- participants should attempt to take 4-6 positive and 4-6 negative photographs;
- they should select images that are either positive or negative contributors to their overall confidence about the neighbourhood;
- they must record the photographs taken on a sheet numerically, indicate whether the image is positive or negative, note the location of the subject, and state the general reason(s) for taking the picture; and finally
  they had a two week period to complete their photographs.

The technique for coding the images is based on the author's subjective interpretation of each image. The accuracy of the interpretation process is supplemented by referring to the descriptive comments contained on the log sheet supplied with each camera. The log sheet proved valuable in allowing the

researcher to achieve a greater accuracy in generating the necessary sub-categories. Markwell (2000) and Aitken and Wingate (1993) considered this initial step in the process crucial, stressing that the proper categorization of the images is essential for accurately interpreting the images. The results are encouraging in terms of self-directed photography's potential application as a geographic technique in neighbourhood studies.

In total, 13 participants produced 131 photographic images, averaging 10 photographs per camera[3]. Of the photographs taken, 83 images are coded as positive with 48 categorized as negative (Table 7.1). The general quality of the images is satisfactory for this research, but in some cases, shots are blurry or the intent is not clear. In these instances, the use of the log sheet assisted in the interpretation process. Following the initial coding of the images, a more complex process was undertaken to sub-divide the images into the final 18 categories used in the pending analysis (Table 7.2).

Table 7.1
Self-Directed Photography General Results

Photography Classification	Total Number	Percentage
Positive	83	63.3
Negative	48	36.7
Total	131	100

3

As noted, 15 cameras were distributed to participants with 13 returned and coded in the final analysis. For the two cameras not returned, it was decided that they should not be replaced but considered part of the research process. With this in mind, the completion rate is 87%.

7.3.1 Review of the Images – Positive

The positive images range from the quality of neighbourhood housing to the prominence of the park along Churchill Drive. For the most part, there is an adequate mix of natural features (parks, green space and vegetation) with those from the built environment (housing, infrastructure, and commercial amenities). As mentioned in Chapter Three, a strength of this technique is that it "allows the subjective experience of place to be critically uncovered and understood" (Markwell, 2000, p. 91). For the present research, the subjective classification of the images produces a number of interesting spatial patterns and clustering of similar photographic compositions.

Table 7.2
Photograph Classification

Positive Categories	Total	Percent	Negative Categories	Total	Percent
Parks, Gardens, Open Space	22	26.5	Declining Housing	14	29.2
Churchill Drive Park River Walk	15	18.1	Declining/Abandoned Buildings (non housing)	12	25.0
Community Facilities	13	15.7	Graffiti/Vandalism	5	10.4
Good Housing Quality	9	10.8	Poor Road/Infrastructure	5	10.4
Canopy of Trees	6	7.2	Incompatible Land Uses	4	8.3
Commercial Strip	4	4.8	Safety Concerns	3	6.2
Hospitals	4	4.8	Noise/Traffic	2	4.1
Murals/Art	3	3.6	Addition of McDonalds	2	4.1
Back lanes/Transit	2	2.4	River Bank Erosion	1	2.9
Total Photographs	83	100	Total Photographs	48	100.0

As noted, 63% of the images taken are classified as being positive, with just over 50% of these containing photographs of the natural environment. Natural amenities include parks, green spaces and the area's community gardens which,

combined, comprise an excellent set of neighbourhood assets. Written explanations of the community gardens relate to creating a strong sense of community pride, while enabling residents to build relationships: "The gardens allow people to grow their own vegetables while getting to know other people in the area" (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Community Gardens

The canopy of elms, which envelops the residential streets in summer, is singled out as an important feature. This is an excellent finding as this feature is one that is difficult to describe but easily photographed with one respondent noting that the "mature trees add so much character to the area, especially in the summer."

The most photographed positive images are of the various parks in the area and include the centrally located Fisher Park (Figure 7.3). Comments regarding Fisher Park refer to it as a tranquil place where one can sit and enjoy the day in a natural setting. One participant who includes Fisher Park states that it is "great to have green space that isn't overdeveloped in the middle of a residential area".

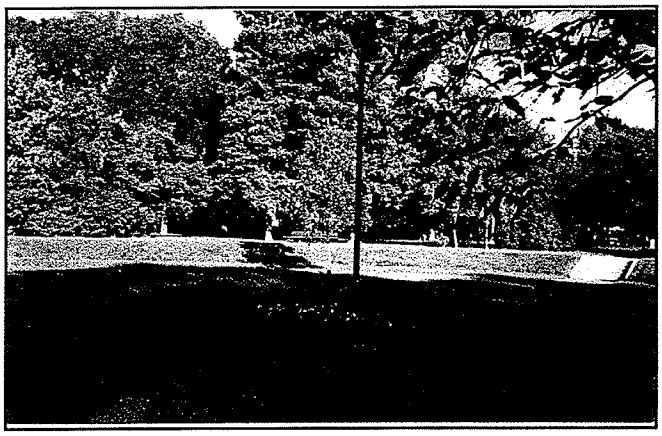

Figure 7.3 Fisher Park

With respect to the Churchill Drive Park, comments are more diverse as this area encompasses such a large portion of the neighbourhood. Many described and photographed the trails, community gardens and openness of the area, while others acknowledged the creation of Don Gerrie Park (Figures 7.4 - 7.6).

Figure 7.4 Riverwalk Trails

Figure 7.5 Don Gerrie Park

Figure 7.6 Openness of Churchill Drive Park

Many participants also note the importance of the Churchill Drive Park to the neighbourhood's history, citing that it has long been a strength of the neighbourhood, and one for which the area is well known. The most unexpected result is that there was no mention of the historical Riverpark development that once dominated the Churchill Drive area. Perhaps its omission is simply a reflection of a lack of historical knowledge about the area, and the fact no visible markers remain of this once dominating feature of both the neighbourhood and the City of Winnipeg.

Community facilities are well-represented, with the community club a prominent component of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the fact that the community club includes a diverse mix of uses (daycare, sports fields etc.) also rates quite high. One respondent indicates that it is "a well-used, well-maintained community club, a place for youth and adults to get involved in recreation and community events." The importance of this site to the neighbourhood is that it is seen by many as one of the core assets of the neighbourhood, a place that contains many functions and connects people with the neighbourhood and to each other. This link is seen as vital for building and maintaining strong relationships.

The housing in the neighbourhood is another key image that emerges in the photographic compositions. For example, the area's character homes[4] are singled out as being a treasured feature of the neighbourhood. With respect to this point, one participant included a photograph of a renovated character home stating that "a restored home over 80 years old shows the connection the neighbourhood has to the past and personifies respect and pride in one's property[5]" (Figure 7.7).

Housing represents a diverse range of compositions, including character homes, infill units and renovation activity. With respect to renovation, one participant

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4

Character Homes refers to the homes in the area that are in excess of 80 years. For the most part, the location of these homes is in close proximity to Osborne Street. and extends laterally for about two blocks. The pattern of character homes may reflect the fact that the people would not walk a greater distance when the streetcar was the main mode of transportation. Generally, these homes display architectural distinctiveness in design, such as ornate pillars and cornices to other features that set them apart.

5

This comment is certainly indicative of those of the Focus Group Session in which similar comments were evident

captured a neighbourhood resident completing work on the exterior of the home (Figure 7.8). This photo emphasizes the importance of investing in the area and maintaining the housing.

Figure 7.7 Character Home

Figure 7.8 Home Being Renovated

The murals and art category, although not overly represented, instills a sense of history in the neighbourhood as there has been a recent attempt by the local business improvement zone to undertake urban beautification jobs such as placing murals on the sides of buildings. One depicts the historic toboggan slide

from Riverpark, and a second mural features the streetcars that ran along Osborne Street. It should be noted that one respondent considers the graffiti in the area to be a form of art.

Overall, the positive compositions taken by respondents represent a diverse set of images from the neighbourhood. This includes a mix of elements from the natural and built environments that help capture the diversity and beauty of the neighbourhood. Certainly, the fact that the parks and green space represent the most important visual images recorded is indicative of their high ranking among residents. Although the quality of photographs varies, the accompanying explanations work well to identify the reasons for selecting the image, and to establish the locational attributes of the shot.

7.3.2 Review of the Images - Negative

The negative compositions, which account for 37% of all photographs, are primarily represented through elements of the built environment. In fact, the two most photographed images combined (deteriorated housing (29%) and abandoned buildings (25%), comprise over 50% of the total negative images. With respect to deteriorated housing, some cite single-family units and apartments as being in need of substantial repairs while others view them as "eyesores for the community" (Figure 7.9).

The negative comments about housing are often quite blunt: for example "[the] dilapidated home and backyard show despair, poverty and a general lack of caring;" and "small decrepit homes are an everyday eyesore to residents" (Figure 7.10). The interpretation is that there appears to be a sense that those

who neglect their homes are not doing their part in preserving and maintaining the neighbourhood in a stable manner. The images of older housing also point to the diversity within Riverview in that the area is a blend of many housing types and price ranges. This was an observation that arose in the Riverview Focus Group Session wherein respondents noted that the mix of housing and incomes of residents is an asset to the community.

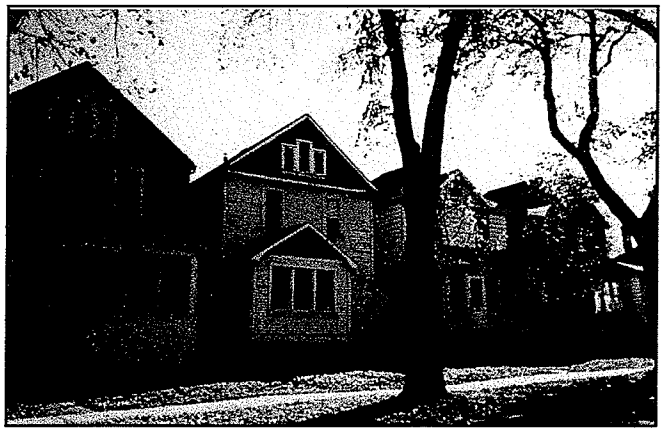

Figure 7.9 Older Homes in Need of Repair

Figure 7.10 Small Deteriorated Home

In terms of the apartment blocks, comments include that by one respondent who writes, "they are in poor condition, and in need of repairs, particularly the blocks at the intersections of Morley Avenue and Osborne Street, and Hay Street and Brandon Avenue." With respect to deteriorating housing, four participants singled out the same home. However, the home in question is a bungalow that has been undergoing renovations for a number of years but, once completed, it will be an attractive and mid-priced home for the neighbourhood. The issue that persons had with this house relates to the length of time it has taken to complete the repairs because the unfinished nature of the renovations are unsightly. One participant contends: "this house has not been finished – this is taking too long and looks ugly." A second participant calls the home an eyesore due to unfinished renovations (Figure 7.11). The fact that four persons photographed the same home being renovated help explain the general view of the Riverview Focus Group Session in that many seemed to point to the pressure of having to ensure one's home is in good repair.

Figure 7.11 Home Undergoing Repairs

The deteriorating/abandoned buildings category relates primarily to the commercial component of the neighbourhood. Most comments refer to the empty warehouse buildings, and the increasing incidence of vacancy on Osborne Street, as being problematic to the neighbourhood's overall image. Accordingly, one participant, "abandoned businesses cause an unsightly appearance to passers-by."

The remaining categories comprise a variety of responses ranging from graffiti to McDonalds invading the neighbourhood. Of these, graffiti and vandalism are considered by a number of participants to have increasingly become an problem in the area (Figure 7.12). In particular, the rise in tagging[6] and a general increase in graffiti have been observed. The state of the neighbourhood's infrastructure is also seen as a problem with many noting the poor condition of roads, especially back lanes (Figure 7.13). Noise and traffic rate lower than expected, as do crime and safety. At the outset of this exercise, it was anticipated that the heavy traffic along Osborne Street would be a cause for concern but it appears that most respondents concentrated more on the physical attributes of the neighbourhood that are presented in Table 7.2.

6

Tagging generally refers to the use of spray paint to place a type of cryptic signature on a building or other feature such as a mailbox. The symbols used consist of letters and such but their shape and arrangement make it difficult to easily decipher.

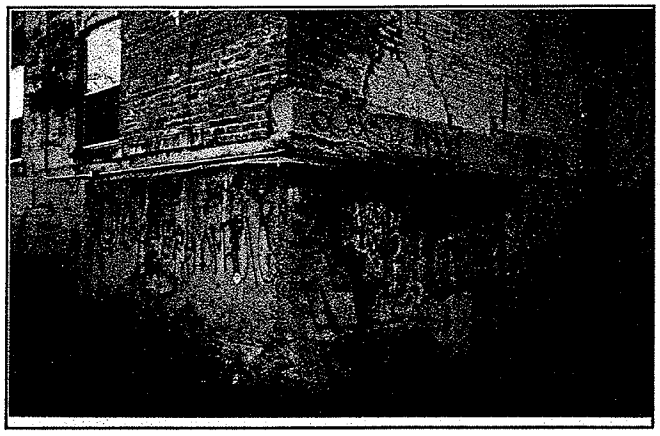

Figure 7.12 Graffiti and Tagging on Building

Figure 7.13 Infrastructure Problems

The sight of deteriorating housing became a magnet for photographers who singled this out as the most important negative image in the neighbourhood. This finding was expected, as housing, especially that which has been renovated, is contended to be the most important visual marker of a healthy neighbourhood, and one that greatly affects the perceptions of people (both local and those passing through). Similarly, the sight of deteriorated housing is equally important in projecting the reverse image and contributing to a lack of confidence. Given the great importance of housing and the impact that declining

commercial functions have had, these environmental cues must be considered essential markers of people's overall confidence in the neighbourhood. Thus, striving to create positive environmental cues, with respect to these elements, will work to strengthen the overall image people have about place.

7.3.3 Methodological Considerations Relating to Self-Directed Photography

The self-directed photography exercise demonstrated that this technique has the potential to be useful in understanding the perceptions people have about their neighbourhoods. In Chapter Three, a methodological framework based on Haywood (1990) was introduced to outline shortcomings in the use of this technique. Included among the shortcomings were the following:

- Some people did not feel comfortable using a camera;
- Some did not feel comfortable taking pictures in certain instances when they did not feel safe;
- The use of amateur photographers means that some of the images may be distorted due to inexperience taking pictures;
- The short period of time for taking the pictures limited the range of pictures that could be taken over a longer period of time (based mostly on day-trips or short excursions);
- Due to the fact that some people had limited time, photographs came from only major destination sites, or in fact were limited to only one or two places that they visited; and
- The amount of time that is involved in overseeing such a project is a hindrance (pp. 27-30).

For the present research, the above-noted shortfalls had a limited effect. Most participants appeared comfortable with the camera and only one shot was obscured as a result of a blocked viewfinder. Granted, the quality of the photographs is not professional, nor was the equipment used, but the subject composition is nonetheless excellent and well-supplemented by the use of written descriptions. As for not feeling comfortable in certain instances, again, with the participants being from the neighbourhood, perhaps they were more

aware of any potential problems and thus knew how to avoid certain situations.

As for Haywood's third point of having amateur photographers, this potential drawback was controlled by having the participants briefly describe the location and their reason for taking the picture. This allowed for clarification of compositions that lack a clear intent. Haywood's point on time restriction was largely eliminated by giving participants the freedom to complete the exercise over a longer period of time, thus ensuring that they had ample time to contemplate and compose each photograph. The time-frame issue raised by Haywood reflects the limited time tourists have at various destination sites. Most likely, the majority of these studies were based on day trips, thus limiting the time to think about which images to include.

The next limitation cited was related to time constraints pertaining to viewing one or two parts of a destination. Again, by using local residents, and allowing them a flexible period of time to complete the exercise, the result is a more thorough review of the neighbourhood. Haywood's final point on time constraints in managing the project are valid. It proved to be difficult to enlist persons to participate and to ensure they are informed and ready to undertake and complete the exercise. However, because of the high participation rate, this technique is considered a success as employed in this project.

In the view of this researcher, the design and management aspects of this exercise are well-suited to an urban focussed geographic study of neighbourhoods. The limitations noted by Haywood and others relate more to use of this technique by tourists, and were overcome because the participants were allowed ample time to complete the project within the neighbourhood

setting. The fact that participants live in the area also affords them much more knowledge of the geography of the neighbourhood than a typical tourist would have of a particular destination. Potential expansion of this type of geographic research could involve the comparison of the results of local residents with those of residents from another part of the city to determine whether or not local views match those of outsiders (e.g., how do suburban persons view an inner city neighbourhood or vice versa?)

7.4 Addressing Research Question Three

The material presented in this chapter was drawn from a number of sources: Census of Canada, City of Winnipeg Housing Statistics, the Neighbourhood Survey, the Focus Group Session and the Self-Directed Photography exercise. Each measure has specific strengths and adds substantial weight in addressing the third research question:

- *Are there factors associated with the process of rehabilitation in rehabilitated older neighbourhoods that contribute to an increased sense of neighbourhood stability and attachment, and if so, what lessons can be learned, and potentially transferred elsewhere?*

As has been noted, the present research advocates a mixed-method analysis that combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to converge the results. With respect to the self-directed photography technique and the focus group sessions, both are qualitative measures that rely primarily on the evaluation and interpretative skill of the researcher. The outcome of these two approaches was a data set rich in visual detail and general description of the attributes residents deem vital to their self-evaluations of the neighbourhood. The data from the Neighbourhood Survey, the Census and the

City, have helped balance the discussion by providing a more quantitative means to address the findings.

7.4.1 Riverview: The Meaning of Neighbourhood

For more than a century, the Riverview area has been a part of Winnipeg. Starting as a destination for sightseers and summer revellers, the first draw may have been the lure of the horse racing track or the toboggan slide. As time passed, the streetcar began to bring more than visitors to the area, it delivered residents working in the bustling downtown to and from *home*. In the first few decades of the 20th Century, the area was transformed into a neighbourhood, replete with homes, shops and ample green space. The lustre of Riverpark eventually faded in the 1950s, when it ceased operations, but the park's closure freed up the last tract of land, which was developed and sold during the late 1950s and 1960s. Today, the neighbourhood thrives as a middle-class area, with homes that vary in value and age. For the most part, the neighbourhood has remained a desirable area that continues to attract new residents.

The attractiveness and desirability of a neighbourhood are critical attributes to maintain among existing residents and replacement in-movers, who must have the ability to invest in the neighbourhood at an equally sufficient level (Lucy and Phillips, 2000). This is the case in Riverview in which there is a willingness and ability of new residents to continue the process of renewal at a pace that has kept sufficiently abreast of decline (Jacobs, 1961). As was observed in the Focus Group session, residents indicated that in-movers are "indoctrinated" into the neighbourhood through the story-telling of the area's

history and its strong sense of community pride. This has helped to ensure that new residents are aware of the pressure to keep their homes in good repair. This point is re-enforced by Galster and Hesser (1982), who stated that strong neighbourhood attachment helps to encourage conformity. They wrote, "the social dimension of the neighbourhood can be posited as affecting homeowners' maintenance behaviour by encouraging them to conform to the other residents' norms as to what constitutes minimum acceptable housing quality" (p. 239).

Gruber and Shelton (1987) contended that a neighbourhood's attractiveness and pleasantness are the most important determinants of satisfaction. The authors asserted "neighbourhood focussed sentiment" was above that of housing satisfaction. This is a central observation, as Riverview residents also displayed these characteristics, in that they placed an emphasis on the relationships people had to the broader community; although housing was important, it was secondary to the well-being of the neighbourhood.

Perhaps there is also an understanding of Riverview in the work of Temkin and Rohe (1996) who considered the defence of a neighbourhood's stability as being the result of the collective effort of residents who, in the face of a challenge, overcome adversity to ensure the neighbourhood remains stable. For Temkin and Rohe, they contended that "the neighbourhood must be able to leverage a strong sense of place into a collective movement that is able to form alliances with actors outside the community and influence decisions that affect the neighbourhood's character over time" (p. 70). Therefore, the image projected by a neighbourhood is pivotal in avoiding a downward succession of the neighbourhood. In Riverview there was a "willingness of residents to reach

out to their neighbours in a way that helps to stabilize the neighbourhood" (p. 71). This point was voiced in the Focus Group session by residents who placed an emphasis on the strong resolve to help each other.

It is also noteworthy that Logan and Molotch (1987) see the neighbourhood as the place in which there is a convergence of monetary (exchange values) with sentiment and attachment (use values). This is seen as the "challenge of making a life in a real estate commodity" (p. 99). The authors see the neighbourhood as the place of an intense struggle between the passionate aspects of the neighbourhood and its draw, with the intrinsic pursuit of capital accumulation: "the very nature of a neighbourhood, including its future prospects, is shaped by its connection to the commodity system including, crucially, the place of the neighbourhood within the system as a commodity" (p.112). This struggle cannot be dismissed entirely as neighbourhoods are productive spaces in which capital is accumulated. However, although there is friction between these opposing forces, neighbourhoods like Riverview seem to shift the pendulum to the passionate side, and it is this emotion that dominates the character of the neighbourhood. This was made clear in the contention that many Riverview residents can afford more but choose to live by the area because of their longstanding attachment to it. It is also suggested that neighbourhoods like Riverview maintain the exchange value of the neighbourhood through the fierce loyalty to the area and the determination to protect their homes and neighbourhood from decline.

Galster (2001) drew similar conclusions to that of Logan and Molotch, in that he too argued that neighbourhoods are partially commodities. To this point

he wrote, "consumers economically evaluate the neighbourhood" in ways that can change the neighbourhood (p. 2122). However, potential consumers (e.g., those who are considering the neighbourhood) exert pressure with respect to the process of neighbourhood change and thus "this implies that the prime origins of a particular neighbourhood changing is located outside of the neighbourhood" (p. 2122). This means that for a neighbourhood to remain stable the potential consumers of the neighbourhood must view it as a desirable place. For Riverview, this point is clearly entrenched in the comment made regarding the "tax paid for living in Riverview" in the form of an extra cost because the area is desirable.

The question of why Riverview has thus far escaped the fate of other neighbourhoods that experienced an increase in decline and disinvestment, as opposed to stability, is complex. Perhaps part of the answer lies in the physical isolation of the neighbourhood as described at the outset of the chapter. This relative isolation has created a small-community environment in which everyone knows each other and they have built lasting relationships. But this alone does not tell the entire story. What is missing is the greater role people have played in contributing to the stability of the neighbourhood. For example, the long term stay of residents, and their desire to remain in the neighbourhood as needs change or even as incomes grow, helps further explain the attraction of the neighbourhood. Moreover, this has contributed a sense of community that has bound people for generations.

It is believed that the feeling of community exhibited in Riverview is not something that was *planned,* nor can it be *transplanted.* In Riverview, there has

emerged a sense of soul that has given the area a spirit of unity and caring. Residents commented that it is the relationships they have with each other that bind them to the neighbourhood. This has allowed people to share stories about the neighbourhood and inform new residents of its history. In the Preface, the two examples of this type of sentiment are but a snapshot of the emotion that exists in places like Riverview, where people are aware of the past.

This sentiment is also evident in the work of Beatley and Manning (1997), who contended that it is the face-to-face interactions that contribute to the connectedness of residents. They also found that a sense of place promotes caring and "reminds us of the importance of preserving those special connections for future generations" (p. 174). These connections were evident in Riverview which was the only focus group in which residents shared a sense of history and the concern for preserving these stories for the future.

In the literature, the story of Riverview is not unlike that of South Shore Chicago as told by Rotella (2003) in which he eloquently writes of his childhood home and the fondness he holds for it: "South Shore, which is just a place where people live, is not famous or important in the grand scheme of things. But plenty of people know plenty of places like it" (p.95). Rotella tells the story of this neighbourhood like others do, through the words and actions of the people who live there and have shared experiences. He also discusses the hard and soft attributes of the neighbourhood. Riverview, as a "hard" neighbourhood, is a collection of homes and buildings which can be counted and their values appraised. In this case, it was noted that housing has a relative value and is in good condition based on the data derived from Statistics Canada and the City of

Winnipeg. It was noted that renovation activity is significant with many permits issued and only a few demolitions to account for.

But Riverview also has "soft" attributes in that the quality of life was described as essential, that people had a distinct relationship with each other and to the neighbourhood. These elements are important to Riverview residents but they are not *measurable nor quantifiable*. Rotella contends that this is part of the "less tangible investments found in the ways people act toward one another, and the ways they imaginatively inhabit the landscape" (p.88).

These qualities are abundant in Riverview where people come first and the area is a web that connects people to place (both natural and built). It is also true that neighbourhoods have stories to tell and perhaps, when we forget them, that is when neighbourhoods become something less. A stark lesson learned is that, in the EARG focus group session, there are no stories to be told simply because they have not yet been lived. People have not shared them because generations have not lived in the same home. Their children have not had the same school teacher as their parents did. If homes are commodities in these "emerging" areas, they must be something different in places like Riverview, as here, homes have an enduring spirit that binds people to them in a manner that transcends monetary value. It is from this perspective that one truly appreciates the emotion of the story told in the Preface about the grown man crying as he stood in front of his childhood home, reliving his fond memories of his old neighbourhood as he made his way through the streets of his youth.

Riverview is also not unlike Bedford as suggested by Duncan and Duncan (2001), who described a protectionist suburb that was committed to preserving a

sense of place and history. They noted that people are fundamental in creating the environment necessary for stability. Perhaps Gallagher (1994) also offered insight in stating simply, "a good or bad environment promotes good or bad memories" (p.132). Rapoport(2003) followed this sentiment by claiming that "people choose settings which they evaluate as having positive environmental quality" (p.145). He goes on to say that "in order to understand the present (and the future) one needs to know the past – what was there, how it was and how we got to where we are now" (p.145).

Each author noted above espouses the notion that people are the centre of the neighbourhood and that places evolve over time to eventually develop a spirit. It is this lingering entity that drives the fundamental building block of a neighbourhood. Even Jane Jacobs recognized that to "un-slum" an area, there needs to be a core of residents who know the stories of the past and can share their thoughts on what that place was like before it fell victim to decline. This is the essence of Rapoport noting that we must be cognizant of the past in order to appreciate the present. In this case, the residents of Riverview were quite clear that there was a sharing of knowledge about the neighbourhood and a connection to the past. This strong linkage has developed through long-time residents telling stories about the neighbourhood, and of who lived where and did what to whom. Perhaps this is merely a form of neighbourhood gossip, but it is also a way in which people are able to connect to the less tangible attributes of place. In the case of Riverview, families have stayed in the area for a long time, and as such, stories of the area's history remain.

The rehabilitation process, the means by which residents repair their homes, was shown to be prominent in Riverview. There is a high degree of renovation activity reported in the building permit data and noted anecdotally through the author's observations and in the comments of respondents. This activity is important and indicates that residents are willing to spend the money necessary to maintain the neighbourhood. The Neighbourhood Survey clearly demonstrated that 96% of Riverview residents are confident about the neighbourhood: 90% rate the neighbourhood's appearance as either excellent or good, and only 2% observing some decline. Furthermore, 92% of residents renovated their homes in the last five years with 32% spending in excess of $20,000. This point is underscored by nearly half the residents indicating that there is a substantial amount of renovation activity taking place in the neighbourhood (44% stated a fair amount was occurring while the remainder observed minor activity).

The rehabilitation process is driven by a number of factors including the desire to have a home with "modern" amenities, to protect and enhance one's investment, to ensure that a home's components are safe and in good working order, to preserve or reclaim historic features, and to enhance the home's value. Riverview has remained an area in which residents continue to invest in maintaining the richness of the past, while also incorporating features of the present (e.g., building recreation rooms or adding additions). Mercer and Phillips (1981) contended that residents are much more likely to undertake housing rehabilitation if they are positive about the neighbourhood and the future. There is no doubt that being confident about the neighbourhood is an important step in

the rehabilitation process. The authors noted that, above the monetary return, the "role of the attitude of the homeowner towards physical and social changes in the residential environment is paramount" (p. 240).

Galster and Hesser (1982) concurred as they observed that "in cases of strong collective cohesiveness and individual attachment, homeowners are more likely to recognize the external effects of their housing behaviour and then to incorporate these indirect costs or benefits into their own maintenance calculus" (p. 240). What Galster and Hesser were proposing is that the decision to invest is based on a number of factors, some of which produce economic benefits while others are more based on the social elements of the neighbourhood. In Riverview, this combination of factors was evident as most recognized the importance of contributing both socially and economically to the neighbourhood.

Clay (1979), Goetze (1976) and Varady (1986) link the confidence of residents with the rehabilitation process. Clay discussed this in the form of incumbent upgrading, in which local residents drive the rehabilitation process. Clay noted the importance of *neighbourhood strength* in creating the condition for increased reinvestment among residents and contended that "confidence inspires people to speak more positively about the neighbourhood, and positive talk over the long run may revive [or maintain] a positive perception about the neighbourhood" (p. 36). This simple thought recognizes that people control the fate of the neighbourhood. In Riverview, people have chosen to remain confident and project this feeling outward. This has affected people within the neighbourhood as well as potential consumers; both groups feel obligated to undertake renovations necessary. In this vein, Riverview has developed a

neighbourhood consciousness in which decline has been kept at bay because residents are committed to protecting and ensuring the area's character.

For Goetze, a neighbourhood must remain desirable and its housing market protected from disinvestment, since undermining confidence in stable areas can be a serious threat to stability as decline becomes contagious. For Varady, there is a strong link between increased neighbourhood social cohesiveness and high levels of confidence among residents. In fact, Varady concluded that "it is likely that strong neighbourhood social patterns lead to loyalty to the area that inspires confidence" (p.492). Varady also cited the importance of perceptions of the neighbourhood as influencing confidence and the decision to invest. For Riverview, there appears to be a strong sense of cohesiveness among residents. This was most evident in the Focus Group Session, during which the prominence of neighbours was repeatedly singled out. This bodes well for supporting Varady's claim that "residents of cohesive neighbourhoods and those who interacted frequently with neighbours tended to be the most confident about the area's future" (p.498). This finding is further supported by his claim that neighbourhoods with a high level of upkeep signal cohesiveness and an indication of residents feeling "dependent upon one another and where peer pressure is strong to maintain community standards (p. 497).

A further conclusion drawn is that the thirteen participants who provided a photo-document of Riverview are confident about the neighbourhood as 63% of the images were positive. What is important in the findings of the Self-Directed Exercise is the prominence of deteriorating housing in the negative images (nearly 30%). This result is consistent with the findings in the

Neighbourhood Survey, which revealed that nearly 50% of Riverview residents would hold-off renovations if they thought that neighbours were neglecting their homes, whereas more than 50% would undertake renovations if they were more confident about the neighbourhood. In the case of the self-directed photography, the fact that negative images are primarily homes that need repair, further points to the positive counteraction that renovation activity could have in reversing the stagnation associated with deteriorated housing.

In Chapter Two, the present research advanced a definition of neighbourhood that was intended to capture the complexity of place:

> This research considers neighbourhoods as complex components of the larger urban system of which they are an integral part. Neighbourhoods thus contain people, the dwellings they live in, the related infrastructure, and a varying degree of amenities. Neighbourhoods also generate emotions such as feeling, soul and attachment to place which are hard to quantify but are critical to the stability of place, and to developing a sense of cohesiveness among residents.

This definition tells the story of Riverview as both complexity and simplicity exist as the area projects a positive perception that attracts people to it. Residents are also inclined to contribute to this process by doing their part to maintain the stability of place including engaging in the rational act of renovating and to the more spiritual act of story-telling, as a means of preserving the history of the area. Therefore, there are strong emotions in the neighbourhood and a sense of soul that was not observed elsewhere. It is the cohesiveness and the strength of long-time residents that have made this a place that generations have remained in and continue to come back to.

Addressing *Research Question Three* is largely about understanding the emotions and sentiments of a stable neighbourhood, that has maintained a strong sense of place. Are there lessons to be learned? Yes, including placing an

emphasis on retaining residents as their needs and economic circumstances change. In Riverview, perhaps its isolation has contributed to a "banding together" of residents as the boundaries of the neighbourhood are so dominating. This is not to say that erecting a fence around existing neighbourhoods will force cohesiveness, but in Riverview, the Red River has contributed greatly to fostering a sense of community spirit and connectedness that was not evident elsewhere. It is also important to state that one of Riverview's draws is the character of its housing: homes in the area are impressive in some spots but more modest in others. It was also this mix of housing that was singled out as a strength.

The final part of the question asked if these lessons can be transferred elsewhere; in a simple response, no. The elements that have brought the residents of Riverview together are place-specific. These are not elements that a "planner" has at his or her disposal. They are cultured over decades or longer. But perhaps there are bits of the success in Riverview that are applicable. This relates more to creating the environment necessary to promote community. Building better places must begin with better understanding its traditions and lore, and why people in neighbourhoods like Riverview share stories about the past. What is it about the shared experiences of place that have contributed so warmly to a feeling of rootedness? What remains clear is that, for Riverview, there is indeed a sense of feeling, soul and attachment to place which are not easy to quantify but have been integral to developing a sense of cohesiveness among the residents who call this place home.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to converge theory with emotion to produce a portrait of a neighbourhood that has maintained its sense of stability for over 100 years. As Rotella noted, there are "many places like South Shore," and certainly Riverview remains a place that has captured the imagination of generations who have lived in it, and told stories of its success and failure. But like South Shore, Riverview is "not famous or important in the grand scheme of things. Nevertheless, many people know plenty of places like it."

It is this connection to the past that has maintained the area and inspired current and prospective residents to be aware of the neighbourhood's fabric and invest in it, not only with money, but with heart and soul. There is an imaginative sense to this neighbourhood that has remained enduring. In the photographs taken, the images represented a century of living. Perhaps in neighbourhoods with little to say or no stories to share, there will be no images as, like stories, they too have neither been lived nor seen through the eyes of children or adults.

Yes, there are other neighbourhoods like Riverview, but there is only one place that meanders with the banks of the Red River in a small prairie city. Places may be similar but they are impossible to recreate at will. Therefore, building neighbourhood confidence starts with building relationships among residents and to the history of the area. Yet it is important to note that these feelings are not born overnight, they are nurtured over decades and passed on by those refusing to be told "there is some place better."

Chapter Eight
Summary and Conclusions

8.0 Introduction

This research explored the urban neighbourhood using a housing-oriented approach that emphasized the significance of rehabilitation activity as a stabilizing factor. Within this context, homeowners were the central subject, and their words and actions were used to develop a better understanding of why certain neighbourhoods remained stable, while others experienced increased levels of decline. This study also determined that neighbourhood perception variables, especially confidence about place, contributes to neighbourhood stability and to a greater likelihood that residents will engage in housing rehabilitation.

In this final chapter, the implications of the research are considered vis-a-vis the research objectives. The chapter commences with an overview of the research, highlighting the study's key findings. Section 8.2 then discusses limitations and issues encountered during the research process. Section 8.3 addresses the contribution of the research to the field of urban geography. The concluding section offers thoughts on the direction of future work.

8.1 Overview of the Research Findings

This study demonstrated that confidence about place, neighbourhood rating, housing market activity, home renovation, and commercial amenities are critical elements used by residents to evaluate their neighbourhoods. These elements were also shown to be contributors to both the rehabilitation of housing and the promotion of neighbourhood stability. Both findings were

derived from a survey of sixteen neighbourhoods, five focus group sessions and a self-directed photography exercise. The study took place in Winnipeg, with the analysis conducted within the context of five resident-groups: Major Improvement Area Resident-Group (MIARG); Rehabilitation Area Resident-Group (RARG); Conservation Area Resident-Group (CARG); Emerging Area Resident-Group (EARG); and Major Stakeholder Area Resident-Group (MSARG). A subsequent case study was also presented using Riverview as an example of a stable neighbourhood.

The strategy of inquiry was based on a mixed methods approach that converged the quantitative data, generated by a neighbourhood survey and housing statistics from the City of Winnipeg and Canadian Census, with the qualitative results of focus group sessions and a self-directed photography exercise. Each data set aided in addressing the objectives and research questions posited at the outset of this study, and offered the multiple perspectives necessary to better understand the processes that contribute to the rehabilitation of housing and stability of the neighbourhood.

The primary data generated from the Neighbourhood Survey were first reviewed by analysing the basic frequencies and distributions for the entire sample and comparing these findings to those of the individual resident-groups. This examination revealed general differences, characterized by lower positive ratings in the MIARG and RARG, and higher ratings in the EARG and MSARG (the CARG tended to be in the middle). Following the initial review, a more detailed analysis was undertaken to assess whether these differences were statistically significant. First, correlation analysis provided an initial review of the data, while the subsequent binary logistic regression models resulted in a more predictive

assessment. To ground the discussion and provide the necessary qualitative lens, focus group data and the results of the self-directed photography exercise were then converged in a final analysis that focussed on Riverview as a case study.

While the correlation analysis revealed "associations" among neighbourhood perception variables, the regression results confirmed the importance of confidence as an appropriate outcome measure. The subsequent models suggested that the predictors of confidence include favourably rating the neighbourhood and its future, along with positive perceptions of both renovation and housing activity. When the resident-groups were examined, confidence remained a central component. More important, the resident-group models confirmed that the RARG neighbourhoods are on the verge of either declining further or experiencing stabilization. It is clear that this resident-group would be more willing to renovate if market conditions were perceived to be positive.

As was noted, an additional resident-group was added by the author, and defined as the Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group. This subset was perceived by the author to include residents who have undertaken extensive renovations and are highly confident about the neighbourhood and its future. The outcome of the logistic regression model for the MSARG substantiated this claim, confirming that this group is highly confident and receptive to the functioning of the renovation and housing market.

The primary findings for the resident-groups offer important considerations. First, the results for each group reinforce the definitions used by the City of Winnipeg, but there are some distinctions. Second, it is clear that the City's framework must be able to better account for the unique characteristics

existing within each of the four classifications. This research concludes that confidence is an important factor in neighbourhood stability; thus, it is recommended that the City's framework make a more concerted effort to incorporate some assessment of community activity.

A further limitation of the City's framework is that many Major Improvement and Rehabilitation neighbourhoods are experiencing varying levels of reinvestment and improvement, yet the model has no way to account for these positive changes. Therefore, it is also suggested that the model include a depth of problem indicator to better gauge the level of need required. As noted above, the fact that the MSARG was shown to be much more confident about their neighbourhood gives merit to the City recognizing the scale of renovations underway and the level of community sentiment and spirit.

Overall, the analysis of the resident-groups confirms that there is an increased negative or pessimistic outlook among residents in the older and declining MIARG neighbourhoods, and a generally more optimistic outlook for residents in the suburban EARG neighbourhoods. Both the CARG and RARG tend to be in the middle in terms of the outlook among residents. More specifically, the MIARG tend to be less confident about the neighbourhood and most likely to sell if house prices begin to increase. A troubling finding is that the longer persons lived in Major Improvement neighbourhoods, the less confident they are. A similar result is that the EARG areas have limited traits of "neighbourhood." Moreover, it is concluded that this resident-group is defined largely on a monetary basis, with the area being perceived by residents as more of a commodity than a community. This finding is based on the contention that these neighbourhoods have not developed a "neighbourhood consciousness" or a

"soul" because they have not had time to develop stories and a rich history as other areas have.

A fundamental outcome of the research is that the people in the MSARG are significantly more confident about their neighbourhoods, and generally more optimistic about the future, than those in the remaining resident-groups. This finding is important because the MSARG was comprised of persons who have renovated their homes. It is believed these owners have a higher stake in the neighbourhood's future and thus will be more confident in undertaking renovations. A critical implication of this finding is that it indicates the power of positive neighbourhood reactions (through renovation and an optimistic outlook). The importance of increased confidence and a positive outlook on the future is considered central to influencing the rehabilitation of housing and adding to the overall stability of the area.

A related finding is that the RARG appears to be highly influenced by the actions of other residents. This was highlighted by the fact that residents within this group would be most likely to undertake renovations if they felt more confident about the neighbourhood, and if an increased number of residents were renovating their homes. The implication of this finding is paramount. Given that these neighbourhoods are on the cusp of decline, and located in close proximity to Major Improvement neighbourhoods, increasing renovation and confidence will result in the stabilization of the housing market. However, should decline become more pronounced in Rehabilitation Areas, an outcome will be increased instability in the housing market and a further deterioration of the appearance of the area.

Therefore, it is essential to continue to invest in Rehabilitation areas to counterbalance the negative reaction of people selling and moving out of the neighbourhood or allowing their homes to deteriorate, by investing in housing and neighbourhood improvement. Furthermore, it was determined that nearly 30% of the RARG were "neither pessimistic nor optimistic" when examining the Confidence Index. It is believed that increasing the level of confidence will influence the perceptions of residents and result in others being more positive and willing to invest in the neighbourhood.

In the case study of Riverview, the author noted that there arose for the first time in the research, a sense of soul and spirt that had thus far been absent from the analysis. Riverview was shown to be a neighbourhood with an embedded sense of community that has been cultured for more than 100 years. In discussion with residents, many spoke of the importance of sharing stories about the past and how this has helped to create a bond among residents. It was believed that the connection to the past has greatly affected people living in this neighbourhood by forming a strong sense of community and hopefulness that has maintained the fabric of place and allowed the area to prosper and grow.

The primary data recovered from the Neighbourhood Survey, the Focus Group Session and the Self Directed Photography exercise resulted in over 600 Winnipeg residents providing information on their neighbourhoods. These data supplied overwhelming evidence for the importance of resident confidence, favourably rating the neighbourhood, housing market activities, home renovation and commercial amenities. Each of these factors has also been shown to influence the manner in which residents evaluate their neighbourhoods, and contribute to the likelihood of undertaking renovations.

Confidence about place appears to be a fundamental component of building and maintaining stable neighbourhoods. This research has demonstrated that being more confident about the neighbourhood is strongly correlated with many variables. This includes the link between confidence and neighbourhood appearance and price of home. This correlation is important, as increasing house prices and renovation activity will result in higher confidence levels and subsequently contribute to stabilizing the neighbourhood. However, declining confidence and dropping prices will have a negative effect on the neighbourhood, and contribute to a weakening of the area's stability. Therefore, making certain that residents are exposed to the more positive signs of neighbourhood regeneration will help ensure they perceive changes favourably.

In Chapter Five, *The Confidence Threshold Model* was introduced as a preliminary step in assessing the role of confidence as a stabilizing factor. The model was largely confirmed in the logistic regression analysis, which included rating the neighbourhood favourably, both in the present and future, as key predictors of confidence. This finding is important in validating this model as a potentially useful tool in assessing the level of confidence among neighbourhood residents. In the regression models presented, confidence was also concluded to be an important outcome measure. In particular, the *Confidence Model* contained predictors from key areas that included renovations, housing and overall ratings of the neighbourhood. Of the three models formulated, the Confidence Model was determined to provide the most robust set of variables.

The importance of favourable neighbourhood ratings, both present and future, emerged as being critical for residents in not only bolstering confidence, but also in promoting the conditions necessary for residents to remain and

invest. In the regression models formulated, three variables, *Neighbourhood Rating, Neighbourhood Appearance* and *Future Expectation,* were present in 12 of the 18 models formulated. This finding alone confirms the necessity of investing in the general upkeep of the community's infrastructure and that the perception of the appearance of the neighbourhood is a critical predictor of confidence and neighbourhood stability.

Increased renovation activities were also shown to contribute to maintaining the stability of the neighbourhood. More important, the positive reactions garnered from the sight of residents renovating will contribute to influencing others to follow. Again, strong correlations were found between increasing confidence and the willingness to undertake renovations, or to be positively influenced by the actions and reactions of other residents. In both the Confidence and Satisfaction regression models, renovation activities proved to be key predictors. In the resident-group analysis, a key finding was that for the RARG model, those persons indicating that their renovations influenced others was a predictor of being confident. This affirms the tremendous outcome that would be achieved in these neighbourhoods through additional efforts to improve the perceptions of residents through increasing the renovations and improvements in the area.

The housing market was characterized as being fragile and susceptible to fluctuations in prices and demand should market conditions weaken. This was characterized by the correlation between an increased desire to sell, should property values drop, and deterioration of housing increase. Notwithstanding this negative finding, one can speculate that by increasing the level of renovation, confidence may improve and contribute to others renovating, thereby helping to

stabilize the market, and eventually, the neighbourhood. In fact, it is this interrelationship that is one of the most fundamental contentions of this research.

In the regressions, perceptions of the housing market were determined to be important predictors of confidence, satisfaction and mobility status. In the Confidence Model, four housing related variables proved to be predictors of confidence. This finding is critical as it emphasises that a weakening housing market will result in a drop in confidence, but equally, considering the market to be functioning well results in an increased level of confidence. Therefore, the conclusion is that a balanced market that includes adequate renovation and maintenance levels, strong housing prices, a well perceived neighbourhood appearance, along with replacement in-movers who have the ability to ensure continuity, will greatly increase the stability of the area and the functioning of the market.

Commercial amenities were noted as important but somewhat separate from the other variables tested. However, creating positive commercial environments through streetscaping and adding themes, appear important in contributing to improving the neighbourhood environment. A key finding within the commercial amenities variables was that the MIARG tended to view these features more positively than other resident-groups. This points to the significance of these features in centrally located neighbourhoods. This was also emphasised in the *Confidence Model* for this group as the variable *Commercial Amenities Add Stability* was a strong predicator of being confident.

The five focus group sessions also proved to be essential to the research process and aided the author in converging the results with the Neighbourhood

Survey data. In each focus group session conducted, residents shared thoughts and stories about what made their neighbourhoods great, or contributed to any shortfalls. The value of the data derived from each session cannot be measured in the same manner as testing for significance as in the correlations and regression analysis. The true value of this technique is found in the voices of the 46 persons who addressed questions about their respective neighbourhoods. It was also contended that the Riverview focus group session produced a passion and sense of soul that was not present in the previous groups. It was also this group of residents that helped tell a story of a neighbourhood that has managed to retain a balance between preserving history, while having foresight to ensure the homes and their stories are maintained.

During the MIARG focus group session, a feeling of desperation surfaced as residents feared further decline was eminent. In the RARG session, what arose was indecision about whether to stay and resist the encroaching decline or become proactive and seek ways to stabilize the area. There was also a clear contradictory tone in the responses, such as "I love the area but decline is becoming a problem" or "I would like to renovate but my neighbours are becoming worse." This sentiment was qualified in the regression models that substantiated the claim that for these residents to be confident and remain, the area needs to display increased signs of positive rehabilitation and improvement in the housing market.

In the CARG focus group session, residents were confident about the neighbourhood but almost complacent in their suggesting that the area was immune to decline. This group also raised the importance of "community pressure" to ensure that people kept up their homes and invested in the

neighbourhood. As was noted, the Emerging Area focus group confirmed the sterile nature of this "budding area" that is still seeking an identity and purpose.

The final area of investigation was related to the importance of resident empowerment (self-directed photography). This innovative exercise resulted in better understanding the significance of empowering residents to become active in understanding the dynamics of their neighbourhood. The results demonstrated that this technique is one that can be used effectively to understand the key elements of the neighbourhood (positive and negative). But the strength of this research tool lies vested in converging the results with other methods such as focus groups and traditional surveys as used in the present research.

Overall, the present research concludes that a neighbourhood's trajectory is influenced by a number of interrelated factors. What remains important is to mitigate the negative actions occurring by increasing the positive reactions of residents. This includes increasing confidence, creating an inviting neighbourhood by sprucing up the appearance of the area, promoting renovation activities, stabilizing housing prices and, to a lesser extent, improving the commercial amenities. Each of these factors was shown to influence the perceptions of residents. However, it is also concluded that it is paramount to be proactive as opposed to reactive once decline gains a foothold in the neighbourhood.

One of the most fundamental findings of this research is that neighbourhood stability may be managed through an integrated approach. This is based on increasing confidence through additional renovation activities and strengthening the housing market. Creating this type of positive environment among residents will have a secondary effect of increasing house prices, which

will contribute to a more optimistic outlook and result in residents being not only less likely to sell, but also more inclined to stay and invest in the neighbourhood.

8.1.1 Theory, Thoughts and Observation

The analyses of the Neighbourhood Survey, the focus group sessions, and the self directed photography exercise confirmed the neighbourhood as a dynamic entity. It was also concluded that people play the central role in stabilizing neighbourhoods. In Riverview, people expressed a territorial sense of social power (Sack 1986) that acted as a buffer ensuring that placelessness (Relph 1976), or the desire to move was limited. In fact, in the Emerging neighbourhoods, the very essence of placelessness was confirmed in the lack of rootedness or attachment to the area. Thus, the nature of the neighbourhood is dependent on the actions of people and how they evaluate and perceive changes taking place. This was of critical concern to the RARG, whose perceptions and confidence were susceptible to being influenced by the actions of others.

Within the context of *unslumming* neighbourhoods, Jacobs (1961) pointed to the importance of improving the neighbourhood through the collective will of its residents. Even in slums Jacobs noted that some persevered and remained deeply committed not only to improving the neighbourhood physically, but also toensuring that the history and the stories of that place remain entrenched in (re)-building a future. In Riverview, the role of stories and history told by residents appears to be essential in maintaining the "soft attributes" of the neighbourhood as envisioned by Rotella (2003). Yet within the MIARG, it appears that stories and memories of a better past have faded.

Jacobs also thought that creating better neighbourhoods began with modest gains that resulted in removing dullness and replacing it with diversity and liveliness. In the MIARG, there was a sense that a core of residents who were "so-so" in terms of staying represent a key to turning around the neighbourhood. Second, dealing with the fact that the longer residents remain in the MIARG, the less likely they are to be confident, underscores the need to create more inviting neighbourhood environments by improving the appearance of place. Lee (1968) would agree, as he concluded that neighbourhoods need heterogeneity in both their physical and social layouts. Certainly the RARG is diverse, with a mix of commercial amenities and varying housing types but too much diversity appears to have also eroded confidence as new residents were seen as not having the ability to maintain their homes and the social fabric of the area.

More recently, Lucy and Philips (2001) contended that replacement in-movers must have the resources necessary to ensure that neighbourhood change is positive. These resources include the economic means and the will to invest in the neighbourhood in a manner consistent with the fabric of the area. There is no doubt that the Emerging and Conservation neighbourhoods attract similar residents but concerns were raised by both the MIARG and RARG. In addition to attracting persons, DeGiovanni (1983) and Foster (1994) concurred that those most likely to invest were younger persons who were, in some ways, risk-takers. For the present research risk takers were more likely evident in the older and declining neighbourhoods as opposed to those areas identified as being stable.

Duncan and Duncan (2001) asserted that it was important for neighbourhood residents to have a strong place identity, where residents exhibit a protectionist attitude. Each of these factors helps ensure that the mix of movers and stayers remains diverse but capable of investing into the neighbourhood, both socially and economically. It is important that people become a part of place and, on a deeper level, they must become attached for more than just the economic returns; it must be emotional and long-term. For residents of Riverview, the importance of connecting with the past and sharing stories has greatly contributed to the area's stability and prominence, along with the emergence of a strong protectionist attitude.

It is clear that people contribute to the changing nature of the neighbourhood. They influence the processes underway within the local environment in a manner that contributes to stability, or invokes a desire to leave the area. Many such processes were examined within the framework of the models of neighbourhood change. To this point, the seminal work of Vernon and Hoover (1959) laid the groundwork for the analysis of the neighbourhood within the context of stage models. Although many models were reviewed, the thread binding each remained consistent: a neighbourhood is formed, it eventually declines, and ultimately it is abandoned or reclaimed. Within this discussion, many factors came into play, including economics, overall density, the age and subsequent obsolescence of buildings, and the larger pressure of urban growth. For the present research, the socio-political perspective of Temkin and Rohe (1998) provided a more sufficient explanation of the stability of place as there are only two possible outcomes: a defeated or defended neighbourhood. For the Emerging, Conservation and Major Stakeholder

neighbourhoods, residents have risen up to defend the socio-cultural milieu of the neighbourhood. This has resulted in a trajectory demarcated by increased positive attributes, a stable and defended area, and a positive outlook. For the RARG, the institutional infrastructure is weak, placing these neighbourhoods in a precarious spot as they appear more likely to become "defeated neighbourhoods" as opposed to a defended one. The latter is the path taken by the MIARG as this group is defeated and shows little evidence of a reversal.

In the final analysis, the models provides a framework for understanding neighbourhood change but do not necessarily offer a complete explanation. Ulusoy (1988) contended that renovation is a critical determinant of the health of a neighbourhood and is a contributing factor to the changes which take place. Ulusoy's study further noted that the type and cost of renovations will reveal a great deal about the neighbourhood and indicate whether change results from incumbent upgrading or gentrification. The distinction between these processes was important as it gave an indication of what was influencing the changes taking place. Regardless, in places like Riverview, it is more about soul and sense of community than the physical attributes that determine confidence and stability. It is also primarily the "incumbents" who are renovating and repairing their homes. In fact, within the study area of the present research, little evidence emerged to suggest that gentrification is occurring. Again, there is some evidence to suggest that spot gentrification is taking place in Wolseley, especially to the larger homes in the neighbourhood and those that have river lots. Again, much of this type of activity is clustered in small pockets scattered about the neighbourhood.

It is also necessary to stress that the majority of neighbourhoods in the study area contained active housing markets, but it appeared that new residents moving in were of similar social and economic status, and therefore, the demographic composition was not greatly altered in any of the neighbourhoods. Furthermore, there was no evidence to suggest gentrification was occurring. However, it was also concluded that in the RARG, there is a sense that some new residents moving into the neighbourhood lack the ability to undertake the necessary renovations, simply because they do not have the ability to do so. This is raised as a possible indication of pending neighbourhood decline.

Bourne (1981) offered further evidence that housing is vital to the functioning of the neighbourhood and that it provides a bundle of goods including both economic and social aspects. McCann (1975) highlighted the fact that housing has a life expectancy, which contributes to decline or stability (dependent on the level of investment vs. the natural ageing of the homes). For Reed (2001) and Jud and Winkler (2002), housing was seen as the single largest investment made by people and that, naturally, protecting this investment is paramount.

Housing, as a physical and durable good, presents one of the most important tangible or "hard" elements of the neighbourhood. Housing creates an inviting and stable physical environment, but it starts with ensuring that the appearance of the neighbourhood projects a positive image. Given that housing is the most prominent feature of the neighbourhood, its visual appeal will have an effect on the perceptions of both existing and new residents (a finding confirmed in the logistic regression models). Therefore, in neighbourhoods with a stable housing market and one in which homes are maintained, residents will

gain a higher level of satisfaction and a feeling that their investments are somewhat insulated from the volatility of more unstable and declining neighbourhoods. This was the case within three of the resident groups, the exceptions being the MIARG and the RARG, both of whom experienced a weakening of the housing market. The price of housing remains a flashpoint for residents in these two groups as the signs of a weakening market can trigger a sell-off, characterized by the lowering of selling prices and the conversion of owner-occupied homes into rental units. Therefore, the visualization of housing is important, and was emphasised in Riverview where residents photographed images that accented the prominence of housing as both a contributor (in the form of character housing) and a detractor (deteriorated or unfinished housing) to a lessening or strengthening of confidence.

The framework for understanding neighbourhood stability is therefore complex. It becomes more of a question of applying a deeper level of understanding with respect to the motivations of area residents in undertaking renovations and becoming more attached to the neighbourhood (Mercer and Philips, 1981; Galster and Hesser, 1982; and O'Loughlin and Munski, 1979). In the end, it may be more about a sustained internal conflict which is underway within the neighbourhood environment. This conflict is the result of both active *placemaking* and *placelessness*, each vying for control of the neighbourhood environment. Ultimately, residents in the CARG, EARG and the MSARG have defended their neighbourhoods and maintained the social and physical environments. The defence of the neighbourhood seems supported by the great investment people make in their homes and the local area (clearly evident in the MSARG). Given that housing is such a substantial investment, people seem

willing to defend their neighbourhoods based on economics (e.g., the loss of money), but they must also defend the very fabric of place by protecting its history and diversity. The latter is accomplished by reinforcing a strong sense of place and attachment to the neighbourhood . . . perhaps by embedding an essence of protectionist attitudes amongst residents, neighbourhoods can fend off the signs of decline. Yet in contrast, within the EARG, the defence of the neighbourhood is strongly rooted in both the urban growth machine (Logan and Molotch, 1987) and uneven development (Smith, 1982) theses, which advocate that the commodification of place has resulted in limited attachment or sentiment to place because it is simply an economic asset.

Defending one's home and neighbourhood is also about deciding when to leave. This research cannot conclude that neighbourhood decline and abandonment can be stopped. In fact, Johnson (2001), pointed to the self organization of neighbourhoods as part of an emergent system. Although people are smarter than the slime mould and ants discussed in his work, there remains an important lesson: individuals act in a manner that is influenced by the actions of others. This can be positive or negative but nonetheless, the collective experience of residents is a contributing factor to the sorting of land uses within the city. What remains then is that the state of the neighbourhood is in flux. This is important in that it contributes to diversity and change, while ensuring that neighbourhoods evolve with a mix of people and ideas.

With respect to the slime mould, perhaps on the neighbourhood level, people react to their neighbours much like cells in a slime mould. In a way, declining neighbourhoods then result from the collective behaviour of the local residents. As more and more people react to the sight of neighbours leaving or

neglecting their homes, they too may find no reason to do differently. In the reverse, or the "unslumming" of place, perhaps people also react, but in a more positive manner as more people (or cells) begin to act differently based on positive changes in the environment. However, in the early theories of slime mould intelligence, researchers thought it was a pacemaker cell that regulated the complex behaviour of the organism. Perhaps Jacobs' comment about the middle-class - that cities don't "create a middle-class, they grow them" is important to re-emphasize, as neighbourhoods don't have a single pacemaker cell. They have the collective actions of residents that regulate the functioning of the neighbourhood and, although people act independently, it is the collective outcome that becomes highly visible.

Another important underpinning in the functioning of the neighbourhood was derived from the work of Varady (1986), Goetze (1976), Clay (1979), O'Loughlin and Munski (1979), and Pitkin (2001). Each author saw the importance of building-up the confidence levels of residents as an important tool for creating and contributing to the increased stabilization of the neighbourhood. Although the term confidence was not cited in the literature to any great extent, the way in which residents feel and perceive changes in the neighbourhood remains critical. The more positive or confident individual residents feel, the greater the likelihood those feelings will contribute to their desire to remain in the neighbourhood, and to the extent they might plan to invest in renovations and general maintenance. This was evident in the MSARG, where a significant number of residents had spent in excess of $20,000 on previous renovations. Furthermore, increased confidence may create more of an emotional attachment to the neighbourhood, resulting in a protectionist attitude among residents (such

as that demonstrated in Riverview). Certainly for the present research, reaching those residents defined as being "so-so" or indecisive is a critical first step in creating better and more stable neighbourhoods.

In the end, the forces that shape the internal structure of the neighbourhood are greatly influenced by the reaction of residents to events that take place. These reactions are gauged by their perceptions of the larger environments of which they are a part. Whether people decide to stay and invest in the neighbourhood remains a decision based on a number of personal factors, and raises many questions, such as: *Will my investment be protected? Is this a good place to raise a family? Can I call this place home? Is there diversity? Will this place decline?* These questions appear to dominate the thinking of many Rehabilitation area residents who remain unsure but want to remain. Choosing a neighbourhood is therefore a risk; however, this risk is important in that it contributes to the diversity of the city. Without it, cities will simply become more faceless and placeless. Can we all possibly want to live in the same house in the same type of neighbourhood? Conversely, can we continue to live in cities divided so harshly along economic and social lines? This research has determined that there is a clear distinction between the MIARG and the remaining resident groups. In particular, the MIARG remains mired in significant decline and faces an arduous road to recovery.

The division between risk taking and deciding to leave a neighbourhood is complicated, but what remains important is that neighbourhoods and their inhabitants are unique and contribute to the individuality of place; eventually, some places decline while others remain prosperous and stable. The goal, therefore, is to create both diversity and stability. This is accomplished by

ensuring that there is a mix of functions and people who have the ability to invest in the neighbourhood, and the desire to defend the very fabric of place. Yet the voices heard in the RARG focus group continue to resonate with an almost painful tone in that there is a sense of impending decline, with most fearing the neighbourhood is defenceless against the adverse change taking place.

Without the desire and willingness to create and maintain places, neighbourhoods will continue to be the products of ultra-rational subdivision engineers and not the more emotionally-grounded act of placemaking. How the poetry of place emerges and is nurtured remains a challenge, but the way in which we think about neighbourhoods – and our role within them – must be viewed as something more than a financial investment or a short-term place to live; it must be a long-term commitment. This was the sentiment and emotion observed in Riverview, which was concluded as being a neighbourhood that has developed a strong sense of identity.

At the outset of this work, three theoretical perspectives were reviewed: the ecological, subcultural, and political economy. To frame the present research, it was noted that Temkin and Rohe (1998) and Pitkin (2001) concluded that the subcultural and political economy approaches present a more accurate reflection of the composition of the contemporary neighbourhood. The conclusion of this research is similar in that there are indeed elements of both approaches present. This includes the desire and the ability of residents to defend their neighbourhoods. Equally relevant, it was shown that neighbourhoods are also part of the economy and residents are subjected to feeling the effects of a weakening housing market, especially in the RARG,

where the first sign of a potential downswing in the market is likely to have a far reaching and negative impact on the future of the area.

Perhaps in neighbourhoods like Riverview, there is a balance between these seemingly distinct processes whereas in the Emerging neighbourhoods there remains an imbalance that tips the scale towards the economic forces that have solidified the commodification of the area. In the MIARG, the outcome of the economic restructuring has devastated these areas, that are in some cases devoid of a sense of community. In the RARG, the scale sways back and forth, although there is tremendous hope that the people will rise to defend the neighbourhood, but proactive measures are needed. In the CARG, there is equilibrium, but this does not necessarily mean long term stability.

Therefore, neighbourhoods are born purely as economic creatures, initially built based on demand and supply characteristics and sold as commodities to be invested in or traded when markets fluctuate or trends change. Over time, the dominant economic traits of the neighbourhood diminish as other attributes emerge, such as community infrastructure or a socio-cultural milieu. At this juncture, neighbourhoods develop a collective consciousness and are either defended by residents or become defeated as adverse change overwhelms the area. Balancing a neighbourhood's economy and social structure is not something that can be easily accomplished by government programs or interventions; instead, it is something that must develop and be instinctive, or possess an inherent ability to face adversity and defeat it through perseverance and a willingness of residents to remain and defend place.

8.2 Limitations and Issues Encountered

The project management aspect of this research proved complex with many issues encountered during the research process including administering the Neighbourhood Survey by both phone and mail. The phone survey required a significant amount of time and coordination to complete. This was directly related to the 400+ questionnaires completed by phone which required, on average, 10-15 calls per survey to secure a willing and qualified participant. In contrast, the mail survey resulted in a higher than expected response rate and appears to be a more efficient and economical method of data collection.

A limitation of the survey questionnaire is related to its format, particularly the lack of open-ended questions. Although this did not affect the results of the survey, the inclusion of open-ended questions might have provided more detail. However, it must be stressed that, given the scale of the present research (574 respondents), including open-ended questions would have added considerable time to the phone survey (each lasted approximately 15 minutes). This would have been a deterrent to potential participants. Therefore, an open-ended format would be best suited to a smaller-scale research project, and thus could be completed by mail. The lack of open-ended questions was balanced through the use of the focus group sessions which yielded qualitative insight.

With respect to the self-directed photography exercise, limitations are related to two critical aspects: cost and safety. First, expanding this type of exercise would have added considerable cost in both the purchase of cameras and the subsequent processing of the film. In reviewing the literature, this limitation could be overcome by soliciting sponsorship from camera

manufacturers; however, this poses difficulties for student researchers trying to include a significant sample size.

The second limitation is related to ensuring the safety of participants. In the test area, Riverview proved to be a relatively safe environment. However, expanding this type of exercise into declining areas, or areas with known problems (e.g., high crime rates), might have put the safety of participants in jeopardy. Therefore, this technique is one that must be used with extreme caution to ensure the exercise is not only productive but safe.

The limitations noted have provided the researcher with extensive experience in conducting a large-scale research project. The lessons learned have been invaluable in contributing to a greater level of understanding of the research process. It is believed that this research achieved its intended objectives and provided an excellent opportunity to design and manage a complex project and to contemplate the importance of neighbourhoods in the broader context.

8.3 Contribution of the Research

This research will contribute to the field of urban geography in many ways. First, it was determined that confidence about place has provided an innovative perspective for better understanding the organic nature of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the fact that confidence plays such an important role in influencing the evaluations of residents is a fundamental contribution. A second contribution is a better understanding of the interrelationship among confidence about place, neighbourhood rating, housing market activity, home renovation and commercial amenities, and how these factors contribute to

stabilizing the neighbourhood and encouraging the rehabilitation of housing.

Perhaps one of the most important contributions of the present research is in the contention that neighbourhood change is inevitable, but change can be managed through increasing the positive reactions of residents to negative actions taking place within the neighbourhood environment. Positive reactions are the result of the interrelationships that exist between many variables. The conclusion drawn is that increasing confidence through renovation activities has a secondary effect of contributing to a balanced housing market. Therefore, to create stable places means more than just painting fences and fixing homes; it must include improving how people feel about place and whether their outlook is optimistic. Creating this environment is seen as a viable method for improving the condition of neighbourhoods, especially those on the cusp of decline.

One of the more innovative contributions of the present research is in the use of self-directed photography. This technique has not been used to any great extent within the neighbourhood environment, and this research has demonstrated this technique can provide a great deal of information about a neighbourhood. Furthermore, the empowerment of residents is seen as a key contribution to better understanding the urban geography of the neighbourhood by allowing people to define what place means and which elements form part of a collective mental map of the area. However, as noted, this technique must be supplemented by other measures such as surveys.

A final area of importance is the result demonstrated by two particular resident-groups. First, in the Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group, there were more positive reactions of residents. In examining responses of residents within the Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group, it was shown that they are

generally more confident about the present and future of their neighbourhoods. Furthermore, this has contributed to better understanding the role that increased renovation activity plays in creating stable neighbourhoods.

Related to this is the finding that residents within the Rehabilitation Area Resident Group may be the most susceptible to reacting positively to increased neighbourhood activity. It was concluded that neighbourhoods on the cusp of decline are very likely to benefit from increased improvement efforts. In the present research, Rehabilitation neighbourhoods are considered one step from exhibiting characteristics of those of Major Improvement neighbourhoods. Therefore, the importance of increasing the positive evaluations of residents within these neighbourhoods will help create hope and optimism in the area, and the 30% of residents considered to be neither optimistic nor pessimistic may be a good starting point for improving the overall confidence of the area.

In Chapter Seven, Riverview was presented as a case study neighbourhood. It was in the writing of this chapter that the author encountered, for the first time, a feeling of convergence of theory, thought and observation. Within this context, Riverview emerged as a place with a true sense of community. But, as acknowledged, Riverview is not a special neighbourhood, nor is it not unlike many other areas. Moreover, in Riverview what is important is the role of stories and passion. Residents seemed cognizant of the area's history and shared their feelings with neighbours and new residents. It was this embedded sense of caring that has given Riverview a soul and added to its endearing sense of longevity among residents.

8.4 Directions for Future Research

The present research uncovered the potential for future work within the field of urban geography. Particularly, the mixed use approach must continue to be undertaken to ensure that multiple perspectives are engaged to truly appreciate the complexity of place. A potential approach would be to conduct more detailed interviews with neighbourhood residents who have undertaken extensive renovations in order to better understand the motivation for their actions. The material collected in the Neighbourhood Survey was not detailed enough to capture the true essence of why people invest in the neighbourhood to such a great extent. Therefore, conducting detailed, in-person interviews with targeted residents would yield a greater understanding of why people invest heavily in the neighbourhood. The nature of this type of interview must be open-ended to allow the researcher to probe for details and explore areas not possible in the closed-ended format. The focus group sessions used in the present study can be considered a first step in this direction, but they were not detailed enough to capture the motivations of individual homeowners.

A second area of study is related to the further quantification of the results obtained. For example, a future effort could attempt to refine the models advanced using further regression analysis techniques in order to compare the results to other jurisdictions. To this point, it is hoped that the groundwork for a confidence and renovation model of neighbourhood stability has been laid in the present research, and perhaps this can continue to be explored and quantified.

A third area that must be explored is location. Location was measured in the present research by examining spatial differences among resident-groups. However, a potential area for future examination would be to assess for spatial

differences within the neighbourhood itself. This could be examined by trying to better understand whether the decision to renovate, or level of confidence, is linked to location within the neighbourhood. For example, does proximity to neighbourhood amenities (parks, services etc.) affect a resident's confidence and/or desire to renovate? Furthermore, does location relative to other renovated homes, and/or homes in need of repair, affect a resident's confidence level or desire to renovate? This study concluded that the action of other residents renovating is important, but it did not measure whether the distance to these homes was important.

On a more qualitative front, the focus group session in Riverview revealed a line of study that must be pursued. It involves the collection and analysis of neighbourhood stories. As was documented in the Preface, the present author was stimulated by two occurrences that greatly contributed to the basis for the present work. However, there are many more stories to be told and listened to, especially those of residents who have remained in the neighbourhood for a long time and are aware of the changes that have taken place. It was also a lack of stories and history that led to the conclusion that the EARG is devoid of neighbourhood characteristics because these "subdivisions" do not yet have a soul or sense of what they are. It is thought that this will eventually change as these commodities will undoubtably become communities in their own right, replete with stories of successes and failures.

A final area of study is related to the natural environment. At the conclusion of the self-directed photography exercise, the prominence of the natural environment was evident. This should be examined within the framework provided in the Neighbourhood Survey, with questions exploring whether parks,

water, and green spaces are important in contributing to neighbourhood stability, and/or affecting the level of confidence among residents. This type of endeavour could be surveyed by fieldwork to examine the condition of homes in close proximity to natural amenities. Possible questions could be related to whether residents in these areas invest more in renovation expenditures or are more confident than residents in locations lacking natural amenities.

Future research directions related specifically to the self-directed photography exercise, are also important to mention. First, a potential project could have both local residents and residents from outside the area conduct the exercise, with their findings compared for differences and/or similarities. A second possibility would be that of ranking photographs. Participants would photograph the top five positive images, the top five negative images and scale them from one to five. This might help flesh out the discussion and enable the results to be compared in a more meaningful manner than in the present research, in which it was difficult to determine which negative/positive image was better or worse in the eyes of the photographer.

As noted, conducting this exercise in areas with high crime rates, or other social problems, must be done with extreme caution. In cases in which this exercise is to be carried out, perhaps an approach used in the travel literature would be more ideal. In these exercises, groups of individuals photograph as they walk through destination sites. However, a drawback to this method is that individual perceptions might be influenced by the group.

8.5 Conclusion

Neighbourhoods are dynamic components of cities. They are places where actions take place causing them to decline, remain stable or show signs of reclamation. This research has advanced an argument that a better understanding of the reactions of residents to the processes taking place within the neighbourhood is fundamental. To create and contribute to the stability of place, and to an optimistic outlook on the future, the reactions of residents must be favourable and characterized by their willingness to invest both socially and economically into the neighbourhood.

In summation, neighbourhoods are built on the feelings and aspirations of residents because it is they who contribute the necessary traits that allow neighbourhoods to evolve and thrive. Through story-telling and an awareness of history, people share commonalities and forge endearing bonds among one another. But equally, people express concerns over internal events taking place which cause neighbourhoods to inevitably change over time. Therefore, neighbourhoods are social creatures but subject to the economic forces that permeate the fabric of place. Yet, neighbourhoods are complex, having been formed and maintained by a bundle of interrelated elements. This bundle includes instilling a strong sense of confidence among residents, increasing renovation, stabilizing housing markets and creating inviting commercial amenities. To truly maintain a neighbourhood is to ensure there are innovative people who can look past the peeling paint and see the potential of creating and maintaining a place rich in texture and vibrancy.

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Appendix A -Survey Instrument
The Neighbourhood Survey

Part A - General Questions - The first part of the survey contains general questions about your neighbourhood. Please circle the answer that best matches.

Neighbourhood Code - Enter Neighbourhood Name/Designation_____

1. Approximately how long have you lived in your present neighbourhood _____? and how long have you been in your present home_____?

2. Approximately how old do you consider your home to be?

a. Quite new (under five years)
b. Fairly new (between 6-10)
c. Medium (11-20)
d. Old (21 - 50)
e. Very Old (50 plus)
f. not sure

3. Which one of the following best describes your neighbourhood's general, physical appearance (housing, streets, commercial areas and such)?

a. excellent
b. good
c. stable
d. starting to decline
e. clearly declining
f. not sure

4. Thinking about what your neighbourhood will be like in three years or so, do you expect it to be:

a. a better place to live?
b. a worse place to live?
c. or about the same?

5. In the previous question, about your neighbourhood, I'd like you to consider the following scale from a one to five. One would be extremely bad and five would be extremely good.

Overall, how would you rate your neighbourhood today on this scale?
(Extremely bad) – 1----2----3----4----5 – (Extremely good)

6. Do you plan on remaining in your present neighbourhood for the next five years?

a. yes
b. no
c. undecided

7. If your income went up, would you consider buying another home in your present neighbourhood or would you be more inclined to choose a different neighbourhood?

a. present neighbourhood
b. select a new neighbourhood
d. undecided

Part B Renovation Activities:

This section of the survey asks questions regarding renovation activity.

On a scale of one to five, with **one** being the **least likely to renovate** and **five** being the **most likely to renovate**, how would you rate the following conditions in terms of motivating you to renovate your home.

8. If overall property values for homes increased in your neighbourhood.

(least likely to renovate) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to renovate)**

9. If the renovations would increase the overall value of your home?

(least likely to renovate) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to renovate)**

10. If you felt more confident about your neighbourhood's future.

(least likely to renovate) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to renovate)**

11. If other residents in the neighbourhood were undertaking renovation activities.

(least likely to renovate) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to renovate)**

12. If you felt that your neighbours were neglecting their homes.

(least likely to renovate) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to renovate)**

In the next few questions, read the statement and circle whether you ***strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree***.

13. Because property values are dropping as a result of neighbourhood decline, I would be more likely to hold off on renovations.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

14. My confidence in the neighbourhood will increase because more residents have been renovating their homes.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

15. I think that other residents will consider undertaking renovations because I have renovated my home.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

16. Although my home will be worth significantly more than similar homes in the neighbourhood, I will still undertake extensive renovation projects.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

Part C Sales Activity. This sections of the survey asks questions of housing sales activity.

On a scale of one to five, with one being the **least likely to sell** and five being the **most likely to sell**, how would you rate the following conditions in terms of motivating you to sell your home.

17. If there was an increase in deteriorated housing in the neighbourhood?

(least likely to sell) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to sell)**

18. If property values in the neighbourhood, including your home, began to fall dramatically

(least likely to sell) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to sell)**

19. If there was a substantial rise in property values in the neighbourhood?

(least likely to sell) – 1----2----3----4----5 – **(most likely to sell)**

In the next few questions, read the statement and circle whether you ***strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree.***

20. More homes for sale on my block indicate a strong and healthy housing market.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

21. My confidence in the neighbourhood would increase if more homes sold, and at higher prices in the neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

22. With more homes selling, and at higher prices, I would consider selling my home at the present time.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

23. My confidence in the neighbourhood would decrease If homes that were for sale, took a long time to sell.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

24. I would consider selling my home if property values began to decline in the neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

In the next few questions, read the statement and circle whether you ***strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree.***

Part D Commercial Activities.

25. Commercial activities (restaurants, coffee shops, stores) add to the overall stability of the neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

26. Commercial activities would be an important choice if I was selecting a another neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

27. Adding decorative streetscaping projects, such as new light fixtures or planters to the main commercial area in the neighbourhood would improve my overall confidence in the neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

28. Adding a decorative theme, such as the "little Italy" district along Corydon Avenue, would improve my confidence in the neighbourhood.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

29. A decline in commercial activities in the neighbourhood would cause me to consider selling my home.

a. strongly agree
b. agree
c. undecided
d. disagree
e. strongly disagree

Congratulations, you have made it to the final section and there are just a few general questions remaining!

Part E - Final Section

30. Do you plan on renovating your home in the next year? Yes___No___ If yes, go to next question. If no go to question 34.

31. Which area(s) of the home are you planning to renovate (multiple responses o.k).

a) structure _____
b) exterior (painting, siding)_____
c) interior (general)_____
d) bathroom_____
e) kitchen_____
f) bedrooms_____
g) basement (building rec room)_____
h) windows_____
I) garage (adding)_____
j) landscaping_____
k) other _____
_____
_____

32. What price range best describes your renovation plans:

a) $0-999_____
b) $1000-2999_____
c) $3000-5999_____
d) $6000-9999_____
e) $10000 - 14999_____
f) $15000- 19999_____
g) $20,000+___
h) not sure_____

33. Have you undertaken any renovation projects in the last five years? Yes___No___

If yes, go to next question or proceed to question 37.

34. What is the most significant renovation project that you have undertaken in the last five years? Use the following space to write your answer.

35. What was the approximate cost of this project?

a) $0-999_____
b) $1000-2999_____
c) $3000-5999_____
d) $6000-9999_____
e) $10000 - 14999_____
f) $15000- 19999_____
g) $20,000+___
h) not sure_____

36. In terms of overall renovation activity in your neighbourhood, which one of the following best describes what is taking place?

a. some minor activity (painting, fixing fences).
b. not much at all
c. a fair amount (upgrading windows, fixing roofs).
d a substantial amount (additions, siding).
e. not sure

37. Which of the following best describes the current housing sales activity in the neighbourhood?

a. quick sales
b. slow sales
c. average sales
d. not sure

38. Compared to similar homes on your block, do you consider your home to be worth

a. about the same as other homes
b. worth significantly more
c. worth slightly less
d. worth considerable less
e. about the same
f. not sure

39. Which one of the following would most likely prevent you from renovating your home?

a. house does not need repairs
b. can't afford any renovations at this time
c. would not improve the value of the home
d. don't intend to stay in the area
e. not sure

40. Which one of the following best describes the condition of the commercial area in the neighbourhood?

a. stable
b. a few vacancies
c. poor
d. exciting
f. not sure

41. Which one of the following best describes the present condition of your home

a. average and not in need of any maintenance
b. average but in need of some minor maintenance
c. above the neighbourhood average
d. below the neighbourhood average
e. in need of major repairs

42. Which ***one*** of the following situations would be most likely to cause you to sell your home at the present time?

a. increasing house prices.
b. decreasing house prices.
c. loss of confidence in the neighbouthood's future.
d. desire to move to a better area.
e. not sure.

43. Which of the following best describes the present value of your home?

a. under 50,000
b. 50,000-75
c. 75,000-100,000
d. 100 - 125,000
f. 125 - 175,000
g. 175,000+
h. not sure

44. Which one of the following best describes your overall confidence in the neighbourhood?

a. very confident
b. somewhat confident
c. not overly confident
d. not confident at all
e not sure

45. Which one of the following best describes your family structure?

a. single
b. married with one child
c. married with two+ kids
d. married with no kids
e. retired
f. other_____

Thank you for your time and please mail in your survey as soon as possible!

Appendix B - Neighbourhood Census and Housing Data

Winnipeg Data						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	535220	560874	564473	594550	615185	618480
Census Families	130020	141680	146865	156695	162250	163315
Unemployment Rate	5	5	5.2	8	8.8	8.2
Average Family Income	NA	NA	32425	38647	49261	53174
Movers (%)	NA	48	51.5	53	51	56
Non Movers (%)	NA	52	48.5	47	49	44
Total Dwellings	163410	192858	211245	227150	240675	246175
Owners (%)	59	58	53	59.5	60.5	62
Renters (%)	41	42	47	40.5	39.5	38
Regular Repairs	NA	NA	78.9	NA	68.5	64
Minor Repair	NA	NA	16	NA	23	27.1
Major Maintenance	NA	NA	5.1	NA	8.5	8.9
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)	41.5	NA	25.2	22.7	20.7	20.6
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)	33.3	NA	25.3	23.2	21.6	20.8
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)	24.6	NA	21.2	19.4	18.5	18.5
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)	.05	NA	11.8	26.5	22.5	21
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)	NA	NA	1.7	8.1	16.5	15.9
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3.2

Spence Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	6230	4980	4895	5115	4870	3940
Census Families	1330		990	1050	1015	820
Unemployment Rate	10.3	4.7	8.4	21.5	25.4	30
Average Family Income	5222		15879	19081	20400	21608
Movers (%)			69.9	67.6	72	65.3
Non Movers (%)			30.1	32.4	28	34.7
Total Dwellings	2650	1915	1810	2080	1850	1625
Owners (%)	19.4	24.2	22.9	18.9	18.6	19.3
Renters (%)	80.6	75.8	77.1	81.1	81.4	80.7
Regular Repairs			71.8	0	59.5	58.5
Minor Repair			18.7	0	23.7	30.3
Major Maintenance			9.6	0	16.6	11
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			52.9	58.0	46.1	50
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			20.1	17.3	18.3	21.4
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			9.3	5.7	10.6	10.4
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			15.4	12.7	12.8	3.3
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	6.2	12.2	12.8
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)			0	0	0	1.5

William Whyte Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	10005	8490	6780	6900	6625	6280
Census Families	2395		1595	1608	1530	1390
Unemployment Rate	13.1	8.5	9.2	16.2	24.1	26.5
Average Family Income	6371		15961	21995	23276	23873
Movers (%)			51	58.6	57.4	59.5
Non Movers (%)			49	41.4	42.6	40.5
Total Dwellings	3185	2935	2545	2630	2650	2545
Owners (%)	40.5	43.3	48.7	45.2	40.9	39
Renters (%)	59.5	56.7	51.3	54.8	59.1	61
Regular Repairs			63.8		53.5	55.2
Minor Repair			23.5		30	28.5
Major Maintenance			12.7		16.5	16.3
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			69.5	60.5	62.9	62.4
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			22.5	19.7	15.6	21
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			4.7	6.5	7.5	5.7
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			3.5	6.2	7.3	4.3
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	6.7	6.7	5.3
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)			0			1.1

Wolseley Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	11995	10355	8760	8790	8140	7970
Census Families	2795	2795	1930	1940	1845	1875
Unemployment Rate	8.7	7.2	6.8	11.9	12	7
Average Family Income	7906	NA	21398	37174	43264	47443
Movers (%)	NA	NA	45	41	44.7	41
Non Movers (%)	NA	NA	55	59	55.3	49
Total Dwellings	4320	3890	3685	3810	3580	3535
Owners (%)	42	46	46	48	49.5	55.5
Renters (%)	58	54	54	52	50.5	44.5
Regular Repairs	NA	NA	69	NA	46.5	47
Minor Repair	NA	NA	21	NA	37	36.5
Major Maintenance	NA	NA	10	NA	16.5	16.5
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)	NA	NA	81	80	80	82
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)	NA	NA	15	12	10.8	10.5
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)	NA	NA	3	4	4	3.8
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)	NA	NA	.8	1	.9	1.2
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)	NA	NA	0	3	3.3	2.5
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)	NA	NA	0	0	0	0

Luxton Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	3715	3275	2905	2915	2710	2655
Census Families	965	965	765	765	730	690
Unemployment Rate	11.1	5.1	10.2	10.2	14.1	10
Average Family Income	8066	0	20622	32378	38918	41937
Movers (%)	0	0	45.2	42.4	41.3	37.2
Non Movers (%)	0	0	54.8	57.6	58.7	61.8
Total Dwellings	1120	1075	1085	1075	1035	990
Owners (%)	63.8	68.3	66.3	70.6	70.0	71.2
Renters (%)	36.2	31.7	33.7	29.4	30.0	28.8
Regular Repairs			64.9	0	49.7	36.3
Minor Repair			23.5	0	33.8	40.4
Major Maintenance			11.9	0	15.9	22.2
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			79.2	76.1	77.7	81.3
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			18.4	21.0	13.0	15.6
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			0	.9	5.3	2.5
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			0	1.4	.9	1.0
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	0	1.9	0
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)			0	0	0	0

King Edward Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	7600	6350	6006	6930	5765	5770
Census Families	1905	1905	1615	1710	1615	1620
Unemployment Rate	7.7	4.6	6.1	8.1	6.2	8
Average Family Income	8300		22073	31264	39809	40804
Movers (%)			41.5	46.5	47.0	41.6
Non Movers (%)			58.5	53.5	53	58.4
Total Dwellings	2230	2220	2375	2445	2465	2495
Owners (%)	80.4	80.8	76.4	74.6	74.8	74.7
Renters (%)	19.6	19.2	23.6	25.4	25.2	25.3
Regular Repairs			66.9		57.9	48.2
Minor Repair			23.1		27.2	35
Major Maintenance			9.6		14.8	16.4
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			54.3	49.6	46	48.7
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			28.6	29.4	30.2	26.1
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			4.6	4.4	5.8	5.2
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			12.6	14.1	1.0	12.4
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)				1.8	7.5	6.0
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						1.8

McMillian Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	5735	4605	3920	3875	3625	3660
Census Families	1305		740	770	640	685
Unemployment Rate	8.8	9.3	8.3	7.2	12.7	7
Average Family Income	8043		22186	37960	43061	53252
Movers (%)			71.5	68.3	73.1	72.9
Non Movers (%)			28.5	21.7	26.9	27.1
Total Dwellings	2485	2325	2185	2130	1965	2010
Owners (%)	12.6	12.4	14.1	23.2	24.7	26.1
Renters (%)	87.4	87.6	85.9	76.8	75.3	73.9
Regular Repairs			57.6		51.9	54.4
Minor Repair			31.1		30.7	31.3
Major Maintenance			10.9		17.8	13.9
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			57.8	56.4	48.6	55.7
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			21.5	20.1	25.1	22.3
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			17.1	18.5	17.0	12.6
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			2.2	2.8	4.0	4.2
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			1.1	2.3	5.0	3.9
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						.9

Crescent Park Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	3100	2850	2445	2305	2315	2275
Census Families	810		715	695	680	655
Unemployment Rate	6.2	5.2	3.5	6.8	7.3	4
Average Family Income	14247		34960	52538	65283	66745
Movers (%)			33.9	33.4	32.1	30.5
Non Movers (%)			66.1	66.6	67.9	69.5
Total Dwellings	860	895	870	870	890	900
Owners (%)	81.9	81.0	81.0	82.7	81.4	77.7
Renters (%)	18.1	19.0	19.0	17.3	18.6	22.3
Regular Repairs			74.1		64.0	50.8
Minor Repair			19.5		24.8	35.7
Major Maintenance			.6		1.1	1.3
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			5.2	10.4	11.6	12.7
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			92.7	75.1	73.3	68.8
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			7.2	10.4	6.6	12.2
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			5.9	2.8	4.4	3.3
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	1.7	3.3	2.2
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						1.1

West Elmwood Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	3320	2865	2505	2550	2330	2330
Census Families	825		670	665	630	600
Unemployment Rate	10	3.8	6.5	8.6	10.4	8
Average Family Income	8379		23960	34632	39343	44207
Movers (%)			31.6	39.8	39.0	46.4
Non Movers (%)			68.4	61.2	61.0	53.6
Total Dwellings	975	940	905	935	920	890
Owners (%)	71.7	76.5	82.3	80.7	79.3	85.3
Renters (%)	28.3	23.5	17.7	19.3	20.7	14.7
Regular Repairs			63.7		49.4	50.5
Minor Repair			28.0		32.4	33.1
Major Maintenance			7.6		18.1	16.2
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			83.5	73.1	71.2	77.5
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			13.7	21.6	21.5	17.9
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			0	3.0	3.3	2.2
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			0	1.0	1.6	1.6
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	0	2.2	1.1
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						0

Windsor Park Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	14655	13805	12155	11290	10800	10370
Census Families	3495		3270	3180	3185	3105
Unemployment Rate	5.2	3.3	5.1	6.8	7.2	6
Average Family Income	10895		29957	43164	50389	52318
Movers (%)			28.9	28.1	34.3	30.2
Non Movers (%)			71.1	71.9	65.7	69.8
Total Dwellings	3600	3755	3735	3785	3845	3820
Owners (%)	81.8	82.2	83.4	82.8	82.0	82.5
Renters (%)	18.2	17.8	16.6	17.2	18.0	17.5
Regular Repairs			80.8		63.5	63.8
Minor Repair			16.4		27.8	29.1
Major Maintenance			2.6		8.5	6.8
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			0	1.7	1.5	2.0
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			43.2	42.7	42.7	43.5
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			50.7	48.4	46.2	45.8
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			4.9	6.7	6.7	4.8
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	0.2	2.9	2.8
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						.6

Kirkfield Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	2460	2830	2845	3120	2855	2780
Census Families	625		800	870	810	760
Unemployment Rate	5.7	4.1	4.2	3.9	6.2	3
Average Family Income	11171		33007	48312	65041	67852
Movers (%)			44.7	42.7	40.6	32.0
Non Movers (%)			65.3	57.3	59.4	68.0
Total Dwellings	695	890	1040	1250	1245	1260
Owners (%)	66.9	69.6	62.5	59.6	64.6	66.2
Renters (%)	33.1	30.4	37.5	40.4	35.4	33.8
Regular Repairs			82.6		83.8	73.8
Minor Repair			13.4		12.5	20.2
Major Maintenance			3.8		3.6	5.5
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			3.3	3.6	5.6	4.7
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			27.4	19.6	16.9	19.8
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			37.5	3.5	35.8	31.7
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			28.3	29.3	19.7	25.7
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	16.8	21.7	16.6
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						0

North River Heights Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	7050	6610	6170	6050	5760	5645
Census Families	1875		1730	1720	1655	1635
Unemployment Rate	5.7	4.9	3.9	3.4	5.1	5
Average Family Income	14967		37638	58053	75000	70224
Movers (%)			36.2	34.6	33.7	37.2
Non Movers (%)			63.8	65.4	66.3	62.8
Total Dwellings	2190	2165	2190	2210	2190	2165
Owners (%)	90.4	93.0	92.4	94.3	92.9	92.1
Renters (%)	9.6	7	7.6	5.7	7.1	7.9
Regular Repairs			75.1		59.7	48.0
Minor Repair			18.9		29.7	36.9
Major Maintenance			5.9		10.5	14.7
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			71.0	68.6	70.9	73.6
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			26.9	29.1	26.5	23.7
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			0	0.6	0.4	1.3
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			0	0.4	1.1	0
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	1.1	0.9	0.4
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						0

Norwood West Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	4150	3825	3350	3235	3090	3115
Census Families	1085		930	895	825	860
Unemployment Rate	8.3	5.7	4.2	6.1	9.7	9.0
Average Family Income	10421		26774	44518	54745	59771
Movers (%)			43.5	32.7	35.4	39.8
Non Movers (%)			56.5	67.3	64.6	60.2
Total Dwellings	1335	1360	1325	1310	1290	1310
Owners (%)	70.4	70.2	73.2	74.8	72.8	73.6
Renters (%)	29.6	29.8	26.8	25.2	27.2	26.4
Regular Repairs			70.9		62.4	48.8
Minor Repair			21.5		27.5	38.1
Major Maintenance			7.9		9.6	12.9
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			50.5	46.7	46.8	46.9
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			37.7	44.4	41.0	39.6
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			8.3	5.3	6.2	9.1
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			2.6	3.8	3.8	3.4
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	0	1.1	0
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						0.7

Riverview Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	5875	5415	4775	4565	4565	4315
Census Families	1500		1290	1205	1230	1185
Unemployment Rate	6.7	4.0	5.8	7.8	7.8	5.0
Average Family Income	10668		28114	40273	50559	56992
Movers (%)			30.1	33.0	38.6	42.8
Non Movers (%)			69.9	67.0	63.4	57.2
Total Dwellings	1810	1790	1750	1770	1935	1925
Owners (%)	74.5	75.9	76.8	77.4	71.3	70.3
Renters (%)	25.5	24.1	23.2	22.6	28.7	29.7
Regular Repairs			75.3		58.0	55.0
Minor Repair			18.3		28.2	31.6
Major Maintenance			6.5		13.7	12.9
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			46.1	44.1	41.4	43.3
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			49.8	50.7	44.8	42.3
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			3.4	3.1	3.1	4.6
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			0	2.2	2.0	0.7
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	0	8.2	8.5
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						0.5

Lindenwoods Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	70	45	0	1610	5525	6470
Census Families				450	1500	1775
Unemployment Rate	NA	NA	0	5.2	3.4	5.0
Average Family Income				68414	83697	87682
Movers (%)				100	76.8	45.0
Non Movers (%)				0	23.2	55.0
Total Dwellings				470	1675	1995
Owners (%)				97.8	87.4	94.2
Renters (%)				0	13.1	5.8
Regular Repairs				NA	92.2	89.0
Minor Repair					7.1	9.0
Major Maintenance					0.5	1.7
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)				0	0	0
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)				0	0	0
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)				0	.5	0
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)				0	.5	0
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)				98.9	99.0	80.7
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						19.2

Canterbury Park Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population		1020	2220	2950	4505	4835
Census Families			580	805	1275	1370
Unemployment Rate		3.8	5.7	5.5	8.3	5.0
Average Family Income			25347	38326	47427	53054
Movers (%)			66.0	57.8	55.5	40.9
Non Movers (%)			34.0	42.2	44.5	59.1
Total Dwellings		285	655	880	1410	1535
Owners (%)		100	74.8	82.9	84.7	86.9
Renters (%)		0	25.2	17.1	15.3	13.1
Regular Repairs			92.3		84.0	79.5
Minor Repair			7.6		14.1	16.8
Major Maintenance			0		1.4	3.2
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			0	0	0	0
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			0	0	0	0
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			0	1.6	2.8	3.2
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			96.1	68.9	40.7	37.3
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)				28.2	56.7	50.6
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						8.4

Inkster Gardens Neighbourhood						
Year	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Population	60	50	185	1685	3120	3195
Census Families	0		55	485	840	870
Unemployment Rate	13.0		12.3	2.2	6.8	9.0
Average Family Income			19693	38460	48504	52546
Movers (%)			95.0	91.3	58.3	32.3
Non Movers (%)			0	8.7	41.7	67.7
Total Dwellings			60	540	895	915
Owners (%)			75.0	90.7	84.3	85.7
Renters (%)			0	8.3	15.7	14.3
Regular Repairs			100		86.5	85.2
Minor Repair			0		12.1	13.6
Major Maintenance			0		1.1	1.0
Period of construction, before 1946 (%)			0	0	1.1	0
Period of construction, 1946-1960 (%)			0	0	1.1	0
Period of construction, 1961-1970 (%)			0	0	1.1	0
Period of construction, 1971-1980 (%)			81.8	6.5	6.1	6.0
Period of construction, 1981-1990 (%)			0	89.7	91.6	90.1
Period of construction, 1991-1996 (%)						3.2

Neighbourhood Housing Statistics Part A						
Neighbourhood	Permit Activity* (1994-98)	Total Units	Renovation Index[1]	Average Selling Price 1989	Average Selling Price 1999	Percent Change
City of Winnipeg	6044	246175	2.46	$78,900	$86,725	10%
William White	104	2545	4.09	$36,000	$17,500	-51%
Spence	106	1625	6.52	$45,000	$16,000	-64%
Luxton	37	990	3.74	$54,500	$49,700	-9%
King Edward	72	2495	2.89	$54,000	$56,000	4%
Wolseley	176	3535	4.98	$70,000	$77,250	10%
McMillan*	67	2010	3.33	$82,250	$87,750	7%
Crescent Park	24	900	2.67	$95,000	$100,00	0 5%
West Elmwood	94	890	10.56	$59,700	$64,950	9%
Windsor Park	84	3820	2.20	$85,100	$86,950	2%
Kirkfield	23	1260	1.83	$96,000	$87,500	-9%
North River Heights*	63	2165	2.91	$99,900	$106,00	0 6%
Norwood West *	39	1310	2.98	$82,000	$86,200	5%
Riverview*	74	1925	3.84	$81,750	$86,500	6%
Lindenwoods	85	1995	4.26	$157,950	$172,075	9%
Canterbury Park	43	1535	2.80	$75,500	$83,000	10%
Inkster Gardens	13	915	1.42	$84,500	$90,000	7%

Source: City of Winnipeg
*Permit Activity was collected only for the projects identified as Alterations and Repairs

[1]The renovation index measures the percentage of permits

Neighbourhood Housing Statistics Part B						
Neighbourhood	Placarded Homes (1999)	Average Effective age of Dwellings (1999)	Housing Condition (1999)	Maintenance / Occupancy Orders (1989-1999)	Rental Indicator (1999)	Demotion Permits (1983-1998)
City of Winnipeg	131 (0.57 avg)	1952	2.72 (avg)	2.40 (avg)	9.54 (avg)	1 (avg)
William White	28	1914	98.00	252.00	46.88	81.00
Spence	11	1906	47.00	116.00	49.30	54.00
Luxton	4	1917	2.00	28.00	16.89	12.00
King Edward	0	1934	8.00	58.00	17.39	84.00
Wolseley	1	1915	12.00	76.00	17.57	15.00
McMillan*	1	1911	2.00	51.00	38.76	28.00
Crescent Park		1954	2.00	6.00	3.45	15.00
West Elmwood	0	1924	0.00	9.00	11.22	8.00
Windsor Park	0	1961	0.00	17.00	3.83	2.00
Kirkfield	0	1963	0.00	7.00	3.79	11.00
North River Heights*	0	1934	0.00	10.00	3.86	3.00
Norwood West *	0	1935	0.00	11.00	4.02	14.00
Riverview*	0	1935	2.00	15.00	6.75	7.00
Lindenwoods	0	1988	0.00	4.00	2.51	3.00
Canterbury Park	0	1984	0.00	0.00	4.01	1.00
Inkster Gardens	0	1985	0.00	0.00	0.76	4.00

Source: City of Winnipeg
*Permit Activity was collected only for the projects identified as Alterations and Repairs

Appendix C - Varady's Confidence Index by Resident Group

Table C-1A Varady's Confidence Index Major Improvement Area Resident Group			
Expected Changes	Present Rating of Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	Neighbourhood So-So	Relatively Good
Better	1.4 (1)	13.6 (1)	12 (1)
Same	11 (3)	27.4 (2)	15 (1)
Worse	11 (3)	2.7 (3)	0 (3)

(1) optimistic (2) neither optimistic or pessimistic (3) pessimistic.

Table C-1B Varady's Confidence Index Rehabilitation Area Resident Group			
Expected Changes	Present Rating of Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	Neighbourhood So-So	Relatively Good
Same	1 (3)	18.3 (2)	48 (1)
Worse	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)

(1) optimistic (2) neither optimistic or pessimistic (3) pessimistic.

Table C-1C Varady's Confidence Index Conservation Area Resident Group			
Expected Changes	Present Rating of Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	Neighbourhood So-So	Relatively Good
Same	0 (3)	17.5 (2)	66.4 (1)
Worse	0 (3)	<1 (3)	2.1 (3)

(1) optimistic (2) neither optimistic or pessimistic (3) pessimistic.

Table C-1D Varady's Confidence Index Emerging Area Resident Group			
Expected Changes	Present Rating of Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	Neighbourhood So-So	Relatively Good
Same	2 (3)	12 (2)	61 (1)
Worse	0 (3)	1 (3)	1 (3)

(1) optimistic (2) neither optimistic or pessimistic (3) pessimistic.

Table C-1E Varady's Confidence Index Major Stakeholder Area Resident Group			
Expected Changes	Present Rating of Neighbourhood		
	Relatively Bad	Neighbourhood So-So	Relatively Good
Same	0 (3)	2 (2)	67.5 (1)
Worse	0 (3)	<1 (3)	<1 (3)

(1) optimistic (2) neither optimistic or pessimistic (3) pessimistic.

Appendix D Spearman Rank-Order Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Confidence Level	1.000	.383**	.132**	.300**	.276**	.428**	.556**	-.072	-.018	-.203**	.168**	-.289**	-.007	-.045	-.077	.199**	.116**	-.006	-.044	.416**	-.025	.071	.122**	-.051	-.073
Neighbourhood Satisfaction		1.000	.124**	.176**	.061	.237**	.547**	-.012	-.018	-.162**	.070	-.193**	-.012	-.014	-.051	.092*	.042	-.022	-.031	.219**	-.039	.029	.035	-.035	-.009
Mobility Status			1.000	.090*	.050	.151**	.122**	.093*	-.093*	-.301**	.056	-.345**	.066	.020	.091*	.153**	.077	.042	.070	.107*	-.013	.002	.045	.028	-.059
Future Expectations				1.000	.169**	.181**	.226**	.091*	-.089*	-.112**	.129**	-.116**	.056	.071	.119**	.209**	.110**	.104*	-.115**	.162**	.053	-.014	-.020	-.024	.009
Renovation Activity					1.000	.284**	-151**	-.017	.074	-.130**	.046	-.191**	.054	-.046	-.028	.102*	.052	.042	.005	.310**	-.017	.054	.065	-.050	-.017
Housing Market Activity						1.000	.385**	-.116*	.028	-.192**	.207**	-.152**	-.086	-.117*	-.139**	.102*	.064	.021	-.024	.364**	-.057	.079	.093*	-.081	-.022
Neighbourhood Appearance							1.000	.055	-.008	.192**	-.199**	.259**	.026	.024	.075	-.179**	-.043	-.013	.108**	-.389**	.032	-.038	-.091*	.020	.075
More Confident about the Neighbourhood -Renovate								1.000	-.045	.051	.045	.060	.683**	.721**	.708**	.221**	.028	.177**	-.077	-.183**	.052	.076	.060	-.075	.018
Sales Due to Dropping Property Values									1.000	.109*	-.097*	.129**	-.004	.016	-.035	-.022	.014	.063	-.078	.120**	-.017	.047	.048	-.114**	-.004
Sales Due to Increasing House Prices										1.000	-.028	.372**	.009	.135**	-.019	-.094*	-.008	.015	-.120**	-.161**	-.052	.127**	.076	-.077	.065
More Homes Selling is Positive											1.000	-.077	.100*	.052	.076	.164**	.074	.030	-.011	.075	-.050	.019	.032	.046	-.018
Sell Home Increasing Prices												1.000	.061	.088*	-.006	-.051	-.003	.058	-.049	-.208**	-.013	-.007	-.008	-.005	.001
Renovate Increasing Property Values													1.000	.662**	.656**	.232**	.010	.125**	-.075	-.128**	.020	.110*	.057	-.110*	.066
Renovate Increasing Home Value														1.000	.643**	.167**	.050	.088*	-.155**	-.150**	.019	.119**	.028	-.134**	.115**
Renovate If other Residents were Renovating															1.000	.327**	.089*	.232**	-.104*	-.188**	.042	.112*	.046	-.096*	.084
My Renovations Influence Others																1.000	.163**	.208**	-.052	.126**	.004	.063	.084*	-.013	-.032
Commercial Amenities Improve Stability																	1.000	.264**	-.165**	.032	.039	.080	.089*	-.124**	-.015
Themes																		1.000	-.100*	.045	.022	.084*	.096*	-.075	-.020

Increases Confidence																									
How Long in Home																			1.000	-.123**	-.089*	-.305**	-.181**	.477**	-.162**
Home Value																				1.000	-.036	.064	.100*	-.080	-.053
Single																					1.000	-.346**	-.254**	-.156**	-.117**
Married																						1.000	.733**	-.713**	.337**
Married w/ Kids																							1.000	-.523**	-.392**
Retired																								1.000	-.240**
Married No Kids																									1.000

APPENDIX E - SELF-DIRECTED PHOTOGRAPHY CAMERA SHEETS

CAMERA ONE			
	Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1	POS\ NEG	Churchill Drive	Positive- recreational and exercise resource Negative- tagging on sign
2	POS	Churchill Drive	River walk- green space and water
3	POS	Churchill High	Recreational area- soccer, football, tennis, basketball
4	POS	Ashland Ave	Childcare Centre- valuable resource/ service to the community
5	POS	Riverview Community Centre	Youth employment/empowerment in area. Tennis courts, green space, wading pool, hockey rinks, volleyball, baseball, etc.
6	POS	Transit Bus	Access to area for all
7	POS	Churchill Dr Eccles and Bartlett	Community Garden= Community cooperation/pride Riverview Health Centre- Adds elderly to community, and large employer
8	POS	Baltimore and Fisher	Flowers, bench, clean park
9	NEG	Back lanes- Morley and Oakwood 7-11	Tagging "gang" activity present/related
10	POS	Mulvey Ave	Graffiti /art- Different from tagging

CAMERA TWO		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 Neg	Brandon Avenue	Increased Graffiti in the neighbourhood beginning to show
2 Pos	Churchill Drive	Boat Club adds a nice touch to the river walk, long history in the area
3 Neg	Osborne Area	Dilapidated industrial site - redevelopment is needed
4 Pos	River walk	This area was a former landfill site that was redeveloped.
5 Pos	Riverview Forest	Old Growth Trees along the river
6 Pos	Community Gardens	A great location for the residents to grow crops and such
7 Pos	Community Club	A great multi-purpose site
8 Pos	Fisher Park	Great central park - nice for sitting and reading and also for playing!
9 Pos	Character Housing	Great mix of housing and also many price ranges
10 Neg	Old Apartments	Many building seem to be falling behind in repairs
11 Pos	Osborne Area	Many murals are adding colour and a sense of history to the area
12 Pos	Canopy of Trees	Mature trees add so much character to the areas, especially in summer
13 Neg	Decaying Back lands	Neglect to back lanes is taking its toll on the area
14 Neg	Loss of heritage	Abandoned possible "heritage" building.

CAMERA THREE		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 NA		
2 POS	Don Gerrie Park	Getting people to use riverbank
3 POS	Darling and Oakwood	"Under" developed land - hope it stays that way
4 POS	city garden	Promotes community / good health
5 NEG	McDonald's	Ugly corporate America moving in
6 POS	wall mural	Rediscovering past / urban beautification
7 NEG	Helga's	Empty building / ugly building
8 NEG	Park Theatre	Been empty so long - unrealized potential
9		
10		

CAMERA FOUR		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 POS	Fisher park	great to have green space that isn't overdeveloped in the middle of a residential area
2 NEG	Morley and Osborne	A bit run down
3 POS	Don Gerrie Park	I just like it here! The tribute garden for Garth is very nice too
4 POS	Community gardens	nice to have green space put towards a useful purpose
5 NEG	Mc Donald's	giant corporations developing on green space is very unappealing to me
6 POS	Sawatdee Thai restaurant / shop	interesting, diverse small business, great mural too.
7 NEG	Computer Den/Income Tax	what's up with these businesses? It would be nice to see something else in this spot
8 NEG	Laundry mat building	this building is rather dilapidated and empty
9		
10		

CAMERA FIVE		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 NEG	back lane between Morley and Arnold	Dilapidated home and backyard, it shoes despair, poverty and a general lack of caring
2 POS	Riverview School	Schools bring families to neighbourhoods and helps to keep them there
3 POS	Top block of Clare (just off Osborne)	A restored home over 80yrs old. Shows the connection the neighbourhood has to the past, and personifies respect and pride in ones property.
4 NEG	Ashland School	School was closed at a time when enrollment was too low to support it.
5 POS	Riverview Community Club	Well used, well maintained community club. Place for youth and adults to get involved in recreation and community events.
6 POS	Banks of the Red River (near Churchill & Fisher)	Shows proximity of neighbourhood to the river, scenic, tranquil and a great place to hang out when you're a kid.
7 NEG	Banks of the Red River (near Churchill & Fisher)	Unchecked erosion of the riverbank. Sad because over the years a significant portion of the entire bank is gone along with countless trees and an old bike trail.
8 NEG	Ashland St between Hay and Fisher	Too many bad road surfaces throughout neighbourhood
9		
10		

CAMERA SIX			
	Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1	POS	View of Red River from St Vital bridge	Nice view
2	POS	Churchill Dr between Casey and Osborne	Favourite house in Neighbourhood
3	POS	Churchill park between Fisher and Montgomery	Large green space, important in urban areas
4	POS	Clare Ave between Fisher and Casey	Old house being maintained / revitalized
5	POS	Fisher park	Nice park always well maintained / used
6	POS	Riverview Health Centre	New complex rebuilt, revitalize the neighbourhood
7	NEG	Morley Ave between Fisher and Casey	Poorly maintained house
8	NEG	Morley Apartments	Poorly maintained and visibly ugly.
9	NEG	Arnold/Fisher	Crumbling infrastructure
10	NEG	Morley/Fisher	Dilapidated fence, visually unappealing

CAMERA SEVEN			
	Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1	POS	Bartlet Ave between Hay and Casey	Beautiful new homes are replacing older run down houses.
2	NEG	Riverview Health Centre	Causes and increase in traffic in the neighbourhood and many disturbances. IE sirens
3	POS	Fisher St between Oakwood and Baltimore	Well maintained character homes display the diversity of the properties
4	POS	Oakwood Ave	Unlike new areas, Riverview's streets are lined with beautiful large trees.
5	POS	Osborne between Oakwood and Maplewood	Riverview offers many conveniences such as grocery stores, banks, etc.
6	NEG	Osborne between Oakwood and Baltimore	Abandoned businesses cause an unsightly appearance to passers by.
7	NEG	Corner of Ashland and Osborne	Low income, poorly maintained apartment buildings attract a lower class of citizens.
8	NEG	Osborne between Brandon and Arnold	It's a graveyard, it doesn't belong
9	POS	Churchill High	The proximity of bi-lingual schools allows children and teens to attend their classes without excessive travel.
10	NEG	Morley Ave between Hay and Casey	Small, decrepit homes are and everyday eyesore to residents.

CAMERA EIGHT		
Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1 POS	Churchill Dr north of 417	Security and peace of mind now that all chores for the season are finished.
2 NEG	Churchill Dr walkway, east of bridge	The area is too open aired, path should be closer to the river or sheltered with trees. There should also be lights along the path.
3 NEG	Churchill Dr	The tree is too big, needs to be pruned.
4 POS	Back lane	I like back lanes.
5 NEG	St. Vital Bridge	Graffiti- been there for a long time!!!
6 POS 7 8	Riverview Community Club	New roof being installed, shows residents are willing to spend money on their community. Fields are excellent, acceptable tennis courts, and play structure.
9 POS	Robert A Steen Day Hospital	Good industry for the neighbourhood, especially since renovated.
10 POS	Riverview Health Centre	Extensive upgrades have vastly improved the way the neighbourhood looks.
11 NEG	Manitoba Canoe and Kayak Centre	Graffiti- makes me think of kids with too much time(and therefore trouble)on their hands.
12 POS	Grassland Naturalization Area	low maintenance, and looks very good.
13 POS	Don Gerrie Park	This is great green space
14 Neg	Eccles and Baltimore	This home owner has been renovating for the last 4 years. The house is an eyesore.
15 POS	Park outside Riverview Health Centre	This is a great area for family life.

CAMERA NINE		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 Pos	Churchill Drive	New park and riverwalk areas which connects to the Forks
2 Neg	Eccles Area	Housing which has not been finished - this is talking too long and now looks ugly
3 Pos	Fisher Park	Great part of the neighbourhood
4 Pos	Riverview Club	Great multi-use part of the area – daycare and gym along with indoor and outdoor activities - can also use the centre for other functions (showers, socials)
5 Pos	Area Trees	Great canopy (of trees) not only provides shad but adds such character
6 Pos	Claire housing	Great character housing provides a lovely backdrop to the area
7 Neg	Morley	Pockets of old housing in which some are not renovating
8 Neg	7-11	Dumpster is sitting in the middle of the area and looks ugly!
9 Neg	Osborne	Too much traffic
10 Pos	Rec Centre	Great part of the neighbourhood that includes fitness centre, library, hockey and multi-purpose rooms – also nice that you can walk to it!

CAMERA TEN		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 POS	Balfour	Good variety of trees
2 NEG	Clare and Mabel	House can only be seen in the winter not very nice.
3 POS	Red River	Great walking and vistas near the river
4 POS	Wavell and Fisher	Like the idea of this windbreaker.
5 POS	Fisher and Balfour	Love the tree lined streets.
6 POS	Fisher Park	One of the many open areas in Riverview.
7 POS	Churchill Dr	What a plus it is too be able to walk to the Forks, away from the streets.
8 POS	Churchill Dr	Availability of garden plots.
9		
10		

CAMERA ELEVEN			
	Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1	NEG	Near Ashland and Hay	Is it a house? Is it a bush? We don't know!
2	POS	Oakwood and Casey	Mature trees
3	POS	Oakwood and Fisher	Represents unique architecture in area.
4	POS	Fisher park	Nice park
5	NEG	Ashland and Hay	No sidewalk on south side of Ashland for 3 blocks.
6	POS	Churchill Dr and Eccles	Beautiful park by Red River.
7	NEG	Churchill Dr and Eccles	Can't see Red River from most of beautiful park.
8	POS	Don Gerrie Park	Still could be better, but vast improvement over eyesore that it was.
9	POS	Churchill Dr north of high school	Good view of skyline.
10			

CAMERA TWELVE		
Positive or Negative	**Location**	**Reason for taking the shot**
1 NEG	Park theatre	Quite an eyesore. It looks very run down and takes away from surrounding buildings.
2 POS	Library and Leisure Centre	It's nice to have a good library close by. Also, the Leisure centre itself is great.
3 POS	Churchill Dr (By underpass)	The entire river walk along Churchill Dr is wonderful. Right by the river, good place to take pets, wide open field for sports, convenient.
4 POS	Churchill Dr gardens	Able to grow own vegetable, get to know other people around the area. Visually pleasing. Environmentally friendly (compost, etc.)
5 POS	Sawatdee Restaurant	Wonderful that this restaurant which started out so small was able to expand and even create a grocery store, as well as cooking lessons. It shows businesses can thrive in area
6 NEG	7- Eleven	Graffiti makes the area look rundown. Damages property.
7 NEG	Baltimore/Oakwood back lane	Some front streets and back lanes in this neighbourhood are just horrible. This is an example of the various disaster back lanes.
8		
9		
10		

CAMERA FOURTEEN		
Positive or Negative	Location	Reason for taking the shot
1 POS	Eccles and Churchill Dr	Lots of open green space. Nice to have the dyke in spring.
2 POS	Eccles and Ashland	The club is a symbol of this neighbourhood, and a meeting place for people of all ages.
3 POS	Eccles and Oakwood	Riverview Health Centre. Another symbol of this neighbourhood. Not many people have a facility like this.
4 POS	Fisher and Oakwood	Great scenery and a place for the unemployed to enjoy their days.
5 POS	281 Bartlett	Every neighbourhood should have a "gentlemen club".
6 POS	Osborne and Baltimore	Thriving business on Osborne. The Park Theatre is the only vacant place.
7 NEG	Morley and Osborne	Riverview is perceived in other parts of town based on this scene.
8 NEG	Arnold and Osborne	"Pit" of a place.
9 NEG	Brandon and Hay	These buildings are an eyesore and should be torn down.
10 POS	Churchill Dr	A marina, rowing club and a view of downtown, fantastic!!!!
11 NEG	Arnold and Casey	House hasn't been up kept since the 70's. Shameful.
12 NEG	Eccles and Baltimore	They are actually doing something!!!!! After 4 years.....