SOCIAL WORLDS IN TRANSITION:
NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE IN
GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND, VANCOUVER

By
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B.Sc., The University of Bristol, 1981

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

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Date 16th April, 1984.
This study takes its lead from a rapidly expanding body of literature which has centred on the relatively recent urban phenomenon of 'Neighbourhood Revitalization' (i.e. the economic, social and cultural regeneration of inner-city core neighbourhoods in some of the older North American and European cities). An extensive reading of this literature reveals two fundamental failings that currently plague the research effort. First, many writers have tended to overemphasize the distinctiveness of the revitalization process with the net result that it has been treated as being conceptually separate from other, more established processes of neighbourhood change. Second, there has also been a tendency to concentrate attention on just one aspect of neighbourhood revitalization to the exclusion of others, and thus a failure to adequately reflect the multiple significance of the change that is occurring. In response to these failings, this particular study aims to accomplish a theoretical and empirical synthesis of first, the inner-city revitalization literature with the wider field of neighbourhood and community studies; and second, the various aspects of the revitalization process, with special reference to the merger of the socio-cultural and political dimensions of neighbourhood change.

The thesis is divided into a theoretical and an empirical section. The principal concern of the former is to construct a consistent and comprehensive approach to the empirical case-study, at three distinct intellectual levels. First, a hermeneutic or 'humanistic' epistemology is selected because it has successfully shown that it can be simultaneously critical and interpretive, especially at the micro-scale of inter- and intra-group behaviour within a community. Second, based on these hermeneutic
principles, a theoretical framework is developed which views the analytical unit of the neighbourhood as an ever-changing 'mosaic of social worlds'. Finally, a mixed methodology is adopted, which relies on both conventionally used quantitative data and more infrequently used types of qualitative data, derived from participant-observation in particular.

The empirical case-study focusses on Grandview-Woodland, an old working-class neighbourhood in the East End of Vancouver. For many years, the area has been a target for a succession of newly-arrived immigrant groups, who have been predominantly engaged in blue-collar occupations. However, in recent years, there have been a number of indications that some parts of the area may be experiencing 'incipient gentrification', the first stage in neighbourhood revitalization. A 'New Wave' of students, radicals, feminists, gays, artists, pre-, semi- and full-professionals are now beginning to establish themselves in the various spheres of the Grandview-Woodland community. Along Commercial Drive, the local retailing strip, they have been responsible for the creation of a distinctive 'scene' that rivals the comparatively longer established Southern Mediterraneans as the dominant socio-cultural group. This duality is also reflected in the diverse streetscapes that are a strong motif of the neighbourhood's residential section. More significant however, has been the impact of the New Wave, particularly the more moderate property-owning element, upon the local political arena of Grandview-Woodland. This most recent phase of 'revitalization' is situated in the historical context of political development in the neighbourhood, which began with the merchants' initiatives in the inter- and post-war periods, and passed on in the 1960's to the control of professionals and student activists working in the area, and ultimately, to the local residents in the last decade. This study is primarily concerned
with this latter stage, examining in detail the motives, interaction and implications of the involvement by various ethnic-, tenure- and class-based social worlds in local land use planning and neighbourhood improvement issues.

The study's main conclusion is that analysts must become more aware of the limitations of applying generalized models to this process, including the stage model of settlement, and more crucially, the bi-polar model of the community's social structure (i.e. the distinction between 'gentrifiers' and 'incumbents'). In future, analysts of both neighbourhood revitalization and neighbourhood change in general, should make a concerted effort to look more deeply within these categories and critically assess their utility in understanding inter- and intra-group behaviour in the changing community.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The Setting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 The Structure of the Study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2 NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Introduction</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Trends</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Extent</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Process</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 National Contexts</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Causes</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Impacts</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Inter-Neighbourhood: Physical Displacement</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Intra-Neighbourhood: Socio-Cultural Conflict</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Intra-Neighbourhood: Commercial Revitalization</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Policies and Politics</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8 Summary</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3 NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: CRITIQUE, REFORMULATION AND RATIONALE</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Epistemological Orientations: Towards a 'Humanistic' Approach

(a) The Problem 56
(b) A Humanistic Alternative 58
(c) Conclusion 63

3.3 Theoretical Considerations: Developing an Analytical Framework

(a) Neighbourhood as Community Change 65
(b) The 'Problem' of Neighbourhood and Community 67
(c) Neighbourhood as 'Mosaic of Social Worlds' 73

3.4 Methodology: Some Technical and Experiential Notes 90

(a) On the Choice of Case Study 90
(b) On Monitoring and Identifying Neighbourhood Change 94
(c) On Obtaining a 'Seat' in the Local Political Arena 99

3.5 Summary 106

CHAPTER 4 THE CONTEXT: NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE IN GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND 108

4.1 Introduction 108
4.2 Geographical Setting and Historical Background 109
4.3 Post-War Demographic and Socio-Economic Trends 117
4.4 Ethnic Group Presence: The Italians in Grandview-Woodland 126
4.5 Commercial Drive: Social Barometer and Cultural Magnet 139

(a) The Italians Move In 139
(b) 'Discovery' 150
(c) Conclusion 165
4.6 Evolving Residential Environments: At the Crossroads

(a) Zoning History
(b) Development Trends
(c) The Future
(d) Conclusion

4.7 Summary

CHAPTER 5 NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE AND THE LOCAL POLITICAL ARENA IN GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Early Activity

(a) The Pre-War Years: Isolation and Occasional Small-Scale Mobilization
(b) The Post-War Years: Identity and Grassroots Populism


5.4 A Social World Divides: Planning the Neighbourhood's Future, 1972-1983

5.5 Social Worlds Collide: The Rezoning Issue

(a) The Rezoning Issue Part 1: 1977
(b) The Rezoning Issue Part 2: 1982-1983
(c) Conclusion

5.6 Social Worlds Unite: The ALRT Controversy, 1981-1984

5.7 A Social World Revives: The Grandview-Woodland Area Council Today

5.8 Summary
## CHAPTER 6  CONCLUSION

6.1 Implications of Research for the Neighbourhood Revitalization Literature

(a) Methodology 262  
(b) Consequences 264  
(c) Summary 268

6.2 Implications of Research for Other Related Fields

(a) A 'Revitalized' Political Geography 269  
(b) Neighbourhood and Community Studies 272  
(c) Community Planning and Social Mix 274

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** 279
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Summary Table of Selected Demographic Variables for Grandview-Woodland and the City of Vancouver Populations, 1961 to 1981</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>The Changing Age Structure of the Grandview-Woodland and the City of Vancouver Populations, 1961 to 1981</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Summary Table of Selected Socio-Economic Variables for Grandview-Woodland and Vancouver Metropolitan Region Populations, 1971 to 1981</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Ethnic Group Breakdown of Grandview-Woodland and Other Areas, 1961 to 1971</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Ethnic Profile by Mother Tongue for Grandview-Woodland and its Sub-Areas, and the City of Vancouver, 1981</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Land Use Breakdown of Grandview-Woodland Comparing Permitted with Existing Land Usage Levels</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>Dwelling Type and Tenure Trends in the City of Vancouver, Grandview-Woodland and Selected Sub-Areas, 1961 to 1981</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Conceptual Schema Summarizing the Structure and Ordering of the Study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Chart Summarizing Location and Origin of Terms Used within the Inner-City Revitalization Literature</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Selected Characteristics of Social Worlds</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>A Typology of Social Worlds within a Neighbourhood</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>One Intriguing Example of a Partial (and Compromised) Status Passage in the Revitalized Neighbourhood of Kitsilano, Vancouver</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>The Location of Grandview-Woodland in relation to Other Vancouver Local Areas, and the Lower Mainland</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Composite List of Most Commonly Used Indicators of Neighbourhood Revitalization</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The Boundaries of Grandview-Woodland within the City of Vancouver, and its Census Sub-Divisions</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>A Typical Working-Man's Cottage in Early Grandview, c.1905</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>An Example of a House Belonging to a More Wealthier Member of the Grandview Community, c.1905</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Distribution of 'Historic' Buildings within Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>A Summary of the Main Land Uses and Redevelopment Trends in each of the Census Tracts within Grandview-Woodland in 1981</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Spatial Differentiation of 'Family' Households in Vancouver, 1981</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>The Dream: &quot;This Could be Your House Too&quot;</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>The Reality: The 'Vancouver Special'</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>The Locations of Key Italian and Portuguese Formal and Informal Social Worlds within Grandview-Woodland, 1983</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>Graph Depicting the Increasing Southern Mediterranean Presence along Commercial Drive</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>One Example of an Italian Specialty Store that is still 'Culture-Specific'</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>One Example of an Italian Specialty Store that is no longer as 'Culture-Specific'</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>Italian Market Day, 11/7/82</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>Goals for Commercial Drive's Future</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>The Locations of Publicly Funded Community Services and Support Groups within Grandview-Woodland, 1983</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>The Locations of Important Formal and Informal Social Worlds of the 'New Wave' within Grandview-Woodland, 1983</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>A 'Public Location Leader': The Britannia Community Services Centre</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>A 'Private Location Leader': The Vancouver East Cultural Centre</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>A Sample of the Information Notice-Board at the 'Octopus Books East' Store</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>The 'Toucan' Fashion Boutique Sandwiched by Italian stores along Commercial Drive</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>The 'East End Food Co-Operative' Store</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>The 'Uprising Breads' Co-Operative Bakery</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>One Distinctive Social World: 'Grandview Recreations' Billiard Hall</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>And Another: 'Joe's' Coffee Bar</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Land Use Zoning within Grandview-Woodland, 1975</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>The Location and Redevelopment Trends of the Four Apartment Sub-Areas in Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>Spatial Distribution of Housing Capacity within Specific Dwelling Types for Vancouver</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>A Poignant Illustration of One of the Problems Associated with Densification through Apartment Development at 2nd/Woodland in the Study Area</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>The Planning Goals and the Areal Extent of each of the Zoning Sub-Divisions of the Grandview-Victoria Conversion Area</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>A Typically Diverse Streetscape in Grandview</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>A Comprehensively Renovated Property in Grandview's Conversion Area</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>One Future: A Three-Storey Apartment Block in Britannia Slopes</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.33</td>
<td>Another Future: The 'Tidal Flats' Housing Co-Operative</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Diagram Summarizing Some of the Important Shifts that took place within Selected Organizations in the Period from the Mid-1960's to the Early-1970's</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>The Areal Coverage of the Grandview-Woodland Area Policy Plan, Parts 1-4</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>The Grandview-Woodland Tenant's Association on a Protest March, 5/3/77</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Another Group Takes a Walk: The Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee Take Stock of the Neighbourhood, 30/10/82</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>A Summary List of Planning Goals for the Britannia Slopes Area</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>One Possibility for Renovation and Conversion in Britannia Slopes</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Summary Diagram of the Rezoning Issue Part 1: 1977</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Summary Diagram of the Rezoning Issue Part 2: 1982/83</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Proposed Route of Elevated ALRT Line through Cedar Cottage and part of Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>Yet Another Walk: SONC Goes Looking for Support in the Neighbourhood, 2/11/82</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>All in Vain?: Excavation Begins along the Grandview Cut for the ALRT Line Support Pods, 1/12/83</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>Diagram Summarizing the Major Phases in the Political Evolution of Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Finally, I now know why it is that so many theses have been dedicated to loved ones. This one does not break with tradition; thanks, Jacquie.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Your planet is very beautiful", he said. "Has it any oceans?" "I couldn't tell you", said the geographer.... "But you are a geographer!" "Exactly", the geographer said. "But I am not an explorer. I haven't a single explorer on my planet. It is not the geographer who goes out to count the towns, the rivers, the mountains, the seas, the oceans and the deserts. The geographer is much too important to go loafing about. He does not leave his desk."

(Antoine De St-Exupery, The Little Prince)

1.1 The Setting

Since the mid-1970's, a growing wave of enthusiasm has been generated in many western cities by a process which is most commonly referred to as inner-city revitalization. Academics, politicians, developers and home-owners, and other urban observers have directly or indirectly participated in the economic, social, and cultural regeneration of the inner city core and its surrounding neighbourhoods for various reasons. At present, this trend in many cities is at an early stage, resembling a minor countercurrent in an ocean of decay, despair and obsolescence that has swept through most of the inner cores of the larger and older cities in the post-war period. But, if the revitalization trend should continue and strengthen as some analysts are predicting, it may well have far-reaching implications for the future form and structure of the city. These implications will not only be economic, but also of political, socio-cultural, theoretical, and ethical significance. It is this multiple significance that has undoubtedly been responsible for the rapid rise in of interest in inner-city revitalization and its present distinction as one of the leading contemporary urban issues.
The literature that has sprung up in response to this inner-city phenomenon has largely dealt with it in two different, and in the author's opinion, unfortunate ways. First, in the rush to come to terms with the process, many writers have tended to overemphasize its distinctiveness with the net result that it has been treated as conceptually separate from other, more established, processes of neighbourhood change. Second, there has also been a tendency, perhaps as a direct consequence of disciplinary specialization, to concentrate attention on one aspect of inner-city revitalization, to the point that many studies fail to reflect adequately the multiple significance of the change that is occurring. It is from a concern with these two fundamental and somewhat inter-related failings that the present study has developed. The study's two basic aims are to accomplish both a theoretical and empirical synthesis of:

(i) The inner-city revitalization literature with the wider field of neighbourhood and community studies, in an endeavour to rid the phenomenon of its current 'freak' status, and to facilitate both fresh insight and a more broadly-based understanding of the processes that underlie it.

(ii) The various aspects of the process that have hitherto been analytically isolated, with particular reference to the merger of the socio-cultural and political dimensions of neighbourhood revitalization, and neighbourhood change in general.

1.2 The Structure of the Study

The conceptual schema portrayed in figure 1.1 gives some indication of the logic running through the study. The main questions upon which each chapter is based are summarized in this diagram. The thesis is divided approximately evenly between theoretical and empirical sections, with the former being stressed in the first half.
Figure 1.1 Conceptual Schema Summarizing the Structure and Ordering of the Study

THEORETICAL EMPHASIS

EMPIRICAL EMPHASIS

Ch. 6 Conclusion
Q's
(i) What are the implications of the empirical findings for the literature and for the study's theoretical arguments?
(ii) Does the study point to any potentially useful avenues for future investigation?

Ch. 2 Neighbourhood Revitalization
A Review of the Literature
Q's
(i) What have been the main themes and findings of this particular body of research?
(ii) How far has it progressed?

Ch. 3 Neighbourhood Revitalization:
Critique, Reformulation and Rationale
(i) What are the main failings of this literature to date?
(ii) How should the analyst's epistemological orientation and theoretical framework be modified in an endeavour to overcome these failings?
(iii) How can these ideas be operationalized within the practical context of a neighbourhood case study?

Ch. 5 Neighbourhood Change and the Local Political Arena of Grandview-Woodland
Q's
(i) Which groups have been involved in the local political arena?
(ii) Why were they involved?
(iii) What effect did their involvement have upon the issues raised and decisions made within the community?
(iv) What was the nature of the relationships within and between the group, other groups, and the rest of the community?

Ch. 4 The Context: Neighbourhood Change in Grandview-Woodland
Q
(i) What have been the main trends in the neighbourhood in terms of its land usage, demographic and ethnic composition, and socio-cultural structure?
My starting-point is the rather heterogeneous body of literature dealing with the process of neighbourhood revitalization. Much of Chapter 2 is given over to the task of simply 'taking stock' and 'pigeon holing' much of the work that has been undertaken in this area to date. Chapter 3 takes a conceptual 'step back' from the revitalization literature in an effort to evaluate and reformulate the various approaches adopted thus far. The principal concern is to construct a consistent and comprehensive approach to the empirical case-study, at three distinct intellectual levels. First, the research problems with which the study as a whole is concerned are located within an appropriate epistemology. Second, a 'theoretical scaffolding' is built up with the aid of a diverse range of concepts, around the analytical unit of the neighbourhood to afford the analyst a new and improved viewpoint on the research problems. Finally, attention is directed towards the often neglected problem of projecting this theoretical approach onto the practical context of the empirical case study.

With the conclusion of these theoretical tasks, the writer is then in a better position to approach the empirical section of the study which focusses on the experience of one particular neighbourhood. Grandview-Woodland has traditionally been a fairly stable working class family area in the East End of Vancouver. What change that has occurred in this neighbourhood has largely been in the ethnic composition and demographic profile of its local population, and not in its socio-economic stratification. However, in the last decade or so, there has been some speculation and a number of indications that the neighbourhood may be experiencing revitalization activity at an early stage. The main function of Chapter 4 is to ascertain the extent and form of this activity, along with any other competing processes in the area, in the past and in the future. In keeping with the theoretical argument about the need to
situate neighbourhood revitalization within the broader process of
neighbourhood change, an historical perspective is adopted which examines
several inter-related elements of 'change' as it has occurred in Grandview-
Woodland. In this way a comprehensive picture appears which provides the
essential context for the most important part of the empirical section contained
within Chapter 5. Here too, for comparative purposes, an historical approach is
also incorporated but the chapter is primarily concerned only with change as it
has been played out within the neighbourhood's local political arena.

The purpose of the final chapter is to bring the study full circle, by
providing a 'bridge' that will enable the study's findings to be situated within
the main body of the literature. With this connection, the study's theoretical
approach is critically evaluated and further improvements and modifications
suggested where appropriate. Finally, several potentially useful avenues for
future investigation are also indicated.
CHAPTER 2

NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Then he wondered why it was that in all the great cities, and not merely or exclusively because of necessity, but because of some special inclination, people settled and lived in those parts of the city where there were neither parks nor fountains, but dirt and stench and slime of all kinds. Then he remembered his own walks across the Haymarket and for a moment he seemed to come to. "Ridiculous", he thought, "its better not to think at all!"

(Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Crime and Punishment)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a review of a vastly expanding body of literature that has been concerned, directly or indirectly, with neighbourhood revitalization. This review should serve two main functions for the study as a whole. First, by taking stock of the literature on neighbourhood revitalization undertaken to date, we may critically evaluate this work and thereby reformulate, if appropriate, the approaches adopted by other analysts in this field. Second, the literature review also plays a useful 'yardstick' role. With the help of guidelines deduced from other cases of neighbourhood revitalization, the empirical investigation will be provided with much needed direction, and an important set of standards against which the experience of Grandview-Woodland can be judged.

Though by no means exhaustive, an attempt has been made to present a representative review, reflecting as many of the key debates, ideas and issues as is possible within this limited space. This attempt is particularly important to this study for two reasons. First, because of the recency of this field relative to others, the literature currently remains in a state of flux and is therefore lacking an adequate systematic base. Second, this situation is
further confounded by the multitude of perspectives from both within and outside academia that are evident within this body of literature. In an endeavour to overcome these problems the literature has been broken up into five main sections, each dealing with one specific facet of the revitalization trend. The first section includes a discussion about the history and geographical extent of neighbourhood revitalization, followed by an examination of the key features and typical characteristics of the process as it has operated in individual neighbourhood situations. As much of the work in this field has tended to deal exclusively with the United States' experience, the second section is devoted to the specific question of the degree of comparability between the American and Canadian national contexts, and in the process, raises the wider issue of the significance of the national system in influencing the type and form of neighbourhood revitalization. The third section reviews some of the general approaches that have emerged in the literature to account for the recent development of neighbourhood revitalization. Although the material presented in these three sections is viewed as being only indirectly relevant to the study as a whole, it does provide the essential background for the remaining sections which have direct relevance. The first of these considers the nature of the impacts that the revitalization process has had upon both those members of the local population who have been displaced by it, and those that remain. The issue of the inter-relationship between this latter group and the 'newcomers' moving into the revitalizing neighbourhood is carried on into the final section which. In addition, the effectiveness of those policies that have been advocated and in some cases implemented by national and urban planners and politicians in order to deal with revitalization is evaluated.
2.2 Trends

(a) Extent

The various arms of the communications media, especially in the United States, have been swift in their response to revitalization. Initially, new public and private investment in cities was enthusiastically welcomed and openly encouraged in both the national and local press. Such stirring headlines as "America Falls in Love With Its Cities—Again" (Sutton, 1979), "The Urban Crisis Leaves Town and Moves to the Suburbs" (Allman, 1978), and "Nation's Cities Poised for a Stunning Comeback" (Peirce, 1977), have undoubtedly played a key role in creating an image of a "back-to-the-city" movement which is far larger than the reality. The vision of economic and cultural recovery in the burnt out cores of the great metropoli not only provides good copy, but also a certain amount of relief from the seemingly interminable stories and accounts of poverty, crime and civil unrest that have clogged the media for some time. However, if the rather more sober headlines such as "Revitalization Held to Be Spotty" (New York Times, 1st June 1980) and "A City Revival?" (Alpern, 1979) are any kind of indication, certain factions still remain unconvinced.

After decades of pursuing unsuccessful efforts to counter disinvestment and suburban flight, local officials are vigorously supporting and actively encouraging the return of financial investment in the downtown core as well as the preliminary initiative shown by some of the middle class in locating within the inner city. United States' federal politicians have been no less enthusiastic in their backing of the trend. President Carter's National Urban Policy was introduced in a move to apply 'political bellows' to the kindling embers of financial recovery within the nation's urban cores, declaring that federal urban strategies, "will be focussed on supporting the back-to-the-city movement now beginning to appear in many cities" (U.S. Department of Housing and
Urban Development, 1978). President Reagan too has recognized this trend and has predictably responded in an altogether different fashion, using it as further vindication of his laissez-faire arguments for urban renewal without public intervention.

Academics and policy researchers, on the other hand, have been characteristically more cautious and variable in their reaction to this trend. Of the two major components of inner-city revitalization--commercial and residential revitalization--most of the interest has been directed at the latter. As yet, apart from a number of isolated reports examining individual cases, commercial revitalization has not really been assessed effectively on a systematic basis. Several writers have pointed to the important part played by commercial revitalization, especially when it occurs within the central business district in the overall promotion of reinvestment and regeneration of the urban core (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Much of this review will, in fact, be confined to neighbourhood revitalization, but at a certain point some reference will also be made to the related process of neighbourhood commercial revitalization.

While there are undoubtedly some similarities underlying all cases of neighbourhood revitalization, it must be recognized that each case does have its own unique qualities. These are brought about by the particular configuration of economic, social and historical circumstances of the neighbourhood undergoing transition. In spite of this, several attempts have been made in the last decade to monitor the extent and occurrences of this trend at the supra-local scale. The lack of appropriate quantitative data, further aggravated by the delay in receiving more current census material has considerably complicated this task. Consequently, researchers have been forced to utilize an often shaky mixture of quantitative surrogate and qualitative anecdotal data culled from the
nexus of research surveys and local media reports.

One of the first landmark surveys was that undertaken by Lipton (1977) of socio-economic trends in the cores of the 20 largest SMSA's in the United States based on a comparison of 1960 and 1970 census tract data and therefore predating the start of revitalization activity in many cities. Nevertheless, the study showed that family incomes and educational attainment statistics, used as a surrogate for revitalization, 'improved' in or near the central business districts of at least half of these places. In a survey of public officials and real estate officials sponsored by the Urban Land Institute, Black (1975) found that 48 percent of the communities with over 50,000 in population had some degree of private market, non-subsidized housing renovation underway in older deteriorated neighbourhoods. A later survey conducted by the same organization in 1979, based this time upon mail and telephone interviews conducted by the same organization in 1979, found that 80 percent of cities over 150,000 had housing renovation activities of some description (Black, 1980). In addition, during the 1970's housing values, home ownership, and home maintenance activities were growing at a greater rate in the central cities compared to the suburbs, offering further proof of the inner city revitalization thesis to some writers (James, 1980).

Other commentators have been more pessimistic in their evaluation of the extent and resilience of this trend. In placing it within the wider national and regional economic context of the United States, Berry argues that, "some limited private market revitalization will continue to be sure, but within a widening environment of disinvestment manifested geographically in the abandonment of the housing stock put into place by earlier building cycles" (Berry, 1980: 28). More specifically, Berry points to the inter-regional shifts in economic growth within the United States that have led to the prominence of
the "sun-belt" states coupled with the now almost complete absorption of the post-war 'baby boom' into the housing market, as crucial limitations upon the continuation of revitalization within the older, industrial cities of the North-East and Mid-West. This view is given further support by Sternlieb and Ford (1979) who conclude from their review of inter- and intra-urban migration trends that the number of people moving out of the central city is still far greater than the number moving into them. Two supporting surveys, one of commuters in New York and the other of middle class persons who were now living in the central city, demonstrated that the movement into it was highly selective. A central city residential location attracted only those suburbanites with relatively higher incomes, minimal needs for municipal services, and life patterns and leisure activities that were compatible with the central city. Another paper looking at the effects of inflated energy costs on the future form of the city concluded bleakly that:

It is premature to extrapolate from isolated success stories a wide ranging 'back-to-the-cities' movement. There has been little, if any, abatement in the broader centrifugal forces depleting the urban arena (Sternlieb and Hughes, 1979:634).

The recent appearance of a paper by Naroff and Liro (1982) which argues, on the basis of a reinterpretation of Annual Housing Survey data, that the back-to-the-city movement can after all be supported nationally might suggest that the debate about the scale and geographical extent of this phenomenon has not been resolved.

(b) Process

Other writers have been more concerned with the process of neighbourhood revitalization per se. Perhaps one of the most intensive and well-respected investigations is that by Clay (1979) who examined 105 revitalized neighbourhoods in 30 of the United States' largest central cities. On the basis
of this study, Clay makes the important distinction between two fundamentally different types of revitalization activity, "incumbent upgrading" and "gentrification". The first seems to occur most often in modest income, but stable, communities that have a strong sense of identity backed up by active neighbourhood associations, often associated with a distinctive ethnic character. In such areas revitalization, in the form of physical improvements to properties and streets in the neighbourhood, is accomplished mainly by the existing property owners who may be joined by newcomers to the area of generally the same socio-economic class, and are often supported by some form of government assistance. Although this process does not involve the rapid migration and dramatic landscape change associated with gentrification, it does have a great deal of social and political significance. The groups involved are committed to maintaining their urban lifestyle, even in the face of the forces of disinvestment and decline that are widely prevalent within the city core. However, the opportunities afforded by incumbent upgrading for promoting social equity are unfortunately constrained by the fact that the process has tended to occur in already better quality neighbourhoods so that the differentials within the inner city are often effectively widened rather than closed by this process. Once again, it is difficult to assess with any measure of conviction the true extent of incumbent upgrading, especially as most data fails to make the distinction between this and gentrification. However, data produced by the Neighbourhood Reinvestment Corporation (1980) from its "Neighbourhood Housing Services" programs in 92 cities in the United States suggests that most of the neighbourhoods involved in this program are in cities in the North-East and Central states, with populations greater than 100,000 but which are losing population overall.
The second type of neighbourhood revitalization activity, gentrification, has been most succinctly defined as "the invasion of traditionally working class areas by middle and upper income groups" (Hamnett, 1973a:252). In this case the renovation is undertaken by outsiders of a higher socio-economic status than the established residents. Unlike incumbent upgrading this is "more the result of individual effort than community or organizational initiative" (Clay 1979: 3). Perhaps because of its very overt and rapid nature, along with the fact that it represents a major reversal of the traditional established urban pattern, gentrification has been far more prominent in both the public and professional literature. In addition, the dimension of social class which is inextricably tied in with gentrification has no doubt served to promote a substantial amount of interest from social scientists in particular.

One of the peculiar and often confusing features of the revitalization literature in general has been the proliferation of terms used by different writers to describe a few basic processes. Figure 2.1 is an attempt to collate and systematise some of the more frequently used terms found within the literature. For the sake of simplicity, those terms enclosed by a box on the diagram will be the ones adopted for the purposes of this review. Some of the others may however be quoted when referring to specific pieces of work.

The term gentrification was first coined by Glass to describe the middle class resettlement activity taking place within some parts of working class London during the 1960's. Since then, it has become general international currency, being adopted to all manner of cases. As we can see from the diagram several alternatives have sprung up according to the different aspects of the process which they emphasize. Some writers have been critical of the continued use and cross-national application of this term. London (1980) for example is
Figure 2.1 Chart Summarizing Location and Origin of Terms Used Within the Inner-City Revitalization Literature

- Commercial Redevelopment
  - Inner City Revitalization (Beauregard and Holcomb, 1981)
  - Residential Revitalization (Clay, 1979)
  - Incumbent Upgrading
    - Central Business District Redevelopment/Revitalization
    - Neighbourhood Commercial Redevelopment/Revitalization
    - Gentrification (Glass, 1963)

(a) 'Private Housing'
   - 'Private Market Housing Renovation' (Black, 1980)
   - 'Private Market Inner City Rehabilitation' (Berry, 1980)

(b) 'Movement'
   - 'Middle Class Resettlement' (Gale, 1979)
   - 'Back-to-the-City' (Laska and Spain, 1980)
   - 'Urban Reinvasion' (London, 1980)

(c) 'Local'
   - 'Chelseaification' (Capetown)
   - 'Brownstoning' (New York)
   - 'Trendification' (Melbourne)
   - 'Whitepainting' (Toronto)

"Central City Revival" (Lipton, 1977)
"Neighbourhood Change" (Cybriwsky, 1978)
"Neighbourhood Renewal" (Clay, 1979)
"Private Urban Renewal" (Zeitz, 1979)
"Neighbourhood Reinvestment" (Weiler, 1980)
"Inner City Resurgence" (Ley, 1982)
unhappy with the connotations with the landed aristocracy of yesteryear which the word gentrification conjures up. Instead, he suggests that a term which is not as culture specific be used. While agreeing with London that the term is laden with emotional overtones which are sometimes unhelpful, it does have important communicative advantages given its popular acceptance and will therefore be used throughout the remainder of this review. The term 'revitalization' can be interpreted to infer that the inner city was 'without life' previously, and may thus likewise be considered to be problematic if one is not made aware of the underlying bias of the term.

From the numerous case studies that have appeared dealing with neighbourhoods that have undergone some form of gentrification some regularities and, just as importantly, irregularities can be observed. Clay (1979) has summarily described the 'typical' gentrified neighbourhood as being small, usually restricted to a few blocks, but with an image and importance that often exceeds its true size. Unlike the typical neighbourhood experiencing incumbent upgrading, the gentrifying neighbourhood is usually located in close proximity to the downtown core in an area of mixed land use, excluding public housing projects. Other important locational factors appear to be elevation green space, water bodies and some kind of historical status and architectural merit ascribed to the neighbourhood and its buildings (Tournier, 1980). Age of neighbourhood does seem to be an important factor. For example, Clay found that 46 percent of gentrified neighbourhoods compared to only 11 percent of the upgrading neighbourhoods were at least one hundred years old. Indeed, many writers have alluded to the irony and moral significance attached to the fact that many of the houses now being occupied by gentrifiers were built several generations ago for large middle class families but were since abandoned with the 'middle class flight' to the suburbs in the 1950's and 1960's.
As for the gentrifiers themselves, several case studies have revealed that contrary to the popular image of a "back-to-the-city" movement, most of the participants appear to have come from other parts of the city rather than the suburbs (Gale, 1979; Harrison, 1983). In the same way that analysts have attempted to describe the typical gentrified neighbourhood, so too has the average gentrifier been described. Perhaps the tidiest composite picture is one which presents them as being "young, childless, white, highly educated and economically secure urbanites", (Datel, 1978: 4). This description has been convincingly backed up by a number of surveys, including that undertaken by the National Urban Coalition (1978) which indicated that in more than 80 percent of the 65 newly rejuvenated districts surveyed in 44 cities, professionals and white-collar workers formed by far the largest group, compared to a figure of only 30 percent before rehabilitation. A case study of revitalized neighbourhoods in Atlanta is typical of the many others in terms of the figures it produces. It shows that 80 percent of adult households were between the ages of 20 and 39; 69 percent had professional, technical or managerial occupations; and 66 percent of households had no children under the age of 18. In addition, of the total newcomer population, 87 percent had some college background, at least 62 percent had finished college and 33 percent had taken a postgraduate course of some description (Cybriwsky, 1980: 27).

It must be noted however, that several studies have indicated that there are exceptions to this rule. For example in a gentrifying neighbourhood in New Orleans, 62 percent of the households had children and 9 percent had four or more (Laska and Spain, 1980b). Furthermore, it is apparent that the socio-economic character of revitalizing neighbourhoods varies according to how far the process has gone. In fact, this has been observed with such regularity that several writers have proposed that the revitalization process can be broken up
into distinct stages (Levy, 1980).

The process is usually initiated in the 'incipient' gentrification stage, by the in-movement of young couples from the arts, design and teaching professions into older, run-down working class areas. In renovating such property these "risk-oblivious pioneers" of the middle classes are able to obtain convenient accessibility to the downtown core at a reasonable price. As the area improves and confidence in the neighbourhood builds, property values rise sharply and large numbers of newcomers enter. At this more advanced stage of revival, the newcomers tend to be more career-oriented with higher incomes, and are attracted less by the low prices than in the earlier stages, but more by the new amenities and secure investment opportunities that the neighbourhood presents. The striking feature about this stage is the speed with which the transformation is completed, especially when it is compared to the preceding period of decline which spanned whole decades. Therefore, house value appreciation is usually large and almost instantaneous.

From their study of two neighbourhoods in New Orleans, geographers O'Loughlin and Munski (1979) also refer to an interesting spatial component of the revitalization process. It seems that initially, the neighbourhood consisted of isolated clusters of renovated properties wedged within certain blocks. As the preservation movement gained momentum however, these clusters started to coalesce and form definite clumps within the neighbourhood. A similar 'wave-like' phenomenon has also been identified by Cybriwsky (1978) in the Fairmount area of Philadelphia, which, in its earlier stages of revitalization, consisted of a core of gentrified households concentrated in just a few streets with several more adventurous 'pioneers' scattered around the rest of the neighbourhood.
2.3 National Contexts

It will no doubt have become apparent that most of the literature cited so far has been looking exclusively at the neighbourhood revitalization experience in the United States, at both national and local levels. It would now seem appropriate to consider the potential utility and problems associated with the transplant of findings and ideas embodied within one national context to another or others. From a perusal of the general body of literature dealing with inner city revitalization, it is evident and indeed unfortunate that this specific issue has rarely been addressed with the thoroughness that it so obviously deserves. Moreover, as Ley (1983) amongst others has pointed out, the neglect of what he calls "national political culture" can also be charged against the mainstream analysis of urban spatial structure as a whole.

The longstanding concept of the "North American City" embedded most strongly in the realm of the textbook, is particularly pertinent to this review. In advocating the revival of the lost art of comparative geography, Mercer (1979) has laid down an important, if long overdue, first step towards a critical re-examination of this out-dated and value-laden notion. Mercer concludes that although the idea of a North American city should not be abandoned completely, he does urge far more caution in its usage and application. To aid this process, he recommends that further research be undertaken which would attempt to delimit the differences and similarities between Canadian and American cities along certain dimensions, thus rendering the concept more useful.

A similar line of thinking has been adopted by Mark and Goldberg (1982) in a paper which seeks to present a previously neglected Canadian perspective upon the largely American dominated field of neighbourhood change modelling. In doing this, the authors feel that these models will become more suitable and
thereby more useful to the Canadian situation. They also contend that such an exercise would have appreciable positive effects upon the state of the art in the American context, in that it would stimulate the need for a more general model which might explain the dynamics of change for neighbourhoods in both countries.

In an important preliminary to this paper, Goldberg and Mercer (1979) postulate that perhaps the major difference between the urban areas of Canada and the United States is rooted in the viability of their central cities—a fact which has obvious implications for the study of inner city revitalization. Many of the major American central city areas are largely inhabited by lower income groups, blue-collar workers, the unemployed, and ethnic minorities living in poor quality housing. The middle and upper income groups, particularly family households, have migrated to the suburbs spurred on by such things as the fear of crime and civil unrest, increased automobile ownership, construction of urban expressways and income tax incentives. Canadian cities, on the other hand are more compact and their central cities more viable. This can be credited to the lower differentials in income and occupation found within the cities, along with a group of ethnic minorities that do not face such extreme institutional discrimination. Additionally, a much reduced emphasis on highway construction, in tandem with greater usage of public transit has contributed to the far gentler rental gradients found within the typical Canadian city (Simmons et al, 1969). An important influence on the contrasting levels of central city viability lies in the different institutional structure and organization of each country. In the United States, Goldberg and Mark argue that, armed with a far greater degree of power, the federal government has been able to create a set of "pulling" and "pushing" forces through its policies and these have had the net effect of destabilising the central city. Conversely, because of the
comparatively lower profile that the federal government in Canada has taken in urban affairs, the central cities have been subjected to a much more fragmented, locally-based and smaller scale series of urban policies and programs which have been largely beneficial to their socio-economic base (C.M.H.C. and H.U.D., 1978).

In view of these fundamental differences it comes as little surprise to learn that the inner city areas of these respective nations have experienced markedly different trends in recent years. In one of the few sustained attempts at extending the revitalization argument north of the border, Ley argues from the existing literature that the revitalization experience in Canadian cities is just another in a sequence of phases of redevelopment which have resulted in a steady intensification of land use within the inner city. He therefore hypothesises that, "it is possible to interpret the redevelopment activity of the 1970's as simply a continuation of earlier trends rather than, as has more usually been the case in the United States, a dramatic arresting and reversal of neighbourhood flight" (Ley, 1981: 125). This view is reinforced by Higbee in an earlier and frequently one-sided comparison of the centre of cities in Canada and the United States with the comment, "a growing divergence in the lifestyles of Americans and Canadians is nowhere more evident than in the cities where a substantial portion of the Canadian middle class remains by choice but from which in America, the white middle class feels forced to retreat" (Higbee, 1976: 145). According to Higbee, the desire to remain in the centre has been given fresh impetus by the influx (due to recent changes in Canadian immigration policies), of many more European white-collar and professional workers who are accustomed to inner city living.

Ley's pioneering analysis of the socio-economic trends from the 1971 and 1976 censuses in all of the 23 Canadian Metropolitan areas is revealing in two
respects (see also McLemore et al, 1975 for an earlier survey). First, it highlights the heterogeneity of the inner city experience across the Canadian continent, brought about by the wider structural shifts currently taking place within the Canadian national economy and society. More specifically, he distinguishes between the service-oriented, white-collar regional centres particularly those in the Western provinces, and the blue-collar manufacturing cities of Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces. It is in the former category, especially in the larger metropolitan centres that neighbourhood revitalization has been most prominent.

Second, Ley's survey makes it all too apparent that the Canadian inner city has been somewhat neglected by both researchers and policy-makers as an independent and altogether separate unit for analysis. Leaving aside the potentially tortuous debates about the validity and relevance of the 'Canadian City' concept, it is clear that far more work on the inner-city needs to be placed in a cross-national comparative context. This need is made even more pressing when one compares the far greater quantity of equivalent work that has or is currently being undertaken in the United States and Great Britain. In defence, one can reiterate the oft touted explanation that the inner city in Canada has not been plagued by such extreme differentials and problems as those experienced in these two countries and has therefore not been generally perceived to warrant as much attention by Canadian urban analysts. One may speculate however, that if the revitalization trend currently evident in a number of metropolitan contexts deepens and spreads, and consequently the pressure for affordable housing becomes even more intense, it may crystallize into a prominent political and social issue and serve to reverse this situation somewhat.

From this necessarily brief discussion of the similarities and
differences between the Canadian and American urban conditions, it would seem that a great deal of caution should be exercised when trans-planting the empirical findings and explanations of a body of literature directly from one national context to another. This recommendation can be applied still further at the level of what has been commonly referred to as the 'Western City'. It is unfortunate that, due to the constraints of language, this review, like many others, is bounded to those countries that are primarily anglophone. Consequently, the European experience with inner city revitalization remains largely unknown. At this point it might be suggested that two factors in particular would have a significant bearing upon the incidence of gentrification in European cities. First, apart from being far more compact, these cities tend to have much greater concentrations of the middle and upper class who have always resided within the inner core. Second, in many cities, much of the core has had to be reconstructed after the Second World War (Home, 1982). In Britain, most of the revitalization literature has focussed on the efforts made by the public sector in the last decade to revive the ailing burned-out inner city areas of the older, economically depressed conurbations, making only a cursory reference to gentrification as a minor component in future urban renewal (e.g. Gibson and Langstaff, 1982). Most of the work on private residential reinvestment has been confined to London (e.g. Hamnett and Williams, 1980), though I have found several instances of gentrification in some of the medium-sized, service-oriented cities in the provinces, such as Bristol and Nottingham.

Within the anglophone countries, Logan has warned that, "despite the superficial similarity of the social and environmental patterns emerging in Australian, Canadian, and some British and American inner cities, it would appear that there are significant differences in the underlying process of
change and the factors responsible for it" (Logan, 1980: 33). Logan suggests that, in the absence of any detailed attempt to compare otherwise, the inner city revitalization experience of Britain and the United States has probably more in common by virtue of the rapid de-industrialization and similar racial concentrations and segregation patterns found within many of their inner cities (Peach, 1975). Australia and Canada have experienced a similar process of gentrification in the inner suburbs of their cities and it is this which he predicts will move them closer to European cities in terms of their social zonation. Once again however, this process has tended to take different forms, emphasizing the upgrading and development of multiple dwellings in Canada as opposed to the private renovation of individual Victorian terraced houses and cottages in Australia.

Apart from the explicit recognition and tentative suggestions made by a few urban analysts, the complexities and uniqueness of each national context and the effect these have upon the type and extent of revitalization activity in their cities has not, as yet been effectively documented (an exception is Williams (forthcoming)). In the absence of a sufficiently broad based body of Canadian literature, much of this review has been focussed upon the literature that has emanated from the United States in the last decade. This has been done not so much to utilize the findings in a direct cross-national transfer, but in an attempt critically to examine some of the ideas and approaches used by the American writers and illustrate how these might be usefully modified and applied to the context of a Canadian city. It is anticipated that the foregoing discussion highlights the important economic, political, socio-cultural and historical specification of the national system under consideration.
2.4 Causes

In addition to describing and monitoring neighbourhood revitalization, several writers have made initial attempts at explaining it. As yet, one is not in a position to draw any definite conclusions about this trend. Instead it can be said only that it appears to have been stimulated by a number of factors which have combined to make the central core a more attractive proposition than in the recent past, in both commercial and residential terms. Different writers have tended to emphasize some factors more heavily than others, couching their explanations at various levels and degrees of complexity. The familiar boundary lines within the social sciences as a whole are readily discernible in this literature. London, Bradley et al. (1980) offer perhaps the best grouping of these approaches, from which the following three categories will be used to summarise some of these explanations:

(1) The political-economic approach can be further divided into what Guterbock (1980) classifies as "Marxian" and "Plural" or "Traditional" perspectives. The latter, though by no means as formalized, take its lead from much of the neo-classical economic modelling work spearheaded by Alonso, Wingo and Muth in the 1960's, emphasizing the importance of competition for land and market efficiency. With the increasing scarcity of suburban land and local restrictions imposed upon new developments at the end of the 1960's, land prices rocketed in the suburbs to such an extent that suburban-urban differentials in housing costs and taxes evened up quite considerably. This was especially true for newly-built suburban housing which gradually went beyond the reach of many first-time home buyers. This fact, in conjunction with the increase in transportation costs brought on by the energy crisis of the 1970's and the worsening public transit system which further aggravated congestion and
pollution problems, has made the inner city a far more desirable residential location than previously (Downs, 1981).

The Marxist perspective on the other hand, rejects this "consumer sovereignty" hypothesis and focuses alternatively upon the role of capital in selectively generating new development and precluding older development within the context of the urban "growth machine" (Molotch, 1976). Drawing on, and somewhat refining the "investment-disinvestment" model first suggested by Bradford and Rubinowitz (1975) to explain the earlier trend of urban decline and suburban growth, Smith and others argue that gentrification, like inner-city decline before it, is a structural product of the land and housing markets. As a direct consequence of the widening "rent-gap" brought on by the sustained decline and depreciation of the inner city, capital, in the form of developers, financial institutions and realtors, has begun to shift away from the suburbs to the core, aided and abetted by the various arms of the state (Smith, N. 1979a). Furthermore, Smith argues that, "a broader explanation of gentrification must therefore take account of regional, national and international capital movements, and the historical rhythms of long waves and cycles in the capitalist economy" (Smith, N. 1979b). He thus identifies gentrification as a specific element of the wider political economy (Harvey, 1975; Gordon, 1978).

(2) The demographic-ecological approach can likewise be subdivided, according to the emphasis which the particular explanation places upon each of the variables--population, social organisation, environment, and technology--that go to make up the "ecological complex" (London, 1980). The changing demographic structure of North American society is a theme which is consistently referred to, either directly or indirectly, as an explanatory component. The "age cohort" or "baby boom" explanation as it might appropriately be called suggests that the maturation of the post-war surge in births to the age of prime
house-buying (i.e., 25-34 years old) has had a profound effect upon the housing market by swelling market demand to the point where it is now being partially met by the "recycling" of inner-city neighbourhoods (Bourne, 1978). A related and also influential demographic trend, is the increase in the number and proportion of non-family households, many of which are increasingly single-person or non-married. Consequently, many people are now seeking housing that is oriented solely to adult needs, such as proximity to work, cultural and social activity and which is less space intensive (Yezer, 1977).

The other, more ecologically-oriented perspective can be interpreted as a direct attempt to reinstate the work of Park, Burgess and McKenzie of the Chicago School of human ecology. Like this school, the explanations emphasize the importance of competition between various groups for territory, in this case, within the inner city. For example, Hudson (1980) claims that the concepts of "invasion" and "succession" which were central to ecological theory can once again be applied on a far broader basis than before, yielding useful insights into the process of gentrification.

(3) The socio-cultural approach focusses not upon the aggregate or structural units of the previous explanations, but on values, attitudes, ideas, choices and beliefs as factors determining individual human behaviour. One example of this type of explanation, which has been gathering a certain amount of momentum within the literature, is what has often been referred to as the "Post-Industrial thesis" advanced by Ley amongst others (Ley, 1980). Firmly rooted within the intellectual traditions espoused by Bell (1976) and Habermas (1970), this thesis seeks to set inner city revitalization, among other trends, within the context of the wider North American society. As a result of the shifts that are becoming increasingly evident within the structure of western advanced capitalist economies, it is argued there have been profound
modifications in culture and politics. These have contributed to the renewed interest in the inner-city, demonstrated by members of a "new class" of professionals, technicians and white-collar workers, as a place to work, live, and play (Ginzberg, 1979: Gouldner, 1979). Specific factors which are said to underlie the changing urban structure include expansion of the 'leisure class'; increased stress upon the amenity ethic; and the growing importance of consumption, rather than production as a determinant of central city land use decisions.

An interesting paper by Allen (1980) can be viewed as a fitting embellishment to this post-industrial thesis. Allen incorporates a hitherto neglected ideological component that he suggests is embedded within the "social movement" of neighbourhood revitalization. Whilst not rejecting the "matters of practicality and preferences" already outlined in this section as important motivating factors, he is of the opinion that an influential ideological commitment to a dense redeveloped city neighbourhood is inextricably bound up with these motives. Unlike the anti-urban ideology of the suburbanites a generation earlier to which he makes an interesting connection, the emergent ideology and utopian quest for "community" in the urban reinvasion movement is definitely pro-urban in outlook. In conjunction with these practical and preferential factors, the gentrifiers are motivated by the desire for the diversity (in both class and ethnic terms) and the density of population that they believe exists within the older and more traditional neighbourhoods of the inner city. It is this quality of "Sesame Street ebullience" (Berman, 1983) which the in-mover perceives will offer him or her some relief from the sub-cultural sameness and boredom that characterizes many suburban communities (in which they may have been brought up). Similar ideological threads can be traced running through much of contemporary professional planning literature and
practice, many of which, of course, have been sewn by that most influential of academic "seamstresses", Jane Jacobs (1961).

Having said this, Allen levels two major criticisms at the ideological premises upon which the new movement is based. Firstly, he argues that, contrary to the impression conveyed by the popular press and the "pop sociology" of urban redevelopment, "the trend toward city neighbourhood development does not signal a reversal of the traditional anti-urban bias that informed the decentralization of the American city" (Allen, 1980: 419). Fusch (1978) has further elaborated upon this ideological motif, suggesting that the preservation and gentrification movement is merely a latter-day expression of traditional values that have also guided past migration behaviour. He therefore concludes that gentrification represents no radical departure from the middle class norm with its emphasis on economic success through home ownership; the importance of a status symbol, such as an architecturally distinguished house in a prestigious neighbourhood; the exclusive search for 'rural' and 'small town' values; the need for conformity and homogeneity; and the emphasis placed upon nostalgia and the sense of place which highlights symbol, but tends to lack somewhat in material substance.

Secondly, Allen opines that many of the values, particularly that of "pluralism", are ambivalently held and therefore, may fail to yield the alternative and transcendent community experience that some of the new settlers seek. Put simply, it is often the case that the familiarity with the existing residents of a neighbourhood that many of these recent in-migrants look for is usually only realized in physical and not social terms. The following section will seek to clarify this last statement by examining the impacts that neighbourhood revitalization have had upon the existing communities in which it has been prevalent.
2.5 Impacts

(a) Inter-neighbourhood: Physical Displacement

The most serious problem to have been associated with gentrification is
the physical displacement of the original long-time residents by the in-coming
middle- and upper-income persons. Not only has the problem been well
publicized by the media and attracted much attention from local officials and
neighbourhood organizations, it has also been a paramount concern of much of the
impact-assessment research undertaken by both policy researchers and academics.
Like many prominent public and research issues however, the displacement issue
has become increasingly problematic, and often controversial, for a number of
reasons.

Firstly, it has proven to be a very difficult phenomenon to define
satisfactorily. A recent review paper by Grier and Grier (1980) has gone some
way towards demystifying and defusing much of the confusion and controversy that
surrounds the issue. They emphasize the complexity of the process, pointing to
the need for a more comprehensive definition of displacement which, in
particular, makes the key distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary'
displacement. Their definition is the one most often cited:

Displacement occurs when any household is forced to
move from its residence by conditions which affect the
dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which:

1. are beyond the household's reasonable ability to pay
2. occur despite the household's having met all previously
imposed conditions of occupance; and
3. make continued occupancy by that household impossible,
hazardous, or unaffordable.

(Grier and Grier, 1980: 256)

In adopting a definition as broad as this, one is faced with a further
problem in that it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to measure the
total phenomenon. On the other hand, any narrower definition might omit
important elements of the problem and would therefore not be as useful. The
measurement problem is further complicated by the often neglected necessity of
setting displacement from neighbourhood revitalization within the wider context
of residential moves in general and other forms of displacement, particularly in
such a geographically mobile society as North America. It is hardly surprising
therefore to learn that it is impossible to pinpoint at present the proportion of
displacement moves which are due to neighbourhood revitalization. Several
attempts nonetheless, have been made to estimate this figure from a number of
sources but in light of what has been said above, a measure of caution is
advised when interpreting them. One survey of realtors, public officials and
civic leaders in the United States' 30 largest cities has concluded that
significant dislocation was occurring in 82 percent of the neighbourhoods
undergoing middle class renovation (Clay, 1978). A 1979 estimate by Cushing
Dolbeare, a housing consultant, put the number of residents displaced by
gentrification at approximately 100,000 per annum in all cities of the United
States (Feagin, 1982: 400).

The task of obtaining a true picture of the scale and extent of
displacement through gentrification is further complicated by the political
influences which so obviously pepper some of the figures that have been
presented. This is particularly conspicuous in the well-known debate between
Sumka and Hartman. The former, a Deputy Director of the Division of Community
Research at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) argues
that while displacement may be a serious problem in some neighbourhoods, there
is little support for the notion that a substantial trend is occurring or that
large numbers of poor households are being affected. Therefore, indiscriminate
federal policies aimed at halting this displacement might slow or completely
erase the "trickle" of middle class in-movement which he deems to be highly desirable (Sumka, 1979; 1980). However, the other commentators, of which Hartman has been the most vocal, have pointed out that HUD's own figures can be interpreted to imply that over half a million households are displaced annually. On this basis, Hartman attacks Sumka's "reactionary position" which openly sides with the gentrifying middle class and their allies, urging that the lessons learnt from the public urban renewal and highway construction projects a decade earlier be applied in the form of greater public control over the process (Hartman, 1979a; 1979b). Since then, the present Reagan administration has taken a new line that views private market displacement as a local, and not a national problem and has therefore refused to undertake any further national displacement surveys.

Although debates about the actual scale of the problem continue, there is far more agreement on the question of who the victim of displacement is. It is clear from the numerous impact studies that racial minorities, the elderly, and low-income people have been displaced in disproportionate numbers (National Urban Coalition, 1978; Myers, 1978; Perez et al, 1980; Spain, 1980). However, in one of the best impact studies undertaken so far, Hodge (1981) has concluded from the experience of Seattle that displacement there has affected every socio-economic and geographical group. Moreover, he is inclined to venture that in Seattle at least, displacement was not so much caused by gentrification specifically, but instead by "a process of up-filtering caused by a previously depressed market lagging behind demand" (ibid: 200). This last point further underlines the problems of isolating displacement through gentrification, from other processes operating within the housing market.

The causes of displacement are largely economic. As demand by relatively higher income people for housing in some inner city neighbourhoods increases,
rents and property values rise in response beyond the financial capabilities of many of the long-term residents. Renters tend to be the first to be displaced as a result of excessive rent increases or conversion of multiple occupancy apartments and houses into condominiums and single-owner residences. Of those neighbourhoods surveyed by the National Urban Coalition (1978) which initially had a predominance of renters, about 95 percent showed a decrease in renters after rehabilitation. Tax assessments for the neighbourhood are re-aligned accordingly, and many of the longer term homeowners also begin to feel the pinch. For example, a survey conducted by Clay (1978) showed that in 76 percent of the 57 gentrified neighbourhoods he studied, rents rose in excess of 50 percent after revitalization and house values increased by 50 percent or more in 74 percent of these places. In addition, tax assessments increased in 71 percent of the neighbourhoods. In some situations, often at the margins of gentrification activity, the speculator and realtor may play a powerful role in generating displacement through their land assembly activities, sometimes to the extent of whole blocks being acquired (Williams, 1975; Smith, N. 1979b; Palm, 1979).

Because of the acute difficulty involved in tracing those displaced, very little is known about what happens to neighbourhood residents after they have been displaced. There is some evidence that most people move very short distances, in an endeavour perhaps to remain in close proximity to their place of employment and other familiar routines. Their attempts to retain the stability they once had are often thwarted therefore, by the continued advance of the margin of gentrification activity (James, 1977).

The costs generally associated with displacement for the individuals concerned fall into three categories. First, and most obviously are the financial costs which may involve among other things, moving expenses, increased
rents, new utilities, the problems of obtaining a new mortgage and increased transit costs as a result of an increased commute to work. Secondly, there are the social costs which might include separation from friends, relatives and community ties in general, in addition to the old neighbourhood's social support system that the resident may have grown dependent upon. Finally, and perhaps the most intangible and therefore, most difficult to measure, there are the emotional costs that may develop through the loss of a once familiar environment and all its peculiar quirks and nuances (Fried, 1963). It is apparent from this brief listing that those groups most susceptible to these costs, would be low income, rental tenure, racial minority and elderly in composition.

Attempts to actually quantify these costs have largely been unsuccessful. In his study of Kitsilano in Vancouver, Ley (1981) found that for 80 percent of the displaced tenants interviewed, the residential satisfaction of households declined as a result of the move. This was attributed to, among other things, a significant deterioration in the rent-to-income ratio for tenants, placing some of them into an official 'housing affordability' problem bracket. From a study of displaced households from inner city neighbourhoods in Saskatoon which adopts a utility modelling approach, Phipps (1982) counters this evaluation. He concludes that the majority of the 131 households potentially displaced by modern apartment blocks or by in-moving higher status households did not perceive that the costs exceeded the benefits in the long-term, but the costs were slightly more influential at the time of the move. In one of the few real attempts to actually categorize and systematize in the most comprehensive way possible (if to a large extent based on intuition) the costs and benefits that might accrue to the various actors involved with neighbourhood revitalization, Cicin-Sain (1980) is led to conclude from the rather limited evidence that for a large majority of those displaced in the United States cities, the costs exceed
the benefits.

(b) Intra-neighbourhood: Socio-cultural Conflict

Most of the consideration with respect to the effects of revitalization in both the popular and professional literature has been directed at the fate of those who have been physically displaced from the revitalized neighbourhoods. However, some writers have been more concerned with the effects of revitalization within the neighbourhood as the process develops. The subtle and complex social and cultural dynamics associated with such a form of community change as this, are as difficult to define and deal with as physical displacement, if not more so. In many ways the problem of intra-community social change presents analysts with their greatest challenge to date; but it is a challenge to which only a few have responded so far.

The first, and perhaps the most complete investigation of a neighbourhood undergoing revitalization was that undertaken by Cybriwsky (1978) in the Fairmount area of Philadelphia. In it, he quite lucidly describes the way in which a group of mostly young singles and childless couples in their twenties and earning comfortable salaries, introduced into this traditionally stable blue-collar community a radically different lifestyle, commercial structure and social organization. In some quarters the renewal initiative was welcomed, especially as it was instrumental in deflecting the widely perceived "menace" of black intrusion into this predominantly white neighbourhood from surrounding areas. However, Cybriwsky concludes that eventually, "for many residents the quality of life declined with the neighbourhood's physical upgrading and higher socio-economic standing" (ibid: 33). The resultant 'loss of community' was induced as the numbers of its ethnic population began to dwindle, and long established social ties were eroded. Moreover, he postulates that the internal dynamics of the community as a "defended neighbourhood" were somewhat ruptured
by the in-movement of these young professionals. In consequence, the neighbourhood was forced to forfeit some of its once cherished autonomy and isolation from the rest of the city.

The social networks of the 'newcomers' seldom extended to the host population, in spite of them having moved 'to be amongst the people'. Instead, they found themselves rejected by Fairmounters to the extent that some of their property was subjected to petty vandalism on the part of the neighbourhood's youth. In response, the newcomers pressed for increased policing and formed formal resident block associations which replaced the close-knit networks and informal social controls of the 'urban village' of pre-gentrification Fairmount.

In a later paper, this time written in conjunction with Levy, Cybriwsky takes some of these ideas a little further by trying to isolate the 'hidden dimensions of culture and class' that had not explicitly been referred to previously, but which they argue, inevitably pervade the gentrification phenomenon. Quoting evidence of several separate demonstrations by existing residents against gentrifiers in a number of local contexts, they warn:

"far too little thought has been devoted to the more subtle and perplexing tensions which are generated simply by mutual coexistence....unless planners and policy-makers become aware of these cultural clashes, the next decade of urban resettlement may be characterised by bitter and occasionally vicious conflicts which have been traditionally segregated in American society" (Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980: 139).

In their case study of two neighbourhoods in Philadelphia which have been recent targets for reinvestment, they examine the contrasting conceptions of the neighbourhood between the older and newer residents, looking particularly at the differences in attitudes towards the neighbourhood itself and what it signifies to them, as well as the different views on the appropriate use of outdoor space,
specifically sidewalks and streets. In both neighbourhoods, the older established residents changed in their attitude towards the newcomers, from initial welcome of the arrival of 'new blood' into the area, to one of displeasure, occasionally in the form of overt conflict and eventually, despair. In this manner they incorporate a critical and neglected temporal dimension into their study.

By way of initiating an explanation of the source of this conflict, the authors cite the findings of Sennet and Cobb (1973) in their book *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. In particular, they discuss the resentment which the traditional, blue-collar workers have for the rewards given to non-manual labour, and this, they suggest, is heightened significantly when the two groups begin living in close proximity. Levy and Cybriwsky stress the importance of these economic factors which have repeatedly exacerbated tensions concluding:

> In sum, the conflicts that we have described involve more than misunderstandings between different cultural groups. Rather, for long-term residents who can no longer afford their neighbourhood, an entire way of life is at stake (ibid: 149).

These two papers have made an important contribution to the literature by alerting researchers to the implications of gentrification not only for those who are displaced, but for those who remain in the neighbourhood during the course of this process, and in some instances, after its completion. On the positive side, it is apparent that incoming gentrifiers do have an immediate effect on the neighbourhood in terms of increasing homeowners' house values, ensuring that improvements are made to its physical appearance and infrastructure, and thereby arresting any further downturn in its status. However, it is also apparent that this process is not without its negative attributes. Unlike the problem of physical displacement, the problems encountered within the community are experienced by both parties concerned, that
is the newcomer and the established residents. Within the context of the economic pressures acting upon the latter group that may ultimately lead to its removal from the neighbourhood, we have also made note of some of the problems which are essentially social in content. These have emerged as a result of the juxtaposition of groups which have been previously segregated territorially and appear to have two interrelated roots, one that is 'symbolic' and another that is 'socio-cultural'.

The former revolves around the issue of control of the neighbourhood's identity as reflected in the imagery and sentiment attached by an individual and group to his or her local environment. This has perhaps best been summarized in the question "whose present?, whose past?" posed by Holdsworth (1981) in his study of gentrification within the inner city of Toronto. In it, he compares the different architectural styles and streetscapes that are typically produced, on the one hand, by a group of working class Portuguese immigrants, and on the other, by a group of middle class young professionals, both of whom are currently colonizing this part of the city. He concludes that these two environments are entirely incompatible in an aesthetic and functional sense. As yet, the two groups are spatially separated, but Holdsworth does predict that complications will emerge when the margins of settlement converge.

Other problems emerging from the mutual coexistence in one neighbourhood of these two groups are rooted in their different types of social organization and lifestyles. We have already seen from the Philadelphia case studies what form these problems can take, and how the socio-cultural structure of the existing community can be modified and re-shaped more in the image of the in-coming group. Conflict between the two groups may more usually remain in an inert form brought about by a sense of mutual distaste, fear and suspicion. From the perspective of the incumbent group this sense is summed up neatly in the
lines of a song by a contemporary black band—the 'Bus Boys', entitled "There Goes the Neighbourhood":

The whites are moving in/
They'll bring their next of kin/
I ain't movin' out for no Carol and Bob/
The inner city is too close to my job/
(Rolling Stone, 2nd September 1982: 49).

However in some instances these tensions might rise to the surface, stimulated by a particular local dispute such as pressure for parking or sewage, resulting in overt conflict. For example, in one neighbourhood after months of grumbling about 'tourists' parking on their sidewalks, white ethnic residents staged a protest in which they blocked traffic and slashed automobile tyres (Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980). An even more poignant example of this type of spontaneous conflict is evinced in a recent attack on the much-publicized Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who had just opened an abortion clinic in a working-class neighbourhood of Toronto, by a local Portuguese male immigrant wielding a pair of garden shears (Maclean's, 25th July 1983).

It is perhaps the case, as O'Loughlin and Munski (1979) amongst others suggest, that Cybriwsky has exaggerated this problem unduly, especially as he has analyzed social relations in one very well-defined conflict zone. Indeed, the counter example of the preservation of the German village area in Columbus, Ohio which was perceived quite favourably in adjoining black neighbourhoods (Fusch, 1978), would lend some support to this and suggests the desirability of other studies being conducted in areas where the existing residents have not been so hostile to outsiders, particularly where the housing is in poorer condition. However large this problem really is, it is still true that Cybriwsky and others have raised an important question that demands further attention.

Central to this discussion is the notion of 'diversity' or 'social mix'.


From an examination of recent renovation experiences in Seattle, Hodge (1980) is led to question whether the diversity seemingly praised by the renovators in reactivating their central city locational choice is possible in the neighbourhoods they are creating. Sometimes, the very social, racial and economic diversity they claim they are seeking in inner-city neighbourhoods is diluted and then destroyed when the neighbourhood becomes a predominantly higher-income area. On this tenet, Hodge further questions whether the 'back-to-the-city' movement is a unique opportunity to reaffirm this goal or, whether the suburbanization of the central city which confirms that diversity as a societal goal is a mere myth.

(c) Intra-Neighbourhood: Commercial Revitalization

Neighbourhood revitalization can have a profound impact not only upon the community, but also the infrastructure that supports it, particularly the neighbourhood's retailing sector. However, an extensive reading of the revitalization literature will reveal a noticeable neglect of these commercial functions. Consideration of the changing nature of commercial activity along with the possible effects it may have in influencing and promoting social change is downplayed at the expense of an over-whelming interest in the social and demographic characteristics of the neighbourhood's residential population. Chernoff (1980) points out that, of the few studies which have actually looked at revitalized commercial areas, none have really made any useful consideration of the social factors at play (e.g. Cox. W, 1969; Goldstein and Davis, 1977). Instead they have focussed upon the economic factors such as loan availability, the dollar volume in the market area, and the mix of goods and services (Levatino, 1978). It is argued here however, that the relationship between the social environments of the neighbourhood's residential and commercial sectors is an improtant and influential one, and is thus worthy of more investigation.
In his study of the revitalization of the Kitsilano neighbourhood in Vancouver, Ley (1981) talks of the "embourgeoisement" of 4th Avenue, the neighbourhood's main retailing strip. Local merchants along this strip have adjusted themselves remarkably rapidly to the neighbourhood's changing socio-cultural structure, and this process is reflected in the dramatically low survival rates of retail stores in this area during the period of the most intensive residential redevelopment. The aggregate picture has altered little in this time, but within it, there has been a substantial shift in retail orientation towards the market power and consumption tastes of the middle-class newcomers. Similarly, Cybriwsky (1978) has noted with more than a tinge of regret, the demise of the "Ma-and-Pa" type businesses in "Fashionable Fairmont", which have been replaced by among other things, a small art gallery, an antique shop, and two stores which specialize in house plants.

More often than not, the main instigators of this retailing change have not been the established merchants, but are from a new breed of business persons who are themselves also newcomers to the neighbourhood. As one astute commentator has somewhat sourly observed:

Now that the dust has settled, the counter-culture's chief contribution to American becomes clear. The most important influence of that assemblage of 1960's youth and its camp followers was not on politics, or philosophy, or art, or social organization but on retailing. Yes, retailing. The counter-culture came of age simultaneously with the consumer society, and what could be more fitting than that its participants should turn out to be shopkeepers--that the prefix "counter" should actually come to refer to the counter over which business is done? (Aristides, 1975).

In addition to responding to the changing social composition of the neighbourhood's residential population, several writers have also acknowledged the active role that the local retailing sector may play in actually promoting change in the neighbourhood. For example, in his study of the revitalization of
the Capitol Hill neighbourhood in Seattle, Hodge (1980) contends that the single most important causal factor in its "renaissance" could be attributed to the opening up of a chic restaurant along its main thoroughfare. In close proximity to a radical-chic cinema and art gallery, the restaurant soon became a centre of the city's style-conscious urbane population. Its inception was quickly followed by the influx of a number of other higher-order establishments catering to an increasingly wealthy local clientele and to a larger metropolitan market, and which replaced the older, smaller neighbourhood-oriented stores. Hodge also points to the use of visual symbols in the strategy of those new establishments in dramatically reshaping the image of the Broadway thoroughfare in Capitol Hill, with such tactics as facelifting, advertising and name changes. One particularly telling example of this type of symbol manipulation activity elsewhere is the "boutiquing" of the very same 'Cannery Row' retail district that was the setting of Steinbeck's novel in Monterey, California (Curtis, 1981). The success of the "counter culture's" retailing ventures in the last fifteen years of so, cannot be denied. A visit to any major city across North America will almost definitely reveal the presence of a distinctive, and instantly recognizable 'trendy' retailing strip or section. However, like the residential component of this revitalization process, commercial revitalization has not been without its problems. In his study of a neighbourhood commercial district in Atlanta, Chernoff (1980) demonstrates the significance of two forms of displacement consequent on the infiltration of new kinds of business into the district. Those of the older group of business people who were not displaced physically due to increased rents, lost a considerable amount of neighbourhood control when they relinquished their attachments with the various associations that once formed the bases of their local power, as a direct result of this infiltration. Conflict between the older and more recently arrived groups
within the business community eventually polarized with the planned imposition of a federally-funded redevelopment plan for the district, of which the latter group was highly supportive. The same was true of the transition in the Capitol Hill case which was achieved only with a number of 'growing pains' in the form of clashes of an often violent nature between the older and newer merchants, and in some instances, residents. The most pressing threat for the newer businesses will probably not come from the older established businesses however, but from an entirely different source. In the Castro district of San Francisco, Butler (1982) has described how several national businesses and franchises have begun to shift their interest away from the suburbs where growth is slowing, to this and other gentrified inner-city neighbourhoods. The possibility of the visual appeal of the retailing strip's current streetscape being diluted with standard designs that appear throughout the United States has prompted an angry reaction from both the local residents and merchants. But, as Butler rather impishly concludes, "their success has spawned another invasion that may push them out" (ibid: 23).

2.6 Policies and Politics

Given the problems generated by revitalization activity that have been outlined in the previous section, what has been the nature of the policy response to them? The inner city revitalization trend undoubtedly presents both an opportunity and a dilemma for policy-makers. The emergence of the displacement issue in particular, as a major political issue, brings into focus a fundamental conflict between the well-established community-held goals for the renewal of depressed cities on the one hand, and social justice ideals on the other. Revitalization of older neighbourhoods, as isolated as it is at present, has given policy-makers new hope in their uphill battle to patch up the
crumbling economies of the inner city areas. In addition, it may serve as a useful prop for the heavily eroded fiscal bases of the older cities through employment generation and higher property tax revenue, particularly in the North-East of the United States (Alcaly et al, 1977; Tabb, 1978).

In Canada, after nearly a decade of largely unsuccessful and expensive urban renewal projects, coupled with increasing neighbourhood grass-roots opposition (Fraser, 1972), policy-makers undertook a major overhaul. Early in 1973, the Liberal government unveiled the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) as a dynamic and sensitive approach to the rehabilitation of older, lower-income, residential neighbourhoods. Concurrent with NIP was the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) which offered loans and grants varying with income to owners of residential buildings for rehabilitation purposes. Despite the relatively small sums allocated by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), compared to the amounts tied up in the earlier urban renewal projects, it is apparent that the federal government has appreciated the significance of this revitalization trend and has, in its own small way, attempted to encourage it (Gutstein, et al, 1976). In contrast to the situation in the United States, the problem of displacement has not been widely identified as a political issue in Canada. The absence of such extreme ethnic and class segregation in Canada is obviously an important contributory factor here. Consequently, no formal policies exist with which to deal with displacement.

It is possible, as Zeitz (1979) claims, that displacement through private urban renewal may as yet be nowhere as significant as the scale of displacement induced by both federal and local public urban renewal projects, particularly when at their peak in the late 1960's. However, this claim might be tempered somewhat by the fact that because the former is a private sector phenomenon, it
has not been deemed to be the direct responsibility of the state. Those displaced by public urban renewal on the other hand, were eligible in many cases for at least some kind of government assistance in relocation (Nager, 1980).

In the United States, under the Carter administration the general tack advocated by policy-makers, though there were some notable divergences (Barry, 1980), was one which would not directly hinder the private urban renewal process, but did urge that a greater effort be made to monitor the extent and severity of displacement. In addition, where dislocation rates were found to be excessive, displacement relief programs and neighbourhood organization funding should be implemented (Weiler, 1978). Their intent was to assist the original residents to remain and renovate their homes and to help those who left to relocate successfully. Exemplary of this approach is a paper by Houstoun and O'Connor (1980) which examines various policy options open to metropolitan governments in dealing with the displacement problem. They prescribe a "politically acceptable" intervention strategy which would aim to minimize the possible disadvantages associated with neighbourhood revitalization for the city as a whole. Whilst acknowledging that it does undoubtedly have some desirable ramifications, the two writers are at pains to warn of the dangers of implementing policies that would actively seek to encourage revitalization through strategic public investments, as they would eventually stimulate a significant, and potentially unsettling wave of opposition from those residents who felt threatened by the advance of households with the wherewithal to replace them.

Despite these essentially well-meaning intentions, embodied in such organizations as HUD and the National Commission on Neighbourhoods, several commentators have been quite critical of these organizations' apparent inability to inflict any significant dents upon the steady flow of displaced households.
Mention has already been made of the Hartman/Sumka debate. In addition, Clay has argued that, "public intervention must intervene to control or compensate the private market externalities that displacement represents if the interests of the entire city and not just the middle class are to be protected" (Clay, 1979: 33). Cybriwsky further warns, "if reinvestment continues to cause declines in neighbourhood heterogeneity, however, then its net effect is only the substitution of one set of problems with another" (Cybriwsky, 1980: 33). On a more severe note, Smith castigates HUD for its "gung-ho support for gentrification and redevelopment (which) is matched by its benign neglect for the displaced working class" (Smith, N. 1982:152). In partial defence Zeitz makes the point that while the funding for various programs is allocated by the federal government, its agencies neither plan nor implement the programs on a local level. At this level, policy is apparently open to the full influence of business and middle- and upper-class groups so that, "even if federal intent is to provide for poor populations, this intent must get lost between the planning and implementation stages of urban projects" (Zeitz, 1979: 87).

In view of this, several writers have also offered some constructive advice and potential alternative policy directions. For example, Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) argue that far more government intervention than before is required, if the benefits accruing from revitalization are to approach some kind of socially acceptable balance with the costs. They suggest that this could be achieved in two ways. First, the benefits and costs of change should be spread across both space and social groups in a more equitable fashion, by gaining better control of developer subsidies and imposing higher profit taxes upon residential and commercial gentrification. Second, mechanisms must be devised which can provide greater social control over redevelopment. The main method by which this could be achieved would be to force developers to consult and gain
approval from members of the neighbourhood concerned.

This latter recommendation implicitly requires greater and more effective political activity on the part of the local working class and low income organizations. Bearing in mind the usual lag between "the first screams of neighbourhood pain and the arrival of the federal doctor on the scene", Levy (1980: 303) contends that neighbourhoods should recognize that in the short run, they remain the best equipped to diagnose and prescribe for themselves. The seemingly total lack of concern demonstrated by the present Reagan administration about the problems associated with neighbourhood revitalization, would lend even greater weight to this argument. In order to prescribe effectively neighbourhood residents must take account of a number of factors, and it is to this end that Levy addresses his paper. First, there are problems faced in trying to encourage sufficient mobilization against a process which often occurs subtly and slowly. Unlike the earlier urban renewal policies which lent themselves quite effectively to the generation of a "battlefield consciousness" because of the well defined enemy--the government--gentrification is a far more insidious process, often affecting only one or a few households at any particular time. By the time the resident becomes aware of the situation, and begins to organize accordingly, the process has usually already become well-established, and it is therefore often too late to challenge it. Second, Levy urges that the groups must be aware that the residents of the 'target' neighbourhood are often emotionally and materially divided about the process. In particular, he refers to the different interests held by the homeowners and renters which may lead to a crippling internal division within the political groups. It follows therefore, that the organizer must strive to be aware as much as possible of the culture and values that are specific to the neighbourhood groups concerned if anything is to be accomplished. He or she
must have not only knowledge of the social composition of the neighbourhood, but also details about the stage which the reinvestment process has reached. Having accounted for these factors, the neighbourhood organization is then in a better position to make a decision about which line of attack to follow, and Levy suggests a variety of possibilities ranging from mere posturing to active lobbying and more advanced 'self-help' strategies depending on how far the process has gone.

Whilst the principle of working class and low income mobilization against reinvestment is a reasonable one, in practice its effectiveness has been to some degree constrained, often to the point of hopelessness, by both extra- and intra-neighbourhood interests. As an example of the former case, Zeitz (1979) reports that in Washington, D.C. the Capital East Community Organization and the Adams-Morgan Community Organization joined together to fight gentrification in their neighbourhoods. In an endeavour to stem the tide of what they termed "reverse blockbusting" these citizen’s groups pressured the city council to pass a bill called the "Real Estate Tax" which would have restricted the speculative buying and selling of housing by imposing a stiff tax. Developers and speculators organized to resist what was popularly called the "speculators bill". Hearings on the bill were chaotic with opponents calling it "socialism in our time". Real estate interests gradually organized an effective lobby, and the bill which was finally passed was very much weaker.

This extra-neighbourhood pressure is not only confined to developer interests. In Vancouver, Ley (1981) cites the experience of a group called The West Broadway Citizen's Committee which developed in response to the threat of extensive redevelopment in their Kitsilano neighbourhood. In its attempt to make potentially useful changes to the area's zoning, the committee was thwarted by the city council. This problem is taken up by Weiler (1980) in his
examination of how conflict emanating from redevelopment activity can be addressed at the neighbourhood level. He suggests that in order to strike the most equitable compromise between two or more opposing interest groups, the neighbourhood organization should be incorporated in a similar fashion to the one set up in the Queen Village area of Philadelphia. Although lauding the merits of this particular strategy-model, he is quick to point out its limits and weaknesses. These may arise as a result of the combination of the neighbourhood organization lacking sufficient resources on the one hand, and having to face the intense and unanticipated nature of the reinvestment process on the other.

In an attempt to eradicate some of the problems induced by extra-neighbourhood interests, several initiatives have been undertaken in a number of metropolitan centres. The most usual form which this takes is a city-wide coalition of neighbourhood organizations, and, in some cases, other related groups such as labour unions and local social service agencies. Taking this principle a step further, a nation-wide neighbourhood movement was set up in the United States during the 1970's to create an organization that would be more on a par with the federal agencies. It is unfortunate that as Goering (1979) has lamented, even this initiative has come up against a similar set of problems such as co-optation, goal displacement and frustration. These have emerged, he claims, as a direct consequence of the movement's need to wedge its way into the national arena of policy-making and program formulation. More significantly, he refers to the growing conflict between more conservative minded national organizations and the radical neighbourhood-based organizations.

In addition to these extra-neighbourhood pressures, neighbourhood organizations have also been challenged by other pro-development residential
groups from within the same neighbourhood. This has been illustrated quite effectively in one of the few studies concerned entirely with the political dimension of neighbourhood revitalization. In her study of Boston's South End neighbourhood, Auger (1979) shows how the same socio-cultural strains between the poor incumbents and the more affluent 'newcomers' discussed in the previous section, can develop into political divisions within the community as a whole. These divisions have become more apparent with the proliferation of opposing interest groups, characterized not only by different socio-economic features but also divergent philosophies. The poor incumbents conceive neighbourhood revitalization in terms of improvement by and for the people already there; but the newcomers see it in terms of upgrading the area's social composition as well. Middle-of-the-road liberals argue that both the diversity and stability of the neighbourhood should be preserved, but they have been opposed from both sides. Of particular interest and significance are the strategies that each group followed in an endeavour to secure its interests:

The poor, lacking conventional political resources wielded by others used protest and public criticism of city policies as means to influence public actions. The media attention their protest generated, they believed would evoke participation of extra-neighbourhood support groups sympathetic to their needs. Middle-class conservatives, on the other hand pursued confrontation of a less media-directed and more sophisticated form. Having superior financial resources and greater knowledge of the legal technicalities that might override the political merits of a policy decision, they chose to confront local officials by appealing to the higher power of the judiciary arena. But the South End's middle class liberals disputed the need for confrontation strategies of either sort....Their ethos of cooperative politics found continued expression in their constant demands for pursuit of more conventional political strategies of bargaining and negotiation (Auger, 1979: 520).

Over the fifteen years that the political conflict has developed, the middle classes, both progressive and conservative factions, have gained the upper hand in this neighbourhood. They have been able to do this by virtue of
the resources, in terms of finance, knowledge and experience that they command, and by the strategies that they have been able to pursue with the aid of these resources. The same differences in political goals and disparities in political power used to achieve them have also been observed in other studies (Laska and Spain, 1980b; Fusch, 1980). To counter this imbalance in some way, Auger urges that because of its supra-local position, the federal government should do more to strengthen the hand of the incumbent city resident in the form of rehabilitation funds and rental subsidies. At the same time she is also aware of the basic dilemma faced by the state in dealing with neighbourhood revitalization, which "threatens to hamstring the capacity of federal officials to respond to this problem", (op cit: 521).

Evidence from another case study presents an altogether different picture of internal political activity within a neighbourhood on the verge of revitalization. In the Lower East Side, one of the poorest and most dangerous neighbourhoods in New York, a group of artists launched the 'Artists Home-Ownership Program' (AHOP) which, if approved, would provide them with low-interest loans to rehabilitate sealed tenement buildings for co-operatively owned living and work space. The program was limited in scale, involving only 17 city-owned unoccupied tenements, but was nipped in the bud by the city council due to the pressure exerted by an amalgam of local tenant's groups, low-income housing advocates, planners, churches, radical groups and Hispanic political organizations. Against this barrage of protest, the artist's group, who were unable to broaden or strengthen their base of support even among other artists, were defenceless. The opposition was extremely intense, rooted in a deep-seated sense of territory, and further fuelled by racial hostility against the all-white artist's group. As Berman suggests, "the proposal has struck some of the deepest fissures in our cities and society today" (1983:11).
Interestingly enough, Berman concludes from this issue that, in many ways, the rejection of the AHOP proposals was a "pyrrhic victory" for the incumbent group. For, in alienating the artists, many of whom were themselves refugees from other neighbourhoods that had been fully gentrified (particularly the SoHo district (Zukin, 1982)) the incumbents had lost some potentially valuable allies in the fight to preserve the neighbourhood from further rounds of extensive redevelopment.

It has already been suggested that an important first step in the prescription of appropriate and effective strategies to deal with the problems caused by revitalization, must be a greater understanding of the various interests that, under certain circumstances, might provide the basis for destructive internal divisions within the community. However, the few studies which have dealt with the political dimension of neighbourhood revitalization have produced evidence that is not only limited, but to a certain extent, conflicting. In these circumstances, one can only echo Johnson's recommendation that:

   Much more attention should be given to the role of community organizations and neighbourhood groups in the neighbourhood change process, especially to the impact such institutions may have on the images and attitudes of individual households towards their residential environments (1983:35)

In addition, one could also argue that any explanation of the internal structure of local politics in a neighbourhood would not be complete if it did not endeavour first, to recognize, and second, to elucidate the inherent reciprocity between these "institutions" and the "individual households" within the neighbourhood. Some important parallels have already been hinted at in this last section between the types of divisions that have appeared in the forum of local politics, and those that were found to exist between different
socio-cultural groups within the changing neighbourhood. These parallels will become more clearly articulated as the study progresses.

2.7 Summary

From the foregoing review and discussion of the inner city revitalization literature, we may conclude that:

(1) Inner city revitalization has been the subject of a great deal of interest for a variety of reasons. This feature has undoubtedly contributed to its rapid escalation as a major issue in a relatively short period of time. Much of the debate has centred around the true geographical extent and durability, and therefore, significance of this trend. However, due to the absence of a common perspective on this phenomenon in addition to the paucity of appropriate data, this debate remains unresolved.

(2) The inner city revitalization field has been deluged by an assortment of terms which have not really been used in any consistent or systematic manner. Despite this, some kind of composite, if somewhat sketchy picture of what both the 'average' gentrified neighbourhood and gentrifier look like has been drawn from an amalgam of national surveys and local case studies. Furthermore, because of the observed communalities in the dynamics of gentrification in a number of contexts, a generalized and crudely defined 'stage-model' has been tentatively suggested as a potentially useful analytical tool. Nonetheless, the several instances that have been found to be the exception to these general rules should serve as a warning of the limitations of generalizing about the gentrification process.

(3) Much of the information available is confined to the revitalization experience in the United States. Therefore, this review attempted to assess the problems and possible modifications required for a cross-national comparative
perspective on revitalization to the Canadian situation in particular, which might prove to be a valuable and fertile area for future research.

(4) On a theoretical plane, explanation of revitalization is quite underdeveloped. Nevertheless, several explanatory strands have been picked out from the morass of largely informal ideas and suggestions located within this wide-ranging and relatively recent body of literature. Already, these strands appear to be paralleling conventional modes of explanation within the social sciences. It is expected that this trend will continue as analysis progresses into a more formalized theoretical realm.

(5) The effects of neighbourhood revitalization have been described and analyzed at two distinct levels. At the inter-neighbourhood level the problem of physical displacement has proven to be a prominent and often troublesome issue. Within the neighbourhood, problems have arisen as a consequence of the juxtaposition of the previously separated incumbent and in-coming residents and merchants, in the form of tensions and often, overt conflict. Perhaps because the processes at work are intangible and complex, this latter issue has not been pursued thoroughly. Nonetheless it does hold some some promise for future research, and will be a major concern of this present study.

(6) Within the sphere of policy, the response to these problems has followed a variety of courses. At the national level, direct intervention on the part of the state has been discouraged, thereby facilitating the continued revitalization of the inner city. Some policy-makers have endeavoured to soften the blow in the most excessive cases, by monitoring the impact of revitalization and allocating funds for remedial purposes where it is deemed necessary. In light of the perceived failings of national policy, some have urged for more state intervention in conjunction with a greater reliance upon the neighbourhood itself for the initiative. However, this principle has been shown to be
weakened in practice due to the constraints imposed by extra-local pressures (i.e. metropolitan government and business interests) and intra-local pressures (i.e. opposition from pro-revitalization interests from both incumbent and gentrifying groups). The argument was put forward that the latter area in particular is in need of more attention, with specific reference to the nature of the link with the socio-cultural structure of the neighbourhood.
"I'm tired of seeing picturesque figures pass before me as a frieze", the girl explained. "It was wonderful when we landed, but that superficial glamour soon goes". Her impressions were of no interest to the Collector; he was only concerned to give her a good time. Would she like a Bridge Party? He explained to her what that was -- not the game, but a party to bridge the gulf between East and West; the expression was his own invention, and amused all who heard it.

(E.M. Forster, A Passage To India)

3.1 Introduction

From the preceding review of neighbourhood revitalization literature, the following three specific themes will be the central concern of the remainder of this study:

(i) The nature of interaction both between and within the different cultural groups that are either in-coming or incumbent within the neighbourhood undergoing revitalization.

(ii) The form and significance of the political dimension of neighbourhood revitalization.

(iii) The inter-relationship between themes (i) and (ii).

The first two of these themes have already been addressed within the literature, but it is clear that they are still deserving of more recognition and attention. The third theme has been relatively unexplored, although a few writers have alluded to its significance, if only implicitly (Auger, 1979: Van Til, 1980). At the end of the last chapter, it was contended that, in order to allow for any further understanding of either the socio-cultural structure of a neighbourhood (whether it is in a state of revitalization or not), or its political structure, one must endeavour to consider both of them in tandem. The remainder of this
study addresses this task by first, looking at the implications of this relationship on a theoretical plane; and following on from this, by examining how its ramifications are played out in an empirical case study. This chapter will be devoted to the former of these two tasks, laying down the important theoretical foundations and methodological guidelines upon which the ensuing empirical work can be based.

Much of the literature cited in this chapter will be taken from outside the revitalization context. A series of academic 'excursions' will be made in the hope that in drawing in fresh ideas, conceptions and theory into the discussion, some potentially valuable new light may be shed on the process of neighbourhood revitalization.

This first stage of 'theoretical fine tuning' will be achieved in three main steps. First, the research problems with which the study as a whole is concerned are located within a more appropriate epistemology. Second, a theoretical framework will be developed around the study's analytical unit (i.e. the neighbourhood) on the basis of insights gathered from the realm of neighbourhood and community studies. The final section of the chapter will focus on the problem of operationalising and applying this theoretical approach and analytical framework to an empirical case study, by providing important methodological and technical pointers.

3.2 Epistemological Orientations: Towards a 'Humanistic' Approach.

(a) The Problem

It has already been concluded that the rather loosely connected body of neighbourhood revitalization literature is, as yet, lacking a truly effective and cogent theoretical base. The plurality of perspectives and motives behind the research effort has generated a literature that is still in a state of flux,
rarely rising above weakly formulated and generated description, and largely
devoid of any kind of real analytical incisiveness. The few attempts that have
been made to present a sustained and consistent explanation of the
neighbourhood revitalization process appear to be following the conventional
modes of explanation within the social sciences. This tendency of applying
'old' explanatory modes to a relatively 'new' phenomenon has meant however, that
this literature suffers from the same two major problems that currently plague
other areas of investigation within social science.

First, there is the presence of an epistemological gulf between theory
and practice in academic research which has in recent years attracted much
attention (e.g. Bernstein, 1976; Thompson, 1978). The intellectual
'middle-ground' between these two poles has not been well-trodden in the
revitalization literature. Instead, the work has more usually been anecdotal or
journalistic in style (e.g. Gale, 1979), or else, very abstract and theoretical
(e.g. Smith, N, 1979a). The second major problem is heavily intermeshed with
the first. The explicit recognition by many contemporary writers of the import
of the value judgements that inevitably pervade their work and others has
resulted in an increased politicization of the social sciences which, in turn,
has posed a major theoretical dilemma (Jackson, 1983). As Logan observes:

To welcome the primacy of the normative elements
in the social sciences is to open them up to a complete
range of philosophical approaches, methodologies, and
conceptions of academic purpose; it seems that it may
not be possible to cut short the complete politicization
of the social sciences now that convergence upon the
normative approach has been initiated. The new groupings
will be united not in the traditional way by interest
in a discipline, but rather by socio-political position.
(Logan, 1980:16)

The ideological "divergence" that such a process produces, has already been
observed in the fundamental split between 'demand-led' (positivist) and
'supply-led' (structuralist) explanations of neighbourhood revitalization which, for now, is as wide and as unbreachable as ever. A pressing task therefore is to confront and attempt to overcome the ideological impasse that is to a certain extent holding up the progress of research in this specific area and the social sciences in general.

(b) A Humanistic Alternative

Within the domain of human geography the collective initiative of the prematurely and perhaps inappropriately named "school" of humanistic geography has squarely applied itself to both these two causes. The school has developed largely in response to the perceived failure of the previously dominant positivist approach to provide viable modes of understanding. In its place, a range of hermeneutic approaches have been advocated based on a veritable smorgasbord of linked philosophies of meaning that include phenomenology (Mercer and Powell, 1972), idealism (Guelke, 1974), existentialism (Samuels, 1978), and surrealism (Olsson, 1975); all of which hone in on the previously neglected relationship between the individual and his or her perceived world. The sole reliance on the objective world as the target and data source for positivist research is given over for an approach which recognizes the crucial interplay of the subjective world of facts and affairs, which together make up the "everyday lifeworld" (Buttimer, 1976). Positivism it is argued, can never hope to successfully analyse the lifeworld because it separates the observer from the very thing he is studying, and therefore inevitably fails to explain human experience. In addition to these epistemological shortcomings, Ley (1980b) is critical of both positivism and another competing critique of positivism structural Marxism, on theoretical grounds (i.e. by reducing man, one is devaluing the power of human consciousness and activity); on an existential plane (i.e. reductionism falsely presents questions of meaning as questions of
technique); and morally (ie. the suppression of man in theory first reflects then justifies the suppression of man in practice).

It is in this critical mode that humanistic geographers have proved to be most effective (eg. Entrikin, 1976; Ley and Duncan, 1982). However, on the methodological front the approach is most clearly vulnerable. As Johnston has charged, "there is much preaching and little practise" (1979: 138). This particular inadequacy has provided the positivist counter-attack with its main thrust (Walmsley, 1974; Hay, 1979), and has been recognised as a serious deficiency even from within the humanistic school (Ley, 1981b). This issue will be expanded upon and given the further consideration it deserves in the last section of this chapter.

The structural Marxist critique on the other hand, has moved in on two inter-related theoretical weaknesses that currently plague a humanistic approach. First, there is the danger that the humanists may have strayed too far to the other end of the social structure/human agency scale in their response to the positivists; to the extent that some of the writers (e.g. Tuan, 1976) might be guilty of over-emphasizing the realm of consciousness and imagery at the expense of ignoring the important constraints that are placed upon social activity within the taken-for-granted lifeworld of the actors (Gregory, 1981). Several writers from within the humanistic perspective, have also voiced their concerns about this tendency towards excessive idealism. For example, Ley has warned "there is a risk of passing from the revelation of ambiguity to a celebration of ambiguity" (1978:44). Second, there is a certain amount of confusion both within and outside of the humanistic perspective over the exact nature of the link between understanding man's behaviour (i.e. 'verstehen') and explaining it (Peet and Lyons, 1981). Again, Ley has been particularly cautious about the validity of inferring one from the other, realistically conceding that
there are in fact, limitations of the approach for future geographical research. The following statement is as useful a guideline as any for research that professes to have a humanistic bent:

The uninhibited hegemony of consciousness and subjectivity is as misleading as any reductionism, for notions of pure consciousness are as much an abstraction from human experience as any isotropic plain. The realities of everyday living confirm that ideas do not run free of context, of concrete time-space relations. If there is to be a geographic synthesis in the 1980's it will be a synthesis which incorporates both the symbolic and structural, both the realm of meanings, where values and consciousness are seen as embedded and grounded in their contexts, and where environments are treated as contingent before emerging forms of human creativity (Ley, 1980b: 20).

In application, the humanistic approach has found its strongest expression within the realms of landscape interpretation and the geographic imagination that have largely been the prerogative of cultural geography (Meinig, 1979) and historical geography (Harris, 1978). More recently, it has found favour within urban social geography, where it has proven to be most adept in dealing with the inter-relationships within and between various socio-cultural groups that populate the city (Ley, 1983). Indeed, the potential that such a humanistic approach has for the study of inter-group social relations within a revitalizing neighbourhood has already been ably demonstrated by Cybriwsky's Fairmount study discussed in the previous Chapter (Cybriwsky, 1978). Unfortunately, these studies have tended to confine themselves to the realm of social and cultural activity, to the exclusion of activity of a more political nature and intent.

However, there are some interesting instances of studies within social geography which have examined forms of political activity in a decidedly humanistic light, whether or not it has been explicitly acknowledged. For example, a collection of essays edited by Ley (1974) looking at various aspects
of community participation in urban politics all heavily stress the cognitive
and behavioural processes that shape the forms and the ultimate success of the
community groups' political activity. In a subsequent paper, Ley and Mercer
(1980) enlarge on this theme and endeavour to sharpen theoretically the approach
by locating it within the locational conflict theoretical framework. Eschewing
the potential absorption of the locational conflict perspective into Marxian
theory, they instead suggest that other factors which transcend the simple
dichotomous classification of social class forwarded by the 'vulgar' Marxists,
such as the values and beliefs of the social groups concerned, should be
considered if any understanding is to be made of the motivation behind
locational conflict. To these studies we might also add the work of Lemon on
the community movement in Toronto (Lemon, 1978); Western on the effects of the
Group Area Act in Capetown (Western, 1978); and especially, Hasson's research on
neighbourhood organizations in Jerusalem (Hasson, 1983). The analytical horizon
of political conflict must therefore be broadened to include not only
production-based conflict, but also a "politics of consumption" and a "politics
of environmentalism" (Cosgrove and Duff, 1981) as well as a "politics of
neighbourhood revitalization".

Even within the Marxist ranks, there has been a measure of dissension
stemming from the structuralist's explanation of "urban social movements".
Dunleavy (1977) is especially critical of both the "structuralist" and
"pluralist" treatments of protest. He argues that, in addition to ignoring the
conditions and individual situations that generate protest, both tend to
overlook the importance and significance of non-protest. The ramifications of
these failings are brought home when one compares Dunleavy's insightful
case-study of the London Borough of Newham, with the token and rather
superficial efforts offered by Castells (1977). Pickvance (1977) has further
elaborated on the inadequacies of the Marxist analysis of protest and political action in general. In particular, he points to the complexity of the processes, which include awareness, consciousness and a value-laden orientation, that must be considered if anything more is to be learned about the transformation of a "social base" to a "social force" on the political scene.

These recent more humanistic reinterpretations of urban politics and community action have served to pave the way for a "humanistic political geography", one promising form of which has been demonstrated by Logan (1980) in his doctoral dissertation. The utility and applicability of this work to the present study is further enhanced by the fact that Logan's interpretative case study examines the gentrification process in Melbourne, Australia. What is especially impressive about this case study is that an effort has apparently been made to be truly 'interpretive', in that it offers four very different accounts of essentially the same events based on as many generalised socio-political perspectives--'conservative structural functionalist'; 'social democratic' or 'structural conflict theorist'; 'marxist' or 'disruptive conflict theorist', and 'humanistic'. He argues that these perspectives are in effect, more important than the actual "facts" of gentrification as they are the basis for the interpretations, and eventually, the actions made by a range of actors (e.g. planners, politicians, academics, residents etc.) involved in the process of gentrification.

He concludes at the end of his study that all four modes of interpretation do show some valuable, if only partial, understanding of the social and political changes that were taking place within the city. Furthermore, there were many areas of overlap between each of them, which in combination might be regarded as a "consensual world-view". However, despite the problems of political ambiguity and difficulty in formulating policy that
the humanistic approach presents to the social scientist, Logan finds it a far more preferable approach for several reasons. First of all, it is valuable in its role as a "counter-balance" to the other approaches which tend to overemphasize the general at the expense of the specific. Related to this, Logan also stresses that power is exerted and conflict felt at the level of the individual. In his words:

> Other approaches fail by contrast to do justice to the complexity of the individuals who create the city; they fail to probe the filter that operates to define the world of action of the direct participants as well as of the social scientists as observers (1980:324).

In doing this Logan advances the view that the humanistic approach can overcome the political divergence of social science because it operates on an altogether different dimension to the other approaches—i.e., as much as it is reflexive, analysing and explaining the attitudes that lead individual social scientists as well as city dwellers to adopt a particular political orientation.

(c) Conclusion

What then will be the form of this humanistic approach? I would argue that such an approach must endeavour to take account of, and effectively incorporate the following six ingredients. First, much stress has been placed on the potential that this approach has in dealing and coming to terms with the theoretical obstacles posed by both the ideological gaps and the epistemological divide that currently dog the social sciences in general, and the analysis of neighbourhood revitalization in particular. The crux of the humanistic approach is its emphasis upon understanding through interpretation, as opposed to pure explanation through observation and analysis. The potency of this reflexive approach lies in the fact that not only does it consider the values and images of the individuals and groups under study, but also those of the researcher.
Second, at the same time, the approach must also strive to maintain a critical edge in the evaluation of the findings yielded from the interpretation. Third, whilst recognizing the prominence of struggle as well as consensus between groups in society, the humanistic approach presents a more realistic and broader reconceptualization of power, that goes beyond the realm of class conflict to other areas of conflict. Fourth, in association with this reconceptualization of power, the approach should also be aware that, like all forms of human activity, politics is an essentially creative force, in that it is both thought and made by individuals and groups, albeit within contexts that are both constraining and enabling. Furthermore, this activity is not necessarily confined to the assembly hall of the United Nations or the legislative chambers of Parliament, but is also found in the community centres, church halls and living rooms of the 'everyday' lifeworld. The general acceptance of the flexibility and variability of scale in both social and political analysis is the fifth major contribution of this approach. Of particular significance to this study is the promotion of the neighbourhood as an important unit in the analysis of the "micro-politics of the city" (Donnison, 1973). This brings us to the sixth and final ingredient, namely that of context. A humanistic geographer must by definition, be sensitive to the uniqueness in conjunction with the commonalities of each of the settings and circumstances within which various forms of social and political activity take place. The most important element of context to the geographer, of course, is the notion of 'place'. The humanistic approach has already proven itself to be most proficient at coping with the exigencies of time and space and capturing the essence of place in a wide range of settings. It is specifically to this end that we now turn.
3.3 Theoretical Considerations: Developing an Analytical Framework

(a) Neighbourhood Revitalization as Community Change

Taken as a collective body of research, the neighbourhood revitalization literature has proven to be weak at two different analytical levels. On the one hand, much of the research has been too general. In chapter 2 it was suggested that in many of the case studies, the writers had been far too ready to generalize in an endeavour to justify their findings as 'yet another instance of gentrification', at the expense of the specificity of each of the cases concerned. Too often, the studies were undertaken from a rigid theoretical perspective, and it is likely that this may have served to confirm the notion of a 'unidirectional logic' underlying the revitalization process in the minds of the researchers. Consequently, some of the other competing trends within the neighbourhood under study may have been excluded from analysis. In an especially lively article, Winters (1979) cajoles analysts for viewing rejuvenation merely as a single economic or architectural process. He argues that they have neglected the individual identity of the neighbourhood undergoing transition which is brought about by the voluntary and highly self-conscious in-migration of particular social groups over a relatively short period of time. As he points out, "in the 1970's divergent forms of self identification have been projected into urban space" (1979:8). Winters then identifies and describes at least seven 'typical' neighbourhood types that have emerged as a result of this trend--"self-consciously heterogeneous neighbourhoods"; "chic neighbourhoods"; "gay neighbourhoods"; "artists' neighbourhoods"; "family neighbourhoods"; "black neighbourhoods"; and "working-class revitalized neighbourhoods". Within the dichotomous classification already offered between gentrification and incumbent upgrading there is already obviously room for many more sub-divisions.
On the other hand, the research can also be accused of being too specific. Much of the work has tended to treat neighbourhood revitalization as a 'special case' of neighbourhood change, perhaps because it is contrary to the established consensus set by the earlier Chicago school models. Apart from a few vain attempts to modify these models in order to incorporate this process, much of the research has been subsequently isolated from the main body of neighbourhood research. It is contended here that, if further progress is to be made, analysts must strive to situate future revitalization research within the mainstream of neighbourhood change and urban development in general.

One essential avenue for exploration is the connection between neighbourhood revitalization and other processes of neighbourhood change. Several typologies of neighbourhood change have been developed which serve to link residential mobility, as expressed in filtering mechanisms and vacancy chains, to neighbourhood change. For example, Moore (1972) has set out a four-fold typology which is intended to be "illustrative rather than exhaustive" of the relationships between the mobility characteristics of neighbourhoods and their socio-economic and demographic characteristics. In this schema, gentrification would fall into the category of neighbourhoods experiencing both high mobility and change in selected population characteristics. On a slightly more ambitious level, Bourne (1976) has attempted to link both physical and socio-economic changes to residential mobility with the concept of a "neighbourhood life-cycle". Bourne's category of "renewal" (i.e. revitalization) is the fifth and final stage of a sequence that also includes "suburbanization", "infilling", "downgrading", and "thinning out".

Despite their obvious limitations and uncomprehensive nature, these typologies and stage models can provide some form of a comparative descriptive framework within which the work on revitalization can be initially deposited.
However, in terms of actually gaining extra analytical insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of the process they offer little additional help. As Ley has surmised, "in both the use of ecological variables and the implication of ecological processes one senses that something important has been omitted" (1983: 92). Instead, we must take a 'step back' from these typologies and examine a body of literature that has sought to clarify and define the identity of both the 'neighbourhood' and its social equivalent, the 'community', in theoretical and empirical terms.

(b) The 'Problem' of Neighbourhood and Community

The problem of defining, identifying and analyzing the phenomenon of community has been a dominant and often perplexing one for urban sociologists in the twentieth century. As Nisbet has observed, "the community constitutes the most fundamental and far-reaching of sociology's unit-ideas" (1966: 47). Even 25 years ago, Hillery (1955) unearthed over 90 definitions of community in the social sciences, finding that the nearest he could come to a common agreement was the presence, in most definitions, of some reference to area; common ties; and social interaction. It is principally because of the emphasis on the first of these three factors, in the sense of 'common locality'; and to a lesser extent, the third factor, in the sense of solidarity, that the long-established and recently contended identification of community with neighbourhood has been sustained. In both instances, the origin of these emphases can be traced back to the sociology department of the University of Chicago which rose to prominence at the turn of the twentieth century. The conception of community as an objective entity that is rooted in space, otherwise referred to as a 'natural area', was integral to the field of human ecology pioneered by Park (1926) and Burgess (1975). In the second case, the tendency to compare the urban present with an idyllic vision of the rural past has long been a trait of sociology.
(Tonnies, 1887; Durkheim, 1893). However, it was Wirth, another key figure within the Chicago school, who was the first not only to examine explicitly the nature of the relationship between the type and size of settlement with the degree of 'social organization' or 'disorganization' that characterized it; but also, to directly suggest that the city was not conducive to the generation of 'community' (Wirth, 1938).

The first serious challenge to these two dominant spatial themes left behind by the Chicago school was motivated largely by a group of writers, many of whom were second and third generation Chicago scholars, who consciously set out to disprove the validity of Wirth's 'disorganization' thesis by describing the tremendous range of institutions and sense of cohesion that could be found both within inner-city slum areas (Whyte, 1943; Young and Wilmott, 1957) and suburban neighbourhoods (Gans, 1967). Turning away from these ethnographies and local case studies, the early 1970's witnessed the appearance of more synthetic theoretical orientations to the study of neighbourhood organization. Of these, Suttles (1972) is perhaps the most notable. For the first time it was appreciated that, in order to finally rid the community literature of its Wirthian ghost, the ecological conception of community had to be rejected. The community instead should be seen as being something more complex and multi-faceted than a basic, mutually exclusive and exhaustive unit. In Suttles' view, previous workers "seemed to reify the residential groups or the 'community' into a social category whose reality is to be forced upon the urban metropolis rather than seeing the community as a social category to be used solely for the purposes of description and analysis" (1972:3). By way of example, Suttles himself developed several alternative models including the "defended neighbourhood", the "expanded community of limited liability", and the "contrived community".
Where Suttles has criticised the ecological base of Wirth's argument, Fischer (1976) has challenged it with his own "sub-cultural theory". According to Fischer sub-cultures are no longer necessarily place-specific, a fact which has been reflected most evidently in the recent decline in importance of the local community or neighbourhood in social relations. The explanation for this trend lies in the notable absence in contemporary cities of certain facilitating pre-conditions which favour local social organization: functional necessity, multiple role relations, and a lack of alternatives to local interaction. Contrary however to the drastic effects posited by the classical sociologists, Fischer demonstrates that there are equally viable communal bonds (i.e. sub-cultures) that are based on alternatives to residence.

The key to this issue is the nature of the relationship between physical and social distance. A vast body of literature has flourished that attempts to deal with the question of the real significance and extent of the 'neighbourhood effect', or the role of propinquity in stimulating or retarding social interaction. The evidence from some housing project studies seems to suggest that at the micro-level at least (i.e. a housing project or individual block), physical proximity is an important factor in friendship patterns (Festinger et al, 1950; Cooper, 1975). At a larger scale however, it has been suggested by many that the constraints of distance are rapidly diminishing in the 'shrinking-world' of modern technology and mass communication. The improvements in personal mobility, combined with the increased spatial separation of home, work-place and recreational opportunities have released people from the neighbourhood ties (Webber, 1963; Stacey, 1969; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974).

The most extreme and explicit expression of this 'liberation of social interaction from space' argument has come from Pahl:
It is clear that it is not so much communities that are acted upon as groups and individuals at particular places in the social structure. Any attempt to tie particular patterns of social relationships to specific geographical mileux is a singularly fruitless exercise (1968:280).

In one way, this statement could be interpreted as a rationale for the recent rise to prominence of 'social network analysis' in urban sociology. Originating in the work of Bott (1957) and the 'Manchester school' of social anthropology, the approach basically attempts to illustrate the structure of social interaction by treating persons as points, and relationships as connecting lines (Granovetter, 1976). The 'network city' developed by Craven and Wellman (1973) has perhaps best demonstrated the potential utility of social network concepts over the traditional ecological concepts for urban analysts. As Smith, among others has argued, "network analysis allows an investigation of social and spatial interaction without previously selecting a conceptual model that requires explicit geographical boundaries" (1980: 507). In his review of the progress made by this 'new order' in the social sciences, Smith concludes that both as a 'metaphor', where it has brought to the study of social problems a more realistic, optimistic, and less biased view than was previously possible; and as a "method", where it has gained rapidly in sophistication and range of applicability, network analysis has been highly successful.

However, in the realm of social theory, the approach has made comparatively little ground. Two shortcomings are particularly apparent. First, social network analysts have demonstrated a marked reluctance to build theory that could adequately facilitate an interpretation of the meaning and social significance of the networks to the individuals and groups associated with them. In other words, though network analysis has undoubtedly proven to be strong in identifying communities as they are 'manifested' in overt behaviour, it
has also shown itself to be insensitive to the 'latent' community that lies in the minds of the individuals concerned. Unfortunately, much of the work on the perceptual domain of community has tended to be done in relative isolation from the mainstream of neighbourhood and community studies. Within this perceptual domain, the importance of neighbourhood attachment (Wilson, 1962); the degree of commonality in values and goals (Fessler, 1962); as well as the spatial perception of name, boundaries, and size of the community (Lee, 1968) have all been singled out as important research areas.

The second shortcoming of social network analysis is very much inter-related with the first. Although the Wirthian determinist ghost has been finally laid to rest, it is clear from a number of sources that there is some concern that, with social network analysis, the pendulum may have swung too far the other way so that social relations have become divorced from the physical environment in which they are situated (Michelson, 1976). Whilst steering well clear of yet another form of ecological determinism, a small but influential group of behavioural scientists (most notably Hall, 1966 and Newman, 1972), have shown that, especially at a small scale, the physical environment can have a far-reaching influence upon the types and forms of social behaviour. More specifically, the concepts of "privacy", "personal space", "territoriality" and "crowding" have emerged from this literature to become key design elements for architecture and neighbourhood planning (Altman, 1975).

Two general conclusions can be drawn from this discussion. First, past experience has persuasively demonstrated the need to clearly define and distinguish between the terms 'neighbourhood' and 'community'. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to follow Bell and Newby (1976) in their interactionist definition of community, which suggests that it is a reference group with relatively uniform customs, taste, speech and modes of thought. The
degree of social coherence within the community arises on the basis of interdependence that may be locality-based, school-based, work-based or recreation-based. With this conception then, 'community' and 'sub-culture' as defined by Fischer and other similar categorizations could quite conceivably be used inter-changeably. On this basis, I would be in agreement with Wellman and Leighton (1979) that the association between neighbourhood and community, though it may have had more relevance in the past, is no longer either a valid one or a useful one. I would however challenge their diagnosis that the 'neighbourhood' is an analytically obsolete term which, by virtue of its comparatively tangible nature, has been preserved as a convenient and easily identifiable research and administrative unit. The term still has much analytical value; as Hunter has stated, the neighbourhood "is a uniquely linked unit of social/spatial organization between the forces and institutions of the larger society and the localized routines of individuals and their everyday lives" (1979: 269). However, the term can only be of further use if a more flexible and comprehensive conceptualization is adopted. The continuum of neighbourhoods offered by Blowers (1973), for example, which is determined by the extent of social interaction and common ties is a welcome initiative and a promising starting point. At one end of the continuum, there are "arbitrary neighbourhoods" which are general localities with definite names but imprecise limits; and at the other, "community neighbourhoods" which contain close-knit groups engaged in primary social interaction. In other words, neighbourhoods should be viewed as territories which are all essentially social in content. The task of the urban analyst is to discover in what way, and in what form they are social.

Second, a more effective theoretical framework for describing and analysing social and cultural change in a neighbourhood might put to good use
social network analysis on a methodological plane. In particular, this
technique could well serve the purposes of identifying 'on the ground'
inter-personal ties within and outside the neighbourhood. But, on a theoretical
plane it is clear that an analytical framework which could adequately
incorporate both the symbolic and behavioural components of social interaction,
in conjunction with the objective and subjective elements of the physical
environment, would be most preferable. One framework which attempts to do just
this will be discussed in the following section.
(c) Neighbourhood as 'Mosaic of Social Worlds'

In recent years there have been several notable attempts to re-read and
re-interpret the early work of the Chicago school, especially Park, in a far
more intensive and systematic manner. Saunders (1981) for example, has revealed
the presence of an important and confusing duality that has run through human
ecology since its inception by Park, and has never been addressed to any real
effect either by subsequent practitioners in this field, or its critics. Within
the discipline of geography, Jackson and Smith (forthcoming) make an important
contribution to the humanistic approach in social geography. A central tenet of
this book is that the conventional geographical interpretation of Park's
sociology as an exclusively positivist tradition that focusses on the city's
spatial ecology should be rejected. Instead, they seek to resurrect some of the
other early works of the Chicago school in the conviction that they can make a
significant contribution to humanistic social science because of their emphasis
upon a qualitative understanding of the city's moral order. The "humanistic
motif" that characterizes much of the writing of Park and his followers writing
is claimed to have sprung from a "fortuitous juxtaposition" of two seemingly
incongruous philosophical perspectives--the pragmatism of Dewey, and the
sociological formalism of Simmel--which had both been major influences on Park.
Of particular significance and usefulness to social geography, Jackson and Smith argue, is the stress that this humanistic perspective places upon interaction and especially communication, in understanding society. Nowhere was this more apparent than in what could best be described as a 'style' of academic enquiry, dubbed as "symbolic interactionism" (Blumer, 1966). Because it has such a complex root system (credit has been given to Hegel, Dewey, James and Mead among others); and because some of its major proponents (eg. Park and Mead) were remarkably reluctant to commit themselves to its systematization in published form, symbolic interactionism remains merely an interpretative form of analysis that covers a broad spectrum of research (Rose, 1962). Broadly, the approach rests on the assumption that 'reality' is a social production, consisting of social objects whose meanings arise from the behaviour people direct towards them. According to Thomas, a leading protagonist of this approach, an individual does not respond directly to some objectively given environment. This response can only be accomplished by his or her use of symbols for most of which that person is not responsible, but which must be implemented nonetheless in their 'definition of the situation' (i.e. what the individual takes for granted). Moreover, the individual does not define the situation in isolation, but as Cooley, another important theoretician in this field has argued, through an interactive process of mutual influence between the individual and the group. Knowledge of this social reality therefore, is not of a fixed and achievable state, but instead is a continual process that is generated only through active experience of everyday social life.

Because symbolic interactionism was never properly codified into a singular coherent theory, it has not proven to be easily accessible at this level. The underlying principles of this approach are instead best revealed by example, in the tangible products of the interactionist tradition. Park's
influence can be clearly seen, and is often acknowledged in many of the Chicago research monographs. Of these the most notable are Thrasher's extensive survey of Chicago gangland (1927); Wirth's comparative study of the ghetto (1928); Anderson's compelling portrait of the hobo (1932); and Cressey's account of the taxi-dance hall (1971). All of these studies are striking not only for their extraordinary depth and detail but also for the warmth and empathy that the writers show for their respective subjects.

A common analytical construct that emerged out of these numerous ethnographies was that of the 'social world'. In his review of the contribution of the Chicago school of urban sociology, Short suggests that the social world was, "descriptive of the attempt to portray life as it is experienced by participants in a particular group, community or institution" (1971: 37). In another re-tracing of the philosophical and theoretical steps made in social geography, Ley (1977) draws an interesting parallel between these social worlds and the concept of 'genre de vie' of Yidal de la Blache. Both of these concepts were the essential "building-blocks" of their respective schools, used in the exploration of the reciprocal relationship between social groups and their respective urban and rural environments. Unfortunately, these building blocks, as rich as they were in individual detail and insight, were never fully developed as analytical tools. In the case of the Chicago school, we can cite two particular reasons for this.

First, it is quite apparent that these studies were very much caught up in the 'social disorganization' thesis that was in vogue in the 1920's. This is reflected not only in the bias in the choice of case study (usually confined to the slum areas of the city or more marginal sections of society); but also in the conclusions drawn from these studies that might seem somewhat at variance with a contemporary interpretation. Perhaps the best illustration of this is
Zorbaugh's penetrating study of the juxtaposition of several very different social worlds -- the rooming house district, the affluent Lakeside area and Little Italy, on the Near North side of Chicago (Zorbaugh, 1929). Having described a cohesiveness and range of institutions within each of these social worlds that can be rarely found today, Zorbaugh, in a similar fashion to many of his co-workers, paradoxically judges these against the moral standards of conventional society and thus, writes them off as yet further evidence of social disorganization in the city (Hannerz, 1980).

The absence of an adequately developed theoretical base has also led to a second important failing of the Chicago sociologists. That is, taken in toto, the work merely resembles, "a series of vignettes which never added up to a coherent picture of the city" (Jackson and Smith, 1983: 35). Not only does there appear to have been only a scant regard for the incorporation of a dynamic element within their studies, but also a marked reluctance to make them comparable with each other (Saunders, 1981). The nearest that the Chicago sociologists came towards suggesting some kind of overall urban perspective for these social worlds, was the recurrent theme of the city being a "mosaic of social worlds" (Wirth, 1938: 154). Nevertheless, as one analyst has remarked, "had the mosaic of social worlds been systematically pieced together, they would have formed a puzzling mural" (Smith.S, 1981: 295).

However, Ley amongst others has since resurrected, and subsequently strengthened the concept of social world, by utilizing it as a central element of a phenomenological analysis of place:

The meaning of a place systematically attracts groups with similar interests and lifestyles: places are related and retained by reflective decision-makers on the basis of their perceived image and stock of knowledge. The result is that the city becomes a mosaic of social worlds each supporting a group of similar intent, who in their habitual interaction reinforce the character both of their group and of their place. (Ley, 1977: 507).
Taking these very same principles, we can extend this conceptualization and apply it to the level of the neighbourhood. Following Hunter's notion of a neighbourhood as comprising different "levels of symbolic communities" (Hunter, 1974), we can summarily argue that the neighbourhood unit can, and should appropriately be viewed as being, a 'mosaic within a mosaic of social worlds'. This conception will serve as a central theme of our analytical framework. Before it can be put into active service however, it is clear that both the form and the implications of this framework need to be further elaborated upon.

Among the more recent Chicago sociologists, the concept of social world has come into general use and several attempts have been made to formalise it. For example, Shibutani has defined it as being:

> A cultural area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication. A social world is an orderly arena which serves as a stage on which each participant can carve out a career (1960: 136-137).

An individual can and does belong to more than one social world. However, the particular configuration of social worlds that each individual belongs to will be unique to that individual. Strauss has pointed out the significance of membership in particular social worlds in the promotion of the individual's identity and urban perspective. He concludes, "the important thing then, about a social world is its network of communication and the shared symbols which give the world some substance and which allows people to 'belong to it'" (1959: 79).

There is not, as yet, any formal categorization of the types and forms of social worlds. Any such attempt to impose rigid categories for the purposes of theoretical analysis would arguably contravene the principles of a hermeneutic approach. For in doing this, one might limit the overall effectiveness of this analytical concept, by rendering it inflexible and overly-generalized. However, an attempt has been made in this study (see figure 3.1) to present some of the
### Figure 3.1 Selected Characteristics of Social Worlds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>CRITERIA</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(along continuum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. STRUCTURAL</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Small-----Large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Homogeneous-----Heterogeneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Informal-----Formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cohesiveness</td>
<td>Strong-----Weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permeability</td>
<td>Closed-----Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SPATIAL</td>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>Local-----Global</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Place- Nonplace-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Specific-----Specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>private-----public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. TEMPORAL</td>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Stable-----Unstable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life Cycle</td>
<td>Growth-----Decay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Periodicity</td>
<td>Frequent-----Irregular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more important criteria that have been commonly invoked to describe and
distinguish between various types of social worlds. This model is by no means
intended to be exhaustive or complete, nor is it supposed to be used for
explanatory purposes. It is instead offered merely as an heuristic device, in
the interests of clarity and also to demonstrate the sheer range and scope of
applicability of the concept to 'real world' situations.

Each social world is unique. For as Ley has commented, "each...has its
own style, its own lexicon, its own nuances, and rituals which define an in-goup
and an out-group" (1983: 262). But it is also apparent that some are more alike
than others and this would be reflected in their respective locations along each
continuum. It is also apparent that many of these criteria are more or less
related. For example, it is generally postulated that social worlds tend to be
more stable and cohesive if they are composed of small-scale, homogeneous
populations and are based on daily face-to-face interaction.

Having listed these criteria, we are now in a position to develop a
framework for isolating and analysing various social worlds that may comprise
the 'mosaic' of a particular neighbourhood (See figure 3.2). Two criteria in
particualr have been selected here. First, the organizational criterion has
been included in order to distinguish between those social worlds that are
formally based, and those that remain informal. This distinction has long been
a feature of community and neighbourhood studies. A key point in Wirth's
determinist argument was that while the rural dwellers largely depended on
primary ties in social interaction, urban dwellers had increasingly been forced
to belong and rely on formal associations to achieve their ends. In this vein
Breton (1964) suggests that the ability of an ethnic neighbourhood in the
receiving society to attract the immigrant into its social boundaries is largely
dependent on the degree of "institutional completeness" of that neighbourhood.
Figure 3.2 A Typology of Social Worlds Within a Neighbourhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATIONAL CRITERIA</th>
<th>I. INFORMAL</th>
<th>II. FORMAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Territory</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. PLACE-SPECIFIC</td>
<td>'Private' Space</td>
<td>e.g. Street-gangs 'Home' bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Restaurants, Neighbourhood Parks</td>
<td>e.g. Ethnic Associations, The Legion, Sports Clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. NON PLACE-SPECIFIC</td>
<td>e.g. Gays, Seniors, Artists</td>
<td>e.g. Political Parties, Charitable Organizations, Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The extent of this is, in turn, determined by how far the process of formalisation of previously informal groups has gone within the neighbourhood concerned. Yancey and Ericksen (1979) have subsequently countered this view, claiming that the presence of a strong economic and institutional structure does not necessarily guarantee the stability of the neighbourhood.

Whatever the true role of these types of groups in the generation and maintenance of communal ties, one would certainly gain by getting away from the notion that they are essentially watertight cases. As Axelrod (1956) amongst others has pointed out, it is often the case that certain formal groups can be complementary to, and indeed mutually reinforcing for, other informal groups and vice versa. Moreover, within each of these groups, whether formally or informally based, there will be important interactional elements of the other type of organization present. For example, one could argue that many people use their formal affiliations to cultivate informal personal ties. Membership in an organization is often valued because the association provides a reliable place to pursue and develop friendships (Fischer, 1978). Likewise, many informal social worlds may, in fact, be far more organized than may appear to the casual 'outside' observer. The utilisation of a special language, in the form of 'buzz-words', 'catch-phrases', 'nicknames' etc. as well as peculiar modes of behaviour that have evolved within the group are often an integral part of a particular world (Liebow, 1967). This is not to say that the distinction is no longer a valid one. The conscious formalization of a previously informal social world on the part of its members, into a 'club', 'association', 'brotherhood', whatever, will obviously have far-reaching implications for the form and effect of the activity conducted within it; and therefore warrants much more intensive research. However, the neighbourhood analyst must be wary of examining each of these types of social world in sterile isolation, and should instead treat these
categories as being 'fuzzy' at best.

The second criterion, that of location, is of fundamental importance to this geographical study. Based on the premise that, "the personality of a place and the identity of a group mutually and cumulatively reinforce each other" (Ley, 1983: 143), a distinction has been made between those social worlds that are 'place-specific' and those that are not. For the purposes of the present study, the word 'place' refers either to the neighbourhood itself or a specific location within it. This place-specificity distinction allows one to separate out the specific instances wherein a given location either plays an active role (i.e. as 'place') or a passive role (i.e. as 'space') in creating and defining a particular social world. In the former case, the neighbourhood or institution-in-neighbourhood is treated as a specific subject for the social world. In the latter, they act only as a container in which the activity takes place. Both, however, are important components of the mosaic that constitutes the neighbourhood and should therefore be given some attention by neighbourhood analysts. The ratio of place-specific with non place-specific social worlds is a highly influential factor in determining the identity and the cohesiveness of the neighbourhood as a distinctive socio-spatial unit.

The significance of this distinction is well illustrated by the concepts of 'local' and 'cosmopolitan' social worlds first devised by Merton (1977) in a study of interpersonal relations in the small town of Rovere in the North-East of the United States. His chief criterion for distinguishing the two groups of people was their orientation towards Rovere. The locals were in essence parochial, confining their interests to the local community. The cosmopolitans on the other hand, as well as having some interest in Rovere, were also significantly oriented to the outside world, or "great society" as he called it. Both Webber (1964) and Stacey (1960) have further added an interesting dimension
to this conception in asserting that social class is an important determinant of behavioural propensities with respect to space. In particular, they contrast the locality-based life-space of the working class with the multi-dimensional and supra-territorial life-spaces of the middle class intellectuals. Further evidence of this tendency can be found in the remarkable differences in the levels of city-wide spatial information between one sample of middle class and another of working class people living in different sections of Vancouver, Canada. The collective image presented by the first group was far more extensive and spatially-balanced, but the latter group provided a comparatively greater amount of local spatial knowledge (Hobkirk, 1974). Hamnett has added that although the social worlds of the cosmopolitans are not rooted spatially in their social interaction, they do tend to reside in clusters around the centres of large cities where, because of the concentration of cultural facilities, they can readily satisfy their intellectual and informational needs. Given that these cosmopolitans or 'centralists' as he calls them, "tend to be affluent, holding professional, managerial, executive or creative jobs" (1973b:118), we can begin to notice some important parallels with the gentrifiers discussed in the previous chapter.

If we can envisage a gentrifying neighbourhood as being composed of at least these two social groups, then we can appreciate that although individuals may be living in a common locality and within close proximity to each other, they may belong to very different social worlds (Thielbar, 1970). The poignancy of this particular situation is evocatively depicted in the following slightly tongue-in-cheek description of a revitalizing neighbourhood in South London:

The newcomers who've just moved into Clapham must all be the same kind of young professional couples. A health food shop has opened to sell them black beans. The bookshop has display cases of Picador books, the publications of Pluto Press, Spare Rib and God knows
what else besides. The entire Rive Gauchy bit, in fact, from seedy bohemia to radical chic, to kids called Gareth and Emma playing with their Galt toys on the floor of the bank. While at the same time—down the road, an old lady in the pub removes her teeth in order to sing 'Some of These Days' with passion and vibrancy to tumultuous applause. Even the Rastas in the front of the bar applaud. (Carter, 1977: 189)

The implications of this separation of social worlds are spelled out by Shibutani when he says that, "many misunderstandings arise in our society from the fact that people who are living in the same community and even cooperating in a number of transactions are actually oriented towards different audiences" (1960: 137). It is quite conceivable, therefore, that residents in a neighbourhood may pursue goals that are incomprehensible for their neighbours, because they are pursuing them in completely different social worlds. The problems posed by such a situation as this have already been referred to in some detail in the discussion of intra-neighbourhood socio-cultural conflict engendered by revitalization.

We have seen from Shibutani's definition that the boundaries of social worlds are not directly set by territory. They are instead, set by the limits of effective communication which are demarcated by communication channels. With the present state of modern technology and the rapidly evolving social changes within urban society, location is no longer playing such a limiting role in the extent and morphology of these channels. Nevertheless, recent analysts have suggested that territory may still play an important, if indirect role in shaping and identifying social worlds. For example, in his review of the recent work that has dealt with the concept of territoriality, Gold concludes that, "when applied carefully as an analogy, territoriality affords insight into human spatial behaviour and provides a framework by which geographers can profit from a rapidly growing area of multidisciplinary research" (1982: 45). At the level
of the neighbourhood, the work of Suttles (1968) on heterogeneous minority groups in a slum area of Chicago, and Boal (1969) on the segregation of Protestant and Catholic groups in Belfast, are commended. Gold does, however, urge that in future a much wider and more flexible interpretation and application of territoriality, especially the concept of defence, should be incorporated into geographical studies. Perhaps because of the association of this field with animal behaviouralists, there has been an overemphasis upon overt and primordial conflict which has led to this imbalance.

In an endeavour to explicitly introduce the "previously neglected sociological dimension" of territoriality into the mainstream of sociology, Lyman and Scott have developed the idea of 'home territory' which they define as, "areas where the regular participants have a relative freedom of behaviour and a sense of intimacy and control over the area" (1967: 216). An integral part of the creation of a social world as a 'home away from home' is the degree to which the public space in which they are situated is privatised by its members into 'their place' (Lofland, 1973). This place may be more usually referred to as a 'haunt', 'hang-out', or 'scene' etc. and can vary quite significantly in size from an area covering several blocks to just one part of a room, down to a single table or chair. Stone and Haberman have remarked that this transformation may be so complete that people appear to 'belong' to that place. They explain that, "these appearances are demarcated by a vast number of apparent symbols and are interpreted by those who display them and by those for whom they are displayed" (1970: 212). It is these displays which embed persons in their social worlds.

Returning to the diagram above (figure 3.2) we can see that this process has been recognized and included within the typology as an important component of place specificity. At one extreme, there are some informal social worlds in
which space is highly privatised. On the street, the gang occupies a piece of 'turf' that may not be bounded physically, yet its presence is articulated very clearly to the outsider (especially rival gangs) through the selective use of graffiti (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974). On a less hostile plain, Cavan has shown from her extensive observation of bars that:

some...become a kind of home territory, a setting where patrons may stake out proprietory claims and create an order of activity indigenous to the particular establishment, to be defended if necessary against the invasion of others (1973: 143).

Even within the realm of formal social worlds, privatised space in the form of a specific building, such as a Masonic Lodge or Legion Hall is of central importance to the functioning of the institution around which the social world is based. Conversely, other formal social worlds which fulfill very different roles and functions, may deliberately attempt to 'publicize' their spaces in an endeavour to encourage members from an array of other social worlds to utilize their services (e.g. social service agencies, planning groups and local merchants). The privatisation of space is partially a spatial reflection of the degree of structural permeability of the social world concerned. A similar exclusionary process that is not territorial can be observed in some non place-specific social worlds, such as that of the 'beat generation' (Powell, 1982) and 'gays' and 'radical feminists' (Lloyd and Rowntree, 1978). Whatever the case, the process has profound implications for the study of relationships between social worlds. The juxtaposition of two or more previously segregated social worlds in close proximity will engender some kind of response. Either they will seek to strengthen their boundaries, both socially and spatially; or, if they are already relatively permeable, there is a chance that they may be 'contaminated' through a variety of forms of contact and thus forced to modify their structure to the extent that may be even further weakened. Little as yet
is known of these inter-relationships, but the issue will be returned to throughout the course of this study.

Before the discussion of the theoretical framework can be satisfactorily terminated, some mention must be made of how the all-important dynamic element can be built into the notion of the neighbourhood as a mosaic of social worlds. Stone and Faberman have argued that social worlds vary considerably in their permeability and are continually undergoing transformation through time. Figure 3.1 reveals that the temporal dimension of social worlds has been acknowledged to be an important and influential characteristic. We can argue simply from this that in any neighbourhood at any time, there are some social worlds which are becoming increasingly prominent and some that are no longer as prominent in the social and cultural fabric of the neighbourhood. In addition, we can also suggest that some of these are relatively more stable than others, neither declining nor expanding in any great way. We can therefore look through time, at the ever-changing mosaic of social worlds in a manner akin to a kaleidoscope. Static snapshots might reveal an interesting configuration at one point in time but the real interest lies in the way in which these patterns evolve and the processes that underlie them.

One potentially useful analytical tool for doing just this has been developed by Duncan and Duncan in an entirely different cultural context namely, residential relocation between old and new elites in Hyderabad, India. The concept of 'status passage' is defined by them as being a "transformation of identity, the manner in which a person becomes something other than he was before" (1976: 206). They show how these two social worlds lack a basic understanding of each other, because members of the different social worlds receive bits of data from the landscape and interpret them differently. As they point out, the members see these merely as pieces of objective data which 'speak
for themselves'. It follows then, that a move to another type of socially produced landscape marks a definite status passage and represents therefore, a social as well as a physical move. Those who make the move 'successfully' and internalise the existing social world's interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the two landscapes are described as having gone through a "complete status passage". Often however, the status passage is an "incomplete" one because of the difficulties involved in moving from one social world to another. Of particular relevance to the study at hand is the idea of a "partial passage" wherein the in-migrants still consciously retain many elements of their old lifestyle (See figure 3.3). From the evidence of inner-city revitalization case studies, it is apparent that the passage of the social world of gentrifiers is usually only a partial one. The gentrifiers moving into an old working class neighbourhood tend to selectively incorporate elements of the existing and established social world, but generally attempt to impose their own symbolic interpretation of the landscape upon other social worlds. This tendency is demonstrated quite clearly in the following comment made by a true 'pioneer' of one of Brooklyn's old brown-stone neighbourhoods:

When we first came here, it was like starting a rumor that Boerum Hill existed. But we kept working at it, and now Boerum Hill is not a rumor anymore. It exists (Anderson, 1977: 140).

The question of the role of the 'sentimental order' as a variable in the relationship between social contexts and place perspectives is considered by Gerson and Gerson (1976). They concur that the emotional 'tone' of a place, that is the response it calls out in the inhabitants, is governed not only by what has happened there, but also by what might happen there. Taking this as our lead, we might further expect that the longer established social worlds may be more inclined to look at their neighbourhood with some measure of nostalgia
Figure 3.3 One Intriguing Example of a Partial (and Compromised) Status Passage in the Revitalized Neighbourhood of Kitsilano, Vancouver

(Source: Advertisement found on local notice-board.)
(i.e. "this place isn't what it used to be"), compared to the newly arrived social worlds that may be far more forward looking in their response (i.e. "this place has got great potential"). We may also speculate that the emotional response and vision of the latter group in particular, might be conditioned somewhat by their experience with another place. In the case of neighbourhood revitalization, this point is well illustrated by Bugler's comment describing the progress of gentrification in inner London that in time, "Chelsea began to move to Islington" (cited in Hamnett and Williams, 1980: 481). The extent to which earlier 'success-stories' both within the same city and elsewhere can and do act as a blueprint for successive groups of gentrifiers in other neighbourhoods, presents an interesting and as yet unanswered research question.

A persistent theme throughout this chapter so far, has been the concern of integrating theory with empirical practice. In the first section of this chapter, it was argued that the ultimate test of the validity of a humanistic or hermeneutic epistemology was in its practical application. This message was carried on into the next section where it was suggested that, although the analytical framework that was developed in this section could be initiated at the theoretical level, it could only be completely articulated through direct experience with the empirical subject. The purpose of the following section is therefore, to provide important methodological guidelines for the ensuing empirical study, and in the process, ease the transition from the general to the specific.

3.4 Methodology: Some Technical and Experiential Notes

(a) On The Choice of Case Study

It is rarely true that there is not an element of chance in the selection
of a case study area. Furthermore, once selected, one's reasons for examining the area tend to be modified as more is learned about it. Therefore, in justifying one's original choice there is almost inevitably more than a small amount of post-rationalization on the part of the researcher. Bearing this point in mind, the neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodland in Vancouver has been found to have at least four distinctive qualities that make it, if not ideal, at least a worthy and relevant subject for the research questions outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

First, the neighbourhood has continually been characterized by a strong identity both in the minds of its residents and businessmen, and also among city officials and outside representatives. Although 'change' is undoubtedly a hallmark of this community, it has been since the end of the First World War, solidly working-class in composition. The succession of a series of newly arrived immigrant groups during this period has further served to etch out in greater detail the socio-cultural motif of the neighbourhood that is reflected in its social life and landscape. In addition, it has presented the researcher with an interesting and important ethnic dimension to the research agenda which, as was seen in the previous chapter, has been a persistent theme in many revitalization studies.

The second feature of Grandview-Woodland has also played a prominent role in the promotion of its self-identity. For many years, the various political organizations based within the area were to a certain extent the lone political voice of the working class East End of the city. This tradition of political activity has continued on into the recent era of community organization and local area planning, with the development of a compact political base within the neighbourhood that is known and respected on a city-wide basis.

Third, the city of Vancouver itself provides the case study with a
suitably dynamic backdrop. Vancouver is typical of a group of North American cities that includes among others, Toronto, San Francisco and New York, which have been consistently earmarked as likely targets for large scale city core investment and development (Gale, 1979). By virtue of the rapidly expanding tertiary and quaternary sectors of its labour force, Vancouver has frequently been referred to, from a number of different fronts, as a prime example of an "executive" or "global" or "post-industrial" city (Hardwick, 1974; Ley, 1980; Vancouver Economic Advisory Commission, 1983). The city has indeed already experienced a profound degree of revitalization in a significant proportion of the inner core. During the 1970's, the Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes neighbourhoods in particular (see figure 3.4), were the scenes of rapid gentrification and widespread upheaval (Stobie, 1979; Fujii, 1981). It is quite possible that these may well act as 'models' for a further round of sustained redevelopment activity that is openly and actively anticipated to take off in the next few years by both the private and public developer community and the city planning department (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983).

Though some sections of Grandview-Woodland underwent quite intensive change as a direct result of this last investment wave, a large part of it remained unscathed and continued much as before. In the meantime however, there have been a number of indications from a range of sources that the area may currently be experiencing some 'incipient gentrification'. This so-called 'discovery' of Grandview-Woodland by an, as yet, small group of young 'professional' and 'pre-professional' adults, together with the likelihood of yet further escalation of investment activity, leads the writer to suspect that Grandview may well be on the verge of quite substantial residential change in the coming years. It is this situation of uncertainty about the future direction of the neighbourhood, that is the fourth and potentially most
Figure 3.4 The Location of Grandview-Woodland in relation to Other Vancouver Local Areas, and the Lower Mainland

(Source: Adapted from Social Trends in Vancouver, Greater Vancouver Regional District)
interesting feature of the case study area. As was argued earlier, a pre-facto perspective on neighbourhood revitalization as opposed to a more commonly applied post-facto perspective, may hopefully yield some fresh insights into the socio-cultural and political dynamics of this process at its earliest stages.

(b) On Monitoring and Identifying Neighbourhood Change

We have already noted that analysts of neighbourhood revitalization have often been too quick to generalize their findings from their case studies. Inner-city revitalization is a highly complex process which occurs in numerous forms in many different contexts and at different rates. Consequently any attempt to monitor it in a particular instance, must strive to be as exhaustive and thereby, as flexible as possible under the circumstances. The analyst must be sensitive not only to the processes operating within the neighbourhood, but also to those external forces that are operating throughout the city and beyond. Therefore, the researcher must be receptive to a very wide range of data which often demand a certain amount of ingenuity in its utilization and subsequent interpretation.

The list on the next page (figure 3.5) is an attempt to collate many of the variables that have been used at some point in other case studies to indicate revitalization. It is certainly true that each individual case has its own unique pattern and this is reflected in the extent of change in each of these variables. Indeed, as was noted in the previous chapter, there are several instances in which the actual direction of change has been the reverse of the expected one. For now, this list can be viewed as being a useful guideline or checklist for the selection and examination of empirical data.

Within the list we can subdivide the variables into four main categories. The first group encompasses the personal attributes of the local population and
Figure 3.5. Composite List of the Most Commonly Used Indicators of Neighbourhood Revitalization

1. Population Characteristics
   - **Indicator**
     - (a) Occupation
     - (b) Education level
     - (c) Age Structure
     - (d) Family Household
     - (e) Ethnic Composition
     - (f) Origins of In-movers
     - (g) Tenure
   - **Expected Direction of Change**
     - Change from 'blue-collar' to 'white-collar'
     - Increase in university-educated residents
     - Increase in oldest and youngest sections and in young adults
     - Increase in singles and childless couples; decrease in family households
     - Decrease in the number and mix of ethnic groups.
     - Change from poorer to wealthier sections of the city
     - Increase in owner occupiers; decrease in renters

2. Dwelling Characteristics
   - (h) Sales Activity
     - Increase in the number of sales during transition period.
   - (i) Property Values and Tax Assessments
     - Increase
   - (j) Rent levels
     - Increase
   - (k) Housing Density
     - Decrease multiple-occupancy and increase single-occupancy of units (but maybe overall increase in density)
   - (l) Self-Owned Apartments ('Condominiums')
     - Increase
   - (m) Demolition Activity
     - Increase and Building Permits

3. Commercial Infrastructure
   - (n) Retail and Commercial Functions
     - Increase in turnover of shops and change in the types of retail outlets

4. Other
   - (o) Renovation Activities
     - Increase
   - (p) Heritage/Historical Zoning
     - Increase pressure by local groups for
   - (q) Name of Local Area
     - Change or increase in use of
   - (r) School enrollments
     - Decrease
   - (s) Traditional Local Voluntary Institutions
     - Decline
includes the first six variables. Here, apart from variable (f), the census has often proved to be the best source of information. It was fortunate that at the time of writing, most of the results from the 1981 Canadian census were becoming available. The boundaries of the local census tracts had remained unchanged since 1956, so comparative data were available for the neighbourhood for the last twenty-five years at five-yearly intervals. Unfortunately though, there is a certain amount of discrepancy between the boundary of Grandview-Woodland adopted for the purposes of this study and those of the census tracts that were used (see figure 4.1). Prior to 1981, when one of the census tracts was divided by the Grandview-Woodland boundary line, four of the five census tracts had varying degrees of overlap with surrounding neighbourhoods. The Vancouver street directory was also used in order to supplement the census data with more detailed information about household filtering trends. Unfortunately, in the case of residential data the directory was found to be largely unsatisfactory due to the unreliability and inconsistency of its information.

The second group of indicators ( (g) to (m) in figure 3.5) relate to various characteristics of the dwellings in the neighbourhood. Once again census data proved to be quite useful for some of these but was supplemented from a variety of other sources including the Vancouver City Planning Department, CMHC Housing Statistics, and the Permits and Licence Department of Vancouver City.

In the preceding chapter, the issue was raised of the relationship between the residential and commercial sections in a neighbourhood undergoing revitalization. On the basis of the experience of the various case studies cited there, I would suggest that the local commercial district (indicator (n) in figure 3.5) should be examined for these reasons. First, it may serve as a
'social barometer' by giving cues to the analyst that may indicate change at a very early stage. Second, the district may be viewed as a 'cultural magnet' which might serve both to establish the neighbourhood's identity and to attract individuals and groups from outside the neighbourhood to visit, and eventually locate, in the local area. Finally, it is possible that the commercial district may become an important zone for socio-cultural conflict between various groups of merchants and residents. It is for these reasons that the development of the commercial strip of Commercial Drive that runs through the centre of Grandview-Woodland will be examined.

Where the problems of data availability and accuracy have been surmounted, these indicators of revitalization have proven to be quite effective in reflecting the macro-trends of neighbourhood change over a sufficiently lengthy period. In some cases however, it is apparent that these indicators have not been sensitive enough to the micro-trends, especially over relatively shorter periods of time. Nowhere is this failure more obvious and more pressing than in the early stages of revitalization. At the level of the neighbourhood aggregate data may fail to reveal important initial 'pioneer' in-movements of gentrifiers that are partially or totally obscured by other larger counter-trends that may only be temporary phenomena. Bearing in mind the rapidity of the revitalization process, the inevitable lags between the events as they happen, the recording and still later, availability of the data are particularly crucial for research of this nature.

A second problem that stems from the usage of these macro-level quantitative indicators, centres around the disjuncture of the objective and subjective components of the revitalization process. A constant theme of the discussion so far has been the nature of the relationship between the 'reality' and 'idea' of revitalization in any given neighbourhood. These two facets
mutually reinforce one another, and again nowhere is this more significant than in the earlier stages of the process, where the scale differential between the two is most marked in favour of the latter. The media can play a particularly powerful role here. Several examples from the national press referred to at an earlier point in the study demonstrated how the media can serve not only to instil the basic concept of neighbourhood revitalization into the national "psyche", but can also exaggerate its true significance relative to other urban trends. Within the context of individual cities, articles such as the one identified by Levy and Cybriwsky (1980) in a Philadelphia magazine, entitled "The Handicapper's guide to the next in-neighbourhood", can similarly function for a more localized audience.

How then is the analyst to resolve these two inter-related problems? We have already considered at some length a few possibilities for dealing with them on a theoretical level. But, in terms of actually translating these ideas 'on the ground', there are few guidelines for the researcher (though Cybriwsky (1978) may act as a useful starting point). In the following chapter, that essentially sets the context for neighbourhood change, an attempt has been made to supplement wherever possible the quantitative data that has been traditionally used by urban ecologists with a range of qualitative data for both the contemporary and historical contexts of the neighbourhood. These two types of data should not be viewed as being entirely separate but complementary to each other, and the holistic approach that is deemed most suitable.

Much of the qualitative data is anecdotal in content. In this vein the local newspapers, the long-established Highland Echo and the recently initiated East Ender have been particularly useful in providing the researcher with local information and viewpoints (indicators (p) and (q)). In addition, the city-wide media, especially leisure magazines, newspaper reports and radio broadcasts have
occasionally served as important data sources. Primary data has also been obtained, when necessary, from a number of informal interviews with local 'figures'. Most profitable of all however has been the data derived from 'active observation' (Black and Champion, 1976) in the course of regular random walks through the neighbourhood during the period of study (variable (o) in fig. 3.4). In particular, these forays have served as important empirical 'checks' on some of the ideas that were constantly being formulated and reformulated. Some of the photographs which were taken on these walks have been included in Chapter 4 in an effort to enhance the local context of change. Together with these random walks, I paid regular visits to certain 'key' places in the area (e.g. the bookstore, coffee bars and community centre), in an endeavour to ensure some kind of continuity in observation, and to monitor any changes that may have occurred. In addition to this direct observational data, secondary data concerning local events and activities were obtained from the conglomerate of posters, leaflets and notices that were dotted about the neighbourhood. Though relatively ephemeral in nature, compared to the 'hard' data of the census, this soft data was considered to be vital for the completion of a well-rounded survey of neighbourhood change.

(c) On Obtaining a 'Seat' in the Local Political Arena

Moving away from the general concern with the context of neighbourhood change in Grandview-Woodland, the case study then (in Chapter 5) focusses on one section of the neighbourhood's mosaic of social worlds, which, for the purpose of this study will be referred to as the 'local political arena'. This widely encompassing term relates to an amalgam of voluntary groups, clubs, and societies based within a neighbourhood that have been formed specifically or
partially to deal with local political matters. Of these, the most pertinent
to this particular study are groups that are directly relevant to the
neighbourhood as a whole, such as planning and neighbourhood improvement
committees. The composition of the local political arena, as well as the types
of operations and activities that take place within it, is not only unique to a
particular neighbourhood but is also in a constant state of flux. It is
therefore impossible to deduce the composition, let alone analyse the local
political arena in an empirical setting, on an a prior basis. Instead, it is
argued that the local political arena can only be constructed empirically,
through the process of contact and the cumulative experience of the researcher
with the neighbourhood. On this basis then, a research strategy that
incorporates participant-observation backed up by documentary and archival data
has been deemed most appropriate for this part of the case study.

The participant-observer research methodology has had a long and often
distinguished career within the social sciences, particularly in anthropology
(notably, the 'British' school led by Radcliffe-Brown) and sociology (the
Chicago school). Within the discipline of geography however, it is evident
that this research technique has been less developed. Only in recent years
have a number of geographers seriously adopted this method in response to the
call within the literature for a more humanistic approach to geographical
research (e.g. Bunge, 1971; Ley, 1974b; Brookfield, 1962; Rowles, 1978). Yet,
it is still the case that these studies are few and far between, and are largely
confined to the field of urban social geography.

On a general level, there appears to be little disagreement within the
social sciences with the view that participant-observation is "a conscious and
systematic sharing in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities
and, on occasion, in the interests and effects of a group of persons" (Kluckohn,
1940). However, as McCall (1969) laments in the preface to his collection of methodological essays, this sort of field technique is substantially lacking in any further codification and systematization of procedures. He credits this situation to a number of inter-related features of the technique including the fact that it is not really a single method, but a characteristic style of research; it is dealing primarily with qualitative data; it has been applied to a wide range of research study contexts; and most importantly, it is intentionally unstructured in its research design so as to maximize discovery and description, rather than systematically test theory. In response to this, McCall, like Becker (1953), argues the case for greater formalization and systematization of the individual components of the technique such as data collection and quality, field relations, hypothesis generation and evaluation and method comparison.

Whilst in the interests of scientific solvency this move to initiate standardization and 'objectification' of method is to be commended, one is also inclined to agree with Jackson when he says:

To some extent the 'rules of the game' which apply to this type of field work cannot be adequately stated and the reader must judge the quality of field research and the accuracy of the conclusions from the evidence of the written record and circumstantial details of how the field work was done (1980: 4).

Indeed, in terms of gaining an insight into the technique of participant observation, in addition to providing useful guidelines for undertaking research of this nature, a reading of the methodological notes that often accompany the ethnographic case studies themselves has proved to be far more rewarding to the writer than the colder procedural accounts that are inevitably separated from the immediate study subjects. Participant-observation is, after all, a highly personalized and experiential technique. Like its subject, it is best learned
either through direct on-the-job experience, or at least indirectly through
the eyes of another. Whyte's pioneering study of street corner life in the
Italian 'Cornerville' slum community is a particularly fitting example for two
reasons (Whyte, 1955).

First, in presenting his study Whyte chooses an evolutionary approach
which closely follows the pattern that his actual research took. The
theoretical and empirical sections of the study are not isolated as is the
convention, but are instead openly shown to be mutually interactive in the mind
of the researcher as events unfurl in front of his eyes. A second key feature
of Whyte's study that undoubtedly serves to lay down the groundwork for this
'theory-building' approach, is his obvious emphasis upon continually laying bare
the assumptions and motives that guided him throughout the course of the study.
For example, in the highly informative and often entertaining appendix at the
end of the book, Whyte gives an account of his eventual rejection of the more
commonly utilized techniques of community studies saying, "it was a long time
before I realized that I would explain Cornerville better telling stories of
those individuals and groups than I could in "any other way" (1955: 357).

In a recent essay on humanistic method in contemporary social geography,
Smith (1981) considers the problems of adequate validation which have
consistently been pointed to by its critics as its principal failings. In the
same spirit as Whyte, she argues forcefully that this process is logically
contingent upon exposing the role of the analyst, and the insights of his or her
research. The proviso that the discipline which governed the observation and
analysis of each of the studies concerned, be made explicit within the main body
of the work will, in my opinion, present a far more effective check on the
validity of the research results. Unlike the heavily elaborated set of
procedures that have been proposed by some, the flexibility and openness of the
approach, which are its greatest strengths, will be maintained.

In the case of the present study the participant-observer methodology has been adapted and operationalized within the context of a local community organization known as the Grandview-Woodland Area Council. Founded in 1964 for the expressed purposes of coordination with, and representation of, the other neighbourhood social and political groups that were evolving at that time, the Area Council is not only well established but also has an important strategic role within the community as a whole. For the past two years (1982-84) I have acted as recording-secretary on the executive of this council. The importance of 'role' and the consciousness of 'role' of the analyst has already been alluded to. Gold (1958) has rightly noted that among the different combinations of participation and observation, there are at least four roles which the field worker may adopt. He may attempt to be a straight 'participant' or 'observer' (though there are several problems associated with both of these). More usually though, the researcher will use some combination of these extremes: the 'participant-as-observer' or the 'observer-as-participant' roles. These two categories, however, should not in any way be viewed as being airtight. As Janes (1961) has suggested, the participant-observer's 'community role' in fact commonly goes through a series of 'phases' which in the case of his own study included: newcomer, provisional member, categorical member, personalized member with fully developed rapport, and imminent migrant. It is probably nearer the truth that the researcher may find himself or herself actually continually switching from one of these roles to another according to an individual circumstances (e.g. even within the timespan of one community meeting).

The crux here is the degree of passivity that the researcher chooses to ascribe to his or her role within the group at any particular time. At this stage the participant-observer must, by the nature of his or her work,
inevitably face the first of a whole series of dilemmas. On the one hand, he or she is constrained by the need to remain 'objective' and 'distant' from the subject at hand in the interests of the scientific code of conduct. On the other hand, and on a very practical level, there will almost always be a certain amount of pressure upon the member of the group, be it formal or informal, to pull his or her weight within it. In my case, the position of recording-secretary enabled me to at least partially meet these obligations. But in terms of participating in the organization's issues, I sometimes found myself playing quite an active role; for example, in straightening out the organization's legal status or speaking on a ward boundary drawing issue. On other issues, I have played a far more passive role; for example, in the sections of a traffic policy plan that deals specifically with community input. Because I am not a resident of this community (merely a 'worker'), I have endeavoured to act only in the capacity of 'technical advisor' and never as an 'active community voice'.

There has been some measure of debate amongst participant-observers in particular (Cook, 1976; Jackson, 1983) and within social science as a whole (Barnes, 1979), about the ethical and moral questions of the relationship between the social scientist and his or her subject. The invasion of privacy, and potential infringement of rights in return for a study of often questionable utility for the subject concerned makes for a predatory relationship that not only the participant-observer, but others that are more removed from their research subjects, must inevitably be made accountable to. Though I have made no attempt to conceal from the rest of the Area Council and other related groups my identity and motives, I have not felt compelled to elaborate upon them at any great length as none of the members appeared to have considered it as important as the issues that faced the council. I have refrained from using the names of
the individuals involved, but have not left the groups themselves anonymous. A copy of the study in its final form will also eventually be presented to the Area Council for its own reference.

What then were the advantages of this particular research strategy? Obviously, the most important factor was that informal data could be directly obtained from the meetings held by the Area Council. The position of recording-secretary facilitated both the recording of the proceedings and the making of additional notes during the course of these meetings. In addition, several other important supplementary advantages can be discussed. First, by being a member of the Area Council I could quickly come to grips with the basic issues which, in the collective mind of the Area Council, were facing the community at the present time, and, during occasional nostalgic moments, in the past. Second, the interaction with the present membership of the Council along with several ex-members who were sometimes present at the meetings, and the more informal interaction that was usually held afterwards in a nearby coffee bar, served quite effectively not only to animate, but also to fill important gaps within the documentary evidence that I had accumulated. Third, by virtue of the Area Council's coordinating and representative functions, I was able to build up a network of 'contacts' within the neighbourhood (I attended as a representative of the Area Council a number of meetings held by other community groups in the area); and beyond it, as a result of frequent visits from city politicians, planners, developers and supra-local neighbourhood groups. Fourth, I was able to gain first-hand experience of the types of problems (and sometimes solutions) involved in community organization on a very practical day-to-day level. This in turn, gave me an appreciation of the 'nuts and bolts' that provided the backdrop for the groups' interaction as it presently stood, and may
have stood in the past. Finally, as a member of the Area Council I was entrusted with a whole array of valuable documentary research material that included among other things, planning documents, minutes from past meetings, correspondence and details of membership which may in other circumstances have proved to be quite difficult to obtain.

3.5 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter three inter-related research problems were specified for the study as a whole. These had emerged from the discussion of neighbourhood revitalization in the previous chapter. Before these problems could be properly examined in an empirical setting, it was deemed necessary that the study should go through three analytical stages:

(1) A humanistic approach that was initially advocated by several writers, was further developed out of a critique of other competing approaches within the neighbourhood revitalization literature and social sciences in general. Though at present somewhat exploratory in format, this particular approach was argued to be the most suitable to this study because: it endeavours to be simultaneously interpretative and critical; it encourages the analyst to work in a reflexive mode, which attempts to lay bare the underlying assumptions and values that guide him or her; it incorporates a far broader and more meaningful conceptualization of power: it recognizes that politics is an essentially creative process which operates at an array of geographical scales; and finally, the approach emphasizes the importance of the context in which political activity takes place.

(2) With this latter point especially in mind, I then sought in the next section to construct an analytical framework that could effectively cope with the research problems. It was apparent that past analysts of neighbourhood
revitalization had not been sufficiently attentive to the problems of defining the concepts of 'neighbourhood' and 'community' that they nevertheless used quite liberally. Based on a review of the neighbourhood and community studies literature, it was suggested that the neighbourhood unit could most profitably be conceptualized for the purposes of this study, as a 'mosaic within a mosaic of social worlds'. Having sketched the roots of this conceptualization in the ethnographic tradition of the Chicago school, I then endeavoured to further elaborate, and adapt it to the case of revitalization.

(3) The final section of this chapter dealt with the methodological implications of applying both a humanistic approach and the chosen analytical framework to the empirical case-study, and thereby served as an important 'bridge' function for the study as a whole. In terms of setting out the context of neighbourhood change in the case study area, a joint strategy was recommended, involving conventionally used quantitative parameters in conjunction with a range of qualitative data that have not been used as frequently. In the analysis of the local political arena of the neighbourhood, a field-work strategy that combines participant-observation and documentary evidence was selected. Consideration was made of both the practical and ethical problems associated with the participant-observer research technique, as well as the benefits it can yield when applied properly.
CHAPTER 4

THE CONTEXT: NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE IN GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND

A visitor to Vancouver was taking a trip up the (Burrard) Inlet, when, far away to the eastward of the inhabited part of the city, he espied a long clearing in the woods. Like an aisle in some great cathedral church there was a cleft in the dense forest and on enquiry what was the reason for cutting such an avenue he was told that the same represented the line of Victoria Street which was open to 'boom' some property in the days when the city's affairs were managed chiefly in the interest of real estate speculators.

(Vancouver News Advertiser, 9th January 1895)

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of neighbourhood change in the case study area. As has been argued in the previous chapter, this exercise should be viewed as being an important complement to the discussion of the political activity in the neighbourhood that follows in the next chapter. In keeping with the theoretical argument outlined above, an attempt has been made to present a broad, but by no means an exhaustive overview. This chapter is organized around five major components of neighbourhood change.

In the Pre-Second World War Period:

(i) A brief description of the neighbourhood's geographical setting followed by a historical sketch of its original settlement and subsequent development.

In the Post-War period:

(ii) An outline of some of the local population's demographic and socio-economic trends.

(iii) A discussion of the ethnic dimension of neighbourhood change, with particular reference to the Italian ethnic group in the area.

(iv) An examination of both physical and socio-cultural change as it has been manifested along the neighbourhood's retailing thoroughfare.
(v) A description and account of the development of each of the various 'housing environments' that are currently prevalent in the neighbourhood, and some observations about their respective futures.

4.2 Geographical Setting and Historical Background

The area taken to define Grandview-Woodland for the purposes of this study is one that was suggested in 1964 by the United Community Services Organization (now known as the United Way) as part of its city-wide service provision and plan implementation strategy. This definition (see figure 4.1) has since been adopted by the Vancouver City Planning Department as an official 'local area'. Furthermore, it has also been incorporated by a number of community organizations within Grandview-Woodland itself; to the point that at a recent set of public hearings dealing with proposals for drawing city ward boundaries, it was avidly defended (Highland Echo, 11th March 1982). For these reasons, it would appear to be the most appropriate.

Grandview-Woodland is bounded by the Burrard Inlet to the north; and to the south, by Broadway the major cross-city commercial and commuter route. Though relatively well connected to the city's downtown core, the neighbourhood is effectively cut off from the Strathcona and other Downtown-Eastside neighbourhoods by an industrial 'buffer' zone that impinges on Grandview's north-western and western fringes (see figure 3.4 for the locations of surrounding neighbourhoods). This manufacturing and warehouse belt spreads southwards and thereby, also serves to separate Grandview from the Mount Pleasant neighbourhood situated on the south side of False Creek which has undergone dramatic change in the last few years. In contrast, to the east and south Grandview blends almost imperceptibly into the relatively homogeneous and stable single-family residential neighbourhoods of Hastings-Sunrise, Renfrew-Collingwood and Cedar Cottage.
Figure 4.1 The Boundaries of Grandview-Woodland within the City of Vancouver, and its Census Sub-Divisions

(Source: Adapted from Grandview-Woodland: An Information Handbook. Vancouver City Planning Department, 1975.)
The area was originally alienated from the Crown in the 1860's. Later, land developers and speculators acquired district lots and broke them down into city blocks, streets and building lots. By the 1890's, virtually all of Grandview had been sub-divided in this manner, thus establishing the present grid street network. However, these building lots did not attract residential development until the streetcar lines began to fan out through Vancouver into its suburbs. With the extension of the 'Fairview beltline' streetcar service to Clark Drive, Grandview was honoured with the distinction of being Vancouver's first suburb (Clement, 1976). Together with another streetcar extension in 1893 along Venables Street, the inter-urban electric railway line from New Westminster to Vancouver running through Park Drive (Commercial), served to greatly expand the area convenient for settlement (see figure 4.4 for locations of street names). The first suburban homes were concentrated along the streetcar lines and 'skid roads'; often clinging precariously to the creek beds and logging paths that were the remnants of the time when the area was referred to as "Woodland" (Grandview-Woodland Area Council, 1983). The "Grandview" prefix is reputed to have been introduced at the turn of the century by one Professor Odlum, the "Grand Old Man of Grandview", in a fit of enthusiasm over the vista that was afforded from certain points in the neighbourhood (Highland Echo, 12th May 1934).

In the next fifteen years the scattered houses in the bush began to cohere into a distinctive community. However, compared to the rapid settlement that was occurring elsewhere in the city during the boom period between 1904 and 1912 that effectively built Vancouver, Grandview's growth was not only moderate but also unsteady (Macdonald, 1973; McCann, 1978). By 1912, almost half of the lots still remained undeveloped, although rooming-houses and apartment blocks were springing up in some measure around the streetcar lines. Moreover, because
of the highly volatile nature of the land market at that time, residential turnover was exceptionally high, and many of the residents did not yet own their homes (McCririck, 1981).

In her study of the growth of the blue-collar suburbs in Vancouver, McCririck makes the point that the decisions made by just a handful of local developers/speculators, who were largely composed of local professionals, shopkeepers or tradesmen, were extremely influential in shaping the early settlement. In particular, they were responsible for the diversity of housing, in terms of size, style, and quality that was, and is still a distinctive characteristic of this neighbourhood. In the western half, small Victorian working-men's rooming-houses and cottages (figure 4.2) were built on 25 foot lots at the side of rough dirt roads that rose steeply and abruptly off the False Creek 'flats'. By virtue of their poor quality design and materials, little of this housing remains today, though a local enthusiast has identified a number of surviving houses that he claims have considerable historical interest. More of the original housing stock can be found in the area to the east of Victoria Drive and north of Grant Street as far as Venables Street, where blocks were commonly divided into 33 foot lots and sometimes larger. Situated on a topographically advantageous part of the neighbourhood, these houses (figure 4.3) were larger, solidly Edwardian in style and of a quality far superior to those found in other working class areas of the city (Holdsworth, 1979). These were the homes of the wealthier sections of the community, particularly the land developers, many of whom had lived in cities before, and left their mark locally by giving their names to the streets (Vancouver Province, 25th May 1940).

By 1907, commercial interests had focussed on Park Drive, lured no doubt by its streetcar line service. Industry was attracted to the north of Grandview-Woodland because of the harbour and Canadian Pacific Railway line.
Figure 4.2  A Typical Working-Man's Cottage in Early Grandview, c.1905

(Source: Vancouver City Archives.)
Figure 4.3 An Example of a House Belonging to a More Wealthier Member of the Grandview Community, c.1905

(Source: Vancouver City Archives.)
Industry also established itself along, and to the west of Clark Drive after 1910, as the Great Northern Railway and the Burlington Northern Railway utilized the material extracted from the Grandview Cut to build their railyards while reclaiming False Creek land (Roy, 1980).

During this period many fortunes were made from real estate in Grandview, with the net result that the neighbourhood experienced a gradual upgrading in its socio-economic status. After 1912 however, Grandview was superseded by other growth areas within the expanding Vancouver region. The newly emergent suburbs of Kitsilano, Point Grey and Shaugnessy in the west side of Vancouver, became the most prestigious neighbourhoods in which to reside. In addition, with the amalgamations of the Hastings Townsite with Vancouver in 1911, Grandview was no longer the most easterly district of the city. These developments coupled with the depression of 1913 effectively halted much of the development activity and severely deflated many of the future expectations held by the neighbourhood's residents and investors. Prior to the 1st World War, Grandview residents were primarily of English and Scottish stock.

Thereafter, the Italian, Chinese and Eastern European populations began to grow, with their "penchant for land and upward economic mobility being reflected in large capital expenditures in rebuilding old houses, often for extended family groups" (Hardwick, 1981: 132). Many of the earlier wealthier settlers meanwhile left the area and either assumed the role of absentee landlord or sold outright (White, 1980). The early 1920's saw more lots vacant than occupied; even though most of the water, sewer, streetcar lines and road surfaces had been installed ten years earlier. This trend was only interrupted momentarily by a brief but dramatic building boom of the mid-1920's that resulted in the construction of several large multiple-occupant buildings, but was soon curtailed and the slump resumed. Although the neighbourhood still lacks any buildings assigned with a
Figure 4.4 Distribution of 'Historic' Buildings within Grandview-Woodland

(Source: Grandview-Woodland: An Information Handbook. Vancouver City Planning Department, 1975.)
heritage status, it is these 'character' buildings in addition to some of the larger pre-First World War houses that would be the most likely candidates for this status (see figure 4.4).

A large quantity of the existing larger houses were divided up into inexpensive suites or turned into cheap rooming-houses in order to provide much-needed extra income during the depression years. These conversions were permitted as the houses were ultimately due for demolition under the prescribed zoning and so facilitated the maintenance of the large extended family networks preferred by the incoming immigrant groups. The neighbourhood was also in close proximity, and had good access to the port industries of the Burrard Inlet (especially the B.C. Sugar Refinery) and the numerous saw-milling operations that lined the Inlet and False Creek at that time, all of which were the chief employers of these groups. Not surprisingly therefore, Grandview's status as Vancouver's point of entry for both newly arrived immigrants and displaced East End residents was confirmed in this period (Marlatt and Itter, 1979).

4.3 Post-War Demographic and Socio-Economic Trends

When examining the various trends of a neighbourhood's population through time, two sets of comparisons are of particular interest. First, we may wish to situate the experience of the neighbourhood within a wider context; and, in the case of the present study, the 'surrogate' areal definition of Grandview-Woodland derived from an amalgam of five census tracts (refer to figure 4.1) is compared with both the Municipality of Vancouver and the Vancouver Metropolitan Region. Second, we are also interested in the degree of intra-neighbourhood homogeneity or heterogeneity. Though the rationale behind the original drawing up of the present census tract boundaries in 1956 is not known, in the light of first-hand inspection of the areas that they enclose,
some measure of justification can be ascribed to them today. A detailed
discussion of the land use and zoning regulations of the neighbourhood will be
deferred until a later point in this chapter but for a brief preliminary
description of each of these census tracts is presented below:

**Figure 4.5** A Summary of the Main Land Uses and
Redevelopment Trends in each of the Census
Tracts within Grandview Woodland in 1981.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Tract</th>
<th>Generalized Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Largely developed area of inexpensive apartments with some remaining single-family housing and commercial units.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Stable single-family homes with some duplexes and conversion suites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Mixture of single-family homes and multiple-family duplexes, conversion suites, townhouses and a few apartments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Fully developed, more expensive apartments and condominium units, plus a fairly substantial stock of single-family and duplex housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Combination of light industrial and largely underdeveloped apartment land. Many surviving single-family and conversion homes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1
Summary Table of Selected Demographic Variables
for Grandview-Woodland and the City of Vancouver Populations,
1961 to 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grandview-Woodland</th>
<th>Vancouver City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Household Size (Average)</td>
<td>3.1   2.9   2.4</td>
<td>3.1  2.7  2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Marital Status (% Singles)</td>
<td>25   30   38</td>
<td>28  34  39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Household Composition (% classified as being 'family')</td>
<td>83   73   56</td>
<td>81  66  56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Family Structure* (% 'family' households classified as 'lone parent')</td>
<td>--   --   18.9</td>
<td>--  --  14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New Category introduced in 1976

In the post-war period the population of Grandview-Woodland steadily grew by almost 26 percent to its present total of 41,061 (see Table 4.1). This upward trend closely follows that for the city but falls a long way short of the 70 percent growth rate recorded for the Metropolitan region that includes the 'newer' suburbs (Hardwick, 1974). The bulk of the growth occurred in the 1960's, and only in the latter half of the 1970's was there any indication of a continuation of this trend. Within the neighbourhood, census tracts 50 and 55 experienced the most substantial growth from 1951 to 1981 (with rates of 80 and 39 percent respectively), whilst the slowest growth was recorded in tracts 56 and 54 (with figures of 0.8 and 1.4 percent).

This relatively modest growth rate to some extent conceals the dramatic changes that were concurrently taking place in the population's demographic profile. It is these changes rather than the population levels that have had a far greater impact upon the neighbourhood's socio-cultural structure. Table 4.2 portrays just one of these important changes, namely the changing age composition of the population. Once again, the Grandview experience parallels that of the city as a whole. In the last two decades there has been a large increase in the proportion and number of 'young adults' (i.e. aged 20 - 34) in the population, to which many analysts have accredited the maturation of the post-war 'baby boom' age cohort (Mondor, 1983a). At the same time, the proportion of 'small children' (i.e. 0 - 9 years) and to a lesser extent, the 'youths' (i.e. 10 - 19) has steadily declined. The upper echelons have by comparison remained fairly static with a slight increase in the proportion of 'seniors' (i.e. aged 65 and upwards). Grandview-Woodland does however differ significantly in the two main family oriented groups--the 'young adults' and 'small children', of which it continues to a have a disproportionately higher share.
Table 4.2
The Changing Age Structure of the Grandview-Woodland and City of Vancouver Populations, 1961 to 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 yrs</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-9 yrs</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1961-81).
An examination of the changing characteristics of the 'average' household sheds more light on this issue. The size of households in the City of Vancouver has fallen steadily in the last two decades. Within Grandview-Woodland, census tracts 54 and 51 have figures that have remained considerably above the city's average, (in 1961, the average household size for these areas was 3.5 and in 1981 it was 3.0.), whilst the other tracts are roughly comparable. By way of partially accounting for this, we can refer to the data on marital status and private households. There has been a gradual rise in the proportion of single people in the area, and, although previously less than the rest of the city, it is now approximately equivalent with it. Understandably, a similar pattern may be discerned when observing the changing proportions of 'family' and 'non-family' households as defined by the census. Although census tract 56 has now reached the point where family households are a minority, census tracts 51 and 54 still maintain a solid majority of 79 percent. The significance of this fact is underlined when we consider that in comparison with Vancouver's other inner-city neighbourhoods (see figure 4.6); only Strathcona can claim to have a greater family presence (Mondor, 1983b). An important factor here is the presence in both Strathcona and Grandview-Woodland of relatively higher concentrations of those ethnic minority groups that have traditionally emphasized the importance of the family, such as the Chinese, Italian and East Indian groups. Even within those households that contain families, there has still been a certain amount of erosion of the traditional nuclear family unit. In 1981, the average proportion of families that had single parents was some 4.7 percent greater than the city-wide average, with a peak value of 24.6 percent in census tract 56.

Moving away from the demographic to the socio-economic characteristics of the study area population, it is clear from Table 4.3 (based on the only data
Figure 4.6 Spatial Differentiation of 'Family' Households in Vancouver, 1981

( Source: Quarterly Review, October 1983. Vancouver City Planning Department )
yet available) that Grandview-Woodland still remains an area of low socio-economic status. In 1981, the average household income for the area was only 78 percent of that for the Vancouver Metropolitan Region. This figure had however risen by 155 percent from 1971 compared to an increase of 145 percent for the whole region, and therefore represents a relative gain, though not considerable, in income for the neighbourhood. In this period, census tracts 54 and 51 maintained their position as the highest-income areas ($25,332 and $25,635 respectively); whilst census tract 50 effectively slipped further back (to $15,823). A momentary glance at the income figures broken down into tenure groups will reveal that an important corollary to this areal differentiation is the greater preponderance of owner-occupier households (with an average household income of $25,914) in the former tracts over renters (with a corresponding figure of $15,168).

In terms of occupational composition, we can see that Grandview-Woodland has only slightly upgraded. The area is still under-represented in the key 'quaternary' sectors of employment (eg. Managerial, Administrative, and Professional occupations). As in the case of incomes, Grandview-Woodland has made relatively more ground in this sector in the last decade than the average for the Metropolitan region. But there is some discrepancy between these two, in that the census tracts of 54 and 51 are in this case the areas of lowest gain and census tract 50, the area of greatest gain (with approximately a 270 percent increase). An almost identical scenario is found to exist, perhaps not surprisingly in educational attainment trends. The proportion of the population with some university experience has grown in Grandview-Woodland by almost 120 percent compared to 86 percent for the region as a whole, and much of this is confined to the same census tracts (ie. 50, 56 and 55). Some of the growth might be attributed to the in-movement of students attending Simon Fraser
Table 4.3
Summary Table of Selected Socio-Economic Variables for Grandview-Woodland and Vancouver Metropolitan Region Populations, 1971 to 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grandview-Woodland</th>
<th>Vancouver Metropolitan Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Income $ (Average Household)</td>
<td>7,381</td>
<td>18,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Occupation (% Workforce classed as 'Quaternary')</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Education (% Population aged 15&amp; with University experience)</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

University, which was established in the mid-1960's in the Burnaby Mountain area to the east of Grandview-Woodland.

In conclusion, although the neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodland has experienced modest growth in the post-war period, by far the most significant changes have occurred in the population's demographic profile, especially its age and family structure. Reflecting city-wide and societal trends in general, Grandview's family-raising function has been seriously undermined by the influx of young single or childless couples into the area. It has not however reached the stage where family life is a thing of the past (a point which could be significantly reinforced if data from the many illegal suits in the area, which usually house families, were collected by the census). At the same time, the area's socio-economic standing has probably moved up a few points due to the financial gains made in the 1970's by the blue-collar skilled workers prevalent in the area, and the recent in-movement by university students. There is however, nothing in the census data to suggest any widespread or sustained revitalization activity in this period. This impression has been further confirmed by the evidence thrown up by several in-depth street directory surveys that have been conducted in different sub-areas of the neighbourhood in which if anything a certain amount of downfiltering has been detected. Finally, it is clear from the wide range of trends between the various tracts that different parts of the neighbourhood have experienced these main trends to significantly variable degrees.

4.4 Ethnic Group Presence: The Italians in Grandview-Woodland

In the post-war period, Grandview-Woodland's entry function for newly-arrived immigrants was not only maintained but also strengthened. Between 1946 and 1950, Mackenzie King's Liberal government sponsored the entry into
Canada of over 120,000 immigrants displaced from Western, Southern and Eastern Europe and parts of Asia, some of whom served to bolster the number of immigrant families in Grandview. A look at Table 4.4 overleaf will reveal that even when more frugal immigrant quotas were imposed, Grandview continued to receive large numbers of newly-arrived or more established immigrant families. In 1961, those of British origin still predominated in the neighbourhood, but in significantly lower than average proportions for the rest of the city and metropolitan region. The Italians followed with quite a large degree of overrepresentation compared to the city. Throughout the 1960's, this ethnic group's presence remained remarkably stable, but was succeeded nonetheless in 1971 by the rather broadly defined 'Asiatic' ethnic group that included the Chinese, Japanese and East Indians amongst others. Concurrently, the proportions of other ethnic minorities declined; reflecting no doubt, international and local migration trends as well as their progress in social and spatial assimilation into Canadian society.

More recently, due to a change in the categories designated in the census it is more difficult to state with the same kind of authority what the trends in the last decade have been. On the basis of 'Mother Tongue' (Table 4.5) we can see that Grandview-Woodland still has a less than average proportion of people of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is also probable that the number of Italians has fallen in this period, whilst the Chinese group has continued to expand. Given that India and Pakistan are now amongst the major contributors to Canadian immigration, the validity of the surprisingly small figure for the proportion of Punjabi speakers may be brought into question. Within the neighbourhood, it is apparent that sub-areas 51 and 54 are the prime locales for ethnic minority residence; whilst sub-areas 55 and 56 have lost a considerable amount from these groups.
Table 4.4
Ethnic Group Breakdown in Grandview-Woodland and Other Areas, 1961 to 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ETHNIC ORIGIN</th>
<th>Grandview-Woodland</th>
<th>Vancouver City</th>
<th>Vancouver Metropolitan Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 1961</td>
<td>% 1971</td>
<td>% 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other and Non-stated</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1961--1971)
Table 4.5
Ethnic Profile by Mother Tongue
for Grandview-Woodland and its sub-areas, and
City of Vancouver, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>54</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>56</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Vancouver*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13.4</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>6.8</td>
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<td>8.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHINESE</td>
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<td>23.7</td>
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<td>16.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>PUNJABI</td>
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<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER &amp; NON-STATED</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL POPULATION</td>
<td>11,595</td>
<td>6,420</td>
<td>7,670</td>
<td>8,265</td>
<td>7,125</td>
<td>41,075</td>
<td>414,285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* No data available for other groups)

(Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1981)
Although the Chinese and East Indian groups are now predominant among all the ethnic groups, in terms of stamping their own cultural motif upon the neighbourhood, it is the Italians who are still the most prominent. Consequently, it is this group that will be the main subject of the ensuing discussion. In contrast to the population of the city as a whole which has risen quite steadily during the course of the century, the Italian population has grown at two distinct stages, the more recent of which has been the most dramatic. Unlike the rest of Canada, British Columbia received very few Italians in the previous century. It was not until after the First World War that they began to arrive in any number, but even this first wave was halted first wave was halted abruptly by Mussolini in the 1930's. Most of the migrants in this period settled in the 'Old' East End of Vancouver which today approximates the Strathcona neighbourhood. For some forty years this area had the densest concentration of Italians in the city (Walhouse, 1960).

In the period after the Second World War, the Italians not only came in far greater numbers but also from different parts of the homeland. Of the large number of Italians who entered Canada in the 1950's, only 10 percent ended up in British Columbia. Almost half of these were concentrated in such resource towns as Trail, Nanaimo and Prince Rupert (Giese, 1966). In Vancouver, faced with the increasingly tight competition for living space that existed in the established Italian neighbourhood both within and between other ethnic minority groups, especially the Chinese, many newly-arrived immigrants sought newer pastures in the neighbourhood immediately to the east. In the last two decades therefore, Grandview-Woodland has taken over as the area with the greatest concentration of Italians, and in the process has earned its title as the 'Little Italy' of Vancouver. For example, in 1971, census tracts 54 and 51 were the only tracts in the metropolitan region to have a greater than 20 percent share of the total
Italian population within their confines. However, in comparison to the other large Italian urban communities in Canada, Toronto and Montreal, Vancouver's Italian community has always been more spatially diverse (Jansen and La Cavera, 1981). This feature has become even more apparent in the last ten years as many Italians have evidently left Grandview-Woodland in search of the new suburbs of Greater Vancouver, especially in North Burnaby (where 4.1 percent of the Provincial MLA Riding was classified as having Italian as a mother tongue in 1976, compared to a figure of 8.1 percent for the Vancouver East Riding, the traditional Italian stronghold) and to a lesser extent, North Vancouver.

The Italians as a collective body have had a profound impact not only upon the social and cultural fabric of Grandview-Woodland, but also on the wider economy and society of the host nation (Reitz, 1980). An important factor behind this impact is their relatively recent origin compared to other ethnic minority groups such as the German, the Dutch and Eastern Europeans. In consequence, as Norris in his survey of the plights of the multitude of ethnic groups in British Columbia has observed:

They have been heavily concentrated in particular age groups, in particular occupations and in particular localities; and this concentration has helped to enforce their solidarity as an ethnic group. Their associations, their churches, their cultural organizations and their expressions of ethnicity have all been stronger than those of most ethnic groups. Through the vigorous preservation of ethnicity and the transmission of it to the receiving society, they have made for themselves an important role in the new mass immigration in the evolution of British Columbian society. Their greatest impact is yet to come (1971: 141).

In the case of Grandview-Woodland we can distinguish three main sectors where this impact has been felt. The first and most immediate effect was in the realm of housing. In Grandview, even in the post-war era, property values stayed unfashionably low. Most of the homes only required a 'face-lift' and the
Italians, spurred on by the desire to secure shelter and property for their families, were quick to take advantage of this opportunity. Working often in conjunction with their Italian neighbours, they sought to recreate with the liberal use of stucco, plaster, masonry and wrought iron a 'home away from home' that is today such a distinctive feature of this and other neighbourhoods in which Italians reside (Phillips, 1976). The 'Vancouver Special' (figure 4.7 and 4.8), as it has rather cynically been dubbed, also featured highly productive gardens laid out in a distinctive style, full of grape-vines and tomato plants that were often 'guarded' by a pair of plaster lions. A similar architectural form has also been popular amongst the Chinese and East Indian groups to which they have introduced their own culture specific modifications. In many ways then we could perhaps forward the notion that the Italians were directly responsible for initiating an 'incumbent upgrading' movement (discussed in Chapter 2, (Clay, 1979)) of some significance to the general appearance and respectability of Grandview-Woodland. The more widely known revitalization effect of the Italians has occurred in the retail sector of the neighbourhood. However, a full discussion of this effect will be delayed until the next section.

Perhaps the most fundamental and lasting impact of all has been felt in the socio-cultural structure of the neighbourhood and the city. The Italians have always been one of the more 'institutionally complete' of the ethnic communities in Canada and the United States (Jansen, 1978). In the first wave of Italian immigration into Vancouver, the Roman Catholic 'Church of the Sacred Heart' and two benevolent societies, the 'Sons of Italy Mutual Aid Society' and the 'Italian Mutual Aid Society', as well as the more specialised organization for immigrants from Venetia, the 'Venetian Benevolent Society', not only provided much needed material and spiritual support for the Italian immigrants
Figure 4.7 The Dream: "This Could be Your House too"

Figure 4.8 The Reality: The 'Vancouver Special'

(Source: J. McIntosh)
when they first arrived and in later years during the Depression, but also proffered the essential nuclei around which the activities of the more informal social worlds based on strong family and kinship ties could coalesce. Other important settlement landmarks that were also located in the heart of the old East End and once played a similar 'host' function were the Europe Hotel built in 1908-9 by Angelo Calori, leader of the Venetian Society (which is currently in the process of major overhaul for co-op housing) and the Silver Slipper Dance Hall built by the same society in the 1920's (Gale 1972).

In the relatively prosperous post-war period, the established organizations such as the 'Italian Immigrants' Assistance Centre' and the ' Auxiliary Italian Ladies' League of the Sons of Italy' became less concerned with mutual benefit activities and more and more concerned with the ways and means of integrating the new immigrants into the community and providing the resources for cultural and leisure activities. At the same time, a vast array of other organizations have emerged specifically with these purposes in mind. The 'Italian Folk Society of British Columbia' for example was set up in 1974 at the behest of the New Democratic Party (NDP), the Provincial government at that time, to function as a relay and co-ordinatory body for at least 50 other cultural and social societies that included in Vancouver, the 'Famee Furlane', the 'Associazione Nazionale Alpini Gruppo Di Vancouver' and the 'Abruzzesi Circle' among others. In addition, a host of small associations based on past residence in particular villages or parts of Italy have sprung up, including the 'Associazione Molisana' (Molise); the 'Famiglia Bagnolese' (Bagnoli); and 'I Toscani' (Tuscany). In true Italian style, sporting activities have also spawned their own social worlds, from the fiercely competitive Inter-Regional Italian Soccer Competition to the more sedate 'Ital-Canadian Rod and Gun Club', the Grandview Bowling Lanes and the impromptu bocce tournaments held in the various
parks of Grandview-Woodland. A peculiarly Italian political cause has provided the rationale for the 200 plus membership of the 'Garibaldi Club' that is dedicated to bringing socialism into the province, and is a solid supporter of the NDP.

In the same way that the settlement landmarks of a generation earlier served as an important basis for the social interaction and cultural identity of the Italians, so the most recent and comprehensive of these, the Italian Cultural Centre has a similar function. Instigated at the request of a former Italian consul in Vancouver and subsequently built through the combined efforts of Italian businessmen, merchants and labour in 1977, 'Il Centro' is perhaps the most impressive of all the city's ethnic community centres. It is also significant for two other reasons.

First, it signifies that in addition to a switch in orientation away from mutual support activities to the promotion of cultural and educational pursuits, the Italian formal social worlds have shifted spatially to the 'new' East End of the city (Vancouver Sun, 19th January 1974). A perusal of the directory of ethno-cultural organizations in British Columbia (Lozosky, 1975) will show that of the 18 or so Italian cultural organizations, clubs and churches listed for Vancouver, almost half are based within the boundaries of Grandview-Woodland. The map below (figure 4.9) suggests an important 'anchor' role played in the neighbourhood by Commercial Drive in particular, for many of these formal groups, and as we shall presently see, informal groups. Interestingly enough however, the Italian Cultural Centre itself has been built on a site several blocks to the east of Grandview-Woodland and this has prompted both criticism from locals and outsiders because it is isolated from most of the other activities; and speculation that this was done deliberately to distance it from a 'ghetto' image. It is also apparent from the directory that other smaller,
Figure 4.9 The Locations of Key Italian and Portuguese Formal and Informal Social Worlds within Grandview-Woodland, 1983
more spatially diverse Mediterranean ethnic minority groups have based many of their organizations in Grandview-Woodland. For example, the 'Maltese Canadian Association of B.C.'; the 'Sicilian Folcoristico del B.C.'; and the Portuguese 'Lusitania Club of Vancouver' and 'Portuguese Club of Vancouver'. In the north-western corner of the area, the Native Indian Cultural Centre has been located in recognition no doubt of the increasing number of Native Indian families that are finding homes in this part of the city, having been displaced from the Downtown-Eastside area by recent development pressures. It is unfortunate that the census does not contain a specific category for this particular group, as it is difficult to say with any certainty just how significant the Native Indian presence is within Grandview-Woodland. In sharp contrast, only a few formal associations (mainly churches) belonging to the Chinese or East Indian groups are listed in Grandview-Woodland. The centres of the former group are located almost exclusively within the Chinatown/Strathcona area and the ethnic landmarks of the East Indians are concentrated primarily in South Vancouver.

The second significant point associated with the Cultural Centre is the effect it has had upon the cohesion and unity of the Italian community throughout Vancouver. In a recent series of surveys of the Italians in Vancouver and Canada, Jansen has done us a great service in correcting the generally held conception of this particular group typified by Norris' comments above. For, as he states, "while Canadian society may categorize all persons from one country or culture as one ethnic group, individuals within that group may have an array of identities and loyalties" (Jansen, 1981: 77). This is poignantly illustrated in an extensive discussion of the events leading up to the final opening up of the Centre, in which the Italian community at a time when there was a great deal of consolidation between the various small
associations, was bitterly divided by the two 'umbrella' organizations—the 'Italian Folk Society of B.C.' and the Confratellanza Italo-Canadese'. The former supported the consul's initiative and as the 'true' representative set about co-ordinating the effort to build the centre. Somewhat miffed by these assumptions the 'Confratellanza', which was basically composed of three of the oldest societies in the city, refused to cooperate with this group and openly attacked the plans for the centre as an Italian initiative and therefore not deserving of any 'good' Canadian's attention and support. Jansen also notes that members of groups at either end of the socio-economic scale within his sample of Italians, collectively perceived that the Italian Centre had been developed exclusively to serve the needs of the group at the other end.

On a general level, Jansen concludes that there is as much, if not more, internal differentiation within the Italian community as there is between it and the wider society. He ascribes this to three sets of immigrant characteristics: the 'Origin' characteristics (i.e. region of origin, social position at origin, and traditional ideological differences); 'Immigration' characteristics (i.e. immigration policy and settlement intentions) and 'Destination' characteristics (i.e. regional and local area of settlement, acquired social position, Canadian and foreign born, and attitudes to the policy of 'Multiculturalism'). Of particular significance to this study is the notion of 'core-periphery' socio-spatial differentiation within the community which he introduces in the third set of factors as an important ingredient for internal differentiation. Specifically, he associates the 'core' of lesser-educated, unskilled and semi-skilled, Italian-speakers within the Italian community, with an area that roughly coincides with Grandview-Woodland. It would appear that the more wealthy middle-class sections of the Italian community, have formed the main vanguard in the movement to the suburbs referred to earlier in this
section, whilst a largely working-class incumbent Italian population has been 'left behind'.

In summary, in this section we have briefly described the changing ethnic composition of Grandview-Woodland, with particular reference to the Italian ethnic group, which has had by far the greatest impact upon the neighbourhood. In the classic Chicago school mould, we have observed in the post-war period, the processes of 'invasion' by the Italians into Grandvew-Woodland from the crowded 'Old' East End, and eventual 'succession' by other ethnic minority groups particularly the Chinese and East Indians, as certain sections of the Italian community began to integrate both socially and spatially into the wider Canadian society. Those that have moved out of the neighbourhood have left behind not only a legacy of improved and architecturally distinctive housing, but also a collection of formal social worlds that remain as strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood as ever. Finally, we have also learned that contrary to popular fancy, the Italian community is significantly differentiated along several lines, including location, and this has occasionally been manifested in overt tension between some of its constituent formal and informal social worlds.

4.5 Commercial Drive: Social Barometer and Cultural Magnet

(a) The Italians Move In

Commercial Drive, or the 'Drive' as it is more affectionately known locally runs north-south throughout the whole length of Grandview-Woodland. It has functioned for the last 70 years as the main shopping thoroughfare for local residents on both sides, in conjunction with another commercial strip--Hastings Street, which serves the north-eastern sections of the neighbourhood but is more usually associated with the adjacent Hastings-Sunrise neighbourhood. Commercial
Drive has also served as the main social and cultural focus of the neighbourhood.

Gale (1972) has documented, for the period from 1921 to 1961, the impact of the 'invading' Italian immigrant families upon the retail and commercial establishments along Commercial Drive, both in terms of numbers and types, and also in terms of the changing symbolic landscape of the Drive. He shows how both Italian and non-Italian businesses and public institutions in this period, strove to accommodate the invading culture with such strategies as altering the arrangement of the store, marketing specific types and brands of products, or placing Italian language signs in their storefront windows. One particular instance of adaptation that intersects with the remarks made earlier about the renovation activities of the Italians, is the fact that while in the 1950's and early 1960's the remainder of the city's retailing strips were shifting towards the luxury goods market, in Grandview a large number of hardware and home furnishing stores were set up (Stanfield, 1979). Gale suggests that this first stage of adaptation was virtually complete by the early 1960's with almost all of the local businesses reflecting in some way the invading culture's influence. He also notes that there was a marked lag between the main body of Italian residential settlement which he argues was 'dominant' by the mid-1950's, and the number of Italian retailing units in the area which was still increasing at the end of his study period. Therefore, he concludes that in this particular case, residential invasion occurred independently of a distinctive business and cultural focus.

In order to yield information about more recent developments within the retailing sector, a storefront survey, akin to the one undertaken by Gale based on the street directory, was launched for the years 1962, 1972, 1976 and 1982. Perhaps the most fundamental of the survey's findings was that during a period...
of general takeover by the large-scale and mass-market based corporate retailing firms, Commercial Drive has survived as one of a few bastions of the small, family enterprises remaining in the Vancouver region. In the last twenty years, the number of businesses on the Drive has been remarkably stable at around 330. Furthermore, of the 331 businesses listed in 1982, 59 had been listed in the same locality since 1962.

An important contributory factor to this stability has been the presence of the Italians both as local customers, and more significantly, as merchants along the Drive. As early as 1964, the headline "Italians Save Grandview", taken from a comment made by a city alderman at a local meeting, appeared in a city newspaper (The Province, 25th February 1964). This revitalization stage in Italian colonization has also recently been paid tribute to in an editorial that appeared in the local newspaper which stated, "much of the prosperity and the colour of the East End can be laid at the door of these good neighbours, who have spent countless millions of dollars along Commercial Drive, in new construction and improvements in our business district" (Highland Echo, 8th July 1982). The continuing growth of Italian and Portuguese retailing and recreational businesses (largely Italian) on the Drive is portrayed in figure 4.10 which shows that the proportion of these retailing businesses had increased by some 25 percent since 1962 to 34 percent of the total in 1982. Moreover, because most of these fifty or so businesses are clustered in the shopping core of the strip that stretches six blocks from Charles Street to 3rd Avenue, an impression is given of an even greater Italian presence.

Given what was learned about the settlement trends of the Italian community during these two decades in the last section, it is clear that a second 'lag' effect, that is both temporal and spatial, is currently operating. The staying-power of these Italian institutions is made all the remarkable in
Figure 4.10 Graph Depicting the Increasing Southern Mediterranean Presence along Commercial Drive

* Includes Restaurants, Coffee Bars, Sporting Establishments, and Ethnic Associations and Societies

(Source: Vancouver Street Directory)
light of the fact that the Italian population has been eclipsed in the Drive's immediate sphere of influence, by the Chinese and East Indian ethnic minority groups. Even in 1982, a combined total of only eight retailing and cultural establishments oriented specifically towards these Asian groups, were located in the study area. Most of these are corner stores run by small Chinese businessmen who cater to the 'convenience' goods market. The bulk of the latter is concentrated heavily, like the Chinese cultural associations, in the Chinatown area where "the high price of real estate is helping to keep Chinatown pure" (Van Halm, 1983: 18). As has already been mentioned, the effect of spatial separation of the Chinese from their own cultural and retailing hub in Chinatown is largely offset by Grandview's close proximity to it, and indeed this is one of the neighbourhood's main attractions for this group. Apart from the opening of the Patel centre three years ago in Grandview, the East Indian retailing and commercial focus appears to be polarizing along two thoroughfares in South Vancouver (Main Street and Victoria Drive); the former of which has been the subject of a somewhat controversial scheme elicited by a prominent East Indian businessman to turn it into the official 'Punjabi Market' for Vancouver.

We can therefore appreciate that the Italian businesses have managed to ward off competition from other ethnic minority groups; but how can we explain the apparent paradox of a declining local population base on the one hand, and a cultural, retailing and recreational infrastructure which is strengthening, on the other? One possible explanation arises from the use of store names as ethnic 'signals'. There is even a possibility that one may have filtered out in the process those Italian businessmen that for one reason or another, perhaps in the interests of gaining wider acceptance, may have chosen a more Anglo-Saxon prefix such as 'Old World' or 'Grandview'. The last decade in Canada has witnessed a profound shift in attitudes and values, partially stimulated and
Figure 4.11  One Example of an Italian Specialty Store that is still 'Culture-Specific'

Figure 4.12  One Example of an Italian Specialty Store that is no longer as 'Culture-Specific'

(Source: J. McIntosh)
reinforced by a government policy explicitly encouraging Multiculturalism. It is this policy which has no doubt prompted many other ethnic groups to adopt a far higher profile than previously within the mainstream of Canadian society (Anderson and Frideres, 1981). As we have seen, the Italians as a group have rallied particularly strongly in these circumstances, being one of the most vocal both politically and symbolically, of all the ethnic minority groups. This 'coming-out' process is reflected quite vividly in the present day streetscape of Commercial Drive (two examples of which are portrayed in figures 4.11 and 4.12); and has reached the extent that one enterprising group of Italian businessmen have proposed that Commercial Drive be renamed 'Garibaldi Way' in homage to the Italian folk hero. Not surprisingly, this suggestion was nipped in the bud by the main body of local retailers, the Grandview Merchants and Property Owners Association (Highland Echo, 4th July 1983).

A second factor is the loyalty which the Italians have demonstrated towards Commercial Drive. At no time is this loyalty more obvious than during the increasingly popular annual 'Italian Market Day' (see figure 4.13) which fortuitously, on the occasion of Italy's World Cup victory in 1982, attracted a lively crowd of over 15,000 onto the street (The Province, 12th July 1982). On a more mundane level, it is apparent from observation and conversations with local businessmen that the number of Italians along the Drive increases quite considerably at the weekends. Much of this increase can be attributed to those members of the Italian community who regularly visit the area from other parts of the city, sometimes over great distances, to obtain those goods and services that cannot be found at their local shopping centres. A 'satellite' Italian shopping district is however just beginning to develop along Hastings Street in North Burnaby, a growth area for the Italian population. The hypothesis that an ethnic complex will shift its emphasis away from the more localized daily
Figure 4.13  Italian Market Day, 11/7/82. (Source: J.Harrison, Highland Echo)
service provision, to one of a more specialized higher-order nature in response to this consumer behaviour, is partially borne out by the survey results. The largest net gains in the number of outlets from 1962 to 1982 have been made by the 'restaurant and cafe' (from only 4 to 35) as well as the 'specialty food' (from 12 to 19) sectors, whilst the 'hardware' (e.g. supplies for housing renovation) and 'adult style' (e.g. shoe stores, fashion boutiques and hair stylists) sectors have fallen back.

This shift in Italian consumer demand orientation has been further reinforced by another much wider consumption trend. In the last decade or so, the boundaries of the average person's tastes and preferences have widened quite significantly, so that not only are more people spending more time and money in the act of consumption, but they are also drawing on a wider range of cultural goods and services in order to satisfy those needs (The Financial Post Magazine, 1983). Consequently, the respect and regard for things 'ethnic' has now become a strong motivating force for the consumer. Or, as one local commentator has wryly observed "it has become fashionable to patronize (perhaps in both senses of the word) the ethnic businesses on the Drive" (Bulhozer, 1979:9). Many of the Italian specialty stores and recreational establishments along Commercial Drive as well as the several importing companies based in Grandview's warehouse district, have therefore maintained and improved their standing; not only as a result of extra-local Italians who come to 're-live' or 'preserve' their cultural heritage and social networks, but also from the increased custom of both local and city-wide non-Italians.

This consumer trend is reflected, and to a point, promoted in the 'community profile' and restaurant and cafe reviews that occasionally appear in the newspaper leisure sections and magazines. Articles like the one entitled "Grandview Needs Only the Canals" (The Vancouver Sun, 16th June 1967) and the
most comprehensive of them all, a "Guidebook to Ethnic Vancouver" (Petrie, 1982) are brimful of evocative and colourful descriptions of the Italian specialty foods, fashions, customs and general conviviality of Commercial Drive. One of Vancouver's best-known food critics has in fact, recently opened what promises to be a fairly select restaurant along Commercial Drive.

The local merchants have responded to this increased demand by first catering more specifically to this section of the market. Thus, we have recently witnessed a proliferation of restaurants and cafes along Commercial Drive (plotted in figure 4.10) on a scale that is staggering even when compared to the remainder of the city. Recently, the merchants have entered a third stage in their settlement on the Drive which might best be described as symbol amplification. Partially funded by funds from the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) (10 percent of the total allocated to the neighbourhood) many of the businessmen, though initially reluctant, have sought to reinforce and develop the 'Italian' quality of the Drive in an endeavour to preserve their stores in the face of severe competition from larger suburban retailing outlets. Elaborating on techniques used a generation earlier, this has been achieved by the use of such devices as brightly-coloured awnings, old-fashioned street lighting, tree-planting and bold Mediterranean looking signs, which all serve to confirm the outsider's preconceptions about the place. City planners have followed a similar tack in Part 2 of the Grandview-Woodland Area Policy Plan that deals specifically with Commercial Drive, and was intended to overlap with the NIP planning (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1980). As can be seen from the summary list of goals reproduced from the plan in figure 4.14, an important emphasis has been placed by the planners, in consultation with local merchants and community groups, upon the Drive's aesthetic qualities. The underlying assumption of the plan is that Commercial Drive should be viewed as
Figure 4.14  Goals For Commercial Drive's Future.

1. Maintain Commercial Drive as a district retail shopping centre - i.e., providing goods and services for the residents of the neighbourhood.

2. Enhance the Drive's unique social and physical character: retail continuity, diversity of goods and services, ethnic emphasis, design characteristics, pedestrian orientation.

3. Reinforce the Charles Street to Third Avenue area as the shopping core of Commercial Drive.

4. Provide off-street parking and improved lane access.

5. Improve the appearance of the drive.

6. Reduce conflicts between Commercial uses and near-by residential areas: noise, traffic, parking.

7. Promote the economic viability of Commercial Drive's small-scale businesses.

8. Encourage merchant participation through a Chamber of Commerce and on the Grandview-Woodland Area Council and/or other local groups.

(Source: from The Grandview-Woodland Area Policy Plan, Part II.
Vancouver City Planning Department, 1980)
distinct centre serving neighbourhood residents and a unique shopping area in
Vancouver, attracting shoppers from throughout the City and adjoining suburbs.

(b) 'Discovery'

Although the Italian presence both in terms of magnitude and symbol is as strong now as ever, there are a number of indications that the Drive may once again be the scene of yet another 'invading' culture, from a very different social group. In a paper provocatively entitled "Little Italy...For How Long?", Bill Bulhozer, a former local planner for the Grandview area observes that:

Commercial Drive is the focus of an extremely diverse community, an urban environment that has always been in the process of becoming something else. The pressures for change have never been more unrelenting than they are today (1979: 4).

The "pressures for change" to which he refers have, in his mind, three fundamental root causes. The first relates to the large scale development of apartments that have wiped out substantial tracts of single-family housing, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. For now, it should be pointed out that this development has profoundly altered the demographic structure of the Drive's local clientele, and in the process has threatened its family-oriented stores. The second root cause is based on the expectation widely held expectation at that time, that Commercial Drive might become a target for decentralized office location, attracted by the low rents and comprehensive 'C-2' zoning of the Drive. As yet, this has not proved to be that serious a threat; however, the proposed Advanced Light Rapid Transit (ALRT) station at the Broadway and Commercial Drive intersection will undoubtedly spark some office development in the near future.

The third and most pervasive causal factor in Bullhozer's opinion, is the possibility of the neighbourhood being 'discovered' on a grand scale by a group of individuals that have been more traditionally associated with the west side
of the city. The "new wave" or "counter-culture" as it has frequently been referred to in the past (Roszak, 1968), is an amorphous and loosely connected group of students, radicals, feminists, gays, artists, pre-, semi- and full-professionals, amongst others, who have come to Grandview-Woodland either as visitors or, eventually, as residents in search of cheap housing and something more besides. Their impact upon the neighbourhood has been two-fold. First, in the realm of housing; and second, in the various formal and informal institutions that they have helped to create in the area, particularly in and around Commercial Drive. It is the latter of these two impacts that will be the subject of discussion for the remainder of this section.

The directory inventory suggests that the rather broadly defined category of 'Public' institutions has been the sector of greatest growth, with a grand (but highly variable) total of 21 in 1982, compared to only 4 in 1962. Within this category, a distinction was made between the official government agencies and those projects that were either partially or totally funded by the government in conjunction with charitable and voluntary associations. In both cases there has been a dramatic increase, particularly in the period from 1972 to 1976. Where there was once only the traditional charitable organizations such as the Salvation Army and Saint Vincent de Paul, now one can bear witness to an impressive array of community support activities that are indicative of the nation-wide proliferation of government funded services since the turn of the 1970's. The pull of the Britannia Community Services Centre (figure 4.17) that has been described by one of its organizers as a "supermarket of human resources", in addition to the ease of accessibility and rents that are especially low in this part of the Drive, have all contributed to make Grandview the leading public service 'haven' of the east side of Vancouver. The impact of these factors has already been noted in an earlier section of this chapter.
KEY

A Vancouver Indian Centre
B Kiwassa Neighbourhood House
C The Lion's Den
D Kettle Friendship Society
E Eastside Family Place
F B.C. Pensioner's Salvage Assn.
G Christmas and Camping Bureau
H Britannia Community Services Centre:
   (a) Local Area Planning Office
   (b) RRAP Office
   (c) Consumer Help Office
   (d) Immigrant Resources Office
   (e) Family Services Centre
   (f) Al Matison Lounge (Seniors)
   (g) Library, School, Pool, etc.
I MOSAIC (Lingual Services)
J NDP Constituency Office
K REACH (Medical & Dental)
L Greater Vancouver Library Foundn.
M HSGW Homemaker Service
N North Health Unit/ SWAT (Seniors)
O Salvation Army Citadel
P Eastside Senior's Activity Group
Q Salvation Army Thrift Shop
R Ministry of Human Resources

Figure 4.15 The Locations of Publicly Funded Community Services and Support Groups within Grandview-Woodland, 1983
Figure 4.16 The Locations of Important Formal and Informal Social Worlds of the 'New Wave' within Grandview-Woodland, 1983
which identified a remarkably high concentration of single-parent families in the area. Because of the temporary and uncertain nature of government funded projects, especially recently with the Provincial Government's 'restraint' program, there have been quite substantial turnover rates in this sector. Nonetheless the 'public' status of the section of the Drive that runs southward from Venables Street to Williams Street is still readily apparent (see figure 4.15). A fuller account of the nature and significance of the processes behind this change will be postponed until the following chapter.

A second element of the general process of 'discovery' is the set of 'Private' institutions that have been either imported or created within the neighbourhood by this new wave subculture. These can conveniently be subdivided into three main sections: 'cultural', 'retailing' and 'social', but they are in reality both mutually interactive and supportive. The locations of these various institutions are plotted in figure 4.16 and a spatial concentration in the same general vicinity of the public groups is noticeable.

The Vancouver East Cultural Centre (figure 4.18) has undoubtedly been the most significant and influential of all of these institutions in the discovery of Grandview-Woodland. The "Cultch", as it is more popularly known, originated in 1973 at a time when 'alternative theatre' was beginning to take off throughout Canada. The main instigator was a particularly dynamic director who was aided by an enthusiastic group of youth workers and government job creation funds. The site, a recently deserted Methodist church, was suggested to him by the chairman of a local umbrella organization of housing and anti-poverty groups, who was anxious to bring theatre into Grandview-Woodland. Three distinct locational advantages were afforded by the the site. First, the building itself could not only provide ideal space for theatrical and musical productions by virtue of its size and excellent accoustics, but also the
Figure 4.17  A 'Public Location Leader': The Britannia
Community Services Centre

Figure 4.18  A 'Private Location Leader': The Vancouver
East Cultural Centre

(Source: J. McIntosh)
all-important environment, which the director has described as being "reminiscent of a miniature European opera house" (Waddell, 1981: 30). Second, although it was true that Grandview's blue-collar population was hardly the ideal base for local support (a fact that was confirmed in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program committee's 'needs and priorities survey' which found that theatre was ranked at the bottom of a list of facilities most wanted in the neighbourhood); the recent connection of Venables Street with the Georgia viaduct permitted convenient access to the cultural centre for the west side audience, upon which the centre was, and is still largely dependent, according to the present executive director. Third, the close proximity of Commercial Drive ensured that a mutually beneficial relationship could be developed between the centre and the numerous restaurants and coffee bars which could provide refreshment for these theatre-goers. In the period since its inception, the VECC has gone on not only to establish itself as one of the city's most respected and innovative theatres, but has also gained national and international repute. Most of the effort today is directed towards the production of Canadian and foreign first-run plays, whilst the remainder of the time is allotted to classical and folk music concerts, as well as mime and dance. The centre is still however, very conscious of its role locally. The continued success of the 'pay what you can' children's matinees and Christmas Craft Fairs in attracting local interest has encouraged the executive director in her attempt to partially shift the emphasis of the centre away from "straight theatre" to a truly "cultural centre" that would incorporate street theatre and increased local participation. On a more practical level, apart from the occasional problem over street parking, the centre still maintains a good relationship with its immediate neighbours. With regards to the role of the centre in promoting residential change, the executive director admits that since
she and several of the centre's workers had moved in to the area, many friends had followed on their recommendation.

The VECC remained isolated in the 'cultural desert' of the East End until 1981 when it was joined by the Vancouver East Cinema, a younger sister of a popular arts oriented cinema on the west side of Vancouver. The cinema is still owned by two East Indian brothers, but is run by another person who is responsible for the booking policy that brings in the more obscure re-runs and foreign language films that purposely draw people from all over the Lower Mainland and not just the local neighbourhood (Georgia Straight, 23rd September 1983). Recent and important additions to the Drive's cultural repertoire, are the Oddfellows Hall, a regular venue for benefit concerts for a range of political and social causes that feature some of the more progressive local rock bands: and the York Theatre which, like the Vancouver East Cinema, was once an East Indian cinema (and a small repertory theatre before that), but now specializes in video recording together with African beat and Reggae 'roots' concerts (billed "Live on the Drive"). In this vein, the new wave has also spawned its own media. The local cable-television stations for example holds a weekly magazine show entitled 'East Side Story' that gives an update on the latest political issues and meetings. The East End based city co-operative radio program 'Red Eye' has also devoted a whole morning held in the Britannia Community Centre Cafeteria, to the "scene" developing on Commercial Drive. Finally, a quarterly resource directory for the Province's counter-culture, called Common Ground contains many entries from a range of organizations in the East End, but in terms of sheer numbers lags considerably behind Kitsilano, still, it seems, the "counter-culture capital" of the Lower Mainland (for the 'discovery' of Kitsilano see Ley, 1981a).

In the retailing sector, the Octopus Books East bookstore is the key new
Figure 4.19 A Sample of the Information Notice-Board at the 'Octopus Books East' Store

Figure 4.20 The 'Toucan' Fashion Boutique Sandwiched by Italian stores along Commercial Drive

(Source: J. McIntosh)
wave landmark along the Drive. Like its sister organization situated on 4th Avenue in Kitsilano, this bookstore not only offers the latest in 'political' and 'social movement' literature, but also serves as an important gathering place, sometimes hosting poetry and literature reading sessions, and an information source, boasting one of the most comprehensive information boards for the city's new wave (figure 4.19). In addition, there are a number of co-operatively run stores ('The East End Food Co-op', 'Uprising Breads' (figures 4.21 and 4.22), the 'People's Co-op Bookstore' and the 'CRS Workers Co-op'); storefront art studios ('Beckmans' and the 'Eastside Area Gallery'), fashion stores ('Toucan' (figure 4.20), 'Changes' (second-hand clothes) and 'High Life Records') and various others in the neighbourhood. Each of these have individually contributed to the 'new wave streetscape' complete with artistic graphics and a smattering of posters and notices, that has increasingly become a feature of Commercial Drive.

On the social front, the new wave has been responsible not only for the strengthening of the existing coffee bar culture, but also the creation of a distinct hybrid of it, that is now integral to the social and cultural life of the Drive. Much of the increase in the 'recreational' sector along the Drive noted earlier can be ascribed to the billiard halls and coffee bars; the fact that eight of the nineteen billiard parlors in Vancouver are located here is indicative of the relative importance to the neighbourhood. On the exterior, apart from some minor design modifications, these billiard halls look much alike. However, on the inside it is quite apparent, even from just casual inspection that the social worlds which they harbour are quite different. We can initially distinguish between those billiard halls that are still the sole preserve of what Polsky (1967) has described as the "bachelor sub-culture", and those that have been the subject of either a partial or total status passage and
Figure 4.21  The 'East End Food Co-Operative' Store

Figure 4.22  The 'Uprising Breads' Co-Operative Bakery

(Source: J. McIntosh)
are now the domain of the new wave. The most extreme example of the former type along the Drive is the 'Grandview Recreations' billiard hall (figure 4.23). This is the haunt of the Italian male, from an ethnic group which has preserved the bachelor sub-culture more successfully than most others. A typical scene within the hall is most succinctly described by Bulhozer thus:

Inside the bar, little groups of older men with greying hair and dark-coloured suits, sit at the tables and harangue one another in tumultuous Italian. More young men stand at the counter, drinking expresso and fruit drinks in tiny bottles, smoking. From further back, beyond the doorway marked 'l'ingresso in questo locale e reservato ai soli membre', comes the occasional click of billiard balls and more animated conversation. The walls of the bar are lined with photographs of soccer teams, sports trophies and maps of the Calabria region of the south of Italy. (1979: 1).

It is here, and to a lesser extent at 'Albert's Billiards', the 'Lusitania' and the 'Pofi' bar, all in close proximity to each other, that the stranger (i.e. non-Mediterranean) must be wary because the home territory is most clearly marked and defended. At 'Britannia billiards' adjacent to the community centre, a social world composed of youths from a variety of ethnic groups (i.e. a 'nascent' bachelor sub-culture) can be found both within and outside the hall, generally earning their reputation as the "local nuisance", and frequently leaving their unmistakable mark upon the bus shelter across the road.

The billiard hall next door to the radical bookstore, on the other hand, has undergone a partial status passage which has been reflected in a change of name from the 'Toureira cafe' to 'Joe's' (figure 4.24). This is essentially a Portuguese bar with all the obvious trappings (i.e. glamour calendars and soccer teams on the wall) of a Southern European all-male haunt, but with an almost incongruous predominance of Anglo-Saxon males and more significantly, females. It is here where the academic can feel very much at home, playing alongside a few of the remaining Latino youths that frequent the place, and being served
Figure 4.23  One Distinctive Social World: 'Grandview Recreations' Billiard Hall

Figure 4.24  And Another: 'Joe's' Coffee Bar

(Source: J. McIntosh)
first-rate cappucinos by the genial Portuguese bar-tender. Although he
acknowledges that the place has changed quite considerably, business is as good
as ever thanks to the presence of a group of assorted poets, artists (the corner
on which 'Joes' stands was featured in a recent photographic exhibition entitled
"Night for Day"), co-op workers, students, political and feminist activists,
amongst others who now form a hefty portion of his patrons. The impact of this
group is already most clearly evidenced in the modifications that have recently
been made to the interior decor of the coffee bar. Gone are all the Portuguese
male memorabilia which have been replaced by a fresh coat of paint and the same
posters and leaflets that populate the bookstore next door. As the photograph
shows, 'Joe's' exterior has also been the subject of a certain amount of
redecorcation in the form of a steadily expanding collection of graffiti, the
political orientation of which would seem to suggest that those responsible were
not all members of the 'local nuisance' group mentioned above. Indeed, 'Joes'
(along with the 'Waldorf' hotel-pub also in Grandview) was included in a
satirical mock questionnaire on Vancouver's feminist culture, as one of the
options for a place to go after "the meeting" (Kinesis, March 1983). Although
the male gay community in Vancouver is heavily concentrated in a few
sub-districts of the West End, the female gay community by contrast, is not
nearly as well-defined spatially. Within the East End, Grandview would appear
to be a fairly important area for this group, but to what extent it is difficult
to say.

In the last year, two coffee bars, the 'Zagreb' and 'La Quena', have been
opened nearby to 'Joes', specifically for this new wave clientele, and have
thereby in the process subjected the institution of the coffee bar to an almost
total status passage. The latter of these two is striking, as it is a
non-profit, non-sexist establishment set up by the Canadian-Latin America
Cultural Society for the expressed purposes of cultural celebration and political discussions of Latin American and Labour issues in particular. Back in the Italian section of Commercial Drive, the 'Bar Centrale' and 'Mia Calabria' along with a host of followers, appear to be catering to a more fashionable stratum of the new wave that may not be indigenous, in addition to their Italian regulars. The latter has managed these two social worlds in a particularly intriguing fashion, by physically separating them into two rooms, one with quite an ostentatious decor (i.e. fountains, statues and luxurious chairs) designed presumably for the 'visitors'; and another more modestly furnished room at the back, full of old Italian men who look suspiciously as if they are gambling.

This invading culture though actually quite small in terms of numbers (it is almost impossible to quantify their presence within the neighbourhood) has certainly done much in a relatively short period of time to revitalize and diversify the local community's socio-cultural structure. Its presence does not appear to be widely perceived as a threat to the neighbourhood's status quo and there are few if any reported instances of conflict between the various factions. However, several commentators have expressed some concern about the implications that this group may have for the future of the neighbourhood. Bulhozer for one, draws the almost inevitable parallels between present day Grandview and the Kitsilano of the late 1960's that eventually went on to become an expensive trendy neighbourhood, its Fourth Avenue craft shops being replaced with designer boutiques and fitness centres. In addition, a newspaper article encouraging city-wide participation in the Italian market-day, makes a sad reference at its conclusion to "Little Italy's Fading Glory" (The Province, 15th July 1980). Finally, a hint of a lesson being well learned can be discerned in the following extract from an article published in one of the province's glossy
leisure magazines:

Ah, there's the rub. The word is out that neat things are happening over There...But when the hallucinatory gangs of street-roaming youths have been replaced in the popular imagination by well-dressed seekers after pleasure, Over There will have become Over Here. And where will we be able to go then for something special? (White, 1980: 109).

(c) Conclusion

In this section we have traced the colonization of Commercial Drive within Grandview-Woodland by two entirely divergent social groups, as it has been reflected in the institutions and streetscapes they have collectively produced. Certain similarities are apparent between the Italian and new wave groups. Not only have they produced their own range of retailing outlets but also a collection of supportive cultural and recreational facilities which have been the scenes of distinctive formal and informal social worlds--the coffee bar institution being the notable commonality between the two. As a result, they have both had a revitalizing effect upon the local economy. Both have also created their own distinctive, if dissimilar, streetscapes and as a result, have visually enhanced their presence along the Drive. The net result of these two conditions is that their presence overall has appeared and still appears to be stronger than any of the other social groups living in the area, who by contrast, are much less well defined socially and territorially.

However, there are important differences between them. First, and most obvious, is the fact that their constituent members have very different social, cultural and economic backgrounds and orientations. Second, the process of colonization by the Italians has gone full circle and will likely decline in prominence as the Italian ethnic group continues to assimilate and thereby disintegrate both socially and spatially. The new wave meanwhile is still in its genesis within this particular neighbourhood and would seem still many years
away from the 'Kitsilano prophecy' that was referred to at several points in the discussion. In addition, it must also be recognized that the form and general circumstances in which the new wave has developed in the East End is qualitatively, and moreover, consciously different from the one which was predominant in the west side of the city a decade or more ago. Finally, it is also interesting to note, that whereas in the case of the Italians there was a definite lag between the residential settlement of the neighbourhood and the establishment of a retailing and cultural focus, in the case of the new wave, it would appear that this lag may in fact have been reversed. It is probably true that the institutions currently set in place along Commercial Drive are to a certain extent still dependent on city-wide participation, whilst the local base develops. However, the degree of dependency upon external support is at present, extremely difficult to quantify.

4.6 Evolving Residential Environments: At the Crossroads
(a) Zoning History

The foundations of land use zoning controls in the City of Vancouver were laid down by Harland Bartholomew and Associates, town planning consultants from St. Louis, Missouri, in their master plan for the newly amalgamated city in 1929 (Vancouver Town Planning Commission, 1928). Adopting a concentric model of land use as their guide, the neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodland was absorbed by the rather generous wedge of 'three-storey multiple dwelling' (RM-3) zoning that enveloped the city's commercial core and fringing industrial areas. In the first 30 years of its inception, the plan's effect on the city was felt not so much in the realm of land use control but in the specific design elements that it considered to be appropriate for the landscape architecture of the "City Beautiful"; such as the need for visual coherence and variety, as well as the
image of civic grandeur—though none of these elements was of course, that
significant for the relatively depressed communities of the East End
(Todhunter, 1983).

By 1963, it was clear that the zoning legislation had had very little
impact on the housing stock in Grandview-Woodland, which remained largely
single-family and duplex in form. Only 3 percent (700 suites) of the potential
units under this zoning had been actually developed as apartment units. Indeed,
apart from the West End where this figure was as high as 41 per cent, this was
the case in all of the other apartment areas in the city. In an endeavour to
respond to this problem of underdevelopment, city planners drew up in 1958, the
'Apartments Zoning Report', and then in 1964, a follow up to this report entitled
'Apartment Zoning and Commercial Centres' (Vancouver Technical Planning Board,
1964). The main thrusts of both of these reports were first, to examine the
future needs of the city for apartment zoning, so that this could be more
realistically matched with the zoned supply, and second, to choose 10
residential districts with existing commercial centres were chosen as suburban
locations around which the dispersed apartment development from the West End
could cluster. The effects of these recommendations upon Grandview, was that
the area around Commercial Drive and First Avenue was targetted as a suburban
commercial centre by virtue of its accessibility and transit nodality. Second,
the height limit for the multiple-dwelling units was lifted from 3 to 10
storeys, endeavour to further encourage property development (the height limit
for the apartment area in the north-east of the neighbourhood was in 1976
reduced to 3 storeys again). Third, the strip of apartment zoning to the east
of Commercial Drive (Commercial-Victoria) was rezoned with property-owners'
approval to two-family and conversion zoning (RT-2); both because of the
perceived surplus of apartment zoning in the area as a whole, and also to
Figure 4.25 Land Use Zoning within Grandview-Woodland, 1975
(Source: Grandview-Woodland: An Information Handbook. Vancouver City Planning Department, 1975.)
preserve the better quality housing found in this strip. Since then, the zoning for the neighbourhood has remained stable (see figure 4.25). Only minor modifications and a certain amount of articulation of the legislation within some of the zoning categories have subsequently been introduced during the course of the three parts of the Local Area Plan; and these will be given due attention in the next chapter.

(b) Development Trends

As can be seen from Table 4.6 the actual land use breakdown differs considerably from that permitted by the zoning regulations. Only the second largest land user; 'Industrial', appears to coincide both quantitatively and areally with the zoning legislation. Bearing in mind that the bulk of the residential development of the neighbourhood occurred before the Master Plan was introduced, it comes as little surprise to see that the 'Single-family' category is significantly overrepresented in the area with much of the slack being taken from the 'Apartment' category.

However, it is also apparent that in the last two decades the proportion of single-family housing in relation to other dwelling types has fallen quite considerably in Grandview-Woodland, and the City of Vancouver as a whole (see Table 4.7). In the last decade this figure has now fallen below the city average. We can also appreciate, as in previous sections of this chapter, vast discrepancies between each of the sub-area's experiences—census tracts 51 and 54 remain solid single-family areas, whilst tracts 50, 55 and to a lesser extent 56, have undergone rapid change. The first and most obvious reflection of this change has been on the tenure divisions within the neighbourhood population. Since 1966, the gap between the city's average proportion of owner-occupiers and that for Grandview Woodland has continually widened. The home-owner group has gone from a majority to a minority group in the space of a decade. Only
Table 4.6
Land Use Breakdown of Grandview-Woodland Comparing Permitted with Existing Land Usage Levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND USE, TYPE</th>
<th>ACRES (No.)</th>
<th>TOTAL ACREAGE PERMITTED (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL ACREAGE EXISTING (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single-Family</td>
<td>550.14</td>
<td>33.47</td>
<td>45.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplex</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversion</td>
<td>98.02</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>8.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>74.25</td>
<td>17.82</td>
<td>6.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>317.39</td>
<td>26.90</td>
<td>26.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>75.61</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks, Schools, Public Use etc.</td>
<td>121.17</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>7.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Grandview-Woodland--An Information Handbook. Vancouver City Planning Department, July 1975)
Table 4.7
Dwelling Type and Tenure trends
in the City of Vancouver, Grandview-Woodland
and selected sub-areas, 1961 to 1981

1. Percentage of Total Dwelling classified as 'Single-Family'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>Vancouver City</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census Tract 50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Census Tract 51</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Percentage of Total Dwellings classified as 'Owner-Occupier'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>Vancouver City</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandview-Woodland</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Census Tract 55</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census Tract 51</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* : rounded to the nearest whole number

sub-areas 51 and 54 have managed to retain their owner-occupier majority.

Most of these changes can be attributed to the redevelopment activities that have occurred in the multiple-unit (RM-3) zoned areas, particularly in the latter half of the 1970's. In 1969, only 27 single-family units were demolished, but in 1977 this figure reached a peak of 170 (the second largest in the city at that time behind Kitsilano). With this upsurge in demolition activity, the total stock of Multiple Dwelling units rose by 27 percent from 5,571 in 1975 to 7,111 in 1980. The condominium construction boom that swept the city between the years 1970 and 1976 however, had a limited impact in Grandview. The number of condominium units built in this period in the more salubrious Kitsilano, Fairview and Mount Pleasant areas to the west was more than double that of the 565 built in Grandview-Woodland. Furthermore most of these units were built in the topographically advantageous north-eastern corners of the neighbourhood around Wall Street. Indeed, as can be seen from figure 4.26 this is by far the most developed of the four apartment areas in Grandview, with 56 percent of its total acreage being redeveloped into apartments. On the basis of the number of development permit applications for private apartment units that have been received in the three years since 1979, it would appear that this trend will continue, and the area to the south of First Avenue will considerably extend its redevelopment record.

The Britannia Slopes area however, seems destined to follow a course that will maintain its status as the least redeveloped apartment area, with over 80 percent of its total acreage remaining as houses. In recent years, only the short-lived Federal government's 'Assisted Rental Program' (ARP) subsidies and accompanying tax shelters in 1976-77 have produced development, but only of a poor quality and inexpensive nature. During those two years, one third of all existing apartments in the area were constructed. Since then, only one private
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% DPA's</th>
<th>% Subtotal APT. APT.</th>
<th>1980*</th>
<th>1980++</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>538</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentage of Total Acres Redeveloped to Apartment

**Number of Development Permit Applications for Private Market Apartment Units from 1980 onward

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**Figure 4.26** The Location and Redevelopment Trends of the Four Apartment Sub-Areas in Grandview-Woodland

(Source: Ronda Howard, Vancouver City Planning Department)
market development of 13 units has been built. This is particularly striking since the city, including other East End apartment areas, experienced a record number of housing starts during the last real estate boom that ended in 1981. When questioned on the reasons why the Britannia Slopes area was, and remains unattractive for private development, the local developers (who tend to be much smaller operations than those that have developed the West Side) have put forward the following reasons: the difficulty of assembling land (due to homeowners who are unwilling to sell); the predominance of small lots; the higher rental vacancy rates; and various negatively perceived features such as the lack of curbs, the adjacent industry and the existence of public housing projects (Dodds, 1982). With a relatively large amount of undeveloped land still remaining in the more preferable Wall Street Area, and the proposition of an ALRT station in close proximity to the south of First Avenue apartment area, it seems foolish in their opinion to develop in Britannia Slopes.

(c) The Future

We can see, therefore, that even now, the zoning by-law legislation has still had only a limited influence in terms of constraining and encouraging redevelopment activity of any substance. While the remainder of the city's apartment zoned areas have experienced intensive apartment and condominium construction throughout the last decade, the neighbourhood of Grandview-Woodland has emerged relatively unscathed. At present, it has an aggregate of 40 percent of its apartment-zoned areas underdeveloped, in contrast to comparative figures of 6 and 14 percent for the Fairview and Kitsilano inner-city neighbourhoods respectively, and 2 and 1 per cent in the suburban neighbourhoods of Marpole and Kerrisdale respectively.

In the last few years, the City Planning Department has become noticeably concerned with the problem of balancing, on the one hand, escalating demand for
housing stimulated by widely anticipated growth in the office employment sector especially in the C.B.D., and, on the other, a shrinking land base upon which to redevelop (McAfee, 1978). A number of studies have been undertaken specifically to deal with this most pressing problem, and this work has recently culminated in the compilation of the city's second Master Plan, entitled 'Coreplan' (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983a). A key element in this plan is the policy of 'densification' of housing within the city's boundaries to accommodate growth, in favour of the traditionally held option of continued sprawl in the newer suburbs. Preliminary estimates indicate that 46,100 new housing units could be built within Vancouver as shown in figure 4.27. About 10,900 of these would include single-detached dwellings and duplex conversions that would have to be demolished, leaving a new housing potential of 35,200 units (Mondor, 1981). Not surprisingly, a great deal of this potential lies in and around Grandview-Woodland, which theoretically has room for approximately 10,000 additional units according to these estimates. A major component of this increase would be absorbed through the construction of apartments and townhouses, which produce the highest net gain in terms of extra households in any given area.

However, there are several fundamental problems associated with this 'hard' development strategy. The first pertains to the appropriateness of the new housing mix. Townhouse and apartment development may be inconsistent with new housing demand if new units are too small and otherwise inadequate. Planners have responded in part to this particular problem by producing a series of design guidelines for interested developers and architects, that endeavour to accommodate families in high-density multiple units, but are not in any way binding (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1978). Second, the demolition of existing housing that may be affordable, family-oriented and of a sound quality,
### New Housing Potential for 35,200 Dwelling Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling Type</th>
<th>Additions</th>
<th>Demolitions</th>
<th>Net Additions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single-Detached</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>6,600</td>
<td>-4,600</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duplex and Conversion</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>4,300</td>
<td>5,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment and Townhouse</td>
<td>34,600</td>
<td>10,900</td>
<td>34,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Dwellings</td>
<td>46,100</td>
<td>10,900</td>
<td>35,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.27** Spatial Distribution of Housing Capacity within Specific Dwelling Types for Vancouver

(Source: Quarterly Review, January 1981, Vancouver City Planning Dept.)
might exacerbate the housing situation of the present occupiers who may not be suited to the new housing stock. An indication of this problem may be observed from figure 4.28, which portrays one of a group of single-family houses due to be demolished that is daubed by the inscription "Where will the poor go? You can't hide the truth!". It is also recognized as being problematic for the city's housing policy:

Herein lies a conflict in the role the city is being asked to play in housing. The conflict is between policies to retain and maintain existing single-family communities vs. pressures to provide additional accommodation for newly formed households and the elderly (McAfee, 1975: 13).

Finally, as we have seen from the discussion of the Britannia Slopes area, it is possible and indeed probable, that the demand for this type of accommodation in a particular place just may not be sufficient. One of Vancouver's leading new wave writers has ventured, in an article discussing the demise of the Kitsilano scene, the following strategy to deal with this problem:

More as a gag than anything else, 'Don Juan' suggested to me that it is perfectly possible to create another Kitsilano, in, say Grandview-Woodland. Zone the whole area for apartments; existing housing would be left to deteriorate while the owners waited to make their killing: almost instant affordable housing (Rossiter, 1981: 23).

The spatial mismatch of supply and demand has prompted the city planning department to suggest tentatively that some more economically viable sections of the west side of the city that are currently zoned for single-family should be rezoned to multiple dwelling (Mondor, 1983c). Apart from the obvious political ramifications engendered by this initiative, it is also notable for the possibility that it may serve to further preserve the status quo in Grandview-Woodland, to a certain extent by deflecting developer interest elsewhere in the next round of development.

In light of these problems, planners have considered a second 'softer'
Figure 4.28  A Poignant Illustration of One of the Problems Associated with Densification through Apartment Development at 2nd/Woodland in the Study Area

(Source: J. McIntosh)
approach to densification, in the 'Duplex and Conversion' zones of the city. Of the net housing potential figure of 35,200 units, some 5,200 or 14.8 percent, have been credited to this dwelling type category. A multiple conversion dwelling, usually referred to as a 'conversion' is an existing building converted from its original use (most often single-family) into a number of suites, housekeeping rooms and/or sleeping rooms. Conversions are allowed in most residential zoning districts other than single-family (RS-1), but most conversion buildings are located in the inner-city conversion areas (refer back to figure 4.27 for their areal definition). In the 1960's when urban renewal was considered the solution to the problem of the older residential areas, the conversion zones were thought to be candidates for wholesale clearance and redevelopment. The 1970's, however, brought an appreciation of the value of conversion areas in sustaining the economic and social health of the city: they provided a supply of moderate-cost and ground-oriented rental accommodation (suited for families); a diversity of buildings and residents; and a useful transition area between areas of higher and lower densities. Conversion housing and lower densities. Conversion housing also assisted moderate-income people to become property-owners because income from suites could help to pay the mortgage, particularly at a time when house prices and interest rates were inflating rapidly. To protect these desirable aspects of the conversion areas, various plans and policies (such as ceasing to clamp down on illegal suites) were set in place to encourage the retention of existing buildings and to ease the process of conversion. The guiding force behind these proposals was the now familiar notion that social diversity in the old inner-city neighbourhoods could be preserved by preserving physical diversity (Hlavach, 1982).

If redevelopment in these areas had proceeded at the intended modest rates, and with all due concern for design compatibility with the surrounding
neighbourhood, this notion may have been borne out. Unfortunately, changes in market demand that have taken place in the course of the recent past have had some salient impacts upon the conversion areas, particularly on the west side of Vancouver. The Kitsilano, South Granville and Cambie areas have all been the locales of either rapid demolition of older property, replaced by new townhouse or duplex units, or, on a smaller scale, for example in the area immediately east of City Hall, of authentic restoration work by a group of dedicated owners. Both forms of redevelopment are expensive and these costs are inevitably passed on to the new tenants or owners. But even without this activity, the market cost of older homes has been so high that a trend towards higher-income residents in these areas is already noticeable (Johnston, 1976). This physical change has also brought about quite significant social change and has thus threatened the social diversity goal. In Kitsilano for example, the "more cats than kids" syndrome now appears to prevail with only 5 percent of the new households having any children (Hlavach, 1983).

The conversion area of Grandview-Woodland by contrast, has been the scene of a slow and patchy evolutionary process of redevelopment. Consequently, the local planning policy encapsulated in Part 1 of the Area Plan (see figure 4.29) that is based on the same principles as those espoused in the other conversion areas has proved to be far more resilient in Grandview-Woodland. The basic aim of the plan was, "to reinforce the stability of existing land use in the area, and emphasize the retention and rehabilitation of existing housing and the improvement of services primarily for the existing residents" (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1979: 3). The existing density of the 'Grandview-Victoria' portion of the neighbourhood is already higher than in much of the city for several reasons: the lots are small; houses are large; secondary suites are allowed as a conditional use in most of the area (and where they are
SUMMARY OF GOALS

1. Single Family Area
   Maintain single family character.

2. Victoria-Templeton Area
   Maintain predominance of single family and two-family housing.
   Maintain family character.

3. Commercial-Victoria Area
   Maintain varied density of single family, two-family and conversion housing. Encourage continued diversity of building types.

4. Turner-Ferndale Area
   Encourage innovative small lot single family housing, and continuous front-yard streetscape.

Figure 4.29 The Planning Goals and Areal Extent of each of the Zoning Sub-Divisions of the Grandview-Victoria Conversion Area

(Source: Adapted from Grandview-Woodland Policy Plan, Part 1, Vancouver City Planning Department, 1979)
not, many have been created illegally); and the 'Commercial-Victoria' (RT-2) section has a number of apartment buildings constructed prior to the 1960's when it was rezoned from RM-3. The estimates derived by city planners, however, infer that there is still room for some 1,880 additional housing units in this area, or about 20 percent of the city's total gross estimate.

This area also contains one of the most diverse collections of housing stock, in terms of both size and architectural style and merit. The visually eclectic streetscapes (one example of which is pictured in figure 4.30) bear testimony to the various waves of settlement that have been described during the course of this chapter. Each group has either left its mark, or is in the process of making its mark on the neighbourhood so that the scene described below is by no means untypical:

One carefully maintained house with unpainted cedar panelling and enormous brass address numbers seems to have been an architect's subject of attention. On the right side of the chic, professionally designed house is a house with pink stucco. Its wooden window frames have been replaced by modern aluminum frame windows. On the left side is a 'Vancouver Special', an enormous stucco-finished duplex that covers most of the small backyard. (Vancouver Sun, 3rd January 1981).

The most recent of these groups, the 'new wave' has been attracted either by the reasonable house prices (though East-West differentials are beginning to level out), or the lower rents of the area depending on their tenure aspirations and incomes. Both are interested in the older un-renovated 'character' buildings which are still in plentiful supply in this neighbourhood and, as one enthusiastic local resident remarked, "bear the unmistakable imprint of the hand of man" (Western Living, February 1981: 37). The young professional, first-time, home buyers are particularly interested in the renovation potential and expansion opportunities afforded by these buildings, which may not only add
Figure 4.30  A Typically Diverse Streetscape in Grandview

Figure 4.31  A Comprehensively Renovated Property in Grandview's Conversion Area

(Source: J. McIntosh)
value to it through 'sweat equity' but yield much needed extra income from a rented suite to offset the mortgage. One scenario involving a couple who have recently moved into the neighbourhood from Kitsilano is worth quoting at length:

When (they) decided to buy their own home they had to be realistic. Their combined incomes restrained any thoughts of a home in West Point Grey for instance, or Kerrisdale; they had no desire to commute from Vancouver's bedroom communities; Kitsilano and the West End were brilliant studies in poor urban planning as far as they were concerned. So they looked east, for an old house with a front porch, fireplace, bay window, stained glass and plenty of wood on the inside...what (they) found was a duplex priced well within their budget, which had all the 'necessaries', more space than they had anticipated (they hope to take over the whole house within five years), a spectacular view of the North Shore and downtown, plus something they didn't bargain for..."a sense of community" (White, 1980:108).

This latter component has also been keenly alluded to by another ex-Kitsilano renter, a lawyer who bought his Grandview home even after the period when a "killing" could be made, but still paid less than the going rate on the west side. There is a danger that even this situation may become rare. As one community worker has lamented:

This area was the best real-estate buy for years...not so today. We have just priced ourselves out of the working class area. People are suddenly becoming aware that this is good place to live (Vancouver Sun, 19th January 1974).

It is interesting to note the increasing prominence of "handyman specials" with "old style" or "traditional" architecture being advertised in the Multiple Listing Service of the Real Estate Board of Greater Vancouver in this area. In addition, this same organization has pointed to a 70 percent increase in housing sales in its Vancouver East area for the first quarter of 1983 over the figure for the previous year, making it the leading community for sales growth in the metropolitan region (Real Estate Weekly, 15th April 1983).
(d) Conclusion

At present there is little to indicate that renovation and redevelopment activity in the Grandview-Victoria conversion area has reached comparable proportions to those of some other areas. A tour of the area will reveal that the "chic, professionally designed house" (figure 4.31) is still very much the exception rather than the rule in this community, though there are three notable concentrations of these properties in the Commercial-Victoria sub-area, especially along Venables, Parker, Napier and William Streets, the Britannia Slopes apartment area (especially in close proximity to Grandview Park and the Britannia Community Services Centre), and the Wall Street apartment area (within two or three blocks of Wall Street). This impression would tie in favourably with the findings from the socio-economic data which hinted that the up-grading movement was only slight. So for now, the main threat to the social and physical diversity of the neighbourhood appears to have come from and will continue to come from apartment and condominium redevelopment which, as we have seen from the demographic data, has considerably reduced the number of families in the apartment-zoned areas (figure 4.32). In contrast, the renovation activities of the 'new wave' in the neighbourhood may have actually contributed positively toward the promotion of its social and physical diversity. Not only have they served to upgrade the visual appearance of some of the neighbourhood's housing stock and thereby increase the values of surrounding properties, but they have also created further rental opportunities for a range of people with smaller and less stable incomes who may not wish to live in apartment blocks. Furthermore, they have been responsible, as we saw in the last section, for the generation and maintenance of a complex of social worlds that were previously not known to this area; and, as we will shortly see, they have contributed significantly in the local political arena of the neighbourhood. Finally, it
Figure 4.32 One Future: A Three-Storey Apartment Block in Britannia Slopes

Figure 4.33 Another Future: The 'Tidal Flats' Housing Co-Operative

(Source: J. McIntosh)
might also be noted that, although the initial effect of the influx of these young couples into the neighbourhood might initially reduce the neighbourhood's density, given that many of them are planning to raise a family in the near future (which is often an important factor in their decision to buy a house), Grandview's 'family' status may in the end be preserved by this group.

All these benefits notwithstanding, however, there is some concern amongst the planning community and elsewhere that, in the wake of another real estate revival in the city, the neighbourhood may in fact go the way of Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes, now that the foundations of settlement have been set in place and the area is "known". But it is also true that several points may collectively serve to dampen the full impact of the housing market revival. First, several other areas of the city have been earmarked as potential targets for extensive redevelopment. The Downtown-Eastside neighbourhood for example, has been singled out, by virtue of its proximity to the site of the 1986 World Exposition and the more permanent B.C. Place Development on the north shore of False Creek (Vancouver Sun, 7th March 1984). Second, the Local Area Plan may have more impact in Grandview than the others as it has been assembled before the fact, rather than as in Kitsilano, too late to manage the course of change. In addition, a document intended to tighten up the design regulations and incentives for RT-1 and RT-2 zoned areas which were previously flaunted so obviously, is being formulated with the Grandview case especially in mind (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983b). The changes in the zoning provisions that are being proposed within the RT-2 zoned areas are intended, at the same time to dissuade individual home-owners and small developers from replacing older houses with 'Vancouver Specials'.

Others are looking either towards the public sector or the "third-sector" housing option (Sigston, 1982), to preserve and consolidate the affordable and
family-oriented stock of the neighbourhood. The area continues to be a key location for public housing projects because of the relatively cheap land prices and the welfare facilities of the Britannia Community Centre. It already has one of the highest concentrations in the Vancouver Metropolitan Region, much to the chagrin of some of the local population. For the same reasons, Grandview has also become a prominent target for co-operative housing projects, which complement the other local co-operatively run activities mentioned earlier. With the recent opening of the 'Lakewood' and 'Tidal Flats' co-ops (see figure 4.33) costing $4.2 million and $2.2 million respectively, the number of projects built by the Inner City Housing Society has reached five, and another one is planned for 1984 (Highland Echo, 18th August 1983). In addition, a whole host of less formally based cooperatives (ie. not funded by CMHC) have sprung up in the neighbourhood, especially in the conversion area whose presence is belied by the numerous notices dotted about the neighbourhood advertising suites for "vegetarian, non-smoking, feminist, TM, politically correct, persons", that were once an exclusive feature of Kitsilano.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter an overview of neighbourhood change in Grandview-Woodland based on a discussion of five aspects of this process, has been presented. When considered collectively, the findings from each of the individual aspects blend together to provide us with a comprehensive picture of the socio-cultural dimension of the change process which can best be summarized into four distinctive historical stages:

(1) Early Settlement. It is in this period that the basic parameters of the settlement pattern and much of the present housing stock was established. Two features of this development were of special note. First, because of the
uncertain and speculative nature of the real estate market at that time, development was both rapid and uneven. Second, and related to the above, the range of size, quality and style of the housing stock reflected the social diversity of the local population which included members of the working, merchant and professional classes in its number. From the contemporary view-point, the importance of these two features is their contribution to the legacy of a housing stock of mixed quality, that in many ways is and will continue to be, a mixed blessing for the neighbourhood.

(2) Inter-War Period. In this period the neighbourhood entered into a land market slump. Consequently, there were only a few net additions to the housing stock. It was not, however, a period of stagnation as far as the composition of the local population was concerned. Many of the more wealthy sections of the predominantly Anglo-Saxon population left the area and were replaced subsequently by an array of immigrant ethnic minority groups, as Grandview became an important port of entry for immigrants. In the process, the social diversity of the local population that was such an important feature a decade earlier, was in part, exchanged for a new-found cultural diversity.

(3) Post-War Period. During this time the neighbourhood was subjected to changes of an even greater magnitude. Two developments associated with this period are of particular import. First, the Italians emerged as the dominant ethnic minority group, not only in terms of numbers (which subsequently fell), but also in terms of their respective impacts in the realms of housing improvement, retailing, and formal and informal social institutions. Second, there has been a marked shift away from the family household unit, traditionally the norm for this neighbourhood, towards more fragmented and single person units. A response to societal trends, and stimulated locally by apartment and condominium construction of a modest scale, this has profoundly affected the
area's demographic profile. Of lesser note, is the mild upgrading in the area's socio-economic status that was evident in this period.

(4) Present and Future. It is apparent from this chapter that much of the discussion, particularly toward the end is conducted in the future tense, indicating that the neighbourhood has not yet truly come out of the land marker slump. As was repeatedly stressed, the area still has the greatest potential for change under existing land use legislation in Vancouver. Set in the context of the city's pressing need to accommodate continued household growth, two development options for the neighbourhood's future were identified. On the one hand, a 'hard' development option involving replacement of existing stock by higher density multiple dwellings would undoubtedly serve to accelerate the demise of the area's family status. On the other hand, a 'soft' option, involving conversion activities, would bring about a more organic approach to densification that would preserve and enhance much of the existing stock, whilst creating additional residential opportunities. However, this option may also have an adverse effect upon the social diversity of the neighbourhood population as housing becomes increasingly expensive, so that, in the long run the neighbourhood may in fact turn full circle. At present, the competition between these mutually exclusive options resembles a race conducted at a snail's pace (especially when it is compared to the rates of development that have been, or are now being witnessed in other areas of Vancouver, particularly in the inner core). If and when the land market is stimulated, it is likely that the pace will pick up and the implications of this upon the socio-cultural structure of the neighbourhood will become immediately more profound.
CHAPTER 5

NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE AND THE LOCAL POLITICAL ARENA
IN GRANDVIEW-WOODLAND

We've been the Cinderella Community long enough.
(A.C. Holmes, publisher of the Highland Echo, 1952)

5.1 Introduction

If we refer back to the three specific research themes of the study that were stated at the beginning of Chapter 3, we will observe that the contents of Chapter 4 have already gone some way towards attending to the first of these (i.e. the changing socio-cultural structure of the neighbourhood under study). This accomplished, this chapter will consider the second research theme listed, namely "the form and significance of the political dimension of neighbourhood change". It is primarily concerned with the assemblage of groups and associations that have formed in the neighbourhood specifically to deal with local political matters. By focussing on the 'local political arena' we may be able to obtain a unique insight into the processes, and perhaps the problems associated with, inter-group relations and behaviour in a changing neighbourhood, for several reasons. First, the local political arena provides us with an interactive context for those social groups residing in a neighbourhood that may not normally be interactive with each other in everyday social life. Second, it reveals something about the patterns and motives behind participation by members of these various groups in local political affairs. Finally, we can observe, and therefore begin to understand, how and why certain important decisions which affect the rest of the community are made by individuals within the groups concerned.
In the interests of continuity and facilitating comparison, this chapter is organized along similar lines to the preceding chapter. An historical schema has been adopted that analytically carves up political activity in the neighbourhood, for the sake of convenience and clarity, into four distinct time periods on the basis of archival and documentary evidence. The first two of these will be outlined summarily under the heading of 'Early Activity' in an endeavour to inform the ensuing discussion of the neighbourhood's political tradition and thereby provide an important backdrop to the more contemporary phases. The third phase deals with the birth of widespread community action and support services that stretched from the middle of the 1960's to the mid-1970's. This period will be given a more detailed treatment for, as we shall see later, it serves as an interesting overture for the fourth major phase of local politics. This last phase will be examined through four separate case studies, so that a fairly comprehensive picture of the most recent developments within the local political arena of Grandview-Woodland can be composed. Throughout the course of this chapter, the following questions will be addressed:

(i) Which groups have been involved in the local political arena?

(ii) Why were they involved?

(iii) What effect did their involvement have upon the issues raised and decisions made in the neighbourhood?

(iv) What was the nature of the relationship within and between the group, other groups, and the rest of the neighbourhood?
5.2 Early Activity

(a) The Pre-War Years: Isolation and Occasional Small-Scale Mobilization

Transportation has always played a major role in Grandview-Woodland's residential and commercial development, and, not surprisingly therefore, it has often been a major focus for community action and involvement. As early as 1907, several residents created the first of many bodies to speak on behalf of the community, the Grandview Progress Association, to demand that Commercial Drive be paved from Graveley Street to Clark Park, the city limits at that time. Under the existing situation, many of the children had to walk to school along rail lines and women felt they were virtually imprisoned in the area because of the extremely limited pedestrian access. Two years later, the first version of the Grandview Ratepayer's Association was launched by several of the area's leading residents in order to press for local improvements, but met with little success. The small number and high turnover of the residents involved in these groups and other more socially-oriented groups (e.g. the Grandview Lodge of the Oddfellows) was a reflection of the recent and temporary nature of much of the settlement in Grandview as well as the importance attached to privacy by many of the residents of that day (McCririck, 1981). When the real estate slump hit the neighbourhood just before the outbreak of the First World War, both of these organizations dwindled to nothing and the community entered into a relatively lengthy period of political inactivity at the local level.

In addition to its provisions for land use zoning controls and landscape design features, the Bartholomew Plan of 1928 also directed a considerable amount of attention towards the development of a Major Street Plan for the city. Unfortunately, the Depression restricted the public funds necessary to implement the Plan, particularly in the acquisition of properties in built-up areas. Consequently, of the five roads recommended for improvement and
widening in Grandview, only the First/Terminal Avenue viaduct connector to the
downtown core was completed. Three times between 1930 and 1932, the Grandview
ratepayers in locally held plebiscites rejected either the idea or the expense
of this particular project. Finally, they were convinced, partially by Mayor
Gerry McGeer's proven skill at handling the financing of large projects, and
more than partially, by the agreement of the Canadian National Railway to honour
a 1910 promise that made them pay half of the cost of the bridge in exchange for
their right of way. It is almost ironic that a reporter at that time should write:

Perhaps its very isolation from the city compared
with other districts contributed to that local pride
and definite individuality which Grandview has never
lost and which may be observed in many places in the
locality yet. (The Province, 1st July 1938).

Indeed, the opening of the bridge in July 1938 seems to have spurred some
sections of the community out of their acquiescence.

The recently revitalized Grandview Chamber of Commerce was quick to
appreciate the economic spin-offs associated with the viaduct scheme, not only
as a result of enhancing the neighbourhood's attraction as an area for new
homes, but also for the new industries geared to the war effort. Thus
encouraged, the group also anticipated siphoning off large volumes of "tourist
traffic" into the area through a proposed link with the Lougheed Highway that
ran from the newer suburban districts, which the group heartily supported. In
the next two years, the Chamber of Commerce also made the first of a long series
of pleas for a community house in Grandview-Woodland, that in this case would be
financed through the sale of community debentures in return for life membership
(The Province, 12th February 1938). Community life was also given a shot in the
arm with the formation of the Grandview Community Association which was part of
a wider organization known as the 'Greater Vancouver Communities Council' that
sought to stimulate social and cultural activities throughout the region during and after the war. The hint of optimism creeping into the neighbourhood was demonstrated forcefully at the enormously popular Grandview Fetes and Sports Days but was momentarily checked by the decision made by the B.C. Electric Company to turn down the request made by 2,500 local residents for a bus service across the viaduct to downtown *(The Province, 7th July 1941)*.

During the Depression other sections of the community were active for very different political ends. For example the Grandview CCF Club and Progressive CCF Club, sponsored regular social activities, such as inviting speakers and showing films on the Spanish Civil War. Grandview-Woodland in particular was an important stronghold for the 'Canadian Commonwealth Federation' party that successfully contested the civic elections during the 1930's, before it was ousted by the right-wing 'Civic Non-Partisan Association' (NPA) formed expressly "to keep parties and politics out of city hall", in 1940 and subsequently withdrew from the municipal political scene *(Tennant, 1980)*.

(b) The Post-War Years: Identity and Grassroots Populism.

Once the war had passed, the local mood shifted back to those concerns that were beginning to emerge prior to its onset. The Grandview Chamber of Commerce was revived in 1949 and along with several familiar figures was bolstered by the infusion of some 'new blood'. These included a number of merchants who were eagerly anticipating future expansion in the area *(The Province, 1st March 1949)*. Almost immediately this group of 15 or so local merchants drew up a list of a dozen projects that included among other things, the imposition of parking restrictions and the "brightening" of Commercial Drive, the renewed request for a library facility, and more police protection for their property. However, it was not until the appearance in the early part of 1952 of a provocative feature article entitled "Grandview—Like an Island in
a Broad River" in the city newspaper, that a political movement of any great
effect began to develop (The Province, 2nd February 1952). Indeed, in many ways
this event can be viewed as an important turning point in the neighbourhood's
political career in the city. Within a week of its publication an angry crowd
of 800 or more local residents crammed the local theatre to pressure
representatives from City Council, the Parks and School boards to address eight
key policy issues in the first important stage of the "forgotten community"
campaign initiated by the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, the neighbourhood's
political muscle was further flexed by the birth of the second version of the
Grandview Ratepayer's Association (The Province, 20th February 1952). Formed
specifically by a few members of the Chamber of Commerce to take the lead in the
campaign for improvements in the neighbourhood, this organization differed in
that it also included among its membership residents who were not local
merchants. The ratepayers' group also actively encouraged representation from
other local groups such as the Lions, the PTAs, and the Grandview Legion in an
endeavour to broaden its political base and attracted a crowd of over one
hundred to its first meeting. The five men who spearheaded the assault on City
Hall, making numerous deputations to it, included a metal worker, a baker and a
labour lawyer. The last of these, Harry Rankin, made his political debut as
President of the Ratepayer's Association before becoming one of the city's most
well-known and resilient aldermen. In his autobiography, he describes how he and
the group progressed politically during the 1950's, both in terms of strategy
(by the early 1960's it had joined forces with the comparatively more
progressive Central Council of Ratepayers), and the scope of the issues it took
on (Rankin, 1975). In many ways, this was an important learning period for a
group of local activists that would eventually coalesce into the Committee of
Progressive Electors (COPE), the present left-wing civic party of Vancouver.
The combined forces of the Chamber of Commerce and the Ratepayer's Association, backed by a large group of local residents that could be depended upon to pack a meeting or sign a petition, served at last to project Grandview-Woodland on to the political map of Vancouver. Almost immediately, concessions such as road surfacing, bus service and ornamental lighting were gained from the City Council that now included Alderman Syd Bowman, an ex-president of the Grandview Chamber of Commerce and one of only five aldermen to have hailed from Grandview before 1970. Though of no great note, these individual victories served to generate an air of boosterism not known for many years along Commercial Drive that was reflected in the facelifting and expansion activities of many of its businesses (The Province, 30th October 1954).

Concurrently, the Ratepayer's Association had launched a voluntary "clean-up" campaign around the neighbourhood. Local demands were, however, thwarted over the issue of the local branch library, which had been a major concern in the neighbourhood for over forty years. Anxious to preserve its funds for the purpose of relocating the main library, the Vancouver Library Board fended off pressure for the branch library from both the local groups in the form of a 3,000 signature petition and several stormy meetings, and from the City Council spurred no doubt by these partisan skirmishes. So the neighbourhood had to wait another twenty years for the facility (The Province, 17th May 1952). On the other hand, political pressure for another local facility-- a community centre, did pay off more rapidly, and the facility was finally opened in 1964. The Ratepayer's Association insisted that the Parks Board should name the centre the "Grandview Community Centre" in recognition of the years of struggle that preceded it (The Province, 14th May 1963).

This task successfully completed, the Ratepayer's Association appears to have lost much of its momentum and was preserved from extinction only
momentarily when a Federal and Provincial public housing project was scheduled to be developed on an abandoned site that had long been promised by the Parks Board as a neighbourhood park for Grandview. In response, the "Plague City Hall" campaign, including a 400-signature petition and several presentations to City Hall, was launched by a hard core of 35 activists who lived in the vicinity of the site. The campaign was eventually rewarded by the opening of a temporary park, which was nevertheless developed as a public housing project only a year later (The Province, 7th July 1967).

(c) Conclusion

In this period we have not only witnessed the establishment of a distinctive identity and political tradition in Grandview-Woodland, but also some fundamental changes in the type of political activity that have taken place within it. Before the war, the neighbourhood appears to have been physically and politically isolated from the rest of the city. Action was undertaken intermittently on behalf of the community by a handful of local merchants and focusing almost exclusively on facilitating transportation in, and through the neighbourhood. In the aftermath of the war, local political activity not only gathered momentum, but also involved a broader cross-section of the local population that pursued for an increasingly broader range of issues. Although the concerns of merchants for the physical state and security of Commercial Drive were still paramount in the local political arena, there were a number of indications that the whole neighbourhood's physical and social infrastructure was beginning to stake a place towards the centre of the local political stage. Through experience, these groups appear to have gradually become more powerful, though the end results were usually not that spectacular. The Chamber of Commerce and the Ratepayer's Association however gradually became less prominent during the 1960's (reflecting a much wider structural change in North American
society); to be replaced by a new breed of community group which will be
discussed in the ensuing sections of this chapter. Apart from their involvement
in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) mentioned earlier and the
Advanced Light Rapid Transit (ALRT) issue, the merchants, as a distinctive
group, have all but disappeared from the local political scene. The editorials
in the Highland Echo seem to be the sole remaining mouthpiece and testimony for
this once vocal group. In them, Jack Burch, the newspaper's editor and an
ex-stalwart of the Grandview Chamber of Commerce during the 1950's, regularly
castigates both the merchants along Commercial Drive for neglecting the physical
condition and appearance of their thoroughfare and the Federal and Provincial
governments for their lack of support for small business. Many of the
Ratepayer's Association members went on to form the nucleus of support for the
fledgling Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), the municipal party that in
the last decade has gained significant power at city hall.

5.3 A Social World Evolves: Community Action and the Grandview-Woodland
Area Council, 1964-1971

During the course of the 1960's and early 1970's the local political
arena in Grandview-Woodland took on a new and fundamentally different form and
significance. Mention has already been made of the 'public discovery' of the
neighbourhood as witnessed in the proliferation of public support agencies
concentrated in storefronts along one stretch of Commercial Drive. It is now
appropriate to examine the various political processes that were responsible for
this proliferation. Although our focus will continue to be primarily upon the
developments as they are played out within the local political arena, the
analysis demands at least some consideration of the developments that were
occurring concurrently at other levels. To this end the diagram below (figure
5.1) presents a summary of some of the important reforms introduced within a number of political and non-political bodies in Canada during this period. Because of the constraints of time and space, a full discussion and explanation of each of these institutional changes is necessarily precluded (see Hardwick and Hardwick, 1974; Nowlan, 1977; Axworthy, 1979 for general overviews). Furthermore, a full-scale attempt to explain the dynamics of the crucial interconnections within and between the various levels of the political hierarchy, which served not only to provide the imagination and create the financial and structural opportunities, but also in some instances to constrain the activities of the local groups, is beyond the scope of the present project. The ramifications of these developments upon the local political arena will nonetheless be identified where applicable in the course of the following two sections.

The most important group to have emerged during this period and probably throughout the whole of the neighbourhood's political history was the Grandview-Woodland Area Council (GWAC). The 'Woodland Park Area Resources Council', as it was originally titled, was set up in 1964 at the instigation of the United Community Services, the Lower Mainland's leading privately funded social agency. The Area Council (renamed three years later in order to gain wider acceptance locally) was one of an increasingly large number of councils located throughout the region which subsequently became consolidated into one central consultative body known as the Conference of Local Area Councils. This 'local area approach', as it came to be known, was based upon the principle of stimulating local citizen self-help groups in a defined geographic community in partnership with the existing official social agencies (Community Chest and Councils of Greater Vancouver, 1965). At the same time, a similar organizational approach was also gaining credence with some of the city's
Figure 5.1 Diagram Summarizing some of the Important Shifts that took place within Selected Organizations in the period from the mid-1960's to the early-1970's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>RELEVANT BODY(S)</th>
<th>SHIFT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Local Group:</td>
<td>GWAC, ATTAC,</td>
<td>Co-ordinatory → Control Social → Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Concerns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Private Social Agency:</td>
<td>United Community Services</td>
<td>Centralized → Decentralized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The University:</td>
<td>REACH</td>
<td>Academic → Activist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>Dept. of Social Work, U.B.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Public Planning Agency:</td>
<td>City Planning Dept.,社</td>
<td>Centralized → Decentralized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Strategy</td>
<td>Social Planning Dept.</td>
<td>Physical Infrastructure → Social Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Scope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Municipal Govt:</td>
<td>NPA, TEAM and COPE</td>
<td>Corporate → Consultative/Participatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Provincial Govt:</td>
<td>Social Credit, NDP</td>
<td>Economic → Social/'Pro-East End'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Emphasis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Federal Govt:</td>
<td>Ministry of Urban Affairs, CMHC (RRAP)</td>
<td>Urban Renewal → Urban Rehabilitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Policy</td>
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</table>
planning staff. Consequently, one of the first actions of the fledgling Social Planning department was to assign a planner specifically to deal with Grandview-Woodland and Strathcona and complement the community development worker already hired by the United Community Services (Egan, 1977). The public-private partnership of the city's social agencies was thus forged and was to have a significant impact, particularly, in Grandview-Woodland.

The first five years or so of the Area Council's existence were spent undergoing a fairly extensive learning process. Precedents were few and far between and many of its activities were in an experimental vein. At that stage, the Area Council was composed entirely of professional people, most of whom did not live locally, but were working within Grandview-Woodland in a range of social agencies. Their main concern was that the Area Council should be geared to encouraging increased collaboration between the agencies in the area, so that more effective mechanisms for identifying and providing for local needs could be developed. The first step, therefore, was the drafting of the 'Woodland Park Area Study' in the early part of 1966 which identified among other things the pressing need in the local community for nursery school and day-care facilities, social adjustment and development programs, a library, and various recreational and cultural programs. The following year, the 'Halsey Report' named after a Salvation Army major who was then the president of GWAC, was commissioned jointly by the Grandview and Strathcona Area Councils. The main recommendation of the report was that a community services centre would most effectively deal with these needs and should therefore be immediately lobbied for (Committee on Redevelopment, Strathcona/Woodland Park Area Councils, 1967). This was essentially the starting point for an intensive campaign that culminated in 1976 with the opening of one of the most comprehensive and innovatively designed community centres in North America (Vancouver Sun, 17th December 1975). The
Britannia Community Services Centre can be seen today as a monument to a particular phase in the social and political history of Vancouver's East End. As Michael Clague, a local planner who went on to become the centre's first director has remarked in a retrospective look at its evolution:

The realization of Britannia is due to a fortuitous mixture of awakening social consciousness on the part of key people within the bureaucracies and within growing community organizations, adequate funds, and effective strategies. Sheer good luck had a hand too (Clague, 1977: 58).

Even after the community services centre project had been effectively initiated with the approval of City Hall in 1968, the Area Council continued to play an important part in its development. Its various members were gradually accumulating the all-important political 'know-how' from their involvement in a number of issues, including the 'Vancouver East Recreation Project' sponsored in 1967 by the Parks Board, the McSpadden adventure playground development in 1969, and in 1970, the controversial 'East-West' freeway debate (Pendakur, 1972). Through its involvement in the latter of these issues, the Area Council managed to strike up useful alliances: first, with the Strathcona Property-Owner's and Tenant's Association (SPOTA) which was fast becoming Vancouver's (and arguably Canada's) most prominent and powerful community group; and second, with another Grandview organization called the Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions (ATTAC). Formed in 1969, ATTAC was composed mainly of students from the Britannia High School, many of whom were from Italian or Asian families—a particularly important factor, given the indifference that had been displayed toward the Area Council by the adult sections of these ethnic groups. In addition to its work in educating and mobilizing local residents against the freeway proposals, ATTAC also worked with the Area Council to canvas for the Britannia Centre proposals. Indeed, much of the credit for the approval by
local residents of the by-law authorizing capital expenditure for city funds for this project (the first time ever that East Vancouver residents had supported a money by-law), has been given to this organization.

The nature and source of the Area Council's political strength on one level differed little from that which was described in the previous phase of political development within Grandview-Woodland:

Their techniques were not so much an expression of the ideologies of social activism then prevalent, as they were of good old-fashioned political wheeling and dealing. The numbers could be turned out for the mass protests while individual relationships were cultivated concurrently with politicians (Clague, 1977: 60).

Nevertheless, the Area Council was beginning to show signs of an organizational and political sophistication that had never before been evident in the neighbourhood. In addition to the long established private charitable organization such as the Vancouver East Lions, the Kiwanis, the Grandview Legion, as well as numerous local church organizations, the Area Council was instrumental in introducing into the local community an impressive range of progressive social support services that were either directly or indirectly publicly funded. The most important of these, the 'Information Centre', was initiated as a demonstration project in November 1967 under the auspices of the Area Council and the United Community Services. The information centre in Grandview was run, when funds were available, by community development workers (usually from the University of British Columbia's School of Social Work) and staffed voluntarily by local residents. It was one of some 25 or so centres that bloomed in this period across the Lower Mainland. The particular configuration of services varied from centre to centre; however, each offered easy access to current information about cultural, social, recreational, educational, legal, medical and political programs, events, facilities, and
activities in the area. The Grandview-Woodland Information Centre appears to have been almost too successful judging by the continual reports of increasing pressure for space brought about by its ventures into new fields such as multilingual services (the origin of MOSAIC), consumer help, citizenship advice, children’s aid, the YWCA, and family help. In 1969, the Research, Education and Action on Community Health (REACH) clinic was opened in another Commercial Drive storefront to provide regular family and individual health, dental and geriatric care, and nutritional advice. The project was financed and staffed by professors and volunteer students from the School of Medicine at the University of British Columbia and was symptomatic of the change in attitude amongst some sections of the professional and academic community (Tonkin, 1969).

Without doubt the most telling confirmation of the Area Council’s political maturity came in the first two years of the 1970's. Having campaigned successfully against the freeway proposals and launched the Britannia Planning Advisory Committee (split equally between local citizens and representatives from the City Planning, Parks, and School Boards), the Area Council seems to have entered one of its now familiar periods of introspection. The most immediate result of this self-examination was the revising of the Area Council’s constitution at the annual general meeting of 1970, which required that the bulk of the membership should in future be local residents. A year later, the Area Council elected for the first time a board composed entirely of local residents and was thus celebrated in a handbook produced for community activists in Vancouver as, "a really fine example of the local people taking over" (Vancouver Urban Research Group, 1977: 67). This move was also backed up by a set of policy statements which suggested that the Area Council should strive to be more than simply an information-exchange forum on social services, and endeavour to gain a formal voice both in what services were provided, and the manner in which
funds were to be allocated in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the mood of the council appears to have become far more committed in this period, with meetings being held on a more regular basis and a complex system of sub-committees being established.

Whilst pressing for a measure of control in the allocation of the United Community Services funds and public grants to the area's agencies (eventually rewarded when the Provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) introduced the short-lived Community Resource Boards in 1974), the Area Council for the first time also sought its own funds for general operating purposes and a source of support for other citizen groups in the community. For example, in the consecutive summers after 'taking over', the Area Council received grants under the federally sponsored 'Opportunities for Youth' (OFY) program to initiate among other things: youth drop-ins; a series of articles in the local newspaper on problems in the area; community theatre and street festivals; several attempts to revive the Grandview Chamber of Commerce; and the promotion of new public housing projects for elderly single women.

As a direct result of this shift in the membership of the Area Council, the Area Services Team, made up of representative workers in the community's "health and social services" sector, became the prime organ for the professional group's involvement in the area. Not surprisingly, a certain amount of confusion, and perhaps even resentment seems to have emanated not surprisingly from this camp, some of whom were used to citizens and professionals always meeting collectively as "one big happy family". In a report to the Area Council, Clague favoured the separation of these two groups, so that the city's first all-citizen board could have time to "develop clearly its own purposes". In addition, the division of responsibilities in the area could be significantly improved: the Area Services Team would operate the
social programs and formulate policy alternatives, whilst the Area Council would act as the main policy-deciding board (Clague, 1971).

In conclusion, it can be seen that on the basis of its original aims, the local area approach, pioneered by the city's private and public social agencies, has enjoyed a considerable degree of success in the Grandview-Woodland neighbourhood. In particular, the development of the Britannia Community Services Centre offered, even to the most severe sceptics, a strong case for the utility of a cooperatively-based partnership between professional planners and local citizens at the neighbourhood level. More significantly, the Centre today not only reflects past achievements in community action, but continues to rely heavily upon local citizen participation in conjunction with professional guidance on the Britannia Board of Management.

To a certain extent, the concept of local citizen 'self-help' advocated by the private and public planning bodies responsible for social services in the city worked even better in the case of the Grandview-Woodland Area Council than perhaps was originally intended. During this evolutionary period, the Area Council was observed to have undergone three fundamental changes since its inception. First, and most obvious, was the composition of its membership which went from all non-resident professionals to all local citizens. Second, associated with this change, there was a marked shift in the way in which the Area Council formally perceived its role in the community. Originally conceived for the purposes of information-exchange and coordination, the organization became increasingly ambitious, demanding, and partially acquiring, more power from the city's private and public planning bodies in the policy-making realm of community action. Finally, as a means to this goal, the Area Council began to establish itself as a political force, not only within the local political arena as a central advisory and decision-making body to other groups, but also on a
city-wide basis through the active lobbying of City Hall and the initiation of alliances with other community groups elsewhere in the city.

As far as accounting for these changes, we may for now raise several salient points. First, as was stressed at the beginning of this section, one cannot underestimate the importance of the changes occurring at higher levels in the political hierarchy in providing a context favourable to the Area Council's development. At that time, Prime Minister Trudeau's dream of building an "Athens on the Rideau" based on mass participation by Canadians across the country was still a dream and not an illusion (Gwyn, 1980). Moreover, the NDP in British Columbia had gained power for the first time in 1972, and had many dues to pay for its loyal support in the East End; whilst the municipal political scene within Vancouver was being overhauled by the reform parties of the The Elector's Action Movement (TEAM) and the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) (Tennant, 1980). Second, through their experience with operating social programs and fighting local issues, the members of the Area Council, particularly its leaders, were able to derive not only a useful working knowledge and range of valuable contacts, but also a good deal of confidence from its numerous successes. Finally, we might also note that several of the student and professional activists working with the Area Council in a number of capacities, were evidently keen to introduce ideas and suggestions that undoubtedly influenced the more progressive factions of the Area Council membership.

5.4 A Social World Divides: Planning the Neighbourhood's Future, 1972-1983

Having successfully established in the neighbourhood a social service infrastructure of some effect and permanance, and having clarified its function and legal status, the Area Council appears to have begun to shift its
orientation into the realm of land use and physical planning. A strong motivating force behind this shift stemmed from the fear of many of its members that the council's efforts to date would be somewhat wasted if a portion of the neighbourhood's incumbent population were unable to remain in the district. In particular, they were concerned that the Britannia Community Services Centre, which had taken over forty years to acquire, might be enjoyed not by those for whom it was lobbied for (i.e. low-income families), but by newcomers moving into the neighbourhood, who had been partially attracted to it by the facility (Highland Echo, 12th September 1974). Furthermore, although the council, as we saw in the previous section, had been involved in a number of individual isolated land use issues, it had become increasingly apparent that a more comprehensive plan on a larger scale was necessary in order to deal effectively with these issues. Thus the 'Community Planning Information Project' was sponsored by the Area Council at the beginning of 1972 with the stated goal, "to initiate an integrated social and physical planning approach in order to improve the ability of the Area Council to assess local needs, make decisions and strengthen and protect the community's future" (Grandview-Woodland Area Council, March 1973).

That summer a group of students were hired with funds from the Federal OFY job creation scheme in a project entitled 'Venture in Community Collaboration', the main purpose of which was to lay the groundwork for a major planning effort in the Grandview area. Their tasks included: formulating guidelines for the relocation and compensation of residents expropriated from the Britannia Centre site; setting up an information booth along Commercial Drive; producing easy-to-read zoning regulations for local residents; and helping the fight to limit the expansion of a Safeway store parking lot. Local Improvement Program (LIP) funds to hire four students in architecture and
planning part-time enabled the work to be continued on into the next year. Based on their research into development activity within the neighbourhood, the students distributed a notice warning property-owners in the Britannia Slopes area (see figure 4.26) of the implications for them and their neighbours of accepting offers made by mortgage, trust or development companies whose land-holding activities were beginning to accelerate in the area. In conjunction with this, several attempts were made to coordinate block meetings to discuss the redevelopment problem, but with the exception of the short-lived West Grandview Neighbourhood Improvement Association, they proved to be largely unsuccessful.

The Vancouver City Planning Department meanwhile was beginning to respond to the concern and protest that had been emerging from many sections of the city as well as the 'reform' emphasis of the City Council (Horsman and Raynor, 1978). Originating from the recommendations made in a landmark urban renewal report published in 1970, the 'Local Area Planning' (LAP) program was defined as:

an attempt to take a very close look at a community or neighbourhood, in view of its particular needs and aspirations, and at the same time, to examine these localized concerns within the context of the problems, issues and goals of the city as a whole (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1977:3).

After an experimental test in the West End neighbourhood, the program was introduced on a city-wide basis in 1973 (Vancouver Sun, 8th June 1973). The Area Council, like many other groups of its kind throughout Vancouver, realized that here was an opportunity which they had awaited for some time, and so lost no time in pressuring City Hall to be included in the LAP program. To this end, an extensive set of proposals were produced with the aid of the students on the LIP grant which argued that the Area Council was the appropriate body to
organize and coordinate a local area planning program in Grandview-Woodland in view of its past experience in community and planning issues, and its representative and democratic board membership. In addition, the proposals requested that a full-time planner should be supplied by the Vancouver City Planning Department, and as an important complement to the LAP program, the neighbourhood should also be put forward by the city as a prime candidate for the recently launched 'Neighbourhood Improvement Program' (NIP).

At a public meeting in the area attended by over 250 in September, 1975 these proposals were finally presented to the City Council. Not surprisingly, Grandview became the fifth neighbourhood to have a council-endorsed LAP. A report produced by the City Manager soon after this meeting, expressly to advise the City's Standing Committee on Planning and Development (which would ultimately have to approve an official Planning Advisory Committee made up of Grandview citizens), is interesting in its comments on the general state of community organization in Grandview-Woodland at that time:

A significant element of planning discussions in the community to this point has been an extreme suspicion of City Hall's intentions. The community's experience with the Grandview Terrace housing project, which was built on a park site, and expropriation of homes for the Britannia Community Services Centre, together with a general feeling of neglect by City Hall, forms the basis of the suspicion. The Planning Department considers that the best way to deal with this suspicion is to proceed with a very open local area planning program, and to carefully consult with neighbourhood residents prior to any civic project or policy change affecting the area. (Manager's Report to the Standing Committee on Planning and Development on Grandview-Woodland Area Planning, 25th November 1975).

It is this tradition of suspicion, the seeds of which have already been outlined in an earlier section, that has been attributed to the decision made by the Interim Committee of citizen volunteers struck at the public meeting, to
insist on a neighbourhood election process to form the Planning Committee proper. In previous cases, such as those of Kitsilano, Fairview Slopes and Cedar Cottage, the City Council had selected its citizen advisors from lists of volunteers or nominees. The Grandview-Woodland Planning Committee (the 'Advisory' nomenclature was purposely dropped by the volunteers!) was thus composed of at least three elected representatives, with at least one property-owner and one tenant, from seven sub-neighbourhoods, in a conscious effort to guarantee sufficient spatial and interest group representation from the neighbourhood as a whole (Bulhozer, 1976). Despite these provisions, the City Manager's concerns about the "social diversity" and "communication gaps" within the community were confirmed, when the committee was greeted at the public hearing by a packed gallery of irate local property-owners fearful of the possibility of a proposed down-zoning measure. The Planning Committee was nevertheless approved by a majority of aldermen (Vancouver Sun, 14th January 1976).

The local planning effort in Grandview was given further impetus in the same year by the decision of City Council to allocate a grant of some $2.5 million under the NIP program. Given the program's emphasis upon rehabilitation and renovation (discussed in Chapter 2), coupled with the belief that the improvement of the apartment neighbourhoods should be left to private developers, the 'Conversion' area to the east of Commercial Drive (see figure 5.2) was the obvious choice for the grant. In conjunction with NIP, the residents in this area were also made eligible, if they qualified under income guidelines, for assistance under another federally-sponsored scheme, the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). RRAP's objective was, "to improve the housing conditions for low and moderate income people through assisting in the repair and conversion of existing residential buildings"
Figure 5.2 The Areal Coverage of the Grandview-Woodland Area Policy Plan, Parts 1-4

(Source: Adapted from "Draft Traffic Policy Plan." Grandview-Woodland Area Council, 1983)
(Leithead, 1980: 17). However, in practice it appears to have enjoyed limited success. This is particularly true in Grandview-Woodland, one of the largest of the nine Vancouver RRAP areas, but with only the fifth largest sum -- $685,500 (mainly to home-owners), being spent on a mere 207 of the 1,295 housing units estimated to need repair in the conversion area. In Kitsilano, on the other hand, the program proved to be quite successful (Ley, 1981). Despite the efforts of a local planner located at the Britannia Centre for more than five years, the response rate has evidently suffered, possibly because of the restrictions or the presence of social gaps in passing on information and encouragement, engendered no doubt by the suspicions of public assistance, especially within the ethnic communities (Phillips, 1979).

The Planning Committee decided that as different boundaries were involved in the NIP scheme, a separate committee was clearly required. Thanks largely to their endeavours in publicizing the planning effort locally, the Grandview-Woodland Neighbourhood Improvement Committee composed of twelve volunteers was quickly conceived at a public meeting held in the area. Although comparatively small in size, this potentially negative factor was more than offset first, by the logistic advantages it afforded (the committee was to meet over 100 times over the three year period), and second, the web of informal project-oriented sub-committees it began to weave during the course of its "travelling road show" in an endeavour to broaden its base. The committee has been judged to have been exceptionally representative of the community despite its small size, with members mixed along age, income, sex, tenure, ethnic and geographical lines (Guerrette, 1980). Moreover, as has rarely been the case in many other similar committees (e.g. the Kitsilano NIP committee was hopelessly split between a conservative ratepayer's group and more moderate and progressive elements), the social mix was made to work to the committee's advantage. As one
planner who, for a time, worked closely with the committee has remarked, "although non-committee members involved in various projects tended to champion only their own concerns, the actual members developed a remarkable ability to act as collective referees among potentially conflicting interests" (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983c: 70). This particular feature is made all the more remarkable given the presence in the committee of several "political notables", as another local planner has described them, many of whom eventually went on to become candidates and in some cases, elected officials representing COPE, the left-wing municipal political civic party. Their influence on the affairs of the committee appear to have been somewhat dampened by a combination of factors including the sage counsel of the local planner, the rotation of chairpersons and the general acknowledgment that, as one more moderately placed committee member has since reflected, "the neighbourhood should come before personal considerations". This principle clearly reigns both in the instigation by the committee of two separate 'social needs' surveys of a sample of the population, and the concept plan that stemmed from these and the numerous meetings held with other community groups and sub-committees (Grandview-Woodland NIP Committee, June 1977). Of the thirty-five or so projects the NIP committee launched between the years 1977 and 1980, most were concerned with school and park improvements (i.e. a clear orientation towards families), two relatively 'conservative' areas, but important in the committee's eyes to demonstrate visibly what could be done in the neighbourhood and thereby hopefully encourage further interest in improvement. Some sections of the community, however, still remained unconvinced. For example, the bocce courts which were prepared with the NIP funds especially for the old Italian men who frequented Victoria Park, were left un-used because they preferred the "excitement caused by the uncertainty of natural grass" (Highland Echo, 24th May 1979). In a more
progressive vein, the committee also initiated the 'Vancouver East Scattered Co-Op' housing project, in a unique partnership of NIP (funds to purchase sites), RRAP (funds to renovate properties), LAP (zoning modified to allow in-filling), CMHC (Mortgage funding and consultation) and the Inner City Housing Society (funds and planning).

It is somewhat ironic that the coordination between LAP and NIP should be rendered that much more convenient when the former was subsumed by the latter towards the end of 1977, as much of the pressure for bringing NIP to Grandview-Woodland had emanated from the Planning Committee as a means to protect the area's single family character in the face of encroaching apartment development. Although there had been some measure of consensus in the Planning committee on a number of issues, many of its members were attracted by the powerful financial incentive of NIP funds, and the comparative refuge it offered from the rezoning controversy that was raging in the area to the west of Commercial Drive (an extended discussion of this particular issue will be delayed until the next section). In 1978, City Hall planners, themselves a little shellshocked by the rezoning issue, carved Grandview-Woodland into four neighbourhood areas for intensive planning, with an emphasis on the production of an 'Area Policy Plan' for each sub-neighbourhood (consult figure 5.2 for their areal delineation). Not surprisingly, the Conversion Area was the first sub-area selected (refer back to figure 4.29 for a summary of planning goals) in Part 1 of the Area Plan (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1979). The NIP Committee was again the chief consultative group in Part 2 of the Plan which focussed on Commercial Drive (refer back to figure 4.14 for a summary of its planing goals): The committee was also instrumental in launching the street beautification scheme along the Drive which was discussed earlier (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1980).
During this period the Area Council appears to have floundered due to a combination of external and internal forces. Although the Council had played a crucial role in preparing the groundwork and promoting both LAP and NIP, once the Planning Committee with which the Area Council had wielded some influence had folded, the planning initiative for the whole community lay firmly in the hands of the NIP Committee, which as we have just seen was proving to be quite successful. Moreover, with the creation of the Vancouver East Community Resources Board by the Provincial NDP government in 1975, a considerable degree of power over the allocation and distribution of social services for which the Council had mainly been responsible was removed, to the chagrin of many of its members. In particular, much of the Council's efforts in 1975 were devoted to wrangling over controlling interests of the Information Centre which was scheduled to relocate within the brand new Britannia Centre. Even today, a few Area Council members have blamed the demise of this facility on its incorporation within the centre. As a result of these inter-agency conflicts, the Area Council was rather uncharacteristically directly involved in only one issue of any consequence throughout 1975 and 1976, the assistance of local residents in protesting the improper establishment of an half-way group home in the area.

Thus relieved of many of its previous obligations, the Area Council appears to have entered into another transitory period of introspection which, in stark contrast to the first phase discussed in the preceding section of this chapter, was characterized by dramatic internal division and dissension between its members. This internal strife is displayed quite vividly in the minutes and correspondence of 1977 where the bulk of meetings seems to have been devoted to debating the 'proper' role and function of the Council. Only in this year do we notice instances of split votes, motions that were amended beyond recognition,
and frequent resignations and sometimes reinstatements by members disillusioned with the seemingly eternal in-fighting. The catalyst in the area council's fission, and indeed the community as a whole, was the ever-prominent 'rezoning' issue which came to a head in 1977. As a result of this issue the Area Council found itself at first, caught between two opposing polar interest groups (i.e. property-owners and tenants). These same two factions eventually penetrated inside the Area Council, to the point that it was unable to function collectively any more. This fact was made painfully clear when the renewal of the contract with the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs for the Consumer Help Office, normally a fairly mundane task, failed to be completed because of the internal bickering.

An important clue to the division that plagued the Area Council for much of 1977 is given in a section of a brief presented to its members by one of the leading protagonists of the right-wing faction on the future of the organization:

The ideological base for the continuous donnybrooks during our meetings appears to be caused by a "good-guy bad-guy" syndrome where the good-guys demand that the Area Council adopt the political position of a majority of the board members upon issues of community or civic concern. The bad guys consider that adopting such political stances is not the purpose of the Area Council. Civic political parties serve that purpose better.

The "good-guy" element to which he is referring here, consisted of a group of young left-wing activists who had recently joined the Area Council, and were also involved in the Grandview Tenant's Association, a key player in the rezoning issue. Many of them had grown up either in Grandview-Woodland, or somewhere else in the East End, but unlike their parents (who, in some cases, had been or still were active politically in the unions or civic politics), had received a university education which made them a force to be reckoned with on
the local political scene. They repeatedly argued that the Area Council should look beyond community matters and in future, adapt itself as a potentially useful vehicle for political change. Here they were thinking specifically of gaining an "Eastside Mandate" for COPE (the left-wing municipal party), in anticipation of Ward representation in civic government. An important plank of this group's plans for the Council was to encourage representation from affiliated organizations. As their chief spokesperson (who was incidentally, also the Vancouver East Communist Party candidate) argues in a reply to the brief mentioned above:

Too few members of the Area Council represent an organization or body of views and too many members represent their general or individual view. The result is that the Area Council is continually confronted with the individual, and sometimes "oddball" philosophies. On the other hand there is insufficient input of the main views in the community which are represented by the various organizations that exist.

The crux here of course, is the question as to which were in fact, the main views of the community. In the minds of the left-wing faction, the main view was encapsulated in such organizations as the Tenant's Association, the COPE civic party, and the Area Services Staff Team -- organizations overtly dedicated to bettering the lot of the working class of the East End. The other faction were also long established in Grandview, but unlike their left-wing rivals, they were older, less educated, had raised families, and worked in skilled manual trades. Their main worry was that "this contrived political polarization has tended to convince many residents that local participation programs are a waste of time" (Grandview-Woodland Area Council, December 1977:9). In particular, they were concerned about the declining number of fellow property-owners on the Area Council. In addition, in the earlier stages of the Area Council's development, there had usually been at least one representative from the Italian
community in Grandview amongst the membership (the Chinese and East Indian community have continually demonstrated a marked reluctance to participate in any of the neighbourhood or community associations). Now, however, there were no representatives whatsoever from the ethnic minorities -- a fact which led the right-wing and moderate factions of the Area Council to seriously question its legitimacy as the neighbourhood's voice.

In conclusion, in this section we have witnessed the continued evolution of the social world of the Grandview-Woodland Area Council. The most important development in this period for the Council was its venture into the field of land use planning. Although the move was evidently the next logical step for the Council to take, and although the reasons for taking it were generally sound and well considered, the Area Council does seem to have suffered much in its experience with planning; both internally, in terms of its ability to function collectively and externally, in terms of its standing and overall effectiveness within the larger community.

In endeavouring in some way to account for this development, several comments are pertinent. First, where previously the Area Council had been concerned only with the provision and distribution of social services, the combination of a scarcity of time and resources on the one hand, and the shared confrontation of the bureaucratic maze of grant applications and inter-agency procedure on the other, may have served as an important incentive for some measure of unity within the membership. Second, this imperative may have been further enhanced by the fact that the Council's work at that time was largely experimental, with much of it being geared to gaining the experience that would eventually allow the local residents a certain amount of independence from the professional working locally. Third, in striving to make a stand about the future course of the neighbourhood, the Area Council for the first time, left
itself open not only to criticism and alienation from a section of the community that had not previously been concerned with its business (e.g. ethnic minority group property-owners), but, more crucially, to the divisive forces that arose from the heterogeneity of the Area Council's membership. On the basis of the emergence of these two distinctive informal social worlds, we might suggest that the apparent unanimity of the Area Council in its earlier stages was probably more deceptive than real. As we shall see in the next section, the rezoning issue was not the cause of the Area Council's downturn but merely a reflection of the multiplicity of local interests made concrete, around which the various groups could polarize.

The experience of the NIP committee stands in stark contrast to that of the Area Council. Here, it appears that, unlike the case of the Area Council, the social mix of the committee was certainly not nearly as problematic a factor. Of the two groups, the NIP committee's membership had a far greater predominance of older, more moderately inclined Anglo-Saxon and Eastern-European blue-collar home-owners, who were interested primarily in upgrading the neighbourhood's recreational facilities and physical appearance. Moreover, this tendency was further bolstered by the influx of a few dissaffected moderate members from the Area Council and defunct Planning Committee. The fact that its jurisdiction was confined to the relatively stable and peaceful Conversion district within Grandview may have eased the NIP committee's task considerably. In addition, the same argument about the moderating influences of such pragmatic considerations as time, money and bureaucratic procedure, advanced with respect to the first phase of the Area Council, can again be applied to the case of the NIP committee. These influences were reinforced by the presence of a local planner, brought in from outside the neighbourhood to 'guide' the committee through the successive stages of the program. Most important however, in
considering the relative success of this group is the question of intra-group relations in the day-to-day handling of the program's affairs. Several commentators have perhaps rightly been critical of the 'silent' motives of co-optation and cost-saving that were behind the NIP program's implementation (Gutstein et al, 1976). This view however does the individuals concerned a disservice, in that it underestimates their abilities to read and act on the situation as it unfolded. First, the NIP committee's efforts have resulted in a number of long overdue basic and tangible improvements to the neighbourhood's physical infrastructure. Second, not only has the NIP program in Grandview served as a useful stepping-stone into civic politics for some of its more prominent members, but it has also, as we will presently see when we resume the discussion of the Area Council, bequeathed an invaluable wealth of expertise and community leadership that is still of use today. Finally, the program's does at least offer a material reminder, and possibly, an encouragement to those sections of the community not interested in 'political' issues of the potential of neighbourhood organization.

5.5 Social Worlds Collide: The Rezoning Issue

(a) The Rezoning Issue Part 1: 1977

In an earlier discussion about development trends in Grandview, it was pointed out that the four apartment sub-areas in the neighbourhood (see figure 4.26) were among the least developed in the whole of the city, particularly Britannia Slopes. However, for a time in 1976, this trend looked set to be finally reversed. First, with the proposal by the City's Housing Department, eager to ease the city's chronic rental accommodation shortage, to locate 8 out of a total of 11 public housing projects in the Grandview apartment areas; and second, by new private developer interests lured to the area by the newly
introduced Federal 'Assisted Rental Program' (ARP) and 'Assisted Home Ownership Program' (AHOP) and accompanying tax shelters. Consequently, the local area planner received 10 separate development applications for an aggregate of 500 new residential units in the space of three months during 1976.

This upsurge in developer interest confirmed all of the recently formed Grandview-Woodland Planning Committee's fears, and spurred it to act as promptly and as strongly as possible. At a committee meeting held toward the end of 1976, a proposal that had long been favoured by the more progressive members of the Area Council and planning students was put forward, suggesting that in three of the four apartment sub-areas (excluding Wall Street) the current apartment (RM-3) zoning should be permanently, or at least temporarily changed to duplex (RT-2) zoning, like that to the east of Commercial Drive. This was a fairly radical measure designed as an interim development freeze until the Area Policy Plan could be completed as scheduled, within the next year. The measure was fully endorsed by the local planning staff, but was to trigger one of the city's biggest local controversies of the mid-1970's.

The first hint of this controversy came when, on the two Sundays before the public hearing for the rezoning proposal, two opposing groups held rallies through the neighbourhood. The first group, The Grandview Tenant's Association (see figure 5.3) supported the proposal, as it would effectively halt the issuance of condominium permits and thereby preserve precious cheap rental accommodation. The group was largely composed of committed, young tenants living in the Britannia Slopes area, many of whom were involved with the left-wing COPE party and as we saw earlier some were also active members on both the Planning Committee and Area Council. In addition, there were a number of tenants and property-owners living in the apartment-free Conversion area to the
Figure 5.3 The Grandview-Woodland Tenant’s Association on a Protest March, 5/3/77. (Source: Vancouver Sun)
east, who were nonetheless concerned about the debilitating effects of development upon the neighbourhood as a whole. Their chief ammunition in this battle was the emphasis on family services at the Britannia Centre and the accusation that private developers had used scare tactics to drive out incumbent residents (The Province, 12th April 1976).

The other group, The West Grandview Property-Owner's Association, objected strongly to the proposal on the grounds that it would result in an automatic devaluation of the neighbourhood's property values. They felt that the real reason for the "downzoning" as they called it, was part of a City Hall "plot" to acquire cheap land for public housing projects. In response to the assurance by the Planning Committee that this was not the case but instead it was to preserve the neighbourhood, their response was "if you like the neighbourhood the way it is, why change the zoning?" Unlike the other citizen's groups mentioned thus far, this group was notable for the predominance of members from the area's various ethnic minority communities, particularly the Chinese and Italians. They had either purchased their property, either as a retirement investment or had ventured beyond this into some fairly small-scale speculation. Although exact details about their membership are not available, it is known that on their first rally they mustered over 150 people, but that figure varied greatly throughout the course of the issue (The Vancouver Sun, 14th March 1977). In addition to the ethnic groups, there were also a few veterans of the Ratepayer's Association and, as was discussed earlier, several members of the Area Council who drafted a number of briefs on behalf of the property-owners. One particularly cutting brief pointed out that the original proposal had been made by only six members of the Planning Committee, none of whom were property-owners, and who made no attempt to inform the residents before taking their decision to City Council.
Such was the feeling of resentment in the area that, when the Area Council-sponsored meeting was actually held, it had to be postponed because far more people (approximately 600) turned up than could be accommodated safely (Vancouver Sun, 18th March 1977). In view of this, the City Council was in two minds as to whether it should continue with the idea of a public meeting. Mayor Jack Volrich favoured dropping the issue on the grounds that with the "unfortunate injection of partisan politics" into the debate it was difficult to make an objective and rational decision. However, other members of the Council violently disagreed, none more so than Alderman Rankin who felt that it "had no right to back off just because it got a little flack" (The Province, 24th March 1977).

Consequently, a 'compromise' solution was proposed which, instead of temporarily rezoning the area, would require that the developers include up to 20 per cent of two and three bedroom apartments in their projects. This idea had been used (unsuccessfully) earlier in Kitsilano in an endeavour to guarantee lower-income housing, but in the case of Grandview-Woodland, where families were the chief concern, it was argued that it made little sense; as Bill Bulhozer put it, "we are not convinced that extra bedrooms constitute family housing" (Vancouver Sun, 5th April 1977).

The Tenant's Association along with the pro-rezoning factions of the Area Council were opposed to the compromise solution, but were perhaps inclined to accept it as the lesser of two evils. Nor did it please the Property-Owners Association. When the rescheduled meeting was finally held, this group packed the house and was openly hostile to the clear minority of the opposing tenant's group present. It was a night of rhetoric, perhaps best condensed in the following statement by one angry property-owner:
Why should I compromise? I pay my taxes. I owe the city nothing. Why doesn't City Hall leave us all alone? (The Province, 27th May 1977)

At the end of the proceedings, City Council rejected even the compromise solution with only the 2 COPE and 1 Independent aldermen voting in favour, and the rezoning plan was dead (Vancouver Sun, 27th May 1977).

As a result, a planning measure was rejected by the very group it was designed to save and protect. This issue highlights quite effectively the classic political dilemma that faced the Planning Committee and ultimately destroyed it and, very nearly, the Area Council too: how to maintain the working-class family character of the neighbourhood while still preserving the rights of property-owners? In fairness to the Planning Committee several points of qualification are worth listing. First, many of their problems arose as a result of a basic misunderstanding of the Planning Committee's intentions, and this was not helped by the language barrier that not even a trilingual newsletter put out by the committee could break down. This problem was further compounded by a basic resentment of planners and suspicion of public intervention that was a feature of these same groups. This aversion led to an across-the-board boycott of all of the local citizen's planning groups which seriously undermined the legitimacy of the Planning Committee and served to widen the communicative gulf between these two essentially different social worlds. Finally, the political reaction of the Property-Owners Association is believed to have been strengthened considerably by: first, an array of volunteers many of whom did not reside locally but could be called upon to pack a meeting; and second, with the distribution of a propaganda leaflet to members of the Chinese Community which threatened the instant loss of $35,000 from the value of their house if the proposal went through (Personal Communication with Ronda Howard, local Area Planner, 16th February 1982).
(b) The Rezoning Issue Part 2: 1982-1983

After the experience of the rezoning controversy, the apartment areas in Grandview were (perhaps wisely) left well alone. The LAP program, as was noted earlier, shifted its attention to the conversion area and subsequently, to Commercial Drive. However, by 1982 both of these plans had been completed along with several others in the East End, such as the Strathcona, Kiwassa and Downtown-Eastside neighbourhoods. Rather than attempting a comprehensive plan for all of the still un-planned Grandview apartment areas, it was decided that the Britannia Slopes Area should next be selected under the LAP, as much of the Wall Street area to the north had already been developed, and the area south of First Avenue would be included in the Broadway ALRT station area planning effort that was to be initiated shortly (consult figure 5.2). Britannia Slopes was clearly the most underdeveloped and stagnant of the apartment areas, and much of this state of affairs was attributed to the general uncertainty about the neighbourhood's future direction, which a policy plan might hopefully go some way towards alleviating.

Consequently, on May 2nd, 1982 a meeting was held in the area attended by 35 residents to discuss local issues and tentative future actions, and to elect a citizen's planning committee consisting of 15 local volunteers (Highland Echo, 6th May 1982). One month later, the City Council endorsed and accepted the terms of reference of the Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee, as the "voice" of the area's residents on local planning matters (Highland Echo, 15th July 1982). In the early stages of the planning process, the committee was engaged in two main tasks. First, several speakers from a range of technical and professional posts came to speak to the committee, so that an invaluable knowledge base could be built up. Second, efforts were continually made to stimulate more citizen input from the rest of the Britannia area. However, as
Figure 5.4  Another Group Takes a Walk: The Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee Take Stock of the Neighbourhood, 30/10/82.

(Source: S. Lowe, Vancouver City Planning Department)
had been the experience before, tactics such as local newspaper articles, trilingual posters, flyers and the presence of a Chinese translator at meetings, display boards in the local library and even the innovative neighbourhood walk pictured in figure 5.4 (to which the only local interest shown outside of the committee came from a group of dogs!) all proved unsuccessful (Highland Echo, 28th October 1982). Therefore, the planning initiative, for the most part, was left to a core of 12 or so enthusiastic and dedicated local residents.

The group itself was an interesting mix of older and younger residents. The older group was comprised of Anglo-Saxon blue-collar workers with families, who had bought homes in the area a long time ago. Many of them could be described as "committee-type" people who had always been involved in community affairs, having sat on a number of other local committees such as the Ratepayer's Association, Britannia Centre, School Consultative Committees, and the Area Council. The younger group however were members of the property-owning section of the 'new wave' discussed in Chapter 4. They were relatively new to the area, having recently bought relatively cheap and charming houses in need of some repair. Many were either married or co-habiting, and several had plans for children in the near future. It was also apparent that most of them had some form of university education and were now employed as teachers, social workers, artists and such like. Therefore, using the stage-model of revitalization discussed in Chapter 2, this group would certainly be classified as 'pioneers' in the first stage of 'discovery'. In addition to the majority of property-owners, there was one tenant and two residents of three co-operative housing projects found in the area.

Over the course of the nine month period during which the committee frequently met, the three main thrusts detectable in the planning goals of the third Area Policy Plan for Grandview-Woodland (figure 5.5), began to emerge from
the internal and external discussions (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983d). First, there was a keen desire to introduce long overdue improvements to the physical infrastructure of the neighbourhood. Attention focussed specifically upon the chronic shortage of park space provision; in addition to the lack of street curbing (63 per cent of the streets are not curbed) and the poor condition of paving. This feature, coupled with the problems associated with the industrial-residential boundary on the western margins of the planning area, prompted the committee to recommend a single nine-block project encompassing tree-planting, curbing and sidewalk improvements that would eventually create an effective 'buffer' between the two incongruous land uses. City Council has since decided to activate this project, granting special relief and channelling some of the residual NIP funds from the conversion area (Britannia Slopes has never had NIP or RRAP status), in an endeavour to break down potential resistance to the project from lower-income property-owners as well as factory and warehouse owners (Minutes from the Standing Committee of City Council on Finance and Administration, 25th August 1983). At the same time, it is interesting to note that there was also a certain amount of concern from some committee members that the area should only be improved incrementally, for as one resident warned:

It's important to maintain what we've got right now and to avoid a slough of redevelopment..... we shouldn't make the place too attractive, or it may be the end of affordable housing here.

This concern was reflected in the second thrust of the plan, which deals with the population and housing mix of the area. Under the present RM-3 zoning there was no clear direction for either redevelopment or rehabilitation on the Britannia Slopes. The zoning provided an incentive to build apartment buildings only very large sites: this had been made difficult as a result of the
A. HOUSING, POPULATION, DEVELOPMENT

1. THAT the area remain zoned for medium density, but with increased opportunity for a continuation of a variety of housing types, to permit redevelopment of a gradual nature, and to continue to provide housing suitable for a variety of household types, especially families with children.

2. THAT new developments be low rise and compatible with adjacent buildings and with neighbourhood character.

3. THAT local residents and property owners be informed of major upcoming development proposals and given the opportunity to provide their views.

B. PARKS AND OPEN SPACE

4. THAT additional green space and pedestrian amenity be provided.

C. STREETS AND TRAFFIC

5. THAT curbing and paving be upgraded, while attempting to distribute the costs equitably.

6. THAT through traffic be discouraged from using residential streets.

D. INDUSTRIAL-RESIDENTIAL RELATIONSHIP

7. THAT the industrial-residential boundary be improved to mitigate industrial impacts on the residential area.

(Source: Grandview-Woodland Area Policy Plan, Part 3. Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983.)
resistance shown by many of the small-lot property owners to selling their land to larger interests. Single-family and duplex buildings were restricted in size, and only those built prior to 1956 could conversions be permitted as a conditional use. Additions to these houses were also prohibited under this zoning schedule, along with townhouses, infill-houses, basement suites and conversions. As a direct consequence of these limitations, the committee argued that not only the housing mix, which was one of the neighbourhood's chief attractions, but also the social mix would suffer. The trend towards increasingly young, single adults was feared to be accelerated somewhat by the provision of apartment units that were not designed for families, lower-income and elderly people. Once again, the present service orientation of Britannia Centre was drawn on as a key leverage point in this argument.

The third and final thrust of the plan is concerned with the issue of aesthetics in the neighbourhood. Indeed, of the three plans produced so far, nowhere is this topic given more emphasis than in the Britannia Slopes plan. Much concern was expressed about the visual compatibility of houses side-by-side with apartments in block or high-rise form, which was perceived to have a detrimental effect upon the neighbourhood's character. Consequently, a highly detailed set of guidelines including specifications about view protection, scale, building materials, and even roofs and balconies were drawn up with a great deal of consultation, particularly with the younger element of the committee (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1983e). These regulations would have the effect of either deterring the developer from continuing with a project (an event not wholly perceived of as undesirable by the committee); or more probably, force him or her to make at least some design concessions and produce a building unlike many new East End apartments, which the City's Urban Design Panel on May 23rd 1980 commented "have a notable lack of design quality".
In the same vein, there was a keen interest in heritage preservation shown by a small group of enthusiasts from the 'new wave' who formed a sub-committee devoted entirely to this concern. On the basis of a fairly rigorous historical research effort, this sub-committee suggested that Britannia Slopes should be identified as one of the Heritage Advisory Committee's priority areas in a city-wide heritage inventory. Furthermore, it was urged that applications be made for incentives designed to encourage retention and rehabilitation of heritage buildings, leaving only those homes in poor condition and of no heritage merit for redevelopment. However, the interest in heritage preservation was by no means universally shared amongst the committee, particularly (ironically enough) within the older members. For example, one long-time community member confided to me after a heritage slide-show, "they should have torn down those houses a long time ago -- you need money to do those places up".

It was apparent, then, that the committee was definitely united in its 'anti-apartment' stance. Some members however, were more realistic than others about what could, and therefore should be done in terms of planning measures. At first, several of the younger members were adamant that the area should be re-zoned to RT-2 (i.e. duplex and townhouse) immediately, and anything short of this would be out of the question. But as the details of the previous rezoning attempt became more widely known through those residents who had been involved in it, they became a little more tolerant of other options. Thanks largely to the mediation skills of the local area planner, the committee finally agreed to press for the reduction of the height limit of apartments from 10 to 3 storeys, and to change the present RM-3 zoning to RM-3A1. This was essentially a compromise solution, developed specifically in Kitsilano several years earlier. For, while it did not preclude the development of apartments, it did effectively broaden the range of development opportunities available for the area. Under RM-3A1 a wide variety of housing types could be permitted in the Britannia area,
SCENARIO

**Existing:** Two Families, each with two children, are living in the house.

**Proposed:** A Young Couple purchase the house and convert it into Luxury Duplex 3-Bedroom units; One for themselves and the other rented to another Family with children. The rear portion of the lot will be developed to accomodate 3 parking spaces and a Cottage above the garage.

**Floor Area:**
- Existing = 266 sq. metres
- Proposed = 380 sq. metres

**Floor-Space Ratio:**
- Existing = 0.72 plus 1 parking space
- Proposed = 1.04 plus 3 parking spaces

**Proposed No. of Hearths:** 3

*Figure 5.6 One Possibility for Renovation and Conversion in Britannia Slopes*

(Source: Adapted from Britannia Slopes: Ideas for Single Lot Densification. UBC School of Architecture, 1983)
including apartments, townhouses, infill-housing, conversions, additions to conversions, larger single- and two-family dwellings, and basement suites. The enormous potential that this measure allows both in terms of densification and housing and social mix, has been demonstrated quite effectively by a class of architecture students in an excellent simulation project involving one block in Britannia Slopes (UBC School of Architecture, 1983). The diagram above (figure 5.6) shows one of several proposals eventually presented to the committee, many of whom were understandably quite interested.

So far the committee's plan had met with a solid wall of indifference from the remainder of the community, or the "silent majority" as one prominent realtor had rather ominously described them. However, the real test for these proposals came at a public information meeting that had to be held in the area before they could go before the City Council (Highland Echo, 10th March 1983). In contrast to the hearings held six years earlier, this meeting was attended by a mere fifty or so people. Nevertheless, after the initial introduction of the plan, the old battle lines were quickly drawn between the various factions present, but by no means as strongly or as bitterly as before. The committee members advisedly chose to keep in the background, when the offensive had been launched. The first speaker was a realtor who incidentally did not live locally, but argued nonetheless against the zoning change on the grounds that renovation was far less efficient than redevelopment in "economic terms". He was joined by a son-in-law of a non-English speaking Italian home-owner, who had been involved in the issue in 1977, who wondered (looking toward the committee) where all the interest in the neighbourhood had "crept up" from and warned that if a plebiscite was to be held in the area, "the people would once again get the fear in them". Several other realtors questioned the planners in attendance why the city was "being built inside out", and ethnic minority home-owners,
expressing concern about the devaluation of their "nest egg", also spoke but it became increasingly clear that the committee would be able to weather the storm. Thus encouraged, several of the more articulate committee members went on the counter-offensive, assuring those concerned about falling property values that the zoning change was, "just the thing to get the neighbourhood going", and was therefore in the interests of all of the property-owners present. When it was suggested by one of the elderly residents that "anyone who moves into this area to live and improve a family house under the RM-3 zoning is crazy", one of the young planning committee members explained that with the zoning change someone like himself and several of the other committee members would be able to put a lot of sweat equity into their property which would gain value because of its attractive character.

The final two stages of the plan went even more smoothly with both the City Planning Committee and the City Council, showing no signs of any local lobbying against the plan, and it was unanimously approved in March and July of 1983. In fact, at the latter meeting, because there were no presentations from local residents against the proposals, the proceedings were completed after only thirty minutes. Afterwards, all of the younger members and a few of the elderly members of the planning committee reconvened at a local pub for a 'victory party' with the local planner as the guest of honour. There was a general feeling of relief amongst those gathered, and already there was talk of renovations and additions that had been initiated or were in the pipeline. Much of the committee continues to meet to clear up loose ends and implement the street-curbing project, and also for social reasons, as one member commented to me: "it's more of a club now". Interestingly enough, the Grandview-Woodland Area Council, in its quest for new blood has recently attempted to recruit
members from the planning committee, but has so far met with only limited success.

(c) Conclusion

It is probably true, as Moore (1982) and others have argued, that zoning plays neither a primary nor even a secondary role in determining neighbourhood change. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the case of Kitsilano, where a similar rezoning to that recently instituted in Britannia Slopes has proved to be highly unsuccessful in maintaining social and housing mix (Stobie, 1979). Development pressure in Britannia Slopes on the other hand is not nearly as strong as yet, so the zoning in this instance may have a greater material bearing. However, in this study we are not concerned so much with this question, as much as the symbolic importance attached to the rezoning issues by the various socio-cultural components of the neighbourhood. In the two successive attempts to introduce a change in the zoning of a sub-area of Grandview-Woodland, we have been able to observe some striking differences between several of the neighbourhood's constituent social worlds, that may not normally have been as clearly defined on a day-to-day basis.

If the events of the two rezoning attempts are compared (see the summary diagrams in figures 5.7 and 5.8), we can broadly distinguish two main factions common to both. The first faction will be called the 'Progressives' (i.e. the Grandview-Woodland Tenant's Association, part of the Grandview-Woodland Area Council, the Grandview-Woodland Planning Committee and the Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee), in that they were the ones responsible for initiating and then defending the change in the zoning provision. The other faction the 'Conservatives' (i.e. The West Grandview Property-Owners Association, part of the Grandview-Woodland Area Council, realtors) are likewise labelled because of their reactive and defensive stances in both issues (it is
Figure 5.7 Summary Diagram of the Rezoning Issue Part 1: 1977.

1. STIMULUS:  (Civic Govt. -- Public Housing Projects)  
   (Federal Govt. -- ARP, AHOP & tax shelters)  
   New Developer Interest in Grandview

2. INITIATIVE:  Grandview-Woodland Planning Committee  
   Existing Zoning  Proposed zoning  
   RM-3  RT-2

3. REACTION:  Area Council divided  
   Grandview-Woodland v. West Grandview  
   Tenant's Association Property-Owner's Association  
   - Protect affordable family  - 'Plot' to bring in public housing  
   - Preserve working-class neighbourhood  - Devalue property  
   - Why change anyway?

4. POLICY RESPONSE: City Council  
   Change? ×  
   Compromise? ×  
   No Change? √
1. **STIMULUS:** Two Concerns:  
   (a) Uncertainty About Neighbourhood's Future:  
       Redevelopment or Renovation?  
   (b) City's Need to Densify

2. **INITIATIVE:** Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee  
   Aims:  
   (i) Improve Physical Infrastructure  
   (ii) Social and Housing Mix (Part 3 of Area Plan)  
   (iii) Aesthetics  
   Policy:  
   (a) Design Guidelines  
   (b) Zoning Change --  
   *Existing Zoning*  
   RM-3  
   *Proposed Zonings*  
   RM-3A1

3. **REACTION:** Muted,  
   But Realtors = 'Inefficiency' (?)  
   Other Residents = 'Nest Egg' threatened!

4. **POLICY RESPONSE:** City Council  
   No Change?  ×  
   Change?  ✓
nonetheless recognized that these names could be easily reversed on the basis of each group's vision of the neighbourhood's future). Within the former faction, several basic similarities are noticeable between the 1977 and 1982-83 issues. In both cases, the groups initiating change were a small hard-working core composed of an alliance of younger professionals and older Anglo-Saxon blue-collar residents whose 'preserve and enhance' philosophy made them strong supporters of the local planning initiative. In addition, if we look even more closely at the two cases we can also begin to notice some important and telling differences. In the 1982-83 episode, the progressive group contained a far greater number of property-owners, many of whom had moved into the neighbourhood recently, with higher incomes and education levels and so could be classed as 'gentrifiers' of the 'pioneering' kind. Perhaps their biggest impact was in their marked ability to articulate their ideas, and negotiate with the professionals and technicians also involved in the preparation of the local plan. These ideas not only encompassed the essentially 'social' goals of the Tenants' Association (but with more of an emphasis upon social mix than cheap rental housing) but also the somewhat inter-twined 'economic' goals (i.e. revenue-producing conversion and property-value enhancing renovation activities) and goals associated with the 'sentimental order' of the neighbourhood (i.e. an appreciation of heritage and neighbourliness). In the 1977 issue, the progressive group could not be described as gentrifiers because they were tenants and many of them were indigenous to the area. Moreover, their political stance was not only more radical than the latter group, but also oriented to much wider issues (e.g. welfare, unions, unemployment etc.) than those of preservation and improvement of the neighbourhood.

The more conservative faction never really formally mobilized in the later rezoning attempt, but was present, albeit informally, at the public
hearing. In both cases the opposition was fairly homogeneous, with a clear majority of older resident and non-resident property-owners, and a heavy preponderance of members of the ethnic minority community, particularly the Chinese and Italians. Unlike their opposing faction, there was a common distrust of public intervention exacerbated by communication problems, and a distinctly different set of values about what the home and the neighbourhood was, should be, and should look like. It is difficult to estimate the size of this 'silent majority' or assess how clearly their motives were expressed. For we are confronted, on the one hand, by the fact that most of this group are residing locally only to realise their property values and move out of the neighbourhood (presumably to the newer suburbs). On the other hand, developers, as we saw in Chapter 4, have had difficulty in acquiring land from the bulk of local residents who stubbornly refuse to move, or want a better price.

The other remaining question is why in 1982-83 the 'conservative' faction did not organize against the rezoning proposal in the same manner as in 1977? Several possibilities are apparent. First, this group may have been better informed about the nature of the proposals in the latter case. For example, there is no evidence of the type of propaganda and use of 'dirty tricks' that was such a key factor previously. Second, in light of the total lack of developer interest in the area since the first zoning issue, this group may have become more receptive to the other 'softer' redevelopment options offered by the rezoning, especially as the planning committee had taken a far less aggressive stand right from the beginning than the Tenants' Association. Indeed, the slow and cautious approach adopted by both the Planning committee and the Vancouver Planning Department toward the rezoning in 1982/83 is a third important factor to consider. Fourth, on the basis of the information disclosed in the previous chapter, we could also suggest that the population
base of this movement has fallen somewhat in the interim period. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, is the fact that unlike the first attempt, the proposals were introduced in 1982-83, at a time when the Vancouver housing market was in the middle of a slump, so that the property-owners had far less to 'protect' in the second phase.

5.6 Social Worlds Unite: The ALRT Controversy, 1981-1984

Whereas in the rezoning controversy we observed significant internal divisions within the neighbourhood between several different social worlds, in the following example, the threat of a new transportation corridor, we will find that these divisions are not evident. In fact, this case study illustrates a situation in which social worlds of a kind similar to those mentioned previously (i.e. those who do not normally interact on either an informal or a formal basis), can actually unite to some effect within the local political arena. The geographical epicentre of this particular conflict is not actually located in Grandview-Woodland, but in Cedar Cottage, a neighbourhood that borders it to the south (refer back to figure 3.4). However, the issue did involve a number of residents and merchants from Grandview's southern portions along Commercial Drive. Moreover, Cedar Cottage has a social structure comparable to Grandview, with a predominance of working-class, ethnic minority residents and at least some traces of incipient gentrification. As has been the case throughout this chapter, our prime concern lies with the form and function of community mobilization within the local political arena. Before this can be considered though, some mention must be made of the background to this particular issue, leaving aside its numerous technical and political intricacies.

In the last fifteen years or so, the need for a rapid transit system, has become increasingly pressing for the ever-expanding Vancouver metropolitan
region. Despite several earlier initiatives that were invariably quashed at an early stage by internal and external politicking, the Advanced Light Rapid Transit (ALRT) system was finally launched in the early-1980's by the Provincial Government. The project was to be guided from design to implementation by the specially created Transit '86 Committee, an offshoot of the B.C. Transit crown corporation. The primary line of the ALRT will eventually stretch from the economically depressed city of New Westminster (consult figure 3.4) to the CBD of Vancouver; and is scheduled to become a revenue service by the early part of 1986 in time for the World Exposition to be held in Vancouver, where it will be featured as a key exhibit. Almost all of the line either passes through industrial areas, is underground, or follows the abandoned right-of-way once used by the B.C. Electric Company's inter-urban electric railway. However, through the section of the route illustrated in figure 5.9, the ALRT will have to leave the right-of-way and cut through a built-up retail and residential area until it joins up with the north side of the Burlington National Railway cut. Also within this section of the line, one of the 15 proposed ALRT stations is to be located at the Broadway and Commercial Drive intersection. It is therefore not surprising that it is from the area immediately surrounding this section that most of the community resistance to the ALRT has emanated.

The Transit for '86 Committee presented the local community with three options for the alignment along Commercial Drive: down the centre of the Drive; on its west side; or along a lane between the residential and commercial areas to its east. But to the 400 or more local residents and merchants who turned up to a local school to hear these proposals for the first time, these three options were merely academic, as in their minds at least, the ALRT was to be put underground (Vancouver Sun, 2nd December 1981). This emphatic response was also very much in evidence at another meeting co-sponsored by the Grandview-Woodland
Figure 5.9 Proposed Route of Elevated ALRT Line through Cedar Cottage and part of Grandview-Woodland

(Source: Quarterly Review, October 1983, Vancouver City Planning Dept.)
Area Council and the newly formed Grandview-Woodland Merchant's and Property-Owner's Association, as was the general confusion and uncertainty as to the details of the alignment which fuelled more than a few tempers. The matter was not helped by the total absence of any representation from either B.C. Transit or the Provincial Government, who could have helped to clarify the situation. In response to this first phase of community mobilization, City Council was split between a right-wing faction concerned about the possibility of the project being scrapped altogether, and a moderate and left-leaning faction who held the balance of power, wishing to protect the neighbourhood (and their 'east side mandate' presumably). The local political effort meanwhile was given a further push, with the addition of yet another group -- the Commercial Drive-Broadway Merchant's and Property-Owner's Association, consisting of some 24 merchants, mostly Italian, who had businesses located in the direct line of fire of the ALRT, a few blocks to the south of the other merchant group's 'jurisdiction' (Highland Echo, 4th March 1982).

Despite the fact there was obviously no shortage of local enthusiasm, the campaign's effectiveness so far had been limited by the fragmentation and lack of direction of those involved. These problems were considerably eased in the second phase of community mobilization with the formation of the Save Our Neighbourhood Committee (SONC), after yet another stormy public hearing attended by approximately 250 local citizens (The Province, 5th June 1982). SONC was an intriguing mixture of merchants and professionals (i.e. lawyers, doctors and realtors) whose businesses would either be one of the 12 to be expropriated or dramatically affected by the ALRT line and station, and local residents, some of whom were either tenants or owners of the 23 homes that would eventually have to be expropriated to make way for the elevated guideway. The strength of this particular organization came from two main sources. First, there was its
ability to muster impressive numbers whenever necessary, in the same way that
the West Grandview Property-Owner's Association had earlier done to bring down
the rezoning proposals. The same suspicion of public intervention that
had been such a motivating force then was further bolstered in this case by an
intense bitterness towards a Provincial Government that, like the Municipal
Government in the pre-1970 era, drew little of its support from this part of the
city and had therefore traditionally neglected it. The general attitude of this
group is summed up neatly in a comment made by an elderly couple who had been
resident in the area for over 35 years:

They just think that they can do whatever they want
whether we like it or not...you'd think after all those
years of paying taxes they would take our wants into
consideration. Not a chance (Vancouver Sun, 3rd August 1983).

Second, there was the highly influential leadership offered by a small group of
lower middle-class residents and professionals working locally. A key figure
here was a columnist for the city newspaper whose home had been one of the first
to be expropriated. Through him, SONC not only had a public figure around which
to rally, but also sustained a relatively high profile in the media throughout
the campaign. In a letter to the newspaper, he writes:

The reaction in this neighbourhood against the
incompetence and insensitivity shown by the Urban
Transit Authority was exciting to witness and be a
part of. I looked around at all those people jamming
the auditorium, all different colors, all different ages,
some still struggling with English, and all united
against this ugly notion, and I was damned proud to be
one of them (The Province, 7th June 1982).

In addition to the media exposure, the leaders of SONC also worked hard to
maintain community interest through a number of creative ventures. For example,
posters bearing the slogan "SONC wants it Sunk" and "Get The EL Out" sprang up
around the area. A "That's the Neighbourhood Spirit" Day (aping the Provincial
Government's own slogan) complete with a 9-metre replica ALRT pylon covered in graffiti supplied by local schoolchildren, and refreshments appropriately named "tunnel tarts" and "whoosh whirls", was organized. So was an information booth on Commercial Drive and a neighbourhood walk (see figure 5.10) which included a wreath burying ceremony to "symbolize the lament for an east side neighbourhood" (Vancouver Sun, 2nd October 1982). SONC also made contact with similar anti-rapid transit groups from other Canadian cities in order to gain expertise; and in a rather opportunistic move, lobbied their Federal MP who promptly produced a tunnelling scheme which unfortunately never came to anything (The Province, 10th June 1982).

Although B.C. Transit remained as resolute as ever in their refusal to build a tunnel, SONC's activities further served to encourage the City Council (now with a left-wing majority) to press the Provincial Government to share the costs of at least a cut-and-cover tunnel along Commercial Drive. At the same time, the city also realized its responsibility for planning the ALRT development, and to this end, planning programs were initiated, at the end of 1982, in those areas within a ten-minute walk of each of the four suburban ALRT stations, including the Broadway station (Wotherspoon, 1983). Therefore, a public meeting was held in Cedar Cottage in order to recruit members for the local Planning Committee. Despite a perhaps not unexpectedly hostile reception, city officials were able to sign up some 35 people, most of whom either worked or lived within one or two blocks of the line, and the Broadway Station Area Planning and Advisory Committee was born (Highland Echo, 16th December 1982). As most of those who had been involved in SONC were also involved in the Planning Committee, its role in the first 9 months of its existence was somewhat confusing and problematic, particularly for the local area planner. The leaders of SONC continued to participate in protest actions, broadening its political
Figure 5.10  Yet Another Walk: SONG Goes Looking for Support in the Neighbourhood, 2/11/82.

Figure 5.11  All in Vain?: Excavation Begins along the Grandview Cut for the ALRT Line Support Pods, 1/12/83.

(Source: Highland Echo)
base by joining the Coalition to Save Transit (which also included the Independent Canadian Transit Union, the B.C. Coalition of the Disabled, and the Citizens for Rapid Transit); and also successfully picketing municipal engineering crews that were preparing the ALRT transit line. Moreover, in the terms of reference drawn up by the planning committee, the members insisted on a 'philosophy clause' stating that the group was opposed to the elevated alignment and would proceed with its planning function only on the assumption that the ALRT would eventually be put underground.

B.C. Transit appeared characteristically to be quite unperturbed by this clause, for soon after its drafting, 6 of the 16 homes purchased along the east lane alignment were demolished to allow the excavations for the ALRT support columns to be initiated (see figure 5.11). City Council however found itself in an awkward position, caught between a Planning Committee to which it had once again promised support (this time by a 7 to 4 majority), and a Provincial Government which was threatening to take serious legal action to force it into granting permission for the ALRT construction work to continue (The Province, 9th March 1983). Once the Provincial opposition party (the NDP), which was evidently more favourable to the idea of a tunnel along Commercial Drive, failed to win the election in May 1983, it was quite apparent that the City would have to acquiesce to the Province in the interests of the city as a whole, and attempt with justified trepidation to persuade the Planning Committee to withdraw its clause and resume its normal planning activities (The Province, 15th August 1983). The Planning Committee itself was also beginning to realize the futility of its cause, but nevertheless made one last attempt to gain support from the B.C. Transit committee by inviting it and media representatives to attend a tour of the area where the ALRT would eventually run, conducted by the two most influential leaders of SONC and the Planning committee. Once
again, only those who were already sympathetic attended, while B.C. Transit failed to send any representatives (Highland Echo, 1st September 1983).

From this point on we can observe a fourth stage in the process of community mobilization against the ALRT. The Planning Committee has abandoned the tunnel proposal and following SONC's amalgamation with it in September 1983, has shifted its orientation towards dealing with the impact of the elevated alignment and the ALRT station. One gets a sense when talking to some of its members that the committee has since realised its neglect of other tasks, such as guaranteeing adequate relocation arrangements for those expropriated, and fighting for compensation for those left to put up with the noise, loss of privacy, and shading produced by the ALRT line (Vancouver Sun, 7th December 1983). In an endeavour to appease the Committee, the City Council has subsequently backed the Planning Committee, by unanimously passing a resolution asking B.C. Transit to consider mitigation measures including landscaping and selective property purchases. Perhaps the protest effort will not, after all, prove to be totally wasteful. More crucial in the long run, however, will be the ability of the Planning Committee and the local-area planner to produce, by the end of 1984, a plan that can at least go some way towards alleviating the pressures for redevelopment in the area. The ALRT station has been suggested by consultants to have the second largest development potential, with room for an additional 3,000 housing units (Highland Echo, 6th May 1982). Already there have been several reports from local residents of 'scare tactics' being used by developers to tempt property-owners out of the area. In addition, the pressures for retailing and parking space, as well as the increased bus and commuter traffic engendered by an estimated peak of 4,000 commuters will have to be reckoned with.
In conclusion, as was stated at the outset of this section, we have witnessed in this particular episode a situation in which the internal divisions within the neighbourhood have been notably absent, and a remarkable partnership between a number of distinctive social worlds has been forged which, considering the overall circumstances, has, generated sustained pressure. Not only has the long politically dormant merchant group been involved on a continual basis, but so too has the previously mentioned 'silent majority' of local residents. An obvious factor in this involvement is the immediate and tangible nature of the problem confronting these groups. This has been further compounded by an almost completely impervious and uncooperative Transit Committee that has done little to absorb or even deflect the protest, and has thus provided the community with a common and well-defined foe. As one of the activists has recently reflected, "SONC served us all, but it was like banging your head against the wall" (Potter, 1983:5). But apart from these preconditions, a particularly important factor in this case has been the small band of activists who have demonstrated admirable ingenuity and resilience throughout the 'tunnel' campaign. In doing so they have managed to sustain the protest effort long beyond the average life of other comparable issues.

It remains to be seen, however, how the community will respond now that the main 'threat' (i.e. the ALRT elevated guideway) is becoming accepted, and the relatively gradual and intangible pressures for change in the neighbourhood come into play. Ironically, it is anticipated by many that the indirect impacts of the ALRT will in the end pose a far greater threat to the status quo of the neighbourhood than the preliminary direct effects. Given the experience of the rezoning issues, one may be inclined to question whether or not the partnership will continue to function effectively, particularly in those areas that are 3 blocks or more away from the ALRT station, where property values are expected to be the most inflated.
5.7 A Social World Revives: The Grandview-Woodland Area Council Today

In an earlier section of this chapter, the Area Council was observed to have foundered badly as a result of ideological and personal differences within its membership. The controversial rezoning issue was seen to be mainly responsible for bringing these differences to the surface. However, once this issue had subsided, the left-wing factions of the Council took control in the election held at the annual general meeting of 1978. The opposing right-wing elements appear to have withdrawn at this point from the local political scene out of frustration and disillusionment. With some kind of consensus thereby established, the Area Council entered the most radical phase of its development.

Unemployment emerged in 1978 and 1979 as the major issue for the Area Council to tackle. In addition to lobbying Federal and Provincial government representatives and workers for action in the East End, a summer job creation program called 'Awareness 80' was launched. This project was almost scrapped, interestingly enough, because of local union pressure to prevent the students being paid at sub-union rates. An outreach program entitled 'Community Action for Employment' (CAFE) was jointly led by the Area Council, and relocated from a downtown hotel to Commercial Drive, but was soon dissolved by the Provincial Government for being far too "political". Other developments within the political realm during this period included continued work for tenants' rights with the newly formed Tenant's Advisory Counselling Service; representation in the Area Representation Elector's Alliance (AREA), the city's pressure group for the ward system; and the beginning of an informal partnership with the Downtown-Eastside Resident's Association (DERA), an organization that was fast becoming one of the city's most controversial and explicitly political associations (The East Ender, 15th September 1983). Within the last year there has been a mutual unofficial agreement between the two groups that DERA could
extend its jurisdictional area eastwards from the city's "skid row" to the north-western portion of Grandview-Woodland bounded by Hastings Street and Victoria Drive (refer back to figure 5.2). This move has been made out of the joint recognition by both parties that DERA is better equipped to deal with the concerns of this area which contains a mixture of warehouses, docks and old hotels inhabited by unemployed elderly single men.

Associated with this shift in political orientation, the Area Council once again continued actively to promote the cause of social services in the neighbourhood. The most important contribution in this field, was the "Eastside Family Place", an informal drop-in centre for families, which was, and continues to be, sponsored by the Area Council (Highland Echo, 5th April 1979). Help was also given to the 'Kettle Friendship Society' (a drop-in for the mentally retarded); the ingeniously titled 'Seniors Well-Being Action Team' (SWAT); the Native Indian Centre which had shifted from its original Downtown-Eastside location; and MOSAIC, a multilingual translation society. It is interesting to note however, that the "local area" approach to social service allocation and distribution that was discussed earlier in the context of the late-1960's, no longer appears to be the key organizational principle adopted by the social agencies. Although these local services are undoubtedly linked on the basis of an informal network within the neighbourhood, the Area Council has relinquished the formal coordinating and decision-making role that once took up the bulk of its time.

In its place, the Area Council has tended particularly in the period 1981-84, to be involved in the two other roles that are laid down in its constitution; providing a "forum" for its residents, and acting as the community's "advocate" on all of the issues that are affecting them. In the former role, the Area Council has proved to be quite receptive to, and
invariably cooperative with, local complaints and queries on such diverse practical matters as development permit applications, liquor store and pool hall nuisances, garbage dumped in a local park, and a rundown "eyesore" property along Commercial Drive.

Of more far reaching significance, however, has been the Area Council's recent activities as a neighbourhood advocate. With the growing realization that most of the issues that will have the greatest impact upon the neighbourhood in the long run stem from outside of the local area, the Area Council has endeavoured to stake a political position in the city as a whole. To this effect, in the last two years the council has made a number of representations (in many instances by invitation) on such prominent issues as the drawing of ward boundaries, ALRT, the B.C. Place stadium and redevelopment plan, the Port of Vancouver's Master Plan proposals, the 'Operation Solidarity' campaign against the Provincial Government's legislation, and the Vancouver 'Coreplan'. Along with a number of other groups in the city, the Area Council has also realized that if their individual voices are to have any bearing on these matters, a united front of community groups is essential. For example, in the case of the Port of Vancouver's Master Plan, the Council was prompted to join the 'Vancouver Waterfront Coalition', a merger of waterfront unions and neighbourhood organizations (Highland Echo, 20th January 1983). At the same time, the Area Council has continually strived to alert local residents to the potentially disruptive effects of these large-scale projects in Grandview in a series of excellent articles in the Highland Echo, written by the Council's current industrious president who is also a graduate student in philosophy.

Much of the credit for the recent revitalization of the Area Council can be attributed to a handful of "veterans" from the NIP committee which ceased to function in 1981. In part, this has been facilitated by the fact that the
left-wing indigenous element (i.e. the political face of the counter-culture) has receded into the background in the last three years and concentrated its attention upon the COPE civic party, the NDP provincial party and other more radical organizations. Mention has already been made of the expertise and negotiation skills that were gained by the members of this committee during the course of its activities. A small group of these ex-NIP committee members in conjunction with some more recently recruited young professional home-owning residents who are comparatively new to the area (i.e. incipient gentrifiers), have taken over the Area Council, and steered it on to a more "middle line" political course. At yet another "crisis" meeting held in the latter part of 1982, to discuss the future of the Area Council in the face of dwindling attendance at its monthly meetings, this takeover was quite clearly demonstrated. It was generally agreed that the Council should in future focus on one particular "local" issue in the hope of generating more interest and support from the community on the strength of its successes (a similar philosophy to that discussed earlier in the NIP Committee). The Council eventually decided on a relatively apolitical issue, traffic, which had been a major point of discussion in the Area Plans, but had not so far been acted on in any significant way. The Council has therefore devoted the last one and a half years or so to the production of an impressive 113-page traffic policy plan and accompanying promotional slide show, with the help of four planners hired under the federal government's 'Community Recovery Program' (Grandview-Woodland Area Council, July 1983). It is anticipated that as a result of the policy plan and its intensive lobbying activities, the City Engineers will either produce, supervise or at least fund a complete traffic management study for the area based on the recommendations of the policy plan (Highland Echo, 12th January 1984).
To date, the traffic campaign has not generated the local interest that the Area Council had originally hoped for; the meetings held at all of the local schools in order to ensure adequate areal coverage drew very small audiences. On the other hand, representatives from other neighbourhood groups (e.g. the West End Traffic Committee), City Hall and the Planning Department have all been impressed with the quality of the Council's work, and this has given the Area Council an image of respectability at least outside the neighbourhood. Indeed, the greater rapport between the Area Council (and the Britannia Slopes Area Citizen's Planning Committee) and the various bodies at City Hall, would suggest that the 'incipient gentrifiers' have promoted a newer, much more cooperative phase in the local politics of Grandview-Woodland, which stands in stark contrast to the years of bitterness and mutual suspicion between the locals and city officials that preceded it. Though duly concerned about the adverse implications of their small number (they are down to an active core of about 6 or 7 regular participants at the monthly meetings), and the lack of representation amongst the membership of the neighbourhood (there is now a marked predominance of educated, professional, middle class owner-occupiers), the Area Council members for now have consoled themselves with the knowledge that, at every stage in the campaign, they have conducted an open agenda accessible to criticism and support from other local residents. Furthermore, with the present board, the Area Council is largely free of the internal divisions that once plagued it and is thus able to achieve results. One former Council member who sat on the board in 1977 and 1978 was amazed how smoothly and quickly things were done at a recent meeting she attended. Although of an intangible form at present, these results will eventually (if funds are forthcoming) be reflected throughout the neighbourhood with the initiation of safety campaigns, curbing improvements, parking restrictions, new sets of
traffic lights and possibly even traffic barriers. On past experience, it is probably at this stage that the Area Council will come under the scrutiny of the wider community, and this will be the strongest test of its representativeness.

5.8 Summary

During the course of this chapter, the evolution of a number of social worlds has been described, that have played a prominent part within the neighbourhood's local political arena. Not only may these organizations be distinguished from each other on the basis of their membership, outlook and activities, but distinctions may also be drawn between different stages of their own development. For instance, the Area Council is a social world whose membership and functions have changed quite dramatically over the years. Apart from the wider structural influences that have already been briefly alluded to, an important local factor in shaping the social morphology of the local political arena has been the passage into and out of these organizations of a range of more informally-based social worlds. For, as the neighbourhood's social and cultural structure has changed, so too has the mosaic of social worlds that constitute it. With this relationship in mind, four distinctive phases in the evolution of the local political arena in Grandview-Woodland have been identified (see figure 5.12) and discussed at some length in this chapter:

1. In the pre-war years the overt lack of political activity in Grandview-Woodland reflected its economically depressed, and socially isolated state. Apart from a couple of early short-lived, and unsuccessful, attempts to organize, the neighbourhood's political arena was dominated by two very different groups. On the one hand, there was the Grandview CCF Club, a labour organization that was not primarily oriented to the neighbourhood, but to the universal spread of socialism at the municipal, national and international
Figure 5.12  Diagram Summarizing the Major Phases in the Political Evolution of Grandview-Woodland.

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<th>GROUPS</th>
<th>MOTIVES</th>
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<td>I. 1905-1945</td>
<td>Isolation and occasional small-scale mobilization.</td>
<td>G.W. Progress Ass'n. G.W. Ratepayer's Ass'n. G.W. CCF Club. G.W. Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>(i) Keep Rates Low</td>
<td>Merchant-oriented,</td>
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<td>(ii) Improvements?</td>
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<td>II. 1946-1963</td>
<td>Identity and Grassroots Populism.</td>
<td>G.W. Chamber of Commerce, G.W. Ratepayers Ass'n.</td>
<td>(i) Improve Commercial Dr. + neighbourhood's physical infrastructure</td>
<td>Merchant and</td>
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<td>(ii) East-side representation at City Hall</td>
<td>Resident-oriented,</td>
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<td>(ii) Community Input</td>
<td>Separation between Residents and Professional, Student and Academic support.</td>
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<td>(iii) Local Control?</td>
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<td>(ii) 'Preserve and enhance'</td>
<td>Rise of the Local 'Expert', United front against ALRT.</td>
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<td>(iii) 'Quality of Life'</td>
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levels. On the other, a small group of merchants formed the local Chamber of Commerce to negotiate highway access through the area, and thereby secure their trading interest. Thereafter, this group met only sporadically and was thus a negligible political force.

(2) It was not until after the Second World War, that the political tradition that is such a keynote of the area today was finally stamped upon the neighbourhood. The Chamber of Commerce for a while became a permanent fixture and campaigned successfully for long-overdue improvements to the retailing strip. More significant in the long run, however, was the founding of the Ratepayer's Association, that included along with merchants, many local residents. For the first time, the local residents became a political force for the neighbourhood, both within the local area and the city as a whole. In addition to this recognition, the Association began to raise a much wider range of issues such as street improvements, park provision, and library and community centre facilities.

(3) By far the most important phase in the political evolution of Grandview was ushered in around the mid-1960's. During this period the local political arena of Grandview was dramatically transformed by a powerful set of exogenous and endogenous forces. With regards to the former, some fundamental changes occurring within institutions at different levels in the Canadian political hierarchy were outlined as having important creative and constraining influences upon the political scene within Grandview. This chapter's chief concern, however, was with the people who were directly responsible for forming and running the formal social worlds that proliferated in this period (i.e. the endogenous forces). In the case of the Grandview-Woodland Area Council, which then emerged as the community's premier political organization, it was observed that three separate groups had a particularly important bearing. First, were
the outside professionals working for the area's social support agencies, who initiated it. Second, were the local residents who gradually took over legal control and operation of the Area Council and its affiliated organizations. Third, were a few academics and students that had a hand both in advising the local residents, and in mediating between them and the outside professionals.

(4) From the mid-1970's to the present date the proliferation of local organizations has continued at the same rate. Many of these, however, have been concerned with a very different field to the earlier groups: land use planning on a neighbourhood scale. The Area Council itself was a major force in the launching of the neighbourhood Local Area Planning program that spawned both the Planning and NIP Committees. This initiative almost proved to be the Area Council's undoing, as a rezoning proposal introduced by the Planning Committee in an effort to curb nascent developer interest in Grandview's apartment areas, raised the ire of a rival group of ethnic minority property-owners who were concerned about the proposal's effect upon their property values. This particular issue was also responsible for bringing to the surface a destructive ideological division within the Area Council between the older, blue-collar home-owning members, and the younger, blue-collar and student, tenant members sitting on the Council. Several years later, a similar, though somewhat more diluted proposal was successfully introduced by a different planning group, the Britannia Slopes Committee. Meanwhile the present Area Council, has been revived by a few ex-NIP committee members, along with several other gentrifiers, and continues to act as the coordinating voice in the neighbourhood's land use and planning issues. In such situations as the ALRT 'tunnel' issue (i.e. a direct, unsubtle violation of the neighbourhood's space), these groups have nevertheless found useful allies in the other politically lower-profile groups such as the merchants, and the long-established elderly and ethnic property-owners and tenants.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"The city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion myth, aspiration, night-mare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps, in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture.

(J. Raban, Soft City)

6.1 Implications of Research for the Neighbourhood Revitalization Literature

(a) Methodology

Before the study's findings can be properly situated within the main body of the neighbourhood revitalization literature, a note of qualification is in order. As was stated at the outset, the neighbourhood for study was chosen deliberately because of the prevailing uncertainty over its future development. Most revitalization studies, by contrast have looked at their case studies after, rather than before the fact. By focussing on the earliest stages of revitalization, it was anticipated that new light would be shed upon the process. The initial impression that 'gentrification' was neither the dominant motif in Grandvew-Woodland at present, nor possibly in the near future, was confirmed on closer inspection. Consequently, the findings of the present case study are perhaps more directly relevant to the comparatively neglected 'first stage' of revitalization, 'incipient gentrification', which was discussed in Chapter 2. However, both the findings and the methodological approach to the case study, also have some significant implications for the later stages of the revitalization process.

An important guiding principle throughout this study has been the idea
that analysts should make more of an effort first to recognize, and then
discuss, the specific qualities that the case study displays, in addition to the
generalizations that it affords. In order for this shift in emphasis to be
successful, it was argued that a fundamental theoretical reevaluation as to what
exactly the process of neighbourhood revitalization constitutes was a vital and
necessary precondition. Most writers have recognized that this process usually
results in a definite and measurable quantitative change in the socio-economic
and demographic profile of the neighbourhood's population (i.e. a 'people'
element). A few others have also pointed to the qualitative effect it has upon
the neighbourhood's prevalent architectural styles and streetscapes (i.e. a
'landscape' element). Yet others have referred to the fact that the process
brings with it new types of institutions, which, because of declining local
support, often replace other more established ones (i.e. an 'institutional'
element). In introducing the 'mosaic of social worlds' theoretical framework, a
conceptual fusion of these three separate elements has been attempted in an
endeavour to capture this multi-faceted process (i.e. a 'people-in-
institution-in-landscape' process).

In addition to this holistic approach to change, the analyst is urged,
when observing the evolution of these social worlds through time, to consider
the specific spatio-temporal context within which they are acting. The
differences and similarities between urban experiences in the United States and
Canada is a case in point, and is one that demands far more attention in future
both in the field of neighbourhood revitalization and urban studies in general.
Even within the Canadian context, the analyst must also become aware of, and
make explicit, the crucial inter-regional, inter-urban and intra-urban
differences that may exist (e.g. a comparative study between inner-city
neighbourhoods in Vancouver is considered a long-overdue exercise). A
well-defined historical perspective that not only focusses on the 
neighbourhood at the time of revitalization but in periods before it, is 
considered a necessary adjunct to the analytical approach developed in this 
study. In Grandview, the comparatively recent phase of gentrification has been 
located within a whole series of settlement phases operating through time. 
Finally, a 'mixed' methodology relying on both the conventionally used 
quantitative data and more infrequently used types of qualitative data 
(particularly participant-observation) has been recommended and operationalized 
on the basis that each case study requires a 'unique' methodology appropriate to 
its particular circumstances.

(b) Consequences

With regards to the effects of revitalization upon the neighbourhood at 
this incipient stage, we can make several pertinent observations. First, the 
issue of displacement is far more complex than is often suggested in the 
literature. When examining the incumbents or 'silent majority' as they were 
frequently referred to, it was found that there was a certain amount of 
ambivalence about their desire to remain in the neighbourhood. On the one hand, 
some of the evidence in this study suggests that many of the long-established 
property-owners were tied to the neighbourhood only economically, and if they 
could sell their houses at sufficiently inflated prices they would be only too 
willing to follow many of their neighbours and relocate in the less dense and 
more modern properties in the 'newer' suburbs. On the other hand, there were a 
number of instances (e.g. difficulties by property developers in land assembly 
and the ALRT issue), where the incumbents showed a considerable degree of 
commitment to the neighbourhood, beyond a mere economic attachment, to the point 
that a few of them have become prominent leaders in community action and 
neighbourhood planning. The evidence from the local tenants, not surprisingly,
is less confusing. On more than one occasion the mobilization of renters against the threat of redevelopment in the area has been witnessed, and this confirms the conventional wisdom of the literature.

Second, in the realm of internal socio-cultural conflict some of the arguments put forward in the literature can again only be partially supported. To date, the overt 'conflict' between opposing socio-cultural groups described elsewhere (e.g. Levy and Cybriwsky, 1980) has been noticed only within the local political arena of Grandview-Woodland, and has been notably absent in other areas of social activity. The fact that gentrification is still only in its nascent phase within Grandview, and the generally more favourable state of race relations and inner-city blight in Canada compared to the United States, might account for much of this discrepancy. However, some important 'differences' have been noticed within Grandview which have been reflected in the landscapes of the retailing, cultural and residential environments. Two groups in particular, the Italians and the new wave as they were called, have played a particularly creative role in introducing a wide array of both formal and informal institutions that, by virtue of their marked place-specificity, have been instrumental in forging the neighbourhood's identity -- or two separate 'identities' to be precise. The coffee bar was singled out in this study as a fascinating example of an institution that was common to both of these groups, but was the locus of quite different lifeworlds complete with their distinctive set of symbols, that had contributed to the rich and visually striking streetscape of the area's prime retailing strip, Commercial Drive. Some important symbolic differences, similar to those discussed by Holdsworth (1981), have also been noticed within Grandview's residential environments. The net result has strongly contributed to a set of characteristically mixed streetscapes, incorporating a wide range of architectural styles and conditions,
which all point to Grandview's 'partial status passage'. These may in future present something of a problem between prospective gentrifiers and incumbents in the conversion areas if the trend favoured by some sections of the community (particularly the ethnic minority groups) continues, that is a preference to replace older buildings with new ones rather than rehabilitate them. These differences may therefore eventually present grounds for some conflict, whether confined to the political arena or not, between these groups.

Although the impact of these 'pioneer' gentrifiers upon the economic and social structure of Grandview-Woodland is as yet relatively limited, within the local political arena it has had a far greater impact. In this way, it could be suggested that the local political arena (and to a lesser extent the retail sector) has been more fully 'revitalized' than other sectors of the community. Of the two major components of the new wave described in Chapter 4, the tenants have tended to by-pass the local political arena in favour of issues of more global significance, such as women's rights, Latin America, and nuclear disarmament. The home-owning element on the other hand, having a far greater 'stake' in the neighbourhood's future, have not been as indifferent to local matters. The fact that such a large proportion of local activists could be classified in this 'gentrifier' category, which in terms of the local population as a whole is comparatively small, would lend support to the idea that these residents tend to be more committed to the politics of their community. Moreover, not only are these people more committed, but in view of their higher than average education, their professional experience in relevant fields, and their greater appreciation of the importance and significance of local community action, they are better equipped to act within the local political arena.

Thus far, the findings parallel those suggested by others in previous studies. But in light of the experience of several political groups in
Grandview-Woodland (e.g. Grandview-Woodland Area Council, Britannia Area Citizen's Planning and Save Our Neighbourhood Committee) one is inclined to question the simple duality of 'them conspiring against us' (or vice versa), an explanation suggested for example by Auger (1979). Within the gentrifier's group, whilst we have witnessed several members (particularly from the Britannia Area Citizen's Planning Committee), pressing for the typical culturally and economically-oriented goals such as heritage status acquisition, street curbing and beautification, we have also been made aware of a strong emphasis upon preserving the existing social and cultural mix of the neighbourhood's population (i.e. low-income families and ethnic plurality). Many gentrifiers have shown that they are quite conscious of the impacts that both the 'hard' (i.e. apartment development) and the 'soft' (i.e. conversion and rehabilitation) option will have upon the neighbourhood's status quo, and this would serve to reinforce the 'diversity and density' thesis advanced by Allen (1980), that was discussed in Chapter 2. We can perhaps go even further than this, by speculating that some members of this group have in many ways been the prime movers in the same 'neighbourhood defending' function that Cybriwsky has credited to the incumbent blue-collar ethnic group in his Philadelphia study. An interesting connection with the literature can also be made here with regards to the significance of 'role' models in shaping the emotional response and vision of this group. Kitsilano, a gentrified neighbourhood in the west side of Vancouver, has been observed to have served as both a positive and as a negative influence upon the planning activities of gentrifiers in Grandview-Woodland. The Kitsilano of yesteryear has provided many of these newcomers, who once lived there, with an 'ideal'. But more negatively recent changes in this neighbourhood have served to underline the inherent problems, particularly the 'loss of community', associated with revitalization.
A similar kind of intra-group ambivalence has also been observed within the incumbent groups. Mention has already been made of the long-established residents who have emerged as the leaders in community initiatives. More recently, they have been joined in the local political arena, by the fledgling gentrifiers and together they have struck a fruitful and predominantly harmonious partnership in several contexts, even if there have been some isolated areas of disagreement. Perhaps the two biggest cases of internal conflict within the community, interestingly enough, have been largely confined to the incumbent blue-collar groups: first, in the case of the Area Council in the mid-1970's, there was a split roughly between tenants and property-owners; second, in the first rezoning issue, where the division was between pro- and anti-redevelopment factions. In this latter issue, the pro-redevelopment faction's stand could be interpreted as being far more progressive than any others, in that by promoting apartment and condominium construction, this group was advocating change of a far greater scale and impact than anyone else, in the hope of securing substantial increases in property-values. Therefore, contrary to the general view, the 'pioneer' gentrifier group could in a similar way be regarded as being a more conservative, and perhaps a more stable influence upon the neighbourhood, than some of the incumbent sections of the local population. That is not to say however that this group does not stand to gain financially, for the 'soft' option of renovation may in the long run prove to be a more economically fruitful path to pursue both for this 'risk oblivious' group and the incumbent property-owners.

(c) Summary

The main contribution of this study to the neighbourhood revitalization literature has been to demonstrate the importance of considering the specifics as well as the generalizations that can be deduced from a particular instance of
revitalization. An approach has thus been utilized in this case study that is heavily process-oriented and contextual in emphasis. In applying this approach, the analyst has found some agreement, and more importantly, some points of disagreement with the assumptions embodied within the literature. The most important point has been the limitations in applying generalized models to this process, including the stage model, and more crucially, the bi-polar model of the community's social structure (i.e. the distinction between gentrifiers and incumbents). In future, should make a serious attempt to look more deeply within these categories and critically assess their utility in explaining inter- and intra-group behaviour in the community undergoing change.

6.2 Implications of Research for Other Related Fields

(a) A 'Revitalized' Political Geography

One starting-point for a truly revitalized approach within political geography, would be a shift in scale away from the familiar territory of international and national politics to the urban level, and even below that to the level of the individual neighbourhood. However, this shift in scale is not enough on its own. At the same time, a shift away from either the structuralist or positivist epistemologies that are currently dominant in this field, towards a more hermeneutic orientation is deemed essential to facilitate the development of an approach that could be simultaneously critical and interpretive, especially at the micro-scale of inter- and intra-group behaviour within a community. A central premise of this hermeneutic or 'humanistic' approach is that its usefulness and applicability can only really be satisfactorily demonstrated in practice. This study has not however been presented, by any means, as the definitive demonstration of the approach's merits, but instead as an initial exploration in humanistic method.
A key feature of the empirical study has been the importance it has attached to the context within which political activity has taken place. The notion of 'place' here is particularly pertinent, and so considerable effort has been directed towards building a body of quantitative and qualitative data, to achieve as complete and as integrated a picture of the neighbourhood under study as possible. It is felt that if political geographers can make a contribution to political science, it should primarily be their ability to deal conceptually with the exigencies of time and space.

Although the 'local political arena' as it has been referred to in this study has been the prime focus, the research has also shown that the local political arena cannot and should not be conceptually isolated from the socio-cultural structure of the neighbourhood of which it is an integral part. The clearest message to have emerged from the series of case studies examined in Chapter 5, is that local political activity is essentially a social activity; and like all social organizations, political groups are not fixed, but susceptible to changes in social composition and subsequent modification in their activities and general functions. Moreover, these changes have been brought about not only by the influx of new members, but also by the existing membership who, as a result of their experience in the local political arena, have actually sought to reshape the purpose and function of the group concerned.

This brings us to another main point. There has been a tendency amongst many analysts of local political activity to seriously underestimate, or even overlook, the influence and ingenuity of individuals within political groups (apart from some cursory recognition of the role of the 'leader' and 'personality'). It has been implied, that these individuals are in some way merely 'dupes' of some wider external forces. The evidence produced in this
case study might go some way towards correcting this picture, with its portrayal of a number of actors who have not only had quite an impact politically, but have been able to do so because they were conscious of the implications of these outside influences.

While such a humanistic political geography (as it might be tentatively called) does offer some distinct advantages over other competing approaches, it does on the other hand, suffer from the same faults and weaknesses (discussed in Chapter 3) that have plagued the hermeneutic approach as it has been applied in other fields of geography. In partial defence, it is stressed that this approach is regarded merely as a method by which crucial imbalances such as those discussed above, which have been an unfortunate feature of many accounts of political change in neighbourhoods, can at least begin to be corrected. It would still seem, however, a useful exercise to anticipate some of the more obvious criticisms that might be levelled at this approach. First, one might be inclined to suggest that this study is far too specific, and has thus only limited relevance and comparability with other studies undertaken elsewhere. This weakness may be considered a necessary hazard associated with an approach that is as interested in the unique as it is the general. Although the findings from such a study as this must be carefully transplanted to other cases, at least the method incorporated here might have some useful bearing in other neighbourhood contexts. Second, some may agree that this approach does have a place in the study of political activity at the level of the neighbourhood; but when dealing with higher levels in the political hierarchy, the approach is rendered obsolete. I would counter this argument by suggesting the only reason for supporting it is the almost total lack of examples in geography in which the humanistic approach has been applied to a larger political arena. There is no shortage of such precedents however, in other disciplines within the social
sciences (e.g. Silverman, 1970; Geertz, 1973). In future, these works could quite conceivably be used as models for some detailed contextual accounts by political geographers of the various social worlds that can undoubtedly be observed within the 'lifeworld' of a wide range of public and private institutions at a number of different political levels (see Ley, 1983 and Kariya, 1978 for some important initial examples of geographical research in this vein).

Finally, because a hermeneutic approach need not take a direct political stand in its analysis, several critics have suggested that it is essentially 'apolitical', and in this way is no more effective than the systems theory and geopolitics of the 'old order' of political geography. If analysts were to present a study merely for understanding's sake, then this criticism might carry some force. However, if the analyst recognizes that this 'understanding' is only an important prerequisite for informing either one's own and if possible, some others' ideological thinking and practical political activity, then the apolitical label must be seriously questioned. The approach may also have some influence in the realm of policy-making, and it is to this end that we will indicate in the final section of this chapter how the study's findings may be of some use in neighbourhood and community planning.

(b) Neighbourhood and Community Studies

Another central tenet of this study has been the explicit recognition that neighbourhood revitalization is merely one of a series of generalised processes of neighbourhood change. On this basis then, many of the arguments about uniqueness and context advanced for the process of neighbourhood revitalization might equally be applied to other processes of change such as decline, renewal and suburbanization. Such typologies and life-cycle models as those developed by Moore (1972) and Bourne (1976), provide only limited use as a
descriptive and organizational framework. Beyond this, these models suffer because they are not well equipped to deal with change, and because they impose unnecessarily rigid boundaries between the various types of change. This analytical segregation can be particularly harmful if two or more different processes are operating concurrently in one locale. Moreover, these models appear to be solely oriented towards the ecological aspects of these processes, at the expense of the socio-cultural aspects with which the social analyst must also be concerned.

The 'mosaic within a mosaic of social worlds' framework has thus been theoretically adapted and then applied to the empirical case study of Grandview-Woodland in an effort to present a viable and more meaningful alternative to these models. Not only has the framework been shown to overcome many of the problems associated with ecological models, but it has also sought to bridge a serious gap that, as we saw in Chapter 3, has left much of the neighbourhood and community literature hamstrung. Whilst accepting the main thrust of the interactionist's critique of human ecology, I have been very reluctant to discard space in general, and the socio-spatial unit of the neighbourhood in particular, as an influential factor in shaping social relations. The 'mosaic of social worlds' perspective enables the analyst to situate himself or herself comfortably within both the 'spatial' and 'aspatial' camps — in recognition that in some social worlds, 'place' is a far more important component than in others. In this case study, interest has been focussed mainly on 'place-specific' social worlds: in the social and cultural arena of Grandview-Woodland in Chapter 4 (e.g. ethnic associations, theatres, and coffee bars), and its local political arena in Chapter 5 (e.g. community action, neighbourhood planning and protest groups). Once again, these individual case studies are not meant to be analytically exhaustive, but should be viewed more
appropriately as pointers for future work, from which it is hoped that this framework can be critically refined and further improved upon. The major part of this task should not be conducted within the theoretical realm (though further explorations into the fields of social and environmental psychology would undoubtedly prove to be highly beneficial), but in the application of this framework to a wide range of concrete situations. The greatest strengths of this particular framework are after all, its malleability and universality. Several areas in particular would appear to hold special promise for future investigation. First, in an effort to introduce greater rigour into the analysis of the internal structure of a social world, one useful development would be to blend the formalised social network analysis with the more informal participant-observer methodology. Second, analysts may wish to explore some of the other aspects of social worlds outlined in figure 3.1, in addition to the concept of place specificity and the formal/informal distinction that were the main subjects of this study. Third, whilst it is clear that more work is needed in the problem of describing and explaining the internal structure of individual social worlds, an area of continually intriguing interest will be that of the inter-relationships between various social worlds. The present study has essentially only begun to scratch the surface of this potentially fascinating research area. It is hoped that with an increasingly large body of empirical work, this framework will allow more light to be shed on this most complex issue, which has profound implications in planning for 'social mix' in communities.

(c) Community Planning and Social Mix

The concept of 'social mix' or the 'balanced neighbourhood' is one that has become deeply ingrained in certain planning ideologies, since the time when it first became an operational idea in some of the nineteenth century
philanthropic settlements. The basis of the concept is that there should be a mixture in each neighbourhood of all relevant groups within the urban society -- classes, ages, races, religions, etc. -- roughly in proportion to the composition of the society as a whole. In her excellent historical review of the evolution of the idea of social mix in town planning, Sarkissian (1976) summarizes a set of nine goals that have been commonly advanced in favour of social mix in community planning. Most of these goals are quite clearly socially-oriented, dealing with such benefits as increased cultural cross-fertilization, the diversity of aesthetics, the mollification of social conflict between classes, and residential stability. The most influential advocate in the contemporary field of urban planning has undoubtedly been Jane Jacobs. Other writers have suggested that in addition to the social factors, evaluation of social mix should include both the economic advantages and disadvantages (Evans, 1976), and the political implications in terms of class consciousness and mobilization (Harris, R. 1982). It is in this latter area, the political implications of social mix, that this study perhaps has the most to offer in critically evaluating the appropriateness of social mix as both a policy tool and as a practical reality. At the same time, I would argue that the 'mosaic of social worlds' theoretical framework has great potential in identifying and monitoring social mix in a wide range of situations from individual buildings through to the whole neighbourhood. In the past, analysts and planners have either tended to see social mix in purely static quantitative terms (i.e. what proportions of each group are present within one locale); or more realistically, in terms of neighbourhood interaction (e.g. housewife friendship patterns, see Gans, 1972; Merry, 1980). The framework used in this study also examines social interaction, but endeavours to take a few more steps by endeavouring to embed this interaction within distinctive social worlds that
are continually evolving within that locale's socio-cultural structure. In doing this, the analyst may be in a better position to discover how significant certain interaction networks are compared to others, and thus make his or her eventual evaluation more in tune with the real situation for the actors under study.

It is clear from a reading of a sample of the planning schemes initiated by the Social Planning Department of Vancouver, that the idea of social mix and the balanced neighbourhood in particular, have been important 'touchstones' since the department's inception at the end of the 1960's. This is demonstrated quite effectively in the 'Goals for Vancouver' document, in which social and ethnic mix are given high prominence for the future development of the "liveable city" (Vancouver City Planning Commission, 1980); and more permanently, in the unique False Creek redevelopment project launched by the municipal government in the middle of the seventies, and described by Ley as a "dramatic landscape metaphor" of liberal ideology with its emphasis upon social and cultural heterogeneity (Ley, 1980d: 252). In Grandview-Woodland this ideology has been evidently distilled in the three local area plans that have been produced in its various sub-areas. A casual examination of each of these plans (refer back to figures 4.29, 4.24, and 5.5 for summary goals), will reveal a liberal use of such key words as "maintain", "improve", "gradual", in association with the terms "density", "diversity" and "character" which all suggest an overriding design for sustaining social mix within the neighbourhood.

Undoubtedly, the local area planner, who has been a guiding figure throughout the successive stages of each plan, has been primarily responsible for the choice of wording in their drafting. However, it is also true that the members of the planning committees involved have had a big hand in laying down the themes of each plan; and in keeping with the 'activity' emphasis in
evaluating social mix, their participation is of prime interest in this study. The marked overrepresentation of gentrifiers on these committees was noted earlier; and if one was to apply the most stringent principles one might suggest that the ideal of social mix had already been violated within the local political arena of Grandview-Woodland. On the other hand, we can also point to the prominent role played on these committees by a small group of the neighbourhood's incumbent population, particularly in counterbalancing and modifying some of the gentrifiers' influence over local issues. On this level, we could suggest that social mix has worked generally favourably within the specific contexts of these planning groups. Each group has provided a forum in which not only convergent and divergent political views can be expressed and debated, but also a unique context within which members of quite different social worlds can interact on a more informal basis. At the same time, some cases have been noted where this feature of social proximity has brought about quite contrary and conflicting behaviour between these social worlds. In other words, the local political arena brings together a number of different social worlds which encourages either a measure of consensus or discord within the community, but in both situations social mix becomes an active reality. Whilst it is true that social mix within the local political arena has a crucial bearing upon the types of issues addressed and decisions made within the neighbourhood, it is also true that a comprehensive evaluation of social mix in a neighbourhood, must also examine other sectors of its socio-cultural structure. Indeed, the final test of social mix (though in fact, a true evaluation can never be final) must surely rest within the spheres of the daily lifeworlds of each of the various social worlds (particularly the degree of overlap between them) that populate the neighbourhood. This task is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study.
In conclusion, given the relatively poor success rate of previous local area plans in maintaining the social and cultural heterogeneity of other inner-city neighbourhoods of Vancouver, a measure of skepticism might well be justified when evaluating the potential effectiveness of the Grandview initiatives. As has been discussed in Chapter 4 however, the economic forces are, for now, on the side of the social mix proponents, as much of Grandview-Woodland's existing physical and social structure remains comparatively untouched by major redevelopment. The most important new development has instead been the gradual settlement of a 'new wave' of 'pioneer' gentrifiers and renters, whose net effect in the area thus far, has served mainly to enhance the social mix of the neighbourhood's population, and at the same time, revitalize the political, cultural, aesthetic, and social life of Grandview-Woodland. For this reason then, the outlook for Grandview with regard to the joint resolution of the goals of improving the neighbourhood's infrastructure whilst preserving its social structure would appear unusually promising. But on the basis of the experience of revitalization in other neighbourhoods one should perhaps still be cautious in judging how long it will be before the underlying contradiction between these two goals becomes widely apparent, as a consequence of either new interest in major redevelopment in the area, or the onset of the next stage in the 'discovery' of Grandview-Woodland.
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