THE REVITALIZATION OF THE INNER CITY:
A CASE STUDY OF THE FAIRVIEW SLOPES NEIGHBOURHOOD,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

by

George T. Fujii
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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
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Department of Geography

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date April 28, 1981
DOONESBURY

DR. DAN, I WONDER IF YOU COULD EXPLAIN TO OUR LISTENERS WHAT "GENTRIFICATION" MEANS.

FOR SURE. IT WORKS LIKE THIS: A DEVELOPER BUYS A DILAPIDATED HOUSE IN A DEPRESSED NEIGHBORHOOD.

HE FIXES IT UP AND RESOLLS IT TO A YOUNG, MIDDLE-CLASS COUPLE. THIS ENCOURAGES OTHER GENTRIFY TO BUY INTO THE NEIGHBORHOOD. AND BEFORE LONG, A FANTASTIC REAL ESTATE MARKET BLOOMS WHERE NONE EXISTED BEFORE!

AND WHAT HAPPENS TO THE LOW INCOME TENANTS WHO ARE DISPLACED? DOES ANYONE CARE?

SURE, WE DO. THESE PEOPLE ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO THE WHOLE PROCESS!

OF COURSE. THEY MOW ON TO DEVALUE OTHER PROPERTIES. WITHOUT THEM, THE WHOLE SYSTEM FALLS APART.
ABSTRACT

Amidst the middle class "flight" to the suburbs, a select group of young, well-educated, and relatively affluent households have moved into formerly low and modest income, occasionally run-down, inner city neighbourhoods. Major changes in the economic and social fabric of society together with an increasing interest in the central city as an exciting and stimulating place to live have led to the middle class revitalization of the inner city. Hastening the renewal process has been the favourable responses of the development industry and financial community and the policies of local government. Theoretical approaches which do not emphasize the conjunction of socio-cultural lifestyle values with political and economic factors are much too narrow in scope for a complete analysis of gentrification. A social movements approach based on an ideology of aesthetics and style avoids this critique of theoretical narrowness.

Incorporating such a methodological perspective, this thesis examines the complex interplay of social, economic, and political factors in the renewal of the Fairview Slopes, an inner city neighbourhood in the city of Vancouver, B.C. Arising as a reaction to the growth-oriented ideology of the Non-Partisan Association at city hall, The Elector's Action Movement (T.E.A.M.), an urban reform party in power from 1972 to 1978, stressed the importance of aesthetics and style in the planning of
the urban environment. It is within such a context of livability that the process of renewal has taken place on the Fairview Slopes during the 1970's.

The transformation of the Fairview Slopes from a neighbourhood of old wooden frame houses into one of contemporary townhouse developments and immaculate renovations; together with its spectacular view and central location, have made it a very desirable place to live. In order to gain a better understanding of the nature and quality of this change, interviews were conducted with representatives of the Vancouver city planning department as well as various architects, developers, and real estate personnel. A neighbourhood survey of randomly selected Fairview Slopes residents provides the major source of data utilized in this study. Four general areas were explored in the neighbourhood questionnaire: (1) housing and neighbourhood characteristics of the Fairview Slopes (2) the desirability of Vancouver as a place to live (3) urban land use and development priorities and (4) the social and demographic characteristics of the survey respondents. Implicit in many of the responses are the concerns for aesthetics and style first advocated by T.E.A.M. during the early 1970's.

Livability, however, is not necessarily synonymous with equity and social justice. Although largely unintended, a number of less than desirable consequences
have accompanied the middle class revitalization of the inner city. The Fairview Slopes case study illustrates how the demands of the market place, despite the best intentions of planners and politicians, can appropriate the aesthetic and social objectives of apparently humane urban land use policies.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter 1
**INTRODUCTION**

1.1 A New Direction for the Inner City: Middle Class Renewal  
1.2 Terminology  
1.3 Methodological Underpinnings and Statement of Intent  
1.4 Organization of Chapters  

## Chapter 2
**THE URBAN DYNAMIC: THE MIDDLE CLASS RENEWAL OF THE INNER CITY**

2.1 Introduction  
2.2 Factors Encouraging Inner City Revitalization  
  2.2.1 Economic and Demographic Factors  
  2.2.2 Young Professionals and the Attraction of Inner City Living  
2.3 The Geography of Revitalization  
2.4 The Political-Economic Sector and Revitalization  
  2.4.1 The Development Industry  
  2.4.2 Financial Institutions  
  2.4.3 Revitalization and the Role of Local Government  
2.5 The Process of Inner City Revitalization: The Interplay of Public and Private  
  2.5.1 A Model of Revitalization  
2.6 Summary  


## Chapter 3: Theoretical Approaches Towards Gentrification

3.1 Introduction  
3.2 The Demographic Approach  
3.3 The Human-Ecological Approach  
3.4 The Socio-Cultural Approach  
3.5 The Political-Economic Approach  
3.5.1 Marxism and Gentrification  
3.5.2 Gentrification and Capital Accumulation  
3.6 The Social Movements Approach  
3.6.1 Social Movements, Ideology, and Inner City Revitalization  
3.7 Summary

## Chapter 4: Inner City Renewal in Vancouver: The Case of the Fairview Slopes

4.1 Introduction  
4.2 Liberal Ideology and the Livable City  
4.3 False Creek and the Fairview Slopes  
4.4 A New Direction for Fairview  
4.5 Fairview Slopes: Precursor to Change  
4.6 The Interaction of Public and Private: The Role of the Development Industry in the Transformation of the Fairview Slopes  
4.7 Marketplace Demands and the Redevelopment of Fairview  
4.8 Summary

## Chapter 5: The Fairview Slopes Resident Survey

5.1 Introduction  
5.2 Methods and Data  
5.3 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents  
5.4 The Fairview Slopes as a Place to Live  
5.5 The Fairview Slopes and the Future of Development  
5.6 Summary
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CONCLUDING REMARKS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>The Inner City and Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Planning and Politics in Vancouver: Theory and Reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Young Professionals and the Pursuit of Self-Interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Social Implications of Inner City Renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Inner City Revitalization: Some Final Thoughts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Covering Letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Resident Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Change in Number of Households Receiving Incomes of $20,000 or More and Living in Central Cities: 1970-1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Number and Percent of Central Cities Experiencing Private-Market Housing Renovation in Older Areas by Population-Size Class, 1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Occupational Breakdown of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1971.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Occupational Shifts in the Canadian Labour Force, 1951-1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Land Use on the Fairview Slopes, 1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Land Use Changes on the Fairview Slopes 1974-1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Social and Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Residential Location of Respondents Prior to Moving to the Fairview Slopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Length of Residence on the Slopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Desirable Characteristics of the Fairview Slopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Characteristics of the Fairview Slopes Which Respondents Dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Aspects of the Fairview Slopes Which Could Cause Respondents to Move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Types of Development Favoured for the Future of Slopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>The Goals for Vancouver Program: Important Things About Vancouver that Should Not Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Aspects of Vancouver that Should Not Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Aspects of Vancouver that Should Change or Improve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Priorities for Future Urban Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>Demolitions by Dwelling Type, City of Vancouver, 1973 to 1977</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Fairview Slopes in Context</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fairview Slopes</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>The Real Estate Industry and Image-Creation</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Ultra-Modern Townhouses on the Slopes</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The Fairview Slopes as Style and Grandeur</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Example of a Fairview Slopes Renovation</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Frame Houses of a Not too Distant Past</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>The Residential Core of the Fairview Slopes</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>The Fairview Slopes View</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Construction Annoyances and Poor Street Conditions</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>On-Street Parking on the Slopes</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 A New Direction for the Inner City: Middle Class Renewal

The deprivation of the inner city relative to its suburban counterpart is a prevalent theme of both academic and popular literature. Sternlieb and Ford (1979), for example, note the decline of family households in the central cities of the United States from slightly less than 17 million in 1970 to barely 15 million in 1974 and the inequality of incomes between central city and suburban residents; families leaving the city between 1970 and 1974 had mean incomes of $14,169 per year whereas those moving to the city earned an average of $12,864. As further evidence of decline, other commentators point to the high black proportion of the central city population and the rapid loss of jobs in central cities as compared to the suburbs (see for example, Bourne, 1978). A serious consequence of these events has been the abandonment of housing and a general decline in the residential structures of many inner city neighbourhoods (Hartshorne, 1971). A number of recent trends, however, seem to indicate that an increasing number of inner city neighbourhoods are undergoing physical, economic and social revitalization.
One of the most significant of these recent trends has been the growing affluence of particular sectors of some central city populations. Measured in constant 1973 dollars, central city households receiving incomes of at least $20,000 per annum increased by nearly 20 percent between 1970 and 1974 (Sternlieb and Ford, 1979). All age categories, with the exception of the oldest households, that have at least two individuals in them, enjoyed such increases (Table 1.1). During the same period, the number of individuals living alone who earn at least $20,000 increased by 56.5 percent in central cities.

Further evidence of the expanding affluence of central city households is the increasing level of home ownership. Despite decreasing population, the number of households that owned their accommodation increased by 8.7 percent, with the relatively youthful enjoying the largest proportionate increase (Sternlieb and Ford, 1979). The increased number of home buyers may be regarded as one measure of the competitive attractiveness of central cities.

Related to this growing affluence is the recent discovery of the housing opportunities of the inner city. A survey undertaken in 1975 by the Urban Land Institute (U.L.I) revealed that 124 (or 48 percent of the 260) central cities with population of over 50,000 had experienced some degree of private-market housing renovation in older, rundown areas (Black, 1975). The incidence of renovation activity varies considerably by city size. As shown in Table 1.2, 19 of 26
Table 1.1  Change in Numbers of Households Receiving Incomes of $20,000 or More and Living in Central Cities: 1970 - 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Characteristics</th>
<th>Number of Households (in thousands)</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two-or-More Person:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>3,242</td>
<td>3,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband-Wife families</td>
<td>2,945</td>
<td>3,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 25 years old</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>1,591</td>
<td>1,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 or older</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other male heads</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 65 years old</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 or older</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Heads</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 65 years old</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 or older</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Person Households</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 65 years old</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 or older</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Households</td>
<td>3,410</td>
<td>4,131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

or 73 percent of the central cities in the 500,000 and over population group reported some type of renovation activity. This percentage drops with the size class.

Table 1.2 Number and Percent of Central Cities Experiencing Private Market Housing Renovation in Older Areas by Population-Size Class, 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population-Size Class</th>
<th>Total Number of Cities in Class</th>
<th>Cities Experiencing Renovation Activity Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500,000 and over</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000 - 500,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 - 250,000</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 - 100,000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>260</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In an effort to update the 1975 renovation survey, the U.L.I. included questions about renovation and middle-income housing demand in a national survey of central city investment activity in January, 1979. The results of this survey show that renovation of older properties has spread to more cities. Renovation activity was reported in 86 percent of cities with over 150,000 residents as compared to 65 percent in 1975 (Black, 1980). Moreover, in contrast to the earlier survey where very few new housing construction projects were reported, virtually all of the central cities are now experiencing new construction for middle and upper-middle income occupancy. The volumes, however, tend to be relatively small compared to total new housing in metropolitan...
Further substantiating the residential interest in the inner city are the findings of Phillip Clay (1979; 1980). Through research conducted between 1976 and 1979, Clay found evidence of private residential reinvestment in all thirty of America's largest cities. The pace and extent of this renewal, however, varies considerably among these thirty cities. The cities of Washington, San Francisco and Seattle are noted as having experienced extensive private renewal and resettlement. In the middle range are cities that are undergoing substantial economic decline and population loss, but are simultaneously, although in different parts of the city, experiencing significant renewal and up-grading by long time residents. These include cities such as St. Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Boston. Finally, there are older industrial cities such as Detroit, Newark, and Cleveland where reinvestment has thus far been very limited - each of these cities being characterized by only one small instance of renewal.

The pace and extent of revitalization not only varies between cities but also among neighbourhoods within cities. Almost without exception, neighbourhoods which have undergone gentrification are located near the downtown and possess distinctive architectural, aesthetic and/or status features of topography.

Although decline has not been as marked in cities outside of the U.S., they too have experienced inner city
renewal. Toronto (Rebizant, 1974) and Vancouver (Ley, 1979b; Stobie, 1979) provide Canadian examples; Melbourne (Maher, 1978) and Sydney provide Australian examples; and London provides a British example (Hamnett, 1973; 1980).

At a first glance, the data suggest that the decline of the inner city has been reversed. This trend, however, must be viewed with a sense of cautious optimism. Revitalization is a small but widespread phenomenon. Although many cities have undergone renewal, the size of upgraded neighbourhoods varies significantly, ranging from a few blocks to district-sized areas. With the exception of a few cities – Atlanta, Boston, Washington and San Francisco – renovation activity is still relatively limited compared to total housing construction (Black, 1980). Moreover, this movement has thus far been limited to a small segment of the population. Indeed, some writers (see for example Bourne, 1978 and Lang, 1980) caution that the interest in the inner city by middle-class buyers and renters may only be a temporary phenomenon. Despite this small scale, the revitalization of the inner city is a phenomenon which refutes traditional theories of urban land use and has important implications for public policy makers and the private real estate sector. As Clay writes, "...Whatever their size and configuration, gentrification neighbourhoods are recognized in their central cities, and their images and importance often exceeds their true size." Furthermore,
although the total number of revitalizers may be small, "...this population sometimes has influence far beyond its number" (Clay, 1979, 17).

1.2 Terminology

Clay (1979) suggests that neighbourhood revitalization involves two distinct processes: (1) gentrification and (2) upgrading. In neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification population change is more important than physical change, although the physical improvements are also important. "The 'gentry' create a neighbourhood ambience and a style that reflect upper middle class tastes and values; their tastes and values supplant those of the lower income population that dominated the area before revitalization" (Clay, 1979, 6). In comparison, the major feature of upgrading is that physical improvement by incumbent residents takes place at a substantial rate with no significant change in the socio-economic status of the population. The lower or working class character of the neighbourhood is not changed. Inner city neighbourhoods which have undergone both social and physical change are the focal points of this research project. In addition to the rehabilitation and renovation of existing houses, the definition of private-sector reinvestment used in this study includes small-scale (as compared to massive) redevelopment.

Various terms have been used to describe the emergence of middle- and upper middle-class enclaves in formerly run-down neighbourhoods. Some of the more popular
include gentrification, inner city revitalization, middle
class renewal, private urban renewal, middle class resettlement, and urban reinvestment. These terms will be used interchangeably throughout this study.

1.3 Methodological Underpinnings and Statement of Intent

A complex interplay of changing public attitudes towards in-city living amongst a select group of individuals, the active participation of developers and financiers, and the politics of planning have led to the revitalization of the inner city. Analyses of gentrification which do not recognize the interplay between these various social, economic, and political factors are, in the view of this writer, much too restrictive. An approach acknowledging the conjunction of socio-economic lifestyle values with political and economic factors, it is suggested, holds the most promise for a complete analysis of inner city revitalization. A social movements approach based on a guiding ideology of aestheticism and style provides a step in this direction.

The Fairview Slopes neighbourhood in Vancouver, B.C. provides a relevant study area in which to consider this interplay of socio-cultural, political, and economic factors in the revitalization of an older inner city neighbourhood. Guided by a new ideology of livability adopted by city council and its planning staff, ultra-modern townhouses and immaculate renovations have replaced many of the
older, structurally unsound houses on the Slopes. Utilizing newspaper data, planning department reports, committee and council minutes, and interviews with various planning department officials, developers, and architects, the transformation of the Fairview Slopes is described and discussed. In order to get more insight into the nature and quality of this change, a resident survey was undertaken. Implicit in many of the responses is the concern for aesthetics and style first advocated by The Electors Action Movement (T.E. A.M.) ten years ago.

Overall, the transformation of the Fairview Slopes has improved the quality of the neighbourhood. Economic realities and market forces, however, have led to a situation where a group of well-educated, relatively affluent individuals have been favoured at the expense of a low and modest income one. Despite this apparent concern for humanity and social progressiveness, social justice and equality are not necessarily by-products of liberal social movements.

1.4 Organization of Chapters

The various factors which have contributed to the revitalization of the inner city, the locational and social features of the cities and neighbourhoods which have undergone renewal, and the roles of the various actors in the gentrification process are reviewed in Chapter 2. A review of the existing literature reveals the use of five alternative explanations of gentrification. The theoretical and empirical merits of these various explanations are assessed
in Chapter 3. Following the methodological perspective developed in the previous chapter, Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive description and analysis of the events leading to the transformation of the Fairview Slopes. The results of the Fairview Slopes resident survey are presented in Chapter 5. In the final chapter, some of the more serious social and economic implications of the revitalization phenomenon are considered through a reassessment of the liberal ideology thesis developed in Chapter 3.
Chapter 2

THE URBAN DYNAMIC: THE MIDDLE CLASS
RENEWAL OF THE INNER CITY

2.1 Introduction

Major changes in the economic and social fabric of society, together with a renewed interest in the central city as an interesting and stimulating place, have led to the discovery of formerly run-down inner city neighbourhoods as highly desirable places to live by a fairly affluent group of young, middle class individuals. Not all inner city neighbourhoods, however, have undergone this transformation. Renewal has occurred on a very selective basis. A unique set of locational and social features characterize gentrified neighbourhoods. Middle class interest in the inner city has been reinforced and extended by the development industry and financial community. Neighbourhoods once considered "high risk" are today the focal points of private sector investment. The major purpose of the following chapter is to present a detailed description and analysis of the revitalization of the inner city. More specifically, this chapter focuses upon those factors which have contributed to the renewal of the inner city by the middle class, the locational and social features of the cities and neighbourhoods which have experienced rejuvenation, and the roles of the various actors in the gentrification process.
2.2 Factors Encouraging Inner City Revitalization

A number of circumstances have arisen over the last few years which appear to have stimulated the recent trend towards inner city revitalization. Some of these relate to economic and demographic factors, whereas others relate to the increased attractiveness of inner city living.

2.2.1 Economic and Demographic Factors

Recent changes in the demographic structure of society have contributed to the renewal of the inner city. The recent trend towards smaller families, fewer children, and non-family households is very important in this regard. Between 1971 and 1976, the number of two person families in Canada increased by 26 percent whereas the total family population increased by only 13 percent. Similarly, whereas the number of family households increased by only 14 percent the number of non-family households increased by 28 percent. These changes have led to a reduction in the attractiveness of large suburban houses which tend to have more bedrooms and outside play space for children. Moreover, housing suitable for non-family households and unattached individuals is more readily available in the central city than in suburban locations. Likewise, the increasing entry of both single and married women into the labour force and the rising numbers of dual wage-earner families has somewhat restricted the choices in residential location open to many households because of the difficulties associated with joint commuting.
The central city, with a greater diversity of jobs and variable modes of transport, thus has become more attractive (Bourne, 1978).

The shifting distribution of the labour force is a second factor which has had implications for the geography of the city. The majority of the labour force is no longer engaged in primary or secondary activities but in services. Employment in service occupations has accounted for over 50 percent of the Canadian labour force since 1961. In 1971, roughly 58 percent of the labour force was employed in service occupations.²

The expansion of the service economy with its emphasis on office work, education, and government has brought about a significant change in the relative size and importance of white collar occupations. Within this white collar sector, the most rapid change has been in the growth of professional and technical employment. In Canada, whereas all occupations increased by 63 percent between 1951 and 1971, professional and technical occupations increased by 180 percent.³ Central city residences tend to be relatively more attractive to the professional, technical, and managerial sub-classes of the middle class than other groups because of the convenience associated with location near the city centre. In addition to work opportunities, a great amount of social activity and entertainment is also concentrated in the city centre, providing further advantages to an inner city location.
Related to this shift in employment has been the recent growth in office construction in downtown areas. This construction has further stimulated the desirability of the inner city among an increasing number of people (Black, 1975; Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980). As Clay points out, "The rediscovery of residential opportunities in the central city is not an isolated phenomenon but part of the more significant trend in which the preeminence of the downtown is being reestablished, principally with offices, service sector activities and specialty retail opportunities" (Clay, 1979, 13).

The attractiveness of a downtown office location stems primarily from the availability of face-to-face contacts and high density interaction (Gottman, 1966). This is especially important for corporate headquarters and head offices.

...As a broad generalization, very large and small firms, especially those playing the role of head office, continue to prefer the central city, where they can take advantage of the metropolitan area labour force and CBD's external economies...since they require inputs of advice, data and expertise from a variety of professions and other services that are relatively difficult to obtain in a suburban location (Manners, 1974, 100).

In addition to providing employment opportunities, new office construction has stimulated many positive multiplier effects, perhaps the most significant being the expansion of retail and service facilities to serve the new offices and employees. This infusion of activity in the downtown has
helped to reverse the fiscal crisis of the city (Alcaly and Mermelstein, 1977).

The rising demand for an inner city residence is often described as a result of adjustments and accommodations on the part of revitalizers to sharply escalating housing and energy costs. Falling rates of new suburban housing construction coupled with a steady, if not rising demand have led to sharp increases in the price of new housing (Zeitz, 1979). As a result, people have become more aware of the residential opportunities of the inner city where the price of housing has been less than the cost of housing in the suburbs. Accelerated by the provision of cheaper land at the fringe (made accessible by the extensive network of American freeways), the uneasy relationships between blacks and whites, and the desire among the relatively well-to-do to take advantage of new urban opportunities, the process of suburbanization has weakened the central city land and housing markets in the United States. In contrast, Canadian central city markets have not been weakened by peripheral development to the same degree as their American counterparts. They typically have had very low vacancy rates in recent years because of a high level of demand and a lagging net increase in supply (Mercer, 1979; Goldberg and Mercer, 1980). This demand for central city markets is reflected by very buoyant house prices in many Canadian cities. Over the last decade housing prices have risen at dramatic rates and equivalent properties in
American cities are now less rather than more expensive. Moreover, "much of this increase is not attributable to increased prices for new housing but to marked increases in the resale price of 'used housing', much of it in the central city" (Mercer, 1979, 128). Although private-market housing renovation has occurred in the inner cities of Canadian urban areas, the evidence suggests that the high cost of housing has led to a situation where renewal has taken the form of redevelopment, in the form of high rise rental apartments in the 1960's and more recently condominiums and townhouses, as compared to renovation in urban Canada.

Although the quality of the inner city housing stock is often not as comparable in quality, the prices have been so low (at least in the American context) that with some renovation and "sweat equity", a home of good quality has been possible at less cost (Seattle Office of Policy Planning, 1979). These cost advantages, however, are usually short lived. Once the renewal process gains momentum and the reputation of a neighbourhood changes, economic advantages decline and the cost of all units climbs rapidly. Ford (1979), for example, documents the rising housing costs in German Village, a designated historic district in Columbus, Ohio. In 1963, the cost of a typical restorable house was about $5,000. By 1970 the cost for an average unrenovated house had risen to $19,000 and by 1977 it was not uncommon for unrenovated houses to
sell for $40,000 with nicely renovated houses exceeding $100,000. Similarly, in Society Hill, a gentrified neighbour-}

bourhood in the heart of Philadelphia, house prices rose from $13,000 in 1963 to $87,000 in 1975 (Ley, 1979).

The uncertain nature of future energy supplies has led to a situation of rapidly rising costs. Given the high costs associated with the time and distance of commuting, people have become more aware of the role of transportation in their lives. As such, the inner city has become increasingly attractive as a place to live.

2.2.2. Young Professionals and the Attraction of Inner City Living

The revitalization of the inner city is not simply the result of structural changes in society. Although a single family home in a suburban location is still highly valued by many people, as recent intra-metropolitan migration statistics would suggest, among a select segment of the population there has been a growing dissatisfaction with suburbia and its related images coupled with an increasing interest in urban living. This has greatly stimulated the revitalization movement.

Unlike many long time residents of the inner city, who, because of economic circumstances, are limited in their choice of housing, the recent interest in inner city living has been expressed by a fairly affluent group of middle class individuals. Professional and white collar workers between the ages of 25 and 34 dominate gentrified neighbour-}

hoods. Individuals employed in professional and white collar
occupations account for the majority of the population in 74 percent of the neighbourhoods surveyed by Clay (1979). Similar findings are reported by Gale (1979) in his study of inner city renewal. Not only are many of the residents of renewal neighbourhoods employed in high status occupations, the majority of them possess university degrees and make in excess of $20,000 per year. Dual wage earners characterize many of the households. Yet another characteristic of revitalization households is their small household size. The most typical household is composed of singles or childless couples.

One of the most significant findings with respect to resettlers are their geographic origins. Contrary to popular wisdom, inner city revitalization should not be equated with "back to the city" because this phrase implies that whites are returning from the suburbs in large numbers. Both Nelson (1978) and Goodman (1978) have documented a continued decentralization of the white population from central cities to suburbs and non-metropolitan areas and rates of suburban-to-city movement no greater in the mid-1970's than they were for 1965-1970. The evidence suggests that a relatively small minority of households have moved into gentrified neighbourhoods from suburban locations. Data presented by Gale (1979) for the cities of Atlanta, Boston, Cambridge, and Washington indicate that the majority of resettlers already were seasoned urbanites, having moved from somewhere within the cities municipal boundaries.
Similar patterns have been found by Laska and Spain (1980) for New Orleans. The only contradictory evidence is from St. Louis where approximately one-third of all renovators were from the suburbs (Hu, 1978).

Not only do few resettlers appear to be exsuburbanites, it appears that they have consciously embraced inner city living and rejected suburbia when searching for a place to live. The rejection of suburbia is cited by a number of writers as an important factor which has helped to encourage the revitalization of the inner city (see for example Fichter, 1977 and Zeitz, 1979).

Changing social values among the baby boom generation born between 1940 and 1960 have made home-centredness, child-rearing, and local orientations, the focal points of suburban life, less appealing to a growing number of people. Many of the original motivations for moving to the suburbs - a healthy environment for one's children, more friendly neighbours, people of similar socio-economic background - are no longer applicable (Bell, 1958). Furthermore, the ennui, or perceived ennui of suburbia due to its physical and social homogeniety is another factor which has led to a mounting dissatisfaction with suburban life, especially among young people.

Complementing the push of the suburbs is the magnetic pull of city living. The city is viewed as an interesting and stimulating living environment with a high degree of convenience, cultural activity, and social
interaction. Being a fairly well-educated and affluent group, resettlers have more time and money to devote to interests such as their careers, volunteer activities, entertainment, and improving their properties. The central city is much more suitable than the suburbs for the pursuit of adult-oriented activities such as theatres and restaurants that are characteristic of a lifestyle of "urban sophistication" and cosmopolitanism (Hamnett, 1973). The view of the city as an exciting place is in marked contrast to that of detachment and aloofness held by many suburbanites (Fava, 1975).

The interest in urban living stems in part from the economic, social, and cultural heterogeneity of the city. Such diversity is much more appealing than the sterility of the suburbs for those choosing to live in the inner city. The value associated with diversity is captured in the following quote:

'Why didn't I move to the suburbs' ...'I don't know. For me, there is more freedom in the variety of the city. I want a racially and socially mixed neighbourhood. It's the way I think this country has to go. To put it another way, I don't want to live with a collection of people who are just like I am professionally and socially...'

(Fichter, 1977, 2)

This renewed interest in the city and associated dissatisfaction with suburban living may be analyzed as a decline in "familism" and its related norms of consumption and an increased emphasis on "careerism" and "consumership", preference patterns associated with an urban-oriented.
lifestyle (Bell, 1958). By careerism is meant the spending of time, money, and energy on one's career. Those persons who represent the consumersonship choice pattern expend their efforts, time, and money on "having a good time", "living it up", or "enjoying life as much as possible". Careerism and consumersonship are pursued at the expense of familism. There is not a high valuation on family living, marriage at young ages, child-centredness, and most significantly, those activities and possessions symbolic of familism. The young professionals who have moved into inner city neighbourhoods may be thought of as pursuing careerism and consumersonship patterns. To this group, "the city is where the action is".

The growing societal concern for aesthetics and a wariness towards massive redevelopment is another value-related factor which has stimulated inner city renewal (Ford, 1979; Ford and Fusch, 1976; O'loughlin and Munski, 1979). In recent years there has been a growing reaction against plastic, modern, sterile environments coupled with an increasing interest in the "sense of history". Buildings and neighbourhoods which were not long ago considered obsolete and valueless have been "rediscovered" for their architectural and/or historical significance. Various inner city neighbourhoods have been the object of much of this discovery. In many cases, central city areas were middle- or upper-middle income neighbourhoods when first built. Because of this, and because of the general period
in which they were constructed, many of these houses have features which cannot be found in more recently constructed housing. For example 79 percent of the neighbourhoods surveyed by Clay (1979) have distinctive eighteenth or nineteenth century architecture. In many instances, history and preservation have been institutionalized through the designation of neighbourhoods as historic districts or the designation of houses as heritage structures (Zeitz, 1979).

This older housing stock has offered people the challenge of transforming a deteriorated dwelling into a prestigious house. Referred to as a "frontier ethic" by Rebizant (1974), many residents enjoy the sense of adventure and creativity involved in rehabilitating an older, central city home. The general air of rebirth associated with rehabilitation in turn attracts more people to a neighbourhood.
2.3 The Geography of Revitalization

The revitalization of inner city neighbourhoods is occurring in a very selective manner. The middle class have been attracted to central city neighbourhoods that are, in some respects, unusual or special. As Clay (1979, 15) notes, "The commitment to city neighbourhoods by the middle class does not necessarily represent a commitment to the whole city but rather to selected parts of it." Not only has renewal activity occurred in particular neighbourhoods, it has occurred in particular cities. In effect, there is a geography of revitalization at both the inter- and intra-city scales.

Administrative central business districts without heavy industry, and with significant commuting distance to the suburbs from the core are characteristic traits of cities which are likely to contain gentrified neighbourhoods (Lipton, 1977). That renewal is related to administrative CBD's is not surprising given the prominence attached to downtown office space construction and the mix of high status, white collar jobs as factors which have stimulated the revitalization movement.

To some writers, the fortunes of the inner city, indeed, the central city as a whole are intrically linked to white collar occupations and the health of the downtown core. As one commentator notes:

The grim industrial cities of yesteryear, which have little in the way of downtown activities, little in the way of leisure time investment
have not got much to offer this group. The future of these cities in our post-industrial society is very doubtful (Sternlieb & Ford, 1979, 102).

In the United States, the decline of the old industrial cities of the north-east and the growth experienced by the amenity-rich locations of the west and south provides good evidence of this (Sternlieb and Hughes, 1975).

Locational features are probably the most important set of physical characteristics associated with gentrified neighbourhoods. Proximity to the central business district is a common feature of such neighbourhoods. Given the potential relationships among the emergence of jobs, opportunities for adult recreation and interaction, it is not surprising that so many of the revitalized neighbourhoods are in the city's core. Gentrified neighbourhoods also command some of the city's most attractive topographic features. High elevation, proximity to water, and scenic views are some of the status features of topography shared by neighbourhoods which have undergone revitalization. Renewal neighbourhoods often possess architecturally distinctive housing and/or historical significance. The sense of history associated with these features is an attraction in its own right.

Another characteristic feature is the sense of momentum and change generated by the enthusiasm of a group of homeowners and developers dedicated to the improvement of an area. This usually also includes the belief that other middle class households will move into the area.
These advantages of location, together with the changes in the social, demographic, and economic fabric of society have helped to change the negative image of select inner city neighbourhoods. Once formerly run-down areas are now viewed as highly desirable places to live. In many instances, the first newcomers to a formerly run-down neighbourhood have consciously aimed to create a positive neighbourhood image. The adoption of a neighbourhood name and a conscious attempt by residents to live up to the name provides an example of image-creation. This is noted by Anderson (1977, 85) in his description of renewal in several New York City neighbourhoods.

...What conferred prestige upon these neighbourhoods was not just the stately brownstones that lined the streets or the prosperous class to which most of the residents belonged but also the fashionable names that the neighbourhoods bore. Who wouldn't have wanted to live in a neighbourhood with a name like Brooklyn Heights or Clinton Hill or Park Slope.

During the early stages of revitalization, the positive images conferred upon an area by the "pioneers", and later the media, may not be totally accurate. These images, however, have a way of becoming self-fulfilling prophecies in many instances. Positive talk helps instill a positive perception which in turn creates a favourable psychological and investment environment (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975). What residents believe their neighbourhood is becoming may be more significant than what it actually is. More importantly, these beliefs affect the images of
neighbourhood identities held by other residents of the city and by people thinking about moving into the neighbourhood.

In a similar vein, where several neighbourhoods are being rejuvenated in a particular city, each may acquire a different reputation. These reputations are self-fulfilling because newcomers move into neighbourhoods that appear likely to be most congenial to their lifestyle. As Winters (1979) perceptively notes:

...The decision to live in a rejuvenating area is rarely based on economic factors alone. Most socially distinct neighbourhoods result from people's need to identify and express themselves by their residential choice, and during the 1970's the possibilities for self-identification have grown luxuriously.

He in turn identifies several distinctive neighbourhood types which have emerged during the 1970's - including self-consciously heterogeneous, chic, gay, artists', family, black revitalized, and working class revitalized neighbourhoods.

The literature on inner city revitalization, for the most part, deals with the economically and ethnically diverse population of the self-consciously heterogeneous neighbourhood and the fashionable, chic neighbourhood of the new "urban elite" (Fleetwood, 1979). In both cases, revitalization may result in a lower income group and its associated tastes and values being supplanted by those of a middle class group. This sequence of events may lead to conflicts between the newcomers and neighbourhood incumbents. Cybriwsky (1978) in his participant observation study of
the Fairmount area of inner city Philadelphia, for example, notes the tensions between the young professional newcomers and long time residents.

Ironically, the very diversity and cultural heterogeneity which has attracted many middle class resettlers may be lost as more and more middle class individuals discover inner city living. Inner city living simply becomes too expensive for most people. The chance of finding a housing bargain decreases rapidly as the process of rejuvenation gains momentum and neighbourhood reputations change. In every instance where renovation has occurred, the price of housing has gone from extremely low levels to prices above the average of inner city dwellings, and very often, above the average cost of suburban housing (Seattle Office of Policy Planning, 1979). This has resulted in conflicts not only between long-time residents and newcomers, but also between "pioneer" newcomers and "later" newcomers. Whereas the pioneers may enjoy the social and economic diversity of the area, later newcomers are more concerned about their investment and in establishing a respectable middle class neighbourhood. Indeed, in a recent survey of two neighbourhoods in inner city Washington, Gale (1980) found that the investment potential of the house purchased was the primary reason among resettlers in choosing to live in the inner city.
2.4 The Political-Economic Sector and Revitalization

The discovery of the inner city as a highly desirable living environment by a relatively affluent group of young, middle class individuals has in turn altered the perception of the inner city by those actors involved in the supply of housing. The inner city is no longer automatically perceived to be a high risk environment by the development industry and the financial community. Rather, it is characterized by a selective sense of optimism and confidence. These changes have had important consequences for the pace and direction of renovation and redevelopment in select inner city neighbourhoods. In addition to changes in social attitudes and consumer demand, the policies of local government have affected the decisions of the private sector. These in turn have had implications for the physical and social renewal of the inner city.

2.4.1 The Development Industry

Developers serve as intermediaries in housing production. They respond to the demands of the marketplace subject to the restrictions and regulations imposed on their activities by government and by the responses of citizens to proposed projects (Goldberg and Ullinder, 1975). One of the basic entrepreneurial strategies of the development industry is to clearly ascertain and reduce the risks associated with investment. Although the weighing of costs
is an important factor, a developer's perception of risk is largely based on his estimates of marketability and consumer preferences. Developers will respond to the market if they believe that a particular type of development will be successful. Of the property characteristics affecting marketability, locational and institutional characteristics are the most important (Weiss, 1966). Locational characteristics are derived from the relative location of a site. Since a site itself is fixed in space, changes in locational characteristics depend on shifts in the surrounding context of community activities and values. Social prestige level is the most important locational characteristic (Weiss et al, 1966). Institutional characteristics represent attributes that are applied directly to a site, but that are not inherent in the site. Imposed by social institutions, these include such things as land use zoning.

Despite the importance of marketability, various case studies indicate that its analysis by developers is unsystematic (Bourne, 1976; Weiss and Kaiser, 1970). For the most part, developers rely on real estate agents and speculators to carry out the search process for new sites. By advising clients of trends and impending neighbourhood change, there are situations in which realtors can accelerate if not initiate market trends (Palm, 1976). Occasionally, realtors themselves are speculators, hoping that their investment will yield substantial returns for their risks.
Although developers may act conservatively in their assessments of risk, marketability, and consumer preference, they are quick to take advantage of strong market demands. The role of the development industry in the revitalization of the inner city provides a good example of this. As the social prestige level of select inner city neighbourhoods has improved, the initial efforts of renewal undertaken by a group of pioneers has been speeded up by the actions of developers. Developers played a key role at an early point in the renewal process in 42 percent of the neighbourhoods surveyed by Clay (1979).

In addition to shaping the architectural and physical characteristics of renewal areas, the development industry, through advertising and marketing, has helped to publicize the renewal of particular neighbourhoods to the public. In their advertising strategies developers and realtors often make reference to the status and prestige aspects of renewal areas as well as more conventional features such as accessibility to the downtown and topography.

Rebizant (1974), in a study of rehabilitation and change in Toronto, notes how the Don Vale area is described in some ads as "fashionable", "the in-place to live", a "fun" location and "a location that is very much sought after".

As well as promoting renewal, the development industry has the potential to exploit the reinvestment process. The desire for quick profits occasionally results in less than satisfactory care taken by developers.
in their renovation and townhouse projects. In many instances, they have been charged with being insensitive to the adverse effects of their operations, especially the effects on former tenants and their lack of concern for architectural detail in renovation endeavours.

2.4.2 Financial Institutions

Although not playing as direct a role as the development industry, financial institutions have also been important in shaping the fortunes of the inner city. The influence of financial institutions is primarily felt through the real estate market as a result of their lending decisions. The availability of financing, as well as its terms, plays an important part in the ability of prospective purchasers to afford to buy a piece of property (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975).

Financial institutions have traditionally been reluctant to extend credit to those wishing to purchase inner city properties because of the negative images and low expectations associated with this part of the city. Numerous studies have cited the difficulties people have had in acquiring financing during the initial stages of revitalization (Anderson, 1977; Black, 1977; Clay, 1979; Williams, 1976). This, to a large extent, explains the significant use of private capital and sweat equity among the early pioneers of many presently gentrified neighbourhoods. With the growing reputation of the inner city as
a positive investment environment, mortgage money has become much more readily available. This is especially the case given the middle class, professional background of those people wishing to live in the inner city. Fleetwood (1979) suggests that the end of "redlining" policies by banks is perhaps the most positive proof of revitalization.

2.4.3 Revitalization and the Role of Local Government

The perception of the inner city held by developers and financial institutions may be reinforced and extended by the policies of local government. Indeed, a number of writers suggest that public sector involvement is a prerequisite for the successful renewal of an inner city neighbourhood.

...In order to stem decline, the psychology of the investors (homeowners, landlords, financial institutions, and other private sector organizations) must be altered. This necessitates the intervention of the public sector through higher levels of investment and improved service delivery...

Public sector involvement is a prerequisite because without it, the private sector will have no visible means through which to revise its uncertainty about the neighbourhood's future. It is unlikely that the demand for housing will suddenly increase without some outside stimulus...

(Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975, 34)

Of the local regulatory functions performed by government, zoning controls are perhaps the most important. Zoning provides the most direct institutional mechanism by which the use of private land is regulated (Babcock, 1966).

Among those aspects of development which are affected by zoning are the location, design, construction,
and use of buildings, the height and number of buildings, and most importantly, the various types of land uses which may be permitted in a particular location (e.g. residential, commercial, recreational, industrial, and so on).

Historic district designation is perhaps the most all encompassing zoning mechanism through which local government may influence the pace and direction of revitalization (Zeitz, 1979). The main function of historic designation is to preserve and maintain the unique quality and special status of an area through the protection, restoration, and maintenance of an area's historical, architectural, and cultural character.

Zoning provides a qualitative measure of the importance developers attach to planning restrictions as well as an overall image of urban structure to which they subsequently respond (Bourne, 1976). Unclear zoning implies a high degree of risk and hence, developers tend to shy away from locations characterized by such uncertainty. The potential problems associated with the interpretation of by-laws, the acquiring of development and building permits, and so on, affect a developer's expected costs, expected revenues, and the risk of investment. This is especially the case if there are better investment opportunities elsewhere.

Design control regulations are often used by the public sector to supplement zoning. These tools give developers and others guidelines as to the desired shape,
size, and exterior appearance of both renovations and new developments in neighbourhoods undergoing renewal.

In addition to shaping private development decisions through zoning and other mechanisms of land use and design control, a number of other strategies have been used by the public sector in directing neighbourhood change and instilling more confidence among the private sector. Funds for items such as new sidewalks, street lights, street improvements, and improvements to public areas are frequently allocated by local governments to neighbourhoods undergoing revitalization. Also, the public sector has participated in neighbourhood marketing activities through such means as municipal support for house tours, fairs, media campaigns and organized attempts to educate and inform the public of opportunities for promoting city living.

2.5 The Process of Inner City Revitalization: The Interplay of Private and Public

The revitalization of the inner city is more than the physical and social transformation of once deteriorated neighbourhoods. It is the interplay between the changing residential preferences of a select group of individuals, the reaction of developers and financial institutions to these changing preferences, and the policies of local government which may either reinforce and extend the process, stabilize it, or reverse it. This interplay has in turn led to an increasing interest in city living among a
greater number of people which in turn has stimulated more renovation and development. In many instances, the successful revitalization of one inner city neighbourhood has had positive contagion effects on other, nearby neighbourhoods. These "new" areas invariably share many of the features of the "initial" one. Having witnessed the success of one area, the potential risk of investment is much lower for potential investors in subsequent neighbourhoods.

The interrelationships between the various actors involved in the renewal process and the "snow-balling" nature of the phenomenon is better understood if a simple descriptive model of revitalization is considered.

2.5.1 A Model of Gentrification

A small group of risk-oblivious people move in and renovate properties for their own use during the initial stages of revitalization. This first group of newcomers usually contains a significant number of design professionals or artists who have the skill, time, and ability to undertake extensive rehabilitation. These people are often noted as being liberal in political attitude and having a sense of appreciation for history:

...They became known as brownstone renovators... But since, as educated people, they were taken with Victorian ambience - conscious of the residential tradition they were attempting to restore - they much preferred the stylish term "brownstoners". It implied that they were not just repairing and living in brownstones - ignorant, like so many ordinary
tenants of the cultural and historical background of these old dwellings - but that they were qualified by imagination and taste to appreciate what they once stood for... (Anderson, 1977, 90-91)

Moreover, this young, liberal, professional group is willing to put up with the more negative aspects of the neighbourhood. At this stage, neighbourhoods are often dirty, noisy and often actually dangerous. In fact, these pioneers may even be attracted to the "gaminess" of their new environment.

At this early stage there is little public recognition or assistance. Also, the newcomers usually have a difficult time in acquiring mortgage funds, the financial community being very reluctant to invest in neighbourhoods which have been characterized by decline and bad images for many years.

In the second stage of renewal, a few more of the same type of people move in and fix up houses for their own use. They will pay a bit more for their homes than the initial pioneers. Subtle promotional activities are begun and a number of small-scale speculators may renovate a few houses for resale or rental. Some displacement of neighbourhood incumbents may occur as vacant housing becomes scarce.

Major media or official interest is directed to a neighbourhood in the third stage of renewal. In addition to private home owners, the real estate industry and civic policy makers become important agents in shaping the
revitalization process. Banks begin to "greenline" the area and loans become readily available to middle class buyers and investors within the area. Physical improvements become very visible because of their volume and the general improvement they make to the neighbourhood. Prices begin to rise very rapidly. It is at this stage that the critical point of upgrading is reached. The trend is set for the kind of rehabilitation and redevelopment activity that will dominate in the near future.

The displacement of former residents continues as an increasing number of newcomers move into the neighbourhood. Unlike the first group of newcomers, the arrivals in this stage include increasing numbers of people who see housing as an investment as well as a place to live. This "conservative" young, professional group is more aware of the negative features of their surroundings and the effect those surroundings may have on future resale values.

In the final stage of renewal, a larger number of properties are gentrified as middle class in-migration continues. As this process proceeds, the neighbourhood may become increasingly homogeneous, perhaps a small ethnic grocery store being the one relic which residents point to when extolling the diverse character of their neighbourhood.

2.6 Summary

The discovery of urban living by a growing
number of young, middle class individuals has given a renewed life to formerly run-down inner city neighbourhoods. Changing social values coupled with recent demographic trends towards smaller families, fewer children, and non-family households, have made the inner city, with its proximity to downtown employment opportunities, diversity of cultural and recreational activities and general air of "excitement" and "action", a much sought after, highly desirable residential environment.

Not all inner city neighbourhoods, however, have undergone middle class resettlement. Gentrification has occurred in a very selective manner. Unusual or special characteristics such as location near the downtown, historical significance, distinctive architecture, or status features of topography are features shared by revitalizing neighbourhoods.

The changing reputation of the inner city amongst middle class householders has not gone unnoticed by the development industry and financial institutions. Private sector investment and development in formerly "redlined" areas has reinforced and extended the revitalization of select inner city neighbourhoods. In many instances, the policies and actions of local government have also affected the pace and direction of renewal.

In summary, revitalization is not simply the transformation of a run-down neighbourhood into a fashionable middle class enclave. It is the interplay between
the changing residential preferences of a select group of individuals, the responses of developers and financiers to these changing preferences, and the policies of local government.
Footnotes


2 These figures are adapted from Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Occupations, Historical for Canada and Provinces. Cat. 94-716, 1971.

3 Ibid.

4 The level of administrative activity was measured by the number of square feet of office space in the CBD in 1960 and 1970, the number of workers in the CBD as well as the number and percent of the workforce in the city and the SMSA that were engaged in white-collar and executive employment. Executive employment was defined as those included in the census category professional, technical, and kindred workers and those categorized as managers and administrators. The white-collar workforce included those defined as executive plus sales workers, clerical, and kindred workers. See S. Gregory Lipton. "Evidence of Central City Revival", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 43.2 (1977), pp. 136-147.

5 MLS data presented by Goldberg (1977) for Vancouver and Seattle, for example, show that Vancouver house prices rose by 160 percent since 1971 whereas they increased by only 34 percent in Seattle. For more detail see Michael A. Goldberg. "Housing and Land Prices in Canada and the U.S.", in Lawrence B. Smith and Michael Walker (eds.), Public Property? The Habitat Debate Continued, The Fraser Institute: Vancouver, 1977.


The following section is based on Phillip Clay's analysis of a model of gentrification developed by Tim Pattison and a similar model presented by Robert Fichter (1977).
Chapter 3
THEORETICAL APPROACHES TOWARDS GENTRIFICATION

3.1 Introduction

A review of the existing literature reveals the use of five alternative theoretical explanations of gentrification. Usually more implicit than explicit, they emphasize the following factors: (1) demography, (2) ecology, (3) cultural values, (4) political economy, and (5) social movements. The main purpose of this chapter is to outline and assess both the theoretical and empirical merits of these various explanations. An approach emphasizing the conjunction of socio-cultural lifestyle values with political and economic factors, it is suggested, holds the most promise for a complete analysis of inner city revitalization. A social movements approach based on an ideology of aestheticism and livability provides a step in this direction.

3.2 The Demographic Approach

Gentrification, from the demographic perspective, is a form of migration that is both cause and consequence of changes in population composition. The maturing of the post-World War II baby boom generation, the growing percentage of the population between the ages
of 25 and 35, declining fertility rates, the rising number of dual wage-earner households, increasing female labour force participation, and the growing instability of conventional marriage are all demographic factors which, taken together, have made urban living attractive to a growing number of young, relatively affluent householders.

3.3 The Human Ecological Approach

Central to human ecology is the analysis of the processes and forms of man's adjustment to his environment. As such, an ecological perspective allows for the analysis of both the static and dynamic dimensions of social organization. Dynamic concepts are most relevant for the study of inner city revitalization. Particularly applicable is the concept of invasion-succession.

The term succession refers to the sequence of changes by which units of one land use or population type replace those of another in an area. These changes are said to be the outcomes of a series of invasions. The initiation of invasion-succession, as conceptualized in ecological theory, usually results in neighbourhood deterioration as higher status groups are replaced by lower status groups. Hudson (1980), in light of the current changes in the residential and commercial patterns of particular inner city areas, argues that this assumption of unidirectionality imposes unnecessary limitations on the applicability of the invasion-succession concept. He
suggests that gentrification is simply a reversal of the usual pattern of neighbourhood change and as such can be understood in terms of these ecological concepts.

A fundamental insight of ecological analysis, one that is very applicable in the context of gentrification, is that displacement and conflict often accompany invasions. In the words of McKenzie (1967, 76):

During the course of development of an invasion into a new area, either of use or type, there takes place a process of displacement and selection determined by the character of the invader and of the area invaded. The early stages are usually marked by keeness of competition which frequently manifests itself in outward clashes...

In a similar vein, the in-migration of young professionals into inner city neighbourhoods often results in clashes between newcomers and long time neighbourhood incumbents (see for example Cybriwsky, 1978; Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980).

The characteristics of communities that reach the "climax" stage of invasion are especially relevant to an analysis of gentrification. This stage in the invasion process is reached once a dominant type of ecological organization emerges which is able to withstand the intrusions of other forms of invasion. The concept of "dominance" has much utility in analyzing the climax stage. According to Robert Park, "the fundamental function of dominance is to stabilize, to maintain order and permit the growth of structure in which that order and the corresponding function are embodied" (Park, 1967, 162). The uprooting of a formerly
low-class neighbourhood by the values and material symbols of middle- and upper-middle class chic can be regarded as a form of dominance.

With its acknowledgment that competition frequently manifests itself in outward clashes and the notion of power implicit in the concept of dominance, human ecological theory seems to hold a great deal of potential for an analysis of inner city revitalization. A number of theoretical weaknesses, however, severely curtail the applicability of a human ecological approach to gentrification. This model assumes an open market competition for space and of spontaneous competition and as Zeitz points out, "the nature of competition is not the same as that of conflict" (Zeitz, 1979, 13). Whereas conflict is consciously created, as for example, when a neighbourhood is exploited for economic gain, competition, as perceived by the urban ecological school, is essentially an unconscious process. This is due to the fact that the city is viewed in terms of physical growth, devoid of human motivation and desire. Growth occurs through a series of predetermined stages. There is no intent, consciousness of progression or conflict involved in the process. Obviously, the treatment of human motivations, values and ideas as unproblematic is a serious shortcoming of ecological analysis.

The assumption of an uncontrolled, free competitive system leads to a second weakness of ecological theory.
There is no recognition of the possibility that an economic system can be deliberately manipulated to provide profit for some while permanently depriving others. The assumption is that all are free to compete under equal circumstances. Within such a framework of analysis social justice and equity are not issues. Indeed, theoretically, human ecology is not capable of incorporating questions of this sort. In short, these two shortcomings severely limit the applicability of urban ecology to an analysis of inner city revitalization.

3.4 The Socio-cultural Approach

In contrast to demographic or ecological explanations of revitalization, socio-cultural explanations focus not on aggregate or structured units of analysis (i.e. populations and their characteristics) but on values, attitudes, choices, and beliefs as factors determining human behaviour. The late sixties and early seventies, it is argued, spawned the growth of a host of social movements that seriously challenged traditional lifestyles and career patterns. Values emphasizing a high regard for community participation, shared living experiences, self-help and cooperative efforts, and an environmental ideology that stressed preservation arose in reaction to the long standing doctrines of economic individualism (London, et al, 1980). Reinforcing and extending these changing social values has been the emergence of a pro-urban
value system. Among a growing number of people, the image of the city as an unnatural and unpleasant environment, in the words of Hadden and Barton (1973), "an image that will not die", has given way to a view of the city as an exciting and challenging place to live. Writers espousing a socio-cultural approach agree that a consideration of these changes in values, attitudes, and lifestyles is essential for a thorough understanding of inner city revitalization.

In a very interesting paper, Allen (1980) explores the impact of value changes in some detail. For him, the middle class resettlement of the inner city represents a change in American community ideology towards the value of social and cultural diversity. "Socio-cultural diversity is a leitmotif in the new tastes for central city housing and neighbourhood" (Allen, 1980, 415). The complexity of the social environment, Allen argues, provides a source of stimulation and renewal. It affords interest and an element of surprise bordering on the magical and surreal. Ethnic diversity, for example, adds local colour, a wide variety of ethnic restaurants and food shops, and the general air of a cosmopolitan community.

The diversity that is much valued does not, however, include all the variety of city life. As Wilson (1975) points out, diversity usually means 'safe diversity'. By this he means a harmless variety of specialty stores, esoteric bookshops, ethnic restaurants, and highbrow cultural enterprises. The 'ethnicity' of the lower classes
is not usually part of the diversity sought by the new settlers. Moreover, diversity seems to take on a greater value if it is outside rather than within a neighbourhood. Many of the new urbanites prefer that the less desirable aspects of diversity be some distance away. It is in this sense that Allen (1980) speaks of "the ambivalent value of pluralism".

A variation of the socio-cultural approach seeks to emphasize dominant values rather than changing values. Fusch (1978), for example, suggests that the preservation and gentrification movements are latter day expressions of such traditional American values as economic success, individuality and personal identification. The rehabilitation of an architecturally significant home in an historic inner city neighbourhood may, in the words of Bruce London, "...be a new way to realize the old values of the expression of self-identity and the symbolization of material success" (London, 1980, 85). A number of other writers, most notably Christopher Winters (1978; 1979), have also noted the relationship between self-identification and residential choice. In effect, a gentrified neighbourhood at the heart of an interesting city may be the newest status symbol.

An analysis of gentrification based on values, attitudes, and beliefs is not in itself wrong; it is, however, too restrictive. In many situations, power and social structure lead to practices that over-ride human
will and motivation. People's choices are circumscribed, limited, and molded by such factors as financial and institutional constraints and rules (Duncan and Sayer, 1977). To free itself from the charge of voluntarism and psychologism, a socio-cultural explanation of inner city revitalization must be placed within the wider social totality of the economic and political realities of everyday life.

3.5 The Political-Economic Approach

Analyses of gentrification falling under the rubric of political economy can be divided into traditional and Marxist approaches. The former tends to emphasize competition, supply and demand, market efficiency, and so on. Inner city revitalization is seen as a series of adjustments and accommodations on the part of middle class households to rising suburban housing costs, the decreasing availability of suburban land, increasing costs of energy, and the relatively low cost of inner city housing (at least during the initial stages of renewal).

Marxist interpretations of gentrification, on the other hand, are more complex because of the inherently abstract nature of Marxist writings in general. As such, it is necessary to present a somewhat extended discussion on this particular theoretical approach.

3.5.1 Marxism and Gentrification

To writers espousing a Marxian framework of
analysis, spatial forms are shaped by the logic of the underlying economic system not hidden exogeneous factors such as the "invisible hand" of the market. "The urban question is first and foremost the product of the capitalist mode of production, which requires a spatial organization which facilitates the circulation of capital, commodities, information, etc." (Lamarche, 1972, 86). An understanding of capitalism as a mode of production requires a brief analysis of Marxist economic theory. More specifically, it requires an understanding of the dual concepts of surplus value and the accumulation of capital - the two essential mechanisms of the capitalist mode of production (CMP).

A fundamental characteristic of capitalist society is the emergence of a sector of society which, through the monopoly possession of the means of production, is able to extract the surplus labour power of a labouring class for its own benefit. According to Marx, the production of labour can be divided into two parts. A part of labour is used for the subsistence of the producers themselves. A second part of labour is used to maintain a ruling class. Marx calls the former necessary labour and the latter surplus labour. When the producer is performing necessary labour he is producing a necessary product. When he is producing surplus labour, he is producing a social surplus product. Surplus value is simply the monetary form of the social surplus product.
"It is the monetary form of that part of the worker's production which he surrenders to the owner of the means of production without receiving anything in return" (Mandell, 1969, 24). Not only does surplus value constitute the income of the capitalist, it provides the "direct aim and determining incentive of production" (Sweezy, 1942, 58). It follows from this that the capitalist will lay out money for labour power and means of production only if he can acquire a larger amount of money after a process of production has been completed.

Marx depicts the capitalist's appropriation of surplus value through his M-C-M₁ notation. The capitalist goes to the market with money (M), purchases commodities (C) (i.e. labour power and means of production), returns to the market with a product which he again converts into money (M₁). Given the capitalist's preoccupation with productive investment, the process will not be meaningful unless M₁ is larger than M. The increment of money, the difference between M₁ and M is the amount of surplus value accruing to the capitalist.

The appropriation of surplus value is a necessary condition for the accumulation of capital. A part of surplus value is withdrawn from the process of production, it being unproductively consumed by the capitalist for subsistence purposes. A second part, frequently the major portion, is accumulated and is utilized by being transformed into capital either for the purposes of purchasing
additional quantities of raw materials, machines, buildings or hiring additional workers. This augmented capital then enables the capitalist to appropriate still more surplus value, which he in turn converts into additional capital and so on. This process, referred to by Marx as the accumulation of capital, constitutes the driving force of capitalist development.

The tendency for capitalists to increase their stocks of wealth is, for Marx, structurally determined, for capitalism as a mode of production depends on the accumulation of capital for its perpetuation. In the words of Paul Sweezy, capital accumulation;

...is not at all a question of innate human propensities or instincts; the desire of the capitalist to expand the value under his control (i.e. to accumulate capital) springs from his special position in a particular form of organization of social production... The capitalist is a capitalist...only in so far as he is the owner and representative of capital. Deprived of his capital, he would be nothing...Success in capitalist society therefore consists in adding to one's capital (Sweezy, 1942, 80).

The competitive nature of the capitalist economy "inevitably forces owners of capital to protect themselves from their competitors by producing more goods and accumulating more and more profit" (Gordon, 1978, 5).

Reinforcing and extending the accumulation process are a constantly changing set of social institutions. Produced by the very forces defining and driving capitalism, these institutions largely determine the nature and
and content of daily life in capitalist societies, as well as the ways in which the basic forces driving capitalist societies are manifested.

3.5.2 Gentrification and Capital Accumulation

Extending this analysis to the framework of urban development, the internal differentiation of the city may be analyzed in terms of variations in the pattern and pace of capital accumulation. As David Harvey writes, "If surplus value is regarded as a particular manifestation of surplus labour under capitalist conditions, then it follows that urbanism in capitalist societies can be analyzed in terms of the creation, appropriation and circulation of surplus value" (Harvey, 1973, 231). Mediating the circulation of capital within the urban sphere are a set of financial institutions. The lending practices of these institutions, together with the investment decisions of developers and other members of the real estate industry have, to a large measure, shaped the physical structure of the city. These intermediary actors help to serve the larger needs of capital by maximizing their own wealth.

Marx argues that "balanced growth" can never be achieved under capitalism because of the structure of social relations prevailing in capitalist society. This structure leads individual capitalists to produce collective results which are contradictory to their own class interests. Indicative of this is the all too often tendency for the
overproduction of capital relative to the opportunities to employ that capital. This tendency towards overaccumulation is manifest in a variety of guises: (1) overproduction of commodities (2) falling rates of profit (3) surplus capital in the form of idle productive capacity or money capital lacking opportunities for profitable employment and (4) surplus labour and/or the rising cost of labour power exploitation.\(^1\) Counteracting this tendency towards overaccumulation is a constant ordering and re-ordering of the capitalist production system. Important in this regard is the reorganization and restructuring of capital flows and the structuring of mediating institutions in order to open up new channels for productive investments (Harvey, 1978). The inner city, within such a framework of analysis, provides an example of a "new channel for productive investment". More specifically, the overaccumulation of capital in the suburbs, the simultaneous devaluation of inner city capital and the devaluation of presently accumulating capital (due to overaccumulation) has produced a situation where the rerouting of capital to the inner city has become a profitable investment. Essential to these processes has been the capital mediating role of financial institutions.

Financial institutions are the latest institutional adaptation to the dual problems of capital accumulation and surplus value expansion. The dictates of profit have regulated the investment decisions of these institutions. This has resulted in discriminatory lending
practices and consequently, patterns of uneven urban development. Bradford and Rubinowitz (1975), for example, note how the investment, or more specifically, disinvestment decisions of institutional investors, developers, and mortgage bankers have led to the decay of older urban neighbourhoods and the expansion of suburbia. Similarly, Harvey (1977) suggests that financial institutions through selective financing, have forced the expansion of the suburban periphery. Commenting on the British experience, Boddy (1976) points to the tendency of building societies to favour suburban areas over the inner city in their allocation of funds thus encouraging urban decay and the writing-off of existing property. Much in the same vein, Williams (1976) notes the role of building societies and estate agents in shaping the rate of neighbourhood change in Islington through their investment decisions. Investment and disinvestment decisions of this sort, Smith (1979) argues, have resulted in "rent gaps" of significant width to make reinvestment in urban neighbourhoods profitable endeavours.

The flow of investment capital to the suburbs along with the devaluation and depreciation of inner city capital has produced the rent gap. Technically, the rent gap is the difference between the amount of rent that may be capitalized under the "highest and the best use" of a particular site or neighbourhood (potential ground rent) and the actual quantity of rent claimed by landowners or
users of their land (capitalized ground rent). These rents stem from either the situational or locational advantages offered by a site or the advantages contained within the limits of the property, advantages which depend primarily on the characteristics of the occupants. Gentrification occurs when the rent gap is wide enough that a developer's rehabilitation costs are such that he can sell the end product for a sale price that leaves him a satisfactory return.

Once the rent gap is wide enough gentrification may be initiated in a given neighbourhood by several different actors in the land and housing market. The state, financial institutions, or the development industry, singularly, or more commonly, through collective action, may reverse neighbourhood decay by redirecting capital back to the inner city (see Smith, 1979b for a case study). Interestingly, individual consumer preference is not given a preeminent role, at least in the initial stages of renewal, in the Marxian analysis of gentrification. In the words of Smith (1979a, 545), "All consumer preference in the world will amount to nought unless this long absent source of funding reappears; mortgage capital is a prerequisite."

Government institutions and structures, as defined by the Marxian perspective, have actively supported the disinvestment and subsequent reinvestment decisions of
the private sector. Dependent as they are on tax revenues, city governments have a direct interest in the revitalization of the inner city. This view of the state is based on two assumptions concerning capitalism and the role of government (Sweezy, 1942, 27). First, the state power is invoked to solve problems which are posed by the economic development of the particular form of society under consideration, in this case capitalism. Second, the state serves the interests of the capitalist (i.e. ruling) class since the state is dedicated to the preservation of the structure of capitalism and must therefore be staffed by those who accept the postulates and objectives of this form of society. In this context, reference is often made to how the decision making processes of civic government are dominated by individuals representative of realty, development, industry, commerce, and construction interests (see for example Lorimer, 1972 and Gutstein, 1974). Molotch (1976) characterizes cities and their governments as "growth machines" which are developed primarily to serve the interests of privileged groups at the expense of workers.

In sharp contrast to the Marxian view is the pluralist view of society (Guterbock, 1980a; 1980b). The starting point of this perspective is the rejection of the Marxian assumption that the structure of American society and existing political institutions serve the interests of the ruling class. A number of related assumptions stem
from this basic belief:

(1) Government institutions serve as an arena for the representation of diverse interests and resolution of disputes among them by means of compromise.

(2) Due to the fundamental interdependence of all sectors of society, the benefits of productive activity are usually widely dispersed.

(3) Processes of change in urban structure are responsive to pressures of popular demand.

(4) Urban form is effectively modified by the actions of established interest groups and emerging social movements.

Following these assumptions, urban revitalization is applauded for the potential role it may play in reversing the decline of the quality of life in inner city areas. This view represents a radical departure from the Marxian analysis of gentrification as just one more mechanism for the exploitation of the labouring classes by the rich and the middle class.

In summary, from a Marxian perspective, gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets. Propelled by the driving force of accumulation, the movement of capital to the suburbs along with the continued depreciation of inner city capital has produced the objective economic conditions for profitable inner city reinvestment. This movement of capital to once deteriorated inner city areas has been hastened by the end of long standing red-lining policies by financial institutions. Adding further stimulus to the revitalization movement have been the policies of local government. More specifically, this perspective suggests that the state
perforce serves the interests of private sector financiers and developers, thus perpetuating existing inequalities and the exploitation of have-nots.

Despite its insight into power relationships and conflict, a fundamental theoretical flaw severely restricts the scope of a Marxian analysis of gentrification. This approach, with its emphasis on the production of surplus value and the accumulation of capital, does not allow a theoretically active role for man. Rather, man is defined as the embodiment of an abstract quality of which capital is the symbol (Berger and Pullberg, 1964, 206). Within this framework of analysis, individuals do not, indeed, cannot, make choices, interact, negotiate, or impose constraints on one another. Causal power is ascribed to capital. "...It has its own internal laws, a life of its own. It has become reified and needs men merely to act as its passive carriers, bearing a burden they cannot resist" (Ley, 1979a, 7).

To the extent that capital accumulation is taken to be the determining factor behind gentrification, many important questions are not addressed or simply treated as unproblematic in the Marxist approach. Smith in his analysis of gentrification, for example, acknowledges that gentrification has become commonplace in cities "...with important administrative functions and a larger professional population" (Smith, 1979b). What would appear to be a very significant point is only noted in
passing. Similarly, he makes reference to a "symbolic move" after which Society Hill, a formerly rundown neighbourhood in Philadelphia, "flourished" (Smith, 1979b, 30). Despite the importance of this idea it is not developed at all. Smith, in his desire to remain theoretically and ideologically faithful, does not provide an adequate treatment of values, attitudes, and human meanings. As such, his rent gap theory of gentrification is excessively narrow and naive.

In short, an orthodox Marxist approach towards gentrification is rejected due to the posing of a reified, transcendental object (i.e. capital) and the consequent reduction of man as an active agent. This is not to disclaim all of Marxist thought. Its notion of power relationships and its conflict view of society provide a realistic contextual environment in which to consider the phenomenon of middle class resettlement.

3.6 The Social Movements Approach

The multiple causative nature of the gentrification phenomenon suggests that it is theoretically inappropriate to analyze middle class resettlement from the perspective of one particular explanatory framework. An approach acknowledging the dialectical interplay of the various explanations outlined above would provide much more insight. In particular, such an approach would emphasize the conjunction of socio-cultural lifestyle values with political and economic factors in initiating
and shaping the course of inner city revitalization. It would, in the words of Ley and Mercer (1980, 90), ":... admit the role of symbolic factors alongside economic categories, recognizing that consumption lifestyles might steer the pattern of urban land use down one of several alternative and perhaps competing paths." A point in this direction is offered through an analysis of gentrification as a social movement, or more specifically, a "resource-mobilization" theory of social movements (London, 1980).

A number of key ideas provide the starting point for an analysis of social movements and social movement organizations. These include (1) Social movements are ideologically based (2) They are oriented towards change or improvement and (3) They are socially organized, often in terms of leader-follower relationships. Building upon these ideas, the resource mobilization theory of social movements acknowledges the diverse and often competing nature of claims staked by different groups within the urban arena and the varying degrees of success these groups have in bringing about change or improvement. Particular social movement organizations are much more successful than others in mobilizing supporters and sympathizers because of their differential access to resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). In particular, such things as number of adherents, degree of their commitment, power and prestige of adherents, financial resources of the
movement, support of various non-involved publics, interest
groups and other movements, and the ability to influence
key decision-makers or media are fundamental for an under­
standing of the success (or failure) of a specific move­
ment into the existing political and social system, for
example, is one form of institutionalization of a partic­
ular set of values.

Ideological commitment is not the only motivating
force behind an individual's decision to support a social
movement. As Heberle (1968, 440) points out, "The moti­
vations of individuals in joining a social movement may
range from rational belief in the movement's aim (Value-
rational orientation) to pure opportunism." A particular
movement may foster the pursuit of private interests and
as such, the decision to support it may be purely purposive-
rational. The role of the development industry in the
revitalization process may, in part, be analyzed as such.

These considerations provide a useful frame­
work for an analysis of gentrification which incorporates
many of the insights of the various theoretical approaches
outlined previously. The first urban "pioneers" and the
economic and political elites who decided to end redlining
and make investment capital available may be seen as
both decision-makers and cultural taste-makers; on the
one hand, creating a highly profitable investment environ­
ment and on the other, applauding the virtues of fashionable
inner city living as an attractive new lifestyle for young,
3.6.1 Social Movements, Ideology, and the Revitalization of the Inner City

The emergence of a pro-urban value system based on cultural diversity and pluralism has led to a reassessment of long standing planning principles based on economics and the rhetoric of the engineering mind. Indicative of this has been the reaction against plastic, modern, sterile environments, or in the lexicon of planning professionals, "anti-humane" development. This has led to an increasing concern with, among other things, the renovation and preservation of old houses. These shifts in attitudes towards urban living and development may be viewed as part of a much broader societal change in the economic, socio-cultural, and political realms of advanced capitalist countries.

With its roots in the counter-culture and student demonstration movements of the late sixties and early seventies, the social and economic climate of the 1970's gave rise to a loss of faith in the ideology of growth for growth's sake alone. Well being is no longer measured exclusively in economic terms. The preoccupation with production and the quantity of goods has been replaced with an increasing concern with health, aesthetics, and the quality of life. At the forefront of this movement has been a new elite of professional, technical, and administrative workers. With a secure economic base,
this group is freed to devote time and interest to more aesthetic and "self-actualizing" elements of life. "Their lifestyle is consumption and status-oriented in the pursuit of self-actualization while their prestige is considerable and in many ways they are national opinion leaders" (Ley, 1980, 243). Daniel Bell's analysis of these cultural and structural changes as the transformation of society from an industrial to post-industrial age provides an instructive conceptual framework in which to consider the social ethos of today.

Shifts in the economic, socio-cultural, and political levels of society have marked the transition from an industrial to post-industrial era. At the level of economy, the majority of the population is no longer engaged in agriculture or manufacturing (i.e. goods producing activities) but in services. Employment in service activities has accounted for over 50 percent of the Canadian labour force since 1961. By 1971, roughly 58 percent of the labour force was employed in service occupations (Table 3.1). This figure had increased to 66 percent by November 1979 (Statistics Canada, 1979). Particularly important in the post-industrial context has been the growth in services related to health, education, research, and government.
Table 3.1  Occupational Breakdown of the Canadian Labour Force, 1931-1971 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Manufacturing and related¹</th>
<th>Service²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Includes craftsmen, production process, labourers and related.

²Includes managerial, professional and technical, clerical, sales, service and recreation and transport and communication occupations.

**May not add up to 100% because the occupational category 'not stated' is not included and because of rounding.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 94-716, Occupations, Historical for Canada and Provinces

The changeover to a post-industrial society is signified not only by the change in sector distribution but also in the pattern of occupations. Post-industrial society is essentially a white collar society. In the United States about 5.5 million persons (or roughly 18 percent of the labour force) were employed in white collar occupations in 1900. By 1968, this figure had risen to 35.6 million or 46.7 percent of the total labour force (Bell, 1973, 134). Blue collar employment formed 36 percent of the labour force in 1968, roughly the same level as in 1900. In Canada, while the national labour force
grew from 5,276,639 to 3,608,704, an increase of 63 percent, between 1951 and 1971, white collar employment increased by 113 percent. Within this white collar sector, the most rapid change has been in the growth of professional and technical workers. Employment in these occupations increased by 180 percent between 1951 and 1971 (Table 3.2).

A corollary of these employment shifts in the post-industrial state is the increasing value placed on higher education. Indeed, between 1971 and 1976, the percentage of Canadians having some university education increased from 10.8 percent to 16.1 percent.\(^5\)

At the socio-cultural level, this emerging class of relatively affluent, well-educated professional, technical, and administrative workers have played an important role in reshaping societal values towards the ethics of growth and efficiency characteristic of industrial society. As Bell notes, "If an industrial society is defined by the quantity of goods as marking a standard of living, the post-industrial society is defined by the quality of life as measured by the services and amenities — health, education, recreation and the arts — which are now deemed desirable and possible for everyone" (Bell, 1973, 127).

Two aspects of the growth ideology of industrial society — in Bell's terminology, the "economistic mode of thinking" — detract from the quality of life. First, economizing measures only economic goods; social and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>% Change 1951-1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All occupations</td>
<td>5,276,639</td>
<td>6,458,156</td>
<td>8,608,704</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar Workers&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,669,985</td>
<td>2,409,337</td>
<td>3,555,635</td>
<td>112.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>420,181</td>
<td>538,131</td>
<td>679,843</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical</td>
<td>384,778</td>
<td>627,624</td>
<td>1,077,475</td>
<td>180.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>578,137</td>
<td>833,173</td>
<td>1,270,594</td>
<td>119.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>286,889</td>
<td>410,409</td>
<td>527,723</td>
<td>83.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and Recreation</td>
<td>514,412</td>
<td>794,115</td>
<td>1,000,363</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1,042,639</td>
<td>826,072</td>
<td>640,785</td>
<td>-38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, production process and related&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1,303,359</td>
<td>1,527,129</td>
<td>1,792,603</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>351,208</td>
<td>344,433</td>
<td>407,546</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>Following Bell's, 1974 classification of white collar workers

<sup>2</sup>Not including transport and communication occupations

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. 94-716, Occupations, Historical for Canada and Provinces.
aesthetic concerns are often disregarded. Second, growth as measured by traditional economic accounting tends to generate more than its share of negative spillovers. These spillovers become costs borne directly by other private parties or distributed among society as a whole. The ecologist Barry Commoner, for example, has observed that for every percent increase in the gross national product, the levels of environmental pollution increase ten-fold (Commoner, 1971).

The challenge to such long-standing values as optimization and maximization by this new elite of white collar workers, Alvin Gouldner (1979) suggests, is linked to an emerging New Class ideology based on "professionalism" and the "culture of critical discourse". The New Class, Gouldner argues, develops an ideology that stresses its autonomy from established business or political interests. This autonomy is said to be grounded in the specialized knowledge transmitted by the educational system, along with the obligation of educated persons to attend to the welfare of the collectivity (Gouldner, 1979, 19).

The culture of critical discourse requires that the validity of claims regarding any subject be justified without reference to the speaker's societal position or authority. People must give reasons; they cannot rely on their position in society or their science to justify decisions. As will be discussed later, civic affairs were for many years based on expert decision-making and
the rules of engineering and economics. The New Class has led the challenge to the status quo.

In addition to the ideology of professionalism and the culture of critical discourse, a newer form of New Class ideology that is emerging is environmentalism-ecology. The rejection of the idea of the domination of nature goes hand in hand with the interest in the quality of life characteristic of post-industrial society.

This is not to imply that the growing concern for environmentalism and the quality of life is strictly a New Class phenomenon. Members of the new elite, however, have played an important role in communicating these values to the public at-large because of their influential positions, their access to information, their abilities to articulate and communicate ideas, and so on. The Club of Rome and its views on growth and the environment, Schumacher and his notion of "Small is beautiful", and Pierre Trudeau's memorable definition of G.N.P. as "gross national pollution" provide examples of the role of the New Class as "taste-makers" and opinion-leaders in the diffusion of new ideas and information.

The changing nature of society, Bell argues, has led to a situation where the prevailing ethos has become "sociologizing" rather than "economistic" "...insofar as the criteria of individual utility and profit maximization become subordinated to broader conceptions of social welfare and community interest" (Bell, 1973, 481). This
analysis, however, obscures the manner in which the New Class egoistically pursues its own special vested interests.

The New Class's consciousness is thus not "economistic". It is committed to producing worthy objects and services and to the development of the skills requisite for these... But if the New Class is committed to its work and skill and the production of quality objects, it is NOT, however, committed to these without an interest in their accompanying INCOMES.

(Gouldner, 1979, 20 - my emphasis)

It is for this reason that Gouldner refers to the New Class as the "Flawed Universal Class". Post-industrial society, despite the forecasts of liberal theorists, is not necessarily one characterized by equity and social justice. This idea will be developed in more detail in a later context.

At the level of politics, this reorientation of public values has meant, indeed demands, that government play an active role in decision-making and the allocation of resources. The claims for more services and the inadequacy of the market in meeting people's needs for a decent environment as well as better health and education have led to the growth of the public sector. Moreover, the clash of individual interests, each following its own goals, leads necessarily to a greater need for collective regulation. Significantly, many of the values espoused by the emerging elite have gained legitimacy through the political process.

The preoccupation of this new elite of professional, technical, and administrative workers with amenity,
aesthetics, and the quality of life has led to a redefinition of the term urban progress. Material symbols of buildings and freeways have given way to concerns for people and human-scale artifacts. Post-industrial taste requires that urban development be guided by ideologies of livability and human sensibility. Industrial landscapes, as Ley (1980) notes, are anathema to the "canons of good taste" exhibited by the present day counterparts of Veblen's leisured class.

This demand for aesthetically pleasing, human-scale development has not gone unnoticed by developers and other members of the real estate industry. Although at first skeptical of such development, over the latter half of the 1970's developers and others have been more than willing to invest in both "special" neighbourhood locations and architectural features so as to appeal to the tastes of the new elite. In short, a guiding ideology based on aesthetics and style by a new elite has led to the desirability of select inner city locations among a large number of young, affluent households. This demand has, in part, been stimulated by promises of style and grandeur by the real estate industry (Fig. 3.1). It is in this sense that the social movements approach provides an ideal framework in which to consider the revitalization of the inner city.
Four good reasons for choosing Arbutus West

Luxuriously Appointed Homes

Two bedroom and two bedroom-variety with superb features for a free and easy lifestyle. AMANA Touchmatic microwave, AMANA 18-1/2 cu. ft. 'Ice 'n water' dispenser, 3-door refrigerator. Self-cleaning oven, eight cycle dishwasher. Trash compactor. Log burning fireplace. Triple pleated 'TURCAL' sheer drapes. Thick, plush, velvet carpet, Quarry tile entry way, Underground parking. Much, much more to see.

Exclusive Address

Arbutus at Nanton, The City's prestigious Westside. An intimate, adult community of only 40 homes.

From $102,000 to $119,000

Superb Location

Fifteen minutes via the easy bridge route to downtown. Five minutes drive to 3 private golf courses. Ten minutes to 3 public golf courses. Fifteen minutes to beaches. Fifteen minutes to the University. Fifteen minutes to the Airport. Arbutus Village Square Village shopping, restaurants and entertainment. The Arbutus Club the other side of the road.

Individual Expression

Because you're YOU, our interior decorating and design team will work with you to personalize your Arbutus West home. You can reflect your own lifestyle through our unique 'customizing' approach to living. We have some beautiful alternatives for you! It's easy to make a move to Arbutus West.

Furnished Show Home & Information Centre Now Open! Visit Us Today!

Weekdays: Weekends:
10 A.M. to 6 P.M. Noon to 6 p.m.
Norm Allan:

Fig. 3.1 The Real Estate Industry and Image-Creation
3.7 Summary

An analysis of gentrification from either the demographic, ecological, socio-cultural or political-economic approaches is not necessarily wrong. It is, however, too restrictive to explain the revitalization phenomenon from the perspective of a single approach. Theoretically, a uni-explanatory approach does not allow for a recognition of the interplay between the various economic, demographic, social, and political factors (and hence, actors) which have led to the middle class resettlement of the inner city. A social movements explanation of gentrification eschews this critique of theoretical restrictiveness. Incorporating many of the insights of the various alternative explanations of gentrification, the social movements approach acknowledges the conjunction of socio-cultural lifestyle values with political and economic factors. As such, it provides a strong basis for a thorough analysis of gentrification.

The Fairview Slopes neighbourhood in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia presents an interesting study area in which to consider the interplay of socio-cultural, political, and economic factors in the revitalization of an older inner city neighbourhood. In particular, the "townhousification" of Fairview provides a landscape manifestation of the ideology of the livable city. Moreover, the emergence of the Fairview Slopes as
a fashionable enclave of inner city chic illustrates the less than desirable, often unintended consequences of an apparently aesthetic, humane, and socially progressive ideology. It is to the case study that I now turn.
Footnotes


3 The concern for aesthetics and the role of the "new elite" as taste-makers and opinion-leaders is developed at length in David Ley, "Liberal Ideology and the Post-Industrial City", Annals of the Association of American Geographer, 70 (June, 1980), pp. 238-258.

4 Service workers (12.4 percent) and farm workers (46 percent) account for the remaining 17 percent of the 1968 American labour force. See Table 2.5 Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

5 These figures are adapted from Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Population, School Attendance and Schooling, Canada and B.C., Cat. 720, 1971 and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, Population: Demographic Characteristics, School Attendance and Level of Schooling, Cat. 92-826 (Bulletin 2.7), 1976.
Chapter 4

INNER CITY RENEWAL IN VANCOUVER:
THE CASE OF THE FAIRVIEW SLOPES

4.1 Introduction

The Fairview Slopes, a sixteen square block area bounded on the north by 6th avenue, on the south by 8th Avenue, on the west by Hemlock and on the east by Ash, has undergone substantial renewal and redevelopment over the last five years (Maps 1 and 2). Contemporary townhouse and apartment developments have supplanted the wooden frame houses of a not too distant past. A number of important political and economic factors together with changing public attitudes towards urban growth and development have had significant implications for the pace and direction of change in this inner city neighbourhood. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive analysis and description of the key events leading to the "townhousification" of the Fairview Slopes.
Map 1 The Fairview Slopes In Context

STANLEY PARK

BURLARD INLET

West End

Downtown

Kitsilano

Fairview

Mount Pleasant

16th

Arbutus-Ridge

Shaughnessy

South Cambie

Riley Park
Map 2 Fairview Slopes
4.2 Liberal Ideology and the Livable City

With the initiation of an at-large system of government and the formation of the Non-Partisan Association (N.P.A.) in 1935, a non-partisan/expert form of civic government was instituted in the city of Vancouver. The model of civic administration followed by the N.P.A. was that of the urban reform movement in the United States. Reform ideology was based on the outlook that the city should be run in the manner of an efficient business enterprise. The dual processes of rationalization and systematization governed this model of civic administration. Policies not following this philosophy were criticized by the argument that "no business could conduct its affairs that way and remain in business" (Hays, 1964). Based on this corporate model, the essence of civic policy was the promotion of economic growth and development. Not surprisingly, the most outspoken proponents of this form of civic administration were members of leading business groups and professional men closely allied with them.

The ward system of government characteristic of preamalgamation Vancouver was abolished so that, presumably, council members elected on an at-large basis would give less attention to local and particularistic matters and more to affairs of a city-wide nature. Another outgrowth of the institutional arrangements of the corporate model was the professionalization of civic government. The day to day activities of the city were
supervised by a two-man board of administration. "The senior administrators drew their information and values about the urban scene from the bureaucracy and, when necessary, from experts outside the system, usually experts from the engineering or financial sector" (Hardwick and Hardwick, 1974, 91). As for members of Council, they viewed themselves as trustees of the public purse and acted in what they conceived to be the best interests of the community as a whole. More often than not, however, the interests of the community were broadly translated as the interests of the business sector.

This system of government worked reasonably well for many years given the preoccupation of the population at-large with the material upgrading of the city and the prevailing public attitude that growth was good. As Hardwick (1974, 184) points out:

...Council was providing in quantitative terms basic civic necessities demanded by the population at-large. The qualitative aspects were less important...It is fair to say that civic government was in tune with public desires of the 1950's.

By the mid-1960's, however, this corporate model of civic government was beginning to feel the stress of changing public attitudes. Public opinion was beginning to awaken to civic issues, in part due to the emerging concerns about urban problems and environmental pollution and the less than adequate treatment of the urban environment by long time political incumbents. The corporate
model, however, was too inflexible to incorporate these changing attitudes for its ethic was too bureaucratic. "The non-partisan, at-large system of government...had no built in provision for the inputs of substantial changes in attitudes of various subsections of the community..." (Hardwick, 1974, 18). The legitimacy of the economistic ideology of the N.P.A. began to be challenged by a growing number of concerned citizens.¹

These feelings of public discontent erupted in 1967 when city council, on the basis of economic efficiency models and cost-benefit analyses with little regard for social and aesthetic factors, proposed a freeway that would cut from the east through Chinatown into the heart of the downtown core. The Chinese community, under the guidance of a number of academics from the University of British Columbia, mobilized a great deal of public opposition to this proposal. The proposal was eventually dropped.²

The Chinatown freeway controversy of 1967 marks a very significant point in the history of civic politics and urban development in Vancouver. This issue represented not only a challenge to a specific development proposal, but more importantly, it represented a challenge to the corporate model of civic government with its emphasis on economy, efficiency and growth. In the following year Vancouver saw the emergence of three new political organizations - The Committee of Progressive Electors (C.O.P.E.),
a civic arm of the New Democratic Party, and The Electors' Action Movement (T.E.A.M.). Of these organizations, T.E.A.M. became the most significant. This was due to the fact that T.E.A.M. sought to be a moderate reform group appealing to persons of all political ideologies whereas C.O.P.E. and the N.D.P. sought to be more radical groups appealing to persons on the political left.

T.E.A.M. emerged as a reaction to the business-oriented policies of the N.P.A. administration and represented the changing tide of public attitudes towards civic management and growth. The following quote from a concerned citizen is indicative of these changing public concerns.

I recognize that to talk about decency in urban life sounds vague and naive when everyone else is shouting about economic realities, fiscal responsibility and "bottom line" management. Most politicians are trying to convince us that the issues are land development, taxes, law and order, more discipline...These are important but they overlook what is essential to urban life - decency in the way we treat one another (Van. Sun, 1976, 4).

What qualities of a city contribute to a decent way of life?

The concerned citizen continues:

We need better enforcement of by-laws to protect the public, attacks on noise and environmental pollution, improved paving of parking lanes, pedestrian signals and crosswalks, more interest in bus services and sanitation facilities, better communication between citizens and city hall, more neighbourhood-oriented activities... These are the small day-to-day things that make life in the city a little better, and they are realistically within the hands of city governments.
Such attitudes were the rallying points of T.E.A.M.

By 1970 the "growth is good" ethic held by the N.P.A. was being questioned by an increasing number of people. Tom Campbell, a former N.P.A. mayor whose vision of Vancouver as the "San Francisco of Canada...the New York" was now seen as undesirable. T.E.A.M. advocated a more humanized approach to growth. For them the city was to be a "people-place". The image of downtown envisioned by T.E.A.M., for example, was "...a lot of people doing things - doing naturally, normal work occupations, but also enjoying restaurants, entertainment, little breaks outside where there are park-like settings or pedestrian areas" (Province, 1973). Selective growth was favoured by T.E.A.M.

Our goal must be to make sure that this growth results in real improvement in the quality of living for the people of our community...There can be substantial tangible costs when a neighbourhood is disrupted by a freeway and we are now finding that the lowest cost solution from an engineering standpoint is often the most expensive solution when the total cost to the community is considered (Vancouver Sun, 1971, 32).

For T.E.A.M., the growth-oriented ideology of the "engineering mind" and the city efficient was replaced by the social and aesthetic concerns of the livable city.

The attitudes of the public at-large echoed that of T.E.A.M. During the Spring and Fall of 1972, members of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (G.V.R. D.) Planning Committee and Staff met with community groups
throughout Greater Vancouver to identify issues of importance (G.V.R.D., 1972). The most commonly expressed feeling was that growth in the region should be stopped or severely restricted. The meetings indicated that many people had come to judge progress by asking what it does to the quality of their lives. Many felt that economic progress by itself was insufficient. People saw many things which were important to them - nature, natural places, wildlife, clean air and water, low density, etc. - as being threatened by growth.

The most indicative measure of the changing tide of public opinion towards the management of the urban environment was the increasing electoral support T.E.A.M. received over the four year period between December, 1968 and December, 1972. Having elected only two aldermen in each of the civic elections of 1968 and 1970, T.E.A.M. swept the election of 1972, electing the mayor and eight out of the ten aldermanic seats. Interestingly, four out of the eight T.E.A.M. aldermen were university professors.

In short, changing public attitudes towards uncontrolled urban growth, an increasing concern for beauty and aesthetics and the institutionalization of such values by T.E.A.M. led to a significant change in the course of urban development and planning in Vancouver over the 1970's. It is within such a context of livability that the process of revitalization has taken place in the
inner city neighbourhood of the Fairview Slopes.

4.3 False Creek and the Fairview Slopes

Due to the failure of the city to make a firm commitment as to the future of False Creek, an industrial zone outside the CBD, much of the area in 1967 was characterized by deteriorating conditions and poor land use planning. Around this time a number of suggestions recommending alternative land uses, namely recreational and residential, were being proposed. Among those advocating such uses for False Creek were Bob Williams, an urban planner who in 1966 was a city alderman, and Walter Hardwick and Edward Highbee of the Geography Department at U.B.C. Highbee, arguing that the land uses in False Creek bore little resemblance to the role the area could play in relation to the adjacent downtown and to the emerging vision of Vancouver as an executive city, presented a report to Council in November, 1967 suggesting that the proper development of False Creek should stress the creation of an environment attractive to the construction of office buildings and high rise apartments (Elligot, 1977). In a similar vein, the Vancouver Board of Parks and Public Recreation in early 1967 decided to develop long range park and recreation objectives for the area. Despite these and other appeals for the deindustrialization of False Creek, City Council, pressured by leaseholders whose leases expired within the next few years, approved a long term industrial policy for the area in the Fall of
1967. In retrospect, as Ruth Rodger points out, this decisive action proved to be the beginning of the end for industry in much of the False Creek basin for by then other opinions about the use of the Creek were emerging and Council's decision provided something against which to react (Rodger, 1976).

Despite Council's commitment to industry in False Creek, a great deal of public discussion focussing on non-industrial alternatives took place over the next year. The city planning department, as part of a comprehensive downtown plan, produced a report in December, 1968 recommending the deindustrialization of False Creek. The basic objective behind this plan was the creation of a strong metropolitan office centre with major cultural, tourist, and economic facilities in the downtown. An apartment zone adjacent to the core for downtown office workers was an integral part of this plan. It was recognized that False Creek had the potential to become such an apartment area.

The numerous ideas and suggestions put forward by various groups and individuals on the future of False Creek in response to the downtown Vancouver study were assessed and presented as five long range development concepts in November, 1969. Subsequent to the presentation of these development concepts, Council in July, 1969 had requested that the rezoning of the Fairview Slopes from industrial to residential be studied. Similar to the
city-owned False Creek lands, the Slopes with its proximity to the downtown core were envisioned as a potential apartment zone. As with False Creek, the Fairview Slopes were characterized by a general state of disrepair. Originally envisioned to be a high status residential area (as evidenced by the construction of a number of stately mansions several of which stand today), the industrialization of the False Creek basin during the 1900's saw the development of the Fairview Slopes as a modest residential neighbourhood occupied by people employed in the mills and industries below it. In the 1950's, this area was rezoned to light industry. Despite this industrial zoning, the predominant land use in Fairview remained residential (Table 4.1). During the 1960's the working class character of Fairview underwent a radical change as groups of young, communal-living enthusiasts transformed the Slopes neighbourhood into a "hippie-enclave". Many of the residences occupied by this group were characterized by physical disrepair. According to a study published in 1969, residential buildings accounted for 95 percent of the dilapidated buildings and 73 percent of the buildings in need of substantial rehabilitation (Vancouver Urban Renewal Study, 1969).
Table 4.1  Land Use on the Fairview Slopes, 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Acres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vacant</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Residential</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>20.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Parking and Billboards</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Printing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Metal Fabrication</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other manufacturing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Construction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Storage and Transport</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Wholesale Trade</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Retail Trade</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Service</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>262</td>
<td>40.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The five concepts representing alternatives for the redevelopment of the False Creek area were designed to remedy what the planning department saw as a zone of blight.

False Creek lands are presently under-utilized; many uses are outdated; conditions of land and buildings in many instances have deteriorated; pollution of air and water continues. The entire area is an eyesore and detriment to the metropolitan area (City of Vancouver Planning Dept., January, 1970).

It was believed that the redevelopment of False Creek—Fairview would bolster investment, increase land values, enhance surroundings, and improve the physical quality of the area. Briefly outlined, the five development concepts were as follows (City of Vancouver Planning Dept., March, 1970):
Concept 1

Full Industrial Development

Redevelopment of False Creek and the Fairview Slopes for light industrial development.

Concept 2

Residential and Recreational Development

A predominantly residential area with a full range of multiple dwelling types and with all ancillary public and commercial facilities.

Concept 3

Residential and Industrial Development

Continued industrial usage of part of False Creek; provisions for additional "inner city" apartment development (the Fairview Slopes were to be developed as a high density apartment district); the development of public and commercial marinas.

Concept 4

A residential and recreational area, including office, retail and institutional uses compatible with multiple dwelling areas.

Concept 5

Recreational, Residential and Commercial Development

The creation of a major park and recreational facility in False Creek. In addition, redeveloping remaining False Creek lands and the Fairview Slopes for a combination of high density residential and commercial uses.

Those development concepts stressing the deindustrialization of False Creek were received most favourably by the public. Particularly well received were those concepts emphasizing recreation or park-type development. Some interest was also expressed for residential and commercial development. Massive redevelopment,
however, was seen as undesirable. Redevelopment stressing social, environmental, and aesthetic factors was advocated. The public at-large did not want False Creek to become another West End. Among the favoured directions for the future of the area were (City of Vancouver Planning Dept., March, 1970):

1. Planning of False Creek must be based on the needs of all people. Redevelopment should provide accommodation for different income groups, age levels and household types.

2. Proper controls must be introduced so that views will be protected.

3. The water area should be retained or enlarged and kept clean and free from pollution.

4. Redevelopment of False Creek must not be based primarily on short range financial considerations, but rather on the long range environmental impact upon itself and the region.

In effect, a very innovative form of inner city development based on the ideology of the livable city was envisioned for False Creek.

In April, 1970 Council effectively eliminated any further industrial possibilities for the False Creek basin by formally resolving that Concepts 1 and 3 would no longer be considered options for the future of False Creek and by requesting the planning department to prepare over-all plans for Concepts 2, 4 and 5. By August, 1970 city officials had committed the city to a starting date of 1973 on stage one of the redevelopment of False Creek.
with the general tenor being that of a residential-recreational development.

It is instructive to contrast this vision of False Creek in the early 1970's to that expressed by Gerald Sutton-Brown, Vancouver's director of planning twenty years earlier. Sutton-Brown believed that it was necessary to expand the number of sites available for small-scale industrial plants because in his experience in Britain, small industries begat big industries and additional employment and urban prosperity (Hardwick, 1974, 93). The underlying ideological current of the "engineering mind" of the industrial age is implicit, if not explicit, in this view of False Creek.

4.4 A New Direction for Fairview

By 1970 the industrial zoning of the Fairview Slopes was being seriously questioned. As outlined above, residential and commercial uses were perceived by Council to be much more appropriate for the Slopes. In response to Council's request that zoning permitting the development of residential and commercial uses on the Slopes be adopted, the Technical Planning Board recommended the creation of a CRM-1 zoning schedule. The objectives behind this proposed zoning schedule were five-fold (City of Vancouver Planning Dept., October, 1970):

1. To stop industrial development and eventually replace existing industries.

2. To allow new development which permits commercial use plus a diversity of
housing types.

3. (a) To protect a view of downtown and the North Shore mountains from the dwellings of an optimum number of the future residents of the area.
(b) To protect this same view from selected vantage points along Broadway.
(c) To create a "near view" or environment at ground level which will provide variety and human interest.

4. To ensure that adequate community facilities will be available and that transportation be developed hand-in-hand with the residential and commercial uses.

5. To facilitate a form of development commensurate with the potential of the area in terms of both improved environment and economic viability.

In terms of urban design, these objectives were to be achieved through the construction of townhouses with primarily non-family and low amenity need family residential units. The major objective affecting physical design regulations of the CRM-1 schedule was to take full advantage of the area's view potential. View enhancement was to be based on 'seeing between' buildings of restricted length rather than 'seeing over' buildings of differing heights.

Some thirteen delegations expressed their views on this proposed CRM-1 schedule at a public hearing in March, 1971. Not surprisingly, real estate and development interests were very receptive to this proposed zoning schedule. As noted in a brief presented by the Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver (1971), "the new
zoning will attract investment and the proposed regulations are designed to encourage major development capitalizing on the steep grades of the Slopes with maximization of view potential." In addition to the Real Estate Board, the local ratepayers' group favoured the new proposals. Many others, however, favoured lower height limits and more diversification of housing and population types. Henry Hawthorne, a local architect, was among the more vocal and influential of this group. In response to the CRM-1 schedule, Hawthorne submitted an alternative zoning scheme for the Fairview Slopes. As with the CRM-1 proposal, Hawthorne's alternative concept was designed to stop industrial zoning and to allow a balanced mixture of residential and commercial uses. More significant, however, was the way Hawthorne sought to achieve these goals. Of the basic objectives underlying his proposal, the most notable were (Board of Administration, 1971):

1. To provide a significantly different type of residential environment to those now existing in the city, in order to expand the range of housing choice. This should be intensely urban housing with special emphasis on family housing and with usable open space in proper relationship to living units.

2. To raise the number of people living on the Slopes in order to make the choice available to a larger number and to increase the city's revenue.

3. To encourage small-scale developments in preference to large ones in order to produce a more varied environment at a more human scale. To encourage local owners to participate in the transformation of the area.
4. To preserve for everyone a full panoramic view; including those people living further south of the development area.

5. To encourage a form of development which can accommodate the presence of existing houses and offices gracefully.

The specific zoning proposals submitted by Hawthorne were considered to be unworkable by the planning department. The concept of intensely urban, low rise development, however, was viewed as an interesting and attractive housing alternative.

By this time (Autumn, 1971), the first policies for False Creek were being presented to Council. In November, 1970 the City had appointed Thompson, Berwick-Pratt, a local architecture and planning firm, to prepare a development plan for False Creek. The consultant's False Creek Report #3 was completed a year later. The basic theme arising from this report was the creation of an inner city community that would provide an alternative to both high rise central city concentrations and to sprawling suburbia.

The False Creek basin is clearly in a strategic position in every sense. It is Vancouver's last chance to encourage a development of healthy urban life in the centre of the city. It is an opportunity to order growth and to create a show place both for the City and the nation (False Creek Study Group, 1971, 17).

False Creek was to be the embodiment of the livable city. To the consultants livability meant small scale development and the appropriateness of the physical environment
"close at hand"; an environment where "...the qualities of the natural and man-made environment be so shaped and maintained that beauty, leisure and relief, and a certain sense of well being are available..." (False Creek Study Group, 1972, 79).

The suggested CRM-1 schedule for Fairview did not conform to the proposed development of False Creek. As made clear to the Director of Planning in a letter from the consultants in June, 1971, "...we are convinced that progress towards innovations in environmental planning in the False Creek basin currently under way by the False Creek Study group will be impeded by the upzoning of the Fairview Slopes."4

The planning department after carefully assessing the Hawthorne alternative and the proposal policies for False Creek, withdrew its original CRM-1 proposal. In its place, a modification of Hawthorne's "low-rise module" (designated CRM-2) in conjunction with a modified CRM-1 zoning (designated CRM-3) around its periphery was proposed. Development of the low profile CRM-2 was to have a height limit of 35 feet and that of the CRM-3 120 feet as compared to the 260 feet height limitation proposed in the CRM-1 schedule. In addition to residential development, a limited amount of commercial use was to be permitted in both the CRM-2 and CRM-3 areas. This approach was basically similar to that recommended by the Urban Design Plan of San Francisco in which taller buildings are located on
the higher elevations where they emphasize the natural landforms and do not obstruct views. As well as being compatible with the wide 'see through concept' favoured by Council, the basic merits of low profile buildings on the Slopes, as perceived by the planning department, was its compatibility with the form of development anticipated to be proposed for the city-owned lands of False Creek. The Fairview Slopes were officially rezoned from M-1 industrial to CRM-2/CRM-3 mixed commercial residential in May, 1972.

4.5 Fairview Slopes: Precursor to Change

Little if any redevelopment or rehabilitation occurred as a result of the rezoning to CRM-2 and CRM-3. In fact, only two new developments were approved and constructed between 1972 and 1974 (F.R.A.C.A.S., 1974). This was due to the lack of policies concerning the nature of the future development of the Fairview Slopes and the uncertainty as to the future of the City's False Creek lands. The CRM-2 schedule allowed for considerable discretion to be exercised by Council in the approval of innovative building designs. The purpose of this discretionary authority was to build in a flexibility which would permit experimental designs suitable to the topography and location of the area while still maintaining safeguards against poor design (Dept. of Planning and Civic Development, 1972). There were, however, no specific
guidelines on which to base this discretion. The CRM-3 schedule placed heavy emphasis on a bonus system. By providing a large site size and low site coverage developers were permitted up to an additional 0.95 to the maximum floor space ratio of 0.75. Assembly of land to take advantage of this bonus system proved to be an extremely difficult task for developers.5

The retention of the remaining house stock was another extremely contentious issue. Many of the houses on the Slopes were deemed to have some heritage value, and it was generally agreed that all of them added to the physical diversity of the area. Although the rehabilitation of these houses was seen as a desirable objective, the City did not believe that enforced historical designation was appropriate. Rather it was felt that incentives should be provided for this purpose.

Although the City had made a firm commitment to redevelop False Creek, actual development had yet to be undertaken. Without some concrete evidence as to the residential and recreational future of False Creek, private developers were reluctant to build in Fairview.6

Land speculators, perceiving possibilities for redevelopment at higher densities and revenues deriving partly from the lack of firm planning guidelines for the Slopes and False Creek, began purchasing property in Fairview. This in turn resulted in rapidly escalating land values. A 50 by 120 foot lot on the 1300 block West
7th Avenue, for example, was bought in 1969 for $14,000. In November, 1971 it was sold for $28,500. In May, 1972 the property was resold for $55,000. Subsequently, it was sold again in December, 1973 for $75,000. Between 1969 and 1973 the value of this property increased by $61,000 or an incredible 478 percent (F.R.A.C.A.S., 1974). High prices, in turn, encouraged owner-occupiers to sell at high profits with a resultant increase in absentee owners. The unwillingness of many of these absentee landlords to spend money on housing repairs led to an increasing number of deterioriated houses and ill-kept vacant lots in the area. Furthermore, the demolition and commercial conversion of the existing housing stock hastened the deterioration of the neighbourhood. Of the 170 residential buildings on the Slopes, 12 were lost between 1973 and 1974, a loss of over 7.1 percent in less than a year (F.R.A.C.A.S., 1974). The speculative nature of Fairview led to the loss of much needed accommodation, large increases in rent, and the disruption of the "neighbourly" quality of the area.7

Amidst this atmosphere of physical and social instability, the Fairview Residents' Association and Community Action Society (F.R.A.C.A.S.) in January, 1974 submitted a brief to City Council which outlined in detail an approach which could be taken towards the future of the Fairview Slopes. This brief was very critical of the demolition of existing houses and displacement of present
tenants and the potential for new development to be architecturally and socially incompatible with the surrounding area. Although they wanted the retention of as many houses as possible, F.R.A.C.A.S. also realized that the redevelopment of older, more dilapidated housing would improve the physical quality of Fairview. New development, however, was to be compatible in character and scale with the existing housing.

The F.R.A.C.A.S. brief was very influential in that several of its recommendations were endorsed by the Director of Planning. These included:

1. The establishment of a representative planning committee.
2. A study on the social and economic feasibility of a policy of conservation.
3. The institution of Interim Development Control Guidelines.

On February 8, 1974, Council endorsed the establishment of the Fairview Local Area Planning Program, authorized the hiring of a planner, the initiation of a representative planning committee and approved a cost-benefit analysis regarding the conservation of the Fairview community's existing physical and social fabric.

The Sussex Group was retained by the Director of Planning in April, 1974 to undertake the recommended feasibility study. The basic recommendation stemming from this study was that a neighbourhood-wide program of rehabilitation and infill through the establishment of a rehabilitation corporation be initiated (Sussex Group,
1974). Although this basic recommendation was rejected for a number of reasons,\textsuperscript{8} the City endorsed the idea of preserving the physical character of the residential buildings on the Slopes. This was to be achieved through a program of incentives and compensation to property owners for historical restoration and through amendment to the guidelines applying to conditional uses in the CRM zones to simplify procedures for individual homeowners to preserve buildings of architectural or historic merit.

Another important conclusion of the Sussex Group report pertained to the provision of low cost housing on the Slopes. The consultants concluded that if the future of the area was left to the conventional operations of the private sector, the existing social fabric of the area would not remain intact. Furthermore, if lower income residents were to be given the opportunity to remain in Fairview, some form of subsidy or non-profit operation would be necessary. In response to this conclusion Council accepted in principle the recommendation of the Director of Planning that city-owned land in the Fairview Slopes be considered for use as lower and middle income housing sites.\textsuperscript{9}

The Fairview Planning Committee, composed of three resident property owners, three tenants, three business persons, and one non-resident property owner, was officially appointed by Council on April 8, 1975. Ironically, the first significant action taken by this committee occurred on the day of its official appointment.
To combat the demolition of existing houses on the Slopes, an unofficial freeze on development was adopted in March, 1974 through the instatement of Interim Development Guidelines. The objective of these guidelines was to not approve development which would involve demolition, conversion to commercial use or displacement of residential buildings occupied on March 15, 1974 and to require that new developments be generally compatible with nearby residential development. The Standing Committee on Planning and Development upon reassessing these guidelines in March of the following year recommended that with the exception of buildings of historic or architectural merit (in effect, only five buildings), the guidelines be amended in that they were perceived to be hindering redevelopment. Dan Cornejo, the Fairview local area planner took exception to this recommendation. Since he knew who would be appointed to the local planning committee beforehand, Cornejo informed them of the intentions of the planning and development committee. Council, upon emerging from its April 8th meeting, was confronted by the just appointed committee on its decision to amend the development control guidelines. By a six to five vote, Council reversed the decision of the standing committee. Interestingly, the deciding vote was cast by Art Phillips, the T.E.A.M. mayor. This was a very significant event in that it allowed for the drafting of a development plan for Fairview rather than a series of demolitions and construction.
The Committee held weekly meetings over the Summer and Fall of 1975. A number of large public meetings were held at appropriate points in the program to inform the larger community of the Committee's work and to solicit response and opinions on future directions.

The following planning objectives were agreed upon by the planning committee and the local area planner (Vancouver City Planning Dept., 1977):

1. Preserve and strengthen the small scale residential character of the Fairview Slopes, while allowing appropriate commercial development.

2. Encourage the continuation of a mixture of new and old buildings.

3. Encourage the retention of existing plants and trees and promote high quality landscape development as part of all development, whether new or renovation.

4. Reduce the impact of Central Broadway development.

5. Maintain view corridors down existing streets and avenues, and generally have views from the street into, and where possible, through new development.

6. Optimize view potential for existing units and for those in new developments.

7. Ensure that physical improvements are undertaken very soon, as for example, appropriate lighting, paving, curbs, lanes, sidewalks, and underground wiring.

8. Reduce the impact of vehicular traffic and non-resident parking within the residential streets.

9. Promote the development of functional parks and open spaces to service the needs of current and future residents.
10. Set in motion the procedures necessary to ensure that a reasonable number of cooperative residential developments are constructed in the Fairview Slopes over the next five years to help replace low-cost units lost through redevelopment.

11. Ensure that Fairview Slopes residents, property owners, and business persons have a continuing formal involvement in the decision-making relating to planning and development issues in the Fairview Slopes.

These objectives were incorporated into The Fairview Slopes Policy Plan. Officially adopted by Council on June 1, 1976, the most significant aspect of this plan was the creation of a new FM-1 zoning schedule. As outlined in the policy plan:

The intent of this zone is to enhance the small-scale residential character of the Fairview Slopes Neighbourhood by encouraging retention of the existing houses and permitting new low profile residential development which may include some compatible commercial and ancillary uses, designed to optimize the amenities inherent in the topography and location of this inner city neighbourhood.

In retrospect, the adoption of this plan has precipitated the demolition of existing houses and the transformation of the Fairview Slopes into an exclusive inner city neighbourhood of expensive townhouse projects.

4.6 The Interaction of Public and Private: The Role of Development Industry in the Transformation of the Fairview Slopes

The pace and direction of change on the Fairview Slopes has, to a large extent, been guided by the active
participation of the development and real estate industry. To gain a better understanding of the role of private developers in the renewal of the Slopes, interviews were conducted with several architects, developers, and real estate agents. As well as providing some interesting empirical information, the interview data have some important implications for theory.

The development potential of the Fairview Slopes was first recognized in the early 1970's. Three of the four architect-developers interviewed for this study first expressed an interest to build and design a project on the Slopes during the period 1974-1975. Rhone and Iredale, the designer of one of the first townhouse projects on the Slopes (Fairview 1), recognized the potential of the area roughly fifteen years earlier. This firm located its offices on the Slopes in 1961. With little or no redevelopment or rehabilitation here prior to 1976, the Fairview Slopes presented a very risky investment environment. When asked to comment on the degree of risk involved at the time of their first project on the Slopes, three of the four respondents replied extremely risky. The fourth respondent saw his investment decision as being somewhat risky.

As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the basic entrepreneurial strategies of the development industry is the ascertainment and reduction of risks. A decision on the part of a developer to invest in an area such as
Fairview circa 1974 seems to run counter to such a strategy. A high risk investment, however, may result in a potentially higher return. This prospect appears to be especially appealing to small as compared to medium or large-sized firms. As revealed to this writer through the course of interviews, smaller developers are more willing to take risks than larger ones. Tending to shy away from areas where large development companies are firmly established, small developers tend to search for more marginal opportunities where a potential demand may exist. In the words of one of the respondents, the investment decision is based on more of "a gut feeling".

Similarly, another architect-developer noted how major developers were reluctant to build on the Fairview Slopes because of the interpretative nature of the current FM-1 zoning schedule. According to him, the degree of risk and discretion involved in the civic approval process is simply too high for a large firm. This is especially the case when there are market-proven investment possibilities elsewhere. Indeed, large development firms such as Daon have not expressed an interest (as far as this writer is aware) in the Fairview Slopes. Rather, locally-based, small-sized firms have guided the pace and direction of change on the Slopes.

A number of factors led these developers to believe that in-city townhouse accommodation would be marketable on the Fairview Slopes. The trend of inner
city renewal and redevelopment evident in many other large urban centres was mentioned by two of the respondents as influencing their perceptions. Cited as examples in this regard were the renovation of Victorian wood frames in San Francisco and the row houses of London. The view potential afforded by steep topography of the Slopes was also mentioned by two of the respondents as contributing to their belief that townhouses would be marketable there. Other factors cited by the respondents as influencing their perceptions of marketability were the central location of the Fairview Slopes, the amenity potential of the area with the impending redevelopment of False Creek and Granville Island, and more generally, the growing demand for inner city accommodation expressed by a fairly affluent, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan market. Taken together, these factors led to the recognition of the Fairview Slopes as a potentially desirable investment environment:

With a City of Vancouver project underway on the flat land directly adjacent to the water's edge and due for completion in 1976 the potential of the Fairview Slopes as a high amenity area with spectacular views will come into its own...the City is now prepared to allow a number of projects on the Slopes to proceed and recognizes the fact that this area has an unusual potential for development into a fascinating mixed-use type of area...In other words, the Fairview Slopes have the potential of becoming one of the unique and innovative housing areas in North America.11

Although all the respondents believed that a market demand for in-city townhouse accommodation on the
Fairview Slopes existed, they were not in agreement as to the composition of this market. Initial market analysis on the part of the development industry showed the existence of three potential markets. These included young singles, young professional couples with one or two children, and older couples. The actual market is comprised of two different groups. The first group is composed of young, childless, professional couples. With the price of a typical townhouse unit in the $150,000 range as of Spring 1980, households characterized by two wage earners are not uncommon in this group. Terms such as "active" and "pioneering" are used by realtors in describing this group. One architect described this group as "six months in Mazatlan crowd". Fairly affluent, older couples whose children have left home comprise the other major market. This group, however, is not as large as the young professional one.

It is only within the last three years that the market for Slopes townhouses has become well established. Although originally intended to be strata title, many of the units built between 1976 and 1978 went rental due to a relatively flat market. A depressed housing market in general, the non-committal position of the City with respect to such things as street improvements and park space and the sporadic nature of development on the Slopes are cited by realtors as contributing to this situation.

To gain more insight into the actual development
decision, the architect-developers were asked to note the most important factors influencing their decision to design and build a project on the Fairview Slopes. The proximity of the study area to the city centre and the spectacular view of the downtown and North Shore mountains are mentioned by a majority of the respondents as contributing to their decision to build on the Slopes. The establishment of the FM-1 zoning schedule in 1976 is another important factor. Mentioned by two of the four respondents, the FM-1 schedule has provided a well-defined course of development thus reducing much of the uncertainty characteristic of the previous CRM schedules. Two other factors which have significantly influenced development decisions are the trend of inner city redevelopment set by the West End and Kitsilano, two other inner city neighbourhoods in Vancouver, and the development of other projects in and around the Fairview Slopes - False Creek area.

Complete with bubble windows, skylights, and roof gardens, the townhouse projects on the Fairview Slopes reflect the latest in multi-unit living (Fig. 4.1). Despite their unique design and innovative character, the architect-developers interviewed for this study unanimously agree that townhouses of this sort would only be marketable in areas which possess a terrain and outlook similar to that of Fairview. This is not surprising given that the view afforded by the steepness of the local topography is the most marketable feature of the Slopes.
Fig. 4.1 Ultra-modern townhouses on the Slopes

In order to maximize this landscape amenity, all of the new developments have been designed so as to bring, "...the most dramatic cityscape in North America into living areas"; a cityscape which brings "...you face-to-face with the beauty of Vancouver, with False Creek below, the city behind and the mountains beyond" (Fig. 4.2).

As well as topographic location, the respondents, with one exception, unanimously agree that housing of this sort would not be marketable in suburban locations. As noted by one architect, "Suburbia is suburbia (and)...Inner city housing is appropriate to the inner city". It should be pointed out, however, that when asked to name suburban areas where housing of the sort located on the
A distinctive area for a living investment

MARINA PLACE is located in Fairview, an exceptional area, only minutes from downtown and with spectacular views of the mountains, city and water.

MARINA PLACE has superb, elegant townhouses that incorporate an almost endless list of features. There are cedar ceilings, spacious balconies and roofdecks, kitchens with Italian ceramic tile floors, fireplaces and double glazed windows throughout.

Each townhouse has been designed to create a living environment that's vibrant with the interplay of light and space and unobstructed views.

Quality and excellence are everywhere to complement your exclusive and individual lifestyle.

Luxury with a view starts at $96,000.

Fig. 4.2 The Fairview Slopes as Style and Grandeur
Slopes might be marketable, the one respondent mentioned lower Lonsdale in North Vancouver and parts of West Vancouver. These areas tend to be more "urban" than "suburban" with respect to housing forms (i.e. apartments and townhouses) and lifestyle (singles and childless couples).

Over the last few years certain developers and architects have made the Fairview Slopes their area of specialization. After doing a few projects they have become more aware of the type of designs that the City is likely to approve or disapprove. When asked if the City is more strict in their interpretations of policy plans and urban design guidelines today as compared to three or four years ago, the majority of the respondents (three out of four) replied no. In fact, two of the architect-developers felt that the City had become less strict over the last few years.

In summary, the development industry has played a key role in the transformation of the Fairview Slopes. In assessing the area for its highest and best use, developers believed that a market demand existed for innovatively designed townhouses. Although it may have been a little premature in its investment decision, the private sector has been basically correct in its assessment of the market. As of Spring, 1980, the demand for in-city townhouse accommodation on the Fairview Slopes exceeded supply. Judging by the number of new developments currently being built here, the market is still very solid. Indeed,
the litter and debris, muddy sidewalks, and other annoyances related to the pace and volume of construction has prompted one writer to refer to the Fairview Slopes as a "war zone" (Ford, 1980). Reinforcing market demands have been the favourable policies of local government. The establishment of the FM-1 zoning schedule significantly altered the development industry's perception of the Slopes. It is reasonable to surmise that development would not have occurred as rapidly as it has had it not been for this change in zoning.

The behaviour of those developers involved in the "townhousification" of the Fairview Slopes raises some serious questions as to the supply side argument of housing posed in political economic approaches to the land and housing markets. There is no doubt that the actions and decisions of property developers affect the shape of the urban structure. Their actions and decisions, however, are influenced by consumer preferences and the policies of local government. The Fairview Slopes case study illustrates unequivocally that developers do not shape the demands of the marketplace. Rather, they respond to them.

4.7 Market Place Demands and the Redevelopment of Fairview

A great deal of development activity has taken place on the Fairview Slopes since the adoption of the Fairview Slopes Policy Plan and the establishment of the
FM-1 zoning schedule. A land use survey undertaken in 1975 indicated that the Slopes contained approximately 350 dwelling units of 75 single family and 275 multiple conversion units rented to low and modest income families (Vancouver City Planning Dept., 1978, 22). Since 1975 there has been a 30 percent decrease in the number of these units accompanied by a 300 percent increase in the number of large scale townhouse and apartment developments. As of June, 1978, approximately 270 new townhouse and apartment units had been constructed on the Fairview Slopes. These changes in land use are shown in Table 4.2.

Interspersed among the new townhouse developments are a number of immaculately restored homes (Fig. 4.3), several commercial and light industrial properties, the remaining frame houses of a not too distant past in Fairview (Fig. 4.4), and the construction sites of soon to be completed townhouses and office developments.

The demolition of some of the more dilapidated housing and the construction of many excellent projects has improved the overall quality of the Fairview Slopes. Market forces and the conventional operations of the private sector, however, have usurped some of the aesthetic and social goals outlined for the area in the Fairview Slopes Policy Plan. Many of the old houses which might have been saved, for example, have fallen victim to the developer's axe. The difficulties of renovation in compliance with the National Building Code, inefficient
### Table 4.2 Land Use Changes on the Fairview Slopes, 1974-1978

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<tr>
<td>SINGLE FAMILY &amp; CONVERSIONS</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<td>19%</td>
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<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>27%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>33%</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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<td>COMMUNITY</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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The preceding land use percentages are based on the approximate square footages for each use.

**Assumptions:**

- Single - Family - 1200 square feet.
- Conversions - 3000 square feet.

**Figures for 1978** - Industrial and Office/Commercial uses were taken from an official survey.

**Figures for 1974, 1975, and 1976** Industrial and Office/Commercial uses are based on increases or decreases of the 1978 square footages as a function of the number of establishments.

**Source:** Vancouver City Planning Department, Study of the Retention of Houses in Fairview Slopes, Draft, October, 1978.
Fig. 4.3 Example of a Fairview Slopes Renovation

Fig. 4.4 Frame Houses of a Not Too Distant Past
utilization of space, and lack of economic viability have discouraged the rehabilitation of old houses. With renovation costs of up to $50 per square foot and land costs in excess of $55 per square foot, there is not much incentive for homeowners not to sell to developers. Economically it is much more expensive to renovate than to demolish an existing structure and put up a new multi-residential development. This is especially the case when a six unit townhouse can be built on a fifty foot frontage lot formerly occupied by one single family house. In order to provide homeowners with more incentive to rehabilitate, the planning department is currently assessing the merits of allowing 100 percent commercial conversion of houses rather than the present maximum of 50 percent.

Developers, in their desire to maximize the development potential of the Fairview Slopes, have created a situation detrimental to the preservation of views. The density of development is forming a "wall-like" appearance on the streetscape thus leading to a loss of view corridors on some entire blocks. As well as its value as an amenity, view corridors create a sense of openness and relief in an area that lacks open space.

The redevelopment of the Slopes has also resulted in the loss of many low cost housing units. High land and building costs have not made it economically feasible for the City to utilize its land on the Slopes for non-market
housing as proposed in the 1976 Policy Plan. Only one social housing project consisting of 45 units (located at 7th and Laurel) has been built. With the exception of one parcel, the remaining lots owned by the City in 1976 have been either sold, leased, or traded for property located elsewhere in Vancouver.\(^{15}\)

Although unintended, the demands of the market place have led to the emergence of the Fairview Slopes as an exclusive inner city enclave of high-cost, ultra-modern townhouse and apartment developments.

4.8 Summary

A complex interaction of political, economic, and social factors have led to the revitalization of the Fairview Slopes. Especially significant in the transformation of this inner city neighbourhood has been the politics of planning and the creation of investment environments. Due to the uncertain nature of the CRM-2 and CRM-3 schedules, little or no renewal activity took place on the Slopes during the early 1970's. In contrast, the adoption of the Fairview Slopes Policy Plan and the instatement of the FM-1 zoning schedule in 1976 sparked a great deal of investment activity on the part of the development industry. The emergence of the Fairview Slopes as a fashionable inner city neighbourhood of ultra-modern townhouse projects is now firmly entrenched. These developments have greatly improved the overall physical quality of the Slopes.
Economics and the demands of the marketplace, however, have usurped some of the aesthetic and social objectives originally adopted for Fairview.
An interesting discussion on public attitudes and political legitimacy is found in David Ley and John Mercer, "Locational Conflict and the Politics of Consumption", Economic Geography, 56.2 (April, 1980), pp. 89-109.


According to a survey conducted in 1969, nearly seventy percent of T.E.A.M.'s leaders were professionals or semi-professionals while a little over twenty percent were businessmen. In contrast, almost three-quarters of the leaders of the N.P.A. were businessmen. The theoretical significance of professionals and upper level white collar workers as taste-makers and opinion leaders is implicit in these figures. See Robert Easton and Paul Tennant, "Vancouver Civic Party Leadership: Background, Attitudes, and Non-civic Party Affiliations", B.C. Studies, 2 (Summer, 1969), pp. 19-29.

Letter from Thompson, Berwick and Pratt, False Creek Consultants to W. Graham, Director of Planning, June 16, 1974.

As outlined in the CRM-3 schedule in Vancouver's Zoning and Development Bylaw, the maximum f.s.r. of 0.75 may be increased:

1. Where the site coverage is reduced below 25 percent an amount equal to 0.35 may be added for each one percent or fraction thereof by which such coverage is reduced, but in no case shall this amount exceed 0.35.

2. Where the area of a site exceeds 20,000 square feet an amount may be added equal to 0.02 multiplied by each 1,000 square feet of site in excess of 20,000 square feet, but in no case shall the amount exceed 0.60.

Much of the literature on the urban land market and the development industry suggests that developers are very cautious in their dealings, carefully assessing market demands before venturing into any forms of development, especially innovative development of the sort envisioned for the Fairview Slopes. On this general theme see Larry S. Bourne, "Urban Structure and Land Use Decisions", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 66, 4 (1976), pp. 531-547; Michael A. Goldberg and Daniel D. Ullinder, "Residential Developer Behaviour: 1975", in Housing: It's Your Move, Vol. 11, Technical Reports, A
According to a survey undertaken by the Fairview Resident's Association and Community Action Society (F.R.A.C.A.S.) during the Summer of 1973, the most liked quality of the Fairview Slopes was the neighbourliness of the area. See F.R.A.C.A.S. Brief from Local Area Planning Committee, January, 1974.

Council did not endorse the recommendations of the Sussex Group for a number of reasons:
1. The Sussex Group Study pointed out that the prime prerequisite for neighbourhood rehabilitation is that the majority of owners must have a strong desire and commitment to preserve the existing neighbourhood. The study goes on to note that such a desire or commitment is not evident in the area.
2. Related to 1, the Sussex Group stated that it is highly desirable that there be a large percentage of owner-occupiers in the proposed rehabilitation area. However, it goes on to say that only 36 percent of the owners in Fairview are residents.
3. Another prerequisite is that land and housing must be available at relatively low costs. Such was not the case in Fairview - land costs ranged between $15 - $17 per square foot in 1974.
4. A brief presented by the Fairview Resident Owners' Association stated that "the chief argument for preserving many of the older houses is not their architectural beauty or their historical significance, but that they add visual diversity." This statement is followed up by a caution that the ultimate right to renovate, reconstruct in part, or totally demolish and rebuild should rest with the resident owner since diversity can also be achieved with appropriate small scale new construction.

The City owned a number of lots on the Fairview Slopes. These included Lots 7-14 inclusive of Block 296 and Lot 13 of Block 298; Lot 7, Block 292; Lot 3, Block 294; and Lot 1, Block 320.

Among the architect-developers interviewed for this study were Henry Hawthorne, Roger Hughes, Bill Rhone, and Mr. Ramses of Ramses, Kwan and Associates. Among the realtors interviewed for this study were Marilyn Currie of Hersog Realty, and Julie Gilander of Fuller Ellis Realty.
Noted in a proposal by J.G. Morris Realty Ltd. for a strata title townhouse on the north-east corner of 7th Avenue and Oak Street, June, 1975.

Interestingly, three of the four architects interviewed have their offices located on or near the Slopes. The offices of Rhone and Iredale and Ramses, Kwan and Associates are located in heritage designated houses on the Slopes. Roger Hughes' office is on Granville Island. Although his office is not located on the Slopes, Henry Hawthorne lives here.

According to various developers and architects, the age of the houses on the Slopes makes renovation very difficult.

The maximum floor space ratio of 1.5 cannot be utilized through renovation.

Currently, a new lease is being developed for a "handicapped" project on 745 W. 7th Avenue.
5.1 Introduction

The transformation of the Fairview Slopes into an intensely urban, inner city neighbourhood of modern townhouse and apartment developments is now firmly entrenched. Over a period of only five years the Slopes have gone from an area of medium density, low land values, and low cost accommodation into one of high density, high land values, and expensive accommodation. The high cost of accommodation in Fairview, however, has not detracted from its attractiveness as a residential environment. Over the last two years the demand for accommodation on the Slopes has been growing steadily. Indeed, discussions with various real estate agents indicate that the demand for fashionable, in-city townhouse living in amenity locations is greater than the current supply. In order to get more insight into the emergence of the Fairview Slopes as a desirable residential neighbourhood, a resident survey was undertaken during April-May, 1980. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a descriptive review of the survey results. In the following chapter, some of the more theoretical implications of these results will be considered through an assessment of the ideology of livability developed.
in Chapters 2 and 3 and the revitalization of the inner city in general.

5.2 Methods and Data

In order to achieve a sample size of roughly sixty-five, a random sample of some ninety Fairview Slopes residents was drawn from the 1979 federal voter's list for the appropriate polling districts. Initially, a letter of introduction asking for resident participation in a research study on the Fairview Slopes was sent to each of the sampled residents (Appendix 1). This was followed up by a personal visit in which those residents agreeing to take part in the study were presented with a questionnaire (Appendix 2). In the interest of time, the respondents were given the option of doing the questionnaire at the time of the initial visit or taking a few days after which I would return to pick up the completed questionnaire. For the most part, there were no difficulties with this method given the straightforward nature of the questionnaire. In only a few instances was it necessary for me to clarify a particular question. Overall, I was pleasantly surprised by the receptiveness of the residents to the survey. Occasionally, I had the pleasure of sharing an impromptu discussion with an interested resident on the transformation of the Slopes and my reasons for studying the area.

After several days of field work I realized that I had not drawn enough names to achieve my desired sample size of sixty-five. In many instances, initial
contact was not made due to the absence of the homeowner or tenant. If after two subsequent visits contact was still not made, the resident in question was dropped from the sample. In other cases, the homes of those I had chosen to sample had been either demolished, vacated, or converted to commercial use. Roughly twenty of the initial contact letters I had sent were returned to me because the addressee had moved out or the address no longer existed. Due to these unforeseen problems, an additional forty-five names were drawn from the voter's list. In contrast to the first round, the sample was drawn on a stratified random basis. To avoid drawing non-existent addresses, the sampling universe was limited to those residents living in the residential core of the Slopes (Fig. 5.1). Despite this procedure, there were quite a few instances of non-contact. A third and final round of stratified random sampling added an additional eleven survey respondents. After approximately two months of administering the questionnaire, I had a total of seventy-one completed questionnaires. Of these seventy-one returns, ten were discarded for various reasons leaving a final sample size of sixty-one respondents.

Four general areas were explored in the questionnaire: (1) housing and neighbourhood characteristics of the Fairview Slopes (2) the desirability of Vancouver as a place to live (3) urban land use and development priorities and (4) the social and demographic characteristics
Fig. 5.1 The Residential Core of the Fairview Slopes
of the survey respondents. Parts 1 and 4 are the focus of this chapter. The results of parts 2 and 3 are discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

As discussed in Chapter 2, the term "young professional" is often used to describe the residents of revitalized inner city neighbourhoods. An analysis of the social and demographic background of the survey respondents reveals the aptness of this characterization, 64 percent of the sample are university-educated; 52 percent are employed in professional and/or managerial occupations; and 51 percent earn total household incomes in excess of $32,000 per year (Table 5.1). Given this high income level, it is not surprising to find that two-income households comprise 40 percent of the survey sample.

As these figures would suggest, the residential population of the Fairview Slopes is quite an unique one. Indeed, in 1976 only 14 percent of Vancouverites as a whole had three or more years of university\(^2\) and only twenty-three percent were employed in managerial and professional occupations.\(^3\)

With respect to age, the 25-34 category is disproportionately represented - 42 percent of the sample households fall into this category (as compared to 17 percent for Vancouver as a whole) (Table 5.1). Only 2
Table 5.1  Social and Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Survey Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational/Technical School</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some University</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Degree</td>
<td>63.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process and manufacturing</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Household Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $8,000</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$8,000-$16,000</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$16,000-$24,000</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$24,000-$32,000</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $32,000</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes housewives, retirees, and students

**% household members
percent of the household members, however, are over fifty-five years of age. Similarly, children under fourteen comprise only 12 percent of the population. It should be noted, however, that the number of children in Vancouver as a whole has been declining over the last few years. According to the 1976 Census, children under fourteen accounted for only 16 percent of the city's total population as compared to 21 percent in 1971.

Living in an intense, highly urban environment is not a new experience to many of the survey respondents. Prior to moving to the Fairview Slopes, 33 percent of the sample had lived in either Kitsilano (18 percent) or the West End (15 percent), two inner city neighbourhoods in Vancouver which have undergone a great deal of redevelopment and renewal. As well as Kitsilano and the West End, an additional 5 percent had previously lived in the inner city neighbourhoods of Grandview-Woodlands and Mount Pleasant (Table 5.2). In sharp contrast, only 13 percent of the sample had lived in a suburban location prior to moving to the Slopes. This data adds further evidence to the misleading use of the phrase "back-to-the-city" to describe the revitalization phenomenon.
Table 5.2 Residential Location of Respondents Prior to Moving to the Fairview Slopes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner City Vancouver</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Vancouver</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Unspecified</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban Vancouver</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Province</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes the neighbourhoods of Grandview Woodlands, Kitsilano, Mount Pleasant and the West End

As described in the previous chapter, the transformation of the Fairview Slopes from an unkempt neighbourhood of old houses to that of contemporary townhouses and renovations has only occurred within the last few years. This is reflected in the length of time the survey respondents have lived on the Slopes. The majority (66 percent) have lived here for less than two years (Table 5.2). Only 5 percent of the sample have lived in the study area for over ten years. Due primarily to the demolition of the old houses and the high cost of contemporary townhouse living, social displacement has accompanied the physical transformation of the Fairview Slopes.

Table 5.3 Length of Residence on the Slopes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 years</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5 years</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10 years</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 The Fairview Slopes as a Place to Live

In order to probe deeper into the residential desirability of the Fairview Slopes, the survey respondents were questioned as to their decision to live in the study area. The most often mentioned reason for living here is the spectacular view of the downtown and North Shore mountains afforded by the steepness of the local topography (Fig. 5.2). 71 percent of the sample cited this feature as significantly contributing to their decision to live on the Slopes. Only 57 percent of respondents without a university degree mentioned the view as being important. In contrast, 77 percent of those with an university education and earning in excess of $32,000 per year mentioned this factor. Interestingly, the origin of the name Fairview stems from the view itself. As history has it, L.A. Hamilton, a C.P.R. land commissioner, named Fairview as such because he was so taken by the view.

The most sought after units on the Slopes are specifically designed so as to maximize the view potential. Such units demand extremely high premiums. Indeed, realtors estimate the view alone to be worth up to twenty-five percent of the total cost of some units.

The central location of the Fairview Slopes is another important factor contributing to its desirability as a residential neighbourhood. 61 percent and 43 percent of the respondents respectively mentioned proximity to
Fig. 5.2 The Fairview Slopes View
place of work and proximity to cultural and recreational activities as contributing to their decision to live on the Slopes. Especially important in this respect is the proximity of the Fairview Slopes to the downtown core. As one of the administrative and business centres of Western Canada, a high concentration of white collar employment is found in the heart of Vancouver's central business district. The importance of such activities is reflected in the growth of downtown office space over the last decade. Between 1971 and 1980, the amount of office space located in the downtown peninsula increased some eight-eight percent from 7,935,000 square feet to roughly 15,000,000 square feet. Moreover, this expansion in office space has brought with it an expansion of service and retail facilities leading to the creation of additional job opportunities.

In addition to the downtown peninsula, the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood is located a short distance from the Broadway commercial core. Next to the downtown core, Broadway has the highest concentration of white collar employment opportunities in the city. The relationship between office space and white collar employment is especially significant in Fairview because of its high proportion of professional and managerial workers.

In addition to employment opportunities, the many theatres, restaurants, and night spots make the downtown core the recreational and cultural heart of the
city. The proximity of the Fairview Slopes to such activities adds to its attractiveness as a residential neighbourhood. This is especially true for those who are employed in professional and technical occupations (53 percent). In contrast, respondents lacking a university education seem to take less interest in this quality of the Slopes than the sample as a whole. Only 29 percent of these respondents mentioned proximity to cultural and recreational factors. Similarly, whereas 65 percent of those owning their place of residence cited this factor, only 30 percent of those living in rental accommodation mentioned proximity to cultural and recreational activities as contributing to their decision to live on the Fairview Slopes.

In contrast to such concrete features as the view or the central location of the Fairview Slopes, the fourth reason cited by the survey respondents as contributing to their decision to live on the Slopes is one of an amorphous nature. Mentioned by 34 percent of the sample, this is the "special character" of the Fairview Slopes. When asked to elaborate on what they meant by "special character", the respondents referred to such things as the changing nature of the neighbourhood - "A developing neighbourhood where improvements characterize the buildings rather than depreciation"; the lifestyle afforded by in-city townhouse living - "The lifestyle lends itself more to professional rather than
family life"; and the emerging "snob-appeal" of the Slopes - "The sort of upward mobility quality of the place, between middle- and upper-middle class". As well, references are made to the spectacular views and the proximity of the Slopes to such places as the downtown, False Creek, and Granville Island.

The final reason, cited by 31 percent of the sample as contributing to the attractiveness of the Fairview Slopes as a place to live, is the investment potential of the neighbourhood. This is particularly important for those owning their own accommodation (61 percent), those earning more than $32,000 per year (42 percent), and those with a university degree (39 percent). In contrast, only 13 percent of renters and 19 percent of those without a university degree mentioned the investment potential of the neighbourhood. As with the Vancouver real estate market as a whole, the value of the units on the Slopes has steadily increased. This factor, together with the excellent resale potential of the units makes the purchase of a Fairview Slopes townhouse a very attractive investment.

A number of other reasons are also cited by the survey respondents. These factors are not as important as those outlined above. There is, however, one exception to this. Although only 23 percent of the sample as a whole mention the cost of housing, 44 percent of those
earning less than $32,000 per year cite housing cost as being an important factor. Although expensive townhouses dominate the residential fabric of the Slopes, a number of relatively inexpensive rental units, both single family houses and apartments, still remain. Most of these units, however, are awaiting redevelopment as evidenced by the presence of development permit applications. Although this redevelopment may not cause a great deal of displacement, the fact remains that people will be forced out of their homes.

Table 5.4 presents a summary of the various reasons cited by the sample as contributing to their decision to live on the Fairview Slopes.

On the other side of the coin, there are a number of things about the Fairview Slopes which the survey sample expressly dislike. Mentioned by 67 percent of the respondents, the unkempt condition of the streets and sidewalks and the rundown nature of many of the remaining old houses are the most disliked features of the Slopes. Pot-holed roads and muddy, curbless streets are highly anomalous in an area where $200,000 townhouses are commonplace (Fig. 5.3). This is due to the transitory nature of the neighbourhood. It has not been possible for the city to keep up with the change which has taken place on the Slopes over the last few years. These conditions are especially troublesome in this neighbourhood because of the relatively affluent nature of the local
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View of the downtown and North Shore mountains</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to work</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity of cultural and recreational activities</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special character of the neighbourhood</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment potential of the neighbourhood</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative cost of housing as compared to other areas in the city</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to the False Creek redevelopment</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well maintained neighbourhood dwellings</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of public and private services in the area</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 5.3 Construction Annoyances and Poor Street Conditions

Fig. 5.4 On-street Parking on the Slopes
population and the expectations they have as to the emergence of the Fairview Slopes as a fashionable place to live.

Over the last year or two, the local community has been fairly successful in lobbying the city planning and engineering departments to improve the street appearance. Construction of a Seventh Avenue streetscape improvement project is anticipated to be implemented in the Spring of 1981.

The availability of parking and through traffic poses another issue of concern on the Fairview Slopes (Fig. 5.4). 48 percent of the sample cite parking and traffic as serious problems. Broadway and 6th Avenue are both heavily used east-west traffic arteries. 8th Avenue is used for circulation by Broadway-oriented traffic, and much of this traffic uses north-south streets to reach 6th Avenue. North-south traffic is particularly heavy on Oak Street. This traffic problem is compounded by the fact that Fairview has a limited lane system and very steep grades.

About 75 percent of the daytime parking in Fairview is non-resident. This is due to the proximity of the Slopes to the Central Broadway commercial core and the Vancouver General Hospital. Commercial development within the Slopes itself also contributes to the local parking problem. If the plan of allowing 100 percent commercial conversion of existing houses is implemented,
parking will become even more of a problem.

Overdevelopment and the mix of residential-commercial land uses are two other aspects of the Fairview Slopes which the survey sample find bothersome. 36 percent of the respondents dislike the prospect of new construction which could obstruct the view of the downtown and North Shore mountains. Although zoning regulations call for a floor space ratio (f.s.r.)\(^6\) of 0.6, the discretionary nature of the FM-1 schedule allows a developer a f.s.r. of up to 1.5. This means the area of the buildings may be up to 1.5 times the area of the property. To earn the maximum f.s.r. a developer must take into account the nature and size of the site, the adequacy of open space, overall design and the provision of amenities which could result in community benefits. Judging by the nature of recent development, it appears as if the higher density has become the norm rather than the exception. This has led to the complaint that planners have simply rubber-stamped everything without worrying about whether a project enhances the neighbourhood or not. Even with careful site planning, the obstruction of views is inevitable given the density of development.

As with overdevelopment and view loss, 36 percent of the sample dislike the mixed residential-commercial land use on the Slopes. Many buildings and land uses which were approved under the previous light industrial zoning continue to exist on the Fairview Slopes. A
manufacturer of 'fast-foods', an auto body shop, and a graphics shop are among the most notable of these light industrial uses. Interspersed among the luxury townhouse developments, these uses are anomalous. The conversion of old houses into offices, however, is not perceived to be that much of a problem.

With these four exceptions, no other aspect of the Fairview Slopes is disliked by more than fifteen percent of the sample (Table 5.5).

To gain further insight into the desirable and not so desirable qualities of the Fairview Slopes, the respondents were asked how they would describe their neighbourhood to a friend. A number of general themes are implicit, if not explicit, in these responses. Many references, both positive and negative, are made to the changing nature of the Slopes. Some of the more interesting responses include, "...under redevelopment with prospect of becoming expensive, exclusive, fashionable and desirable inner city residential enclave"; "A look of newness is taking place of the old"; "The degenerate hippy-kept buildings will be torn down and (I) hope town houses will be constructed".

References to the view potential of the Slopes and the centrality of its location are also very common. Not surprisingly, these qualities of the Slopes are seen as very desirable.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street conditions and run-down buildings</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking and traffic</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdevelopment and view loss</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed land uses</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive noise</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of convenience shopping</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of neighbourhood feeling</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demolition of existing structures</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses too close together</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 Characteristics of the Fairview Slopes which Survey Respondents Dislike
Responses related to the atmosphere and style of living in Fairview lay the basis for a fourth theme. The Slopes are described as "exciting"; "alive"; "stylish"; "like being in the country and city at the same time"; "a very exclusive slum". One respondent, very critical of the change which has taken place on the Slopes, describes the area as, "Rapidly degenerating into a rich man's paradise".

Finally, a number of references are made to the cost of housing in Fairview. Responses range from, "One of the best deals in quality housing in Vancouver" to "Getting very expensive".

In short, if one is fairly affluent and willing to bear the growing pains of a developing area, the Fairview Slopes, with its spectacular views and central location, can be a very attractive place to live.

5.5 The Fairview Slopes and the Future of Development

A great deal of change has taken place on the Fairview Slopes over the last few years. The construction of modern townhouses and the renovation of old houses have improved the overall quality of the neighbourhood. Over the last number of years, local residents have come to question the quality of some of the more recent development. As discussed previously, they argue that planners simply rubber stamp everything without taking into consideration the impact of new projects on the neighbourhood.
Indeed, next to the cost of housing, the physical change that is taking place on the Slopes is the most frequently mentioned aspect of Fairview which could cause someone to leave (Table 5.6). This raises a number of questions as to the future of development on the Fairview Slopes. To gain further insight on this matter, the respondents were surveyed as to their opinions on the direction of change in Fairview.

A resounding majority (84 percent) of the survey sample favour more housing development on the Fairview Slopes. The renovation of existing structures and the construction of new townhouse projects are viewed as particularly desirable (Table 5.7). This development, however, must be designed so as not to obstruct views or hamper the small scale residential character of the neighbourhood. 95 and 89 percent of the sample respectively favour continued view preservation and the preservation and strengthening of the small scale residential character as key planning objectives for the Slopes.

In contrast to renovations and townhouses, the development of low rise apartments and government-assisted housing for senior citizens and lower income families is viewed as highly undesirable. Only 39 percent of the sample would like to see the construction of social housing. Housing of this sort is particularly disliked by those respondents making in excess of $32,000 per year. Only 23 percent of this group as compared to 65 percent of
Table 5.6  Aspects of Fairview Which Could Cause Residents to Move

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost of housing is too expensive</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical change</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job change</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing size of family</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't like the people</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in marital status</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expect to be evicted from present dwelling</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7  Types of Development Favoured for the Future of the Slopes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Development</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Renovation of existing structures</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townhouses</td>
<td>67.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single family homes and duplexes</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-assisted housing</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low rise apartments</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
those earning less than $32,000 favour the development of government-assisted housing. The ambiguous nature of opinions with respect to low-cost housing is further evidenced by the fact that 38 percent of the sample favour such construction but 41 percent oppose it.

In a similar vein, only 30 percent of those surveyed are favourable to the development of low rise apartments. Not having made as considerable an investment as those who own units, renters are perceived as having no significant ties with the local neighbourhood. This in part may explain the dislike of low rise apartments.

The prospect of development other than residential is viewed very unfavourably by the survey respondents. Under the present zoning, "appropriate" commercial development is allowable on the Slopes. The majority of the sample (56 percent) find this annoying. Only twenty-nine percent favour the encouragement of a mix of commercial and residential land use.

Central to the continued development of the Fairview Slopes is local resident interaction and involvement in the future planning development of the neighbourhood. 85 percent of the sample feel that this is very important. It is imperative to them that planning decisions not be made unilaterally by the civic bureaucracy.
5.6 Summary

Contemporary inner city townhouse living in a central, high amenity location has attracted a fairly affluent, well-educated group of individuals to the Fairview Slopes. The still transitional nature of the neighbourhood, however, gives rise to some dissatisfaction among the local residents. Especially disliked are the street conditions on the Slopes. With respect to the future, continued development, as long as it is compatible with the emerging image of the Fairview Slopes as an attractive and even prestigious place to live, is seen as highly desirable.
Footnotes

1 The Fairview Slopes is included in polling districts 144, 145 and 146.

2 This figure was adopted from Vancouver City Planning Department, Vancouver Local Areas, April, 1979.

3 This figure was adopted from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Information, Cat. 71-001P, Dec. 9, 1980.

4 These figures are derived from various issues of the annual Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver publication, Real Estate Trends in Greater Vancouver.

5 As of May, 1980, some 2,864,000 square feet of office space had been constructed on Broadway.

6 The floor space ratio (f.s.r.) is the figure obtained when the area of the floors of building(s) on a site is divided by the area of the site.

7 The fact that the planning department is currently reviewing the whole situation on the Fairview Slopes tends to bear out this charge of overdevelopment.
Chapter 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 The Inner City and Theory

Major changes in the economic and social fabric of society together with an increasing interest in the central city as an exciting and stimulating place have led to the middle class revitalization of the inner city. Strengthening and reinforcing the renewal process has been the active participation of the development industry and financial community and the favourable policies of local government. The transformation of the Fairview Slopes from a relatively unkempt neighbourhood of old, sometimes run-down houses into one of contemporary townhouse developments and immaculate renovations illustrates the complex interplay of cultural, economic, and political factors in the renewal of an older, inner city area. Theoretical approaches which do not acknowledge this conjunction of socio-cultural lifestyle values with political and economic factors are too narrow in scope to provide a complete analysis of gentrification. An explanation of gentrification emphasizing social movements avoids this critique of the theoretical narrowness.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a number of key points
provide the starting point for an analysis of social movements and social movement organizations. These include (1) Social movements are ideologically-based (2) They are oriented towards change or improvement and (3) They are socially-organized, often in terms of leader-follower relationships. Control over the allocation of resources is often the specific type of change sought by a movement. Due to the differential access to resources, particular social movement organizations are much more successful in mobilizing supporters and sympathizers than others. The legitimization of a movement through political institutionalization is perhaps the hallmark of success. In the case of inner city renewal, inner city space is the contested resource and the middle class newcomers and the often poor, incumbent residents are the competing groups. The resettlers may be encouraged in their efforts by a variety of leaders. The first urban "pioneers" and the political-economic elites who decided to end redlining and make investment capital available may be viewed as assuming a leadership role. In the city of Vancouver, the course of development and planning over the 1970's has been greatly shaped by the ideology of livability first introduced by The Electors' Action Movement, an urban reform party, at the beginning of the decade. It is within such a context of livability that the "townhousification" of the Fairview Slopes has taken place.
6.2 Planning and Politics in Vancouver: Theory and Reality

In contrast to the growth-oriented ideology of the Non-Partisan Association, T.E.A.M. stressed the importance of aesthetics and style in the planning of the urban environment. Landscapes lacking the sensory appeal demanded by post-industrial aesthetic taste were anathema to T.E.A.M. supporters. The historic designation and revitalization of the Gastown and Chinatown districts, the construction of the Granville Street pedestrian mall, various downzonings throughout the city, and the redevelopment of False Creek are all illustrative of the "canons of good taste". Similarly, the Vancouver Heritage Advisory Committee and the Urban Design Group provide examples of institutions explicitly created for the promotion of a quality urban environment. These concerns for aesthetics and style, together with the magnificent physical setting of the city, have made Vancouver a very livable city.

A depressed national economy characterized by spiralling inflation, high unemployment and volatile interest and mortgage rates have prompted a swing back to more conservative, tight-fisted government over the last few years. Fiscal conservatism, however, has not dampened the enthusiasm of the public for urban environments which respect human sensibility and the quality of the physical environment. One of the more important
consequences of a social movement, as Morrison et al (1972) note, is to provoke a more "liberal" response from established organizations. "Therefore, the outcome of movement organization efforts is not visible simply in their own accomplishments, but also in the responses they bring about from other organizations" (Morrison et al, 1972, 269). Many of the "radical" reforms made by T.E.A.M. during the early 1970's provide the standards against which planning and development issues are evaluated today.

During the course of the year 1979, the Vancouver City Planning Commission, a group of voluntary citizens who advise city council on planning and development matters, had the responsibility for administering a goal-setting program for the city of Vancouver. Two basic objectives were behind this program. First, the goals were to act as long-term targets for the city to strive towards and second, they were to act as reference points to evaluate issues and proposals that may arise in the future. In essence, this program provided a mechanism whereby citizens could provide some input as to the future development of their city. As a vehicle for citizen participation, the Goals for Vancouver Program was an outgrowth of the consultative model of civic government subscribed to by T.E.A.M.

In the survey respondents were asked what they felt to be the most important elements of the current character of Vancouver. The theme of the livable city is
very evident; qualities such as "the good parks" and the "natural environment and beauty" are perceived to be very important attributes of the city (Table 6.1).²

Another section of the survey asked respondents to indicate how important certain objectives were for Vancouver's future. The five most important objectives were:

1. Views of the mountains and water protected
2. City with an attractive appearance
3. Resident participation in government
4. Assist elderly to reside in the city
5. Public transit be available to serve all parts of the city

Implicit in these responses are the social and aesthetic concerns which T.E.A.M. as a civic party brought to the fore.

In a similar vein, the Fairview Slopes survey sample were questioned as to what they believe to be (1) the three most important things about Vancouver that should not change and (2) the three aspects of Vancouver that should change or improve. Mentioned by 64 percent of the respondents, Vancouver's green areas and parks are judged to be the most important attributes of the city. These features are especially important to those employed in professional-technical occupations (77 percent) and possessing a university degree (72 percent). With this one exception, no other aspect of the city is mentioned by a majority of the sample (Table 6.2). It should be noted, however, that whereas only 38 percent of the sample as a whole cite livable city planning as being an aspect of Vancouver that should not change, 50 percent of
### Table 6.1  The Goals for Vancouver Program: Important Things about Vancouver that should not Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First ten responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The good parks</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural environment and beauty</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenery, landscaping and trees</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaches and water activities</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protected views</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley Park</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population size</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage and historic buildings</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural and ethnic mix</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the professional-technical group mention this factor.

Similarly, only one aspect of Vancouver is mentioned by a majority of the survey respondents as in need of change or improvement (Table 6.3). Mentioned by 59 percent of the sample, this is the poor quality of public transit in the city. This is especially troublesome for respondents earning less than $32,000 per year (70 percent). In contrast, only 45 percent of those earning more than $32,000 per year view public transit as an aspect of Vancouver which needs improvement.

In order to probe more deeply into the matter of public attitudes and urban development, the Fairview Slopes sample was asked to state their opinions on a series of priorities identified by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation as important initiatives for the future of Canadian cities. An analysis of these opinions reveals the desire for highly livable, socially equitable urban environments. Over 90 percent of the sample agree that the protection of parks and open space (97 percent), the reduction of air pollution (97 percent), the availability of public transport (95 percent) are important priorities for the future of urban Canada. Indeed, with two exceptions, all the priorities which can be classified under the general rubric of liberal ideology have more than 50 percent respondent agreement as important planning objectives (Table 6.4). Conversely, priorities such as the building of more freeways (39 percent) and
Table 6.2 Aspects of Vancouver that should not Change (Top 5 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Green areas and parks</td>
<td>63.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livable city planning</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural beauty</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City heritage</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan nature of city</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Aspects of Vancouver that should Change or Improve (Top 5 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>% Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public transit</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets &amp; traffic</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More livable development</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City social services</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.4 Priorities for Future Urban Planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>% Respondents Agreeing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preserving parks and open space</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing air pollution</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of public transit</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing energy consumption</td>
<td>95.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of historic and heritage</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisting elderly</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involving people in govn't decisions</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing with a wide range of rents</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting agricultural land from urban development</td>
<td>82.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving downtown</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving daycare</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural variety</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attracting new industry</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to drive around city</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building more freeways</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopping growth of the city</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More high rise development</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the construction of high-rise developments (31 percent) are viewed as relatively unimportant.

Further analysis of the data suggests that respondents earning in excess of $32,000 per year have more of a concern for economic growth and development than the sample as a whole. Several examples may be cited in this regard. First, this group is more amenable to the attraction of new industry (61 percent) than those making less than $32,000 (35 percent). Second, whereas only 19 percent of those making over $32,000 want to stop city growth, 52 percent of the lower income group want to see growth stopped. Third, 35 percent of the less than $32,000 group disagree that government should regulate private business. In contrast, 84 percent of the upper income group disagree with government regulation. In general, however, the tenor of opinion is fairly liberal.

The renewal and redevelopment of the Fairview Slopes provides a dramatic landscape metaphor of liberal ideology. There is no question that the demolition of some of the older housing and the construction of modern townhouses has improved the overall quality of the Slopes. Innovative urban design coupled with a spectacular panoramic view and central location have made Fairview an aesthetically pleasing, highly desirable residential neighbourhood. The growing demand for in-city townhouse accommodation has not gone unnoticed by the real estate
industry. Motivated by the desire for profits, private developers have hastened the transformation of the Slopes. Without the active and willing participation of the development industry, as evidenced by the stagnant nature of the Slopes during the early to mid-1970's, the course of renewal would likely have taken much longer. Profitability, however, has led to the creation of a very exclusive neighbourhood. In the words of Ley, "...an action stemming from liberal ideology has disfavoured a vulnerable income group and favoured the more privileged" (Ley, 1980, 256). Coopted by market place demands, an apparently aesthetic, humane, and socially progressive ideology has spawned a number of less than desirable, often unintended consequences. This quandary raises serious questions as to Daniel Bell's analysis of the prevailing ethos of post-industrial society as "sociologizing" rather than "economistic". Individual utility and profit maximization have not necessarily become subordinated to broader conceptions of social welfare and community interest. Illustrative of this is the ambiguous nature of survey opinions with respect to the construction of low cost housing developments in Fairview to help replace units lost through redevelopment. As discussed in the previous chapter, 38 percent of the Fairview Slopes survey sample favour such construction but at the same time 41 percent oppose it. Similarly, although a resounding majority of the sample (84 percent) want to see more housing development
on the Slopes, only 39 percent favour the construction of government-assisted housing for senior citizens and lower income families.

6.3 Young Professionals and the Pursuit of Self-Interests

The composite picture of revitalization households as young (25 to 35), well-educated, relatively affluent, and employed in professional and/or other high status white collar occupations is suggestive of a group of individuals freed to devote interest to more aesthetic elements of human existence because they have largely solved basic material problems. Because of the affluent character of their constituents, critics often point to the elitist nature of liberal movements. Architectural conservation, amenity preservation, and the prevention of noxious development are not very relevant to those living in degraded environments and lacking access to basic facilities. Opponents of historic preservation, for example, charge that it is just another form of "poor removal" and that preservation projects are looked upon by inner city residents as just as threatening as urban renewal (Ford and Fusch, 1975).

It is often alleged that these more privileged groups, despite their so-called liberal intentions, utilize their resources to explicitly enhance their own positions. Gregory (1976) in his discussion of amenity movements, for example, suggests that most local amenity bodies are
concerned to protect not the environment but the environment of their own members and supporters. Similarly, one severe critic of the environmental movement argues that "...much of what poses for an interest in environmental protection is no more than a desire on the part of the relatively well-to-do to preserve their own advantages, if necessary by 'kicking down' the ladder behind them" (Crosland, 1971). It is this characteristic of the new middle class which has prompted Alvin Gouldner's reference to the "flawed universal class". As he writes:

The paradox of the New Class is that it is both emancipatory and elitist...The new discourse is the grounding for a critique of established forms of domination and provides an escape from tradition, but it also bears the seeds of a new domination...Even as it subverts old inequalities, the NEW CLASS SILENTLY INAUGERATES A NEW HIERARCHY OF THE KNOWING, THE KNOWLEDGEABLE, THE REFLEXIVE AND INSIGHTFUL (Gouldner, 1979, 84-85) (My emphsis).

These allegations raise serious questions as to the distributional equity of amenities and the distribution of opportunity costs between different sections of society.

Consistent with these charges of elitism, many apparently humane and socially equitable strategies disfavouring lower income groups have been undertaken. The "gentry", because of their educational background, professional and technical expertise, organizational resources and often well-connected memberships, have been
able to sway political decisions in their favour. Chernoff (1980), for example, in a study on the changing face of a commercial district in a renovating neighbourhood in Atlanta, notes the disadvantage of older businesses in dealing with the government because, unlike the new business people, they were not familiar with the tactics required to manage an issue. Likewise, evidence provided by Ley and Mercer (1980), in their study of locational conflicts in Vancouver, supports the existence of an articulate and politicized citizenry who can engage issues and enlist the involvement of city council. This data shows that community interests, civic organizations, and city council were actively involved in disputes centred in downtown and higher income, white collar westside districts. In contrast, all these parties were more passive in eastside disputes.

Hailed as maximizing the economic efficiency of the urban system, middle class resettlement has spawned a renewed sense of optimism among planners, civic administrators, and politicians for the future of our inner cities. Many formerly decaying and obsolescent neighbourhoods have undergone an extensive face-lifting over the last ten years. The revitalization of the inner city, however, has had less than desirable implications for low and modest income households. Let us briefly consider some of these implications.
6.4 Social Implications of Inner City Renewal

Several consequences of the revitalization movement open it to the charge of elitism. Sparked by rapidly rising land and housing costs, these include the loss of neighbourhood diversity and the displacement of long time neighbourhood residents.

The ethnic and cultural diversity of the inner city is often cited as contributing to middle class renewal. The complexity of the social environment, Allen (1980) argues, provides a source of stimulation and renewal. Economic realities and marketplace demands, however, have led to the loss of much of this diversity. Speculative investment boosted by magnified neighbourhood prestige and status have given rise to inflationary inner city housing markets. In every instance where revitalization has occurred, the cost of housing has dramatically risen effectively restricting the access of such neighbourhoods to upper income households. Ironically, some inner city neighbourhoods are becoming as socio-economically homogeneous as most suburban ones. Attitudinal data on inner city "newcomers" suggests that social homogeneity is a desirable characteristic. This is especially the case with those residents who move into a neighbourhood during the later stages of revitalization. Unlike the "pioneers" who tend to be risk-oblivious, the risk-averse "later" newcomers explicitly seek fashionable neighbourhoods
inhabited by like-minded types.

Diversity at a metropolitan scale might indeed be occurring. That is, middle class Americans are moving back to the inner city, decreasing the spatial diversity between middle class suburb and low-income inner city residential areas. However, on a neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood basis...socio-economic homogeneity is strongly desired, and the forces of both the private and public sector act to maintain that condition (Fusch, 1980, 170).

The disdain of the Fairview Slopes survey sample towards the development of government-assisted housing illustrates the desire for social homogeneity among resettlers.

As well as differences in socio-economic backgrounds, conflicting tastes and values between newcomers and longtime residents often gives rise to neighbourhood tensions (see for example Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980). The desire among a group of young, upwardly mobile individuals to change the character of a neighbourhood which longtime incumbents find pleasant and comfortable often leads to feelings of hostility between the two groups.

Perhaps the most serious implication of inner city revitalization is the displacement of longtime neighbourhood residents. Due to rapidly rising housing costs, many tenants, restricted by limited finances, have been forced to seek alternative accommodation. More often than not, displaced households have found such accommodation to be less satisfactory than their former residences. In a study of private redevelopment and displacement in
the Vancouver inner city neighbourhood of Kitsilano, Stobie (1979) found that eighty-three percent of his sample (N=36) would not have willingly moved from their former residence, and that they preferred it to their current accommodation. Their reasons included physical condition and feature of the units, the cost of those units, and more friendly relations with their neighbours.

Compounding the problem of displacement is the growing shortage of housing for low- and moderate-income households. In Vancouver, the demolition of the inner city housing stock, particularly in the West End, Kitsilano, and Grandview-Woodlands, has led to the loss of much lower-priced rental accommodation (Table 6.5). While some of this demolition has been the result of stock deterioration beyond the point of repair, the majority of demolitions have been of structurally sound stock on sites where the owner expects greater returns through changed land use. The conversion of rental apartments to condominium tenure has further reduced the supply of moderately priced housing. It is estimated that 1,000 units annually are lost from Vancouver's lower cost rental stock (McAfee, 1977).

The shortage of affordable housing is highlighted by the fact that in the late 1970's roughly 52,400 or 33 percent of Vancouver households spent more than the desirable maximum of 25 percent of gross income on housing. An overwhelming majority of those with
Table 6.5 Demolition by Dwelling Type, City of Vancouver,
1973 to 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling Type</th>
<th>January 1, 1973-August 15, 1975</th>
<th>August 16, 1975-February 1, 1977</th>
<th>Total Demolitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single-detached</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>2,080 46.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplex</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>206 4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Conversions</td>
<td>1,659</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>2,206 49.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,103</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,389</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,492 100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City of Vancouver Planning Department, Understanding Vancouver's Housing: Part III Vancouver's Housing: (b) Stock. 1979
affordability problems earn less than $12,000 a year; in contrast, less than 1 percent of households with incomes in excess of $12,000 pay excessive proportions of their incomes on housing. Particularly hard hit are the elderly and single parent households.

6.5 Inner City Revitalization: Some Final Thoughts

The overall impact of middle class renewal is a very positive one. Formerly run-down and forgotten inner city neighbourhoods have undergone much-needed upgrading and improvement. In Vancouver, the changing tide of public opinion with respect to growth and development and the adoption of livable-city planning policies have led to the emergence of an urban landscape characterized by a high degree of human sensibility. This concern for aesthetics and style has guided the transformation of the Fairview Slopes. Its centrality of location, contemporary urban design, and spectacular views together with its emergence as a fashionable "in" place to live, have made the Fairview Slopes a highly desirable residential neighbourhood. Economics and the demands of the marketplace, however, have usurped many of the aesthetic and social objectives for the Slopes. Although basically unintended, low and moderate income households have had to bear the economic and social costs of revitalization. Despite its apparent concern for humanity and social progressiveness, liberal ideology is not necessarily synonymous with social justice and equity.
Footnotes

1 For more details on the Goals for Vancouver Program see Dan Jancewski, "Goals for Vancouver Program", Quarterly Review (January, 1979).

2 These results are from an in-home survey of 1,000 city-wide residents. At the same time as the questionnaire of the 1,000 households was being completed, the survey received general distribution through libraries, community centres, supermarkets, and other places. About 4,500 city residents completed the survey. The most significant conclusion from the generally-distributed questionnaire was that the 4,500 residents who responded to it felt almost identically about the future of Vancouver as the 1,000 households interviewed at home. Moreover, no consistent variation could be found between different parts of the City as to the importance of various goals.

3 Prior to its demise in March, 1979, the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs undertook a study of people's assessments of several aspects of their communities. The section of the questionnaire on urban attitudes is based on this study. For more information see CMHC, Public Priorities in Urban Canada: A Survey of Community Concerns (1979).

5 As outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.6.1, Bell argues that the prevailing ethos has become sociologizing rather than economistic "...insofar as the criteria of individual utility and profit maximization have become subordinated to broader conceptions of social welfare and community interest".

6 These figures are adapted from City of Vancouver Planning Department, Understanding Vancouver's Housing: Part IV (c) Affordable Housing: What Chance in Vancouver (1979).
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Neighbourhoods in New Orleans", Economic Geography, 55, 1 (February, 1979), pp. 52-70.


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APPENDIX I

COVERING LETTER
Dear

A research project is currently underway at the Geography department at U.B.C. concerning the desirability of the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood of Vancouver as a place to live. A very important part of this project consists of a questionnaire to be administered to a sample of roughly sixty-five local residents over the next month.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information on:

(1) what residents perceive to be the pros and cons of living in the Fairview Slopes and

(2) the attitudes of local residents to the various directions Canadian cities may take in the next twenty years.

Consisting of four parts, the questionnaire takes approximately thirty minutes to complete. It will not cover issues of a personal or sensitive nature. I would be extremely grateful for your cooperation in the completion of this survey.

The information given in this questionnaire will remain completely confidential and is anonymous. All replies will be considered as a group and not individually.

I will contact you within the next week to arrange a mutually suitable meeting date. If you have any questions concerning this work, please feel free to contact Professor James Duncan at U.B.C.

In closing, let me thank you in advance for your cooperation and I look forward to meeting with you in the near future.

Yours truly

George Fujii
Graduate Student
Dept. of Geography
U.B.C.
APPENDIX II

RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE
Inner City Living Study

Survey of selected residents regarding the residential desirability of the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood of Vancouver

George Fujii
Department of Geography
University of British Columbia

April, 1980
FAIRVIEW SLOPES RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1 Housing and Neighbourhood Characteristics

1. How long have you lived in the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood (i.e. the area bounded on the north by 6th Avenue, on the south by 8th Avenue, on the west by Hemlock and on the east by Ash)?
   a. Less than 1 year
   b. 1 to 2 years
   c. 3 to 5 years
   d. 6 to 10 years
   e. Over 10 years

2. How did you find out about the type of housing on Fairview Slopes?
   a. the newspaper
   b. a real estate agency
   c. friends
   d. driving by
   e. Other

3. Where did you live immediately before moving to Fairview Slopes?
   a. Always lived in Fairview
   b. In Vancouver city proper (neighbourhood)
   c. In suburban Vancouver (Municipality)
   d. Other city/town in Canada
   e. Other city/town in B.C. (Specify)
   f. Outside Canada (Specify)

4. What kind of dwelling did you live in prior to moving here?
   a. Single family house
b. Duplex (two units) □
c. Conversion (suite in a large house) □
d. Low rise apartment (up to 4 storeys) □
e. High rise apartment (more than 4 storeys) □
f. Townhouse □
g. Other □

Specify □

5. What type of dwelling in the Fairview Slopes do you live in?

a. Single family house □
b. Duplex (two units) □
c. Conversion (suite in a large house) □
d. Low rise apartment □
e. Townhouse □
f. Other □ Specify □

6. Have you lived in more than one place of residence in the Fairview Slopes?

a. Yes □
b. No □

7. Do you a. rent □ or b. Own □ your dwelling?

8. Do you anticipate moving from Fairview in the next 5 years?

a. Yes □
b. No □

c. Don't know □

9. From the list below could you please indicate up to 4 reasons contributing to your decision to live in the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood.

a. Special character of the neighbourhood □
b. Well maintained neighbourhood dwellings □
c. Proximity to place of work

d. The proximity of cultural and recreational activities

e. Proximity to the False Creek redevelopment

f. A view of the downtown and North Shore mountains

g. The investment potential of the neighbourhood

h. The relative cost of housing as compared to other areas in the city

i. The level of public and private services in the local area (eg. bus service, daycare centres, schools)

j. Surrounding residents of similar occupational and educational background

k. Close to friends

l. The diversity of the area

m. Other

Specify

If (a) above (special character of the neighbourhood) was a contributing factor could you please answer question 10. If not, please proceed to question 11.

10. What characteristics of the Fairview Slopes makes it a "special area" for you?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

11. From the list below could you please indicate up to 3 reasons contributing to your choice of residence in the Slopes.

a. Unique design features

b. Superior appliances

c. Larger than average-sized rooms


d. Restoration potential of dwelling

Valid options: ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

12. Fairview Slopes has undergone much change over the last few years. Similarly, there are varied development possibilities for the future. What are your views on the following planning/development options for the Slopes?

a. Encourage the continuation of a mixture of old and new buildings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly</th>
<th>Favour</th>
<th>Favour</th>
<th>Indifferent</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Strongly Opposed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

b. Preserve and strengthen the small scale residential character of the Slopes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

c. Encourage a mix of commercial and residential land uses.

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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>☐</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Maintain views for residents of existing developments and for those in new developments that may be built in the future.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Make provisions to ensure that a reasonable number of low-cost housing developments are constructed in the Fairview Slopes over the next few years to help replace units lost through redevelopment.
f. Ensure that residents of Fairview Slopes, property-owners and business persons have a continuing formal involvement in the decision-making relating to planning and development issues in the local area.

13. a) Do you favour more housing development in the Fairview Slopes?
   a. Yes [ ]
   b. No [ ]

b) If yes, what types of development would you favour?
   a. Single family homes and dupleses [ ]
   b. Renovation of existing structures [ ]
   c. Townhouses [ ]
   d. Low rise apartments [ ]
   e. Government assisted housing for senior citizens and lower income families [ ]

14. Which (if any) of the following reasons might cause you to leave Fairview?
   a. Cost of housing (rental or owning) is too expensive here [ ]
   b. Don't like the people [ ]
   c. Expect to be evicted from present dwelling [ ]
   d. Don't like the physical change that is occurring [ ]
   e. Increasing size of family [ ]
   f. Job change [ ]
   g. Change in marital status [ ]
   h. Other [ ]

   Specify ____________________________

   i. No intension of leaving [ ]
15. How would you describe Fairview Slopes to a friend?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

16. List the three things you dislike most about the Fairview Slopes.
   a. ____________________________________________________
   b. ____________________________________________________
   c. ____________________________________________________

17. Looking back over the time you have lived in the Slopes, would you say that the quality of life in the area has lived up to your original expectations? Please elaborate.
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Part 2 Vancouver

18. In your opinion, what are the three most important things about Vancouver that should not change?
   a. ____________________________________________________
   b. ____________________________________________________
   c. ____________________________________________________

19. If you were able to change or improve any aspects of Vancouver, what three things would you do?
   a. ____________________________________________________
   b. ____________________________________________________
   c. ____________________________________________________
Part 3 Urban Concerns

20. The following priorities have been identified as important initiatives for the future of Canadian cities. Please express your opinion on these various priorities.

a. That public transit be available and serve all parts of the city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Indifferent</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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b. Building more freeways

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c. That it be easy to drive around the city by car.

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d. Protecting parks and open space in the city

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e. Protecting agricultural land from urban development

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f. Reducing air pollution

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g. Reducing energy consumption

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h. Attracting new industry to the city

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i. Stopping the growth of the city

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<td>j. Improving downtown</td>
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<td>k. Protection of historic and heritage buildings</td>
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<td>l. More high-rise/high density developments in our city</td>
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<td>m. Government regulation of private business</td>
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<td>n. Involving people in government decisions</td>
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<td>o. Housing with a wide range of rents and costs be available</td>
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<td>p. Assisting elderly in efforts to reside in the city</td>
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<td>q. Improving daycare centres</td>
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<td>r. Many types of different people from various cultural, ethnic, age and social backgrounds live in the city</td>
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</table>
Part 4 Biographical Data

21. Marital status?
   a. Single  
   b. Married  
   c. Shared accommodation  
   d. Widow/Widower  
   e. Divorced  

22. How many people in your household are in the following age groups?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>0-14</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
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<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
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<td>25-34</td>
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<td>35-44</td>
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<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
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<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
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<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
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</table>

23. Do you belong to any neighborhood organizations?
   a. Yes  
   b. No  

24. What is the highest level of schooling you have ever attended?
   a. Some high school  
   b. High school graduate  
   c. Vocational/technical training  
   d. Community college  
   e. Some university  
   f. University degree(s)  

25. What is your occupation?

26. a. (If applicable) Does your spouse work?
   a. Yes  
   b. No  

   b. What sort of work does he or she do?
27. What is your total household income?

a. Under $8,000
b. $8,000 - $16,000
c. $16,000 - $24,000
d. $24,000 - $32,000
e. Over $32,000