

INTERPRETING GENTRIFICATION:
POSTINDUSTRIAL, POSTPATRIARCHAL, POSTMODERN?

By

CAROLINE ANN MILLS

B.A. (Hons.) University of Oxford, 1980
M.A. University of Calgary, 1982

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Department of Geography

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

The topic of gentrification is employed to carry through an argument about the theorization of geographical phenomena. The thesis argues for the revival of a critical cultural geography, in conjunction with the currently dominant perspectives on economic and social change in the geography of restructuring.

Applying the realist perspective on gentrification as a chaotic conception, a critical appraisal is made of the conventional production-oriented and consumption-oriented approaches to explaining gentrification. The "production of gentrifiers" approach, which seeks to overcome their conceptual divisions, offers a base for further work. Three levels for examining gentrification are proposed.

First, gentrification is viewed as a conjuncture of contingent social processes. The structuration of class and gender under conditions of socioeconomic restructuring is called upon to explain changing patterns of residential choice, employing the heuristic of postindustrial class relations and postpatriarchal gender relations. An extensive statistical analysis at the urban-system scale describes the pattern of incidence of gentrification between 22 Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas. High levels of gentrification are found to occur in urban contexts indicative of the presence of a postindustrial mode of class relations and a postpatriarchal mode of gender relations.

At the second level of investigation, gentrification is treated as a context for the negotiation of social conduct. An intensive ethnographic methodology is applied in one Vancouver neighbourhood, drawing upon resident interviews. "Thick Description" draws out the strategies by which gentrifiers respond to changing socioeconomic conditions. Gentrification itself is an environmental tactic allowing them to construct workable and satisfying

styles of life. The geographic context enables a complex articulation of domestic life with the public realm of work.

At the third level, which has been neglected elsewhere in the literature, gentrification is investigated as a constituent in the construction of social identity. The emergent meaning of the inner city is examined, especially with respect to gentrifiers' images of "the urban". Drawing upon the literature on landscape as text, a third heuristic--the postmodern--explores the inner city as a terrain of meaning, and the interactions of textual communities of landscape "producers" and "consumers".

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Godmother, Jill King.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1985, Spiegel Catalogs launched an advertising campaign. The advertisement which appeared in fashionable magazines pictures a young couple in the bedroom of their condominium. She lies on the bed, poring over a newspaper (the financial pages we suspect) with a glass of white wine within easy reach. He exercises at a rowing machine, with the open pages of a book turned towards him. The text of the advertisement reads:

"Ozzie and Harriet never lived liked this. We were duped.

We were always taught that being 'adults' meant being Ozzie and Harriet. (You know: Big house. Swell spouse. Weekends off.)

Instead, what do we get? This crazed-condo-existence-of-barely-enough-time-for-eating-sleeping-breathing-much-less shopping.

Phew. That's why, for us, a Spiegel Catalog is essential equipment (second only to microwaves, of course).

One toll-free call gets us Ralph Lauren Sportswear, Perry Ellis Martex Sheets and Stiffel Lamps....

So, right now, we have more time for each other. And, down the road, we'll have more time for little Ricky and David".

What possible relevance can this little tableau have for the interpretation of geographical phenomena? The task of the advertising copywriter is to establish webs of meaning out of the raw material of popular codes and symbols, which connect a commodity to a set of human values. Depicted in this domestic diorama is a little parable, that of the Good Life. On the one hand, we are offered the happy family of suburban sit-coms; on the other hand, the condominium childless couple. The second model has proved to be increasingly powerful during the 1980s, as evidenced by the flourishing imagery of so-called "yuppies" throughout the media. Both models are mystifications--yet they deserve serious attention.

Geographers interpreting contemporary urban change have tended to neglect the significance of cultural considerations to explanation, and have drawn little upon popular interpretations of social life in their own

analyses. This thesis seeks to revive a critical cultural geography, one that grows out of, and feeds back into, a perspective on economic and social change which has received more thorough attention. A large part of this thesis, therefore, is concerned with a critical appraisal of the approaches to explanation presented in the geographical literature. From that I construct an agenda for investigation, which identifies how those different approaches can be articulated in explaining spatial restructuring--with the intention, particularly, of showing how cultural issues must not be neglected. This is illustrated in later chapters with an interpretation of one inner city neighbourhood in Vancouver. Rather than just offering another case study of gentrification supported with a comprehensive literature review, however, the aim is more far-reaching. Gentrification, the immediate focus of interpretation, is not to be understood and explained merely in its own terms; rather, it acts as a vehicle for carrying through an argument about the theorization of mutual transformations in society and space. For that reason, it will be necessary to discuss issues in the literature which have no explicit connection to the study of gentrification. The Spiegel couple, their frantic lifestyle, their inner city condominium with its stylish furnishings, will fade out of the picture as I begin by describing how geographers have previously approached the subject of gentrification. Later, when I describe an ethnographic study of gentrification in inner city Vancouver, they will return to centre stage as caricatures against which the real experiences of gentrifiers can be measured.

1.1 DEFINING GENTRIFICATION AS AN EMPIRICAL EVENT.

Over the past ten to fifteen years a great volume of writing on gentrification has appeared in the academic and policy-oriented press, synchronous with a rise in the currency of gentrification imagery in popular

accounts of the city. The policy-oriented literature pays greater attention to the problems created by gentrification. The academic literature has focused on developing an explanation of gentrification by extending the currently dominant theories of urban change. My purpose is to engage the second of those issues. I begin by sketching out a conventional profile of gentrification in the terms by which it is usually depicted.

The interpretation of empirical accounts with theory makes for perpetually shifting ground. And "gentrification" is a notoriously slippery term. Defining gentrification has different solutions according to one's theoretical colouring--whether it is, for example, a process centred in a movement of capital or a movement of people. The problem is amplified by the preponderance of alternative labels (fourteen have been uncovered by Jackson (1984)). The term "gentrification" itself carries connotations of class. This fact has made American commentators rather uneasy (Williams 1986) and they have favoured terms such as "revitalization" or "the back to the city movement" instead.¹ Yet these alternative terms are insensitive to the qualities of working class people and their neighbourhoods (Smith 1982, 1986). Like Smith, I prefer the term "gentrification" precisely because it underlines the class character of the process.

Gentrification is usually applied to describe a particular kind of change in an inner city area (although the term has been borrowed recently to apply to other kinds of locations). It is generally understood to be a quality of urban space measured at the scale of the neighbourhood, although the term may also be applied to aggregates of neighbourhoods such as the city as a whole. In conventional studies, gentrification is recognized by both its social and its physical features. Usually, the story is this: young adult households with professional occupations move into old single-family owner occupied houses, which they renovate with their own sweat equity.

The key social feature is one of population turnover, and gentrification is commonly portrayed as an "invasion" by middle class groups into previously working class neighbourhoods. Yet until recently, "class" has remained untheorized in the gentrification literature, and persists as a loose amalgam of income, educational and occupational variables which, when linked with other household characteristics, colour in a portrait of the "ideal type" gentrifier (Beauregard 1986). Gale's description is representative:

"The most typical such household is childless and composed of one or two white adults in their late twenties or thirties. College educated, often possessing graduate education, the household head is most likely a professional or (less commonly) a manager. The annual household income...is likely to range between \$15,000 and \$30,000 [above the U.S. median of about \$14,900 in 1977] with several resettlers earning more than \$40,000" (Gale 1979:295).

The classic gentrification model underlines class (or at least status) distinctions between old and new residents, and distinguishes it from "incumbent upgrading" where occupants gradually invest in the housing stock without an associated turnover of the population.² The model's emphasis on population change also serves to focus attention on the costs of gentrification in terms of displacement of former residents from working class neighbourhoods.³ In Chapter 3 I document some recent work on gentrification as a feature of changing class relations.

In conventional accounts, a change in class composition under gentrification is usually understood to be associated with shifts in household type. The usual gentrifier is understood to be young, single or married without children, sometimes gay. Hitherto studies have neglected the growing market of "empty nester" couples owning large houses in affluent suburbs who might be seeking to move into the inner city. In Canadian cities such as Vancouver, where redevelopment to condominiums often takes place instead of renovation (Ley 1985a:91), this may turn out to be very important.

An analysis of the national condominium market shows it to be shifting to older age groups (Skaburskis 1984). The implications have yet to be realized. There may also be considerable variations in the family characteristics of gentrifiers: for example, in a study of the Grandview-Woodland neighbourhood of Vancouver, Buchan (1985) found that over 60 percent of gentrifiers had children. In general, families with children are more associated with Canadian central cities than with U.S. central cities (Goldberg and Mercer 1986), and this could be carried through in the kinds of households involved in gentrification.

With turnover in class and household composition there is held to be a degree of overall tenure transformation from renting to owner-occupancy. Logan (1982) takes this supposition to some lengths in his analysis of Melbourne, and argues as follows: since the term "gentrification" refers to the gentry which are defined by property ownership, then gentrification cannot (by definition) be occurring in study areas where the development of neighbourhood lifestyles commonly identified as characteristic of gentrification originates predominantly with rental households. Logan favours the term "trendification" in this situation. But this represents a clumsy solution to a problem of interpretation which demands an assessment of the nature of class and status change, and the significance of housing class. The possibility that the social class change assumed to be part of gentrification is not necessarily associated with increased owner occupancy would appear to have some applicability for Canada. In a test of the relationship between an index of gentrification (change in social status of residents) and measures of inner city owner occupancy, Ley (1985a) finds low negative correlations for 22 Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas (C.M.A.s) considered together.

Changes in the residential population, one side of the conventional

description of gentrification, are clearly not as unambiguous as commonly supposed. This is also the case for the physical transformations which are routinely identified as features of gentrification. Since Glass' study of the mews, cottages and Victorian houses of London (Glass 1963), renovation and rehabilitation of single family houses by their owner occupants has been the normative image of gentrification. Williams (1986) talks ironically of worldwide "sightings" of a uniform phenomenon identified by brass door knockers, paper lanterns, and light, open interiors. But this makes problematical a number of seemingly related phenomena which represent different forms of reinvestment into the built fabric of inner city areas. These include new townhouse or condominium redevelopment which has become an important option in Vancouver. Another alternative to private ownership renovation, described for Toronto by Tsimikalis (1983), results from the concerted efforts of architects, builders and realtors to convert whole pockets of a neighbourhood before promoting them for sale in terms of their heritage value, which has already been guaranteed by the historic designation these agents have lobbied to obtain. These alternative strategies raise questions about the identification and theorization of the significant actors, the role of institutions and urban gatekeepers, and the importance of direct state involvement in promoting gentrification. For example, instituting a programme of renovation grants and implementing heritage designations and restrictive zoning schedules are all means by which the state has shaped (deliberately or incidentally) the development of inner city areas.

By focusing on the renovated housing stock there has been a relative neglect of other potentially relevant property changes. Renovation is commonly linked to redevelopment of adjacent property such as derelict industrial land to residential, amenity and commercial uses. Industrial

buildings themselves might offer the shells for new residential uses, as with the process of loft conversion in cities such as New York (Zukin 1982). Rapid turnover of retail establishments to "trendy" commercial outlets is a common "barometer" of gentrification in Canadian cities (Ley 1981, 1985a; Jackson 1984). Is a transformation in such functions an externality effect of gentrification, like displacement? Hodge (1980) found that the opening of new chic commercial establishments in a neighbourhood of Seattle was a key to its social renaissance. This raises the problem of distinguishing exactly what is the defining characteristic of gentrification itself, and which are secondary aspects.

The final element of this sketch of gentrification is the rise in property values associated with a rapid turnover of housing stock and speculative transactions. These features were found by DeGiovanni (1983) who compared gentrifying neighbourhoods with control neighbourhoods in six U.S. cities. With a similar focus Lum (1984) gives an account comparing a control neighbourhood with a gentrifying neighbourhood in Vancouver (see Chapter 5). Tsimikalis (1983) describes the rapid turnover and surge of property prices in Don Vale and the Annex in Toronto, finding that until the mid 1970s real estate prices in these inner areas were lower than the suburbs and the metropolitan area as a whole; by the early 1980s prices in these inner areas were well ahead. As examples of mechanisms which bring this about, Ley (1981) finds evidence of various forms of blockbusting and other underhand activities on behalf of property companies in preparation for condominium development in Kitsilano, Vancouver. Again, this begs the question of what we are to identify as the fundamental agents and mechanisms of urban change, and the relationship between individual consumers and institutions.

The preceding paragraphs have outlined a sketch of gentrification as an empirical phenomenon, one which generalizes from a plethora of cases across

three continents. The parameters are defined by a set of usual, though not inevitable, features. In social terms it usually involves young childless adults, though sometimes older adults and families with children are involved; it tends to involve an increased proportion of owner occupancy, but sometimes renters have a substantial impact; working class neighbourhoods are usually invaded by middle class newcomers, though sometimes it is non-residential areas which are converted, and sometimes incumbent upgrading produces similar consequences. A similar problem lies with the physical aspect: owner renovation of housing is the stereotype, but redevelopment or commercial renovation are also involved, as is a change in retail and other uses.

Clearly gentrification is a tricky category to grasp by this tactic of generalization. It is "simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon" (Hamnett 1984:284). How are these aspects related? Is one more basic, the others secondary? Is one the defining characteristic of gentrification and other merely side-effects? Is, for example, an influx of middle-class residents a necessary element? And is it also a sufficient condition for the gentrification label to be applied? These points at issue have given rise to two responses. The first response is pragmatic, offering a framework by means of which we may classify and organize data across a number of cases. I discuss this briefly below. The second response, more sensitive to the theoretical implications of generalization, is discussed in the next section.

To cope with the variations in gentrification, a number of researchers have offered stage models of the gentrification process (for example Clay (1979), Gale (1980)). These allow for different social and physical characteristics to be incorporated in terms of some orderly temporal progression. Typically three or four stages are outlined and a small number

of dimensions are described for each stage, briefly summarized as follows. At the start, low priced and distinctive housing attracts young "risk oblivious" households. These tend to be members of the more "cultural" professions, keen to pursue a non-conformist lifestyle and to enjoy a socially-mixed environment. They improve the houses with their own "sweat equity", thus earning the virtuous label "pioneer". In the following stages more risk-conscious households move in, with "mainstream" professional occupations and perhaps with young families. Realtors, financial institutions and development companies show more interest in the speculative possibilities. As property taxes and prices increase original residents may be forced out. Over time, older and more affluent and conservative households are attracted to what is now perceived a safe investment. Rental apartments may be converted to condominiums. New residents may begin to organize and push for improvements in public spaces, as well as historic district designation. Eventually the process stabilises at a new point of social and physical homogeneity.

A stage model can be continually fine-tuned, adding in, for example, the impact of redevelopment in addition to renovation. By organizing the findings of many case studies, stage models may draw attention to peculiarities for which explanations must be found. Although stage models are fundamentally descriptive of empirical events, however, there does seem to be some danger of "slippage" into explanatory format and, for that reason, they can be criticized for their normative and teleological implications. Questions raised in this section concerning the relationship between the empirical features of gentrification and its theoretical standing demand a focus on issues of explanation rather than a misguided pursuit of more generalizations.

1.2 DEFINING GENTRIFICATION AS A THEORETICAL OBJECT.

According to Smith and Williams (1986:2) uncritical descriptive studies remain the norm in gentrification research. "To date, the dominant mode of analysis has been empiricist, with little or no attempt to structure the evidence theoretically", claims Williams (1986:65). Stage models structure the evidence, but they lack a theoretical backbone. Without the conceptual spine, how are we to agree on the identity of our object of study: how are we to define gentrification?

The issue of definition is far from trivial, for it is part and parcel of the search for explanation and the building of theory. In a sense, the whole of this thesis is dedicated to this problem. As we have seen from the brief review of gentrification as it is conventionally presented in the literature, there are a number of "dimensions" of interest, and each of these--if chosen as the fundamental and defining characteristic of gentrification--carries with it a particular route to explanation. First, there is the distinction between the social and the physical aspects of gentrification. Most empirical accounts see these operating hand in hand, although obviously there is no necessary relation between social turnover and physical upgrading. If we define gentrification first and foremost as a movement of certain kinds of people into inner city areas, then our theory is going to be quite different to that which would approach gentrification as a movement of capital investment into the inner city built environment. If we focus on the social characteristics of gentrifiers, then we still have to decide between an emphasis on economic class, social status, housing tenure, household type, or whatever; if we focus on the physical changes, we must decide on the relative significance of building function, style of renovation or redevelopment, the different agents involved and so on, as the defining quality of gentrification.

Pondering issues of this kind has generated the second, and I think more significant, response to the challenge of dealing with the great variety of phenomena labelled as "gentrification". This is related to the introduction of realist ideas into geography, which has highlighted the issue of how categories employed in research are to be conceptualized. As Sayer (1985:1-69) writes, "a typical realist theoretical question would be, 'What do we mean by development/gentrification/urbanism/collective consumption/class/rent/community, or whatever?'" Sayer (1982, 1984, 1985) distinguishes two methodological principles which have guided work in geography in recent years: the "positivist" and the "realist". The positivist route to explanation is characteristic of the nomothetic and quantitative geography of the 1960s that sought for systematic regularities in empirical events from which it constructed models or "theories". This approach took for granted the unproblematic nature of observation and the conceptual adequacy of data categorizations which comprised the "objects" of study. In post-quantitative geography, however, Sayer sees a greater concern with these kinds of issues, which he interprets as a move towards a realist approach. The positivist principle sought to discover order in empirical events; the realist principle seeks to explain the causes of events in terms of the properties of objects which enable them to experience or promote particular kinds of change.

Mechanisms of change exist in virtue of the objects that possess them. For example, people have the capability of carrying out certain actions in virtue of their anatomical and mental structures, and some people have certain powers because of the position they occupy in, say, a political or a social system (Sayer 1985). This is the nature of an object's internal relations, that is, where the nature of one object is defined by and is dependent on its relation to another (for example slave and master, landlord and tenant, prime minister and British parliamentary system, capitalist

enterprise and wage labour). Some of these internal relations are asymmetric (for instance between the state and an urban planning authority or a stock of public housing). Internal necessary relations are distinguished from external, contingent relations between objects, where each object can exist without the other. While causal mechanisms are determined by internal relations, understanding empirical events (whether and how the powers are applied and realized) requires studying the external relations between objects, that is, the contextual conditions which enable or restrict the manifestation of causal powers. This is particularly significant in a discipline such as geography where we are dealing with open systems. But while much research will seek to understand the interplay of externally-related mechanisms, it is important that the object categorizations employed are constantly scrutinized to ensure that they represent "rational abstractions".

Abstraction is the way we carve up the world. Good or "rational" abstractions isolate components of the world which have an internal unity: that is, they are defined by internal relations. Poor abstractions produce "chaotic conceptions" which may sever internally-related objects or combine externally-related objects:

"These unities of diverse aspects are treated as single objects...In place of a theory of abstract elements of a situation and an analysis of how they combine to compose concrete phenomena, there is an acceptance of unexamined, largely commonsense definitions of these empirical objects, and a generalization of the features of these 'chaotic conceptions'" (Sayer 1982:75).

A useful example is the concept of social class (Sayer 1982:72): the marxist conceptualization is a rational abstraction which focuses on the necessary relations between classes; a poor abstraction characterizes class in terms of a bundle of externally-related attributes and this is typical of many sociological concepts of class (including those which seem to inform the

numerous descriptions of the "typical gentrifier"). The latter may serve unproblematically in everyday and scientific practice for descriptive purposes, but it may cause problems if one assumes that the objects thus categorized are distinguished by causally-significant common properties (Sayer 1984).

Gentrification itself has been criticized as a "chaotic concept". There is no single entity as gentrification. Rather, each of the real world phenomena we lump together under this label is a consequence of a range of possible effects arising from various externally related processes. This case is most convincingly made by Rose, who calls for a disaggregation, or "unpacking", of the concepts "gentrification" and "gentrifiers", "so that we may then reconceptualize the processes that produce the changes we observe" (Rose 1984:62). She draws out this argument by critiquing the stage models by which researchers habitually deal with different varieties of gentrifiers. Although they are supposedly neutral descriptions of empirical events, stage models imply that all stages are part of the same phenomenon--some kind of "gentrification process". The application of such models requires us to draw some theoretical distinctions between residents before gentrification starts and those involved in gentrification, and at the same time to indicate some unifying characteristic of those latter persons which allows them to be categorized together. For example, since some of these stage models emphasize the transition from rental to owner occupancy in a neighbourhood, they call for a coherent notion of "housing class" which would account for some supposed material cleavage between original residents (tenants) and all new residents (home owners of the first and subsequent waves). Such an assumption can be rejected on two interrelated grounds. First, home-owning gentrifiers may have quite diverse motivations. In some cases they may be influenced solely by lifestyle preference, but Rose also identifies a group

of less affluent "marginal gentrifiers" who are concerned to obtain cheap housing; if gentrifiers' reasons are part of the cause of gentrification, then they are not a coherent group. Second (and this depends on the broader structural conditions of the housing and labour markets) moderate income owners may at times have more in common materially with the original renters than with longstanding home owners, because of the rapid increase in the real costs of entering the homeownership market. In addition of course, we empirically recognize, as "gentrified", neighbourhoods which may not have undergone a change in tenure patterns of this type at all.

The chaotic conception argument draws our attention away from the idea of gentrification as a unitary phenomenon, and turns us toward the diversity of processes which generate different kinds of inner city districts. In Sayer's terminology, places are constituted by a multiplicity of processes and hence are "conjunctures". Therefore they are not theoretically valid objects and cannot be employed as categories for structuring enquiry. The task is to unpack gentrification to its internally-related constituents, and then to examine the particular contingencies which shape empirical outcomes, exploring the "diversity of social forces and contradiction within the social formation [which] cohere in some fashion to bring about various types of gentrification" (Beauregard 1986:40).

1.3 SOCIETY, SPACE AND GENTRIFICATION.

Instead of starting research armed with categories defined by phenomenal forms, we are urged to examine the diversity of forces which culminate in the emergence of those forms. There is no "process of gentrification"; rather, inner city change is the product of the interaction of many forces. As Rose indicates:

"the terms 'gentrification' and 'gentrifiers'...are 'chaotic conceptions' which obscure the fact that a multiplicity of processes, rather than a single causal process, produce changes in the occupation of inner-city neighbourhoods from the lower to higher income residents" (Rose 1984:62).

Nevertheless, while Rose's comments makes it clear that there is no single mechanism comprising a "gentrification process", she cannot avoid a stab at defining gentrification on the basis of one of its empirical "effects": a population turnover defined on the basis of residents' incomes. Moreover, even though he is critiquing the view of gentrification as a chaotic concept, Smith also agrees to depict gentrification as comprising an income change; quoting Rose with approval, he argues that the types of less affluent households Rose has designated as "marginal gentrifiers" should not be considered gentrifiers at all, for:

"in good realist fashion [gentrification] should be defined at its core, not its margins. Thus the importance of Rose's notion of the 'marginal gentrifier' is...[that these agents] are marginal to a process already defined by its more central characteristic--the change 'of inner-city neighbourhoods from lower to higher income residents'" (Smith 1987:160).

While logically we may reject the categorization of phenomena such as gentrification according to their empirical form--and while Smith seems to have misconstrued the notion of realist abstraction--these two examples underscore the enduring power of "common-sense" knowledge. As observers of empirical "effects", we can usually agree on the credentials of a gentrified neighbourhood because its visible landscape is often distinct in comparison both to its immediate context and to what we might have otherwise expected. Yet, on objective grounds, there seems no realist means of distinguishing what might be one of the "various types of gentrification" to which Beauregard refers (see above), and what is not. As Williams (1986:66) admits, "rather than conceiving of gentrification as a special and somewhat unusual process, it should be understood as one example of the way social

relations are played out in space and how social and economic change is imprinted upon the built environment". Given this, is there any sound way to isolate, as an object of analysis, a phenomenon which is an effect of a multiplicity of processes?

This is a familiar problem in the field of urban sociology where the same critique is made of "the urban" as a unit of analysis. The parallels with gentrification make this debate worthy of some discussion here. Saunders (1980) has made the case that the city is not a theoretically sound unit of analysis in advanced capitalist societies. There are no urban (or spatial) processes, there are only social processes--though these "may be affected or influenced by different spatial arrangements which enter into analysis as one among a number of secondary or contingent factors" (Saunders 1980:29). Saunders (1981) references four projects to define a specifically "urban question" in theoretical terms: Chicago school ecology, the cultural tradition, the Weberian urban managerialist school, and the marxist concern with the urban as a unit of collective consumption. Each of these attempted to identify distinctively urban processes, but was unsuccessful in demonstrating that those processes were indeed geographically-specific. For example--in a useful parallel to the gentrification question--Saunders identifies the problem with cultural theories by quoting a critique of Wirth's "Urbanism as a way of life": "If ways of life do not coincide with settlement types, and if these ways are functions of class and life-cycle rather than of the ecological attributes of the settlement, a sociological definition of the city cannot be formulated" (Gans 1968:114-5).

This conclusion is not to imply that space is irrelevant, and Saunders does not argue for an "aspatial" urban sociology which would ignore the spatial dimension, but rather for a "non-spatial" one. The features of this non-spatial approach are discussed further by Sayer (1980), who notes that

the openness of social systems in which social objects are embedded makes them less easy to study by means of abstraction to their necessary or internal relations. The objects of urban analysis--cities, neighbourhood, gentrification--are "conjunctures" of social processes, "whose content cannot be known 'in advance' on the basis of theoretical knowledge of necessary relations alone" (Sayer 1982:79).

The critique of the urban as a valid object of analysis is therefore similar to the realist unpacking of gentrification. However, Sayer does offer a possible defence against the position that the urban is not a theoretically significant object. We use terms referring to the "urban" in everyday speech--indeed, certain social practices depend on that use--and those terms therefore have some "practical adequacy". Of course in some cases we must recognize that such terms are imbued with an ideological content and may be employed in mystification. But in any case, their functioning as constituents of social practice offers some justification for their inclusion in theoretical accounts of urban sociology. The reflexivity of social life, people's monitoring of and reacting to images of their context, ensures that such "conjunctures" are real in their consequences. Sayer urges us to examine the expressive dimension of "the urban", the meanings it carries in everyday use. "To neglect meaning is to reduce the possibility of discovering the causal powers of objects" (1984:281). Sayer cites approvingly Raymond Williams' "The Country and the City" (1973) as one work which refuses to reduce consciousness to material circumstances while examining meaning in the context of social relations by which it is transformed and which it informs.

Like the subdiscipline of urban sociology which is centred upon a geographical entity (the city), geography by its very nature is concerned with spatial manifestations of many externally-related processes. The object

of analysis--a place, for instance, or a distribution pattern of a particular phenomenon such as manufacturing activity--is a complex bundle of contingencies and must, as a chaotic concept, be "unpacked" to its constituent parts. This assumption has come to the fore with the recent development of the so called "locality studies" approach. According to Duncan, the locality idea "developed in reaction to over-structuralist accounts of social forms which appeared to leave no place for variation over space and time and for human agency in creating this variation" (Duncan 1986: 10). Later it will be demonstrated how the same concerns motivated the effort to develop a new approach to gentrification in reaction to structuralist marxist analyses (the marxist work is discussed in Chapter 2; the response, termed the "production of gentrifiers" approach is discussed in Chapter 3). I am not, emphatically, equating the gentrified neighbourhood with a "locality", but I wish to demonstrate how parallel concerns have informed geographical research in both areas. The locality idea is discussed below, and taken up again in Chapter 3.

One of the major foci of current geographical research is analysis of the restructuring of economic and social relations. A programme of locality studies is central to this effort in the United Kingdom. Locality studies start with a concern for how restructuring has local implications (Massey 1978, 1984, Murgatroyd et al. 1985), which cannot be simply "read off" from the national trends. The economic structure of a locality is the outcome of the historical succession of roles it has performed in the national or international economy under successive and superimposed rounds of restructuring. That restructuring is associated with shifts in the spatial division of labour; for example, as part of a strategy of industrial survival, mobile portions of the production process may situate themselves to take advantage of labour pools with different skills, traditions of work

and levels of militancy. When new processes of restructuring come into contact with pre-existing "layers" sedimented in previous rounds, then different localities will experience differential effects. Those existing characteristics of a locality therefore define the possibility of, and response to, changes in the organization of production and reproduction; and they demand an intensive approach to explanation, not an extensive one which deals with patterns of association at the national scale.

An understanding of the outcome and effect of broad forces for change upon a particular place requires examining the external relations between different mechanisms and their interaction with the contingent conditions already existing in that place. Moreover, this cannot be treated as merely a passive mapping out of nation-wide forces (for example, in accordance with the local distribution of people between occupation groups). There is additionally the possible existence of autonomous "locality effects". These are similar to "neighbourhood effects", which distort local outcomes in a cumulative and "contagious" manner according to patterns of local social relations. Urry explains this as follows:

"there [may be] systematic processes occurring at a locality or regional level which mean that outcomes at the sub-national level are principally the result of those locality or regional processes rather than of how certain national phenomena are sub-nationally distributed. On example is where local policy outcomes are the result of the specific balance of local social and political forces (a given 'spatial coalition' for example) which cannot be read off the distribution of national occupational classes in that area" (Urry 1986:239)

Individuals monitor their situations and act in a context of local experience and consciousness, thus shaping a distinctive local pattern of social action; for example, variations in welfare provision by the local state do not simply reflect the balance of national political parties within each jurisdiction, but seem to have developed in response to local histories of work and gender relations. Locality is therefore a "conjuncture" of diverse processes, yet

it is irreducible to those processes: its character is more than the sum of its parts. This corresponds to Sayer's (1982) suggestion that a phenomenon constituted by a range of social processes may be characterized by emergent powers beyond those of its constituents.

Earlier in this section I asked how gentrification can be isolated as an object of analysis. Duncan (1986) and Savage et al. (1987) analyze what would be necessary for the admission of locality as a social object. Local variation is inevitable because "general processes do not float above the world in some spaceless realm. Rather these processes must be constituted in particular places and these places are already differentiated by uneven development of natural and social structures" (Savage 1987:31). But these are passive effects. To correctly identify a locality, it is claimed, one would have to demonstrate that there are locally derived social mechanisms which actively cause a local effect, rather than some mere local variation in outcome to processes operating at a broader scale. Duncan seems to feel this would be rather rare; however, given the fundamental reflexivity of social life, in which action is always coupled to meaning, I believe these kinds of effects are likely to be quite common.⁴

The unpacking of the locality concept is helpful particularly in forcing an examination of the "level" of explanatory claims that are being made. What are the implications of all this for gentrification? One impetus to the locality project was the research on inner city "problems" carried out in Britain a few years ago. A conclusion which was drawn from such studies directed attention away from the cities per se and towards broad social processes: for example, "we do not believe that the inner city, as such, is the most helpful research focus....Inner city areas can best be understood as phenomena resulting from underlying forces in the British economy and society including the international context" (Hall and Diamond, 1981:132, quoted in

Urry 1986). As I shall show in Chapter 3 when I discuss the "production of gentrifiers" approach, attempts to theorize gentrification have also operated at this first level of passive contingency effects. Studies have pointed to the causal power of economic and social restructuring which, though structural processes, can not occur on the head of a pin but are spatially constituted (for example, the division of labour is necessarily a spatial division of labour). Variations in the timing and distribution of gentrification are explained in the "production of gentrifiers" approach by exploring those contingencies which determine the realization of causal forces. However, at this first level of explanation, residential patterns are presented as merely passive local variations in the impact of broader processes. This gives no justification for treating gentrification as a social object in its own right--the same fate to which Saunders consigned "the urban".

Gentrification could be recognized as a social object if we could identify some active process specific to gentrification alone. Debates over the urban question have claimed that no urban-specific process exists. And conventional candidates for gentrification-specific processes, such as the stage model, are easily dismissed as effects rather than causal mechanisms. But (to connect back with Sayer) does gentrification, like the urban, exhibit emergent powers? And does the concept of gentrification carry meanings that shape social practices and thus enter into process? In the conclusions to Chapter 3 I shall be making this case. And in my report on a specific case study in the later chapters I illustrate the different layers of human practice that compose the character of a place--a character which, in turn, refashions the nature of social being.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE ARGUMENT.

The realist perspective in geography has underscored the problematic nature of defining geographical objects of study. As I suggested earlier, since this thesis is concerned with the explanation of gentrification it must also be an argument about the definition of gentrification. However we shall not be able to focus on this immediately in Chapter 2. This chapter reviews the conventional approaches to gentrification and places them within the context of traditional models of residential space in western cities. I have divided the conventional approaches into production-oriented and consumption-oriented, which roughly correspond to the two broad notions of gentrification as a physical and as a social transformation of inner city neighbourhoods. I deal with the production-oriented approach first, and then lead into a discussion of the consumption-side concerns neglected by the production-side approach--a neglect which forced a rethinking of the way we theorize urban spatial restructuring and led to what I have labeled the "production of gentrifiers" approach.

That approach is discussed in Chapter 3, where I consider the interpretation of gentrification as a passive contingency effect of broad mechanisms for change. I focus on two parallel and externally-related structures--gender relations and class relations--and consider how geographers have dealt with their variations over space and time. Two notions--the postpatriarchal, and the postindustrial--are invoked as heuristic terms with which to deal with transformations in these social structures, which are always spatially constituted. From this I draw out a research agenda for the study of socio-spatial change which develops and moves beyond the production of gentrifiers approach. This proceeds at three levels for dealing with gentrification: as a conjuncture of contingent social processes, as a context for negotiating social conduct, and as a constituent

in the construction of social identity.

Chapter 4 aims to set the context for the first task in an extensive analysis of the occurrence of "gentrification" across the Canadian city system. This carries forward Ley's work on the same topic and, suspending the problem of gentrification's status as a coherent object, employs his index of gentrification for each Census Metropolitan Area. The analysis is intended to describe the pattern of gentrification at this scale, and clearly cannot provide causal explanation, although it does indicate the kinds of urban context within which gentrification has been nurtured. To deal with explanation requires an intensive method of study, and that is the task of the remaining chapters.

Chapter 5 introduces this study by describing the economic and social context for inner city change in Vancouver, British Columbia. Here also I describe the development of the study area which has been chosen. This is Fairview Slopes, an inner city neighbourhood with one of the highest measures of "gentrification" (according to Ley) across the whole of Canada. While in some respects Fairview Slopes is quite similar to the "typical" gentrifying neighbourhoods so often described in the literature, in others it seems a deviant case: specifically, it is a landscape of redevelopment rather than renovation, and a substantial portion of its housing is tenant-occupied. These characteristics are probably enough to disqualify it from the label "gentrified" according to some conventional criteria. And this, of itself, drives home the significance of the realist critique of gentrification as a chaotic concept for, while Fairview Slopes is particularly unusual, it only illustrates by exaggeration the fact that each instance of gentrification is an outcome of a unique combination of causal mechanisms. In Chapter 5 I detail the history of change in the neighbourhood, describing the indicators of social turnover and the physical transformations which have occurred.

An ethnographic approach of thick description is applied in Chapter 6 where I take on the second task of the research agenda, which traces the response of individuals to their place in the context of changing class and gender relations. This builds upon and develops the work of the "production of gentrifiers" approach. While dealing with gentrification as a passive contingency effect plays down the active role of people in shaping space and social process, here I treat gentrification as a context for negotiating social conduct within a spectrum of various opportunities and restraints. In this endeavour, gentrifiers have developed a strategy which pivots around a particular use of space. Drawing upon interviews with Fairview Slopes residents, I describe how inner city living supports their styles of life, focusing on aspects of their career demands and on features of their domestic organization.

From this examination of the "gentrification lifestyle" I move, in Chapters 7 and 8, beyond the currently dominant view of spatial restructuring and argue for a critical cultural geography of urban change. Gentrification is interpreted as an ingredient in the construction of social identity. Employing interview material, in Chapter 7 I draw out some dimensions of the changing meaning of the inner city, allowing a critique of reductionist production-side explanations of gentrification. In Chapter 8, the argument is taken further by drawing upon recent developments in the theorization of landscape change and its relation to new practices in architecture and in marketing. Here I employ the heuristic of the postmodern to clarify the meaning of gentrification.

It is through the approach taken in Chapters 7 and 8 that we can begin to take on the problem of chaotic conceptions which makes the definition and explanation of geographical phenomena like gentrification such a tricky enterprise. In the concluding chapter, therefore, I locate the issues

explored in this study within the context of current debates over the nature of explanation in our discipline.

NOTES

1. The notion that gentrification is a "back to the city" movement of suburban households is now widely understood to be a myth. Numerous U.S. studies have proved that gentrifiers are more likely to come from other urban neighbourhoods. For example, in his study of five cities Gale (1979) found that only between 8 and 18 percent of immigrants to "resettlement" neighbourhoods came from the suburbs of the same metropolitan area. Smith's data on Society Hill, Philadelphia, showed 14 percent coming from the suburbs and 72 percent from elsewhere in the city (Smith 1979a). Ley (1985a:120) lists a number of Canadian studies with similar findings.

2. This rules out both upward inter-generational mobility where children inherit dwellings from their parents (described by London, 1980) and the potential situation where young people take on a dwelling in pre-professional student stage and gradually improve it as they move into the workforce and up the income scale.

3. Displacement has arisen as a central concern of much recent writing on gentrification, so much so that the editors of the most important recent volume could claim that "the authors of this collection are mostly opposed to gentrification" (Smith and Williams 1986). Although there is an alternative laissez-faire opinion of gentrification as a positive force because it reverses inner city decay and restores a tax base, in the United States there has also been substantial policy-oriented research focused in its costs (Howell 1985:52). The displacement process is as tricky to define as gentrification itself, resulting as it does from a number of different mechanisms ranging from condominium conversions, through increases in property taxes, to historic district designation. (Howell 1985:53-4; Marcuse 1986:156-7). These mechanisms affect tenants in a different way to owners, and involve "voluntary" as well as forced outmigration (Grier and Grier 1978). Logan's study of inner Melbourne, for example, distinguishes displacement from replacement by defining the latter as the voluntary withdrawal of owner occupiers who are tempted to sell by rising house prices (though of course this is difficult to separate from the pressure of upward rate assessments) (Logan 1985). He also notes the importance of psychological displacement when traditional social networks and institutions are disintegrated or taken over by newcomers. The state of the broader metropolitan housing market must also affect the interpretation of displacement effects and their significance. While recognising that further studies are required to examine the extent of displacement, this thesis focuses on exploring the causes of gentrification and therefore only touches indirectly on the consequences for displacees.

4. They will, however, operate at various spatial scales, even up to the national scale if we are considering the local effect of international processes. It is, perhaps, misleading to focus the search for locality at one particular level of resolution--for instance, at the scale of the journey to work area which a number of researchers have done. This may have seemed the most attractive scale at which to identify locality because of the legacy of regional geography. But it is important to think in terms of nested localities and to consider the balance of all those scales of local mechanisms for each particular event.

CHAPTER TWO

CONVENTIONAL EXPLANATIONS OF GENTRIFICATION

It is only recently that the debate over defining geographical phenomena as social objects, reviewed in Chapter 1, has been applied to the analysis of gentrification. Rose (1984) represents the initial effort to raise, in these terms, the question of how gentrification should be conceptualized. Before that, most researchers constructed generalized descriptions of "typical" gentrifiers and gentrified neighbourhoods which they then proceeded to analyse in an ad hoc manner from a consumption-side explanatory perspective. Many attempts at accounting for gentrification identified "multiple factors" that contributed to a changing pattern of consumer demand, but only marginal attention was paid to structural conditions such as housing supply. A second strand of explanation came predominantly from the structuralist marxist position and focused on aspects of production. While this second, production-side approach was more self-consciously theoretical, it proved unable to account adequately for the actual occurrences of gentrification, because it neglected the role of gentrifiers themselves as agents in the process of change. As I shall illustrate in Chapter 3, the most recent work attempts to find some means of overcoming the rupture of structure from agency, under what has become known as the "production of gentrifiers" approach.

This chapter introduces the two major strands of research noted above, indicates their contribution to (and limitations in) explaining gentrification, and paves the way for a return in the next chapter to the issues raised in Chapter 1. In section 2.2 I deal with the production-side approaches, leaving the consumption-side perspective to section 2.3. At this point, let the commentary on the conceptualization of gentrification stand as an implicit critique of the two "conventional" explanations described here.

Our measure of evaluation at this stage is somewhat more familiar: that is, to judge whether the explanations can account for when and where gentrification occurs. A complete account of gentrification must "explain first [gentrification's] concentration in a limited number of large cities, second its rapid growth in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and third its specific orders of occurrence in cities", claims Hamnett (1984:310). The next section describes these patterns of occurrence and places gentrification within an historical context of our understanding of modern urban form.

2.1 PATTERNS OF URBAN RESIDENTIAL FORM.

Gentrification is not a general or universal phenomenon within all capitalist cities but is concentrated in certain types of cities, and beyond that in certain types of neighbourhoods. Hamnett's (1984) review provides a useful summary of regularities in the pattern of gentrification, upon which I draw here.

Relying on a survey of expert informants, a study by Clay (1979) found that private urban reinvestment had occurred in all thirty of the largest U.S. cities in the late 1970s. Clay identified the sets of cities with the most private urban reinvestment--Washington, San Francisco and Seattle--and those with the least--Detroit, Newark and Cleveland. These findings were suggestive of some relationship with the economic health of the urban area. A similar methodology employed by the Urban Land Institute in 1975 and 1979 on a large number of major U.S. cities (Black 1980) found that renovation activity varied directly with city size.

An alternative measure of gentrification would focus on social change rather than renovation activity. Lipton's study of the twenty largest U.S. S.M.S.A.s compared tract income and education figures for the city cores against figures for the S.M.S.A. as a whole (Lipton 1977). Unfortunately

this analysis covered the 1960s only, and its measure of social class change (number of tracts falling above the S.M.S.A. medians) was clumsy (Hamnett 1984:287). Lipton's findings, however, indicated that cities most dominated by white collar employment were the most likely to experience an increase in the number of high status central city tracts.

A more rigorous methodology was applied by Ley (1985a, 1986a) to a study of 22 C.M.A.s in Canada in 1971 and 1981 (see Chapter 4 for details). Ley calculated a gentrification index based on changing social status for each inner city census tract. All C.M.A.s had positive indices. Those scoring highly were typically regional or national centres of government and service employment, whereas lowest-scoring cities tended to have manufacturing- or resource-oriented economic bases. This finding confirms the importance of metropolitan economic structure to the incidence of inner city gentrification, and matches the evidence from the United States. However, only a weak relationship was found with city size.

This brief review of some city system-scale analyses suggests that gentrification is concentrated above all in cities with an above-average representation of white collar employment. Since studies have focused within individual nations, however, we must not overlook the possibility that the broader national context could also play a role in priming the conditions favourable to gentrification. For example, in their challenge to the "North American city" model, Goldberg and Mercer (1986) suggest that a major distinguishing feature of Canadian from U.S. cities is the viability of their central cities. Causes for this lie with the different ethnic make-up of the two nations, their distinctive "popular cultures" and lifestyles, and the weaker and generally more supportive influence of Canadian federal politics on urban affairs and stability of existing urban centres. Thus gentrification in Canadian cities may be less a dramatic reversal of decline

(as it is in U.S. cities) than a continuum of earlier phases of inner city redevelopment (Ley 1981). In a comparison with the United States, Britain and Australia, Williams (1986) notes some contrasts in housing markets and patterns of state intervention which could account for differential experiences of inner city development in the three nations. As well as explaining the distribution of gentrification between cities, Hamnett argues that a complete account of gentrification must explain the distribution of gentrification within cities. This feature has received little systematic analysis. Ley (1985a:91-3) lists some qualitative findings from the literature on the characteristics of gentrified neighbourhoods: they tend to be located close to existing high status districts, to amenities such as park or waterfront, and to institutions associated with cultural activities and white collar employment; the neighbourhoods themselves are typically gifted with amenity features such as heritage buildings, cultural landmarks and good views. Clay (1979) found the majority of U.S. gentrified neighbourhoods to be at least 75 years old, the houses typically "Victorian" in style and occupied by working class families; the most deteriorated neighbourhoods with abandoned housing were less likely to gentrify than those at an earlier stage of decline, though relatively cheap housing prices were clearly supportive of gentrification. Other features which appear to make a neighbourhood less attractive to gentrifiers include the presence of public housing and some industrial uses (Ley 1985a:91-3). Deducing his predictions from a marxist theory of urbanization (see Section 2.2), Smith expects gentrification to take hold first in districts with advanced devalorization, often marked by physical deterioration and a lower market price for land (Smith 1982): the reason being that, under these conditions, the inner city offers better investment opportunities in comparison with the suburbs.

In a test of correlates of gentrification in six Canadian cities, Ley

(1985a) extracts a profile of a census tract likely to have gentrified in the 1970s. Proximity to existing elite neighbourhoods, as well as to hospitals and universities (which are in any case commonly associated with elite districts) proved to be important variables associated with gentrification. The positive influence of a tract's centrality (proximity to the C.B.D.) was tempered by the attraction to environmental amenities such as a waterfront, and the avoidance of industrial neighbourhoods and those with a high proportion of blue collar workers. In apparent contradiction to Smith's predictions, gentrification was not found to be associated with cheap rents or housing prices; in fact it tended to occur in neighbourhoods with a price disadvantage with respect to the suburbs at the start of the study period. Ley interprets this as the attraction of sites perceived not to be cheap but to be "well-priced in the context of their bundle of locational attributes" (Ley 1985a:115).

Having established its general pattern of occurrence, the remainder of this section is devoted to examining how gentrification fits within the context of the traditional models of residential location (Burgess 1925, Hoyt 1939, Alonso 1960, 1964). I continue to draw widely on the excellent review by Hamnett (1984) in order to lay the groundwork for considering the two major approaches to explaining gentrification in the following sections.

Burgess focused on the process of invasion and succession, powered by the pressure of immigration into inner zones and resulting in the downward transition of all neighbourhoods over time. It is apparent that Burgess believed this process to be generally applicable, though of course the model was developed during an exceptional period near the peak of immigration into central cities in a largely unregulated urban environment. To Burgess' model, Hoyt added the process of filtering in which desirable new homes constructed on the periphery, plus the deterioration of housing in older

areas, tempt high income group to move outward and leave their old houses for less affluent occupants. Although the mechanisms were different, both Burgess and Hoyt described the dominant effect as one of the downward social transition of neighbourhoods.

Before the 1970s, conventional models of urban structure could accept with modification a certain degree of variation in inner city neighbourhood and resident character. The persistence of the elite Boston enclave of Beacon Hill (Firey 1945), and the attraction of inner city living to people with non-family oriented households (Gans 1962a), could be dismissed as minor but persistent anomalies in the fabric of many American cities.

Both the Burgess and Hoyt models depended upon a set of historically specific circumstances, not the conditions under which gentrification has occurred. Alonso's reworking of the urban residential models into a neo-classical format (Alonso 1960, 1964) draws out the highly specific set of tastes and preferences which are required for them to work. For the affluent, space must be preferred over downtown accessibility. Alonso's explanation centred on the competition for space, rather than on the distribution of housing between different groups which was the focus of Hoyt's model. Each parcel of land would go to the highest bidder, and so affluent households would capture the desirable suburban lots; the poor would trade off space for accessibility to the central city, in order to avoid the burden of commuting costs on a tighter budget.

Unlike the processes of Burgess' and Hoyt's models, bid-rent theory appears to lack historical specificity; hence it can be adjusted to "account" for recent changes in the dynamics of residential structure--in terms, for instance, of a shift in preferences in favour of accessibility. Indeed this is a point of criticism raised by Hamnett: "Bid-rent theory is capable of being applied, after the fact, to any given pattern of residential

distribution" (Hamnett 1984:292). It does not in itself explain the source of different preferences, and in fact implies preferences only through their effects on locational patterns. Housing market structure, and qualities and quantities of housing supply, are ignored. Bid-rent theory represents "a step in the right direction away from a largely static pattern-dominated conception of urban residential structure and towards a conception based more on the processes of change" (Hamnett 1984:294). However, even on its own terms, simply reversing the bid-rent curves and making space the inferior good could not account for the pattern of gentrification, for the most wealthy are not those typically involved in gentrification.

According to Rose, the adjustments made to both the ecological and the neo-classical models with the aim of including the possibility of gentrification have resulted in two contradictory conclusions:

"On the one hand, gentrification may be seen as an inevitable and natural phenomenon for a city at a certain stage in its supposedly organic 'life cycle'...On the other hand, gentrification is seen...as a temporary and small-scale aberration in what is seen as an equally natural and dominant process of outward migration of people from inner cities" (Rose 1984:47).

The second conclusion is represented by Berry's (1980) paper which is discussed shortly. The first conclusion would be typical of attempts to locate historically-specific ecological models within a context of a broad evolutionary model of city and neighbourhood type. Hamnett (1984:295-8) notes how various authors have postulated a general cycle of growth, decline, revitalization and renewal, through which many neighbourhoods might move over time. The stage models of gentrification would fit nicely into this scheme as a sub-model of the revitalization phase. The positive correlation of gentrification with city size in the United States could be incorporated into such an evolutionary model, suggesting gentrification is to be expected as cities reach a threshold size; it might also be interpreted in processual

terms with respect to the increased costs and inconveniences of commuting. Moreover this latter point would connect to Alonso's neo-classical model, indicating why a shift has occurred in the trade-off between the desire for and cost of suburban living. However, this would mean an uncomfortable marriage of process with essentially non-processual evolutionary models whose mechanisms are vague and exogenous (for example, 'modernization' or 'urbanization'). In addition, such an approach serves as justification for laissez-faire policies with respect to both urban decay and gentrification (Rose 1984:48).¹

The other, and contradictory, conclusion to which Rose refers (see above) suggests gentrification is a minor anomaly within a broad pattern of continued outward migration. For instance, it has been suggested that the energy crisis in the 1970s was crucial in affecting the timing of gentrification, primarily because of the effect on commuting costs but also because of the costs of constructing or heating new suburban housing (see review in Howell 1985:79-80). This explanation implies a version of the "return to the city" thesis, which we already know to be inaccurate (Hamnett and Williams 1980). Note also that gentrification was well underway before the most rapid rise in fuel costs; in addition, commuting costs alone cannot explain why only some people take the gentrification option while others continue to purchase in suburban locations.

The most significant work arguing for gentrification as a temporary aberration comes from Berry (1980). Filtering depends on a particular market situation where new housing is built on urban peripheries and market prices for housing are declining more rapidly than the fall in the quality of existing housing through deterioration. Berry sees gentrification as the result of a temporary or at least cyclical housing squeeze, where there is imbalance between the rates of new housing construction and new household

formation. When housing supply is abundant, he demonstrates that there is more housing abandonment in central cities; when there is massive inflation and low rates of housing replacement, gentrification is more prevalent.

This affordability thesis could be feasible for the Canadian situation where housing costs are a significant issue, but Ley (1986a) questions whether the synchronization between housing price inflation and gentrification is more than a coincidence. Berry assumes that gentrification depends upon young first time buyers trying to enter the market, whereas empty nester and renter households may be important to Canadian gentrification. The implication that the inner city is a second choice taken only when suburban units are not available, and that gentrification is a process for seeking out low-cost sites (Ley 1985a:114), is not supported by the facts--for not all housing in the inner city is especially affordable, nor is all affordable housing in the inner city. In a statistical test for the Canadian urban system, Ley finds only weak positive correlations between indicators of a housing squeeze and a gentrification index.

Setting aside these questions of verification, Berry's article provides a useful connection between, on the one hand, the traditional models of urban residential structure (Hoyt's filtering model in particular) and on the other hand, the two approaches to explaining gentrification described in the following sections. Like the production-side explanations (discussed shortly), Berry focuses on conditions of housing supply and notes the significance of broad patterns of investment and national policy on housing production. His analysis can be employed to account for two patterns of gentrification mentioned by Hamnett (1984)--its timing, and its concentration in certain cities. And as well as discussing conditions of supply, Berry seasons his explanation with some reference to changing habits of consumption

associated with new kinds of households. This provides a link to consumption-side explanations, and it allows for some prediction of another pattern mentioned by Hamnett--which neighbourhoods are most likely to gentrify. But Berry's approach is ad hoc: the demand factors, for instance, appear "added on" as an afterthought. How is the link between supply and demand factors to be theorized? Are they of equal importance? Could gentrification occur in some situations where new construction is extensive, or is the housing squeeze a necessary condition? Berry's thoughts are vague on this point:

"Revitalization, then, has been taking hold first in superior neighbourhoods in those metropolitan areas which have the lowest rates of replacement supply. These, in turn, are those areas in which there is a sufficient cluster of professional jobs to support the youthful college-educated labour force most likely to evidence supportive life-style shifts" (Berry 1980:23).

In this passage, we are given no idea of how different processes work together. In what sense does he employ the phrase "in turn"? Why is a young college-educated labour force likely to "evidence supportive life-style shifts"? Simply listing factors does not, to paraphrase Smith, a theory make.²

This section has placed gentrification in the context of the orthodox models of urban residential form. We have noted their limited utility in accounting for gentrification. Berry's work, which develops out of this tradition, is somewhat more successful yet it is theoretically flawed. In comparison to Berry's analysis, the approaches to explaining gentrification which are described in the following sections are more decisive in their allegiances. However, they too shall be shown to fall short in terms of accounting for the full range of gentrification-related phenomena. I start by discussing production-side explanations and then, in section 2.3, move to an analysis of consumption-side explanations.

2.2 STRUCTURALIST PRODUCTION-ORIENTED APPROACHES.

There are two major variants of the production-oriented approach to gentrification--the marxist and the managerialist--although as the discussion at the end of this section will show, this distinction has proved difficult to sustain in empirical work. I start with what comprises the most explicitly theoretical treatment of gentrification: the structuralist marxist approach developed by Smith (1979a, 1979b, 1982). The insight into gentrification offered by other scholars with a marxist bent (especially the humanist marxists and socialist feminists) has in part taken off from a critique of Smith's work, and it shall be discussed in the next chapter.

2.2.1 Marxist explanation.

Smith is keen to distance himself from Berry's formulation (Smith 1982) and signals his position in an introductory statement:

"The Chicago School's latter day followers bequeathed to urban researchers an empiricist and ecological quagmire in which substantive theory nearly drowned. With the help of breathing equipment from various Marxist sources, resuscitation is well under way" (Smith 1979b:24).

Resuscitation takes the form of an emphasis on the circulation of capital into production of the built environment and a focus on its movement into different locations under conditions of uneven development. Gentrification is portrayed as a structural product of the land and housing markets, not a chance occurrence as Berry implies, but "to be expected" (Smith 1979a:546) on the basis of the "rationality" of capital flows under the capitalist system.

Instead of the neo-classical "clean slate" (Rose 1984:50), Smith's theory assumes an existing city which is a product of previous investments of capital. The flavour of his work is established in the subtitle of his article: "A back to the city movement by capital, not people" (1979a). Here he reacts specifically against the misconception of gentrifiers as returning

suburbanites. But the motif has further implications for his overall perspective. To Smith, the objective mechanism causing gentrification is the operation of urban land markets involving a broad restructuring of space according to the requirements of capital. Consequently, characteristics of gentrifiers themselves, even their class position under changing relations of production and the social division of labour, are treated as epiphenomena.

Gentrifier characteristics are discarded because they imply "consumer sovereignty" and "consumer preference". "As ever", Smith insists, "'demand' catches only the appearance of things" (1979b:25). Gentrifiers and other actors such as planners or realtors are reduced to agents of an independent and inevitable process. For instance, the "occupier developer" is depicted as the "appropriate vehicle" for the recycling of inner city neighbourhoods where existing property ownership patterns are fragmented. The institutional actor is the channel through which mortgage capital flows, and through which the state intervenes to lubricate that flow. Together these agents ensure that the potential for profit in neighbourhood recycling is realized, thereby carrying out the requirements of the prime mover in urban change: Finance Capital. Smith therefore sees his task as follows:

"A theory of gentrification must therefore explain why some neighborhoods are profitable to redevelop while others are not. What are the conditions of profitability? Consumer sovereignty explanations took for granted the availability of areas ripe for gentrification when this was precisely what had to be explained" (Smith 1979a:540-1).

With this mandate, Smith explores the gentrification process at two interlocking scales.

At the narrow scale, gentrification is associated with the opening of a rent gap. This is the disparity between the actual capitalized ground rent appropriated by an owner of a plot of land under its present use, and its potential rent if developed to its "highest and best use". The gap results

from the changing relationship between land value and property value, typified by the valorization cycle through which most neighbourhoods proceed, which is the objective mechanism underlying "the process commonly but misleadingly referred to as filtering" (1979a:545). The character of this mechanism is determined by a special feature of investment in the built environment, that is, its long turnover period. Once newly developed, a neighbourhood experiences devalorization as owners extract returns, typically involving transitions in tenure arrangements, occupancy and physical condition (Smith 1982). The process can be slowed or prevented by repairs to the built structure, but once transferred to rental occupancy a dwelling is likely to continue to deteriorate. When the point is reached that the building cannot support profitable uses because maintenance is too costly, abandonment is the "rational" outcome. This is accelerated also by redlining.

Areas where capital is tied up in an existing land use present a barrier to new development. Hence once inner areas are built, investment is channelled into suburban areas. But as inner areas experience a net outflow of capital and as the rent gap opens up, there comes a point where reinvestment in the inner city (capitalizing upon its locational advantage) is the rational market response, and development activity is switched back into central locations. "Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough" so that the developer can make a "satisfactory return" (1979a:545). It occurs first "where the gap was greatest and the highest returns available...where the sequence of declining values had pretty much run its course" (1979a:546). Thus Smith's theory would appear to offer an explanation of the timing and of the patterning of gentrification in cities.

Later, Smith offers a framework for explanation at a broader scale. Gentrification is "the leading edge of a larger process of uneven development

which is a specific process, rooted in the structure of the capitalist mode of production" (1982:139). This conceptualization provides a theoretical link between gentrification and other urban transformations. In contrast to Berry, Smith claims that crisis is not an exogenous factor precipitating an accidental departure from equilibrium, but an inevitable product of capitalism (the survival of which requires economic expansion and continued capital accumulation). In a condition of falling rates of profit in industry, capital investment is directed into the built environment sector instead (the secondary circuit of capital (Harvey 1978)), resulting in a property boom. The actual location of that investment in the built environment depends on already existing patterns of development resulting from previous rounds of investment. Suburbanization was a response to the depressions of the 1890s and 1930s. But with later in situ growth hindered in suburban locations by the presence of existing structures, and with the outflow of capital from the inner city, the more recent economic crisis switched investment into the neighbourhoods with growing rent gaps. Gentrification and other types of urban redevelopment are thus different forms of the same process of urban restructuring which facilitate continued capital accumulation, to which suburbanization was the earlier "solution".

The two scales at which Smith locates gentrification--the local and the general--are bridged through the mediation of the ground rent surface. This surface is an expression of the forces for differentiation within the city and it operates to allocate activities across space (Smith 1982:145). The differentiating forces at the urban scale are somewhat vaguely defined (Hamnett 1984:307), the first set being functional (depending on types and scales of land use) and the second set being social (depending on class and race as ordering principles of residential land).³

Smith's work has received critical attention from other writers

precisely because, in Hamnett's words, "at present it constitutes virtually the only attempt to explain theoretically the occurrence and the process [of] gentrification" (Hamnett 1984:306). The great strength of Smith's contribution is to contextualize the decisions of individual, profit-oriented actors within a broad overview of profit opportunities and historical movements of capital investment. This is especially pertinent at the present time when small-scale gentrification of residential areas is linked to widespread "revitalization" of inner city commercial and recreational spaces by the state and by large corporations. Given those important insights, the "production of gentrifiers" approach (discussed in Chapter 3) has arisen directly out of a sympathetic critique of Smith's work. The points of disagreement are briefly outlined below.

Rose challenges Smith's insistence on the sphere of production as the only "correct" analytical starting point (Rose 1984). Her critique, from a realist perspective, calls for an analysis of the production of gentrifiers themselves--as certain kinds of people who are drawn to inner city living--in addition to Smith's analysis of the production of gentrifiable neighbourhoods. Smith resists any explanatory weight being given to the gentrifiers themselves, even in terms of their economic position: their significance lies only in determining the final form of areas which have undergone restructuring, such as their visual appearance (Smith 1979a:540). But how are these factors to be theorized and brought together in the final analysis, beyond a "mix and match" approach combining structural analysis with a positivist conception of "conventional" demand factors? (Rose 1984). Hamnett makes a similar complaint:

"The real problem for Smith is that his analysis of gentrification focuses almost exclusively on the structure and operation of the urban land market under capitalism to the exclusion of other aspects of the capitalist mode of production, notably the changing

form and relations of production and the changing social division of labour" (Hamnett 1984:312).

Hamnett approvingly cites Ley's (1978) thesis on the changing structure of employment as an example of an alternative, but still materialist, perspective. Both Hamnett and Rose are therefore suggesting a broader framework encompassing a range of material considerations, allowing them to overcome some of the division between what are conventionally defined as economic and social issues.

Another side to Hamnett's critique focuses on Smith's inability to account for the pattern of gentrification. Smith predicts which neighbourhoods will develop first (those with the widest rent gap). He cannot account for the selective appearance of gentrification between cities in advanced capitalist nations. At some points, Smith stresses the necessity of gentrification (1979a:538); elsewhere he seems more tentative (1982:139,-152). With respect to its timing, Smith deduces that gentrification takes place first where the rent gap is greatest and therefore the highest returns are possible (1979a:546); (how wide a rent gap is required to initiate the process is not stated). Later, in the face of contradictory evidence (Ley 1986a), Smith changes his tune. "Areas with the deepest rent gap may not be the first to experience the process" (Smith 1987b:464); black neighbourhoods, for example, are less likely to gentrify than would be expected on the basis of their advancement in the devalorization cycle. Ley (1987a) supports this revision with data from Canada, showing how gentrification often occurs in neighbourhoods where market prices are already higher than the city average.

The issue of which neighbourhoods gentrify first, therefore, centres on the notion of potential ground rent: how much profit the new land use would bring. Given the case of black neighbourhoods which Smith mentions, this must depend upon factors of perception and desirability--and therefore cannot

be measured solely in terms of the objective value of land without reference to its use (Ley 1987a). Beauregard makes the same criticism of rent gap theory which "cannot easily explain why Hoboken (New Jersey) becomes gentrified, but Newark--where capitalized ground rents are extremely low and whose locational advantages...are on a par with Hoboken's--does not" (Beauregard 1986:39). Smith seems uneasy on this point, as this quotation indicates: "the potential rent [is that which would] be capitalized from the 'highest and best' use (or at least a 'higher and better' use), given the central location" (Smith 1986:23). Hamnett (1984) and Ley (1987a) suggest that Smith's argument boils down to a rather lame conclusion not dissimilar from that of neoclassical theorists.

Smith has recently modified his theory in line with his critics. The opening of a rent gap is cast as the opportunity for reinvestment, whereas demographic and lifestyle trends are called upon to explain why "we have proliferating quiche bars rather than Howard Johnsons, trendy clothes boutiques and gourmet food shops rather than corner stores" (Smith 1986:33). Cultural effects, however, are presented as fulfilling a functionalist role. In this, Smith references Zukin's (1982) study of loft living, which documents the reorientation of middle class tastes in favour of bohemian and artistic habits. Zukin describes the growing appreciation of the kinds of living space offered in old loft buildings, and she offers an analysis of both the symbolic and practical attractions of loft living. This is woven together with a critique of the "uses" of the new taste culture by large scale developers: "The artistic mode of production really represents an attempt by large-scale investors in the built environment to ride out and to control a particular investment climate" (Zukin 1982:176). Smith (1987a) and Harvey (1987) have moved in this direction in their recent work (see Chapter 7).

In sum, Smith's bold theorizing has been important in highlighting the position of gentrification within a broader framework of capital flows. However, the full explanation cannot be sustained on his terms alone, and a (largely sympathetic) critique of the structuralist marxist position has been fundamental to the development of new approaches to urban restructuring, as shall be seen when the "production of gentrifiers" approach is discussed in Chapter 3.

When production-side approaches are applied directly to empirical examples of urban change, the abstract economic mechanisms of capitalism are often interpreted in terms of the political sphere, in which endeavour a managerialist perspective tends to overshadow any implicit marxism. The next subsection considers the relevance of the managerialist thesis to explaining gentrification.

2.22 Managerialist explanation.

Managerialism offers a framework for the study of urban change in which the role of the state is highlighted, from which it is possible to construct a perspective on gentrification. Emphasis is placed on constraints to consumer choice in terms of access to scarce resources (Pahl 1970, 1975; Williams 1978a, 1978b; Leonard 1982).

The roots of urban managerialism lie with Weber rather than with Marx. The most significant heritage is a denial of any necessary connection between the economic and political spheres. Key to the distribution of life chances is the effect of institutional resource-allocation policies realized by "urban managers". Managers include public actors such as local government politicians and bureaucrats, plus key personnel in the private sphere who act as gatekeepers to scarce resources, such as real estate agents. Consumption patterns need not directly reflect individuals' economic class position, yet because they are shaped by the prevailing balance of power between interest

groups and are controlled by urban gatekeepers, they demonstrate observable biases and inequalities.

As outlined by Pahl (1970, 1975), the emphasis of managerialism has shifted over time. Earlier the focus seems to have been on the specific values, actions and goals of public and private managers who exert an independent influence on the allocation of resources. Detailed studies carried out in the housing field dealt with issues such as the allocation of council housing in a consistently biased manner (Gray 1976), and the evaluation of mortgage applications by building society managers (Ford 1975).

Debate on two issues shape later managerialist work: the identification of managers, and their degree of independence. Pahl (1975) earlier identified a whole range of urban managers, from councillors, to property developers, to youth employment officers. His later work focused on higher level public managers, partly in response to criticisms of excessively voluntaristic accounts of small gatekeepers. However, there are no theoretical grounds for excluding private managers. The question of manager independence has attracted the marxist critique (see Leonard 1982) that managerialism is an ideology which obscures the real basis of class differentiation and the main sources of inequality (i.e. production relations)-a criticism which Pahl himself has made. Late managerialist studies of western societies assume the encompassing structure of capitalist relations and the broader context of power relations. They stress the role of managers as mediators operating at the interface "between the state and the private sector and between central state authority and the local population" (Pahl 1977:55). The nature of the actual outcome is an empirical question (Pahl 1979); as with Weber, then, the comparative method remains important (Leonard 1982:192).

There have been few explicit attempts to apply managerialist ideas to

gentrification. Williams' (1976) study of Islington, London, is implicitly managerialist (see also Hamnett 1973; Hamnett and Williams 1979). Williams traces the effect of private financial institutions on the local housing market as they switch from a conservative policy of red-lining to an active policy of promoting middle class purchases in the neighbourhood. Williams briefly places this in the context of changing government policy on the attitudes of private financial institutions, for example encouraging tenants to purchase their accommodation. In this example, private managers pursuing capitalist goals control and manipulate the access of different groups to the scarce housing supply. A detailed North American example with a similar (though less explicit) approach investigates the role of the realtor in the transformation of a Toronto neighbourhood (Tsimikalis 1983). As consultants and gatekeepers, and as influential promoters and participants in the young, professional (and sometimes gay) lifestyle, a group of realtors manipulate the extent and form of gentrification of Don Vale. This takes place within a context of municipal and provincial government support for policies conducive to gentrification, including controls on demolition and new building density, and a land speculation tax which can be avoided in situations of rapid property turnover only if major housing improvements are carried out.

Perhaps more illustrative of "late managerialism" is Williams' (1986) comparative review of gentrification patterns in the United States, Britain and Australia. Differences in the three national housing markets and features of local politics and the role of the state, offer a foundation for understanding differences in the degree and character of gentrification. In Australia, the steady production of suburban housing and high home-ownership levels have opened up inner city areas to speculative activity. In Britain, a greater level of government control over the housing market for example through rent controls, the importance of publicly-provided housing, and

extensive clearance programmes, have meant a tighter supply of gentrifiable housing and a heightened conflict as rental accommodation is lost. Current promotion of home-ownership in Britain contributes to the spread of gentrification, as did earlier locally-administered programmes of historic area designation and renovation grants. In the United States the widespread abandonment of property, plus the importance of the urban fiscal crisis, make gentrification a politically-charged issue, and with low levels of government control conflicts between local resident groups and developers have been pivotal to the pattern of inner city change.

A managerialist account of gentrification, like a marxist account, highlights the conditions of production which determine the fate of inner city areas. While the different treatment of politics makes them theoretically distinct, it is at the point of empirical applications that the differences between a managerialist and a marxist explanation blur. Compare, for example, Williams (1978a) and Boddy (1976), both of whom analyse the role of building societies. Both accounts substantiate claims that lending is biased towards certain localities and social groups. Yet Boddy makes more ambitious claims: his data supposedly demonstrates how the "social formation" is reproduced, the specific contribution of finance institutions being to impose conservative behaviour on mortgage-encumbered borrowers and to help maintain aggregate demand. Calling for "an analysis of urban processes which does more than capture appearances", Boddy depicts institutions as effects rather than causes, for the prime mover is more abstract: "the structure of the social formation is projected through the [building] societies" (p. 69). In this fairly early example of marxist analysis, Boddy makes theoretical assertions which go beyond Williams' more modest managerialist conclusions, although the empirical data and the methods of analysis are not very different.

Similar observations have been made of much of Harvey's work, for example on the Baltimore housing market (Harvey and Chatterjee 1974). In this relatively early paper, class distinctions are allowed which arise from consumption position, and landlords are depicted as significant actors in the market: this is very similar to a managerialist interpretation (Duncan and Ley 1982). From the orthodox structuralist marxist standpoint, this housing research was taken to task for these deviations (Roweis and Scott 1978; Smith 1979b). Harvey's later housing writings conformed by picturing class struggle in the consumption sphere as a "displaced" form of the basic struggle originating in the workplace (Harvey 1978). Paterson distinguishes, from Harvey's articles, the simultaneous existence of two levels of theory. The higher level theory follows from marxist presuppositions of "the city as a consumption artifact of advanced capitalism where capitalism only allows...that which is in the interests of accumulation of capital" (Paterson 1983:28). The lower level theory, more closely engaging the empirical world, is similar to the managerialist perspective. The same tensions between high and low level theorizations are manifest in Smith's Society Hill studies. The state and private institutions involved in the renewal projects are described in some detail, even to the point of tracing the pivotal role of (elite) individuals (1979b:29). As Duncan and Ley point out, "even this...would not require a structural explanation, for it could be accommodated equally within conventional elite theory" (Duncan and Ley 1982:46).

The point of this critique is not to recommend elite theory, but to indicate that marxist and managerialist types of analysis are difficult to distinguish at the level of empirical research. As we found with the details of Smith's rent gap theory, the structuralist marxist approach to explanation is not sustainable merely on its own terms. And this accounts for the

confusion amongst those trying to operationalize the marxist approach with respect to gentrification. Here, the marxist account commonly takes a managerialist form. London, Lee and Lipton, for example, claim that marxist approaches emphasize "the role of economic interests and political power...The questions of 'who decides?', 'who benefits?' and 'who pays'" (London, Lee and Lipton 1986:374). This sounds suspiciously managerialist: not itself a bad thing, but also not helpful to the clarification of theoretical differences. Astonishingly (in the light of Smith's work which they reference as support), these authors state that, in comparison with traditional market-based explanations, "Marxist approaches rely less on the 'invisible hand' of political and economic forces in their analysis of gentrification" (p. 374); the reason given for this assertion is that the marxist explanation centres on the political manipulations of powerful interest groups. Like these researchers, Logan's (1985) representation of a marxist approach centres on the idea of a deliberate class conspiracy by an alliance of gentry and the state; he has little trouble in confirming that, in a general sense, those who are already affluent continue to be favoured, and rightly points out that this is not distinguishable from other, non-marxist, critiques. Logan's negative evaluation of the marxist approach seems to depend on his finding of "a biased but impersonal capitalist economic structure" (p. 289, my emphasis). Admittedly, there are debates within marxism over the correct reading of the state; however, the significance of Logan's conclusion is ambiguous, for the structuralist marxist theorists like Smith and Harvey who have shown particular interest in gentrification did not in any case suggest that gentrification was a kind of personal vendetta against current residents.

In sum, these examples illustrate the methodological problems of applying and testing highly abstract conceptualizations in concrete

situations whilst maintaining theoretical purity. While the empirical work has confirmed the significance of a production-side perspective it seems that, in terms of conceptualization, we require less loyalty to a priori theoretical assumptions, and more flexibility in terms of drawing together insights from different literatures dealing with the topic of urban change. This is, in some senses, what marxists such as Smith have in practice done; however, it seems important to the clarification of how explanations are being constructed that this practice is acknowledged and not denied by those who seek to present their work as the unadulterated application of one philosophical position.

On the other hand, however, we must also resist the empiricism of some more conventional treatments of gentrification. In the next section, I discuss this work which focuses on the changing patterns of demand.

2.3 INDIVIDUALIST CONSUMPTION-ORIENTED APPROACHES.

The most common approach to explaining gentrification is to identify characteristics of individuals which motivate them to demand inner city living. The voluminous literature is highly variable in its degree of sophistication; its theoretical underpinnings are largely hidden. This section focuses on the middle ground: the description of the demographic, lifestyle and occupational profile of gentrifiers. Not all of the authors referenced below would necessarily align themselves with a consumption-side perspective, but their writings highlight the kinds of issues which such a perspective must emphasize.

Berry's housing supply explanation posits an imbalance in the U.S. housing market due partly to a growth in aggregate demand but predominantly because of a shortfall in new construction (see section 2.1). Those unable to compete for suburban housing during a period of rapid inflation in housing

prices were therefore channelled into inner areas, especially first-time buyers. However, in Canada, Ley (1985a) discovers that gentrifying neighbourhoods have commonly not been the cheapest areas in which to buy; furthermore, gentrification does not appear to be a "second-best" choice: it involves not just first time buyers but also older couples who already have invested in large properties, plus substantial participation by renters. The salient issue, then, is why more people are choosing inner city living. Changes in demographic, lifestyle and occupational factors are identified as three overlapping "factors" which contribute to a new pattern of residential preferences.

2.31 Demographic factors.

Demographic factors can be divided into the general and the specific. General demographic features involve broad historical trends in fertility, family and household characteristics, and life-cycle. The specific factor is the influence of the baby boom, the direct effect of which is to increase aggregate consumer demand, the indirect effect to inflate the number of individuals at relevant stages of the life-cycle.

The major features of general change is the lengthy decline in fertility (Westoff 1978). This means an ageing population and fewer children. Families are smaller, with partners not just choosing to have no or fewer children, but adjusting their timing as well: age of mothers at birth of the first child seems to be rising, and the childbearing years appear to be shorter. Age at marriage for women has risen recently after a lengthy fall, implying a decreasing age gap between marital partners.

What we mythologize as the "traditional" nuclear family (working husband, housewife, children at home) is a statistical minority. A striking increase in the proportion of women in the paid labour force involves some reorganization of household responsibilities, though truly symmetrical

partnerships remain unusual. The increasing divorce rate means a growing number of single parent families (predominantly female-headed) and various fused families as the result of second marriage. Despite a long-term fall in the percentage single and a rise in the percent married, there appears to be a very recent reversal of these trends which, though complicated by the expanding numbers of unmarried divorced persons (especially women), reinforces a decline in the proportions enjoying conventional family life (see Rodgers and Witney (1981) for Canada). Numbers of non-family households are growing, as are common-law relationships.

Taken together, these trends suggest that the normative life-cycle is becoming less useful as a basis for understanding living arrangements. Yet it underlies the dominant models of intraurban mobility and residential patterning (Stapleton 1980:1103). The connection between life-cycle and residential choice arises from the changing housing requirements as households progress through a number of stages: the young adult pre-child stage is associated with rental central city living; childbearing stages are spent in owner-occupied suburban single family homes; post-child stages may be marked by moves to smaller central housing; widowhood may mean a move in with a child or into an institution.⁴ Stapleton modifies the residence-life-cycle model by introducing new "paths" for those alternatives which were previously ignored or classified under "equivalent" traditional categories (Stapleton 1980, Stapleton Concord 1982). The numerical decline of the "traditional" nuclear family means a "ponding up" of households in inner city locations as their motivation for suburban migration declines. Other predictable effects include a demand for homes that are smaller, with easy upkeep for working partners, and relatively cheap for young singles in their career-building years. Adult-oriented environments will be preferred with easy access to workplaces for working partners, to leisure facilities and services

for empty-nester households, even (according to Beauregard (1986)) to singles' haunts for the unmarried.

The special environmental requirements of single parent families may also be fulfilled more easily in central cities. However, the particular situation of female-headed households reminds us of the limitations of a stress on housing preference, their central urban residential location being as much a matter of constraint as of desire (Cook and Rudd 1984, Holcomb 1981, Rose 1984, Werkerle 1984). Taking both this unfortunate side to the changing experience of women, plus the tendency for young childless women to prefer central locations (Holcomb 1981, 1984; Werkerle 1984), feminist scholars are developing a critical rethinking of gentrification theory (Rose 1984). This will be taken up in the next chapter; suffice to conclude here that the implications for gentrification are the creation of "more single individual households and childless couples whose consumption needs differ from those who have traditionally migrated to the suburbs" (Beauregard 1986:43).

Overlaying these general changes is the specific effect of the baby boom cohort which, from the late 1960s, fell within the age range comprising the bulk of new household growth. Its sheer size could have been expected to cause a tightening in the housing market and a rise in housing prices (Hamnett 1984). Combine this with the traditional tendency for young adults to be overrepresented in the inner city, and there is a powerful argument for at least part of the rapid appearance of gentrification in the last twenty years. Continuing within the logic of the life-cycle we might expect some slowing of gentrification corresponding with an "echo" baby boom, but this depends on the degree to which the general decline in fertility is followed through.

An appraisal of the demography effect concludes as follows:

"Whilst these demographic changes provide a strong demographic underpinning for emergence of gentrification on a major scale in the 1970s they do not, of themselves constitute an explanation of where and why it occurred. Demographic changes alone are not a sufficient condition for the occurrence of gentrification [although] they have important implications for the continuation of gentrification on a major scale" (Hamnett, 1984: 301).

Measured against Hamnett's criteria it is evident that demography alone is unable to account for the selective distribution of gentrification between and within cities. We would need to understand why general demographic trends are unevenly represented over space, a neglected issue in conventional gentrification studies.

2.32 Lifestyle factors.

A second theme prevalent in the literature on gentrifiers' consumption habits is that of lifestyle. "Socio-cultural" trends are identified which underlie a shift in behavioural norms. "Lifestyle" as a conceptual category tends to remain untheorized. Again, there are both a set of broad "lifestyle" shifts, and the specific and exaggerated effect associated with young adults.

A useful schema developed three decades ago (Bell 1958) describes three major lifestyle types available (singly or in combination) to people in developed societies. The first (and numerically dominant) is familism, centred around childbearing, which would comprise the normative context for the family life-cycle described above. The two alternatives, careerism and consumerism, involve housing behaviour similar to that of the early and late stages of familism. Careerists devote their time and energy to pursuing career goals; consumerists practice the "good life" through the enjoyment of material goods.

Setting aside the constraints of economic resources and the persistence of strong attachments in inner city urban villages (Gans 1962b, Young and Willmott 1962), the city-suburban transect supposedly distinguishes those

environments deemed favourable for childbearing. Inner neighbourhoods are considered unsuitable for this task (Michelson 1970), but non-familistic households have a greater propensity to choose such locations as illustrated by Gans' (1962a) description of urban cosmopolites (however, the perceived suitability for families is variable, and Canadian inner cities have proved relatively more attractive compared to U.S. cities (Goldberg and Mercer 1986)). If the demographic data are signalling some shift in favour of careerism or consumerism (of course that cannot be proven from demography alone) then we can expect demand for inner city housing to boom.

Of growing importance in the gentrification literature is an appreciation of how changing gender relations are implicated, particularly with the shift away from familism and towards careerism. This connects the lifestyle argument both backwards to the demographic data, and forward to trends in employment, but I shall be leaving most of this discussion to the next chapter. To follow up here on how lifestyle affects consumption choice I offer a quick perusal of some elements which have been identified as effecting an ideological reorientation supportive of gentrification. Some dominant themes are: conservation, a pro-urban ideology, and the culture of consumption.

A concern for energy conservation might have deterred new home buyers from the suburbs in the mid 1970s (shades of the energy price explanation, section 2.1); however, more likely long commutes to city jobs seemed increasingly unattractive for a number of reasons, including reactions against the time wasted and the unpleasant ambience of the freeway city. A more important dimension of conservation was the growth in historic preservation activities reflected in housing renovation and neighbourhood improvement, historic district designation, and revived enthusiasm for traditional community festivals. Underlying these trends was a turn towards

"postmaterial values" (Cotgrove and Duff 1981), critical of the unquestioned pursuit of economic growth and stressing ecological harmony and community participation--motifs which run through the other dimensions discussed below.

The "neighbourhood movement" of the 1970s involved a demand by urban communities to participate in the planning of their neighbourhoods. This opposed the outcomes of "rational planning" typified by the freeway city which accentuated efficiency of flows over residential quality and community survival. Linked to this was the emergence of a "pro-urban" ideology, in opposition to historically pervasive antiurban sentiments (Ley 1983a:368-9) which cast the city as a breeding grounds for social disorder. The placid suburban life had been valued for its sense of order and safety of a rural past. Counter-cultural movements rejected the bland, smug and standardized cocoon suburbia had come to symbolise, responding either by an absolute retreat (back to the land), or by embracing what the city had to offer. We know that suburban or rural living remains the ideal for many North Americans, and that the suburb is less homogeneous than its critics portray; however, pro-urbanism has had real effects not least because of the influence of Jane Jacobs' critique of modern city planning (Jacobs 1961).

A key statement on pro-urban ideology pictures gentrifiers as "formulating new definitions of the acceptability and desirability of dense 'traditional' city living" (Allen 1980:409). Social mix and diversity are valued, perhaps as the context for socializing children into tolerate habits, certainly as a stimulating environment for adult living. Symbolising, in "ethnic neighbourhoods", the archetypal "old country", the inner city is perceived to be the sanctuary for authentic community. Different inner areas acquire a special social character and attract immigrants seeking practical and moral support (Winters 1979), for example, gay communities (Castells 1983; Lauria and Knopp 1985).

Allen points up certain ambiguities in the pro-urban movement. Social mix is kept at a safe distance allowing selectivity over the amount and type of interaction; living in a mixed neighborhood is not a dominant motivation admitted by gentrifiers, though the fact that it is viewed positively probably does indicate some turnaround in ideology. Though gentrifiers see suburbia as the inferior option they are in some ways acting out similar impulses to those which attracted people to the suburbs: a utopian and nostalgic search for "community", which in both solutions is realized more in its symbols than in its substance.

Centring the individualist explanation of gentrification on Bell's consumerist lifestyle type is the thesis that gentrification reflects a style of "conspicuous consumption", defined broadly as the pursuit of objects and experiences for motives other than that of basic subsistence. Ley (1983a:382-6) has suggested that, notwithstanding the continued real importance of production activities as a key to social relations, consumption has come to dominate the cultural realm of contemporary advanced societies in which objects are valued for their symbolic qualities. "Luxury items...are part of the visual and functional identity of the potential gentrifiers"; and in response, entrepreneurs of everything from ice cream to housing developments seek "to capture the discretionary income of the consumer by offering an experience that is more than a functional exchange" (Beauregard 1986:44).

Gentrification itself can be subjected to the same interpretation. Since Firey's classic study (1945) urban analysts are sensitive to the existential power of places, how they represent such meanings as security, stress, stimulus, ennui, status and stigma (Ley 1983a). The early "stages" of gentrification could be interpreted as a rejection of the prevalent consumerist ideology as represented in the "suburban lifestyle". Instead of

a big new suburban house, "pioneer" gentrifiers are drawn to stigmatized environments, areas with a reputation for stress rather than security, and offering stimulation rather than boredom. At first this may be a manifestation of nonmaterialist values, or at least a non-conformity with mass cultural ideals and instead an acquaintance with a subcultural style. Over time the style becomes fashionable and chic, and the gentrification package a prime positional good signalling the status of its owners (Moore 1982).

I have outlined three themes underlying the popularity of the gentrification lifestyle. Is their effect exaggerated by their overrepresentation amongst young adults? A connection is commonly assumed, for example: "For mainstream analysts...gentrification is the mark of the zeitgeist borne by the baby boom generation" (Zukin 1987:151). One perspective on gentrification, then, is that it is the playing out of the "sixties generation" (Moore 1982), an extension of the ideology forged on college campuses and a search for places in which to

"live out an emergent set of values--values that emphasize social participation and responsibility, a greater degree of acceptance of different ethnic and racial groups and of 'deviant' lifestyles, or, in sum, an unprecedented degree of pro-urbanism" (London, Bradley and Hudson 1980:367).

The college experience was also the crucible for the setting of new styles of leisure and consumption of "cultural" activities (Bensman and Vidrich 1971) as part of a personal crusade to achieve self-fulfillment (Jones 1980). Not surprisingly neighbourhoods which have served as "student ghettos", such as Kitsilano in Vancouver, are often the seedbeds of gentrification. Before turning to the occupational characteristics of gentrifiers, I offer two brief sketches which illustrate some of these lifestyle concerns in the gentrification literature.

Gentrifiers' motivations are explored by Logan for Melbourne (Logan

1985:281-6) who has generalized from observations of so-called "stages" of gentrification. Early gentrifiers searched for "authentic place" in stigmatized neighbourhoods, having learned to value urban attractions during post-college travels to Europe in the 1960s. As a group they tended to be comprised of young academics plus the more "bohemian" professions. In the second phase neighbourhoods acquired a reputation as alternatives to monotonous suburbs. In came people interested in promoting local activism, building and defending a community, expressing political fervour in their tactics and in their poetry and music. The third phase saw the inner areas labelled as safe and fashionable, attracting more business people and affluent professionals.

At a broader scale, Ley (1980) traces the significance of a liberal "ideology of livability" as context to the changing fate of the inner city in Vancouver. The agents in this case comprised an elite of white collar professionals who created an urban reform party which controlled civic politics for a period in the 1970s. Their manifesto, supportive of the "livable city" through promotion of quality of life and amenity, opposed orthodox urban boosterism and "progressive" planning aimed at efficiency alone. Open government and greater community participation in planning were encouraged. The redeveloped False Creek area, with its medium density housing clustered in enclaves, parkland, its mix of tenures and income levels and household types, its planned diversity of human scale landscapes and pedestrian orientation, represents

"perhaps the most dramatic landscape metaphor of liberal ideology, of the land use implications of the transition from industrial to postindustrial society, from an ethic of growth and the production of goods to an ethic of amenity and the consumption of services" (Ley 1980:252).

We will return to this particular case study later. Here it serves to introduce the third element dealt with in consumption-oriented explanations.

2.33 Occupational factors.

The context of sectoral shifts in the economy provides "the occupational raw material for gentrification" (Hamnett 1984:303). The fact that gentrification is conventionally defined according to incomers' socioeconomic status is ground for supposing the incidence of gentrification to be related to the metropolitan supply of individuals with those relevant traits. In the United States, for the 20 largest S.M.S.A.s, Lipton (1977) found a high positive correlation between the existence of high status inner districts, and a white collar metropolitan economy. Ley (1980, 1981, 1985a, 1986a) has placed particular emphasis on the effect of growth in service employment and the expansion of managerial-professional type occupations. In Canada, for instance, the industrial sectors known as FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) and CBPS (community, business and personal services) have experienced the largest expansions in the 1970s, and CBPS is the largest employment sector (Ley 1986a). Occupations which expand in unison include those in management and administration, science, technology, and the professions in the social sciences, teaching and medicine. Even in staple-led economies such as that of British Columbia the majority of job growth is in the senior white collar categories; by 1984 these positions accounted for over a quarter of the employed labour force in British Columbia (Ley and Mills 1986).

Economy-wide tendencies impact selectively. At the scale of 22 Canadian C.M.A.s (Ley 1985a, 1986a) quaternary occupations were shown to be concentrated in national and regional service and government centres, and these cities also tended to be those in which gentrification was most prevalent, such as Halifax, Ottawa-Hull, Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto. Halifax, the city with the highest index of gentrification, is the major nodal centre for Atlantic Canada and has had a dramatic growth in FIRE and CBPS jobs (55 percent between 1971 and 1981, while jobs in manufacturing

and construction fell 40 percent).

The causal process linking occupational growth and gentrification is highlighted when we consider the spatial distribution of job growth within the metropolitan economy. Although the dominance of the central city may decline with the decentralization of back office operations, growth in senior white collar jobs is disproportionately concentrated in the core. For example, in Vancouver, growth in producer service jobs such as legal firms and management consultants is highly centralized (Ley and Hutton 1986), and office space in the core has grown rapidly. And as Ley (1986a:525) concludes: "Here is the labor market whose growth since 1970 has introduced a new dimension to the inner-city housing market."

The intersection between the economic impact of high-earning professionals, and their demographic and lifestyle characteristics, makes for new styles in the expenditure of disposable incomes. Obviously, labour market change alone cannot explain gentrification, for white collar jobs have always been concentrated in urban cores (Moore 1982). However, the occupational factor described here comprises the stepping-stone from which some researchers have constructed more sophisticated accounts of gentrification that integrate structural conditions with a concern for individual agency. To examine the broad shifts in labour force composition, which Ley begins to do, takes us beyond the individualistic focus on gentrifiers' traits to the processes that operate to bring about economic restructuring. Discussion of these developments in the theorization of gentrification is the task of the next chapter.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS.

This chapter explored two explanatory strands in the gentrification literature. As one writer has observed, "Already [they] appear to be paralleling conventional modes of explanation within the social sciences" (Jackson 1984:53). Working at an inter-city scale, alternative explanations have been put to a conventional test by reducing all of them to some common form of representation. In practice this means finding some statistical measure to represent features of these explanations for each city in the set. Two studies perform this for the United States and Canada.

London, Lee and Lipton (1986) take as their dependent variables two ordinal measurements of gentrification for 48 cities based on informant responses. Four hypotheses are scrutinized: the demographic, the ecological, the sociocultural, and the political-economic. The first three hypotheses parallel the factors reviewed in the preceding section: the demographic, the occupational and the lifestyle factors. The fourth hypothesis is a form of elite theory couched in marxist terms. Each of the four hypotheses is measured by two variables. All hypotheses received some support, the fourth one receiving the highest correlations. The conceptualization and operationalization of the hypotheses are, however, very weak and so the conclusions should be treated with considerable caution. They conclude as follows:

"It appears that all of the theorists who studied gentrification have had valid insight...but that...no one has ventured beyond the boundaries of their chosen theoretical perspective. Our results underscore the need for a more eclectic approach to the study of gentrification" (London, Lee and Lipton 1986:383).

London, Lee and Lipton are not in fact correct in stating that no one has attempted to integrate different perspectives; indeed, most geographers writing on gentrification (and they barely reference any geographers) have drawn on all three of the individualist consumption-oriented dimensions, and,

as I shall demonstrate shortly, some have also tried to integrate individualist and structuralist approaches.

Ley (1985a, 1986a) performs a more convincing analysis for the Canadian city system. The sensitivity of the measure for gentrification (see section 4.1) compares favourably to that described above. Demographic, urban amenity, and economic base hypotheses represent essentially the three dimensions of the consumption-oriented approach. Each is measured by at least six variables. An additional housing market hypothesis identifies the existence of both Berry's housing squeeze, and Smith's rent gap, using measures of housing availability and cost, respectively. Simple correlations are generally in the predicted direction, with the economic measure of office space per capita being the largest correlate; no support for the rent gap thesis is found (see Smith 1987b and Ley 1987a for a debate on this point).

The two studies just described appear to establish some consistent correlations between the incidence of gentrification, and demographic, lifestyle and occupational factors discussed above. Of course, correlations cannot be taken as indicative of process, although they are useful in describing the kinds of urban context within which gentrification has tended to occur. In section 2.3 I presented three consumption factors in atheoretical terms, and there were many aspects left unexamined: especially the mechanisms which may tie together changes in all three areas. It is my contention that these connections require a more critical perspective than that which can be derived from conventional writings on gentrification. Research which is directed to bridging the gap between the individualist and the structuralist approaches holds the key to that task. This work focuses on the "production of gentrifiers".

NOTES

1. For example, in exploring a number of different interpretations of gentrification as they apply in Melbourne, Logan (1985) identifies a "structural-functionalist" approach which views urban change as part of a natural process whereby the city system adjusts itself to achieve a new equilibrium. Each area of the city performs a special function, and the inner city is at present changing its role from that of an immigrant staging post and the natural home of pathology, to a niche for young urban gentry. This perspective provides ideological justification for non-interventionist laissez-faire policies, fitting the free enterprise philosophy of Melbourne City Council.

2. Berry (1985) offers a reinterpretation of this analysis. He finds that gentrification is occurring not where there is a low rate of new housing supply in comparison to the rate of household formation; rather it is concentrated in housing markets where the rate of new construction is higher than household growth but "scrappage" exceeds the excess housing supply. This scrappage may take the form of "contagious abandonment", a term which remains largely unexplained. These supply conditions are described as a necessary condition for gentrification. However, for gentrification to occur, it is also necessary that there be significant growth in the central business district which will stimulate demand for inner city living. This formulation still does not answer the issues raised in the text.

3. It is in his own discussion of the ground rent surface that the flaws in Smith's explanation are most clearly seen. Since Smith is so adamant that his explanation centres on objective features of the space economy, then the ad hocism employed at this point is particularly striking. Smith fails to provide any theoretical basis for introducing, specifically, class and race as the two principles of residential segregation. Moreover, at the same time as employing differentiation by class and race in an explanatory role, Smith rejects wage differentials as determinants of uneven development at the urban scale on the basis that patterns of industrial location (such as the suburbanization of industry) are not a product of wage differentials as they are at regional and international scales, but rather, they help to create wage differentials (1982:146). This argument hangs on his assertion that "the entire urban area is relatively accessible for most commuters"--an astonishing declaration given the differential accessibility to transportation opportunities according to, say, gender.

There is additionally some confusion over the meaning of land values; Smith's rent gap is claimed to be a feature of land separate from the structures built upon it but, here, land value appears to be at least partially dependent upon the pattern of land use. See Smith (1987b) and Ley (1987a) for a debate on this issue.

4. Rossi (1955) suggested that much residential mobility can be explained by efforts to satisfy housing needs according to life-cycle changes. McAuley and Nutty (1982) summarise research which has developed this idea, and identify which particular housing circumstances are of concern to households in different life-cycle stages. Their work also suggests that young singles and young couples are the group most likely to move when they know they could obtain their desired residential characteristics elsewhere. Other groups demonstrate more inertia. The model described here was developed for the United States, and may have less applicability in less mobile societies such

as Britain (Morgan 1976).

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRODUCTION OF GENTRIFIERS

The production of gentrifiers literature has developed in reaction to the marxist position represented by Smith's work. It offers an account of gentrification that connects the actions of individuals to a set of broader structural conditions which are generating transformations in the realms of production and reproduction. "The explanation for gentrification begins with the presence of 'gentrifiers'" claims Beauregard (1986:41), and those gentrifiers

"are not the mere bearers of a process determined independently of them. Their constitution, as certain types of workers and as people, is as crucial an element in the production of gentrification as is the production of the dwellings they occupy" (Rose 1984:56).

The aim of the production of gentrifiers literature is to theorize the relation between gentrifiers' constitution as social actors, their residential choices, and the setting of opportunities and constraints within which social practice takes place.

Two facets of gentrifiers' constitution have received attention: their economic position (in the sphere of production) and their form of domestic life (their mode of reproduction). As Rose claims, "it is crucial to explore the relationships between gentrification, social and spatial restructuring of waged labour processes, and changes in the reproduction of labour-power and of people" (Rose 1984:48). The effort to incorporate these processes when theorizing gentrification has drawn upon the body of empirical evidence already available on gentrifiers' occupational and household traits. The structuralist marxist perspective offered by Smith had dismissed such features as epiphenomenal, but the production of gentrifiers approach makes room for the efficacy of human agency. Some proponents of the production of gentrifiers approach would align themselves with a humanist marxism, and

their focus on economic position and domestic arrangements is therefore not surprising. However, the production of gentrifiers literature has failed to develop any sustained theoretical exploration of cultural change. A task for later chapters of this thesis is to deepen the production of gentrifiers argument by engaging cultural issues.

This chapter fleshes out the connections between the two elements of occupation and household type (introduced in the discussion of the conventional literature in the last chapter), and two broader literatures which seem to be taken as implicit in the production of gentrifiers writings. The first of these literatures (section 3.1) is the work of feminist geographers, and we shall draw on this to explore the notion that gentrification is "in large part a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household" (Markusen 1980:32). The second body of literature (section 3.2) deals with the rise of a new middle class which is both "producer" and "consumer" of gentrification. Before these excursions, I review briefly the question of establishing gentrification as a valid object of study, which takes up the problem of definition introduced in Chapter 1.

The production of gentrifiers approach is influenced by the realist perspective in geography. "Gentrification" (and "gentrifier" and "gentrified neighbourhood") are chaotic conceptions, not theoretically valid entities out of which explanations can be constructed. Since these phenomena are conjunctures of a number of processes, it is necessary to "unpack" them to their underlying constituents--rather than treating them (as is normally the case) in an ad hoc manner which disguises their status as problematical objects. Attention is shifted towards the internal relations of the forces involved in producing a group of potential gentrifiers. In placing this group within the broad contexts of change in production and reproduction, the focus of research is on relations of class and of gender. Once those

internal relations are recognized, scrutiny may be redirected to the external relations between those forces which account for the occurrence of events in the world.

Sayer argues that geographical phenomena "are 'conjunctures' whose content cannot be known 'in advance' on the basis of theoretical knowledge of necessary relations alone" (Sayer 1982:79). Space is important as the medium through which external relations are established. As noted with reference to the localities project (see Chapter 1) the production of gentrifiers approach has focused on the passive contingency effects of the restructuring of class and gender relations, which intersect in time and space to produce empirical effects. This kind of approach is taken by Beauregard (1986) who first describes changes in occupational structure and then turns to analyze reproduction activities to explain why a fraction of the professional-managerial group elects to remain in the city. Thus the intercutting of the two "dimensions" carves up social space into constituencies with distinctive locational preferences.

In Chapter 1, I raised the possibility of moving beyond the level of passive contingency effects, and of establishing gentrification as a valid object of theoretical analysis with properties which help to explain process. I shall return to this issue later in this chapter. Here, I begin the process of unpacking by considering how gentrification must be located with respect to changing relations of class and of gender. I start by reviewing the origins of an expanding interest in gender relations.

3.1 GENTRIFICATION AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF GENDER RELATIONS.

In making a convincing case for a production of gentrifiers approach, Rose focuses on the restructuring of modes of reproduction which underlies much of what is conventionally depicted as changes in lifestyle. Referring

to the "active role of feminism as a social force in the economy and in cities" (Rose 1984:52) she expresses frustration at the conflation of reproduction and consumption and the dismissal of agency in structuralist marxist work on urban change:

"Missing in all of this is an adequate conceptualisation of the impacts of the major changes that have taken place in the processes through which people and labour power are reproduced and how these changes are actively reshaping urban space" (Rose 1984:53).

Rose's critique has been particularly influential in moving forward the gentrification debate beyond the opposition of production-based and consumption-based arguments. For that reason it is appropriate to explore in some detail the emergence of the socialist feminist position in geography. Feminist work has represented a substantial counterpoint to the excesses of structuralism in analyses of urban and regional change, while retaining a level of theoretical sophistication missing from most consumption-oriented analyses which hitherto offered the main alternative.

Until the mid 1970s, the relationship between patterns of domestic life and urban space was almost totally neglected in geography. "Family" or "household" appeared only in the guise of a normative family life cycle model or in terms of the choice between lifestyles of familism, consumerism and careerism. The social locations encompassed by such categorizations were assumed to correlate with specific residential locations (see section 2.3). Factorial ecologies proposed the dimension of "family status" which, with the other dimensions of "socioeconomic status" and "ethnic status", were shown to describe the recurring patterning of urban differentiation in North American and British cities. When urban social geographers turned away from the urban ecology tradition and towards the Chicago School's other legacy, that of urban ethnography, the "family" dimension was downplayed.

It is thus all the more intriguing that work reclaiming domestic life as

a focus for serious investigation has inspired a major portion of the dialogue between marxist and humanist positions in geography. A concern with the "geography of women" developed as a dimension of behavioural geography. It was inspired by the call for "relevance" of welfare geography and the new ideas of humanistic geography, as well as by the broader women's movement; however it depended greatly on the spatial science paradigm for its methodology. The "geography of gender" perspective which has subsequently evolved is, in contrast to the "geography of women", pursued largely by socialist feminists and is sympathetic to the new radical geography, although its internal debates centre on its ambiguous relation to marxism. The gulf between humanist and marxist geography, which was spreading wider in the late 1970s, is partially bridged by these feminist efforts. Mackenzie depicts feminist work as remaining

"profoundly connected to historical materialist analysis, [but]...also profoundly humanist, being centred on human agency and concerned with daily activities as the basis of social change. What we see as important are the 'mundane' and 'common sense' details of maintaining life in capitalist society, those small human actions that make up and change our lives and our analytical categories" (Mackenzie 1986:270).

I shall trace the development of this work, suggesting a temporal progression from the geography of women to the geography of gender (though recognizing that these are fuzzy sets). Implications are drawn for the geography of urban space.

3.11 Geography of women.

The geography of women was taken up as a task for empirical research when it became apparent that contemporary geographical writing made women invisible (Hayford 1974, Tivers 1978). The new research which was initiated treated women as a distinct population subgroup (Mackenzie 1986) whose needs had been inadequately addressed in policy issues such as the planning of housing and transportation systems. A number of reviews focus on this

literature, for example, Wekerle (1980, 1984), Zelinsky et al (1982), Holcomb (1986).

A dominant theme of the research has been to identify how women are disadvantaged due to their position in the conventional nuclear family and (when translated into its normative environmental form, the suburb) its geographical location. The basis for a woman's disadvantage lies with the distribution of roles within the family, and especially her double burden as both waged worker and chief homemaker. Research focuses on the restricted activity spaces of women who not only depend on public transportation to get to their jobs but have to balance the demands of other family responsibilities such as making arrangements for childcare. (For discussions on this see, for example, Hanson and Johnston 1985, Lopata 1980, Pickup 1984, Wekerle 1980, 1984). Researchers conclude "that higher density, mixed-use residential environments give women more options" (Saegert 1980:110).

The same critique has been applied to the design of residential space itself. The symbolic power of the "public/private" distinction (Wekerle 1980) which is institutionalized by the separation of residential space from (waged) workplace serves to underwrite the injurious associations of men with active urban life, women with passive and secure home-centred life. Housing design itself, based on the assumption of the nuclear family with a full-time homemaker, exacerbates this situation. Hayden describes suburban housing as an "architecture of gender...[providing] settings for women and girls to be effective social status achievers, desirable sex objects, and skillful domestic servants, and for men and boys to be executive breadwinners, successful home handy men, and adept car mechanics" (Hayden 1984:17). Loyd (1975, 1981) depicts the sexual division of space into "inside" and "outside" as a moral order, in which women's assigned task is the caretaking of the "house-as-status-symbol". Suburban housing is highly valued, by women as

well as by men, as a context for raising children and developing a rich social life; the problem raised by this finding, however, is "where does this leave women who value their homes, who want them to be meaningful centers of the family, and who want to expand their roles outside the home?" (Saegert 1980:110). While all these personal objectives have merit, given the prevailing structure of gender roles and the current organization of urban space it appears that women have fewer options than do men in establishing means to satisfy them.

In the context of shifts in demographic and workforce structure, some researchers have measured the congruence of contemporary households with the residential environments already available (Michelson 1970, Gerson 1983). With the rise of the two-wage earning household we may now expect "lower demands for low priority space (for example, little-used rooms and outside space) and higher demands for low-maintenance housing" (Stapleton 1980: 1106), as well as changing accessibility preferences with respect to workplaces and daycare facilities. This is likely to impact substantially on inner city neighbourhoods. Elsewhere in the literature, the analysis of urban sex ratios (Freeman 1980, Cook and Rudd 1984) leads to the conclusion that (despite common impressions) "Urban places are women's spaces" (Holcomb 1981). Two subgroups of urban women are identified. First, there is an over-concentration of elderly and female-headed households in inner cities. These have been attracted by the locations of jobs, of affordable housing, and of a network of social services, and they face barriers against residential choice in other areas due to discrimination in the mortgage and rental markets (Wekerle 1980, 1984); in consequence, the feminization of poverty has a distinctly geographical impact (Freeman 1980, Holcomb 1986). Second, the movement of more women into the paid workforce and slowly up into better-waged positions creates a supply of a quite different type of urban woman.

With increased numbers of dual-career households and their large disposable incomes, consumer demand is generated for housing forms which are less wasteful of time and money spent in upkeep. Ginzberg (1978) has suggested the fate of central urban neighbourhoods rests in the hands of dual-career couples, the only households who can afford to live in them.¹

The themes discussed above have encouraged the mobilization of the women's movement around questions of urban policy (Wekerle 1984:11). With respect to the implications for gentrification, Holcomb (1984:18) asks "are the revitalized parts of cities an improved built environment for women?". Evidently the "geography of women" perspective has direct relevance for policy issues. But from a scholarly point of view, the geography of women is vulnerable to criticism. Mackenzie has made this point most strongly, accusing the geography of women of a "theoretical cowardice" (1984a:16) which has kept research occupied at the "empirical surface". Research strategies have tended to advance by demonstrating that women are different, thereby placing women in the position of a population subgroup defined by their feminine "role", and portrayed as "deviant" from some assumed male norm. With an emphasis on women's restricted activity spaces the "causes" are understood in terms of a spatial determinism rather than the structuring of social relations.

In outlining these consequences, Mackenzie (1984b) relates them to the motivating concerns of feminist analysis in the late 1960s and early 1970s; those were: to attain equal rights and oppose discrimination, especially in the workplace. What remained unchallenged was the interdependence of relations in the public and private spheres, which in our discipline was concealed by the fragmentation of economic from social geography (Mackenzie and Rose 1982). This issue was taken up when geographers began to draw more substantially on radical and socialist feminist theory, in which the concern

is to show how women's position is socially structured (Mackenzie 1984b).

3.12 Geography of gender.

The shift in attention from a policy-oriented interest in gender roles to the theorizing of gender relations was pursued first by referral to a radical feminism centred on the critique of patriarchy.

The patriarchal model fixes the cause of the injurious division of gender roles in some basic conflict between the genders, in which men hold supremacy. An example of this approach, applied to urban structure, comes from Markusen (1980). Markusen critiques the neglect in orthodox marxist analysis of the contribution of different household members to the vital process of reproductive work (work involved in reproducing labour power) within the household. She argues for patriarchy as a second principle of the structuring of urban space, in addition to capitalism. Key features of urban structure affected by patriarchy are the dominance of single-family detached dwellings, and the separation of home from workplace. The dual principles, patriarchy and capitalism, appear in Markusen's formulation each to have their own distinct sphere of operation. Markusen argues: "Since patriarchy is the organizing principle of the [sphere of household activities], urban spatial structure must be as much a product of patriarchy as it is of capitalism" (p. 29). To illustrate this, she makes the case that, without patriarchy, capitalism would benefit just as fully from promoting high density central city living as from encouraging suburbanization. By splitting the two spheres in her conceptualization, Markusen can argue that the effects of patriarchy sometimes pose contradictions for capitalism (ie. the wasteful isolation of the reserve army of female labour), while at the same time they reinforce the unequal distribution of power between men and women.

How do men benefit from the isolated nuclear family, housed in a

detached suburban dwelling? Such an arrangement, suggests Markusen, gives men a greater control over what goes on within the household since it splits the household from other, communal, systems of support; it sets up ideal conditions for women to perform status-enhancing activities through conspicuous consumption which benefit the head of the household; and it may ensure the high quality and desirable flexibility of services provided (such as home-cooked meals). The myth of the home as haven works to the advantage of men who are not involved in domestic work, but this obscures the conditions and experiences of women who are deemed responsible for the private sphere. The conventional organization of urban space caters to the reproduction of patriarchy and the reinforcement of women's subordinate status.

This conclusion is a common focus for feminist geography. Unfortunately, Markusen implies a male-dominated plot; a more complex interpretation of domestic ideology is required. Like many of the geography of women studies, this work also suffers from an environmental determinism which suggests a solution to patriarchy in housing policy or design innovations. Since women are disadvantaged in the job market wherever they live, the problem (and therefore the solution) is only marginally one of location and residential environment (Darke 1984). Nevertheless, local change in urban space can have real benefits, even if the broader structures of capitalism and patriarchy remain largely unchallenged. Markusen sees patriarchy as vulnerable to non-revolutionary defiance, and identifies gentrification as a phenomenon that is largely a product of the "breakdown of the patriarchal household".

The fact that radical feminist analyses such as that of Markusen see patriarchy as a separate structure operating parallel to capitalism is a source of discomfort to some socialist feminists in geography. Analyses of

this sort can naturalize the conceptual division of public from private life (Mackenzie and Rose 1982, Villeneuve 1986). The social creation of the "spatial separation of spheres" of production and of reproduction (and the ideology which disregards the political nature of private life) should itself be a focus of analysis. This can not portray the one sphere solely in terms of capitalist relations, the other solely in terms of patriarchy (as Markusen tends to do). The debate over theoretical dualism is the crux of the engagement of feminism with marxism.

Radical feminists see the oppression of women as a structure autonomous from capitalist relations; marxists employ domestic labour theory to claim that women's oppression is part of capitalist relations, in that reproduction of labour power through the domestic labour system is functional to capitalism. One example serves to illustrate the kinds of debates which have occurred outside geography on theorizing the relations between patriarchy and capitalism.

Barrett (1980) deals with the dual systems problem by arguing that women's oppression is not inherent in the logic of capitalism but has become incorporated historically in capitalist relations and is therefore a necessary element for capitalism's continued reproduction. The cause of the gender division of labour lies not with the sex-blind nature of capitalist relations of production, but with the persistence of a pre-capitalist ideology of gender. This ideology both shaped, and was reproduced by, trade union and state tactics which confined women to the "proper sphere" of domestic life. In opposition to Barrett, Brenner and Ramas (1984) ask how it is that capitalism has not undermined the gender division of labour? They seek an explanation for the gender division of labour in economics, focusing on the requirements arising from biological reproduction--particularly nursing--which cannot be met in the context of the work rhythms of factory

production. As a result, they conclude, "it is both possible and preferable to explain the origins and reproduction of sex segregation in the occupational structure precisely in terms of the 'sex-blind' operation of the capitalist labour market, in which capitalists compete to hire labour for the least cost" (Brenner and Ramas 1984:55). Without collective provision of substitutes for family care, working class households must assign, to the member least competitive in the waged labour force, the task of ensuring the reproduction of labour power. In a third round of debate Barrett (1984) responds by pointing out that the seemingly necessary consequences of biology are themselves socially constructed: "the degree of determination of the social by the biological is a social or--more precisely--a political choice" (p. 123). Additionally, economic categories, such as a measure of skill, also incorporate ideological assumptions. A recent series of articles in the geographical literature rehearses the themes of the debate outlined above. Foord and Gregson (1986) utilize a realist method, asking whether patriarchy can be defined according to a set of necessary, internal relations. Capitalism and patriarchy are not necessarily related, but are "contingently related structures, which, nonetheless, interlock in the specificity of particular periods and places" (Foord and Gregson 1986:200). The basic characteristics of the object gender relations are the two genders, and Foord and Gregson identify two forms of universally necessary relations between the genders: biological reproduction and heterosexuality. In patriarchy these take the form of men's domination (for example, control by men over women's fertility). Other feminist geographers criticize Foord and Gregson for exhibiting some of the faults of both the Barrett and the Brenner and Ramas arguments discussed above. McDowell (1986) accuses Foord and Gregson of perpetuating a dual systems theory, and argues for exploring women's oppression through a class analysis at the theoretical level. Like

Brenner and Ramas, McDowell turns to the significance of biological reproduction, which necessarily requires a gender division of labour. From the other flank, in terms similar to Barrett's response to Brenner and Ramas, Foord and Gregson are criticized for ignoring culture and ideology. Gier and Walton (1987) query the universality of two genders, for the concept of gender is "the product of human consciousness....both culture bound and historically specific" (pp. 56-7); Knopp and Lauria (1987) also critique Foord and Gregson's identification of heterosexuality as a necessary relation, on the basis that it also is socially constructed.

It is clear that the debate in the broader feminist discourse is now influencing geographical work. With respect to the "production of gentrifiers" research, gender relations are treated as a separate construct from class, with the emphasis placed on their contingent interaction. The experience of gentrification connects to an increased awareness of how seemingly immutable categories (such as those of gender) are social constructions, that they have both a history and a geography. Hence Mackenzie's (1986) germane observations on the connection of feminist work to humanist concerns: if gender is a social construction then a space is made for human agency, and the possibility of resistance at the scale of everyday life is admissable. The debate in feminist geography described above has underscored the necessity for empirical research which focuses on the contingent relations between gender and class in particular times and places. Geographical and historical analyses offer routes which "steer between the Scylla of reductionism and the Charybdis of empiricism" (Brenner and Ramas 1984:35).

I want to outline briefly two examples of contextual work of the type recommended. Focusing not on the ahistorical categories of "men" and "women", but instead on how they are socially constructed and vary over time

and space, makes necessary a kind of empirical analysis somewhat different from that reported in the "geography of women" literature. The organization of space is not only taken to be a reflection of naturalized gender roles (and one that underwrites their performance) but space itself is seen to be implicated in the very construction and negotiation of gender categories: "gender becomes a 'space structuring' force, environment becomes a component of gender constitution" (Mackenzie 1986:269). This issue has been pursued in historical analyses of the origin of the domestic sphere in western industrializing cities, where gender and class are simultaneously transformed (for example Mackenzie and Rose 1983). With the rise of capitalism and the erosion of the household's economic base, there was a growing concern that processes of labour force reproduction could not be adequately performed. Various state policies on welfare provisions helped to establish a stable family life, with women performing domestic tasks so as to offer working men a haven from the alienation of the workplace. The polarization of men's and women's lives was heightened by an ideology of "woman's proper sphere". The so-called "suburban solution" (the retreat of "respectable" households to new suburban neighbourhoods) was crucial in reinforcing with spatial separation that principle of social differentiation of reproduction from production: "Not only was this suburban environment predicated on the labour of a full-time housewife, it also made it very difficult to organize the domestic economy and home life in any other way" (Mackenzie and Rose 1983:170). The spatial solution, however, laid the basis for new conflicts over women's dual role in the second half of this century, as the demand for waged labour grew. The archetypal form of domestic life in the suburbs has been a focus of these conflicts, and resistance means tackling the fragmentation of daily life, to which geography is crucial.

The interplay of restraints and opportunities in the context of broad

socioeconomic transformations and experienced at the level of everyday life, has become a focus of work on restructuring. Christopherson's (1983) examination of the household in the newly industrializing city of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, focuses on the strategic response of households to the changing structure of labour demand, especially the appearance there of multinationally-owned assembly plants ("maquiladoras"). The typical maquiladora workers are female, defined as semi-skilled, and paid the minimum wage. Households are organized so as to take advantage of the opportunities offered by such employment conditions: they are more likely to be female headed (sometimes by daughters), and they may recruit female relatives to increase household resources. Christopherson concludes by emphasizing how household conditions are actively

"constructed day to day or year to year, using whatever 'human resources' are available....

The translation [of production relations] into geographic space is not direct, but one that is mediated by the composition of the household and by the nature of social relations in the family" (Christopherson 1983:336-7).

The two research projects described above are representative of the direction in which the "geography of gender" is developing. How do they inform work on gentrification?

3.13 Gender and gentrification.

While the conventional consumption-oriented approach to gentrification portrays family and household change as a demographic "given", with gentrification as one of its effects, Christopherson's conclusion points to a rather different interpretation. True, gentrifiers are often depicted as exemplifying the extremes of some society-wide transformations in domestic life, encompassing a disproportionate number of singles and childless couples (Beauregard 1986), of dual-career couples (Ginzberg 1978, Markusen 1980, Holcomb 1986), and of gay people (Lauria and Knopp 1985). Inner city

environments are often more congruent with "new" forms of domestic organization. However, Christopherson's study suggests it is not sufficient merely to assume these new household forms and deduce geographical consequences from them.

In particular, one must resist isolating "household change" or "demographic shifts" as processes in their own right. These are prime examples of chaotic conceptions, and using them as foundations for building explanation obscures the mechanisms which bring them about. The use of stage models of family-cycle linked to intra-urban mobility, like that of the stage models of gentrification, imposes a sense of order which hides the everyday decisions and non-decisions that propel the household through time and across space. The forms of domestic life people pursue are important (but not the sole) indicators of the prevailing state of gender relations. Like gentrification, changes in household and family type are themselves effects, resulting from people's negotiations of a broader setting of socioeconomic restructuring. While household changes undoubtedly enable other changes, they should not be taken as pre-given mechanisms producing spatial change, but as products which demand empirical examination themselves.

I have chosen to adopt the notion of the postpatriarchal mode of gender relations as a heuristic model to help understand the structural transformations underlying gentrification. In choosing this term, I do not wish to suggest that the oppression of women by men is not still significant. Like the other terms I employ later--the postindustrial, and the postmodern--the purpose is to open up conceptual space for the possibility of change, while also allowing for substantial continuity in the nature of social relations. Markusen (1981) has suggested that gentrification is a product of the breakdown of patriarchal relations. However, many feminist geographers write of patriarchy as if it were a constant and immutable feature of

contemporary life, experiencing only cosmetic changes. My choice of the controversial term "postpatriarchal" is intended to emphasize that the significance of changes in the nature of gender relations is a topic for empirical analysis, and not a forgone conclusion. As shall become clearer in Chapter 8, the dominance of grand theories, identifying the underlying mechanisms to which aspects of reality are to be reduced, has been thrown into doubt by the postmodern critique; rather, all explanations are partial and must be recognized as imposing new structures upon a reality which is always too complicated to be thus captured. The notion of the postpatriarchal is indeed a partial heuristic, one which naturalizes a bias in interpretation--as does the notion of patriarchy itself which resolves explanation in one predetermined direction. The naturalization of bias is illustrated by feminist geographers' emphasis on how patriarchal gender relations are reproduced (rather than dissolved). This is explored with reference to environmental features which make alternatives difficult to pursue. The "geography of women" research on suburban planning and architecture is one dimension of this although it has tended to lack these theoretical connections. Similarly, critiques of environmental policy, especially housing policy, show how non-family households are marginalized. For example, Watson (1986) demonstrates how British state housing provision reproduced patriarchal relations by failing to provide options for non-conventional households such as single people and single parent families.

As I have already indicated, however, new foci of research have at least implied changes in gender relations. Instead of portraying gender relations as the independent variable and geography as the dependent, their reciprocal nature is considered: in Mackenzie's words, the space structuring qualities of gender and the gender constituting qualities of space. Two examples focus on gentrification. One is Rose's work on marginal gentrifiers. Rose (1984)

argues that the inner city environment is an enabling condition for such households as female headed families to exist at all above some minimum level of subsistence: "many who become gentrifiers do so substantially because of the difficulties, not only of affording housing, but also of carrying on their particular living arrangements in conventional suburbs" (Rose 1984:63). Types of housing which are perhaps most commonly found in the inner city offer special advantages to female headed households. Thus "gentrification by employed women with children may be a deliberately sought out environmental solution to a set of problems that are inherently social problems" (p. 66). By extending this one might reasonably conclude that, without such environmental options, fewer women might consider marital separation; conversely, with a more flexible use of urban space, women in unsatisfactory relationships might find them more easy to exit. Such assumptions underwrite the efforts of "material feminists" to promote non-conventional housing arrangements granting more options to women with children.

The other example of gentrification research which portrays environment as an enabling condition deals with the role of gays in inner city change (Lauria and Knopp 1985). Arguing that gay identity (in common with all gender-related identities) is a social construction, this paper suggests that a range of spatial strategies has emerged in response to gay oppression, gentrification amongst them (see also Castells 1983). "The creation and defense of gay territory is intimately connected to the social construction of the gay identity" (p. 158), and the inner city has proved to be a prime site for the location of gay neighbourhoods which offer an "oasis of tolerance" and a supportive community within which economic and political clout can develop.

These studies of gender and gentrification illustrate two tendencies. First, they are focusing on external contingent relations of gender with

class. While aware of the debate over gender (whether or not it is independent of class relations) the authors have not taken it upon themselves to pronounce on its theoretical status. However, being informed by that debate renders these analyses more convincing than the "multiple factors" approach in which the possibility of a distinction between necessity and contingency was not even imaginable. The second point illustrated by these examples is the necessity to treat urban change as more than a passive contingency effect. While the production of gentrifiers approach has tended to remain at this first level of analysis, portraying gentrification as an event suspended at the nexus of intersecting structural processes, this does not exhaust what is going on. Mackenzie has depicted gender as a social construction. Space itself is implicated in the constitution of gender categories and there is also an ongoing process of active negotiation over the composition and meaning of the household. These phenomena move us beyond the level of passive contingency effect to something analogous to a "neighbourhood effect" of "emergence" (see Chapter 1), where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Having isolated gender relations as one structure underlying urban restructuring, we must turn attention to the emergent qualities of social practice, where contingency defines the experience of gender. Before dealing with such notions, I discuss in the next section the implications of economic restructuring for class relations.

3.2 GENTRIFICATION AND THE RISE OF THE NEW CLASS.

The production of gentrifiers approach situates gentrifiers within a setting of transformations in economic and social structure. One dimension of this is the significance for gentrification of transformations in class structure. Yet as Williams points out:

"Despite the obvious connotations of gentrification, class in any active sense has been little used as a concept with which to 'unpack' the process in theoretical terms....The reshaped residential environment characteristic of the gentrification process can be related clearly to the changing form and structure of social classes and their articulation with the built environment. Despite the growing literature on the 'new class', the decline of the working class and the growth of professional and managerial strata, few of these ideas have penetrated the gentrification debate" (Williams 1986:64,66).

To Hamnett (1984), the changing relations of production comprise a crucial material process which must feature in theories that explain the timing and location of gentrification. Central to this is the expansion of certain labour strata in a context of industrial change. The dimensions of economic restructuring relevant to gentrification encompass simultaneous changes in the functional and spatial division of labour. At the international and national scales, the deindustrialization of the developed economies (as low skill labour processes move off-shore), and the concentration of high level control functions in certain metropolitan areas (Williams refers to the emergence of "world cities"), determine a broad patterning of the spatial division of labour. Similar processes of polarization occur at the intra-urban scale, in consequence of long-term declining manufacturing employment and a growth in the tertiary and quaternary sectors. Central cities, once home to manufacturing activity, experience disinvestment. New manufacturing jobs take advantage of suburban locations, drawing with them lower middle income workers. There is continued centralization of decision-making functions along with ancillary "producer services" such as law and finance. Meanwhile, technological change has enabled the decentralization of "back office" functions and the lower paid, especially clerical, workers they employ. Thus a new spatial polarization in the labour force, by both industrial sector and occupational type, is established.

The rise of the bimodal urban labour market is the mechanism which underlies the growing "supply" of professional and managerial individuals who might have a propensity for inner city living (and simultaneously the disintegration of inner city working class communities which then become ripe for gentrification). This does not explain why a portion of these workers is no longer prepared to commute from the suburbs. Beauregard (1986) identifies shifts in occupational structure as merely a necessary condition for urban gentrification, and he invokes its contingent relations with changes in domestic organization and styles of consumption to explain the new patterns of spatial preference. However, there does indeed seem to be ample evidence that the incidence of gentrification is associated with economic indicators which represent the presence of potential gentrifiers, at the inter-urban level. For example, in his study comparing 22 Canadian cities, Ley (1986a) concludes that there are close linkages between metropolitan labour markets and housing markets, where the production of quaternary employees working downtown provides a "demand base for housing reinvestment in the inner city" (p. 532).

Despite the recognition of labour market change as a necessary condition for gentrification, references to changing occupation and class structure throughout the gentrification literature are meagerly endorsed with explicit reference to theories of class. It is clear, however, that gentrification is assumed to be associated with a particular fraction of the middle class. The following discussion considers some of the concepts of class which do seem to underlie accounts of gentrification. Following Williams (quoted above) I shall focus on the notion of the "new class" as the portion of the middle class which is of interest. We start with the classification of definitions of class as either gradational or relational (Ossowski 1963, Wright 1979a).

The gradational perspective considers quantitative differences along one dimension defined by a characteristic such as income, education or status.

Groups are differentiated according to the degree to which they possess the chosen characteristic. Reverse filtering and stage model accounts of gentrification portray the gentrified neighbourhood as moving "upwards" along some vertical dimension defined by the socioeconomic profile of its occupants. Ley (1985a) lists a number of studies which have used occupational status and income data to identify the incidence of gentrification. Even more sophisticated accounts, such as Rose's (1984), seem to find the shift from lower to higher income residents a key element of gentrification. It is not always clear whether the researcher intends us to treat these trends in empirical phenomena as direct measures of class in a gradational sense, or whether they are employed as approximate indicators of class as a relational concept. For instance, education level may be part of a gradational measure (such as a standard "socioeconomic status" index), or it may be interpretable in terms of the function played by educated people in a relational class system. Occupation may be treated the same way:

"The precise theoretical status of this occupational typology of classes is generally not very clear. Sometimes occupations are basically viewed as status categories; in that case this conception should rightfully be seen as one variant of the gradational view of class....In other situations, occupation is treated as a proxy for market capacity, and thus forms part of the definition of classes in terms of exchange relations....[or] by virtue of their location within the technical division of labour" (Wright 1979a:11).

This confusion arises in part from the difficulty of operationalizing a relational class theory in empirical work; Smith, for example, uses measures of change in employment structure and income distribution, "not as definitions of class but at best as indicators of class specificity" (Smith 1987:153). Despite his disclaimer, however, Smith mischievously equates the new middle class with "yuppies", a group "distinguished economically by disproportionate wealth....The ideology of the new middle class...includes its tales of latter-day Horatio Algiers who made it from the slums to Wall

Street or the City of London. That is why they are 'young upwardly mobile professionals'" (Smith 1987:154). This disregards the intriguing question of why gentrification involves groups of such diverse levels of affluence ranging from penurious artists to wealthy physicians. Thus the use of gradational models as proxies for relational conceptualizations of class can lead to slippage in theoretical clarity.

Of the class concepts which are relational--that is, where classes are defined in social relation to other classes--there are two primary divisions. These correspond to two "locations" in which classes are founded: market relations and production relations. Of those theories dealing with production relations, Wright (1979a) distinguishes three: production is analyzed in terms of the technical division of labour (occupational distinctions), in terms of domination (authority relations), and as a system of exploitation. The market conception of class is weberian; the production-based conceptions are associated with postindustrial theorists, the work of Dahrendorf, and marxist theory respectively. In the sections below, I focus first on some marxist attempts to theorize the middle class. This is followed by a discussion of weberian approaches in which the new class portion of the middle class has been highlighted. The significance of space to class structuration is drawn out in an argument similar to that applied to gender, and from that a perspective on gentrification and class is developed.

3.21 Marxist perspectives.

Orthodox marxism is silent on the nature of a middle class. Capitalist society is polarized between two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which are defined on the basis of common positions within the social relations of production. Middle classes are part of the working class, for they perform wage labour and do not own the means of production.

Such a two-class model clearly can shed little light on the more fragmented circumstances of gentrification (Williams 1986).

This is the situation at the highest level of abstraction--but Marx himself identified a multiplicity of different classes at the empirical level. The issue, then, is how analysis can make the transition from one level of understanding to the other. In their work on the relation between class and space, Thrift and Williams (1988) discuss this problem with reference to the distinction between different concepts used in class analysis. At the grandest scale, attention is directed to class structure, a system of class "places" which arises out of long-term changes in the social relations of production. The fundamental feature of class structure (the necessary relations of class relations) is the exploitative relations of production which sustains capitalist and labour classes. Thrift and Williams identify other relations of production which may be treated as determinants of class structure and which generate a distinctive system of class places (for example, see Wright's work discussed below). At a finer scale of resolution, however, the focus shifts from class structure to the formation of classes, which depends upon conditions of class conflict, class capacity, and class consciousness:

"class formation refers to how people are recruited to class places through institutions which are numerous, diverse and overlap....any analysis of class formation as a historically contingent process arising out of reciprocal actions must step outside the social relations of production and venture into the social relations of reproduction. Further, these social relations of production cannot be seen in the narrow sense as just concerned with the reproduction of labour power....'culture' rears its problematic head" (Thrift and Williams 1988:7-8).

We shall return to the formation of classes shortly. First, however, let us consider some attempts to locate a middle class in marxist class structure.

Poulantzas treats the new middle class as a new petty bourgeoisie (Poulantzas 1975). The working class comprises only manual, non-supervisory

workers, who are directly involved in the production of surplus value. The bourgeoisie are defined in terms of "Economic Ownership" (the power to assign the means of production to given uses) and "Possession" (the capacity to put the means of production into operation--that is, control over the physical operation of production). Managers fulfill the function of capital and hence are part of the bourgeoisie. Poulantzas assigns all those who fall under neither working class nor bourgeois categories to the petty bourgeoisie, a residual category with which they have an ideological unity.

Poulantzas claims to make economic criteria the principal determinants of membership in the working class. But, to the contrary, any deviations in political and ideological relations from those defined as qualities of the proletariat are always adopted by Poulantzas as justification for excluding a position from the working class, even if the position does produce surplus value (Wright 1978). Poulantzas assigns part of the new (middle) class to a new petty bourgeoisie, because they supposedly share a common ideology--for example, a common ideology of individualism.

This stress on ideology has been criticised on its own (marxist) terms; moreover, the supposedly shared ideology of individualism for the new and old petty bourgeoisie is of two different kinds (Wright 1978). The split of the categories of management from the new petty bourgeoisie is additionally disturbing to those who wish to apply the class theory to empirical phenomena such as gentrification, bearing in mind that gentrification has tended to involve managerial as well as professional employees. From the point of view of a new class and the complex social fragmentations and alliances expressed in gentrification, therefore, Poulantzas' treatment does not seem to be particularly useful.

Wright's own reworking of marxist class theory (his first one--I shall discuss the re-reworking later) also attempts to identify the position of the

middle class in a system defined fundamentally by relations of production (Wright 1978, 1979a). He identifies objectively contrary locations between the bourgeoisie, the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, where different dimensions of class relations do not coincide. Wright identifies three dimensions of production relations: economic ownership over the means of production (control over investments and the accumulation process) and possession (which is split into control over the physical means of production and control over the labour power of others). The bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie can each be defined by their control (or lack thereof) in every one of these processes; hence they occupy "unambiguous locations within class relations". But there are also locations with an internally incompatible combination of the interests of different classes. Managers both dominate and experience domination, and they occupy a position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Between the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are positions occupied by small employers. And between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat lie those positions representing "semiautonomous employees" who enjoy self-direction within the labour process--such as intellectuals (Wright 1979b).

Wright's (first) reworking of marxist class theory has stimulated the interest of at least one person interested in gentrification. The concept of contradictory class locations, claims Smith (1987a), seems to capture the ambiguous political allegiances of the new middle class, a group which "is pulled hither and thither by the economic aspirations of the class above them, the political potential of the class below them and the ideological dictates of their daily occupations" (p. 153). Gentrification itself is a process which seems to exemplify those ambiguities. For example, Williams (1986) notes the attraction to pioneer gentrifiers of living in a working class neighbourhood, of establishing a sense of solidarity with existing

residents and of pursuing a "progressive" politics in that context. He also describes the subsequent realization of the social gulf between newcomers and original residents as their contradictory experiences and expectations become manifest.

At this point, where class consciousness is raised, it is evident that relations outside production must be invoked to clarify the formation of classes at a less abstract level of analysis. In the context of a discussion on class struggle Wright admits:

"one can also talk about the structural capacity (and incapacity) of the working class [to struggle] which is rooted in community, i.e., the social relations among workers outside of production. Under certain circumstances, such community based linkages may be at least as important as social relations among workers within production" (Wright 1978:100).

But in his own work, Wright fails to develop the full significance of "cultural existence" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979a:325), and his tight focus on classes' relation to the means of production is not particularly helpful in understanding contemporary class formation. One consequence of this is that it is difficult to see how one could use Wright's highly abstract schema to interpret concrete phenomena such as gentrification. Smith offers few clues and his portrayal of Wright's theory papers over a major problem of application: that is, the three main clusters of contradictory class positions (each of which seems to represent a portion of the body of potential gentrifiers) are fragmented into three different (contradictory) locations. Much more sympathetic attention to cultural existence is required to draw out why there may be episodes of "solidarity" in these groups' actions, the historical and geographical flux of which must be explored in the context of contingencies with non-production based processes.

The third marxist approach I wish to discuss does move in the direction

of class formation as an historically contingent process, placing stress on some of the institutions significant in the recruitment to class, and on the forms of class conflict, organization and consciousness which underlie the existence of a new (middle) class. Analysing its role in the radical movement in the United States, Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich (1979b) propose that there is now a "Professional-Managerial Class" (PMC) completely distinct from the bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. This consists of "salaried mental workers who do not own the means of production and whose major function in the social division of labor may be described broadly as the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979b:12). Two basic defining characteristics of class are invoked: not only "a common relation to the economic foundations of society--the means of production and the socially organized patterns of distribution and consumption", but also "a coherent social and cultural existence; members of a class share a common life style, educational background, kinship networks, consumption patterns, work habits, beliefs" (p. 11). As well as incorporating the social and cultural conditions of class experience, the Ehrenreichs point to the problem that Wright's schema splits the PMC into subgroups:

"set off in their separate 'locations', the managers, professionals, 'intellectuals' and other PMC fragments have no possible common interest which might divide them from the working class, or common attributes which might be visible from the working class....PMC members can more or less decide which of the major classes...to line up with....the possibility that the working class might have something to say about it, or that the PMC groups might have some 'determinate' interests of their own, has been excluded" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979a:332).

By placing some theoretical weight on cultural considerations the Ehrenreichs are able to trace the rise and fall of social coherence between different new middle class "fragments"--specifically managers/engineers and liberal arts/service professionals. They acknowledge that a rift did develop

historically between these two fragments, but by considering attitudinal, employment and educational patterns they argue that the distinctions have been overdrawn. The various parts of the PMC seem to share a common and institutionalized way of life. In responding to critics of the PMC notion, Welch finds this a convincing depiction:

"Many of the critics were upset that the PMC included professionals and managerials [sic] together. By ignoring the 'social existence' of the class, as ephemeral superstructural fluff, they were able to argue that professionals and managers did not belong in the same class, because they did different work...The critics' objections would have been more convincing had they checked to see if professionals and managers often come from the same families; if they go to the same schools; if they marry each other; if they live in the same neighborhoods; if they read the same magazines; if they dress alike, in fashions promoted in those magazines; if they speak a similar language; if they belong to the same country clubs; if they take their vacations in the same places" (Welch 1979:189-90).

In his consideration of the geography of class in contemporary Britain, Thrift (1988) has drawn upon a version of the PMC in the form of a "service class" of top managers and professionals (Abercrombie and Urry 1983). As well as occupying a particular position with respect to production activity, the service class enjoys a type of employment relation centred on security, discretion and "trust" by employers of employees. While the service class has been formed by a number of processes and is therefore not "uniquely determined", it enjoys a certain unity in terms of its consumption interests and its culture. Thrift places particular stress on these latter aspects as channels through which class distinction is institutionalized and reproduced—for instance, through a stress on excellence in education, a distinctive attitude towards the environment, and the pursuit of positional consumption (of places such as Bath or Winchester, and of commodities such as Laura Ashley clothes).

The notions of the PMC and the service class represent attempts by marxist-oriented theorists to address the formation of classes at a finer

level of resolution and in terms of the important contingencies operating in particular times and places. But the very points which make them so applicable at the empirical level (to studies of gentrification, for instance) attract a critique in terms of the precise structure of class at higher levels of abstraction. In what sense are the PMC and the service class "classes" in any marxist sense? Wright aims his critique of the PMC at the logic of definition; he perceives the Ehrenreichs' problem as one of defining class by its function in the social division of labour, rather than by its structural position. First, structural position may not coincide with function: functions are not monopolized in distinct positions within a society; thus the function of reproduction, which is claimed to be the rationale for the PMC, is performed by all positions to some extent. Second, the performance of functions within, say, an ideological apparatus such as a church, is highly differentiated; why would a PMC position with substantial control over the performance of that function be placed in a class along with another PMC position with no such control? In response, the Ehrenreichs claim "the right to use the word 'class' in a way that has more to do with actual experience" (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979a:328).

In terms of a realist perspective, the approach of the production of gentrifiers has been one of abstracting from empirical events towards the fundamental social relations underlying gentrification--specifically gender and class relations. But, as we found in the discussion of gender, this soon brings us to a point at which the limits of abstraction become problematic. It becomes necessary to draw out the contingencies which define, empirically, the experience of class and gender--for example the dimensions of class consciousness in a particular class formation. Contrary to Wright's attack on the Ehrenreichs, Albert and Hahnel have criticized them for not taking far enough the implications of shared cultural existence. The Ehrenreichs are

too hasty in stressing the commonalities of the PMC:

"If the particular relations in one town make social workers there like other workers, while in another place they fill a more professional role and see their function as managing the lives of 'incompetent indigents', why should we ignore this for the convenience of a simpler theoretical exposition? If trade union leaders in one sector play a bureaucratic role of keeping the lid on worker resentment while in another they identify as workers combating capitalist oppression because of the different social relations and history of the two sectors and their unions, why ignore this to preserve a fixed 'vocational criterion?'membership in these groups is not merely a function of vocation. It depends upon the actual social relations of work a person daily encounters as well as other cultural and historical factors" (Albert and Hahnel 1979:261).

This call for a "localities" kind of approach suggests that space is significant to the restructuring of class. This possibility is examined below, following a discussion of the weberian perspective on the new class.

3.22 Weberian perspectives.

Most gentrification studies which make reference to class seem to be broadly weberian in perspective. A reason for this popularity may be that scholars working within this tradition have emphasised the changes in class formation, associated with transformations in industrial structure, which give rise to a new class and are played out in the realm of politics and in the consumption sphere.

Earlier in this section, the distinction was drawn between relational perspectives on class which focus on production relations, and those which focus on market relations. Weberian analysis falls largely (though not unambiguously) into the second of those categories. At the highest level of abstraction, the marxist and the weberian theories of class are theoretically distinct. Where notions of class are brought to bear on empirical details, however, the distinction is not so conspicuous. Weberian work seems to have lent itself to a more sympathetic acknowledgement of the fragmentation of daily life and--like the relationship between the marxist rent gap theory of

gentrification and the managerialist view of investment activity--the operationalization of marxist class theories often appears markedly weberian in flavour.

Weber equates class situation with market situation, defined by a person's possession of goods and opportunities for income. It is possible that an infinite number of economic classes may exist; however, the notion of social class is applied to a cluster of similar class situations which share common mobility chances. In the weberian model, status group affiliation defines an additional social dimension separate from class.

In extending the market-based theory of classes for the advanced capitalist societies, Giddens (1973) has carried forward the weberian concept of market capacity as determined by the possession of marketable skills. Giddens argues that capitalist society has a generic three-class system. The upper class is distinguished by possession of property, the working class by the possession of manual power, and the middle class by the possession of educational and technical qualifications. To explore how economic classes become social classes Giddens distinguishes sources of both mediate and proximate structuration of class relations. The mediate structuration depends on intervening factors which group people with similar market capacities into social classes. Fundamental to this is the degree of closure of mobility chances which determines the "gell" of class distinctions and "the formation of identifiable classes". Three sources of proximate structuration may reinforce class divisions defined by market relations; these are: the division of labour within the productive enterprise (especially between manual and non-manual workers); the authority relations within the enterprise; and the existence of "distributive groupings". The latter idea refers to a common pattern of consumption (as illustrated for instance by neighbourhood segregation), which itself reciprocally affects the

pattern of class positions.

Wright classifies weberian analysis as based upon market relations rather than production relations. However, the distinction is in reality less clear-cut, as evidenced by Gidden's stress on marketable skills which has a close correspondence with production-based analysis centred upon occupational category as the basis for class. Occupation can be treated as a proxy for market capacity, but is also reflective of location within the technical division of labour (Wright 1979a). Wright places the work of the postindustrial theorists under the second of these approaches. Notions of postindustrial society offer no particularly explicit theory of class, but they have been employed in a number of analyses of gentrification. I shall briefly sketch the dimensions of the postindustrial idea as promoted by Daniel Bell, and then use the work of one interpreter of urban change, David Ley, to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the thesis.

Bell (1976) has described certain emergent features of economy and social structure, politics and cultural change in the context of a "scientific and technological revolution". Key features of postindustrial society are the centrality of theoretical knowledge as an "axial principle", the shift in employment from predominantly goods-producing to predominantly service-producing sectors, the centrality of new science-based industries, and the spread of a "knowledge class" of technicians and professionals.

Bell (1976) makes various references to a "knowledge class", but its theoretical status is somewhat vague. At some points he refers to the "pre-eminence" (p. 14) of a new "elite" (p. 487); elsewhere he suggests that internal conflicts of interest make it unlikely that a coherent class will emerge. Class is defined (p. 361) as "a system that has institutionalized the ground rules for acquiring, holding, and transferring differential power and its attendant privileges" (this sounds similar to Giddens' reference to

the closure of mobility chances which defines the mediate structuration of classes). According to Bell, property, political position, and skill are all routes to the acquisition of power, with skill becoming increasingly significant as technical and professional occupations expand.

The postindustrial society, geographically expressed in the "postindustrial city", has been a motif of a number of gentrification studies. Ley (1980) identifies three postindustrial themes significant to urban change: the transformation of the economy with the rise of the service sector and the expansion of certain occupational categories, changes in cultural ideology, and changes in the political realm which involve a new set of urban actors and policy-makers. These come together with the emergence of a "theoretically significant group of actors" (Ley 1980:242) which is especially influential in the gentrification process: the new class.

Ley examines the dimensions of economic change for Vancouver (Ley 1980, 1981, 1985a). Here, tertiary and quaternary activities are growing rapidly, especially the highly ranked managerial, administrative, professional and technical positions; this growth is concentrated spatially in the downtown core. Such features of restructuring are translated into gentrification by two "routes". First, changes in the social and spatial division of labour boost the supply of "potential gentrifiers". The second route depends on the relationship between the economic trends, and new cultural and political developments. The cultural aspect takes the form of a rise in the "amenity ethic"; increased stress is placed on the realm of meaning, the quality of experience and the desire for self-fulfillment. This is carried through in a rise in political activity dedicated to preserving the quality of urban life, especially improving environmental aesthetics and promoting access to sensuous experiences especially in the realm of consumption. Some cities offer more of these possibilities than others, and Ley (1986a) finds it

significant that a postindustrial occupational structure seems to coincide with the presence of cultural and environmental amenities. In Vancouver, it is members of the new class of professionals and managers who have engaged in these cultural and political pursuits.

A number of criticisms have been levelled at the postindustrial thesis as it has been applied to urban change. For example, Walker and Greenberg (1982a) find no justification for treating "service industries" (which range from transportation and utilities to trade, finance, personal and professional services and so on) as a meaningful category. Confusion on this point is amplified by the fact that each industrial sector contains within it "white collar" and "blue collar" occupations, and the proportional shift in favour of the white collar workers is also represented as a distinguishing feature of postindustrialism. Distinctions between the industrial sector classification and the occupational strata classification are sometimes confused (for example, the terms "tertiary" and "quaternary" conventionally refer to portions of the service sector, yet they are also employed to refer to the professional, technical and managerial occupational categories (see Ley 1985a:26-7)). A more fundamental problem is the basis upon which both industrial and occupational structure are bisected (industries into goods and services, occupations into white and blue collar). Walker and Greenberg note the integral involvement of service functions in commodity production. Ley reiterates by pointing out that, "the existence of the service sector and a middle class are inconveniences to an abstract typology which requires capitalist, laborers and an economy of nineteenth century industrial production" (Ley 1982:34).

While the critics of the postindustrial city in the early 1980s claimed that "Marx cannot be supplanted by Weber" (Walker and Greenberg 1982b:39), some marxist-oriented geographers (including Walker) have since then taken a

more sympathetic view of the complex formation of classes in contemporary society. The term "postindustrial" suggests areas of both continuity and change from one period to the next (Ley 1982); it does not suggest a rupture from capitalist society, but neither does it represent merely "superficial changes" in the enduring social relations of capitalism.²

In his Vancouver study Ley (1980) connects economic change to changes in the cultural and political realms. The emergent expressive culture is politicized through the rise of reform movements led by a professional-managerial elite. The three dimensions--socioeconomic, cultural and political--coalesce in a vision of a "new class". It is not clear whether or not Ley sees the three dimensions as necessarily related; in any case, the existence of a distinctive new class seems to depend upon at least a cultural identity as well as an economic foundation. The theoretical status of Bell's "knowledge class" is equally ambiguous; he, however, insists that there is no necessary relationship between socioeconomic change, and cultural ideology and political practice:

"the concept of post-industrialism is an effort to identify a change in the social structure. But there is no necessary correlate...between the changes in that realm as against changes in the other two analytical dimensions of a society, that of politics and culture" (Bell 1976:114).

Despite these protestations a large part of the argument over the existence of postindustrial society has centred on the possible connections between this occupational category, its ideology and its power. As Ley's studies indicate, the notion of the new class seems useful to the explanation of gentrification precisely because of such empirical connections. Ley's formulation is perhaps closer to that of Gouldner (1979), who defines the new class by its cultural role and what that implies for its market position. The new class is a cultural bourgeoisie which controls "cultural capital" (special languages, techniques and skills). Capital is defined, in weberian

terms, as "any produced object used to make saleable utilities, thus providing its possessor with incomes" (p. 21)--in other words, market assets. Gouldner sees the emergence of two parts of the new class: technical intelligentsia, and the humanistic intellectuals. Together they contest old class ideas, and these arenas of conflict include the protection of consumer rights, reform movements for openness in government, the ecology movement, and Women's Liberation (a list of cultural and political issues which duplicates many of the themes Ley identifies for new class ideology in Vancouver). Despite the distinctions between the intelligentsia and the intellectuals, Gouldner identifies their commonality in their Culture of Critical Discourse, a set of rules about a situation-free and reflexive discourse: "critical speech requires that the validity of claims be justified without reference to the speaker's social position or authority....Good speech here thus has theoreticity" (p. 28). Its possession of knowledge and skills, its critique of the establishment, makes the new class a progressive force for emancipation. Yet Gouldner names it the "Flawed Universal Class": the new class' flaw is its formation of a new elite by employing its cultural capital to advance its own interests. Ley, too, has discovered this moral ambiguity in Vancouver: while promoting humane alternatives to the establishment traditions of urban planning, policies pursued by the new class-dominated civic reform party had undesirable social consequences for other groups, leading eventually to the party's collapse in a context of rising popular conservatism.

A similar backlash against the new class has occurred amongst American neoconservatives, who portray new class liberalism and the "oppositional" or "adversarial" culture as a selfish strategy for grasping power and status.³ It is, of course, to the advantage of critics to adopt a narrow definition of the new class which personifies its cultural excesses (one that, in

particular, excludes managers and the business elite); Bazelon describes that neoconservative tactic as "the creation and slaughter of a class enemy" (1979:445). Bell himself insists that there need be no connection between occupation and cultural and political values. Other studies of new class ideology (Brint 1984; Wuthnow and Shrum 1983) have not established any consistent relationship between the new class and oppositional culture, thus suggesting that its apparent liberalism has had more to do with society-wide tendencies than with class relations. Certainly, as Bell points out, there are different portions of the new class which might demonstrate divergent views on some issues (the managers versus the professional-technical portions, for instance; and the humanistic intellectuals versus the technical intelligentsia in Gouldner's definition of the new class).

What one makes of this complex picture of ideological (dis)unity depends on how significant one believes shared consciousness is to the identification of a class. Bell appears to have found it important. He has developed the idea of a disjuncture between the three spheres of economic/social order, polity and culture. While these were historically bound into a structurally interrelated whole underwritten by the transcendental justification of the Protestant ethic, today each is guided by contrary and divergent principles. Bell sees increased tension between the cultural and the social order, and on that basis he critiques the notion of the new class: the term "mixes together two concepts: the emergence of a new social stratum and the stridency of a cultural attitude" (Bell 1980:144). Clearly, Bell has a rather demanding set of conditions for the identification of class, to which the new class cannot measure up: "To be useful for the modern world", he writes,

"a definition of class has to be found in the social structure in some institutional arrangement providing the basis for differential position and power/authority/influence and reward. And it must comprise, as well, a cultural outlook providing a coherent view, a common consciousness, and, implicitly, some legitimation for the

class itself. In brief, a 'class' exists when there is a community and continuity of institutional interest and an ideology that provides symbols of recognition (or codes of behavior) for its members" (Bell 1980:155).

On the question of common consciousness and shared interests Bell makes much of the distribution of new class members among a number of situses (economic enterprises, government, universities, social complexes, and the military). In the competition for resources, new class interests would be split on the basis of their membership in these institutions. "In short, if there is any significance to the idea of a 'new class'...it cannot be located in social-structural terms; it must be found in cultural attitudes. It is a mentality, not a class" (p. 161).

That economic and cultural affiliations do not necessarily coincide is a point to appreciate, and Bell's critique calls into question the whole neoconservative alarm over the new class threat. There are, however, problems with Bell's position. He writes: "in terms of status...the knowledge class may be the highest class in the new society, but in the nature of that structure there is no intrinsic reason for this class...to become a new economic interest class, or a new political class which would bid for power" (1976:374); (this passage conveys a good sense of the confusion arising from Bell's loose application of the term "class"). If the new class fails as a candidate for a real class because it does not share objective interests, however, we need to consider the distinction between potential fundamental interests, and immediate class interests within a given structure of social relations. In the immediate competition for resources, members of the new class may indeed have no common immediate objectives, but within broader horizons there may be some identifiable shared interests; in fact, Bell already raises (and dismisses) a possible candidate in the form of "meritocracy". The fact that meritocracy is fundamentally flawed as an

ideology (it dissolves one privileged class only to erect another in its place) does not seem an adequate reason for dismissing it out of hand as an objective interest of the new class. Indeed it captures some of the ambiguities of reformism and liberalism which are empirically evident.

According to Bazelon, Bell is too hasty in dismissing the new class:

"he abandoned the term to neoconservative misuse, rather than contesting the territory...the New Class, if it exists, is emergent and certainly not a fully matured class....Accepting it undistorted, we can get on with the longer, larger effort of monitoring the rich internal variety (and conflict) it presents. Otherwise it devolves to neoconservative cartooning" (Bazelon 1979:446,447).

While Bell insists that the new class is not a class, Ley seems happy to treat it so, and his depiction of the new class in Vancouver depends specifically on the connections between cultural and political expression and socioeconomic structure. Whereas Ley draws out the relations between these different realms, Bell denies them. These need not, however, be contradictory positions, if Bell is prepared to look to the contingencies of class formation instead of defining a strict structural position for the new class in his postindustrial system. Implicit in Ley's work--and perhaps more explicit in Thrift's description of the service class--is the structuration of class.

3.23 Class structuration.

The highly abstract formulations of class offered by neomarxists such as Wright, along with Bell's analytical paring away of the new class, both commit,

"the failure to analyse...'class structuration' as a variable phenomenon involved in the interconnections between economy and society. Class divisions cannot be drawn like lines on a map, and the extent to which class structuration occurs depends upon the interaction of various sets of factors" (Giddens 1973:273).

In fact, this critique has been directed quite explicitly at Wright, who "fails to take the idea of structuration to heart, and in the end has merely

inserted boxes between boxes at the empirical level" (Walker 1985:167)--the inevitable result of a focus on class structure at a relatively abstract level of resolution.

While marxist-oriented geographers interested in theories of class (such as Walker and Greenberg 1982a) have in the past tended to leap to the defence of the most abstract two-class model, there is a growing recognition that processes of class formation vary spatially and historically. Consequently, the existence of class "boundaries" cannot be settled in abstracto (Giddens 1973:110). At the level of empirical work, scholars working from both weberian and marxist perspectives deal with similar issues of class formation (for example, Ley and Thrift). As Thrift and Williams (1988) indicate, these issues centre on conditions for class conflict, capacity and consciousness, which have a high degree of geographical and historical contingency. Ley's new class of 1970s Vancouver, for instance, emerged as a distinctive and powerful social group at that place and time because of a particular mix of opportunities which allowed it to consolidate (he mentions the triumph of Liberalism at a national scale, to which also must be added the relatively buoyant economy with its opportunities for trade, travel and "cosmopolitanism").

In his most recent work, Wright too has been drawn to such issues:

"The class structure may define the terrain of material interests upon which attempts at class formation occur, but it does not uniquely determine the outcomes of those attempts....[The outcome] will depend upon a range of factors that are structurally contingent to the class structure itself" (Wright 1984:404).

Wright has begun to explore the ground between neomarxist and postindustrial perspectives, suggesting certain points of convergence between the two theories. I believe these points of convergence are particularly helpful to understanding the emergence of new geographies--the new spaces of gentrification for instance--because they incorporate an appreciation of the

transformations of the postindustrial economy, whilst also establishing a set of objective criteria for class interests which may enter into the process of class structuration. Wright's new argument (Wright 1984, 1985; Wright and Martin 1987) focuses on terrains of material interests. Critiquing his earlier treatment of the middle classes (particularly the emphasis placed on relations of domination), Wright explores different relations of exploitation, which depend on the unequal distribution of productive assets. At the most abstract level, exploitation in capitalism is based in the ownership of capital (expressed in the capital-labour relation) and takes the form of appropriation of surplus in the form of profits. But at lower levels of abstraction, there are other mechanisms of exploitation, based on two sets of assets: control of organization assets, and ownership of skill assets. Surplus is appropriated in the form of, in the first case, a "loyalty dividend" achieved by managers and, in the second component, in a rent component of the wage obtained by experts. The middle class thus becomes redefined as those positions which exploit along one dimension of production relations but are exploited along another. For example, managers are organization exploiters but capitalistically exploited; experts (which replace the previous category of "semiautonomous workers") are skill exploiters but capitalistically exploited.

As Wright acknowledges, this analysis of experts suggests a partial convergence on weberian definitions of class based on market capacity--though he does point out some distinctions including the focus on exploitation rather than life chances, and the fact that control over productive assets is a more fundamental notion than the outcome of market transactions as a basis for class definitions. With this new theory, Wright argues,

"The middle class ceases to be a residual category or a relatively

ad hoc amendment to the class map....middle classes are defined by the same relations that define the polarized classes themselves; the difference lies in the ways those relations are structurally combined in the concrete institutional forms of a given society" (Wright 1984:416).

Taking the United States as the example, Wright and Martin (1987) explicitly address the question of how the "scientific and technological revolution" has affected class structure. Postindustrial theories predict a trend of deproletarianization and an expansion especially of expert positions. Marxist theories suggest a trend of increasing proletarianization. Wright and Martin's findings indicate increased rates of expansion of managerial and expert positions, more consistent with the postindustrial hypothesis. They conclude that marxist and postindustrial theories would only be incompatible, "if the effects of the material conditions posited in postindustrial theory cannot be theorized in class terms" (p. 23), which they claim to have accomplished by the exploitation-centred theory of class.

The expansion of managerial and expert class locations is described as manifestation of a rise within capitalism of what Wright and Martin call postcapitalist classes. Postcapitalist classes are.

"rooted in control over two crucial kinds of productive resources--organizational assets and skill assets...both of which become increasingly salient as the forces of production develop. The logic of capitalist development, therefore, generates a trajectory of technical changes that expand the material basis of postcapitalist class relations" (Wright and Martin 1987:24).

The postcapitalist class appears to enjoy a theoretical status similar to that of the precapitalist class (petty bourgeoisie) which continues to exist within capitalism. Wright offers a typology of class structures from feudalism to socialism, and the rise of experts and managers indicates the emergence of mechanisms of exploitation, by organization and skill assets, which will dominate in the postcapitalist types of class structures (bureaucratic socialism and socialism). Wright and Martin note that other

analyses (such as Gouldner (1979)) have emphasized the anticapitalist potential in such "'postindustrial' classes" (Wright and Martin 1987:24n). Thus they make explicit acknowledgement of the potential for cross-fertilization between marxist and weberian work on class.

As Wright's (1984) comparison of the United States and Sweden suggests, the variable distribution of what he terms "postcapitalist classes" has important implications for social change. The next section will discuss briefly the significance of geographically-specific class systems. I have suggested earlier that we employ the notion of the postpatriarchal mode of gender relations as a heuristic for understanding the context within which the "production of gentrifiers" has occurred. A parallel term for class relations seems appropriate. Rather than using Wright and Martin's term ("postcapitalist"), which seems to imply (given its context) an historical trajectory towards full communism, I will talk of a postindustrial mode of class relations. This term has already entered the discourse on urban change and gentrification, and I wish to employ it here to underscore the effect of changing relations of production on class structuration, specifically the emergence of a middle class fraction which can be called the "new class".

3.3 GEOGRAPHY, CLASS AND GENDER.

In following the lead of the production of gentrifiers literature, we have "unpacked" gentrification to the critical relations of class and gender, corresponding to the spheres of production and reproduction. Gentrification, and gentrified neighbourhoods, were assumed to be conjunctures of change occurring in these apparently independent spheres. As Beauregard (1986) implies, it is the intersection of changes in class structure and gender relations which has produced a particular group of households with propensities for inner city living.

This has proved a useful exercise in a field of study which is top-heavy with naive descriptions of "typical gentrifiers" and largely unable to say much about process without moving too far in the opposite direction towards overly-structuralist accounts. However, while an advance in understanding had to start by reducing gentrification, a quality of space, into its important components and dissolving it as an object of theorization in its own right, this process of abstraction can only carry us so far. Geographers interested in class or gender have found that some of the most interesting questions are about contingency--of, for example, the restructuring of production with existing forms of domestic organization and the traditions of behaviour laid down in previous rounds of economic change, which together account for the outcome in a particular place.

In his comments on the relevance of class to the understanding of gentrification, Williams (1986) has argued that we must trace not only the significance to geographical change of the structuring of class (the passive contingency effects of the patterns described in the previous section) but also the significance to the structuring of class of geographical change: "an understanding of gentrification offers real insights into the nature of class constitution as an active and mediated process" (Williams 1976:73). Mackenzie (1986) has opened the door for the same scrutiny of gender when she speaks of the environment as a component of gender constitution. In the structuration of both class and gender as components of the experience of everyday life, then, the contingencies offered by geographical differentiation are crucial. I wish, in the remainder of this chapter, to consider the implications of this for an agenda of research. Since it, too, has been influenced by realist ideas in geography, a review of how the structuring of class and of gender has been addressed in the localities literature suggests some points of transfer to the analysis of

gentrification.

The early focus of this localities literature was directed largely upon production relations. Urry, for instance, described the spatial variation in class structure which depended on the form of capital dominant in different parts of Britain (Urry 1981a). This limited depiction of class acting upon space has been extended by a growing interest in processes of the formation of classes. According to Thrift and Williams, this points to how the mix of local institutions (both production- and reproduction-based) within which people establish social relations defines how they are recruited to class positions:

"the current interleaving of geography with class analysis has changed the nature of how classes can be thought about. Most significantly of all, classes can no longer be thought of as unified and uniquely determined objects set in an abstract spaceless realm....the relations of production (and reproduction) do not float above places. They are constituted within them" (Thrift and Williams 1988:13).

Walker, too, points to the significance of local experience to the constitution of class: "Spatial contiguity and the traditions of place-bound groups, both in workplaces and in communities, are very important bases for the kind of experience and knowledge that clarify class relations--which is why one finds that coal-miners are frequently the most class-conscious of workers" (1985:187).

Civil society (Urry 1981b) is comprised of sets of structured, institutionalized social practices which tend to provide the context for a reproduction of social relations. Work carried out on the practices which define local gender relations has helped to turn the geography of restructuring to the contemplation of civil society. Feminist scholars have broadened locality studies to encompass not only the (waged) workplace, but also the spheres of home and the community (Bowlby et al 1986). Within each sphere of life, gender and class identities are established, negotiated and

reproduced. For example, in recruiting a new, previously unwaged labour force, employers may be able to make use of existing definitions of women's "personality" to type and segregate jobs as feminine jobs. Once sex-typed, a job is no longer an "empty place" but is defined by the gender of the person who fills it (Murgatroyd 1985) (for example, whether it is defined as skilled or unskilled). And, reciprocally, the person (and the gender) is defined by the job that is filled. These processes are tied to simultaneously-operating processes in home and community. In a comparison of the effect of the gender division of labour on the character of different communities, Mark Lawson et al (1985) trace the effect of sex-segregation in the workplace on the success of local social movements in influencing the level of welfare provision offered by the local state. This study suggests the operation of locally-specific social processes arising from the coalition of interests which has developed over time in unique localities. Shifting the focus away from the formal economy, the interpenetration of public and private spheres is also illuminated by Pahl (1980, 1985), who connects the effect of economic recession and the falling demand for wage labour to strategies of household survival. These involve an expansion of the informal economy and changes in the organization of domestic work especially when opportunities for female employment expand while those for men contract. Traditions of women's domestic roles have a "cultural lag" effect on the form of readjustment with which different types of households are able to respond to economic conditions. "Household-work strategies thus reflect the dialectical relationship between material conditions and cultural values mediated in specific milieux" (Pahl 1985:263). Hence definitions of gender may be renegotiated or reproduced depending on the prevailing economic and cultural conditions, the "personality" of the place to which Pahl refers.

With the spotlight turned on the meaning of activities which define

gender identity there could be a welcome firming of the links between feminist and humanistic concerns to which Mackenzie (1986) refers. Fine-grained ethnographies might be the best method to explore "exactly how different forms of social experience are sedimented in particular places" (Urry 1986:241). Brownill (1984) shows the direction that research can usefully take. Her ethnographic account of Saltley, Birmingham, explores the split cultures of men's and women's lives in a working class community, and how these were reinforced by a tacit ideological distinction drawn between the public and private realms. This ideology of masculinity and femininity infiltrated the experience of those women who did take up waged labour; with employers reluctant to hire women, and the ideals of domesticity thoroughly internalized, women could accept only those jobs which could be reconciled with maintaining a "respectable" role in the private sphere. Brownill concludes with some lessons for urban studies in general and a critique of reductionist analyses in particular:

"the analytical separation of distinct spheres is fallacious at the level of individual lives; in reality each contains the conditions of existence of the other. It becomes clear, therefore, that a strict adherence to rigid and contrasted concepts is little more than theoretical terrorism and that we should be aiming for a more flexible approach towards theory and its relation to practice....It is in this way that a feminist challenge to urban studies is particularly creative, for if such an approach is followed, a new movement and flow between empirical work, concepts, and theory...would become possible" (Brownill 1984:32).

Brownill's study draws us "down" to the level of the intra-urban neighbourhood; and it also draws together social being and consciousness by focusing on the key institutions of community, family and factory, and their role in reproducing patterns of behaviour:

"Particular practices, encapsulating social relations, are generated by institutions which provide people with other people to intermix with through the course of their lives; home, work, school, shop and so on. These practices impart accounts of the world, drawing upon particular institutional stocks of knowledge in doing so" (Thrift and Williams 1988:16).

These accounts of the world are the building blocks for the identity of the individual as a social being:

"individuals are not present 'always-already' as subjects, but...they have to be formed as such through social experience. Further, the process of constitution of subjectivity is achieved through language, through the positioning it accords to individuals within particular discursive formations....through their position within various discourses, individuals view themselves and act as autonomous centres of creativity, consciousness and initiative. They are thus determined as conscious and self-reflexive, to act as autonomous, whole and independent subjects" (Urry 1981b:72).

Since social experience necessarily varies historically and geographically, so do the bases and processes of subjectification and the kinds of subjects which emerge. The "personality" of the place is reciprocally entangled with the personality of its people.

In sum, while it is initially useful to treat the relations of class and of gender as theoretically independent, the method of abstraction is by itself unable to capture the personality of a particular place which shapes the outcome of structural change on the ground. Class or gender are always experienced as more than their necessary and internal relations. The nature of the conventional middle class, for example, has been bound up with a notion of respectable family life (including the proper place of women), and beyond that to a consensus about appropriate places--the suburban residence for instance. From this emerges a pattern of behaviour which combines theoretically independent forces into a model of living to be emulated. Thus the next generation is socialized, and "local" people (those sharing a discursive formation) are saturated with a common "account of the world" which shows them how to live. It is, of course, the meaningful quality of a pattern of life which allows it to act as a model. This is the dimension of social life which has been neglected by the production of gentrifiers literature. The work on localities has begun to suggest just how important

it is to understand local culture.

Through the localities project, geographers are increasingly aware of how spatial variations in class and gender relations frame the contexts within which individuals must choose their own life-paths. Most recently, this work has confirmed the significance of place as the container of social experiences which constitute social beings--their self-definitions by class, gender and other possible formations. It is necessary now to transfer these lessons to a programme for studying gentrification. It should be emphasized that I am not arguing that gentrified neighbourhoods are equivalent to localities; the locality idea focuses on dividing up space into places, whereas the debate over whether gentrification is a valid social object centres on dividing processes into practices. Nevertheless, our explanation of gentrification can be advanced if we think in terms of different layers of understanding, similar to those emerging from the localities literature (Duncan 1986). I propose that gentrification can be approached in three forms. First, gentrification is a conjuncture of contingent social processes, the structuring of class and gender which I convey in terms of the postindustrial and the postpatriarchal modes. Second, gentrification is a context for negotiating social conduct and a setting for social practice. Third, gentrification is a constituent in the construction of social identity, a socially-constituting quality of space which mediates the meaning of practice and the meaning of place.

3.4 AGENDA FOR INVESTIGATING GENTRIFICATION.

The remainder of this thesis is dedicated to illuminating the three layers of gentrification.

3.41 Gentrification as a conjuncture of contingent social processes.

The first and most familiar task is to extend the production of

gentrifiers approach to gentrification as a chaotic concept, and to identify how the contingent relations of class and gender cross-cut in social space to produce gentrifiers. The restructuring of class and gender relations are, independently, necessary but not sufficient conditions for gentrification. The new class, for example, would repeat the conventional pattern of suburban migration if it were not mediated by changes in gender relations, which thus isolate one portion of that new class with a propensity for inner city living. In Chapters 4 and 5 we shall explore the significance to the restructuring of urban space of the postindustrial mode of class relations, and the postpatriarchal mode of gender relations.

This is the level of passive contingency effects, and the simplest level at which a production of gentrifiers approach can (and has tended to) operate. For example, Villeneuve (1986) looks at "relations between relations" in Quebec City. Gender, employment and property relations are each defined as necessary or internal relations, and then the cross-cutting of the three is explored by means of statistical analysis. Apparently, gentrification is associated with a triple polarization effect associated with these three sets of relations. At a national scale, Ley's (1986a) study sets the tone for further analysis at the statistical level (see Chapter 4).

3.42 Gentrification as a context for negotiating social conduct.

Rose's work (1984) offers a model for taking the analysis of gentrification to the second level. While the first level asks how gentrifiers are produced, here the question is "how do gentrifiers produce themselves?" The choice to be a gentrifier is a choice about style of living which is firmly constrained by a set of material limits. People are situated within a web of social forces which, as it undergoes a phase shift, exerts unfamiliar stresses and pressures. In response, individuals must construct a

style of living, drawing upon resources and opportunities which may only now be accessible with the new patterning of social relations. The nature of this process can only be uncovered with a more ethnographic method of research.

In the context of changing class and gender relations, a number of strategies are available with which people can deal with the novel problems and opportunities that now present themselves. Two strategies in particular seem very relevant to the emergence of gentrification, and they shall be the focus of Chapter 6, which describes the gentrifiers of a case study neighbourhood in Vancouver.

First, as should already be clear, there is an environmental strategy. Living in a nonconventional environment may be a way of solving simultaneously a set of complicated considerations about economic and social life. Rose cites the following as examples of considerations which, arising themselves from a restructuring of production and reproduction, might promote gentrification: the delay of childbearing and the growing incidence of divorce, the curtailment of opportunities for increased household income over time and the need for two earners to raise a mortgage, the changing patterns of female employment, the underemployment of young educated people, the difficulties of living in conventional suburban environments for unconventional households such as gay or single parent households. Rose concludes that the attractions of inner city living "may relate to the presence of considerable need among such groups and should not therefore be viewed in mere 'life-style' terms" (Rose 1984:65). From this she has developed the notion of "marginal gentrifiers".

But it is not just the economically less favoured individuals who have to construct strategies for coping. After all, the most materially favoured people are also involved in negotiating for the fulfillment of their "needs".

If a couple decides it is important that both partners establish their own careers prior to or in preference to raising a family, then the conventional suburban home may be an impediment to the achievement of their goals. An inner city condominium could be the option offering the setting and props most appropriate for the successful conduct of their chosen life path. Here, then, there is a subtle interplay of desires and need which is perhaps less evident than for the straitened circumstances in which Rose's marginal gentrifiers are placed. However, as Rose allows, there is only a fine distinction between the "mainstream" moderate income gentrifier and the marginal gentrifier, given current conditions of house-price inflation and the curtailment of opportunities for increasing household income over time. Young educated professionals, for example, do not indulge in gentrification just for the sake of amusement, but may be finding "creative ways of responding to new conditions of paid and unpaid work and worsening economic conditions" (Rose 1984:63).

In addition to the environmental strategy, and closely interlinked, are a range of tactics which involve adjusting features of one's private life. At the end of section 3.1, I warned against treating changes in the family or the household as predetermined and independent variables. Transformations in gender relations, mediated by changing economic circumstances, necessitate a response at the level of private life involving the composition and nature of constellations of inter-personal relations. Pahl's study of changing strategies of household survival constitutes an exemplar in the geographical-related work (Pahl 1980, 1985). We might usefully draw from the family studies literature to help in this project; let me sketch out some possibilities here.

Three important classes of decision that an adult may have to make with respect to household and family life seem to be particularly relevant. The

first concerns the choice over living arrangements, and the question of marital status. Deciding to remain single, to cohabit, to live alone, to marry, to separate or to divorce are key nodes in the life path of the adult, and the frequency and timing of switches between these statuses are shifting (note also that they may be combined in various new ways). The second set of decisions relates to fertility behaviour and the composition of the family. Third, there is the organization of domestic life, the distribution of roles amongst members of the household and their articulation with the public realm, especially the sphere of employment. Common descriptions of gentrifiers tend to emphasize their deviation from normative patterns in terms of marital status (singles, unmarried cohabitants including gays, and divorcees seem to be overrepresented), their fertility (low, or at least delayed), and their domestic life (less specialized forms of partnership and the higher frequency of dual-career marriages). We should read these images in terms of the emergence of a new "pattern" of living which is a solution to the challenges and opportunities posed by economic and social change. The pattern combines an environmental strategy with a strategy of domestic life, neither of which is the independent variable: rather each is crucial to the performance of the other. Let us explore a little further the decisions which pave the way to this pattern.

Use of the term "decisions" should be taken to cover "non-decisions" as well. Such a possibility is exemplified by childless couples, who are well-represented amongst gentrifiers. A large proportion of childless couples do not reject parenthood prior to marriage, but instead decide repeatedly to postpone childbearing (Veevers 1980). The reasons for postponement encompass both "reactive" factors (the disadvantages of having children) and "attractant" factors (the advantages of the adult-centred lifestyle) (Veevers 1976). With respect to the second set of factors, Veevers argues that

childbearing may be postponed for such reasons as commitment to an occupation, or various "self-actualization" projects. These partnerships seem to enjoy less specialized sex roles, which could be both consequence and cause of childlessness. This set of factors underscores changing "lifestyle preferences" which develop with new values about relations between men and women and the nature of personal life. However, while there can be no doubt that there have been shifts in fertility norms and in the sets of expectations and sanctions tied to different ways of life, and that these may be well-exemplified by gentrifiers, we must also take to heart Rose's warning against the treatment of lifestyle as a matter of "unbridled choice" (Rose 1984:65). The "alternative life-styles" she describes for gentrifiers are more than fashions: they "symptomise attempts...to find creative ways of responding to new conditions of paid and unpaid work and worsening economic conditions" (p. 63). This is the playing out of contingency, as the domestic world is mediated by the economic sphere. The relationship between fertility norms and economic conditions is, of course, well-documented both historically and geographically. For contemporary western societies it may be acknowledged that, "the sense of what is 'appropriate' behavior for men and women has changed....we should be concerned not only with understanding the processes that relate work and fertility, but also with how these processes differ among successive cohorts" (Sweet 1982:215). In terms of the experience of the current young adult cohort, Rose has pointed to the curtailment of opportunities for advancement previously taken for granted amongst young professionals, especially those employed in the public sector; gentrification for them, she suggests, may be a matter of exclusion from more traditional white-collar housing markets. Sweet also points to housing costs, mortgage debt, and high interest rates as elements of housing supply which merit further study as an influence on fertility behaviour.

The reactive factors to which Veevers (1976) refers include the postponement of childbearing as a couple establishes some measure of economic security. Wilkie (1981) finds that American women who delay childbearing are motivated largely by financial considerations; women in less traditional jobs also must bear in mind the opportunity costs of parenthood for career advancement. "Young women", she argues, "are seeking new ways to combine work and family roles" (p. 585), and these include strategies of delaying childbearing or remaining childless by choice. Further empirical work is required to examine how important such constraints are in the "production of gentrifiers".

The interconnection of spheres of life, in which reproductive plans and career plans vary in response to changing objective conditions and experiences, calls for a research focus on the dynamics of negotiation which structure patterns of social life and spatial form. On the characteristics of the "family in post-industrial society", Larson (1976) suggests a connection between domestic life and the development of certain occupational options:

"The contacts and requirements of professional opportunism require 'extra work' during 'non-work' time which militates against family activities....Under these conditions, the responsibilities and opportunities of family life may become options in a field of options" (Larson 1976:370).

As an illustration, Carisse (1976) traces the life-paths of "innovative women". Noting that women will experience conflict by outstepping conventional roles, Carisse describes the "strategic deviations" from normative patterns invented in order to adapt, including a lesser propensity to marry. To be adaptable, a society must be "morphogenic", it must "create new patterns of behavior in answer to new situations" (Carisse 1976:384). And in constructing new models of living, these women have "succeeded in creating meaning, both for themselves and for society" (p. 391).

Negotiations over choices of marital status and fertility can, like housing choice, be understood as strategies for articulating one's family life with the broader context. The negotiation theme, however, can also be applied at another level, that of relationships within the conjugal unit. According to Scanzoni's exchange perspective, one's performance in the economic system gives access to bargaining power in the form of resources which can be exchanged within the conjugal unit for a measure of power (Scanzoni 1972). The distribution of rights and duties between partners determines the level of stability of the marriage and is the key to future changes in marriage patterns. Traditional forms of marriage enjoyed a level of stability and satisfaction because they rested upon a spontaneous consensus about the rewards and duties expected of a husband and a wife. His duties lay predominantly in the instrumental sphere--that is, he provided income and status derived from participation in the occupational system; her duties were expressive--providing affection and sexual gratification--as well as instrumental in the performance of household tasks including child rearing. As Scanzoni (1977) demonstrates, the balance and distribution of these gender-defined duties and rights has changed to a point at which their performance is less spontaneous, more problematic. Conventional institutionalized norms are no longer adequate to structure behaviour fully, in particular as role alternatives are increasingly opened to women. With these changes, bargaining becomes necessary; and this operates at both the "general policy" level--for example, if a couple can agree that their careers are equally important--and at the "policy outworking" level--for example, whether and when to have children, what to consume, and where to live:

"In traditional arrangements, there was consensus that the couple lived as near as possible to his employment. Within egalitarian settings where both are employed, a complex set of negotiations...now becomes requisite to determine if they should live nearer to his or to her job. Who should commute the greater

distance? Will they have to maintain separate dwellings during the week?" (Scanzoni 1977:186).

The exchange perspective would seem to offer some insights into the processes of changing residential structure in conjunction with the emergence of new patterns of domestic life. Its atomistic individualism, however, has been contradicted by an alternative theory of role homophily (Simpson and England 1982) in which similarity of spouses' roles is seen to generate, rather than undermine, marital solidarity. Commonality in social outlooks contributes to enhanced communication and companionship; satisfaction derives from equality of power and flexible sex-role differentiation--though, ironically, such conditions also grant partners greater ability to dissolve marriages. This perspective may be more in tune with findings on dual-career couples (Rapoport and Rapoport 1976), where "coping" involves the development of strategies which frequently require the ability to compromise. These may include "role cycling" where partners arrange for their careers to "peak" at different times, reducing workhours or limiting "work overflow" outside office hours, deciding not to have children, or adjusting long-term professional aspirations (Malmaud 1984). Drawing on the concept of synergy, where two people have arranged their relationship so one person's advantage is the other person's advantage--rather than disadvantage, Malmaud suggests that negotiation between partners need not be a zero-sum game. Whether gentrification is an environmental strategy which enables this to occur is a matter for empirical investigation.

This second level of investigating gentrification calls for a resurrection of the gentrifier as an active participant in the structuring of social and geographical space. Two sets of strategies have been outlined: first, the environmental, in which gentrification is seen as a possible solution to certain economic and social constraints; second, the social, with

respect to the organization of private life, in which people establish an articulation between the realms of work and of gender norms. Here we deal with the emergence of new patterns of living which enter into the cultural vocabulary as models to be drawn upon in the negotiation of satisfying and meaningful lives. Chapter 6 investigates these themes in the context of a particular gentrified neighbourhood.

3.43 Gentrification as a constituent in the construction of social identity.

At this level of analysis the project is to investigate the meaning of gentrification and to uncover how it operates as a component in the construction of social identity. The personality of a place is both expression and constituent in the make-up of a local social order. Similarly, the meaning of a practice such as gentrification refashions the nature of social being.

Williams (1986:68) identifies as a major weakness of the existing gentrification literature its "failure to comprehend the importance of culture". In this thesis, Chapters 7 and 8 are dedicated to developing this argument for the revival in a critical form of the cultural interpretation of gentrification. The production of gentrifiers approach has reinterpreted "cultural factors" in quite rigid materialist terms; Hamnett (1984), for instance, expresses skepticism at Ley's (1978) emphasis on postindustrial values of consumption, and Rose (1984) refuses "lifestyle" a status independent from issues of housing affordability and the material needs of households under conditions of economic restructuring. These are important considerations, as the second level of creative negotiation discussed above suggests. But there remains the question of what particular patterns of living have come to signify. The reproduction of social practice depends in part upon shared "accounts of the world"; moreover, negotiation of alternative or oppositional ways of life also draws for some of its

inspiration upon sets of patterns laid down in other times and places. For example, recalling the imagery of bohemia may have been instrumental in suggesting valid alternatives to the conventional suburban family lifestyle. It is thus necessary to explore the matrix of cultural suppositions which delimits what is and what is not possible.

Conventional consumption-oriented discussions have made the "lifestyle" dimension an important aspect of the gentrification model. Allen's (1980) discussion of pro-urban ideology, for example, suggests that the social mix and diversity of inner city neighbourhoods attract in-migrants who seek alternatives to the bland suburban environment. Similarly, Moore interprets gentrification as representing,

"on the one hand a rejection of the bland, restrictive, homogeneous conforming suburban lifestyle of childhood, and on the other a search for sense of community, participation, and individual identity in the complex, dense and diverse central city" (Moore 1982:8).

Logan (1985) describes the creation and celebration of "authentic place" in the inner city of Melbourne, concluding:

"The attraction of the life-style factor cannot be dismissed...as merely 'the fashionable interpretation' of gentrification: it was a very real motivation and a basic element in the way many individuals, both resident within and outside of the region, perceived the inner suburbs in this period" (p. 285).

However, all these accounts suggest a substantial ambiguity in the motives of gentrifiers. In particular they point to the importance of the changing reputation of gentrifying areas which, once substantially resettled by "pioneers", are perceived as safe and fashionable neighbourhoods for more risk-adverse households. The search for variety leads to a new conformity, and Moore speaks of gentrification as "residential credentialism", a collective symbol of individuality for the new middle class: "Just as blue jeans became the international uniform of the New Class...so gentrified housing became its international neighbourhood" (Moore 1982:27).

Hirsch (1976) has developed the notion of "positional goods" whose desirability depends on their very scarcity. Both Logan and Moore employ this idea in their interpretations of gentrification. Moore in particular argues for gentrified neighbourhoods as being symbols of prestige, "ideological advertisements of power for their occupants" (p. 12) and a solution to a lack of stable identity for an alienated class. In a rare study on the significance of gentrification aesthetics, Jager (1986) also argues that gentrification represents a strategy by which the new middle class works out its identity and jockey for position in the sphere of consumption. This study is suggestive of how environmental meaning is significant to the process of social (specifically class) constitution. As an object of discourse, the imagery of gentrification carries with it a stock of knowledge about social relations and an account of the world which enters into the process of the constitution of subjects. How people position themselves with respect to such objects of signification determines their nature as social beings.

Acknowledging this brings us in line with Sayer's (1984b) defence of the urban as an object of analysis. Sayer accepts the critique of the urban (which is reproduced in the realist critique of gentrification) as a conjuncture of contingently related causal mechanisms. However, he urges us to examine the meaning of "the urban" on the grounds that meaning and practice are reciprocally confirming. Meanings are not only sets of labels but a way of operating in the social world:

"people seek not only to understand their circumstances but to give meaning to their lives, to form identities. People seek out situations in which they think their desired identities will actually be confirmed through their actions, their material circumstances and the actions of others towards them. Images of places are strongly affected by this search....Everyday concepts of the urban are therefore not merely descriptive but expressive and carry a heavy load of associations which allude to much broader and more fundamental concerns and responses" (Sayer 1984b:283).

Citing, from Raymond Williams (1973), a list of paired concepts associated with the "city" and the "country" respectively, Sayer shows how the "leakage" of meaning, from one pair to another, led historically to a mystification of the origins and significance of the real objects to which they refer. Nevertheless, it allowed people to make sense of their lives in a context of social and technological change. It may be useful, in understanding gentrification, to consider the existence of a set of meanings lined up alongside the dual archetypes of inner city and suburb. The content of such images must be mapped out by empirical exploration. Some other literatures shall prove helpful in guiding this quest. They are very briefly introduced below.

First, it is evident that the connection between consumption, identity and status should be considered. Beauregard (1986) points to the growth in conspicuous consumption of goods carrying more than functional value as an influence on the tendency to gentrification. The meaning of commodities can best be tapped by focusing on points where that meaning is transferred, and the marketing of the "gentrified commodity"--housing, community amenities, landscape--is a key process involved in that transfer. The literature on advertising informs analysis of this process.

Second, we will need to employ the literature on ideology and hegemony in order to interrogate the connection between the meanings which may emerge from cultural analysis, and the social contexts from which they derive. A growing body of geographical writings on the ideology of landscape offers the framework for a critical cultural approach which acknowledges the relations of power within which landscape meaning is engendered.

A third body of literature centres on the notion of the postmodern. The particular case study under examination requires some analysis on the

specific writings on postmodern architecture. However these are only one aspect of a broader debate on the nature of postmodern culture, which in geography has been linked to the discussion of localities and the changing nature of capitalism. Since this will be reviewed in detail later I shall do no more here but note that postmodernism has meant a revival of interest in the signifying function of the built environment, and in the areal differentiation of social practices and cultural meanings.

To reiterate the agenda for research proposed in this section, let me refer again to the three levels of analysis. First, it is necessary to continue the production of gentrifiers project of identifying how class and gender relations intersect in space. Gentrification is understood as a conjuncture of contingent social processes. Second, asking how gentrifiers "produce themselves", we must explore the strategies by which individuals negotiate workable life paths within structural constraints, focusing on their residential choices and the organization of their domestic lives. Gentrification is thus a context for negotiating social conduct. Third, I argue for a resurrection of the notion of gentrification as a cultural act. Gentrification is a constituent in the construction of social identity, and must be examined for the meanings it carries in contemporary life.

NOTES

1. In dual-career households, both partners pursue active careers, that is, job sequences that require high degrees of commitment and that have a developmental character (Rapoport and Rapoport 1976). Both husband and wife are typically employed as business executives or professionals (Greiff and Munter 1980).

2. Bell warns against reading the postindustrial thesis as a total history. He does not, as Walker and Greenberg suggest, claim that power has shifted into the hands of the knowledge class: "The question of who manages the political order is an open one" (Bell 1976:374).

3. For example, see the papers by Bartley and Wildavsky in Bruce-Briggs (1979). Here the editor poses the issue under debate: "In particular, the New Class hypothesis tries to account for the prevalence of radical/reformist ideas among members of our society who would appear by any objective measure to be favored in....benefits of life" (Bruce-Briggs 1979:ix).

CHAPTER FOUR

GENTRIFICATION ACROSS THE CANADIAN METROPOLITAN SYSTEM

On the research agenda are three topics for investigation. First is the production of gentrifiers: the emergence, under conditions of economic and social restructuring, of a distinctive social group with a propensity for inner city living. Second is the rise of gentrification as a setting for new ways of living, in particular for practices of domestic life which enable people to engage conditions of change in the structural context. Third is the appearance of gentrification as a cultural pattern which carries a distinctive set of meanings for contemporary life.

This chapter aims to set the context for understanding the differential production of gentrifiers across space. The production of gentrifiers approach poses the question of what kinds of settings enable gentrification, and the issue is relevant at a number of geographical scales. At the broadest scale, specificities of national context may encourage or restrict gentrification (Williams 1986). Within the nation, certain regional and metropolitan characteristics are associated with the incidence of gentrification. Here I extend Ley's analysis of gentrification across the Canadian metropolitan system (Ley 1985a), providing a fuller description of its incidence in different kinds of metropolitan settings. The method is extensive, and seeks to establish statistical relationships between the pattern of gentrification at this scale and two sets of variables indirectly measuring the balance of class and gender relations within each city.

While this chapter's emphasis is on the enabling contexts of gentrification, these contexts are not simply negotiated, but are also made and remade by gentrifiers and others. The aggregated, ecological associations we shall discuss here obscure individual decision-making, but the web of meaning binding work, domestic relations and housing choice should

not be forgotten. As Ley indicates for his extensive statistical analysis of gentrification across the Canadian urban system, the present purpose is to provide a context "for the 'thick description' of neighborhood case studies" (Ley 1986a:531). And as the realist critique of quantitative research implies, the analysis performed here can only describe patterns, whereas explanation demands the more intensive research outlined in later chapters.

A common problem for much extensive geographical research is the danger of the ecological fallacy. Since geographers are interested in the characteristics of places, they often draw upon data on individuals which have been aggregated to some spatial unit of analysis. Relationships established between variables measured for units of analysis at a metropolitan scale may not hold true for intra-urban units of analysis (such as census tracts), nor for individuals. For example, if we were to discover that gentrification has occurred most in cities with a high proportion of employment in sales industries, the proportion of gentrifiers themselves employed in sales industries may not necessarily be high. In this chapter, therefore, our focus must be on describing the patterns of occurrence, and any suggestions as to causal process based upon the ecological analysis can only be tentatively offered. In a discussion of Durkheim's ecological study of suicide rates in different regions, Babbie (1979) notes that such tentative conclusions about process must be supported, first, by a theory that makes sense of the findings and, second, by explorations of the relationships observed at different scales. The previous chapters have outlined some theoretical arguments which may explain some of the empirical patterns at the city system scale, in terms of the production of a certain kind of social group which has a propensity for inner city living. The processes involved will be studied intensively at a finer scale in the later chapters.

The choice of the census metropolitan area as the appropriate unit of analysis is guided by previous studies in the gentrification literature, and by the typically geographical concern to understand the character of places at this scale (for instance, the characterization of the "postindustrial city" (Ley 1980)). As indicated in Chapter 2, work on gentrification in the United States (Lipton 1977, Clay 1979, Black 1980) has focused on comparing the degree of inner city gentrification experienced by some of the larger cities; for instance, Lipton's survey covered the 20 largest S.M.S.A.s. The inter-city analysis discussed below adopts Ley's choice of units of analysis. The 22 Canadian C.M.A.s comprise a population rather than a sample, across which we wish to describe the degree of gentrification. It is possible that relationships found across these 22 units may not hold true if smaller settlements are included in the analysis.

Since the focus of research is to draw out what may be the enabling contexts of gentrification, we need to employ some indicators suggestive of the kinds of class relations and gender relations which may exist in each city. Gentrifiers' class characteristics locate them as "creatures" of the postindustrial mode of class relations. However, the abstract nature of class relations poses problems for operationalization. For example, Smith (1987a) is compelled to fall back upon orthodox occupational and income variables as indicators of the presence of the new middle class. At the national scale of analysis, the basic problem of data availability means such proxies are the only possible option. Moreover, since we have already acknowledged the contingent nature of class experience which must shape patterns of human behaviour in the process of class formation, then when asking questions about the geography of class these more familiar divisions--by occupation or by education for instance--may be particularly meaningful. Abstract notions of economic class give way to the more tangible, though

more analytically "messy", concept of social class. For example, while acknowledging the problem of equating class with occupation, Thrift (1988) employs conventional definitions of professional and managerial classes and socioeconomic groups in his study of the service class in Britain. Following Ley (1980), the analysis discussed below will operationalize the context for class relations by means of a measure of urban industrial structure. The significance of gender relations has figured less prominently in the literature, and some aspects are even more difficult to capture by means of the data available at the national scale which does not directly measure (for example) asymmetries in the status of actual husbands and wives. This is discussed further in section 4.2.

The realist critique of chaotic conceptions warns against treating common-sense objects, such as recognized instances of gentrification, as owning causally significant common properties. For the analysis below, however, a measure of the degree of gentrification is required for purposes of describing its pattern of occurrence. I have adopted Ley's index (Ley 1985a, 1986a) which represents the most thorough operationalization of gentrification in the literature. The discussion in Chapter 1 outlined some of the characteristics apparently associated with gentrification. Considerable emphasis has been placed by other researchers on changes in the housing market and housing stock. This dimension to gentrification was not incorporated in the measure used here: not only would much of the data prove extremely costly and difficult to collect, but also it deflects attention from the production of gentrifiers perspective on gentrification as a phenomenon effected by changes in social relations. The decision, therefore, was to conceptualize gentrification in terms of an upward social status change in inner city areas.

A definition of the inner cities of the C.M.A.s is provided in a Canada

Mortgage and Housing Corporation document (Brown and Burke 1979). These inner city boundaries were drawn on the basis of housing age, centrality, and local usage. In some cases they seem somewhat overextended, and in the case of Montreal (where it appears local C.M.H.C. informants must have misinterpreted their instructions), Ley redraws the boundaries to a smaller area more in keeping with local perceptions.

Within these inner city boundaries, social status was measured for each census tract in 1971 and 1981. Once weighted by tract population, the status measures for each tract were aggregated to give a figure of inner city status for each C.M.A.. The gentrification index was calculated as the difference in inner city social status between 1971 and 1981.

In line with the classic studies of urban social area analysis, income, occupation and education were considered as possible measures of social status. All have been employed as indicators of gentrification in previous research, and since the study was to be applied across a large number of census tracts across Canada, the availability of data on these variables from the census was an important consideration. Ley chooses to use occupation and education in constructing his index. Income is rejected because it is not always closely associated with the other measures where blue collar union membership or ethnic entrepreneurship can "contributed to unexpectedly substantial incomes in areas where there is not indication of revitalization" in Canadian cities (Ley 1985a:8); moreover, some "first stage" gentrifiers tend to be young professionals in occupations of the kind where incomes may not compare favourably to some blue collar occupations. Thus, two measures were taken for each inner city census tract: the proportion of the workforce employed in professional and managerial-type jobs; and the proportion of the total population with some university-level education (not being weighted by age, this also reflects an adult-oriented population). The average of these

measures was calculated for each inner city tract in 1971 and 1981 to give the measure of social status which fed into the aggregate measure for each C.M.A.. All 22 inner cities had positive indices, ranging from 1.9 in Oshawa to 13.0 in Halifax (Table 4.1, final column).

Ley (1985a:8-11) reports on the validity of the gentrification index. First, in terms of predictive validity, we can compare a measure of change in social status for each inner city census tract to other external criteria. Planning documents and related literature, as well as knowledgeable informants, together give indications of which neighbourhoods are believed to be gentrifying on the basis of observed physical and social changes. The index appears to detect these quite well. More detailed analysis was carried out in six C.M.A.s (Ley 1988), and here the measure of social status change reflected intuitive knowledge of the pattern of gentrification. Chapter 5 gives some details on the pattern in Vancouver, where the tract with the highest index (False Creek/Fairview Slopes) is renowned for the transformations it has experienced during the 1970s.

Second, we may judge content validity: whether the content of the measure is representative of the universe of the content of the property being measured. Admittedly, the measure omits income as a dimension of social status. However, in covering occupation and education, it follows the lead of classical urban social analyses which have operationalized socioeconomic status with these variables; moreover, senior white collar occupation and university-level education are common characteristics of gentrifiers which many researchers have emphasised (for instance, Hamnett and Williams 1980; Gale 1980). In any case, the 1971 social status index for inner city tracts in the six cities where intensive research was carried out correlated at $r=0.61$ with household income.

Third, the index's construct validity depends on whether it reflects the

TABLE 4.1

GENTRIFICATION OF CANADIAN INNER CITIES, 1971-1981

Census Metropolitan Area	Inner city:C.M.A. social status ratio, 1981	Inner city social status 1981	Inner city gentrification index, 1971-1981
St. John's	96	21.1	8.4
Halifax	139	31.1	13.0
Saint John	84	14.4	2.5
Quebec City	95	20.6	7.4
Montreal*	113	22.4	8.8
Ottawa-Hull	100	26.1	10.0
Oshawa	71	10.4	1.9
Toronto	111	23.4	8.7
Hamilton	94	15.8	5.7
St. Catharines-Niagara	100	14.3	3.8
Kitchener	98	16.0	6.8
London	91	17.3	6.2
Windsor	89	15.0	4.6
Sudbury	95	14.4	3.6
Thunder Bay	96	15.9	4.2
Winnipeg	72	14.4	4.0
Regina	88	18.9	5.1
Saskatoon	122	27.7	8.0
Calgary	111	26.0	9.0
Edmonton	113	23.4	6.5
Vancouver	119	25.1	9.3
Victoria	101	22.3	9.5

* Montreal: due to what appears to have been an error by C.M.H.C. informants, the boundaries of Montreal's inner city given in Brown and Burke (1979) seem to be overextended. Following Ley (1985), a redefined inner city according to C.M.H.C. criteria was employed in these and all subsequent calculations.

Source: Adapted from Ley, D. 1986. Alternative explanations for inner-city gentrification: A Canadian assessment. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 76:521-35.

theoretical notion of gentrification. The measure should be capable of similar interpretation if it was applied to, say, American cities. In addition, the index should differentiate the construct of gentrification from that of variables with which it should not be associated. In ruling out income from the construction of the index, the confounding influences mentioned above have been eliminated. However, one potential problem could be the confusion of change in the social status of incumbent residents with social status change as a result of population turnover, which is the phenomenon more normally conceptualized as gentrification; since the status variables are not broken down by measures of mobility, this problem cannot be solved at this level of analysis, although intensive research could identify it in specific places.

The aim of the analysis reported below is to describe more fully the incidence of inner city gentrification across the Canadian metropolitan system, and to raise tentatively the possibility of associations between the occurrence of gentrification and characteristics of the urban context in which each inner city is set. Since the production of gentrifiers approach refers to the changing supply of certain kinds of social groups under conditions of economic and social restructuring, an extensive analysis can establish whether variables which reflect that supply in each city are indeed statistically associated with the degree of inner city gentrification. Only with the intensive studies reported later can the processes of change be determined.

4.1 THE INCIDENCE OF GENTRIFICATION AND THE "POSTINDUSTRIAL MODE".

With the gentrification index as the dependent variable, Ley tests four hypotheses to explain the occurrence of gentrification--"Demographic Change", "Housing Market Dynamics", "The Value of Urban Amenity", and "The Economic

Base"--each of which are represented by a range of independent variables. The strongest correlation produced against the index ($r=0.65$) is for a measure of office space per capita, a variable which was intended to measure the presence of a postindustrial economy. The next strongest correlations are found for two variables of urban amenity, measuring residential satisfaction and perceived environmental quality. Certain cities seem to be consistent outliers on the scatter diagrams: Halifax with a gentrification index higher than that predicted, Oshawa with a lower index than that predicted. Were statistical tests appropriate (this is, of course, a population and not a sample), significant correlations would be found against variables representing each of the four hypotheses; however, in general, economic base and amenity variables performed more strongly than housing market and demography variables.

Since Ley invests the notion of a postindustrial metropolitan economy with so much explanatory power, the aim here is to confirm Ley's findings by evaluating the predictive power of variables which reflect aspects of what I have termed the postindustrial mode of class formation. Two sets of proxy data were considered: first, the degree to which an urban industrial structure is oriented towards advanced service industries; second, the relative strength of new class-type occupations--managerial, administrative, professional and technical. While the second set of data taps more directly into the notion of class, it would have to be treated with considerable caution since the gentrification index itself incorporates a measure of occupation status. In the report below, I discuss only the variables measuring industrial structure; see note ¹ for further discussion on the occupation variables.

Table 4.2 shows correlations of the gentrification index with measures of industrial structure for the 22 C.M.A.s in 1981. Gentrification is

TABLE 4.2

CORRELATING INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE WITH
INDEX OF INNER CITY GENTRIFICATION

Independent variables ¹	R 1971	R 1981	R Employment Change ²
Primary industries ³	-.22	-.15	.60
Manufacturing industries	-.46	-.47	-.20
Construction industry	.04	.05	.24
Transportation industries ⁴	-.02	-.12	.13
Trade industries ⁵	.09	-.02	.40
Finance industries ⁶	.47	.45	.23
Service industries ⁶	.41	.55	.56
Administration industries ⁷	.56	.52	.10

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series B, Table 1 (20 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Census tract series, Series B, (33 1/3 percent sample).

1. Percentages of labour force, by industry division and occupation.
2. 1981 employment/1971 employment.
3. Primary industries: Agriculture, forestry, fishing and trapping, mines (including milling), quarries and oil wells.
4. Transportation industries: Transportation, communication and other utilities.
5. Finance industries: Finance, insurance and real estate.
6. Service industries: Community, business and personal service industries.
7. Administration industries: Public administration and defence.

negatively associated with the proportion of the metropolitan labour force in manufacturing industries, and positively associated with employment in the FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate), the service (community, business and personal services) and the administration and defence sectors. As Ley (1986a) notes, if the cities formed a random sample (which they do not) the 0.05 significance threshold would lie at $r=0.42$. These findings would appear to confirm Ley's argument about the significance of the urban economic base and his findings for the office space variable.

In the terms of the production of gentrifiers argument, the structure of the economy determines the level of local "supply" of the kinds of people desiring an inner city home. Correlations with the measures of employment change, however, paint a complex picture. The significance of increasing employment in primary industries reflects the basis of wealth in the boom towns of the period--especially the oil industry expansion in Calgary, Edmonton and Halifax. Note, however, that the absolute figures falling into the primary industry category are low compared to other categories. Significantly, other high correlations point to the relationship between gentrification and employment change in service industries. Ley and Hutton (1987) point to the role of the producer services industries which have expanded rapidly (with a more substantial effect on absolute labour figures) to serve staples-based economies in cities such as Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton and Halifax.

Considered individually, the variables measuring industrial structure in 1971 and in 1981 account only for modest proportions of the total variance in the pattern of gentrification. The patterns of residuals from simple regression show substantial similarities. Gentrification in Halifax was consistently greatly underpredicted, and Toronto, Kitchener, Victoria, Montreal, Ottawa and Hull, Calgary and Vancouver also tended to have

gentrification indices greater than those predicted. The gentrification index was overpredicted in Saint John, Oshawa and Winnipeg in particular.

To test whether non-economic variables may explain those residual values, Ley performs a principal components analysis with orthogonal rotation upon the eight variables (drawn from the economic base, housing market, demographic and amenity hypotheses) with highest partial correlations with the gentrification index. Three components are produced, with the first component accounting for forty percent of the variance. High positive loadings were calculated for two amenity variables, the office space variable, a variable measuring the presence of the baby boom cohort, and a variable measuring mean C.M.A. dwelling value. The highest positive component scores were found for Calgary, Victoria and Vancouver; the highest negative scores were for Windsor, Sudbury and St. Catharines-Niagara. Ley interprets this as "indicating the presence or absence of postindustrial city status" (Ley 1986a:530). Component two was interpreted in terms of a housing squeeze (Berry 1980) which was experienced most strongly by Halifax and St. John's, the least by London. Component 3 was interpreted on the basis of its domination by one variable: an objective C.M.A. social indicators index for 1971. The "postindustrial city status" component was found to be by far the most strongly associated with the gentrification index, with a simple correlation of $r=0.63$.

Ley interprets the composition of the "postindustrial" component as implying that a model which integrates variables from different hypotheses may offer a more sound explanation of gentrification than one which imposes a false separation. Ley suggests some reasons for the association of Economic Base and Urban Amenity aspects, reminding us that "enhanced amenity, an improved quality of life, is a central pursuit of a postindustrial society" (Ley 1986a:532). The clean industries of a service-based economy contribute

to environmental amenity, the preservation of which becomes a political issue, and articulate employees of white collar institutions have both the motive and the skills to pursue this issue of protecting amenity values:

"There is...a reciprocal and cumulative revitalizing effect from the interaction of downtown service employment and the inner-city quality of life. If downtown employment opportunities draw populations to the inner city, this population, as it gives political and economic expression to its own predilection for urban amenity, will restructure the built environment and accelerate the gentrification process" (Ley 1986a:532).

The overprediction of gentrification (by economic indicators) in some cities such as Calgary and Edmonton is explained by their poorer quality of inner city "natural amenities", especially since their rapid and relatively unplanned growth has led to the destruction of heritage and status areas. At the other extreme, Halifax offers a wide range of urban amenities including an attractive housing stock and some important view and heritage sites (Ley 1985a) which boosts its level of gentrification beyond that predictable by economic indicators alone. Ley concludes that "office employment downtown is a necessary but not sufficient requirement of inner city gentrification" (1986a:532).

From our production of gentrifiers perspective, we might question the necessity of the relationship between industrial structure and the kinds of cultural and political orientations implied in Ley's interpretation. However, the structure of his "postindustrial city status" component does suggest some interesting contingent connections which may have arisen in Canadian cities during this period. We might usefully consider the contingent interaction of a postindustrial mode of class relations with the pre-existing features of a locality in question. These features include the bottlenecks of a city's peninsular location or harbour layout (for instance, the intensity of land use in Halifax, Vancouver or St. John's, compared to the less confined development of London), or the relative solidity of a

housing stock (for instance, Vancouver's wood frames as opposed to Quebec City's stone), as well as qualities of beauty (Vancouver's setting compared to that of Edmonton). These characteristics of particular cities might enable gentrification--or obstruct it--as they interacting contingently with the causal process of the production of gentrifiers. As presented, these factors seem to be of a rather different kind to the social relations of class and gender which I would argue are crucial to urban restructuring. However, in line with the approach taken in the localities literature, they are best understood as pre-existing "surfaces" upon which subsequent rounds of restructuring must be played out. Moreover, whilst they are physical features, each is culturally defined and experienced: it is the structure of cultural meanings which determines which buildings and which places have aesthetic qualities, which kinds of people and what kinds of houses make good mortgage risks and good neighbours. These issues will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.2 THE INCIDENCE OF GENTRIFICATION AND THE "POSTPATRIARCHAL MODE".

In searching for a dynamic process which may underlie urban restructuring, changes in the distribution of social classes need not exhaust the possibilities. Interpreters of gentrification have suggested that the interaction of class transformations with shifts in reproductive practices must be invoked to account for why portions of the expanding new class now choose to live in the inner city, in preference to continuing the conventional practice of suburban residence. Is this effect evident at the level of the metropolitan system?

As indicators of the kinds of class relations which may exist in a city, I employed variables which measured the significance of the "postindustrial mode": the labour force as structured by industry. As indicators of gender

relations we require measures which can establish the strength of the "postpatriarchal mode" as it operates across the Canadian urban system. Patriarchy is a particular form of gender relations defined as the domination of women by men; this is institutionalized in both material and ideological forms, where norms about roles and identity are worked out in behaviour and molded by the system of opportunities defined by economic and social structures.

As with class relations, we can only grasp gender relations as they are manifest in proxy measures. The social form most frequently associated with patriarchal gender relations comprises what Barrett (1980) has termed the "family-household system", centred on the nuclear household as the key structure of social organization and on the family as the key ideological form, where women "naturally" assume a responsibility for unpaid domestic tasks of cleaning, food preparation, child-raising and so forth. These social relations, defined as "private", are connected, through the prime wage earner (husband/father) to the public sphere, where those women who do participate in waged labour tend to replicate the sexual division of labour within the household by taking "female jobs", and thus perpetuate male dominance in the workplace as well. When Markusen (1980) associates gentrification with an alternative to the patriarchal household, she points to the increasing numbers of "households of gay people, singles, and professional couples...[and] the success of both gays and women in the professional and managerial classes in gaining access to decent paying jobs" (Markusen 1980:35).

As indicators of changing gender relations, the analysis below employs three empirically accessible dimensions where the significance for geography is readily appreciated. In section 3.4 I presented these three dimensions as key points of decision making, which can be thought of as representing

pivotal points in the construction of domestic social forms. The three dimensions will be operationalized here as follows: first through a set of variables which represent changing norms about marital status; second, through a set of measures relating to family composition; third, through a set of variables which tap the organization of domestic life. Whilst it is possible to find good measures on the first two aspects, the third will prove more difficult to deal with at this scale of analysis.

Gender relations are expected to vary over space, and some cities will be identified with, on average, more signs of post-patriarchal gender relations than others. The spatial patterning of this differential development of post-patriarchal forms depends upon various contingencies. For example, a key factor in the decline of fertility rates is known to be the changing economic role of women (Westoff 1978). Cogswell and Sussman (1979) employ the notion of "heterogeneity" to help explain variations in fertility, heterogeneity being a measure of people's level of exposure to different kinds of people, ideas, cultures and values. The process internal to this association is described in terms of families' active renegotiation of priorities and weighing of resources and opportunities; for example, where opportunities for social mobility are present, a family might reconsider the number of children they plan to have. Variations in the nature and strength of norms are key to spatial differentiation in the conduct of domestic life, as is evident in the case of divorce. In Canada, rates of divorce are lowest in the eastern provinces, and substantially higher in the west, especially British Columbia and Alberta (Peters 1979). While the social-demographic composition of the population in each province (for example, its age, sex, education) can explain some portion of the variance, measures of migration for each province are also correlates with divorce rates; Trovato (1986) interprets this in terms of a social disorganization theory, in which rapid

social change (associated especially with economic development and expansion) erodes normative consensus about familism and encourages an ideology of individualism. In addition, Trovato separates out a "regional effect", the impact of regional culture on the protection of traditional norms of familism. One significant aspect of this is the emergence, during the 1970s, of Nova Scotia as an anomaly of high rates of divorce in the Atlantic region which, on the whole, has particularly low divorce rates and is probably the regional culture most supportive of traditional values.

The analysis below indicates the types of urban contexts with respect to gender relations which are associated with different levels of gentrification. The three dimensions are discussed in turn. Because full data are not available for all these variables in 1971 (and on those where data is available, Statistics Canada did not supply the same details for Oshawa) we shall focus on the 1981 figures.

4.21 Marital status.

In an assessment of the Canadian family cycle in the first seventy years of this century, Rodgers and Witney (1981) have emphasized the relative stability of family cycle experiences for successive cohorts. However, one major change has been a reduction in the age at marriage in the 1950s and 1960s (see Table 4.3). Women's median age at first marriage reached a post-war low in 1961 but has begun to rise again, while men's median age at marriage did not begin to rise until after 1971. To what extent might the turnaround in marriage age indicate the possibility of major changes in life cycle experience with respect to marital status? Table 4.4 shows how the proportions of men and women with married status have risen fairly steadily until the 1960s when the proportions began to fall. While the rise in percentages divorced accounts for some of this fall (especially after the 1968 divorce law), proportions of single people also seem to have stopped

TABLE 4.3
MEDIAN AGES AT FIRST MARRIAGE

	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Male	26.5	24.8	24.3	24.1	24.3
Female	23.5	21.7	20.9	21.5	21.7
Difference	3.0	3.1	3.4	2.6	2.6

Source: 1941 to 1971: Rogers, R. H. and Witney, G. 1981. The family cycle in twentieth century Canada. Journal of Marriage and the Family 43:727-40.

1981: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series B, Table 1 (20 percent sample).

TABLE 4.4
CANADIAN POPULATION FIFTEEN YEARS AND OVER, BY MARITAL STATUS

Census year	Percentage of population fifteen years and over							
	single		married*		widowed		divorced	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1911	45.0	34.9	51.5	56.9	3.4	8.2	0.1	0.1
1921	39.2	32.0	56.7	59.2	4.0	8.6	0.2	0.1
1931	41.0	34.0	54.9	57.4	4.0	8.5	0.1	0.1
1941	39.8	33.0	56.1	58.0	4.0	8.8	0.2	0.2
1951	32.1	25.7	63.9	64.5	3.8	9.4	0.3	0.4
1956	30.8	23.7	65.4	66.3	3.6	9.6	0.3	0.4
1961	29.9	23.0	66.4	66.8	3.3	9.7	0.4	0.5
1966	31.4	24.7	65.3	64.7	2.9	10.0	0.4	0.6
1971	31.6	25.0	64.9	63.9	2.5	9.8	1.0	1.3
1976	31.4	24.6	64.9	63.5	2.3	9.9	1.4	2.1
1981	31.3	24.5	64.3	62.4	2.2	10.0	2.2	3.1

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 1, Table 3 (100 percent sample); and Basavarajappa, K.G. 1978. Marital status and nuptuality in Canada: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada Profile Studies, Demographic Characteristics, Bulletin 5:1-4. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

* In 1981, persons living common-law are classified as married.

their long-term decline in the 1960s. These figures suggest either a delay in marriage, or an increase in the propensity not to marry at all. Writing before the 1981 figures were available, Rodgers and Witney think the first possibility is most likely. In reviewing the proportions women of successive cohorts who remain single, they anticipate that by 1981 women will have married at such a rate so as to leave about ten percent single in the 30-34 age group; should the figure be substantially higher than that, they claim, the trend could indeed be towards an abandonment of marriage. Table 4.5 shows that, for men, there appears to be an increasing tendency to remain single into the early 30s; the figure for women in the 30-34 age group is only slightly above that which Rodgers and Witney project. Since the difference is so small, we can draw no firm conclusion as to whether people are increasingly willing to forego marriage altogether. However, it seems possible that young adult Canadians are perceiving marriage as a somewhat different kind of "bargain" than that which it once was; other priorities and considerations, such as the opportunity costs for young women who wish to establish career-paths, must be weighed against the benefits of an early marriage.

The significance of a shift in the proportion of single persons is played out in a geographically differentiated manner. The data for most Canadian C.M.A.s shows an upward movement in both the 1960s and the 1970s (Table 4.6 illustrates figures for women). Exceptional cases include Quebec City, St. John's (and Halifax for men), where the percentage single falls from comparatively high levels in 1961, then reverses or begins to stabilise in the 1970s. This may represent the tail end of more traditional lifestyles where high proportions of single people do not imply the existence of a contemporary "singles' lifestyle", but rather the persistence of old patterns where adult children live in their parental home in a kind of extended

TABLE 4.5
PERCENTAGE REMAINING SINGLE, BY AGE GROUP

Census year	Percentage single, men			Percentage single, women		
	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34
1981	71.9	32.0	15.0	51.1	20.0	10.5
1976	67.7	27.0	13.1	45.3	16.3	9.1
1971	67.6	25.6	13.3	43.5	15.4	9.1
1966	70.0	27.4	15.1	44.2	14.9	9.3
1961	69.5	29.6	17.4	40.5	15.4	10.6
1951	74.4	35.1	19.6	48.5	20.7	13.8
1941	83.7	49.7	29.0	61.0	32.9	21.1

Source: Statistics Canada, volumes from Census of Canada, 1941 to 1981.

Note: In 1981, average for men and women together is 12.7 percent. "If the pattern continues, it can be anticipated that those who will be in the 30-34 age group in 1981 will have married at a rate that will leave about 10 percent single. Should the figure be substantially higher than that, there may indeed be a trend towards the abandonment of marriage on the part of a significant segment of younger Canadians" (Rodgers, G. H., and Witney, G. 1981. The family cycle in twentieth century Canada. Journal of Marriage and the Family 43:727-40).

TABLE 4.6
PERCENTAGE OF SINGLE WOMEN IN C.M.A.S

	All women aged 15 and over			Women aged 20-34		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
St. John's	33.2	30.7	30.2	33.8	28.8	32.8
Halifax	26.7	27.8	28.0	24.8	27.7	32.5
Saint John	25.9	27.0	26.5	24.1	26.8	29.0
Quebec City	39.5	36.7	31.9	43.4	39.1	34.9
Montreal	27.4	28.9	27.7	28.0	30.7	33.5
Ottawa-Hull	25.9	27.7	27.9	23.6	27.4	33.4
Oshawa*	-	-	20.9	-	-	21.3
Toronto	19.7	23.3	25.7	19.7	26.1	33.6
Hamilton	18.6	21.2	22.5	17.0	21.0	27.9
St. Catharines-	-	20.9	21.5	-	20.4	26.5
Niagara*						
Kitchener	20.2	22.0	22.7	17.8	19.8	25.0
London	21.8	23.5	25.2	21.7	24.3	32.3
Windsor	18.8	21.6	22.7	19.3	21.3	27.1
Sudbury	19.7	21.9	24.1	15.9	16.3	25.4
Thunder Bay*	-	22.4	22.5	-	23.0	27.4
Winnipeg	22.0	24.8	25.7	23.2	27.1	32.6
Regina*	-	25.0	26.3	-	25.2	30.5
Saskatoon*	-	24.9	28.6	-	24.7	34.6
Calgary	18.3	22.5	25.5	17.7	21.4	29.4
Edmonton	19.9	23.5	25.6	18.7	21.8	29.3
Vancouver	18.9	22.1	23.9	21.0	25.7	33.3
Victoria	17.8	20.9	21.7	17.2	23.8	32.0

* Not available for all years.

family: indeed, in 1981 St. John's and Quebec City were the only C.M.A.s with over four percent of children aged 25 or over living in the parental home.

As Table 4.7 shows, percentages of the C.M.A. population with single status in 1981 are correlated with the incidence of gentrification. So as to control for the variable distribution of age groups between C.M.A.s, and therefore the different proportions of the population "at risk" of displaying the characteristic in question, the proportion of singles in the early adult age groups were calculated and found to have stronger correlations than those for the population as a whole; cities such as Victoria and Vancouver where the age structure is top-heavy moved much closer to the regression lines. The proportion of young adult women remaining single in 1981 is particularly strongly associated with the gentrification index. Figures for median age at marriage confirm the spirit of this finding.

Any causal processes underlying these patterns of association are likely to be very complex, tied up also with features of urban industrial structure. One task of intensive research must be to explore the nature of these relationships, to find if gentrification is associated with growing numbers of young women seeking options which have been previously closed to them by the structure of social norms and material opportunities.

Along with the proportions single and median age at marriage, a set of variables pertaining to the proportion of the population that is divorced (and not remarried) was introduced as an indicator of changing norms concerning marital status. Again a control for C.M.A. age structure was introduced (by focussing on the population aged 35 to 54). Rates of divorce are highest in the western provinces, and this is reflected at the city scale; St. John's represents the other extreme. In terms of rates of change, Halifax has had a particularly rapid rise in percentages divorced, especially in the 1970s, reflective perhaps of the decline of familism in Nova Scotia

TABLE 4.7
CORRELATING MARITAL STATUS WITH INDEX OF INNER CITY GENTRIFICATION

Independent variables*		1971 R (n=21)	1981 R (n=22)
Malesing		.07	.42
Ymsing		.18	.59
Femsing		.28	.46
Yfsing		.36	.68
Maleage		na	.44
Ymage		na	.54
Femage		na	.58
Yfage		na	.61
Malediv		.20	.37
Ymdiv		.18	.40
Femdiv		.22	.45
Yfdiv		.24	.50

Sources: Malesing, femsing, ymsing, yfsing, malediv, femdiv, ymdiv, yfdiv: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 4 (100 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Volume 1, Part 4-2, Table 3 (100 percent sample).

Maleage, femage, ymage, yfage: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series B, Table 1 (20 percent sample).

* Malesing/femsing: Percent males/females aged fifteen years and over never married.

Ymsing/yfsing: Percent males/females aged 20-34 years never married.

Maleage/femage: Male/female median age at first marriage for all persons aged fifteen years and over ever married.

Ymage/yfage: Male/female median age at first marriage for all persons aged 15-44 years ever married.

Malediv/femdiv: Percent males/females aged fifteen years and over legally divorced and not remarried.

Ymdiv/yfdiv: Percent males/females aged 35-54 years legally divorced and not remarried.

which Trovato (1986) identifies. Montreal and Quebec City also have changed their position from one of low relative proportions of divorced persons, to one where they are located close to the average for all C.M.A.s. The variables measuring proportions of divorced men and women in 1981 are positively correlated with the gentrification index across the C.M.A. system, but at relatively modest levels. The highest proportion of young divorced females (to focus on one variable) is found in Victoria and the lowest in St. John's, yet both have similar moderately high indices of gentrification.

The pattern of intercorrelations between the three sets of marital status variables appears to reflect the changing significance of singlehood. When proportions single and proportions divorced are correlated for 1961, for 1971 and for 1981, the patterns of association are seen to have changed (Table 4.8). In 1961, proportions single and divorced were strongly negatively correlated. These correlations weakened, and by 1981 the correlation for males had switched to positive. Cities such as St. John's and Quebec City retain high levels single and low levels divorced throughout. In 1961 a group of cities comprising Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton start with high divorced and low single proportions; during the 1970s, they retain their high proportions of divorced, but their proportions of single people also become relatively high. One possible cause of this would be changing proportions in the population "at risk" of divorce, as age cohorts of different size get older. At this scale of analysis, such an explanation cannot be ruled out; however, age-controlled data in 1971 and 1981, which focuses on the age groups "at risk", seem to lend some support to an alternative explanation: that certain cities offer a social context in which the married state is less dominant as a mode of living. Whether this feeds through to people's perceptions, in a re-evaluation of the costs and benefits of being married, cannot be determined at this scale.

TABLE 4.8

CORRELATING PERCENTAGE SINGLE AND PERCENTAGE DIVORCED

		Percent aged fifteen and over, single	
Percent aged fifteen and over, divorced		Males	Females
1961 (n=17)	Males	-.67	
	Females		-.77
1971 (n=21)	Males	-.61	
	Females		-.59
1981 (n=22)	Males	.23	
	Females		-.17
		Percent aged 20-34 single	
Percent aged 35-54 over, divorced		Males	Females
1971 (n=21)	Males	-.30	
	Females		-.35
1981 (n=22)	Males	.60	
	Females		.37

4.22 Family composition.

The findings for the second set of variables, pertaining to family composition, are much simpler to interpret. These variables reflect measures of family size and fertility, and are collected for the population as a whole and for appropriate age-controlled groups. Correlations with the gentrification index are illustrated in Table 4.9. Gentrification is correlated positively with high proportions of childless couples, negatively correlated with measures of family size and female fertility. While the correlations for the variables measuring the percentage of families with three or more children at home were in the expected direction, they were only modest in strength: Halifax and St. John's have particularly large residuals above the line, reflecting a possible Atlantic Coast regional effect. Halifax, St. John's and Ottawa-Hull had levels of gentrification greater than those predicted by the family composition variables; Oshawa, Winnipeg and Saint John had lower levels of gentrification than predicted.

4.23 Organization of domestic life.

The third set of variables was designed to measure the organization of the domestic sphere in terms of the division of roles. Unfortunately, limited data are obtainable on the relative status of actual husbands and wives--the asymmetry in their occupational status for instance. The only figures directly useful in this regard measure the number of dual-earner families where both husband and wife are in the labour force, and the relative education of husbands and wives. Other than these, we have to employ a comparison of aggregate counts or averages which are accessible at the ecological (not the household) scale. For example, we can only compare the median incomes for men and women in the C.M.A..

Table 4.10 lists the variables which were employed and their correlations with the gentrification index. Where possible, age-restricted

TABLE 4.9
CORRELATING FAMILY COMPOSITION WITH INDEX OF INNER CITY GENTRIFICATION

Independent variables*		1971 R (n=21)	1981 R (n=22)
Ppf		-.12	-.26
	Yppf	na	-.59
Fert		-.21	-.31
	Yfert	-.40	-.55
Threek		-.18	-.26
	Ythreek	na	-.25
Cless		na	.62
	Ycless	na	.60

Sources: Ppf, Threek: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series A, Table 1 (100 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Census tract series, Series A, (100 percent sample).

Yppf: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 36 (20 percent sample).

Fert, Yfert: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile series B, Table 1 (20 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Census tract series, Series B (33 1/3 percent sample).

Ythreek: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 43 and Table 45 (20 percent sample).

Cless, Ycless: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 44 (20 percent sample).

* Ppf: Average number of persons per family.

Yppf: Average number of persons per family, husband-wife families, wife aged under 35.

Fert: Children ever born per 1000 ever married women aged 15 and over.

Yfert: Children ever born per 1000 ever married women aged 15-44.

Threek: Percent families with three or more children at home.

Ythreek: Percent families with, husband or lone-parent head aged 35-54, with three or more children at home.

Cless: Percent husband-wife families, childless.

Ycless: Percent husband-wife families, wife under 35, childless.

TABLE 4.10

CORRELATING DOMESTIC ORGANISATION WITH INDEX OF INNER CITY GENTRIFICATION

Independent variables*		1971 R (n=21)	1981 R (n=22)
Relinc		.49	.70
	Yrelinc	.55	.73
Dual		na	.30
	Ydual	na	.52
Hwuni		na	.65
	Yhwuni	na	.68
Relocc		-.49	-.56

Sources: Relinc, Yrelinc: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 5 (20 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Census tract series, Series B (33 1/3 percent sample).

Dual, Relocc: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series B, Table 1 (20 percent sample); Census of Canada 1971, Census tract series, Series B (33 1/3 percent sample).

Ydual: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 43 (20 percent sample).

Hwuni: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 41 (20 percent sample).

Yhwuni: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1981, Volume 2, Provincial Series, Table 40 (20 percent sample).

* Relinc: Median income of women aged 15 and over expressed as a percentage of median income of men aged 15 and over.

Yrelinc: Median income of women aged 25-34 expressed as a percentage of median income of men aged 25-34.

Dual: Percentage of husband-wife families with both husband and wife in the labour force.

Ydual: Percentage of husband-wife families, both partners under 35, with both husband and wife in the labour force.

Hwuni: Number of husband-wife families where both partners have some university-level education, expressed as a percentage of number of husband-wife families where husband has some university-level education.

Yhwuni: Number of husband-wife families, wife under 35, where both partners have some university-level education, expressed as a percentage of number of husband-wife families, wife under 35, where husband has some university-level education.

Relocc: Proportion of female labour force in managerial and knowledge occupations, expressed as a percentage of the proportion of male labour force in managerial and knowledge occupations (knowledge occupations are in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics; social science and related fields; religion, teaching and related occupations; occupations in medicine and health, artistic, literary, recreational and related occupations).

data were collected. The two sets of variables directly measuring husband-wife relations (percentage of dual earner couples, and percentage of university-educated husbands with university-educated wives) had positive correlations with gentrification. The education variables correlated strongly in part because they predicted Halifax's level of gentrification much more accurately than other variables so far discussed. While the education variable offered some indication of the degree of asymmetry in real partnerships, we cannot establish the same for other variables. Here, we can only compare women as a group with men as a group. While relative female income correlated with the index of gentrification, it should be borne in mind that there is still substantial inequality: in 1981 the situation was best in Toronto (50.4 percent) and worst in Sudbury (30.4 percent); for young adults it ranged from 66.6 percent in Ottawa-Hull to 37.8 percent in St. Catharines-Niagara. These measures of relative female income were the variables with the highest correlation with the gentrification index of all variables considered in this discussion.

The focus here is on women's relative status with respect to men, not their absolute status. But what is the relationship between these two aspects? One might anticipate that in prosperous places where both sexes do well, women should expect to achieve higher levels of equality, compared to those areas where there might be greater competition for limited socioeconomic resources. This is a hypothesis tested by Lee and Schultz (1982) for the regional patterns of female status in the United States. They found, to the contrary, that an index of female relative status (combining education, occupation and income variables) correlated negatively with an index of female absolute status. Women did relatively poorly in the Mormon region (as expected) but also in Megalopolis, the manufacturing belt, and the urban areas of the south and the west. Women did relatively well in the

agricultural plains and the rural south. Lee and Schultz conclude that,

"where conditions were favorable for women, they were favorable to a much greater degree for men. In well-off areas, both women and men commanded higher than average salaries, but the men's wages were so much greater that the earnings of women seemed puny by comparison" (Lee and Schultz 1982:40).

For the Canadian urban system, female relative income was strongly correlated with absolute income ($r=0.82$ for all adults, $r=0.86$ for young adults). The measures for the total adult population suggest a curvilinear rather than a linear relationship. Relative income is overpredicted in cities such as Oshawa, Hamilton, Thunder Bay, Sudbury and St. Catharines-Niagara at the low end of the absolute income scale. These tend to be cities with a long tradition of male employment in primary or secondary sector activities, where good male incomes are associated with highly unionized workforces. Relative income is also overpredicted in the large western cities of Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver at the high end of the absolute income scale. Relative income is underpredicted especially in St. John's, Montreal, Halifax, Quebec City, London and Winnipeg--the Quebec cities and the medium-sized service centres.

It would be misleading to incorporate this into an overall status index, as do Lee and Schultz, because the pattern for the income variables is quite different from that for the occupation variables. The measure of relative female occupational status is based upon proportions of women, compared to proportions of men, in managerial and in "knowledge" occupations (science, engineering, social science, religion, teaching, health and arts occupations). This measure has virtually a zero correlation with absolute female status. In nearly half the cities, females have higher occupational status (higher proportion of workforce in managerial and knowledge occupations) than males. And some of the industrial cities which performed poorly on relative income status are amongst those where women have highest

relative occupational status. Here the workforce is highly sex-segregated, with a strong concentration of males in the resource-extraction, resource-processing and manufacturing sectors; while the highest status occupations are not large in number, the proportion of the female workforce with such occupations is greater than the equivalent proportion of the male workforce. In such situations, the interpretation is complicated by the difficulties of separating out occupational status in isolation from the gender breakdown of occupations: while the managerial and knowledge occupations are conventionally perceived as "higher status", the degree to which any occupation is dominated by one sex introduces another status dimension with which it is empirically intertwined. People with occupational sub-categories such as teacher or nurse (which may be dominated by women) may be treated as having lower status than those with blue-collar occupations where men have always been dominant. It is not possible to take into account this factor here. The largest metropolitan cities--Ottawa and Hull, Toronto, Calgary, Montreal, Vancouver--are amongst those with medium or high female absolute status but low relative status. The smaller service-oriented cities of Halifax, St. John's and Victoria have high absolute and medium relative status.

To reiterate, we cannot assume from this ecological-level data the comparative income and occupation characteristics of actual male-female partnerships. Even if that assumption was made, the complex findings introduced by the comparison of women's absolute and relative status confirms the difficulties of abstracting gender relations from other structures--of class and of culture--in empirical research.

4.3 CONCLUSIONS.

Notwithstanding the complicating factors introduced by the measures of relative female status, there is evidence of a statistical association between measures of the strength of the "family-household system" in different cities, and the degrees of inner city gentrification those cities experience. We have also considered the kinds of urban industrial structures within which gentrification seems to flourish most readily. Much of the variation in the class variables is similar to the variation in the gender variables, with the same cities appearing as residuals for both. For example, Yrelinc, the measure of female relative income, has the following high correlations in 1981: $r = -0.44$ with manufacturing, $r = 0.66$ with finance, $r = 0.52$ with service industries, $r = 0.58$ with administration industries. Measures for percentages divorced do have a distinctly different pattern, being strongly correlated with employment in the construction industries and thus suggesting that levels of divorce are highest in areas undergoing rapid social change and economic expansion. Nevertheless, due to the similar variations in the class and gender measures, when a multiple regression is performed with all of the 1981 measures entered as independent variables, only the two gender variables (Yrelinc and Yhwuni) actually enter (giving a multiple R of 0.82--see Table 4.11).

The similarity in the patterns of class and gender raises two questions. First, why are the patterns of differentiation similar; why should a city with a postindustrial economy also tend to exhibit postpatriarchal gender relations? Second, if the intersection of class and gender relations cannot account fully for the incidence of gentrification, what other sources of variation explain the exceptional cities which appear as outliers on the regression models? I deal with the second question first.

To account completely for the incidence of gentrification by statistical

TABLE 4.11

MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF 1981 VARIABLES MEASURING CLASS AND GENDER RELATIONS
AGAINST INDEX OF INNER CITY GENTRIFICATION

	Entered	Multiple R	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared
Step 1	Yrelinc	0.73	0.54	0.51
Step 2	Yhwuni	0.82	0.67	0.64

Residuals				
	Step 1		Step 2	
	Underpredicted	Overpredicted	Underpredicted	Overpredicted
St. John's	0.30		0.98	
Halifax	4.74		3.10	
Saint John		-1.95		-1.50
Quebec City		-2.67	0.53	
Montreal	0.20		1.32	
Ottawa-Hull		-0.14		-0.71
Oshawa		-3.31		-1.80
Toronto		-0.32		-0.88
Hamilton	0.81		0.43	
St. Catharines-Niagara	1.18		1.93	
Kitchener	0.76		0.21	
London		-1.64		-2.11
Windsor		-0.61		-0.17
Sudbury	0.17			-0.02
Thunder Bay	0.35		0.68	
Winnipeg		-2.93		-3.80
Regina		-1.91		-1.96
Saskatoon	1.25		0.31	
Calgary	1.97		1.82	
Edmonton		-0.27		-0.89
Vancouver	1.64		1.07	
Victoria	2.39		1.44	
Standard deviation of residuals	Step 1 = 1.91		Step 2 = 1.60	

techniques we must identify some dimension which distinguishes between the positive residuals--in particular, Halifax--and the negative residuals--notably Winnipeg and London--from the regression line calculated by entering Yrelinc and Yhwuni against the gentrification index. Two possibilities are available. In the case of Halifax, Ley (1985a) has pointed to the rather unique combination of factors, including a remarkable clustering of senior white collar occupations, inconvenient access to the downtown and inner city peninsula, and a range of inner city amenities. Perhaps some interactive effect between these factors results in levels of gentrification unpredictable on the basis of linear regression. Another possibility is suggested by Ley's principal components analysis of the eight variables drawn from all four hypotheses he considers. The first component extracted was interpretable as an indicator of the "postindustrial city", and ranked cities in a manner similar to that achieved by the analyses of class and gender measures reported above. But the second component is interpreted as a measure of Berry's (1980) housing squeeze situation, in which an imbalance of new housing supply and housing demand forces people to seek inner city housing. Ley identifies the leading scores on this component as being, on one pole, London; and on the other pole, St. John's and Halifax. Two variables dominate the loadings for this component. The first of these, "incomegap", measures the ratio between inner city and C.M.A. household income in 1981. While "incomegap" does not tap the housing squeeze directly, it represents what Ley describes as an effect of a housing squeeze. The second variable, "starts", is a measure of dwelling unit starts in the C.M.A. between 1971 and 1981 expressed as a ratio of household growth in the C.M.A. over the same time period. The component scores measuring a "housing squeeze" were added as a third variable into the stepwise regression against the gentrification index in which yrelinc and yhwuni were already entered.

Multiple R was increased from 0.82 to 0.88 (Table 4.12). While residuals were increased for some cities, notably Victoria, Toronto and Oshawa, they were substantially decreased for Halifax, London, Regina and Vancouver.

From a statistical point of view, this result is satisfactory, with over 70 percent of the variance explained. Beyond statistical success, what could be the real explanatory contribution of the housing squeeze? If the restructuring of class and of gender relations is the necessary condition for the production of gentrifiers, its effect depends on a contingent interaction with existing conditions "on the ground". Like the amenity resources and the physical geography of a city's site, conditions of the urban housing market are pre-existing sociospatial surfaces which enable or suppress the appearance of gentrification when appropriate conditions of class and gender formation are in place.

How do we interpret the significance of the statistical relationship between class and gender? In section 4.1 a reworking of Ley's analysis, confirmed that gentrification flourishes in metropolitan labour markets where the postindustrial mode is most significant. However, the analysis of variables measuring the state of gender relations has permitted a more nuanced interpretation. Some of these variables, singly or in combination, perform successfully as predictors of gentrification. The class and the gender measures were not statistically independent; rather, postindustrial class relations and postpatriarchal gender relations are already knit together at this level of resolution. This cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that class and gender are, theoretically, reducible to one underlying mechanism. But it can be taken as evidence of the power of contingency in weaving together, from the warp of class and the woof of gender, a fabric of urban experience in which the same motifs are reproduced across the city system. Instead of a subtle plaid, where the postpatriarchal

TABLE 4.12
 ADDING MEASURE OF HOUSING SQUEEZE TO REGRESSION MODEL

	Entered	Multiple R	R Squared	Adjusted R Squared
Step 1	Yrelinc	0.73	0.54	0.51
Step 2	Yhwuni	0.82	0.67	0.64
Step 3	Housing squeeze	0.88	0.77	0.73

Residuals		
	Underpredicted	Overpredicted
St. John's		-0.55
Halifax	1.58	
Saint John		-1.55
Quebec City	0.73	
Montreal	1.22	
Ottawa-Hull		-0.67
Oshawa		-2.15
Toronto		-1.50
Hamilton	0.31	
St. Catharines-Niagara	1.88	
Kitchener		-0.23
London	0.19	
Windsor	0.93	
Sudbury		-0.28
Thunder Bay		-0.09
Winnipeg		-3.03
Regina		-0.87
Saskatoon	0.41	
Calgary	1.88	
Edmonton		-0.59
Vancouver	0.15	
Victoria	2.21	
Standard deviation of residuals		1.35

and the postindustrial can appear independently, we seem to have more of a regimented pattern of checks.

At the end of Chapter 3 I argued for the power of patterns. While class and gender are theoretically distinct, the particular forms in which they have come together at certain times and in certain places can come to stand as models for subsequent styles of life, as part of the ideological raw material out of which individuals construct their social identities. To acknowledge that production is achieved by means of a particular formation of classes is not to predetermine the gender of the people filling the different class positions, nor the kinds of domestic conditions they enjoy, nor what they like to do at the weekends. But on the basis of empirical regularities we might be able to make a pretty good prediction. Traditions of men's and women's work and of gender identities, histories of labour relations and of civil institutions in a community or a nation, all enter into the construction of the spheres of "public" and "private" life, including the definition of work and occupational structure. For example, Murgatroyd (1985) has shown how occupational "places" take on characteristics of their incumbents and therefore cannot be distinguished from the people who fill them. The definition of which jobs are "skilled", for instance, depends not only on the content of the jobs themselves, but on attributes of the people who are employed in them, including the attribute of gender. The association of occupation with gender has been crucial to changes in times of restructuring, including which kinds of new jobs are created, which are removed, and where. In particular, there is evidence that the availability of a previously untapped and "docile" labour force can be attractive to many industries; cultural specific notions of gender identity thus enter contingently into the process of economic restructuring and fundamentally shape its empirical form. This is one way in which cultural definitions act

as templates for the working out of structural processes. Not only is there a set of ideologies pertaining to class (for example, what is it to be working class) and a set of ideologies pertaining to gender (for example, what is it to be a good woman), but the two are intertwined and reciprocally redefine one another. When dramatic change occurs in the economic sphere, for instance, it calls forth a response in the domestic sphere--such as the restructuring of household strategies described by Christopherson (1983) and Pahl (1985).

As service industries employ greater proportions of the labour force, and as "new class" occupations expand relative to other occupations, can we predict an increasing breakdown of patriarchal gender relations? This is a dangerous extrapolation to make from the statistical associations established for the metropolitan system. On theoretical grounds, we must maintain a perspective on the contingent, rather than necessary, relationship between class and gender. It is in the nature of a statistical exercise such as the one reported here to obscure that distinction.

The data analysed above is at a particular level of resolution. Disaggregating the data would reveal more complex patterns of socio-spatial structuring. We know, for example, that the different occupations supporting the postindustrial economy are spatially polarized within the city. The senior managerial and professional categories are disproportionately concentrated in city cores; women are slowly moving into those positions, though in small (but increasing) numbers and still concentrated in categories such as health and education. But this complex of high level functions is sustained by support units which are less likely to be spatially centralized. Here, large numbers of female employees carry out lower level "servicing" positions and deskilled tasks which hold little promise of upward mobility. Both "places" are products of the postindustrial economy: one could possibly

be a terrain for the slow erosion of patriarchal gender relations; the other may be a location where a new set of gender-segregated experiences reproduces patriarchy in a new form. As one disaggregates these patterns, the less evident the turn to postpatriarchal relations appears, and the more dangerous it becomes to rely on statistical analysis of the associations between aggregated sets of data. Hidden behind the aggregate figures at the city scale are complex processes breaking down old inequalities and establishing some new ones: the fundamental nature of uneven development.

To carry forward some of the issues raised in this chapter to a study of substantive relationships between social and geographical restructuring requires ethnographic investigation at the local scale. In this, we can also begin to consider the restructuring of meaning, the changes in the cultural sphere of values so far neglected in a production of gentrifiers approach. The next chapter introduces the context for such a study.

NOTES

1. The tautology is partly sidestepped by the fact that the two variables are measured at different scales. The gentrification index incorporates a measure of census tract occupational status, whereas we are interested in applying measures of the C.M.A. occupational structure. Logically, it is possible for there to be a low proportion of new class-type occupations in the C.M.A. as a whole, at the same time that there is a high level of gentrification in the inner city; alternatively, all of a city's new class workers could live in the suburbs. This possibility reflects the two-stage polarization process by which inter-city labour market differentiation may be carried through in different patterns of intra-city differentiation.

In an analysis of the statistical relationship between occupational structure (percentage of C.M.A. labour force) in 1981 and the gentrification index, the following high correlations were found: $r=0.62$ with managerial, administrative and related occupations; $r=0.62$ with "knowledge" occupations (science, engineering, social science, religion, teaching, health and arts occupations); $r=0.53$ with clerical occupations; $r=-0.51$ with machining occupations.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENTRIFICATION IN VANCOUVER

Gentrification is a manifestation of new polarizations in social and geographical space. The processes concerned can be shown to be relevant at nested scales of enquiry. The previous chapter dealt with the scale of the urban system. This chapter moves to the intra-urban scale in order to set up a context for a detailed case study, drawing us from the search for broad patterns towards a closer concern with matters of process.

The "production of gentrifiers" literature has placed particular emphasis on the reorganization of the spatial structure of the labour market, which has important implications for the urban housing market. As Beauregard (1986) argues, the absolute and relative expansion of professional and managerial jobs in central cities is pivotal to current shifts in residential structure. But to translate this into gentrification one must explain why a subgroup of such employees are now attracted in greater numbers to inner city neighbourhoods, and this necessitates an understanding of changing gender relations as well.

A study at the intra-urban scale requires a qualitative account of how changes in a city's labour market might have affected consumer demand for housing in its inner neighbourhoods. It is also possible to consider, informally, the relationship between gentrification and gender relations over urban space.

5.1 THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT FOR GENTRIFICATION IN VANCOUVER.

The case study neighbourhood which will be introduced later lies in the inner city of Vancouver. Vancouver has a gentrification index of 9.3, the fourth highest of the 22 C.M.A.s after Halifax, Ottawa-Hull and Victoria. Vancouver's 1981 economic structure, measured by employment figures, is

illustrated in Table 5.1. In many categories, figures for Vancouver are not greatly different from the average for all the C.M.A.s. Compared to that average, Vancouver C.M.A. has low percentages of the labour force in the secondary sector and above average percentages in tertiary and quaternary sectors (except administration, which is partly explained by the overrepresentation of government functions in the provincial capital, Victoria). In terms of occupational strata, Vancouver C.M.A. has a mixed pattern over the white and blue collar categories. Vancouver's gentrification index tended to be underpredicted by regressions performed with these employment variables. Compared to the other C.M.A.s, Vancouver does not stand out as having an exceptional employment structure, and while it has been referred to as a "postindustrial city" (Ley 1980), there is evidence in these figures for the continuing significance of the staples industries to the provincial economy. Nevertheless, patterns of growth in the different employment categories suggests some important changes in the structure of the metropolitan economy. Across all industrial sectors, Vancouver's greatest rates of growth during the 1970s were in finance (73.1 percent), service (74.1 percent) and administration (74.5 percent); the equivalent figures for all C.M.A.s were 70.7, 69.2, and 40.7 percent respectively, and in fact Vancouver had the greatest rate of growth of all C.M.A.s in the administrative sector. Of occupational strata, growth was fastest in managerial (213.4 percent), knowledge (78.9 percent) and clerical jobs (66.3 percent); equivalents for all C.M.A.s were 161.7, 66.4 and 53.7 percent respectively.

These patterns of growth continued into the 1980s, and even during the recession years of 1981-1984 in the province as a whole there was an increase in managerial and knowledge type occupations of 40,000, while all other occupational categories lost 90,000 jobs (Daniels 1985). There is a

TABLE 5.1
EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE FOR VANCOUVER C.M.A. AND VANCOUVER CITY, 1981

	All C.M.A.s ¹	Vancouver C.M.A.	Rank of Vancouver C.M.A.	Vancouver City	Percentage growth in C.M.A.
EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY ² : percentage of labour force in all industries					
Primary	2.1	2.7	8	1.9	31.7
Manufacturing	19.5	14.7	12	13.4	26.3
Construction	6.0	6.8	7	5.2	43.6
Transport	8.6	10.6	3	9.9	43.9
Trade	17.7	19.3	4	17.0	52.1
Finance	6.8	7.2	4=	7.5	73.1
Service	31.2	32.9	8=	39.8	74.1
Administration	8.1	5.8	13	5.4	74.5

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION: percentage of labour force in all occupations

Managerial ³	10.3	9.8	9	8.3	213.4
Knowledge ⁴	16.8	16.3	13	18.5	78.9
Clerical	22.1	21.8	9	22.3	66.3
Sales	9.6	10.6	3	9.1	28.1
Services ⁵	11.9	12.6	15	15.8	44.9
Primary	1.5	2.1	9=	1.6	10.6
Processing	3.0	3.3	8	3.0	19.4
Machining	10.9	8.4	11=	8.0	38.7
Other	13.9	15.3	8	13.4	33.3

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada 1981, Volume 3, Profile Series B (20 percent sample).

1. Calculated on basis of total labour force in 22 C.M.A.s.

2. For definitions of industry, see Table 4.2.

3. Managerial occupations: Managerial, administrative and related occupations.

4. Knowledge occupations: occupations in natural sciences, engineering and mathematics; social science and related fields; religion; teaching and related occupations; occupations in medicine and health; artistic, literary, recreational and related occupations.

5. Farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupations; fishing, trapping and related occupations; forestry and logging occupations; mining and quarrying including oil and gasfield occupations.

6. Machining occupations: Machining and related occupations; product fabricating, assembly and repairing occupations.

7. Other occupations: Construction trades occupations; transport equipment operating occupations; material handling and related occupations; other crafts and equipment operating occupations; occupations not elsewhere classified.

significant geography to this kind of change (Ley and Mills 1988) in which the role of Vancouver City itself is particularly significant (see Figure 5.1 for the location of Vancouver City and the C.M.A., and Table 5.1 for a comparison of employment proportions). For example, as Ley and Hutton (1987) have shown with respect to one aspect of the service sector, "producer services" (which offer in part services to regional staple-oriented enterprises) have experienced remarkable growth, and this growth is extremely centralized within the region. Available data on the growth and location of jobs themselves (rather than the people holding particular jobs) compares the experience of Vancouver City with that of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, a planning region covering an area somewhat smaller than that of the C.M.A. (City of Vancouver 1984). Though the number of jobs increased in Vancouver City in the 1970s, its share of the region's jobs fell from 56 to 49 percent. Most job growth in the region was in the tertiary and quaternary sectors. However, while 90 percent of the City's job growth was in the finance, administration and service industries (service increasing the greatest, by 61 percent), only 45 percent of the growth in the rest of the region was in these sectors, with manufacturing, transport and trade together contributing a greater proportion of the increase. Of the region's jobs in 1981, the City has about 66 percent of positions in finance, 55 percent of positions in administration, and 53 percent of positions in service industries.

These trends are reflected in occupations as well as sectors. Within Vancouver City all of the job growth was in white collar occupations, and it actually lost blue collar jobs, which fell from 29 to 23 percent of total jobs. In 1981, 28.7 percent of city jobs are in managerial and knowledge occupations, and 48.7 percent in clerical, sales and services. Except for sales and for teaching occupations, the city has more than half of the

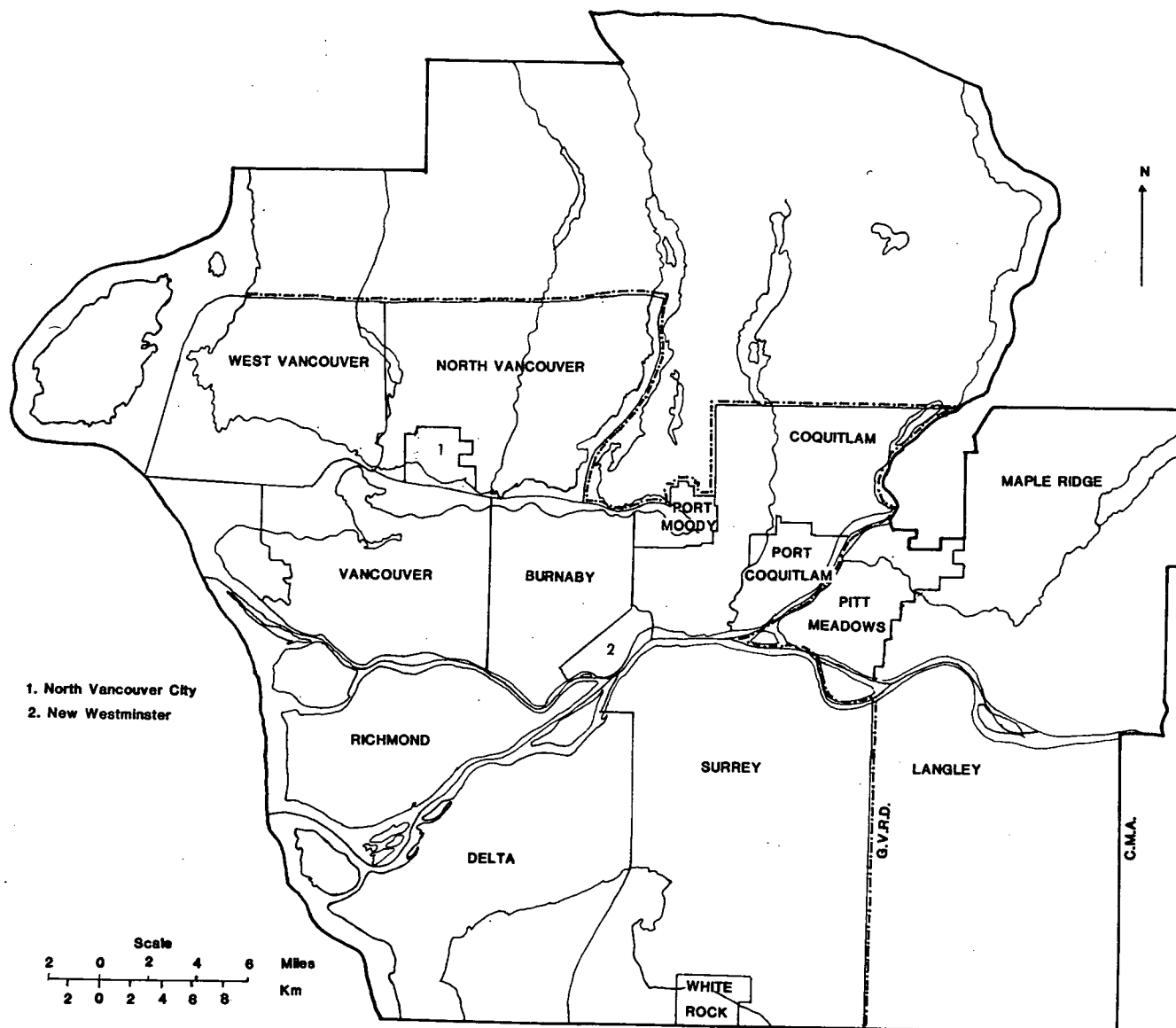


Figure 5.1 Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area, and Municipalities

region's jobs in white collar categories, and only 40 percent of the region's blue collar jobs. White collar employment grew in the rest of the region as well, but so did employment in blue collar occupations; the proportion of blue collar jobs in the areas outside Vancouver City fell from 39 to 32 percent of total employment.

Within the City itself there is a distinctive pattern of growth which sets up the conditions which seem to prime gentrification. Three-quarters of the jobs in the City (a third of the region's jobs) are in the core. This core area encompasses the downtown (C.B.D.), plus the neighbourhoods of Kitsilano, Fairview, Mt. Pleasant, the West End, Strathcona and Grandview-Woodlands (Figure 5.2). The greatest number and density of jobs are in downtown, and along the Broadway corridor between Granville and Main in which City Hall is located and where there is a significant clustering of medical-oriented functions around the hospital.

In comparing the locations of jobs with the residential locations of employees in different job categories (Table 5.2), we note that in all cases but one (primary occupations) there is a net inflow of commuters into Vancouver City. Assuming City residents always take available City jobs, 22.5 percent of total city jobs are filled by in-commuters. Reasons for the differences in the degree to which residents fill the available positions in different categories is a matter for speculation. Jobs in the primary and secondary sectors and in blue collar occupations are largely well-filled by city residents; less consistent is the pattern for those jobs in the fastest-growing occupations and industrial sectors. Finance and administration industries and managerial, clerical and sales occupations have large shortfalls; service industries, knowledge occupations and especially occupations in services have moderate to low shortfalls. In particular one might query the different situations for managerial and knowledge occupations

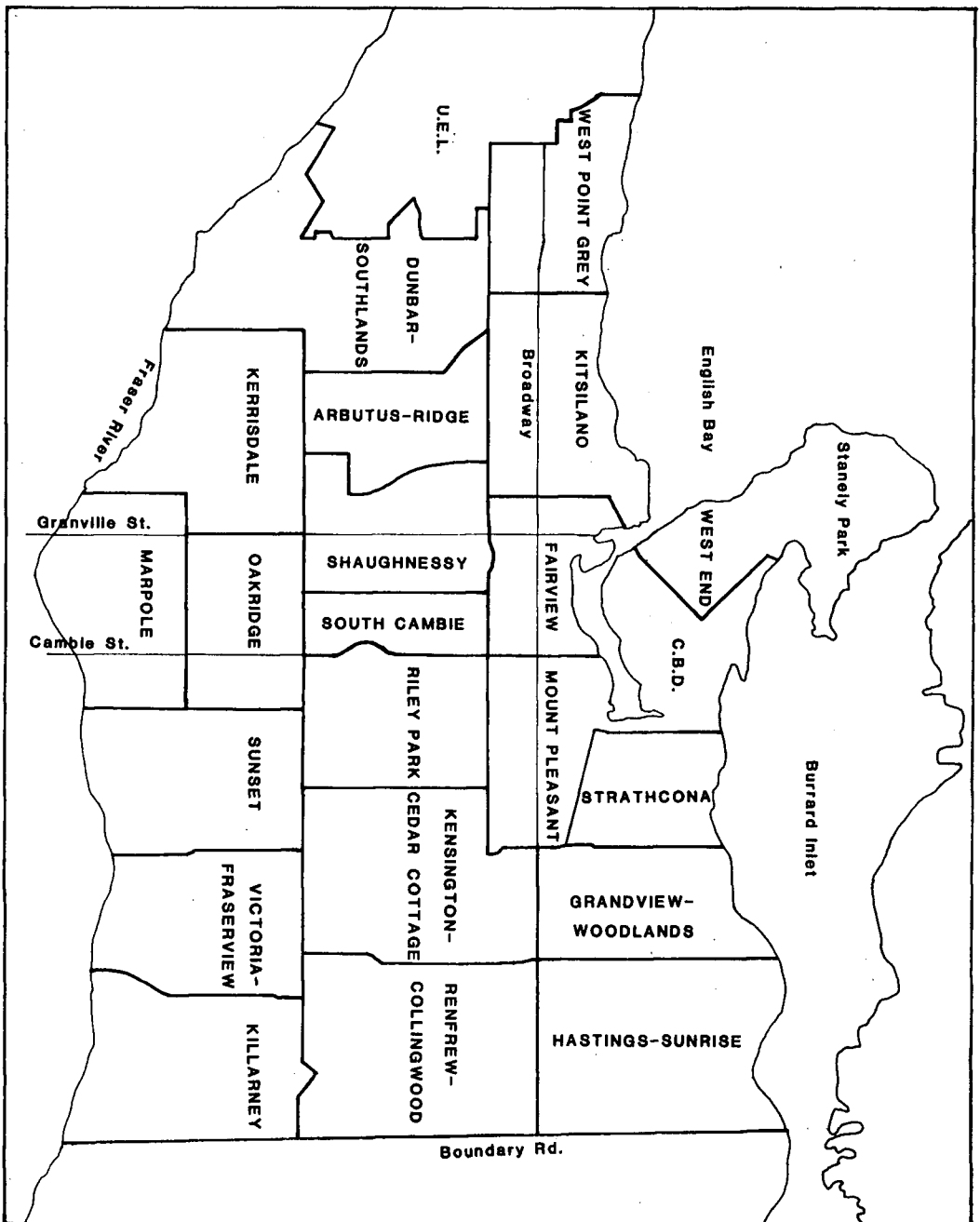


Figure 5.2 Vancouver Local Areas

TABLE 5.2
JOBS IN VANCOUVER CITY, 1981

	Percentage of total jobs	Number of jobs	Number of residents in labour force	Percentage of jobs to be filled by net in-commuting
JOBS BY INDUSTRY				
Primary	1.7	5015	4395	12.4
Manufacturing	12.2	36065	30580	15.2
Construction	4.6	13445	11810	12.2
Transport	10.7	31605	22710	28.1
Trade	18.1	53435	38750	27.5
Finance	10.2	30135	17015	43.5
Service	35.8	105545	90910	13.9
Adminstration	6.6	19540	12250	37.3
JOBS BY OCCUPATION				
Managerial	11.5	34020	19010	44.1
Knowledge	17.2	50560	42205	16.5
Clerical	25.3	74475	50970	31.6
Sales	10.5	30960	20870	32.6
Services	12.9	38020	36000	5.3
Primary	0.9	2670	3600	-
Processing	2.5	7440	6930	6.9
Machining	6.5	19025	18210	4.3
Other	12.7	37545	30630	18.4
TOTAL JOBS		294785	228425	22.5

Source: City of Vancouver. 1984. Jobs in Vancouver. Quarterly Review 11(1):5-7.

For definitions of industry and occupation, see Tables 4.2 and 5.1.

which are commonly combined into one "senior white collar" category as indicative of the new class. For what reason may individuals with managerial occupations be more likely to commute than persons with knowledge occupations? Possibly a cultural argument could be invoked, distinguishing between two fractions of the new class--many other gentrification studies have speculated that people with occupations in the cultural and artistic fields or "soft" professions might be more sympathetic to non-conformist "urban living" and more involved in pioneering gentrification.

Ley (1988) offers some comparative data on economic trends in Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. For all six cities together, at the beginning of the 1970s, 18.2 percent of the employed workforce living in the inner city had managerial and knowledge positions, compared to 20.3 percent of the employed in non-inner city portions of the C.M.A.s, giving a ratio of inner city share to rest-of-the-C.M.A. share of 89.7. Of all six cities, Vancouver had the lowest proportion of both its inner city and non-inner city employees in these occupations (17.5 percent in the inner city, 17.3 percent in the rest of the C.M.A.), confirming the significance of the west coast resource-based economy to the metropolitan labour market and Vancouver's minor role as an administrative centre at the time. However, its inner-city versus rest-of-the-C.M.A. ratio was higher than the average at 101.2, third highest after Edmonton and Halifax. This would suggest the influence of some local peculiarities of Vancouver's central area which attract a disproportionate number of people with new class occupations (these are discussed later).

During the 1970s the situation changed rapidly. Across the six C.M.A.s, 46.5 percent of the total increase in employed labour force was in the form of positions in the managerial and knowledge categories, thus increasing their share of the workforce from 19.7 to 25.8 percent. This growth had a

greater relative effect on the inner city workforce than on the non-inner city areas. Across all six cities, the managerial and knowledge proportion of the inner city workforce increased from 18.2 to 27.3 percent; the proportion of the workforce in the rest of the C.M.A.s increased from 20.3 to 25.4 percent. Thus the ratio of inner city share to rest-of-the-C.M.A. share jumped from 89.7 to 107.5. In 1981, the ratio was now above 100 for all cities but Ottawa-Hull. Vancouver's ratio was second highest (114.1) after Halifax. Ley warns that, while the growth of senior white collar occupations has had a greater relative impact on the composition of the inner city workforces, the actual rate of growth has been higher outside the inner city (34.8 percent in inner city, 82.0 percent outside inner city). Vancouver's inner city rate of growth was highest of all six cities at 58.3 percent; with a non-inner city rate of 101.2 percent, Vancouver's inner city made the largest contribution to C.M.A. growth rate of all cities (20.9 percent, compared to 13.3 percent for the six cities). In absolute terms, Ley cautions against exaggerating the impact of middle-class resettlement in the inner city; but in relative terms the higher concentration of senior white collar workers in the inner city by the end of the decade had important consequences for the nature of the inner city housing market.

To sum up, in terms of economic structure, Vancouver's role in a resource-oriented provincial economy means that the distribution of its labour force among industrial and occupational categories is not greatly different from the average of all 22 C.M.A.s in 1981. As a result, the moderately high gentrification index is underpredicted by economic measures. However, Vancouver's above-average rates of growth in quaternary industries and in senior white collar occupations, and the internal structure of the metropolitan space economy (especially the relative effect of growth in senior white collar occupations on its inner city workforce), provides a

context favourable to high levels of inner city gentrification.

In addition to examining features of economic structure, Vancouver's position with respect to gender relations seems to be highly significant (Table 5.3). Note in particular how age-controlled data, which filter out some of the effect of Vancouver's top-heavy age pyramid, situate Vancouver as a city which scores highly on what I have suggested are indicators of postpatriarchal gender relations. Vancouver has the highest proportion of young men who are single of all cities. Average ages at marriage are high, exceeded only by Quebec City (and Toronto) for men (young men), and by Quebec City, Montreal and Toronto for women. Only Calgary (and Victoria for women) has higher percentages divorced. These features make for a housing market in which there is a high demand for non-family style housing, which is reinforced by patterns of behaviour within families themselves. Vancouver has small average family size and low measures of female fertility, and high proportions of childless couples. Victoria and Calgary are the most persistent cases with scores more extreme than Vancouver's on these variables. On the variables chosen to measure domestic organization, Vancouver has a more moderate position.

While the economic context in Vancouver (at least when viewed in static cross-section) is moderately conducive to a "production of gentrifiers", the social context in terms of gender relations is clearly very favourable. With the multiple regression documented in Chapter 4, where two measures of gender relations were entered against the gentrification index, gentrification in Vancouver was underpredicted, but not by more than one standard deviation of the residuals. Once the variable measuring a housing squeeze was entered, Vancouver's residual was greatly reduced. The styles of life indicated by the gender variables, plus particular conditions of Vancouver's housing market, may be critical to the restructuring of this city's residential

TABLE 5.3
GENDER RELATIONS IN VANCOUVER CMA, 1981

	All C.M.A.s	Vancouver C.M.A.	Rank of Vancouver C.M.A.
malesing	31.7	31.4	11=
ymsing	43.7	46.6	1
femsing	26.0	23.9	15
yfsing	32.0	33.3	6
maleage	24.2*	24.9	2=
ymage	23.3*	23.9	3
femage	21.8*	22.2	4=
yfage	21.2*	21.6	4=
malediv	2.5	3.4	2
ymdiv	4.2	5.5	2
femdiv	3.8	4.9	3
yfdiv	6.6	8.0	3
ppf	3.1	3.1	18=
yppf	3.2	3.1	16=
fert	2210	2075	20
yfert	1620	1535	19
threek	15.3	13.2	21
ythreek	26.6	23.4	21
cless	18.8	19.9	6
ycless	34.4	38.2	3
dual	52.6	51.3	11
ydual	67.1	67.4	7
relinc	41.8*	44.0	12
yrelinc	53.4*	57.1	8
hwuni	44.6	46.4	7
yhwuni	50.9	52.7	7
relocc	92.1	94.0	17

* These variables are based on median values reported for each C.M.A.; figures reported are means of the medians for the 22 C.M.A.s.

For definitions of variables, see Tables 4.7, 4.9, 4.10.

space.

Table 5.4 illustrates how Vancouver City's profile differs from that of the C.M.A. as a whole, on selected variables. In all cases but one, the figures for the city suggest on average a greater tendency to post-patriarchal gender relations than the C.M.A. as a whole. The exception is the measure of husband-wife families with both partners in the labour force. Whereas the other variables are differentiated largely according to the classic distinction between metropolitan core and suburbs, on this variable the municipalities of Burnaby, Coquitlam, North Vancouver, Pitt Meadows, Port Coquitlam, Port Moody and Richmond score higher than Vancouver City itself; this distribution of dual earner households is typical of findings elsewhere (for instance, Pratt and Hanson 1988).

Before looking at the differentiation of gender relations within Vancouver City itself the next section begins to explore the patterns of gentrification at the census tract scale.

5.2 PATTERNS OF GENTRIFICATION IN VANCOUVER.

Ley (1988) reports a correlation analysis in which the dependent variable is the gentrification index for each inner city census tract, and twenty-six independent variables measure tract attributes in 1971 which may have contributed to the degree of social status change in the following decade. From an analysis across all 462 inner city tracts in the six cities (Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver), Ley draws together a profile of a tract most likely to gentrify. This would be a tract close to an existing elite area, adjacent to institutional amenities such as hospitals or universities or to regional amenities such as park or waterfront, and close to downtown; it would have a low proportion of blue collar workers and a high proportion of single persons, students, Anglicans,

TABLE 5.4

SELECTED MEASURES OF GENDER RELATIONS
FOR VANCOUVER C.M.A. AND VANCOUVER CITY, 1981

	Vancouver C.M.A.	Vancouver City
malesing	31.4	37.8
femsing	23.9	29.2
maleage	24.9	25.9
ymage	23.9	24.8
femage	22.2	22.9
yfage	21.6	22.4
malediv	3.4	4.5
femdiv	4.9	5.7
ppf	3.1	3.0
fert	2075	2004
yfert	1535	1348
threek	13.2	13.0
cless	19.9	23.9
dual	51.3	50.6
relinc	44.0	57.8
relocc	94.0	97.4

For definitions of variables, see Tables 4.7, 4.9, 4.10.

the elderly, and people with non-conforming beliefs.

Contrary to the predictions of both rent-gap and housing-squeeze theories, gentrification is found to be positively associated with 1971 measures of rents, housing values and social status; this suggests that gentrifiers are seeking not so much low cost sites but rather "sites well priced in the context of their bundle of attributes" (Ley 1988:43). Further evidence for the growing recognition of the positive aspect of urban living comes from Skaburskis' (1984) national survey of condominium buyers, which indicates some relevant trends in changing attitudes to higher density living. In 1970, 80 percent of condominium buyers were aged under 40; by 1983, this had fallen to 30 percent, suggesting that urban-style living is now perceived as a viable and attractive option for a broadening segment of the population. For the national sample surveyed in 1983, the most important influence on choice of a particular condominium is its location, and in fact Vancouver condominium buyers actually placed slightly more emphasis on location (City of Vancouver 1985a). When asked why they had chosen to buy a condominium rather than adopting some other option, almost 80 percent of the national sample cited as one of their top three reasons the benefits of having fewer responsibilities for maintenance and upkeep. Less than 40 percent cited the fact that they could not afford a single family house.

Because of the problems of renovating wood-frame houses to building code standards, plus the extremely tight housing market in the 1970s which encouraged the most intensive use of land, gentrification in Vancouver has tended to take the form of redevelopment to condominiums and townhouses. New construction in the City is largely in multifamily housing, with apartment and row housing contributing 67.6 percent of completions in 1984 (City of Vancouver 1985b). In the inner neighbourhoods of downtown, the West End, Kitsilano and Fairview, ninety percent of the multiple units built since 1976

are for market housing (City of Vancouver 1985c). Of these, a half are occupied by single person households. Compared to older market housing in these areas, the newer units have more affluent residents who are more likely to be owner-occupiers (seven percent of pre-1976 inner city stock is owner-occupied, compared to 27 percent of the new stock).

As well as the core area described earlier, the inner city of Vancouver encompasses the inner suburbs of West Point Grey, Dunbar, Arbutus Ridge, Shaughnessey, South Cambie, Riley Park, Kensington-Cedar Cottage, Renfrew-Collingwood and Hastings-Sunrise.¹ This encompasses portions of both the east-side and the west-side of the city. East-side neighbourhoods generally score lower in social status, with higher proportions of blue-collar workers and also more non-Anglo-Canadians. For example, the eastern portion of the downtown area represents the zone of discard, Vancouver's skid row; the population of Strathcona, further east, has a majority with Chinese ethnic origin (these areas together are known as the "Downtown Eastside").

Ley's calculations of gentrification indices by tract are illustrated in Figure 5.3. Inner areas in Vancouver are increasingly chosen as residential options not because they are cheap (a fall-back option) but because they offer access to highly-valued amenities. One important amenity is accessibility to the core, a particularly significant issue where bridges create traffic bottlenecks onto the downtown peninsula (between 1971 and 1981, traffic flows into downtown increased 18 percent (City of Vancouver 1983a)). Since 22.5 percent of City jobs must be filled by net in-commuting, considerable pressure is placed on a circulation system which lacks a major freeway network. The significance of other amenities is confirmed by the correlation analysis Ley carries out on the fifty Vancouver inner city census tracts considered alone: measures of proximity to new middle class-employing universities and hospitals, and to regional amenities

**Social Status Change By Quintile
1971-1981**

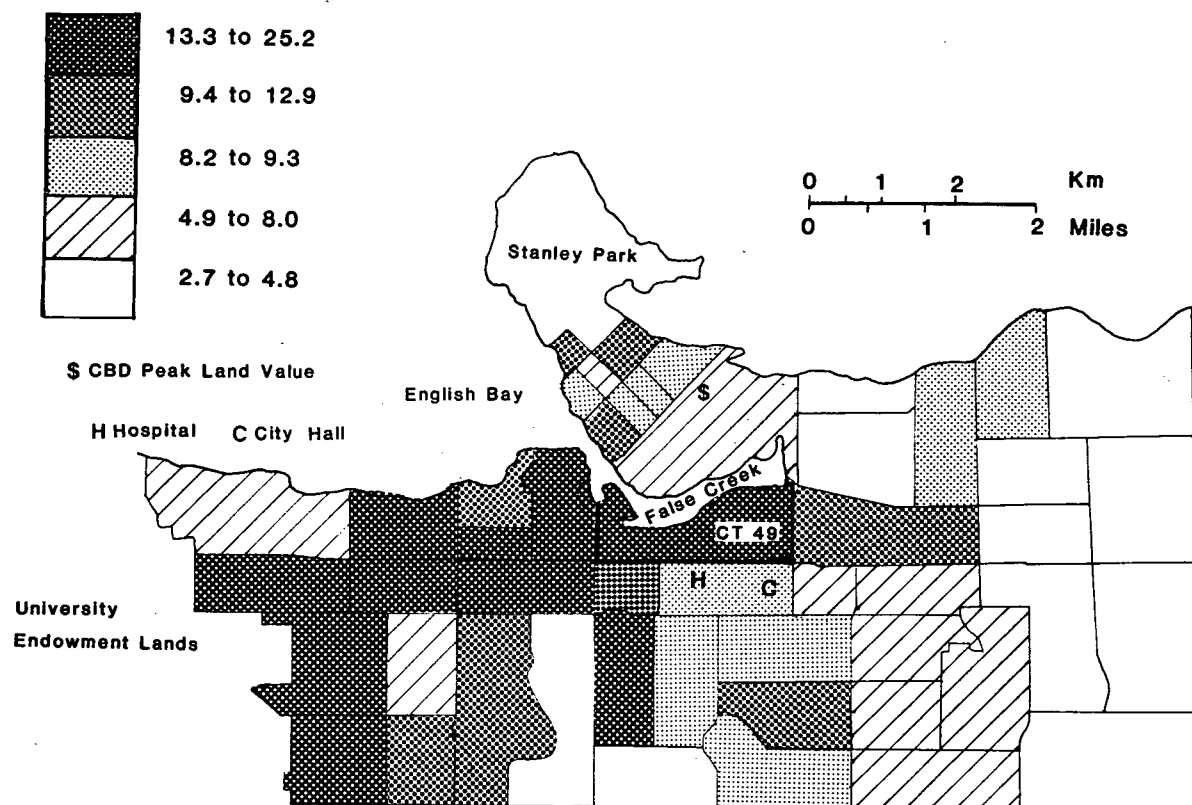


Figure 5.3 Inner City Gentrification in Vancouver, by Census Tract

such as park and waterfront, have the largest correlations with the gentrification index. The pattern of gentrification is biased in favour of the west side neighbourhoods adjacent to the False Creek waterfront, Kitsilano's beaches, the Endowment Lands forest and the University of British Columbia (Ley 1985a).

Gentrification took hold first in Kitsilano, a popular home for students and hearth of the west coast counter culture in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While zoning schedules and federal programmes protected some of the older housing stock in parts of this neighbourhood, many streets are developed to medium-density apartments, and the construction of more costly condominiums represents the latest stage of social and physical transformation. The West End, which was already largely developed to high rise residences, has proved less attractive to higher status gentrifiers. Its population includes many elderly women, young singles who are employed in downtown offices, and the city's major concentration of gay men. Reflecting the city's east-west division by social status, east-side neighbourhoods have been little gentrified, with the exception of Grandview-Woodlands where artistic and "countercultural" activities, displaced from Kitsilano, are now flourishing (Jackson 1984; Buchan 1985).

The highest gentrification index is calculated for tract 49, south of False Creek. The eastern portion of this tract, which falls inside the Mount Pleasant neighbourhood, is primarily converted to light industrial and warehouse uses, with a small proportion of run-down houses and old apartment blocks remaining. However, the portion west of Cambie Street has undergone one of the most dramatic transformations of any inner city neighbourhood in Canada. Along the waterfront, an industrial area has been converted by government initiative to a medium-density neighbourhood of mixed residential and parkland use. On the slopes above False Creek, private redevelopment has

led to a removal of older houses and the flourishing of a highly distinctive landscape of new condominiums and townhouses. This neighbourhood, Fairview Slopes, is bordered on the south by Broadway (the city's secondary office core surrounding the hospital and City Hall), on the east by Cambie Street (an important traffic corridor with mixed retail and commercial uses) and on the west by Granville Street (a major north-south route and stylish shopping district). I have made Fairview Slopes the focus of my empirical case study, and I shall describe the form of its redevelopment in the next section.

Before doing that, we return briefly to the task of context-setting by considering the patterning of variables measuring gender relations within Vancouver City in 1981. Figures 5.4 and 5.5 map a selection of these variables by census tract as examples (official city neighbourhood boundaries are also outlined). In terms of marital status, the inner city neighbourhoods of Kitsilano, Fairview, the West End and downtown have relatively high concentrations of singles; this distribution has fairly close correspondence to the gentrification map, with the exceptions of False Creek (which was planned to improve the family housing stock) and the Dunbar-Arbutus-Ridge districts (which have relatively expensive single-family houses and some condominium development attractive to elderly adults). Outside the inner city, south Marpole also has high proportions of single women; this is an apartment zone of relatively cheap accommodation with excellent access up Granville street to downtown for female office workers. Patterns for percentages divorced are similar, but for a somewhat greater incidence in cheaper east-side neighbourhoods including Grandview-Woodlands and Mount Pleasant which are experiencing incipient gentrification. The fertility measure is distributed much as expected, largely concentric in form with some sectoral bias (lower on the west side) and with outlying nuclei in Marpole and South Arbutus (low fertility associated with apartment/condominium zones)

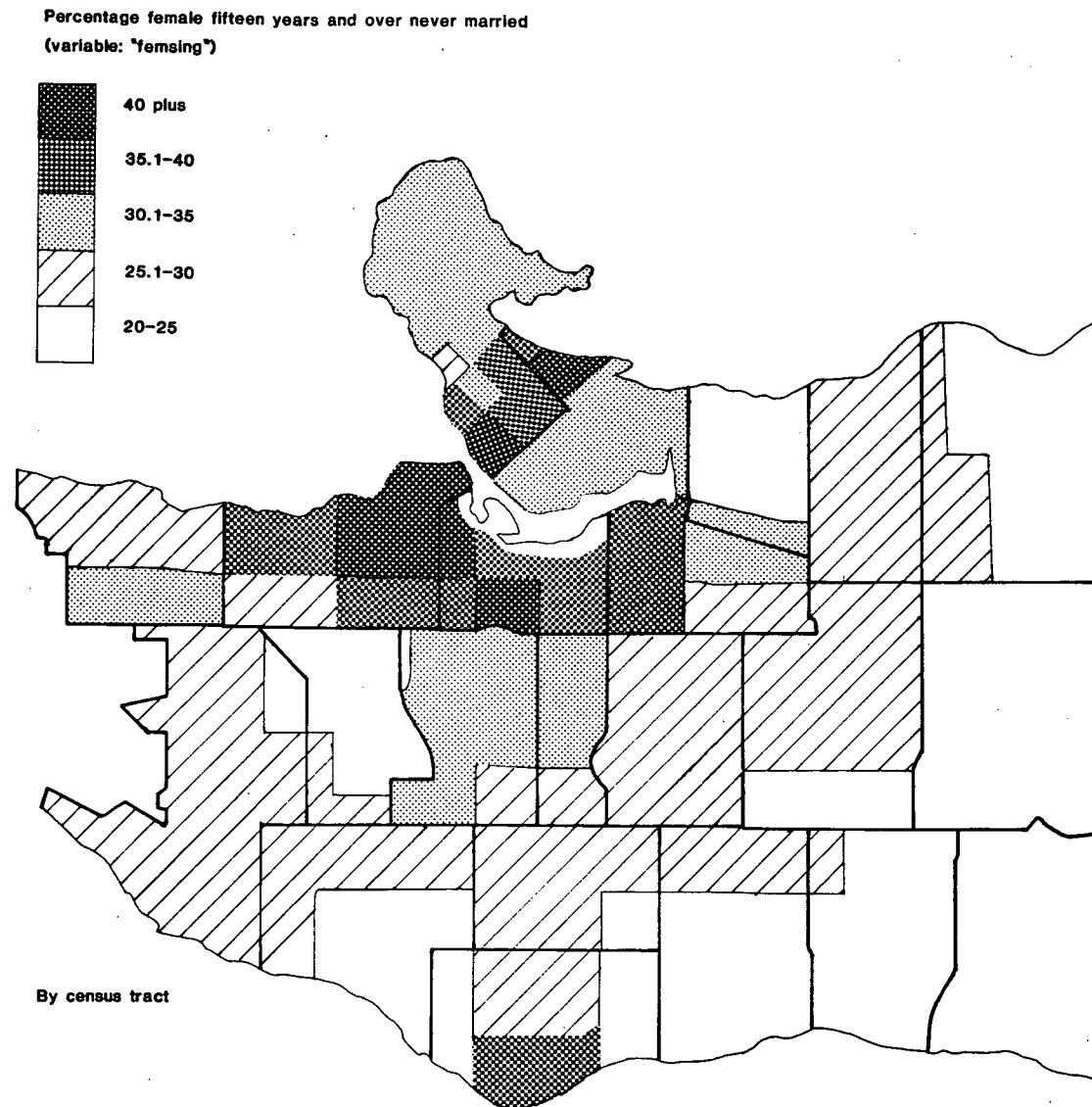


Figure 5.4 Proportion of Single Women in Vancouver, by Census Tract

Percentage husband-wife families with both husband and wife in the labour force
(variable: "dual")

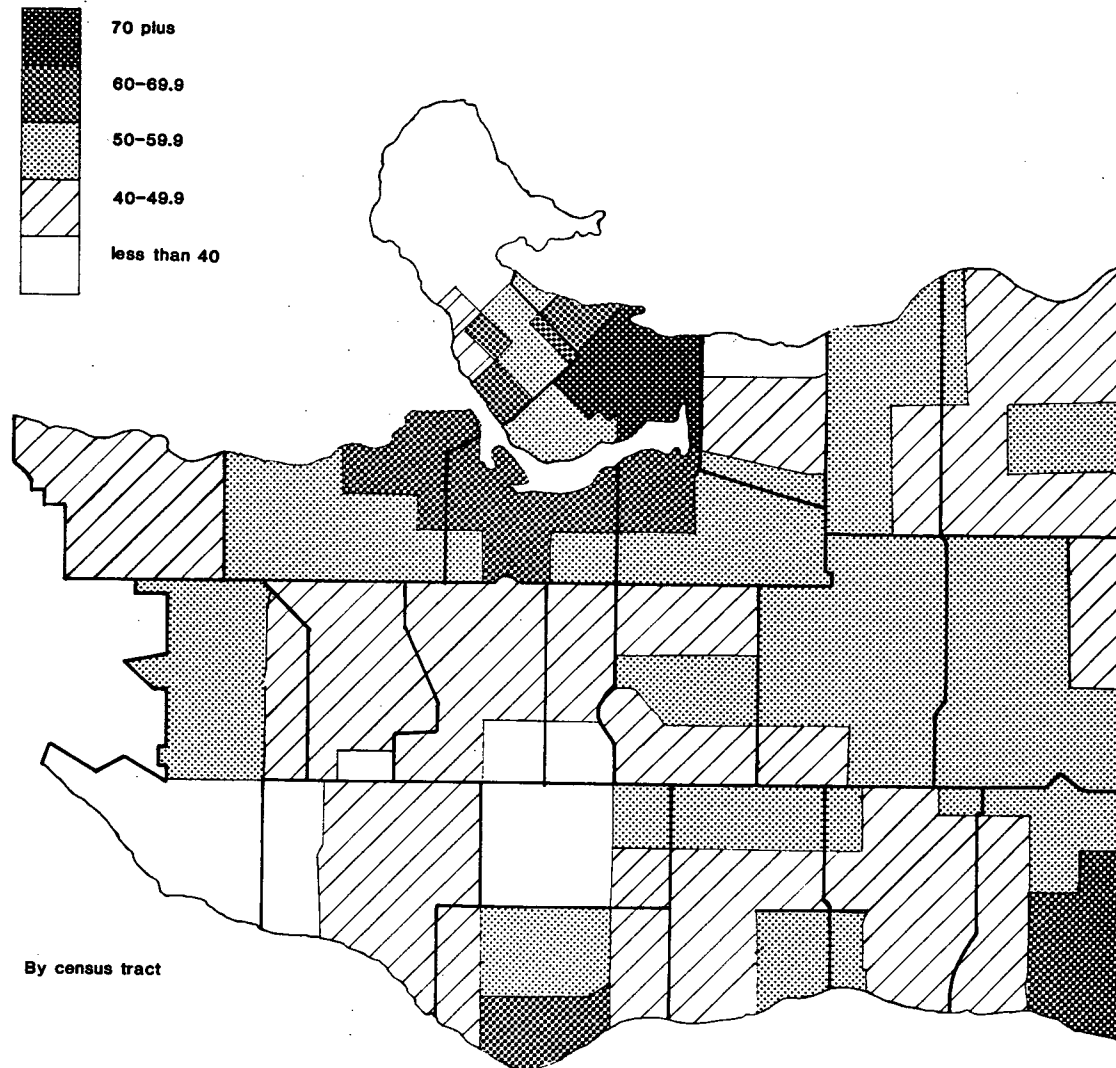


Figure 5.5 Dual-Worker Families, by Census Tract

and Shaughnessy (high fertility associated with Vancouver's elite "establishment" neighbourhood). In sum, measures of marital status and family composition confirm that conventional family-oriented lifestyles are least prevalent in the west-side inner city neighbourhoods, largely those where gentrification is also most advanced.

Earlier we noted that, contrary to the patterns established for the other variables, the measure of husband-wife families with both partners in the labour force was higher for the C.M.A. as a whole than for Vancouver City alone. At this more local scale the highest measures are found for the inner city neighbourhoods, although there are also high measures associated with the less affluent east side tracts. High measures in the C.B.D. are affected by small absolute numbers of husband-wife families.

Chapter four explored in more detail some indicators of female status, comparing women's absolute position and relative position with respect to men on measures of income and occupation. Sex-segregation in the labour force was reflected in both the manufacturing-dominated cities by a strong concentration of men in blue-collar occupations, and in the major administrative and financial centres where the dual labour market meant measures of men's status far outstripped those for women. As a result, women's relative occupational status had a negative correlation with the index of gentrification. Do similar effects hold true at the intra-city scale?

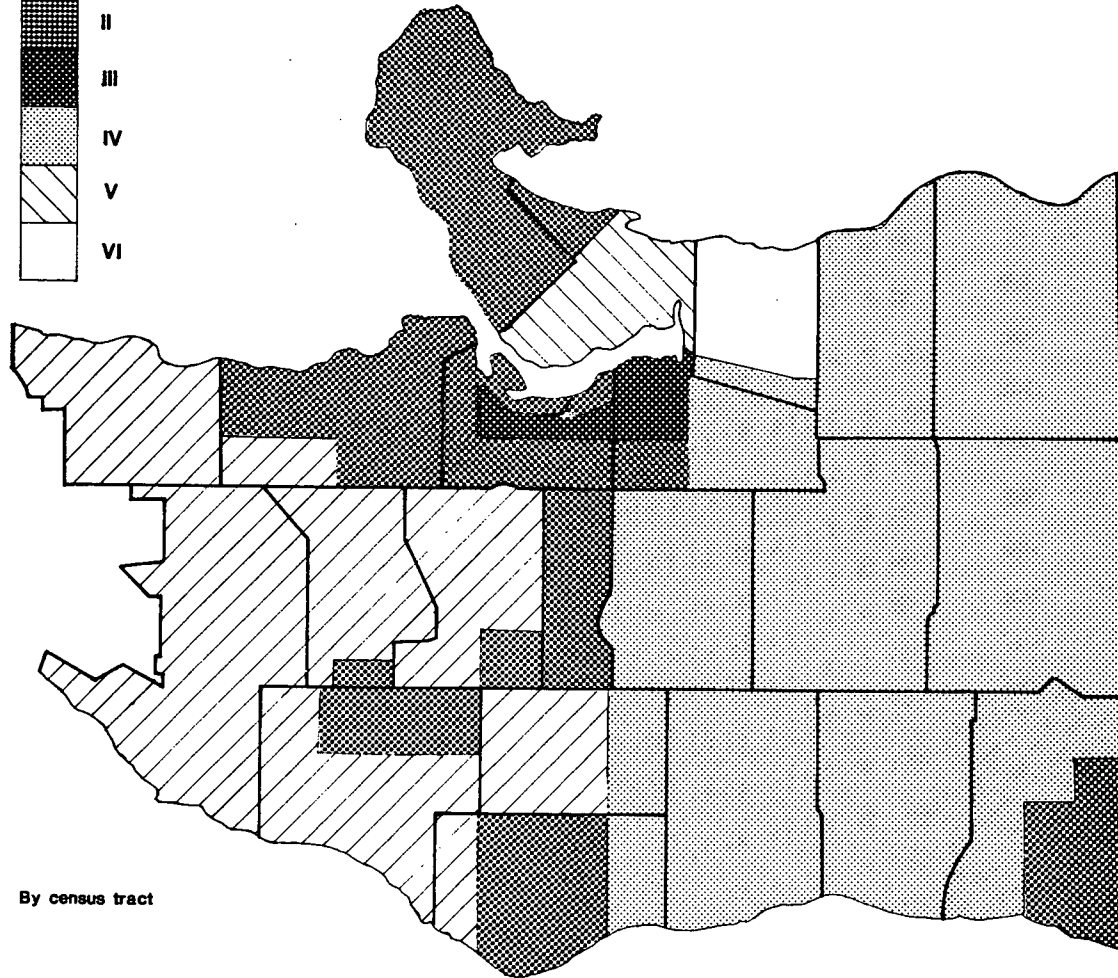
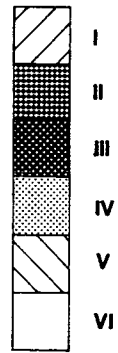
Geographically, female absolute status is generally higher in west-side neighbourhoods, and declines especially to the north east. Female status relative to that of the men in the same census tract is more variable in its patterning. On income it is high in inner city tracts (including inner east-side neighbourhoods) and in south Marpole. On occupation, where status was measured by employment in managerial and knowledge occupation, female

relative status is high on the east side and in parts of the west side of the inner city. This reflects the finding from the city-system-scale analysis where a dominance of blue collar occupations amongst men boosts female relative occupational status. On education, measured by proportions with university-level education, women tend to have higher relative status in the inner city, but elsewhere there is no clear pattern.

In order to identify different types of neighbourhoods on the basis of female status, a cluster analysis was performed on the six standardized variables for female absolute and relative status on income, occupation and education measures, for the 77 census tracts. Clustering was stopped after step 71 when there remained six groups (Figure 5.6). Table 5.5 gives their average scores on the six variables. Group one comprises the affluent west side inner suburbs, where female absolute status is high, but relative status by income and occupation is low. Group two comprises the west side of the inner city, plus a sector reaching down to Marpole and an outlier in the south east where there has been substantial new development of townhouses. These tracts have high absolute status and also high relative status on income. Group three comprises one neighbourhood, Fairview Slopes, which is similar to group two except with overall higher measures on relative status, especially education on which it scores the highest of all tracts. Most east side neighbourhoods fall into group four, where there is low absolute status but moderate to high relative status. Group five encompasses the C.B.D. plus the zone of discard, where there are relatively few women living; here female absolute status is low, but female relative status on income and education is high. Group six encompasses two neighbourhoods with large proportions of the population of east Asian origin; female absolute status is very low; relative status is low except on income, which is very high.

Comparison with the map of gentrification in Figure 5.3 indicates a

FEMALE STATUS BY GROUP



By census tract

Figure 5.6 Census Tract Groups from Cluster Analysis on Female Status Variables

TABLE 5.5
 MEDIAN CENSUS TRACT SCORES ON MEASURES OF
 FEMALE STATUS, BY GROUP

Group	Median of census tract scores*					
	finc	focc	funi	relinc	relocc	reluni
I	8296	38.7	40.9	39.9	78.1	79.5
II	10423	33.6	28.9	69.7	84.4	71.5
III	9047	35.7	32.3	77.4	90.7	107.1
IV	7037	16.8	11.9	49.9	110.3	76.2
V	5141	20.0	15.7	87.0	94.4	86.1
VI	5001	9.7	5.9	93.2	85.7	51.8
<hr/>						
All tracts	7654	22.2	20.9	52.9	91.8	73.1

* Finc: Median income of women aged 15 and over.

Focc: Proportion of female labour force in managerial and knowledge occupations.

Funi: Proportion of women aged 15 and over with university-level education.

Relinc: Median income of women aged 15 and over expressed as a percentage of median income of men aged 15 and over.

Relocc: Proportion of female labour force in managerial and knowledge occupations, expressed as a percentage of male labour force in managerial and knowledge occupations.

Reluni: Proportion of women aged 15 and over with university-level education, expressed as a percentage of men aged 15 and over with university-level education.

reasonable fit between the fate of different portions of the inner city, and the status of women in those areas in 1981. Those areas experiencing the highest levels of gentrification fall largely into group two where, absolutely and relatively, women do well compared to women in other areas (though even here women's status remains poor compared to that of men). Gentrification is less prevalent in the most affluent tracts where women do not do so well relative to men, especially in the most elite district of Shaughnessy; these are areas which never experienced the "downgrading" of the core neighbourhoods. Gentrification is low in east-side neighbourhoods where female absolute status is low. The tract comprising group three, Fairview Slopes, falls into the area experiencing experienced the highest level of gentrification (the gentrification index could not distinguish Fairview Slopes from False Creek since these were not separate tracts in 1971). The women in Fairview Slopes enjoy some of the highest status scores, both absolutely and relatively, in the whole city. Even here, however, it must be emphasised that women do very poorly compared to men on the measure of income. The heuristic of the "postpatriarchal" is intended to underscore some signs of change in gender relations, but clearly there is substantial continuity in some oppressive elements of women's experience. This will be considered further when the intensive study of Fairview Slopes is described in later chapters.

Having established the context for inner city gentrification in Vancouver, the following sections detail the story of development in the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood.

5.3 DEVELOPMENT OF FAIRVIEW SLOPES.

Fairview was named in 1886 by Laughlin Hamilton, land surveyor for the Canadian Pacific Railway to which the Province had granted the forested slopes on the south shore of False Creek. In the early 1890s the area was cleared and sold in lots to speculative buyers, thus producing the CPR's first major residential subdivision. A streetcar line was constructed. Some early houses on the Fairview Slopes (the portion north of Broadway) were large and impressive, such as Hodson Manor constructed in 1894. These enjoyed spectacular views of the creek below and the mountains on the north shore of Burrard Inlet beyond (Plate 5.1). In the first decade of the twentieth century, and following the C.P.R.'s decision to develop Shaughnessey Heights to the south as the exclusive residential neighbourhood, Fairview Slopes was built with more modest wood-framed houses (Plates 5.2., 5.3). These housed professionals, tradespeople, and workers employed in the shipbuilding, sawmill and steel plants springing up in the False Creek basin. A few three storey apartment buildings were erected around the edges of the area. Figure 5.7 identifies the residential core of the neighbourhood, and this is the area with which the following discussion is primarily concerned; see note ² for some comments on the boundaries.

The shores of False Creek were quickly and thoroughly industrialized; in 1928, the Bartholomew plan for Vancouver reported that the creek had become "an eyesore and a menace to health" (Bartholomew and Associates 1928:147). Industrial uses encroached upon the neighbouring Fairview Slopes, encouraged by industrial zoning on Sixth Avenue in the 1950s. In 1957 a Vancouver Redevelopment Study found that the area had "proved to be unattractive to new residential development" (City of Vancouver 1983b:1). Consequently, in the early 1960s the whole Fairview Slopes area was zoned for light industrial use and more houses were replaced by small industries, especially on the flatter

Plate 5.1



The view from Fairview Slopes in 1986 (pavilions for the 1986 Exposition occupy the North Shore of False Creek).

Plate 5.2



Small house displaying application for development permit, 1984.

Plate 5.3



House for sale (advertised in the newspaper "to be renovated or knocked down as building lot for your custom townhouses. Over 4000 sq. ft. can be built into 2 or 3 luxury homes" (West Side Real Estate Weekly, June 27, 1986)).

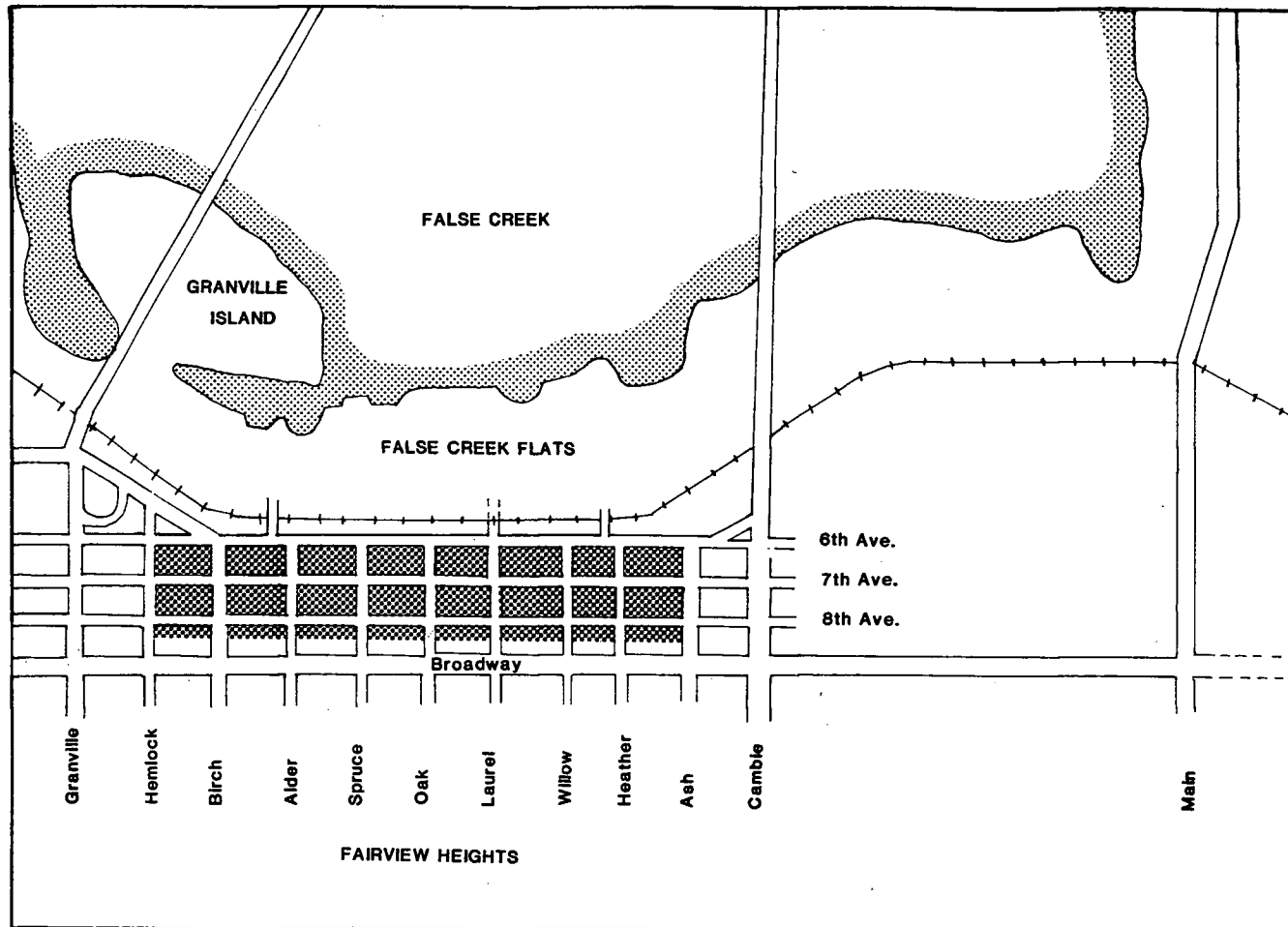


Figure 5.7 Residential Core of Fairview Slopes, with major streets

portion to the east.

During the 1960s, and in the expectation of industrial redevelopment, absentee landlords allowed the condition of residential buildings to deteriorate. Many houses were converted to rooming houses or communal homes; two thirds of the population were renters. The population was mixed in character, encompassing, according to one resident:

"Blue-collar and white collar workers, welfare recipients, aged pensioners, a colorful percentage of "free youth", also students, artists, musicians, craftsmen, an anthropologist, a social worker, an architect, a professional engineer, a writer, a nutritionist, a UBC English teacher" (Sterne 1972:A6).

The area achieved a reputation for a counter-cultural lifestyle, a "hidden village of mellow ambience" (Gutstein 1983:32), where fences were decorated with psychedelic paintings, houses with stained glass windows, communal backyards with adventure playgrounds and gardens with religious shrines.³ The focus was Choklit Park, constructed by residents between Sixth and Seventh Avenues on a small site around a former chocolate factory, where the slope is too steep for the continuation of Spruce Street. According to one whimsical account:

"Peace and love infused Choklit Park. On summer evenings a brass quintet played Mozart; a puppet and drama group gave workshops for children; local craftspeople sold their wares. But mostly the park was for the children who swung on the tires, slid down the wooden slide and played in the tree house" (Gutstein 1983:32).

Nevertheless, the area's more immediate image was closer to that of a "slum"-but a "slum with a difference" (Sterne 1972):

"On a shabby old Fairview house, the pigeons sit in rows along the eaves where disrepair has opened up a haven for them. Along West Seventh Avenue you can still see decayed front porches burdened with cast-off household effects. The street is littered here and there with overflow from casually disposed garbage, and when it rains the sagging sidewalks become an obstacle course of giant puddles.

Thus is the causal observer deceived, for along these neglected streets on the Fairview Slopes is some of the most sought-after property in Vancouver today" (Sterne 1973).

The immediate source of the anomaly reported by Sterne lay with the externality effect of the False Creek lands, which reflected the changing features of civic politics in Vancouver (Ley 1980, Fujii 1981). City Hall had long been dominated by the Non-Partisan Association, formed in 1935. Following the American urban reform model of civic government, the NPA ran Vancouver in the manner of an efficient business, with technical experts especially from the engineering and financial professions guiding decision-making through "scientific management". With the strong support of business interests, the NPA's focal concern was to promote economic growth and wise fiscal management. This growth-boosterism placed urban planning in the role of facilitating "progress" by providing the infrastructure required for further development (Hardwick 1974).

This arrangement stayed in place until the late 1960s when the spirit of a new liberalism in Canada began to infiltrate local consciousness (Ley 1980). Increased emphasis was placed on the qualitative aspects of urban living, with an enhanced sensitivity to environmental amenities which was lacking in the economistic and rationalistic outlook of the NPA. Pivotal to this was the rise of public opposition to a plan (eventually abandoned) to build a freeway which would have cut through the heart of Chinatown. Immediately following this event, three new civic political organizations emerged: The Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE), a civic wing of the New Democratic Party, and The Electors Action Movement (TEAM) (Fujii 1981). The first two of these catered to more leftist participants, whereas TEAM tapped the more moderate reform-oriented segments of the population (Ley 1980).

In both the 1968 and 1970 civic elections, TEAM won two aldermanic seats, but the 1972 election returned a TEAM mayor and eight out of ten aldermen (four of whom were university professors) (Fujii 1981). Between

1972 and 1978 TEAM controlled City Council. While until the 1960s the majority of aldermen were businesspersons, now most were professionals or semiprofessionals, reflecting the new class membership of the party as a whole (Ley 1980).

TEAM's platform on urban planning conjured up images of "the livable city", and stressed the need to place "people before property" (Ley 1980, 1987). Instead of pursuing growth above all else, the emphasis was placed on controls which would guarantee a high quality of urban life. The freeway city was rejected in favour of a stress on heritage preservation, downzoning and public spaces, while public participation in planning was encouraged by various means. Particularly relevant to the False Creek area was an effort to remove sources of blight and pollution from the city core. In 1967, the City was still supporting the continuation of industrial uses in the creek, but by 1968 the Planning Department was recommending deindustrialization as part of a policy to develop a strong metropolitan centre with cultural, tourist and economic facilities (Fujii 1981). In 1969 the City received 34 hectares of Provincial land on the south shore of the creek, on which the industrial leases were soon to expire; the City decided not to renew these leases and initiated a study on the future use of the area (City of Vancouver 1980). A number of alternative "development concepts" were considered (City of Vancouver 1970); the City ruled out the industrial options, and most support was received for proposals suggesting recreational, residential and commercial uses. Subsequently, Council adopted plans for the redevelopment of False Creek which paved the way for what Ley (1980) describes as "the most dramatic landscape metaphor of liberal ideology" (p. 252), and "a microcosm of the livable city vision" (p. 254). Connected by a seawall and pedestrian walkways, medium density residential enclaves were planned for a diversity of different housing types and tenures, in which would live a

population drawn from all social groups. The first residents moved into the Phase 1 development in 1976, comprised of 850 dwelling units, shops, an elementary school, a park and two marinas. When fully-developed, False Creek south shore comprised "a picturesque, medium-density, human-scale landscape, with mixed residential, commercial and leisure uses, and expressive of a cross-section of urban subcultures" (Ley 1987b:42). In the late 1970s, the adjacent Granville Island was developed with Federal funds, from various industrial and warehouse uses to a recreational and commercial area including a popular public market.

This publicly-initiated development on the False Creek flats was crucial to the direction of change in the largely privately-owned Fairview Slopes neighbourhood. Fujii (1981:106) quotes a proposal for a townhouse development on the Slopes in June 1975:

"With a City of Vancouver project underway on the flat land directly adjacent to the water's edge and due for completion in 1976 the potential of the Fairview Slopes as a high amenity area with spectacular views will come into its own....the Fairview Slopes have the potential of becoming one of the unique and innovative housing areas in North America."

Various studies of the False Creek options (for example, City of Vancouver (1971), False Creek Study Group (1971)) had suggested that Fairview Slopes should be redeveloped in combination with the south shore of the Creek (to which it was to be connected by a land-bridge over Sixth Avenue), and proposed that the City change the zoning from light industrial (M-1) to residential uses. At first the possibility of higher density residential zoning (CRM-1) was considered. However local residents favoured less intensive development, amongst them architect Henry Hawthorn who put forward an alternative plan which called for a "significantly different type of residential environment to those now existing in the city", mixing a range of new housing types, retaining the small scale and preserving the old houses,

developing open space for community parks, but "intensely urban" in character (quoted in Fujii 1981:93). The concept of urban low rise appealed to the Planning Department, and in 1972 the industrial zoning was replaced by a zoning for multiple dwelling residential plus limited commercial use. Zoning schedule CRM-3 permitted higher density developments on the peripheries adjacent to Granville and Cambie streets, but most of the area was under CRM-2 zoning (with a height limit of 35 feet), described as:

"designed to accommodate a highly urban environment embodying a compatible mixture of commercial, residential and ancillary uses....to positively encourage low profile development designed to optimize the potential amenities inherent in the topography and location of this district" (City of Vancouver 1983b:1).

The CRM-2 zoning incorporated a level of discretion, in which developers could earn higher density permits for particularly good designs which were appropriate for the unusual characteristics of the neighbourhood. However, there were no guidelines by which this discretion could be applied, and the new zoning failed to dispel an atmosphere of uncertainty. The city held back from making local area improvements until it was clear what kind of development would take place (Gutstein 1983); landlords continued to allow existing buildings to deteriorate, and vacant land was held without development. Only two residential projects were constructed between 1972 and 1974, both by small firms who already had a stake in the neighbourhood: Rhone and Iredale, architects who had established an office on the Slopes in the early sixties, and Henry Hawthorn's architectural firm. However, there was a considerable amount of speculative activity in anticipation of redevelopment; land prices soared, and particular interest was shown in non-residential uses.

The Fairview Residents Association and Community Action Society (FRACAS) was concerned about the danger posed by this speculative atmosphere for current residents. At this time and in response to TEAM's policy platform,

new City Director of Planning Ray Spaxman was putting into place a programme of Local Area Planning. Endorsing some of FRACAS' suggestions, such a project was initiated in Fairview Slopes in October 1974. This led to the appointment of a Fairview Planner and, in the following year, a Fairview Planning Committee consisting of tenants, resident and non-resident owners, and businesspersons, with the mandate to work towards policy recommendations on improving livability in the area.

At the same time, two reports came to Council. First, a consultant's report considered the feasibility of preserving the social and physical characteristics of Fairview Slopes (The Sussex Group 1974). This study recommended that the city should use city owned land in the area to construct low-cost housing so as to maintain the social mix; also, residents should establish a rehabilitation corporation to buy and improve property. Rehabilitation and infill were to be encouraged, if possible by grants from Federal sources. However, it became clear that the low level of commitment from absentee landlords, and the already high costs of land, made this option highly unlikely. The other report came from the Heritage Advisory Committee (City of Vancouver 1974), which reviewed the condition of the existing buildings in the neighbourhood. A two and a half block area, suggested as a preservation area, contained 49 houses of heritage significance, and there were 36 other important houses of heritage significance elsewhere in the area. Five were recommended as being of major importance. Of this five, City Council in 1976 decided to designate only three: Hodson Manor (1894) which had been moved three blocks when the owner wanted to develop the land; The Steamboat House (1889) which was incorporated to office use in a condominium development by Rhone and Iredale; and England House (1909) which has also been used for office purposes. Various developer incentives for renovation proved to have little effect in protecting other houses when the

profits for redevelopment were so high.⁴

Having sought community opinions, policy suggestions from the Fairview Planning Committee (working in conjunction with the Planning Department) were adopted by the City and incorporated into the Fairview Slopes Policy Plan in June 1976. The revised zoning schedule associated with this plan was adopted in October. These covered the area bounded by Hemlock, Eighth Avenue, Ash and Sixth Avenue.

The new zoning schedule was FM-1, its intent being:

"to enhance the small-scale residential character of the Fairview Slopes Neighbourhood by encouraging retention of the existing houses and permitting new low-profile residential development which may include some compatible commercial and ancillary uses, designed to optimize the amenities inherent in the topography and location of this inner-city neighbourhood" (City of Vancouver 1977: Appendix C).

The key feature of FM-1 is a flexible density provision. While the maximum Floor Space Ratio is 0.60 (meaning 60 square feet of building are allowed for every 100 square feet of lot), there is a discretionary bonus which allows density of up to an FSR of 1.50. Granting of this bonus depends on the provision of "adequate open space, overall design and compatibility with adjacent buildings" (City of Vancouver 1977: Appendix C). The height limit is 35 feet. Types of desirable amenity which are looked for in development applications are as follows: view corridors and designs which optimize the view potential of adjacent buildings, semi-public open space, high quality landscaping, diversity of unit type, variety of facades with a "broken up" appearance to emphasise individual units, "warm" finishing materials, functional amenity space at grade or on rooftops, attractive roofscape, compatibility with neighbouring buildings, and preservation of existing buildings though infill (Plate 5.4).

As well as looking favourably upon plans which would retain old houses by infill, other incentives were offered to encourage their preservation,

Plate 5.4

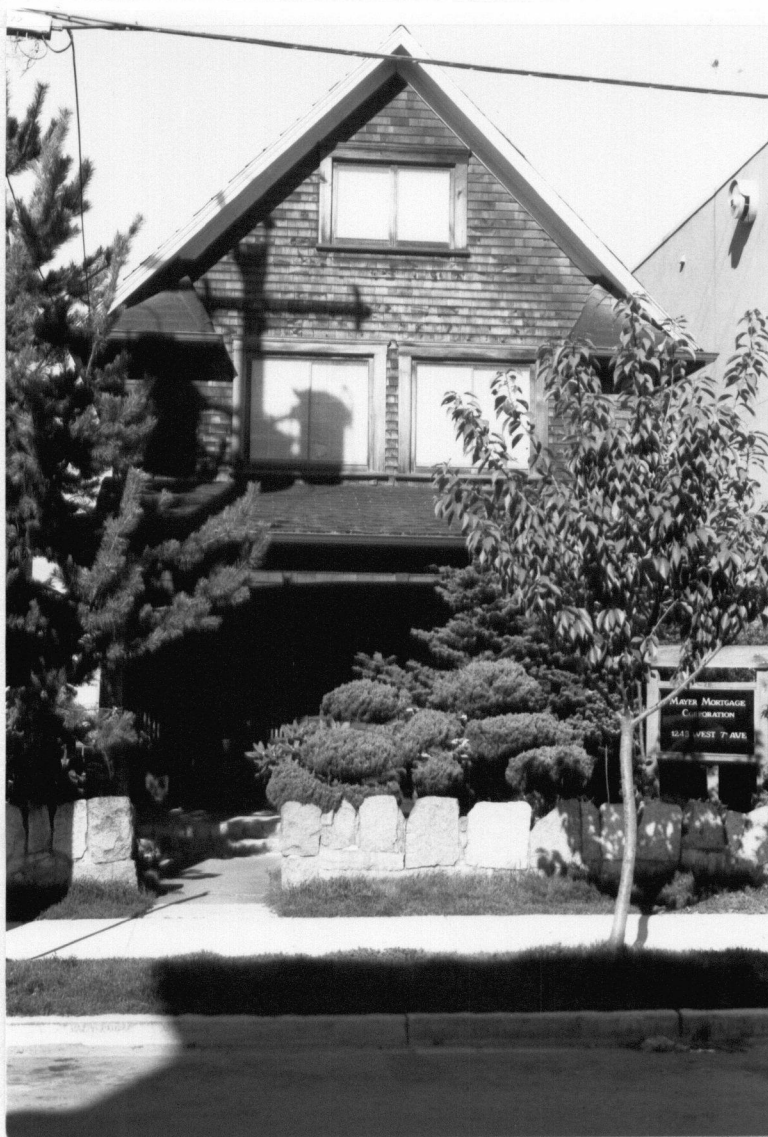


An example of infill completed in the late 1970s, comprising 19 townhouses, plus a renovated house offering office-space which has been occupied by a law firm and a development company.

most significantly allowing portions of the houses to be used for commercial purposes subject to appropriate restoration (Plate 5.5), and permitting a twenty percent increase in floor area up to an FSR of 1.0 for a house used entirely for residential purposes. Most new development was intended to be residential, but transition zones were put in place along Sixth Avenue and on the east and west boundaries where 100 percent commercial use was allowed, and on the north side of Eighth Avenue where 50 percent commercial use was permitted; in the rest of the area only 15 percent of floor area could be dedicated to commercial use. The plan also recommended policies intended to preserve social mix. Two plots of City-owned land were to be used for social housing: subsequently, Daon Development Corporation developed one site to 50 rental units under the Assisted Rental Program (plus 10,000 square feet of commercial space), and the other site was developed into housing for the handicapped. The Policy Plan also recommended that the city should sell its two lots on Sixth Avenue and use the proceeds to purchase other more suitable sites on The Slopes for social housing; however, once those lots were sold, the money was not used for that purpose.

The provision for higher densities, combined with the growing confidence about the future of the area, led to a dramatic surge in development permit applications and in construction activity. In her comparison of Fairview Slopes with adjacent Mount Pleasant, Lum (1984) has shown the significance of the Fairview zoning to the intensity of development: not only were average annual house prices (per square foot) higher in Fairview Slopes in the period 1976 to 1982, but also relative annual price increases were also higher in all years except 1979. Overall, prices per square foot increased 227 percent over the period in Fairview Slopes (121 percent in Mount Pleasant). The largest price increase, for 1980 to 1981, was 98.6 percent. In the 1982 recession there was a very slight decrease in prices on the Slopes, a small

Plate 5.5



House renovated with Japanese details such as paper window blinds (office space is occupied by a mortgage company).

fall compared to that for Mount Pleasant and the region as a whole. According to Lum, substantial development pressures were produced by the zoning change. Property prices are very high; for example, in 1983 a house on a 25 by 120 foot lot sold for \$240,000, and a vacant 50 by 110 foot lot sold for \$550,000, at a time when the average metropolitan house price was \$114,730. Evidence for speculative activity comes from multiple sales of the same house; 30 of the 50 resales occurred in less than one year.

The Development Permit Board, which judged the merit of applications, was advised by the Development Permit Advisory Panel, drawn largely from the development industry. In Gutstein's opinion (1975) TEAM was much more directly influenced by developers' interests than its political rhetoric suggested; he claims that land use issues on The Slopes were more frequently resolved in favour of the developers (Gutstein 1983). It is certainly noteworthy that, at the time he was writing, influential TEAM members such as alderman Cowie, former alderman Massey, and fundraiser Iredale had homes or offices in the area "or were involved in redevelopment" (Gutstein 1983:33). In addition, Ray Spaxman, enthusiastic promoter of flexible zoning, was a resident for a while, and TEAM alderman (later mayor and then NDP provincial leader) Harcourt had a townhouse built in the heart of the neighbourhood. Certainly these facts confirm the influence of a new middle class vision of the "livable" urban environment incompatible with both the lifestyles and the resources of former residents. In practice, however, few would disagree that the neighbourhood did not turn out quite as expected. In the opinion of many residents, the maximum density has been granted to developments which barely meet the standards anticipated. Even a "real estate industry spokesman" is quoted as criticizing some projects as "just plain crap that shouldn't have been allowed to proceed" (Ford 1980:C1). For example:

"Leo Lund received an FSR of 1.50 at 1040 Seventh because he said his project would maintain the continuity of the open central courtyard with the building next door. However, it is difficult to appreciate this continuity since the two courtyards are separated by a chain-link fence.

Another bonus-earning feature was a 'view corridor' for the residents on Eighth. But the neighbor who lived directly behind this project said she would have to stand in her driveway to appreciate the view" (Gutstein 1983:34).

Since Council adopted the Fairview Slopes Policy Plan and the FM-1 zoning schedule in 1976, there have been a number of reviews intended to judge the operation of the regulations. Residents have expressed dissatisfaction with the large number of developments that have received permission for higher densities without, it seems, earning them. For example, a review of development in Fairview Slopes quotes the following comments from minutes of a residents' meeting:

"It was agreed that FSR, in itself, is not necessarily the most important issue...The principal objective is the 'livability' of the area"; and

"It was agreed that the maximum FSR has been permitted, seemingly as a matter of course, for some developments where no significant amenities--stipulated in the guidelines--have been provided" (City of Vancouver 1981:4).

Despite these complaints, the City report concluded that the Fairview Slopes still remained highly "livable", and that given current conditions in the city's housing market, "the intensification of residential development in this area seems entirely appropriate and the resulting units appear to be a very much sought after commodity" (p. 3) (Plates 5.6 and 5.7). The 1981 report also considered the problem of the rapid destruction of old houses. It was clear that the expense of renovation to bring houses up to the building code standards made redevelopment a much more attractive option. However, it was concluded that "further investigation is likely to demonstrate that incentives for preservation are not practical or, within the context of the redevelopment which has occurred, not desirable" (p. 6).

Plate 5.6



"Windgate Choklit Park", a development of 31 condominium units, completed in 1986.

Plate 5.7



"Rhapsody Citihomes", a development of 40 condominium units, completed in 1986.

In response to this review, in 1982 Council reaffirmed the Fairview Slopes Plan and zoning, stressing that increases in FSR be well-earned in terms of a project's compatibility and the public amenities it offers. However, the nature of the development in the area remained controversial. During the recession of the early 1980s, property was being held in expectation of future profits. For example, in 1983 the tenants of three houses on one block owned by a German businessman requested the landlord to make repairs which would bring the accommodation up to City standards; the landlord refused, claiming the costs of repair were too high, and evicted the tenants; the houses stood vacant until 1986 when they were demolished; a thirty-unit condominium development has since been erected on the site.

In 1986 a further review was conducted, following discussion of a plan to develop a site on which there were two houses. Of the 85 houses of heritage significance listed in the 1974 study, only 43 had remained in 1981, and by 1986 only 23 were left (City of Vancouver 1986). On the request of a neighbour, the city's Heritage Advisory Committee suggested that the two threatened houses, plus three adjacent ones (including that of the neighbour) receive heritage designation (McMartin 1986). The effect of designation is to freeze the investment value of the property; it seems possible that owners now may be able to claim expensive compensation from the city, and thus that option was rejected.⁵ A further review was recommended, and from March 1987 City Council took the unusual step of requiring that all development applications in the neighbourhood be brought before Council itself as well as before the Development Permit Board (Ballantyne 1987a).

In the 1986 review, the degree to which new developments earn their higher densities was once again queried. Residents have been fighting over the few remaining developable lots,⁶ such as one on Seventh Avenue where one of Canada's most prestigious architectural firms (Arthur Erickson Architects,

which has offices in the neighbourhood) has built a development which blocks much of the view from neighbouring property (Ballantyne 1987b). Planning Director Spaxman has admitted that the most recent developments pose particular problems for planners because they are built with smaller units (land prices are too high for bigger units in today's market) which require more corridor space and put more pressure on parking. Once again, Council reaffirmed the FM-1 schedule in May 1987, with a request for closer consultation between developers and neighbours, and for more emphasis on views, compatibility and streetscape.

Planner Tom Nonay, who has had a particular responsibility for the area, is quoted asking "Is it fair to penalize developers just because they didn't get in until the final phase?" (Ballantyne 1987b:3). Similarly, a report examining the failure of incentives for house retention concludes: "In these circumstances, and given the general need to maintain consistent application of the by-law (both between different sites and over time), its strict interpretation is also not considered to be realistic" (City of Vancouver 1986:3). This focus on consistency and fairness to the developers is certainly disturbing to the present residents: in any case, it is surely in the nature of all zoning, whether "up" or "down", to establish the bases for windfall profits or losses to those already owning property; if Fairview's zoning in the past has boosted the value of land and property, then there is no reason why the opposite tactic should be ruled out. However, the laissez-faire logic does reflect the spirit of a time when business interests are again on the ascendent in civic politics, and when popular opinion aligns more with profitability than with livability, exchange value rather than use value. This is reflected in the conclusion to a commentary on the proposed heritage designation of more Fairview houses:

"Architectural preservation is a conceit that under the present way of doing things is foisted on the public by bureaucrats and elitists who, dreaming of the Champs Elysses, forget the huge costs of preservation.

Who is going to pay for it? Under the present system, it will be the property owner.

Under the present system, a man's home may not be his castle. It could be his prison. City hall will be the jailer" (McMartin 1986:B5).

5.4 SOCIAL CHANGE IN FAIRVIEW SLOPES.

The redevelopment of Fairview Slopes has brought with it considerable social change, as evidenced by the high index of gentrification calculated for the tract in which it is located. Exploring the dimensions of this change is complicated by the peculiarities of the geographic divisions employed by Statistics Canada in carrying out the census. In 1961 and 1971, Fairview Slopes and the south shore of False Creek both fell into one census tract (C.T. 49 in 1971). This tract extended east to Main Street and west to Granville. With few residents living on the False Creek flats (only 18 before redevelopment in 1976, according to comparative figures given in the 1981 census), and with Fairview Slopes itself undergoing the influx of industrial and warehouse uses typical of the portion east of Cambie, this tract did not encompass too great a variation in social characteristics. But during the 1970s distinctive divisions in social and physical character emerged within this area, and so the tract was split. False Creek with Granville Island became a separate tract (49.2), leaving the Slopes plus the area east of Cambie in tract 49.1. Within the eastern industrial area remain a few dilapidated houses, plus some older apartment buildings; in terms of social status their residents are quite different from the new Fairview population (though features such as household size are similar), and the portion of Main Street which borders the tract has characteristics similar to those found downtown in "skid row". In consequence, data collected over the

whole tract is likely to underrepresent the "gentrifier characteristics" of the residents of the Slopes.

To distinguish the changes taking place on Fairview Slopes per se (above the flats, between Granville and Cambie) therefore requires that we employ the finer geographical divisions of enumeration districts. This is very difficult for 1971 when the area is divided into five E.D.s, one of which encompasses the False Creek flats as well as the Slopes west of Hemlock. Data from these E.D.s have to be treated with extreme caution; since they cover such small areas there is a real danger of error arising from the rounding of figures in census publications. Therefore, except in cases where category counts are large enough to feel some confidence in the figures, these have been omitted in the data presented in the following pages. However, in general it appears that the Slopes featured social characteristics varying from the C.M.A. and City averages to an even greater extent than the census tract 49 as a whole. In 1981 we can be more confident in using enumeration districts since nearly all of the Fairview Slopes was covered by two E.D.s (201 and 203) (the exception is a tiny tract comprising the Holiday Inn hotel on Broadway, which has been omitted from calculations below). Some data at census tract level are available for 1986; the northern boundary has been realigned to follow Sixth Avenue instead of the railway so as to exclude a large apartment development which has been constructed during the 1980s on the north side of Sixth Avenue between Birch and Hemlock. No E.D. data are available for 1986.

The following discussion compares conditions in Vancouver C.M.A. and City with the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood as variously defined. In both 1971 and in the more recent census years, Fairview Slopes was a neighbourhood distinguished by its extremity in comparison to the city as a whole; however, the nature of that extremity has been drastically redefined. Further

evidence for this turnaround will be presented when we look at Fairview's physical landscape in the concluding section to this chapter.

Within the area defined by enumeration districts, the population fell between 1971 and 1981, from 1435 to 1090, although it has certainly risen again during the 1980s. Confirmation of the very rapid changes in the area during the 1970s comes from the data on population mobility (Table 5.6). Even in 1971 this was an area with a relatively unstable population, with two thirds of the population defined as "movers", reflecting Fairview's role as a home for transient young adults at the time. However, mobility has increased: less than a fifth of residents in C.T. 49.01 were living in the same dwelling in 1981 that they had occupied in 1976. This figure is the third lowest in the city, after False Creek and a portion of the C.B.D.. In line with rebuttals of the "back to the city" myth in the literature, the largest source of residents comprises those who were formerly living in other parts of Vancouver City. In fact, movers from other parts of the province (which includes the rest of Vancouver C.M.A.) are fewer in number than those from out-of-province.

In 1971 and through to the most recent census year, Fairview Slopes has had an age distribution quite distinct from that of the city as a whole (Table 5.7). In 1971, while children under 15 are underrepresented, the 15-24 age group comprises a greater proportion of the population than in Vancouver City and C.M.A.. The 35-44 age group is underrepresented. Other age groups are similar to C.M.A. values, while Vancouver City has a greater proportion of elderly persons. By 1981 and 1986, the underrepresentation of children remains significant. However, the 15-24 age group is similar to city figures, suggesting the loss of the young transient and student population. The overrepresented group now shifts especially to the 25-34 age group which represents a more stable and better-established young adult

TABLE 5.6
POPULATION FIVE YEARS AND OVER BY MOBILITY STATUS,
BY PERCENTAGE

	1971			1981			
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes	
	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D. 201,3
Non movers (same dwelling)	45.7	46.7	33.2	45.7	47.7	18.4	11.6
Movers:							
-non-migrants (different dwelling, same municipality)	23.4	28.5	35.9	25.6	29.0	40.8	46.8
-migrants							
--from B.C.	14.8	6.9	8.0	15.6	7.5	12.2	14.4
--from other province	8.8	7.5	11.3	8.0	8.2	21.3	22.2
--from outside Canada	7.3	10.5	11.7	5.2	7.6	7.3	5.1

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

Based on place of residence five years ago.

Percentages calculated from column totals of those stating previous residence.

TABLE 5.7

AGE DISTRIBUTION, BY PERCENTAGE

AGE GROUP	1971			1981				1986		
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes		Vancouver		F. Slopes
	C.M.A.	City	C.T.	C.M.A.	City	C.T.	E.D.	C.M.A.	City	C.T.
			49			49.1	201,3			49.1
<15	25.4	19.5	17.8	19.1	14.4	9.6	6.9	18.4	14.0	5.4
15-24	17.6	18.3	23.7	17.6	17.4	19.4	17.4	15.4	15.4	14.2
25-34	14.0	13.9	15.7	18.3	19.6	32.3	37.4	18.6	20.6	34.6
35-44	12.1	11.3	9.2	13.0	11.5	15.9	17.8	15.4	14.5	22.6
45-54	11.7	12.3	11.2	10.8	10.9	7.6	8.2	10.5	10.2	11.6
55-64	9.2	11.3	9.7	9.7	10.9	8.1	7.8	9.6	10.3	6.0
65+	10.1	13.5	12.7	11.5	15.3	7.1	4.6	12.1	15.0	5.6

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 100 percent sample.

population. Compared to 1981, by 1986 a slightly more mature population is present, probably reflecting both the ageing of baby-boom residents in place, and the larger proportions of older adult households attracted to the area in the later stages of gentrification. However, over-55s are still underrepresented, and the proportion aged 65 and over is one of the lowest in Vancouver City.

With respect to distribution by marital status, for Vancouver City and C.M.A. the percentages single have increased from 1971 through to 1986 (Table 5.8). In all cases the percentage single has been much greater for Fairview Slopes; however, it seems to be becoming less extreme on this variable. Percentages divorced are consistently higher compared to the rest of the city, exceeded only by areas of Downtown Eastside and the West End (plus False Creek for women).

In terms of household and family composition, Fairview Slopes again varies substantially from city averages (Table 5.9). While percentage of families with no children at home has remained fairly stable for the City and the C.M.A., the percentage in Fairview Slopes has been higher and has increased consistently over the period 1971 to 1986. In 1981, over half of families in the census tract had no children at home (in fact, 55 percent of husband-wife families were childless, compared to 20 and 24 percent in the C.M.A. and the City respectively, according to twenty percent census sample data). In 1986, 65 percent of Fairview Slopes families have no children at home. 1981 census sample data show that 23 percent of Fairview Slopes census tract families are lone-parent families, compared to 12 percent in the C.M.A. and 14 percent in Vancouver City. This overrepresentation is particularly extreme for men: of Fairview lone parents, 29 percent are male, compared to 17 percent in the C.M.A. and 16 percent in the City. This is likely a result of the high costs of living in this area which are more easily borne by male

TABLE 5.8

DISTRIBUTION BY MARITAL STATUS, BY PERCENTAGE

MARITAL STATUS	1971			1981				1986		
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes		Vancouver		F. Slopes
	C.M.A.	City	C.T.	C.M.A.	City	C.T.	E.D.	C.M.A.	City	C.T.
			49			49.1	201,3			49.1
Single	25.7	29.5	40.0	27.5	33.3	43.9	41.9	28.0	34.8	40.3
Married*	64.5	58.0	46.8	61.5	52.7	42.5	45.3	60.0	51.2	47.8
Divorced	2.7	3.5	4.8	4.1	5.2	9.4	9.9	4.8	5.9	9.7
Widowed	7.2	9.1	8.4	6.9	8.8	4.2	3.0	6.6	8.2	2.2

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 100 percent sample.

* Married includes separated, and cohabitants from 1981.

TABLE 5.9
SELECTED FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD VARIABLES

	1971			1981				1986		
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes		Vancouver		F. Slopes
	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D. 201,3	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1
Average children per family	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	0.7	0.5	1.1	1.1	0.5
Average persons per family	3.4	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.5	2.3	3.0	2.9	2.3
Percentage families with no children at home	35.8	43.2	43.4	37.7	41.9	52.6	65.1	37.4	40.0	65.3
Percentage families with one child at home	20.6	21.1	23.0	24.2	24.9	29.5	25.6	25.6	26.7	25.8
Percentage private households, non-family households	24.9	36.1	54.4	32.4	45.8	65.0	66.9	33.9	48.1	61.3
Percentage persons in private households, non-family persons	14.1	22.1	42.2	18.2	27.7	50.4	53.5	19.5	29.7	47.6
Average persons per household	3.0	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.3	1.8	1.6	2.5	2.3	1.7
Percentage private households, one person	19.0	27.4	39.9	27.0	38.5	51.4	55.2	27.6	39.4	46.7
Percentage private households, two persons	29.3	32.0	25.0	31.1	30.0	31.1	32.8	31.4	29.6	39.9

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 100 percent sample.

heads. While these figures on family structure are distinctive, those on household structure are even more so, for in 1981 only about a third of households were family households (this is increasing in 1986), and over half of the population was defined as non-family persons. In 1981, 55 percent of households comprised one person, and 33 percent comprised two persons; by 1986, these figures had shifted to 47 percent and 40 percent respectively, probably corresponding to a slightly more mature population.

In many respects, the data reported above represent the trends one would expect on the basis of findings from other studies of gentrification. Before gentrification, the neighbourhood had an image of, if not quite a "slum", certainly an area "left behind" in the process of urban development, and offering a refuge to marginal social groups. With gentrification, first there is the influx of young households adopting very non-familistic lifestyles; later these households mature in place and are joined by persons with more conservative lifestyles as the area establishes a stable reputation. Less usual, however, has been the distribution of housing tenures. In 1971, 84 percent of the private dwellings in the census tract were rented, compared to 53 and 41 percent in the City and the C.M.A. respectively. In 1981, the rental percentage remains high, at 84 percent in the tract (55 in the City, 42 in the C.M.A.). This certainly makes problematical the assumption that gentrification is definable in terms of tenure change (Logan 1982). By 1986, with more condominium sales, there is evidence for a convergence with city norms, with 66 percent renting compared to 57 in the city and 44 in the C.M.A.. The high proportion of rental units in Fairview Slopes after gentrification had taken hold is explained partly by the presence of MURBs (multiple unit residential buildings), constructed under a Federal scheme to boost rental housing at the end of the 1970s. However, due also to changes in market conditions during this period,

projects intended for owner-occupancy proved to be overpriced and were rented instead of sold. Social differences between neighbourhoods that gentrify by renovation and those that gentrify by piecemeal redevelopment are reflected in data of this sort, and highlight important questions with respect to the definition of gentrification as an empirical object.

Sample data from the census (1986 data is not available) detail the housing conditions of Fairview Slopes residents (Table 5.10). In 1971, rental costs in the area were amongst the lowest in the city (only five other tracts, mostly in the east side of the inner city, had lower rents), reflecting in part the preponderance of multiply occupied rental properties. Yet the value of owner occupied dwellings was almost identical to the medians for the C.M.A. and the City, which is possibly suggestive of the opening of a rent gap as absentee landlords allowed dwellings to deteriorate in anticipation of future sales of high-value land. Even in 1981, of all City tracts, Fairview Slopes had the highest proportion of its occupied private dwellings requiring major repairs, at 18 percent (this must have dropped substantially by mid-decade as many older houses were demolished). In 1981, given the small size of all dwellings in the area (4.2 rooms, compared to 5.6 and 4.9 in the C.M.A. and City), the higher-than-average value of owner occupied dwellings confirms the premium value of this land; average rents are also higher than the city-wide norm (at the time of Expo 1986, they experienced exceptional inflation due to the location of the neighbourhood, and one can assume that they were then amongst the highest in the city). The most distinguishing feature of Fairview residents' housing costs in 1981 is the measure of owners' average major monthly payments, which at \$887 was the highest of all City census tracts. This can be interpreted first as indicating the large mortgages carried by owners, which in turn reflects the role of this gentrified area as a place where young professionals can first

TABLE 5.10
HOUSING COSTS

		1971		
		C.M.A.	City	C.T.49
Median value owner-occupied dwellings	\$	26702	26078	26146
Average gross monthly rent, tenant occupied dwellings	\$	130	127	95
		1981		
		C.M.A.	City	C.T.49.1
Median length of occupancy in years		4	4	1
Average value owner-occupied dwellings	\$	171726	187676	202309
Average monthly payments for owners*, including mortgage, tax, utilities	\$	472	409	887
Average gross monthly rent, tenant occupied dwellings*	\$	411	393	517

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

* One family households with no additional persons only.

buy into the housing market (financing arrangements by project developers encourage this). Second, it implies high city taxes imposed as this neighbourhood upgraded, which (being based on street frontage) have forced a particular burden onto owners of the remaining houses and encouraged the displacement of older residents (Gutstein 1983). A final census figure on housing reports Fairview Slopes as having the lowest median length of occupancy of all City tracts, reflecting the newness of the development.

It is commonly believed that easier access to place of employment is an important motivation for potential gentrifiers, and Fairview Slopes not only offers easy access to the C.B.D., but also borders upon the city's second major office core centred on the hospital and City Hall. According to 1981 census figures, 11 percent of the male employed labour force, and 12 percent of the female employed labour force resident in tract 49.1 work in the same census tract. This compares to the C.M.A. averages of 6 percent for men and 8 percent for women. Figures for men are amongst the highest in the City. In 1971, the percentage of the male labour force which was self-employed in the tract (6 percent) was slightly lower than the figures for the City and C.M.A. (between 6 and 7 percent). Women, however, seemed more likely to be self-employed (7 percent compared to 3 percent in the City and C.M.A.). By 1981, a greater proportion of Fairview men were self-employed (11 percent in the E.D., 8 percent in the census tract, compared to between 6 and 7 percent in the City and C.M.A.). Figures for women appear to have fallen (4 percent in E.D., 5 percent in the census tract), converging on the 3 percent figure for the City and the C.M.A.. The small figures involved, however, mean data must be treated with caution. Table 5.11 indicates that labour force participation rates were particularly low for men in Fairview Slopes in 1971, with only three other census tracts (in the Downtown East side) lower; by 1981, rates were considerably higher than the city as a whole, especially for

TABLE 5.11
LABOUR FORCE ACTIVITY

	1971			1981			
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes	
	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D. 201,3
Participation rate, population 15 years and over:							
Males	77.7	75.2	64.2	79.3	75.7	79.9	86.7
Females	43.3	47.6	49.4	56.3	57.3	68.9	74.3
Unemployment rate of labour force:							
Males	8.9	11.6	26.7	4.7	6.2	8.2	2.2
Females	10.2	9.5	18.9	5.7	5.7	8.1	9.1

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

women which is in line with the trend for most of the west side inner city. In 1981, over two-thirds of husband-wife families had both partners in the labour force, compared to about a half of families in the City and C.M.A.. Unemployment rates are less easy to interpret, especially since the figures are small in 1981. In 1971, Fairview men in particular had high unemployment. In 1981, the census tract figures remained higher than average, and while the E.D. data filter out the effect of the poorer and more transient male population living at the Main Street edge of the census tract, the unemployment rate for women remained quite high. A reason for this unexpected finding might be that women in this area who are not currently employed would be likely to define themselves as part of the labour force (perhaps "actively seeking a job"), compared to women elsewhere who might define themselves as homemakers and take up employment only when the opportunity is immediately available. Alternatively, the timing of the census (summer) might pick up seasonal unemployment.

The distribution of labour force by industry division appears in Table 5.12. In 1981, those members of the labour force who the census describes as giving "unspecified or undefined" responses were redistributed by computer among the other classes. Therefore, in 1971 percentages both of the total labour force, and of the labour force minus those unspecified or undefined, have been calculated. Significantly, in 1971 the second largest group in census tract 49 left industry unspecified or undefined, which is perhaps suggestive of the marginal nature of activities pursued by residents. Of those stating an industry division, compared to the figures for Vancouver City there was an underconcentration in manufacturing, transportation, finance and administration. It seems probable, given the impressions of the workforce gathered from other sources, that the service, primary and construction sectors were overrepresented because they offered casual work

TABLE 5.12
LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY DIVISION

	1971*			1981**			
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes	
	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D. 201,3
Primary	2.9/3.1	2.0/2.2	2.9/3.6	2.7	1.9	1.9	3.0
Manufacturing	16.6/18.0	15.1/16.5	10.6/13.0	14.7	13.4	14.7	12.5
Construction	6.8/7.3	5.7/6.2	6.9/8.5	6.8	5.2	3.8	4.8
Transportation	10.5/11.4	10.4/11.4	8.0/9.8	10.6	9.9	11.3	12.5
Trade	18.1/19.5	17.2/18.7	14.9/18.3	19.3	17.0	15.8	15.5
Finance	5.9/6.4	6.7/7.3	3.6/4.5	7.2	7.5	5.6	6.6
Service	26.9/29.1	30.6/33.3	33.1/40.6	32.9	39.8	42.9	42.9
Administration	4.7/5.1	4.3/4.6	1.5/1.8	5.8	5.4	4.1	2.4
Unspecified or Undefined	7.6/na	8.1/na	18.6/na	na	na	na	na

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

* Percentage of total labour force/percentage of labour force with specified industry.

** Computer assigned "unspecified" responses to other categories.

For definitions of industry, see Table 4.2.

opportunities to parts of the population which participated irregularly in the formal economy. The types of service industry jobs in 1971 are likely quite different from those in 1981, where the service sector is again the largest employer. In 1981 the figures for tract 49 do not vary to any great extent from the figures for the City as a whole. Within the area defined by the E.D.s, somewhat over a third of the male workforce and a half of the female workforce is in service industries (Table 5.13).

Occupational data from the census (Table 5.14) have to be treated with some caution when comparing 1971 and 1981 figures. Not only are the "not stated" responses distributed amongst the other categories in 1981, but also the revision of some occupational groups has occurred. However, with geographical comparisons as well as historical ones, a clear picture emerges of Fairview Slopes' changing position within the metropolitan occupational structure. In 1971, again the "not stated" category is particularly large. Senior white collar, clerical and sales occupations are underrepresented; service occupations remain the only white collar category with higher percentages than City and C.M.A. averages. Total blue collar occupations are overrepresented, predominantly in the "other" category which includes construction trades, transport equipment operating, and materials handling (for example, longshore workers). By 1981, senior white collar occupations employ over a third of the census tract labour force (almost a half in the E.D.s), a proportion greatly in excess of city averages. Other white collar occupations, especially service occupations, are comparatively underrepresented, as are blue collar occupations.

In order to confirm the dramatic changes in occupational status, and to compare the social profile of the neighbourhood in the very early stages of gentrification with conditions existing in the mid-1980s, voters' lists in 1975 and 1985 were analysed. The abbreviations used to list occupations, the

TABLE 5.13
LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY DIVISION AND SEX,
FAIRVIEW SLOPES, 1981

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Primary	25	5.4	5	1.4
Manufacturing	55	12.0	40	11.0
Construction	40	8.7	0	0.0
Transportation	60	13.0	40	11.0
Trade	70	15.2	55	15.1
Finance	30	6.5	30	8.2
Service	175	38.0	185	50.7
Administration	5	1.1	10	2.7
Total	460		365	

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 20 percent sample.

Enumeration district data.

Computer assigned "unspecified" responses to other categories (this involves 30 males, 5 females).

TABLE 5.14
LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION

	1971*			1981**			
	Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		F. Slopes	
	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D. 201,3
Managerial	4.4/4.8	4.0/4.4	***	9.8	8.3	11.5	16.1
Teaching and related	3.4/3.7	3.2/3.5	2.9/3.6	3.8	3.9	3.3	3.6
Medicine and health	4.1/4.5	4.4/4.8	2.2/2.7	5.0	5.6	6.7	10.7
Technological, social, religious, artistic and related	5.4/5.9	5.7/6.3	4.8/5.8	7.4	9.1	16.7	16.7
Senior white collar	17.4/18.9	17.4/19.0	10.6/13.0	26.0	26.8	38.2	47.0
Clerical	18.7/20.4	20.9/22.9	13.1/16.1	21.8	22.3	18.9	19.1
Sales	11.8/12.8	10.3/11.2	5.5/6.7	10.6	9.1	8.2	9.5
Services	12.4/13.5	14.8/16.2	21.5/26.3	12.6	15.8	11.9	8.9
Other white collar	42.8/46.7	45.9/50.3	40.2/49.1	45.0	47.2	38.9	37.5
Primary	2.8/3.0	1.8/2.0	2.6/3.1	2.1	1.6	1.1	1.2
Processing	3.9/4.2	3.3/3.7	2.9/3.6	3.3	3.0	1.5	0.0
Machining	8.6/9.4	8.2/9.0	6.2/7.6	8.4	8.0	4.8	2.4
Other	16.3/17.8	14.7/16.1	19.3/23.7	15.3	13.4	15.6	11.9
Blue collar	31.5/34.4	28.1/30.7	31.0/38.0	29.0	26.0	23.0	15.5
Not stated	8.3/na	8.6/na	18.3/na	na	na	na	na

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

* Percentage of total labour force/percentage of labour force with specified industry.

** Computer assigned "unspecified" responses to other categories.

*** Under one percent.

For definitions of occupation, see Tables 4.2 and 5.1; the "knowledge" category is divide here into three categories.

self-reporting of the occupational information, and the screening out of persons ineligible to vote all introduce some difficulties with respect to accuracy and coverage. However, the data do offer an opportunity to look closely at the structure of the labour force by more specific occupation types. Reported occupations were classified (Table 5.15) for people living within the area defined by the boundaries of Sixth Avenue, Cambie Street, Broadway and Granville Street. Homemakers, retired persons, students, the self-employed, people indicating no occupation (to which were added those who indicated they were unemployed), and people with unclassifiable occupations were extracted as separate groups. Those remaining were classified according to the census categories employed in Table 5.14, except for blue collar occupations which were not broken down into finer distinctions because many job titles were too vague to assign to specific groups. Comparisons of the distribution of the classifiable labour force over time are presented in Table 5.16; small fluctuations should be disregarded as likely classification errors when analysing voters' lists.

In 1975, about two-thirds of the 875 people on the list appear to have been in the labour force (though people not giving occupations could also be retired, homemakers or students). Of these, 512 had classifiable occupations, which are split with about 30 percent in both white collar occupations, and almost 40 percent in blue collar categories. Compared to the 1971 census figures there has been a rise in proportions with senior white collar jobs, particularly in the category encompassing technological, social, religious, artistic and related occupations, which includes some of the "soft" professions. It was possible to break down this group further: there were 24 persons in science and engineering type jobs, 27 in social science positions, and 52 in artistic, literary and recreational occupations. In fact, musicians were the largest sub-group here, followed by social

TABLE 5.15
OCCUPATIONS FROM VOTERS' LISTS

	1975			1985		
	Number	Percentage of classified occupations	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of classified occupations	Percentage of total
Managerial	14	2.7	1.6	164	21.5	16.5
Teaching and related	24	4.7	2.7	41	5.4	4.1
Medicine and health	21	4.1	2.4	90	11.8	9.1
Technological, social, religious, artistic and related	103	20.1	11.8	168	22.0	16.9
Senior white collar	162	31.6	18.5	463	60.7	46.6
Clerical	70	13.7	7.9	96	12.6	9.7
Sales	27	5.3	3.2	100	13.1	10.1
Services	58	11.3	6.6	38	5.0	3.8
Other white collar	155	30.3	17.7	234	30.7	23.6
Blue collar	195	38.1	22.3	66	8.7	6.7
Total of classified occupations	512		58.5	763		76.8
Occupations not classifiable	49		5.6	59		5.9
Self-employed	10		1.1	23		2.3
Occupation not given	51		5.8	58		5.8
Total labour force	622		71.1	903		90.9
Retired	51		5.8	14		1.4
Homemaker	112		12.8	26		2.6
Student	90		10.3	50		5.0
Total on list	875			993		

TABLE 5.16

OCCUPATION STRUCTURE, 1971 TO 1985, BY PERCENTAGE*

	1971 C.T.49	1975 voters' list	1981 E.D.201,3	1985 voters' list
Managerial	**	2.7	16.1	21.5
Teaching and related	3.6	4.7	3.6	5.4
Medicine and health	2.7	4.1	10.7	11.8
Technological, social, religious, artistic and related	5.8	20.1	16.7	22.0
Senior white collar	13.0	31.6	47.0	60.7
Clerical	16.1	13.7	19.1	12.6
Sales	6.7	5.3	9.5	13.1
Services	26.3	11.3	8.9	5.0
Other white collar	49.1	30.3	37.5	30.7
Blue collar	38.0	38.1	15.5	8.7

Census data is 20 percent sample.

* Percentage of classified occupations.

** Under 1 percent.

workers of various kinds (for example, community workers) and artists (including potters and commercial artists). This breakdown is particularly noteworthy given conventional wisdom that gentrification tends to start with an influx of people following cultural and artistic pursuits, supposedly more tolerant of unconventional lifestyles and in need of cheap accommodation. Compared to 1971 census data, the 1975 voters' list suggests a slight decline in the importance of other white collar occupations, largely in the service category. The proportion of blue collar occupations remains steady. Some of the occupations listed include labourers (27), millworkers (11), warehouse workers (10), plus a variety of crafts, construction trades, materials handlers, transportation workers and machine operators. These seem to represent the legacy of the industrialized False Creek basin, which was undergoing dramatic change at this time.

By 1985, a number of significant changes have occurred. Proportions of students, homemakers and retired persons have fallen, resulting in a high participation rate. Of classifiable occupations, all those in the senior white collar categories have increased, most dramatically in the managerial category. These shifts started to occur by 1981 and they appear to have continued during the 1980s. The proportion of arts-related occupations has in fact fallen slightly: for example, only one person claimed to be a musician. Scientific and technical positions, like engineer, and social science jobs such as lawyer, have dramatically increased. Teaching occupations have increased, as have all medical jobs (especially physicians and nurses, but also aides of various kinds). Sales jobs have increased both absolutely and relatively, while service jobs have fallen. Clerical positions seem to have experienced a more fluctuating trend, and there is a likelihood of misclassification (for instance, office jobs may have titles which appear to be managerial in nature). Blue collar occupations show a

dramatic decline in proportion of the total labour force.

Census figures show somewhat different occupational patterns for men and women (Table 5.17). Over half of the male workforce has senior white collar positions, of which the managerial and the technological, social, religious and artistic categories are dominant (the latter includes scientific and engineering jobs). For the female workforce, 43 percent are in senior white collar categories; occupations in medicine and health (which include nurses and therapists) are important. Other white collar occupations are, overall, the dominant division for women, with almost a third of the female workforce in clerical jobs--though this proportion is low compared to City and C.M.A. figures of 38 and 40 percent. Census tract 49.1 has a high absolute occupational status for women compared to the average for all census tracts, but women's occupational status relative to that of men's is modest.

The high absolute occupational status of the population in Fairview Slopes reflects also its high educational status. In 1971, the proportion of the Fairview Slopes census tract population aged 15 and over with some university-level education was 14 percent, compared to 17 percent in the City and 15 percent in the C.M.A.. In 1981, although the census definition of university education was narrowed so as to omit community college transfer courses, there was a dramatic increase in the university-educated population in the neighbourhood. Compared to 27 percent in the City and 26 percent in the C.M.A., 31 percent of the census tract population and 44 percent of the E.D. population in Fairview had some-university-level education. In terms of female education relative to that of male education, this census tract had the highest proportion of all City tracts.

Yet whilst occupation and education figures place this neighbourhood relatively high on a scale of socioeconomic status in 1981, data on income modifies this picture (Table 5.18). In 1971, people in the neighbourhood

TABLE 5.17
LABOUR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, FAIRVIEW SLOPES, 1981*

	Male		Female	
	Number**	Percentage	Number**	Percentage
Managerial	95	21.1	45	11.7
Teaching and related	15	3.3	25	6.5
Medicine and health	40	8.9	50	13.0
Technological, social, religious, artistic and related	90	20.0	45	11.7
Senior white collar	240	53.3	165	42.9
Clerical	35	7.8	120	31.2
Sales	40	8.9	40	10.4
Services	35	7.8	40	10.4
Other white collar	110	24.4	200	52.0
Blue collar	100	22.2	20	5.2
Total	450		385	

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 20 percent sample.

* Enumeration district data.

** Computer assigned "Not stated" responses to other categories (this involves 30 males, 10 females).

TABLE 5.18
MEASURES OF INCOME

		1971			1981			
		Vancouver		F. Slopes	Vancouver		P. Slopes	
		C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49	C.M.A.	City	C.T. 49.1	E.D.* 201,3
Population 15 years and over with income, total income								
Male	Average	7287	6701	3735	19716	17636	16186	21523
	Median	6657	5785	2819	17807	14239	11693	na
Female	Average	3072	3293	2172	9775	10227	11703	13896
	Median	2255	2547	1854	7826	8226	9047	na
Population who worked, employment income								
Male	Average	7449	6904	4256	19715	17713	17077	22084
	Median	7042	6305	4099	18707	15628	13437	na
Female	Average	3340	3527	2308	10121	10491	12161	13987
	Median	3043	3307	2318	9452	9921	10749	na
Household income								
Average		9931	9317	5603	27688	24856	21260	25709
Median		8823	7899	4267	23951	19776	17213	na
Family income								
Average		10664	10422	5713	31634	30252	28029	36600
Median		9559	9029	4810	28292	25525	21062	na
Non-family persons 15 years and over, total income								
Average		3827	3942	2780	12723	12628	12940	15822
Median		na	na	na	10329	10237	8651	na

Source: Statistics Canada Census of Canada, 33 1/3 percent sample in 1971, 20 percent sample in 1981.

* E.D. figures calculated from rounded aggregate incomes given for each of the two E.D.s

were relatively poor. For many of the income figures, the only other tracts worse off than tract 49 were in the Downtown Eastside, the location of "skid row". Census tract figures for 1981 do not show the dramatic turnaround evident in the other variables discussed above, though figures calculated for the enumeration districts boost the income levels quite considerably in some cases. Comparisons of average and median figures indicate the presence of a large range of incomes, with a substantial skew no doubt affected by the fact that this tract encompasses both a gentrified portion and a more dilapidated eastern portion. The median figure for male total income is one of the lowest in the city, exceeded by all tracts other than the Downtown Eastside and portions of the Grandview Woodlands neighbourhood. Possibly the Fairview population was, in 1981, as yet too youthful to have achieved high income levels within their high status occupations. However, the average for the E.D.s (medians cannot be calculated) is higher than those for the C.M.A. and the City. Compared to other City tracts, female income is moderately high. The ratio of female to male median incomes is high, exceeded only by portions of Kitsilano, the Downtown Eastside and the West End.

In summary, the social profile of Fairview Slopes residents has been dramatically transformed over the last 15 years. In the early 1970s this was one of the least favoured neighbourhoods in the city. On average, the population was relatively poor, and of low socioeconomic status. This was partially a matter of economic class, with a strong representation of working class residents, and also partially a reflection of lifestyle preferences according to countercultural principles. Fairview Slopes was not a neighbourhood within which familistic lifestyles were predominant, as high proportions of young adults, single persons and non-family households indicate.

With gentrification, the distinctive family and household

characteristics of Fairview Slopes were retained, even exaggerated. Yet with the area's redevelopment came a rapid turnover of population, replacing both working class people and persons pursuing "cultural" occupations, with greater proportions of people in managerial-type occupations and jobs in the senior professions. During the 1980s, a new class with senior white collar occupations became dominant. As the new reputation of the area was established, demographic variables showed signs of modifying in the direction of city norms, though housing conditions will likely always attract more people who are not raising families. In 1981, probably due to the youth of many residents, income levels were modest, though exceeding city figures within the restricted area defined by the enumeration districts. In terms of gender relations, female residents are economically active, and enjoy relatively high absolute status on measures of occupation, education and income, as well as high status relative to that of their male co-residents except on occupation measures where substantial proportions of men are in managerial and technological kinds of positions.

Fairview Slopes is now considered a "destination" for the young, upwardly-mobile person (Gutstein 1985), and even for the older adult empty-nester household. In concluding this chapter, I briefly describe the physical environment which has proved to be so attractive.

5.5 THE GENTRIFIED LANDSCAPE OF FAIRVIEW SLOPES.

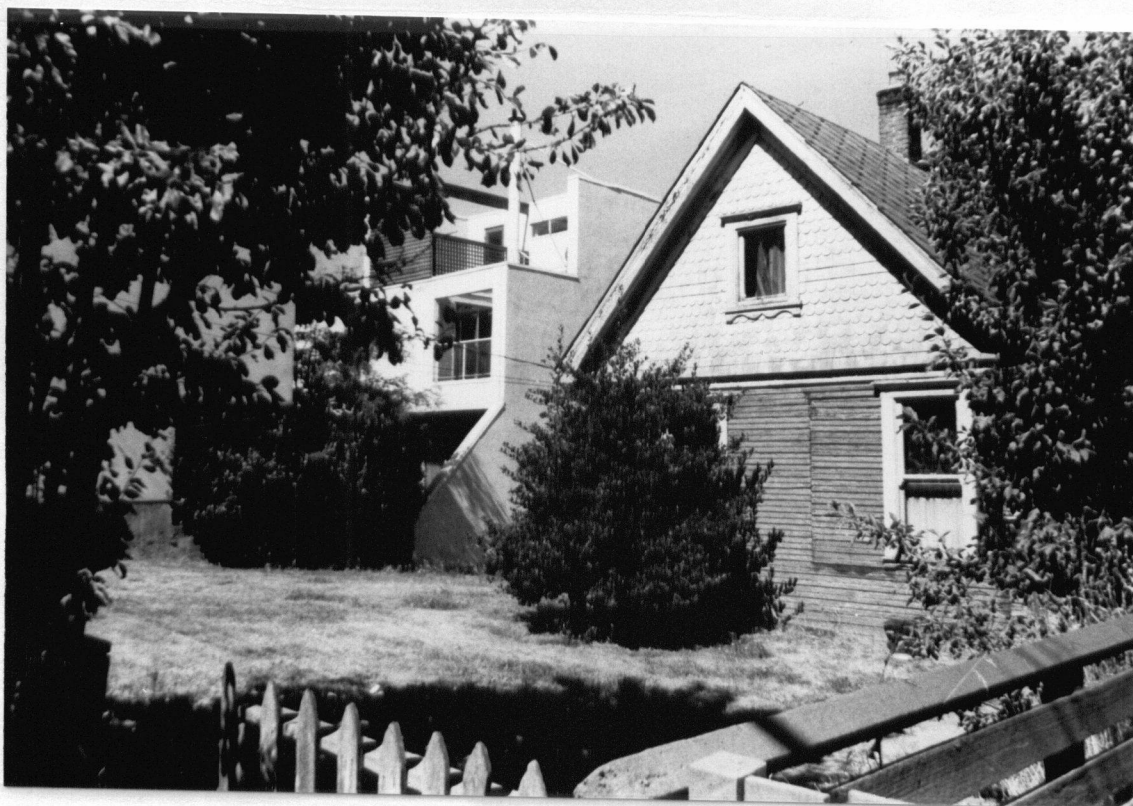
"The Slopes tend to border on a rural lifestyle caught up in the urban animal of Vancouver" (Elligott and Zacharias 1973:11).

In the early 1970s, "the island that is the slopes" (Elligott and Zacharias 1973:6) symbolised the classic consequences of a process of downfiltering. In social character, it combined features of a "skid row", a countercultural haven, and a declining working class community. The fair view

itself had attracted some residents of a rather different social background: a few architects and teachers, for example, who had restored some of the older houses. But in landscape terms, with the exception of a few buildings of heritage worth, the streetscape largely comprised modest gabled wood frame houses--some very dilapidated, some enhanced by funky ornamentation--interspersed with the cubic shells of small industrial enterprises. If not exactly bucolic, as Elligott and Zacharias suggest, Fairview Slopes was at least somewhat disengaged from its urban context and enjoyed its status as a quiet backwater (Plate 5.8).

And yet, by the early 1980s, Fairview Slopes is lauded as "one of the few neighbourhoods in Vancouver with an urban feel" (Gruft 1983:320). Terraced townhouses tumble down some of the steepest slopes in the city, like a mediterranean fishing village. Balconies and roofdecks stretch to capture dramatic views of downtown and the mountains. At street level one can appreciate the tight-knit fabric of approximately eighty new developments, ranging in size from two to over seventy units. Responding to the development guidelines, street facades meet the lot line in fragmented sections which emphasise the individuality of each townhouse or condominium (Plate 5.9). Separate front doors nestled in porches, multi-levelled units with innovative fenestration, mid-block "streets" paved in warm brick penetrating residential projects, and richly-landscaped courtyards with fountains and ponds--these represent some of the successes of the new planning initiative. Where the (now rare) old house has been preserved for small business use, renovated by owner-occupiers or remodelled as part of a new condominium development, there is a texture and liveliness which is missed in many more conventional neighbourhoods. Fairview Slopes is a visually-stimulating landscape. Unfortunately, the fertile opportunities are not always worked to full realization, at least in terms of design. Some

Plate 5.8



A small and dilapidated house remaining on 8th Avenue.

Plate 5.9



"Oakview Terrace", an award-winning project of 12 townhouses, designed by Roger Hughes Architects and completed in 1982.

recent developments on the south side of Eighth Avenue and on Sixth Avenue (left until last because they are less promising as sites for residential development) interrupt the pattern established in the core of the neighbourhood. Those on Eighth are too large in scale, molded around dramatic communal entrances rather than accentuating the individual unit. Those on Sixth seem to be cheaply built, unlikely to withstand the onslaught of noise, dirt and pollution from the heavy traffic along the base of the Slopes.

The new architecture of Fairview Slopes represents a number of styles, which I shall discuss further in Chapter 7. Early on, there was an adaptation (in multi-residential form) of the Westcoast style, which merged modern design principles with a romantic sensitivity to the terrain of the mountainous coast and its temperate rain forest vegetation. "Building in" to the difficult steep site, these developments are clad in cedar siding and make full use of skylights to draw in the natural light (Plate 5.10). Other successful developments adopted a style being practiced in False Creek, using earth-tone stucco and imaginative landscape gardening in attractive townhouse terraces.

Unfortunately, there were also cheap and ugly modernist developments of rental accommodation, most in grey concrete or dull stucco, with angular, blocky facades unsympathetic to both street and site. Canadome Development Company pioneered a mediterranean theme, in which white or pastel stucco, red tiles, roof decks and terracing, and lush landscaping come into their own. At the turn of the decade, Fairview Slopes became Vancouver's testing ground for a fully post-modern architecture which, with its willingness to play symbolic elements from vernacular styles against those from cosmopolitan sources, began to explore and extend the vocabulary of urbanism by adapting largely classical themes. More recently, California has come to the Slopes, in the form of palaces of pastel stucco (Plate 5.11). Unit sizes have

Plate 5.10



A cedar-clad townhouse development (right) reflects the building materials of the adjacent tenement building which once housed Japanese mill workers.

Plate 5.11



"La Galleria I", developed by Andre Molnar, completed 1985.

dropped to take full advantage of the investment opportunities and to adapt to a tighter market (the smallest units being about 45 square metres compared to over 200 square metres in the biggest townhouses). Slightly less ostentatious Cape Cod wood siding mixed with stucco seems the newest phase, and this has been used in two private cooperative housing developments which will introduce a more varied population into the area.

The streets themselves are an eyesore, with utility wires bunched overhead, sidewalks loaded with piles of building materials or damaged by the heavy traffic of construction activity. With the steepness of the slope, buildings on the south side of the Avenues tend to overshadow the streetscape, and the blank entrances to underground car parks dominate the facade at eye level. A more successful element of public space has been a pedestrian overpass connecting Seventh Avenue to False Creek park; casual walkers fail to notice they are crossing busy Sixth Avenue as they wander along a landscaped pathway. However, Choklit Park has lost its former charm, and is now a disappointingly sterile area of grass and paving, though the magnificent view attracts numerous photographers and the occasional exhausted pedestrian who is hauling home purchases from Granville Island Market.

To place the residential core of Fairview Slopes in context, one must not overlook the significance of its boundaries. To the east of Heather Street, industrial and warehouse uses have presented a hard edge through which new residential development has been slow to penetrate (two projects have been built there in 1988). It seems unlikely that many more of these lots will be redeveloped to residential use, since some of the industrial buildings are quite new, and the view is not very spectacular. To the west, Hemlock Street is a very busy traffic route leading to downtown over the Granville bridge; between Hemlock and Granville are a few dilapidated houses and an old apartment building plus high density and high rise commercial

buildings. However, Granville Street itself south of the bridge has been thoroughly upgraded in the last few years, and is now a fashionable shopping area with trendy clothes stores and expensive furniture shops. No doubt changes in the social status of adjoining neighbourhoods was a significant impetus to such change. The same has occurred on Broadway, which was once a dull strip of car lots and medical buildings. Now the smaller retail outlets are flourishing, as well as restaurants and bars. Sixth Avenue is a heavily-used traffic corridor, with only two entrances into False Creek (apart from the overpass). At the foot of Heather and Willow Streets, new commercial plazas offer what appear to be successful convenience stores and video rental outlets, though other commercial activity along the street does not seem to attract much custom. As well as the "legal non-conforming" industrial buildings within the residential area itself (buildings which were in place before rezoning), some new commercial activities are found in converted older houses and in street level spaces in new developments. These include various design and development-related businesses, as well as such activities as a law office, an esthetician, computer-software and wine importing concerns, charity and medical offices.

I have already discussed how the quality of building design became an issue of contention in the planning and development of Fairview Slopes. Residents have, on various occasions, claimed this quality has not always been sufficient to be granted bonus densities. It seems widely acknowledged, amongst residents, designers and critics, that many of the projects have been poorly designed and constructed. This seems particularly true of some of the developments built as MURBs during the late 1970s, which took advantage of Federal tax-breaks to investors in rental units. In addition, some more recent projects have also compromised quality, due (according to developers) to the high costs of land and the younger, less affluent market to which they

must now cater. Particle-board frames, quickly erected, are usually covered with stucco, the cheapest finish available; on a number of new buildings this can be seen to be cracking soon after completion, and poorly-designed gutter work causes it to stain. Where the stucco surface is painted, rather than the stucco itself dyed, bright pastels soon fade. While planners supposedly negotiate with developers to ensure densities are earned, in some projects the view corridors and semi-public spaces offered in return are minimal. As a consequence, many of the buildings become quite shabby in appearance soon after the marketing push is over. A number of people to whom I have spoken, including residents, have identified Fairview Slopes as a "slum in the making". While that is surely exaggerating the problem, I can confirm from the rental building in which I lived that bare-bones construction, shoddy finishing, and poor attention paid to such things as drainage, make for some discomforts, even when embellished with skylights, panel-style front doors, and dishwasher machines.⁷ Yet high rents are charged--and paid--for even the most modest new addresses on the Slopes.

Despite these problems, Fairview Slopes is also widely recognized as an important record of how urban spaces can be made livable places. If Vancouver is dominant in the field of Canadian domestic architectural design (Gibson 1986), and if Fairview Slopes is "currently this city's favorite architectural playground" (Fitzgerald 1986:18), then this landscape represents a startling portrait of what can, and cannot, succeed as good medium density residential development. Those developments that are successful have received professional recognition. An inventory of award-winning architecture in the Vancouver region (Gibson 1986) lists 195 award-winning projects. Fairview Slopes is the area with the highest density of award-winning architecture, with 14 buildings in total.⁸ Of these, one is an office building on a block with no residential development, two are for

"renewal" projects on heritage buildings (Hodson Manor, which was moved, and the Steamboat House which was incorporated into a condominium development: the same architect was involved in both projects). The remaining 11 award-winning buildings are multi-family residences, and comprise 23 percent of all award-winning multi-family residential buildings in the region. Between them, the 11 projects won 20 awards, comprising 36 percent of the awards granted such buildings in the Vancouver region (Plate 5.12). Five of these projects were designed by James Cheng, three by Roger Hughes, one by Neale and Staniszkis (both of whom moved into their project), and one by Hawthorn Mansfield (Henry Hawthorn being the activist who became involved in the early rezoning debate). Fairview Slopes is the ground on which some of these architects, now established as amongst the best in the city, made their reputations.

In sum, Fairview Slopes must represent one of the highest densities of award-winning architecture of any residential neighbourhood in Canada. Even acknowledging the existence of some poorly-conceived projects, the Fairview landscape is distinctive as a human-scale, medium density and highly urban residential neighbourhood, in a city (and indeed a major part of the nation) where such urban qualities have largely been shunned. The conjunction of these qualities of landscape with the social conditions described earlier is no coincidence. In the following chapters, we examine the intertwining of landscape with lifestyle to uncover (quoting an advertising slogan for one Fairview project) the story of "Life on the Upslope".

Plate 5.12



"Choklit Park" townhouses, an award-winning design by Neale and Staniszkis, and probably the development most commonly admired by Fairview Slopes residents (to the right). Below, the rear facade of "The Sixth Estate", another award-winning development by Roger Hughes Architects.

NOTES

1. These are the neighbourhoods included within the inner city boundaries defined for a Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation project (Brown and Burke 1979). These were based upon housing age and proximity to the C.B.D.. Ley employs these definitions in his project on inner city change (Ley 1985:6).

2. "Fairview" is officially the name of a larger area, extending south as far as 16th Avenue. Fairview Slopes is the northern portion of this area, comprising the steep slope down to False Creek. The boundaries of Fairview Slopes can be defined in various ways. Plans and zoning schedules described below largely refer to a 16-block area bounded by 6th Avenue, Ash Street, 8th Avenue and Hemlock Street. This excludes the largely commercial blocks adjacent to Cambie Street and Granville Street, and the south side of 8th Avenue which backs onto Broadway. However, for some purposes, especially census data analysis, one must include those peripheral blocks to east and west. The south side of 8th Avenue, while formerly largely commercial in use, has now been developed with a number of residential projects and thus shall not be excluded from the later discussion of the landscape and residents of Fairview Slopes.

I have occasionally used the names "Fairview" and "The Slopes" as shorthand to refer to "Fairview Slopes", in accordance with local usage.

3. This countercultural spirit is not entirely lost. The house with its backyard religious shrine--Biblical verses pinned up on the trees--still exists, although now it is totally surrounded by secular condominiums. Careful inspection of other remaining houses reveals some unusual artistic features. Sadly, a face carved into the porch pillar of one old house has recently been demolished; however, some of the earliest gentrifiers who renovated existing buildings have added some interesting touches, such as a stained glass telescope observatory on the top of a factory building, and an oriental "moon-gate" feature in a back-yard fence.

In the early 1970s, Fairview Slopes had somewhat of a reputation for high levels of drug abuse. According to an informant, one house continued as a centre for heroin-dealing into the 1980s. Now the drug trade might be plied in flashy cars parked outside the new townhouses.

4. Gutstein (1983) describes the case of Morrison House, whose overseas owner applied for a demolition permit immediately following its recommendation for heritage designation; the house was professionally vandalised, and the owner's solicitor (a former City solicitor) obtained a demolition permit before the required development scheme was submitted. In a matter of days, the house was gone (demolished in the early hours so as to avoid protestors). Three days later the property was sold for a 48 percent profit.

5. This same issue has been raised with respect to one of the large houses already designated. The owner applied to convert it into a restaurant, citing the potential income lost because the site cannot be developed to full density. Residents objected about the problems this would cause (especially parking and smells), and the plan was turned down.

6. However, residents are unable to respond to each development application--especially when developers (illegally) neglect to post notice of their plans on the site (which has happened). There is a residents' group led by a few interested spokespersons, and other residents may raise an objection to developments which threaten their own homes. Much of their energy has gone recently into improving parking and traffic conditions. Although all residents are eligible to take part in this group, its existence is very poorly publicised, especially amongst renters.

7. The apartment was very poorly soundproofed and insulated. I was locked out when the front door failed to open (presumably as the building shifted down the hill), and the glass in the big French door to the balcony had a dangerous tendency to fall out of its frame.

8. Another project listed in Fairview Slopes appears to have been a mistake: no building existed on the site when the inventory was made, and the development since erected was not designed by the architect listed in the inventory.

CHAPTER SIX

DESIGN FOR LIVING

As the terminology itself suggests, the "production of gentrifiers" approach has granted a somewhat passive role to the actors who gentrify. The contingent interaction between processes of economic and social restructuring, and the pre-existing social and physical surface of the city, forces a normative outcome in terms of residence: people gravitate towards a new set of "natural areas", settings which are most ideally suited to their economic and social resources and requirements. Such an interpretation of gentrification, however, comprises a thin description of the experience of gentrifiers.

This chapter breathes life into the gentrifiers themselves, and revives their role as active participants in the process of gentrification. Beyond asking how gentrifiers are produced, therefore, it turns to considering how gentrifiers produce themselves. This level of investigation assumes the web of social forces in which people are suspended, but in addition it opens up space for their creative response in terms of social practice. "Human agency must be seen for what it is, a continuous flow of conduct in time and space constantly interpellating social structure. Such a view of human agency is necessarily contextual" (Thrift 1983:31). The context has already been set; now it is time to explore the dimensions of "situated practice", to people our landscape with figures.

It was suggested earlier that gentrification is a strategy by which some people solve, like a simultaneous equation, the various stresses, demands and opportunities arising from economic and social restructuring, gathering round themselves the setting and props most supportive of their style of living. Additionally, there is the response at the level of private life, centring on the composition of the household and the nature of constellations of inter-

personal relations. While geographical work in this vein (for example, Rose 1984, Pahl 1985) has stressed how such responses are tactics of survival for households under the most considerable strain, it is necessary to broaden the notion of survival to acknowledge higher forms of need concerned with comfort, stimulation, pleasure and identity. Our discussion in the next chapter will develop this even further as we explore how the new patterns of living considered here have taken on meaning.

6.1 PROFILING THE FAIRVIEW SLOPES GENTRIFIER.

Although gentrification has been the subject of considerable theoretical discussion in the geographical literature, and numerous empirical surveys have built up a generalized profile of gentrifier households, there is surprisingly little published work which explores their experiences at the level of everyday life. The method required is one of "thick description", which can avoid the problem identified by Rose:

"Traditional and Marxist writings on the so-called nontraditional life-styles of many gentrifiers have both viewed 'life-style' changes as being conceptually separate from questions of affordability of owner-occupied housing and independent of the socioeconomic aspects of restructuring of white-collar employment....it is precisely such analytical separations that need to be overcome" (Rose 1984:62-3).

As well as the formal observations available from the census, voters' lists and so on, I make use of less formal written sources, in particular articles in local popular journals which have focused on the social and architectural change in Fairview Slopes. Most important in this investigation, however, have been two series of interviews.

The first series of interviews was carried out with selected expert informants and "key producers" of the Fairview Slopes environment (individuals who have been professionally involved in changing the area). Six of these were designers and/or developers involved in the creation of

around thirty of the new residential buildings in the area. I spoke frequently to real estate agents involved in selling, especially those on site at "open house" events. Four other informants offered information on the planning process and citizen participation. Some of the people interviewed for their knowledge of the "production" of Fairview Slopes were also involved in its "consumption": as residents or as business operators in the area.

The other set of interviews was carried out amongst residents of new Fairview Slopes buildings, and it is this which largely informs the discussion in this chapter. While I rented an apartment in the area for over a year, a "participant observation" method of investigation turned out to be limited: lacking the resources of my neighbours, I could not participate in some of their social activities such as extensive patronage of local restaurants; in any case their social space was best defined by Webber's term (1963) as a "community without propinquity". However, living there proved a useful tactic for keeping track of rapid changes in the neighbourhood built environment as well as alerting me to certain aspects of leisure activities carried on in the neighbourhood. Representatives of forty five households living in new Fairview Slopes buildings (apartments and strata title developments, excluding cooperatives) took part in a survey which followed the format in Appendix A; (two other residents were also interviewed as part of the series of interviews with expert informants, in which more limited information was collected on their household and lifestyle characteristics). Two methods of assembling the group of resident interviewees were employed. A minority of interviews were set up by way of personal contacts, the majority by mailing a letter to residents selected from voters' lists, followed by a telephone call. No claims to randomness can be made; indeed, a deliberate attempt was made to structure the sample, so as to take a cross-

section of different types of respondents. This meant aiming for a balance of household types and of male and female respondents; in addition I attempted to spread the sample across the different building developments, since changes in the type of development are apparently associated with changes in the type of residents. I had to draw upon the 1986 voters' list when it became available during the interviewing period in order to assemble names of residents in the very newest projects. Since the address-numbering system in the area is extremely confused (some condominium units have their own numbers, others are listed under a project number) it was not always possible to establish the correct connection between addresses and project.

In sum, obtaining a sample proceeded in an informal manner. Features of the population and the sampling frame (voters' lists) themselves made representativeness very difficult to obtain. According to the 1981 census data, within the area defined by the enumeration districts the population aged 20 and above was 965; within the larger census tract the population aged 20 and above was 1681. By 1986, the census tract population aged 20 and above was 2569. Enumeration district data were not available in 1986, but assuming that most of the growth in the census tract population took place in Fairview Slopes itself, the population in the smaller area was probably about 1800 people, occupying slightly more than 1000 households. Yet on the 1985 voters' list there were only 993 names. This shortfall may be in part due to the ineligibility of some residents to vote. Probably more significant is the difficulty in contacting a highly mobile resident population which must have been experienced by those people compiling the lists. Such was the problem I experienced. Of the people first selected from the voters' lists, those with no numbers listed in the telephone directory were rejected. One hundred letters were sent out to those remaining. Thirty seven people agreed to an interview, 21 refused, 26 were "no contacts", and 16 had moved (or they

were not available at the telephone number listed). The problems of contact are suggestive of both a rapid turnover in resident population and a tendency for those who are resident to spend substantial amounts of time away from home.

Unfortunately, therefore, the shortfall in numbers on the voters' list is biased in a systematic manner. More stable residents are most likely to appear on the list and to have a (correct) telephone number in the directory. This would explain the overrepresentation of owner-occupier households (35 out of 45) compared to census data on the census tract which gives a rental proportion of 66 percent (though this admittedly covers residents of old apartment buildings on the margins of the neighbourhood). It will be necessary to bear in mind the limitations of the data collected in terms of its representativeness. The main purpose of the survey, however, was not to test hypotheses, but rather to explore a broad range of themes in a manner which is in accord with the ethnographic thrust of the research project as a whole. The interview aimed to elicit qualitative information, and offered opportunity to probe particular points which arose out of discussion. All but two respondents gave me permission to tape the interviews (in those two cases I have reconstructed quotations from my written notes). Anonymity was assured, and so names and some details in the examples discussed later have been adjusted in order to disguise the identity of the respondents.

Nearly every one of the interviews was conducted at the home of the respondent. Although letters were addressed to one household member, if that person was unable to participate and another member volunteered, I interviewed the alternate instead. In some cases, both partners of a couple took part in all, or a portion of the interview. I found this tended to enrich, rather than restrict, the discussion. With those people who participated most enthusiastically the interview lasted over two hours. Many

people showed me around their homes, and especially invited me to enjoy the view from their balconies and roofdecks. When the interview proceeded in a more straightforward manner it could be completed in about 50 minutes.

The number of interviews conducted using the complete resident interview schedule was forty five (plus two additional interviews with resident "producers"). Within these 45 households live 72 adults (37 men and 35 women) who appear to be permanent household members, plus 8 children. Since some couples participated jointly in all or part of the interview I spoke directly to 53 people (24 men and 29 women). Households can be classified by size and by the status of adult members; however, as the discussion in section 6.5 illustrates, marital status proved to be a very tricky element to define. There were 16 one-person households, 23 two-person and 6 three-person. The one-person households comprised 7 men and 9 women; 4 of these were divorced and three had previously lived in a common-law relationship. There were 27 households which included two adults (with or without children); one of these couples was gay, and in another case two men shared as roommates. Amongst the 25 male-female couples (with or without children), 14 did not mention previous marital-type relationships, and in the 11 others at least one partner appears to have been formerly married or living common-law (one of these relationships had ended with widowhood). About seven or eight of the couples appeared to have formed (that is, living in the same household) after one partner had already moved into Fairview Slopes (alone or with someone else).

With respect to reproductive history, there are three young couples just starting a family with one child each. Five households, (2 singles, 3 couples) have children from a former marriage living with them. Seven households comprise couples or singles who have had children now old enough to be living alone (of which four cases raised their children with their

present partner), and 5 have children now living with a partner from which they are separated. Twenty-six of the households contain adult members who appear never to have had children, and these are comprised of 15 one-person households, 9 male-female couples and the two male-male households.

These figures suggest an extremely complex picture, and one which warns against imposing any conventional models of family cycle. This makes it rather difficult to illustrate, in any meaningful way, simple cross-tabulations with other criteria of classification: hence the necessity of thick description. Table 6.1 illustrates some simple counts on various criteria for interviewed residents.

The drawback to ethnographic forms of interpretation is the lack of control group with which we can compare the experiences and characteristics of the gentrifiers in Fairview Slopes. In some cases, there are interesting comparisons to be made on the basis of interviewees' own images and experiences of other places: as shall become clearer in Chapter 7, residents often raised "suburbia" as the symbol of all that they wished to avoid. The advantage of thick description in this case is to draw out subtle features of the negotiation of styles of living and, on this topic, conventional forms of comparison (for instance using census data) are not appropriate.

6.2 BUYING INTO FAIRVIEW SLOPES.

Of the 35 households that are owner occupiers, 22 had been living in rental accommodation immediately prior to their move into Fairview Slopes and 13 had been owners. Of the households which moved from rental tenancy to owner occupancy, 6 had rented briefly in Fairview Slopes before buying into the neighbourhood, which gave them an opportunity to judge whether they wanted to live there more permanently. Of those which were renting before buying, at least seven have owned a home at some previous time (for example,

TABLE 6.1

TABULATIONS OF DATA COLLECTED IN INTERVIEWS

Age of all adult household members

25-34	20
35-44	26
45-54	13
55-64	9
65+	3
not stated	1

Highest level of schooling attained by all adult household members

Some high school	0
High school graduate	6
Vocational/technical training	5
Some University/Community College	17
University degree	25
Graduate degree	18
Not known	1

Apparent marital status of all adult household members*

Single	13
Divorced, not remarried	11
Divorced and remarried	13
Married	33
Widowed and remarried	2

Annual household income (before tax)

Under \$20,000	0
\$20,000 to \$39,000	7
\$40,000 to \$59,000	13
\$60,000 to \$79,999	11
\$80,000 and above	7
Not known or not stated	7

Annual income of one-adult households (before tax)

Under \$20,000	0
\$20,000 to \$39,000	5
\$40,000 to \$59,000	6
\$60,000 to \$79,000	1
\$80,000 and above	2
Not known or not stated	2

* Married includes common-law, and divorced includes separation from common-law partner.

TABLE 6.2

TENURE OF INTERVIEWEE HOUSEHOLDS, BASED ON CHIEF HOUSEHOLD RESPONDENT

Present tenure	Previous tenure (immediate)	
	rent	own
rent	7	3
own	22	13

Previous location (excluding short-term rents in Fairview Slopes)

False Creek	2
Kitsilano	8
Point Grey	2
Dunbar	1
Kerrisdale	6
Arbutus	2
South Fairview	2
Mount Pleasant	1
West End	7
Riley Park	1
Richmond	3
Burnaby	1
North Vancouver	2
Elsewhere in B.C.	2
Elsewhere in Canada	4
Not stated	1

with a partner from whom they are now divorced). The break-down by tenure reveals distinctions in terms of source areas. Of those previously renting, the inner city neighbourhoods of Kitsilano and the West End, plus Kerrisdale, were the most common sources, whereas the inner suburbs of Kerrisdale, Arbutus and Point Grey, plus North Vancouver, were most common for those who had previously owned. There is little evidence for a dramatic return to the city from outlying suburbs.

However, Fairview Slopes represents what one may define as a location of consolidation, at which two lifecycle streams intersect. Those who were previously renting tend to be younger and are more likely to be single; however, some older people had earlier owned family homes which they had left (typically during a divorce) for rental accommodation prior to buying on the Slopes. Those who were owning before moving to Fairview tend to be older and are more likely to be married couples. Consolidation for the first group tends to take the form of establishing themselves in the property market. This might be with the long-term aim of moving "up" to a single family house later on, as described by this resident:

"There are a lot of young people and the reason they bought...was because the downpayment was so low. It's a stepping stone for them, it's getting themselves started, it's getting into something so that in two or three years they can sell it and get into something better".

This group best approximates Rose's description of "moderate income gentrifiers" (Rose 1984). However, some of the households who were buying for the first time were not intending to move into a non-condominium style of living, and in that respect these had more in common with the other people who had owned prior to moving to Fairview Slopes. Of that latter group of previous owners, a portion are "empty nesters" who have moved out of larger family homes; for these, consolidation means paring away property and responsibilities which have become a burden (section 6.4). Other households

who have previously owned are younger couples or divorced persons who enjoy the inner city condominium style of living. Before discussing these resident groups in more detail, we shall consider why people are buying condominiums in Fairview Slopes.

Some scholars (particularly Berry--see Chapter 2) have explained gentrification on the grounds that it offers the cheapest option on the housing market. Marketing strategies for some of the most recently-sold developments in Fairview Slopes have indeed emphasized the good financial terms available. But the simple equation of cheap housing for people with few assets is inadequate. First, there is the question of why a person decides to buy at all. Second, there is the question of the actual search process employed.

The decision to stop renting and to buy is conventionally rationalized in economic terms. Immediately, there is the comparison with monthly rents; as one young man said:

"When I was living in Kits....I was paying \$700 a month rent....Basically the selling point was price. It certainly brought my rent down drastically, if you want to define mortgage as rent".

In the long term there is the necessity for young adults in the early stages of their careers to establish a foot-hold in the property market. Bob achieved that in this manner:

Bob: "I rented it out for the first three years. Because one of the reasons I bought was that prices were starting to go up and I thought if I didn't buy then I would never be able to buy. So I bought it and rented it".

C: "Why did you rent it out?"

Bob: "Because I couldn't afford the mortgage. I didn't have anything saved, and I had to get 100 percent financing so it was very expensive; but if you do it like that, what your rent doesn't cover is a tax write-off".

In other cases, however, buying seems almost to have been a matter of chance. This was the case for a young woman who had moved to Vancouver and was

staying with a relative; one day she passed through Fairview, and was attracted to look round an "open house" event:

Hester: "I was trying to find a place to live in, and this was just before Expo and it was very difficult to find rental accommodation. I was appalled at the price of rent, and I just decided to take the plunge, and put down a payment, take out a mortgage and buy something".

C: "So you hadn't intended to buy?"

Hester: "Not so quickly. I thought I would live in a place and find which area I would like to live in....And it was a really impulsive decision, but it's been a fairly good one I think".

C: "Is this the first place you have owned?"

Hester: "No, I had a house in Edmonton. And if you have a house in Edmonton you can't afford a house in Vancouver. The cost of real estate is a fair bit more".

In another case, a couple who were renting together in the suburbs decided to find rental accommodation nearer the city centre. They had looked around Kitsilano and False Creek, and on their way home they had driven through Fairview Slopes:

"Coming through here, just at the end of Expo, we saw a sign that got us in the door, and that was 'zero downpayment'. There was no catch. It was zero downpayment for the one bedroom suites on the bottom below here, and these places--with two floors and a roofdeck--were five percent down. Well, conventional mortgages at banks require a 25 percent downpayment; you can go to high ratio mortgages which still need a ten percent downpayment. But five percent down was within reach. And basically I took our pensions and R.R.S.P.s [retirement savings plans] and collapsed them...qualified for two mortgages, and made the payments".

Another couple had rented in Fairview, greatly enjoyed living there, and decided to buy their apartment when it was put up for sale. This element of chance even seems to have operated for one couple who already owned. They had not really considered moving, and ended up in Fairview Slopes "accidentally--we walked into an open house that suited us".

The decision to buy is not wholly reducible to the economic factor. The time might be right to make a wise investment in the property market, as Bob implies, but whether that investment is made depends on an individual's perception of their own status and possible future. This is best illustrated

for the case of single women. One developer identifies an important component of the Fairview Slopes condominium market as single women "clustered on both sides of 40: nurses, lawyers and accountants. They have decided marriage and children are unlikely and now they want their own homes" (Gutstein 1985:54). Isabelle and Carole fit this model. I asked Isabelle, who had previously rented in Kitsilano, how she ended up in Fairview:

"It was purely by chance really. I just decided it was time I bought something, and I had never been interested in buying before...I suppose because my parents still live in Kerrisdale so I still think of myself as having a home there!"

Isabelle looked in Kerrisdale and Kitsilano, but all units in her price range were too small. Now she finds Fairview a convenient and interesting area in which to live. The same restrictions applied to Carole, who had also rented in Kits and was looking for a small house. The condominium in Fairview Slopes offered here a reasonable price, but she hopes to find a house with a garden within the next couple of years. A younger woman who is currently renting told me, "I always said that when I'm 35, I'm going to buy, if I'm not married". Fairview is an area she would consider. The sense of "settling down" was illustrated by Gordon, a young divorcee who had been considering buying a new car; his family and ex-wife had urged him to put money into a home instead:

"One of the reasons I never bought a place for so many years is because I didn't want to give up that part of my income...'I won't be able to go out and have a good bottle of wine, I'll have to have some plonk'--it struck me with shock and fear for years!"

Deciding to buy thus seems to be associated with an acknowledgement of identity--that being single, for instance, is not merely a transitional stage but one in which a person must construct a stable and workable style of life. Moreover, buying in Fairview Slopes can also represent a status passage (Glaser and Strauss 1971) for those who have already passed through a stable, family-oriented stage of adult life. To empty nester households, for

instance, moving from a larger family home represents a freeing from responsibilities and an opportunity to enjoy more of the leisure pursuits which Gordon, the divorcee, now has to ration. The proportion of interviewees who were not first-time buyers gives the lie to assertions that gentrification is a fall-back option for those with few assets. In explaining how gentrifiers produce themselves, we must take account of an expressive dimension, tied to transformations in self-identity: from being a "transitional" single to a "stable" single, from raising a family to consolidating a partnership, from being a couple or a family to being alone as a divorcee. In a contemporary western city, the symbolic connection of landscape transition with social transformation may be less explicit than that described for the tightly structured society of an Indian city where, in undergoing status passage, one "redefines oneself vis-a-vis the landscape" (Duncan and Duncan 1976:211). However, there is a subtle interplay of environment and identity in which the former enables the expression of the latter.

Although some scholars explain gentrification with reference to the cheapest housing option, and indeed financial considerations featured largely in interviewees' explanation of their choice of residence, the actual search process which channels people to Fairview Slopes is a consideration which modifies the simple supply-side argument. Helen said, "I think if there's one thing that attracted me to this place it was the reasonable price"--yet her search for a "good deal" was already focused upon a narrow range of possible options determined by lifestyle preference. The cheaper suburbs, for instance, were never considered. There are two interacting elements which define this range of options. One is geographical: respondents have already determined they prefer to live on the most expensive West Side of the City (west of Main Street, with the best access to amenities such as

waterfront). For instance, in his search for a home Eric says, "Anything West Side I went and I looked at". The other element is a matter of housing type: many respondents have already determined that a condominium would be most appropriate to their style of life. If those two elements are already "given", then Fairview Slopes is one of the obvious residential options, along with areas of Kitsilano and Arbutus. In some cases, interviewees indicated that they would have preferred to buy a single-family house; however, their geographical preferences being paramount, they find that they cannot afford such a home in the neighbourhoods they deem worth serious consideration; condominium living remains the only option. This interplay of hierarchical decisions is illustrated by Gill and her husband:

"Price was a major consideration; we would have liked a single dwelling unit on the West Side, but they were far too expensive, so we decided to go for a townhouse and we'd go for something new because we wouldn't have to fix it up...and we wanted to be downtown, close to downtown. My husband works downtown and we do a lot of things like the theatre and films and out to dinner and that stuff so it's nice to be close to those things as well".

Gill and Gary are starting a family, so they hope to purchase a larger house at some point (on the West Side if possible). The same is the case for Ned and Naomi. One of Ned's priorities was to be close to the water for his boating:

"I guess it really was money, what you can get for the dollar. The price range you could afford here, the only comparable house would be in Marpole, which is quite a way from the water. Basically the price range would get you a broken-down house which would need a lot of work".

Later Ned explains:

"We looked all around Kits, and all the way to Main Street....when you're buying you're looking for one that falls into all the categories. It's got two bedrooms...it's got one level basically so you're not going up and down stairs with a child....We found some builders who...were having big fights between partners so it was a good opportunity to strike the best deal".

Note here how it is taken-for-granted that the only viable option is the West

Side. Ned and Naomi never considered a house on the East Side, where they could probably find a cheaper house of better quality than those available in Marpole.

Kitsilano was commonly the first choice for many buyers. It is certainly a neighbourhood with which more potential buyers would be familiar, since many lived there as students. Fairview is less well known, being smaller and also having only recently thrown off its reputation as a slum. A couple of respondents implied that they had not originally intended to look "this far east", thus suggesting it was perceived to be part of the less desirable eastern side of the city. For example, Helen noted that (compared to Kitsilano) she was less familiar with this section of Broadway, and "didn't want to be down near Cambie: I was sort of more [of a] Granville Street, Burrard Street, Kitsilano sort of area person". Both Irene and Bob also preferred Kitsilano since it was the centre of their social lives, offered a better sense of community, and had more established stores and services. However, according to a realtor, Fairview has now become a "destination": "'before you had to convince people to move there. Now Fairview is perceived as an alternative to Kits'" (Gutstein 1985:54). Because it is a quieter environment, Fairview is sometimes preferred over Kitsilano; an older couple said:

"The reason we didn't choose to live in Kits...it was social, in that we felt that there was a better mix for us here in Fairview Slopes for people. Whereas Kitsilano seems to us to be a little noisier, a little younger...and we felt we'd feel more out of place there".

Karl also "looked at Kits and felt that Fairview Slopes was a little bit closer to fit my needs".

While Kitsilano was the alternative some residents had in mind, the West End also proved popular amongst people who were already living there. This was so for David and his wife who were renting in the West End but could not

find any place to buy that would meet all their criteria. Barbara and Bill were also looking for a home which would offer the same neighbourhood vitality and convenience they enjoyed in the West End but which would give them slightly more room. One important social group living in the West End is the gay community, and Keith, a gay man, explained:

"Well, we decided it was time to stop renting and buy, and we looked around and decided to live close to the city centre. And so we restricted ourselves, and our first preference was the West End, we find the West End to be a very exciting community to be part of. But there is very little property for purchase in the way of townhouses....And so we looked there, Kits, Point Grey, we actually went the other side into East Vancouver because there's some rather nice communities around the Wall Street area which are surprisingly close to downtown. What sold us on this area was the view....That, and I also made sure that we were close to a good bus service, because we pay for the view here so we offset that by getting rid of one car, and that saves a lot of money".

Note Keith's choice of words--it was apparently surprising that he should "actually" look at the East Side.

Buying is a matter of choosing between possible trade-offs: for example, in Keith's case, between the cost of the townhouse and the convenience of a car. Potential purchasers weigh up price against ideal location. Some interviewees had approached this in a highly rational manner; for instance, Leila was currently renting on a "trial basis because what I wanted to do was live in the neighbourhood for a while, so it's more like market research"; Kevin and Karen did the same thing before they decided to sell their suburban home and buy in Fairview. Moreover, while price and location are important considerations, the type of housing to be purchased also enters the equation. For some of the younger people (especially those starting families) as single-family house may be preferable; given the self-imposed geographical limits to the search process, however, only a townhouse is possible. In many other cases, however, a condominium was explicitly preferred, especially by older people who do not want the responsibilities of maintaining a large

house. Even younger people who would like a house are aware of the advantages of a condominium at present. For example, Isabelle said:

"I do like to go on nice holidays, and skiing isn't cheap either....I purposefully bought a townhouse that I could well afford so that I wouldn't have to change my lifestyle and never have any fun any more".

Gary, the man who dreaded replacing good wine with plonk, also described the delicate balance between alternative demands on an income:

"The world is geared to two incomes, or one good one, and when you're single, the things you can do especially if you're an indulgent person...it stretches things quite a lot. if you're with somebody...two incomes, you can do a lot more. For me, this is it, a mortgage of \$75,000, that's how much I can afford, it takes \$900 of my income a month just to maintain this place...on my salary, if I didn't have my additional freelance consulting work to supplement my income, I'd be sitting home a lot".

In sum, respondents usually did not identify Fairview Slopes as the place in which they were determined to buy from the outset of their search for a new home. However, it proved to meet their various decision requirements and, once in residence, most are keen to identify its assets. In discussing the attractive features of living in Fairview Slopes, interviewees referred to aspects of location, as well as characteristics of the housing type which proved advantageous to their style of living. Jim, for example, listed the attractive features thus: "Oh, lifestyle, lifestyle! Ease of maintenance and access to the city". In discussing these themes below, I draw upon the responses given by renters as well as owners.

6.3 SETTING AS STRATEGY, TOWNHOUSE AS TACTIC.

What would be accepted as a satisfactorily "workable" style of life is a matter of expectations and aspirations. When Rose (1984) talks of the way in which gentrification meets the needs of groups such as single parent families, she is focusing on attributes of the environment which limit or enable households to achieve quite marginal levels of existence. In Fairview

Slopes, few of the gentrifiers suffer the straitened circumstances Rose describes (their household incomes are on average quite comfortable). But neither do they have limitless resources to construct the way of life to which they aspire. Both the location in which they have chosen to live, and the housing type they inhabit, free them to pursue some of these aspirations.

The "time-space constitution of social structure" (Thrift 1983:31) must be a crucial component of social theory. The insights of "time geography" provide tools which help the interpretation of social life. Two such tools are the notions of "path" and "project". A "path" is a person's trajectory through time and space; a daily path, for instance, may carry a person to work in the morning, home in the evening, out and back to a meeting or a place of entertainment in the evening. A "project" is the sequence of tasks required to complete any intention-inspired or goal-oriented behaviour. One focus of research can be the articulation of a person's long-term projects with their daily practice, and their reflexive interplay with the geographical contexts in which they are set. "Biographies are formed through the becoming of places, and places become through the formation of biographies" writes Pred (1984:258); thus the personality of a place is reciprocally intertwined with the personality of a people.

The context, or situation, is defined by the nature of projects, but also shapes the direction of projects by permitting or restricting what is "doable" and what is "knowable". The budgeting of time and space for habitual routines is the defining principle of what is doable. A person's participation in institutional projects--such as those associated with the workplace, the family--structures the daily path and limits other scheduling priorities. What is knowable is also shaped by the power embedded in institutionally-defined routines.

This section focuses on what is doable, reconstructing the daily

trajectories of Fairview Slopes residents and the nature of the projects being carried forward by the conduct of everyday life. Intentions are not directly observable, projects are not immediately visible (Hagerstrand 1982) and thus they are pieced together only tentatively through a process of thick description. However, in my interviews I did attempt to explore respondents' motivations and aspirations, and this offers one starting point for interpretation. My question was couched in terms of Bell's three lifestyle types: did respondents identify themselves with any, or all, of the modes of familism, careerism, or consumerism ("living the good life")?

In a few cases, interviewees responded to my question by identifying their allegiance to one of these lifestyle types. Prompted by my question, a young couple told me, "I wouldn't say either one of us was career-oriented. I think we like to live the Good Life, I like to travel. To me the idea of making money is so that I can travel". Mike said: "I don't think I have any career aspirations. Money I suppose! I don't want to be president of XYZ company, I just want to enjoy myself". Another man rejected the consumerism label, but he does enjoy all kinds of social, cultural and sports activities:

Bob: "I'm not consumption oriented. My job's important, I love it, I find it fascinating. But it's not my whole life so I'm very glad to get home afterwards....In some ways I think self-indulgence, I think being single I can experience, indulge in the nice things as much as I can".

C: "Do you think that relates to you living here".

Bob: "Oh yes, I think the quality of life and what one does, I can enjoy it to the full....living somewhere nice and living centrally".

Many respondents had demanding careers, and naturally some of them focused on this as their prime orientation. For example, a businessman told me, "I have a career, my aspiration is to do what I do very well and become very successful at it". Another man, Ian, described himself as a "career-guy", and he said that he wants to be a very good physician, but he also thinks family is important in the long term.

Like Ian, most respondents proved reluctant to rule out particular goals, suggesting they aimed for a balance of the lifestyle types, that their priorities had tended to shift over time, or that there was something more subtle towards which they were striving that could not easily be reduced to such labels. A combination of lifestyles is described by Linda:

"I'd say I enjoy all three [lifestyles]; I enjoy my job but I don't want to spend all my time at my job, I enjoy my husband's company, and together we enjoy activities--I'm not sure if consumption is the word--but we certainly enjoy travelling and so on together".

As Hagerstrand acknowledges, "intentions have a high death rate" (Hagerstrand 1982:324). Various circumstances force changes in lifestyle orientation: divorcees, for instance, find new pleasure in non-family oriented activities, and mention how geographical setting is connected to that change. One female respondent might remarry; of her aspirations she says:

"They've changed radically, and I have no doubt they are going to change again. My first goals and aspirations were completely concerned with the family, and that was a very satisfying lifestyle which you couldn't have in Vancouver--that was done in a rural area. now my goals are different in that they are more career-oriented. That may change again. Possibly the most important thing that one can do in one's life is to remain fairly flexible and to be able to move with the changes".

In the case of Karl:

"Being divorced now, well I'd say until recently it was probably quite balanced with career and family, but now at the stage I am in my age and career, probably now looking for--well I don't want to say the Good Life but--something a little different to what I've had before....I love what I do as far as my career goes but I also want to enjoy why I've been working, and I want to spend some time especially travelling which I suppose is my vice. I want to do that sort of thing more and more and not be as dependent on that gruelling office committment every day. And back to [talking about] Fairview Slopes, I like living in a townhouse because of the fact that you can just lock the door and go away, you don't have to worry about the garden and maintenance".

The enabling quality of environment to which both of these divorcees refer is discussed in more detail later.

Divorce is not the only transformation which can redirect the trajectory

of a life path. Alan is a young single man who has become less obsessed with his career:

"Career is definitely important. I think if you're happy at work you're happy out[side] of work, and vice versa, if you're happy outside you get a lot done at work. One time in my life, career was definitely everything, a relationship that I had actually fell apart because I was so career-oriented, as opposed to wanting to get involved with somebody and settle down and have a family and do the things that a normal person will....[so now] I realize that I have to work hard when I work and play hard when I play".

For Alan, career gives away to enjoying more social and leisure activities.

In other cases it makes way for a new orientation towards family:

Don: "I think before I met Deborah I was more concerned with career than anything else. I think I am very much split now, between enjoying my career but also enjoying family life....my career has gone through desperate straits like everybody else's...I guess it makes me realize how tenuous business is, and perhaps how important family is, so I try to keep both to the right proportions".

Gill: "I think we probably started off being very career-oriented and wanting to go out to dinner a lot and that stuff. But with the arrival of the baby it's changed considerably. We are now much more family-oriented and often spend Friday and Saturday night at home now".

These cycles of orientation are commonly related to the age of the respondents. Don and Karl are already established in their careers (despite some problems in the recession) and thus they have the freedom to commit more time to other activities. The same is the case for Keith:

"The most important things to me I guess are to avoid pressures. I like to be relaxed, I don't like to have a lot of chores, so a townhouse fits into that. And both my partner and I have quite high pressure work, so we wanted to create a relaxing home. When we come home...we just light a fire and settle in....

....My career has reached a plateau now, I've reached the top in my profession...I am no longer going for upward goals and...I'm almost semi-retiring, and the nicest luxury of all is being able to do that at my age....

....I think at some point you get over that consumer craving that you have to have everything. I had a BMW once and it was a pain in the neck and I got rid of it".

For empty nesters, winding down career and enjoying a quiet and balanced lifestyle is especially important. One retired respondent is focused on

"improving one's mental abilities, certainly not becoming stagnant". Another respondent describes her lifestyle as "nothing to do with consuming things. Personal fulfillment, I think. The house liberates that....because it looks after itself". In fact, all age groups emphasize the balance of different ingredients to achieve personal fulfillment. The following quotation from a young husband best expresses the holistic nature of a life's project to which the congruity of two persons' life paths is the essence:

"It's quality of life. Alison and I are very busy people in terms of our jobs....Alison is career-oriented and working towards her goals, I'm working towards my goals. We both enjoy our time together very, very much. And we basically have the same philosophy on the quality of life that we live. It's a very simple life, we're not consumed in buying gadgets...we enjoy our fine wine, Alison's a great cook, and we like our music and our friends....We travel as much as possible".

With respect to the concrete structure of everyday life, Fairview Slopes can be actively employed as part of a strategy for achieving certain projects. When asked to list the attractive features of living in Fairview Slopes, one respondent answered, "Location, number one"; another quipped, "Basically location, location, location!" The relative location of this neighbourhood defines a setting which is excellently suited to some new class individuals practicing post-patriarchal modes of gender relations. The notion of the strategic setting is a theme implicit in the advertising material for new condominiums: as a pamphlet for The Courtyards says, it is "strategically situated just one block from Cambie Street, within minutes of the downtown core, and just a walk away from the seawall and recreational activities of the False Creek waterfront".

Rose (1984) speaks of gentrifiers' rejection of the time-space rhythms of suburbia. The location of one's workplace is one of the important determinants of the rhythms negotiated each day. Of the 72 household members, 64 have jobs (7 are part-time, all women), plus there are four women

who are students with no jobs. I have classified the work locations of all those with jobs (this includes the location of headquarters for employees who travel substantially, and the place where workers spend most of the time if two locations were given), plus students' place of study. In line with our knowledge of the distribution of new class employment, 19 of these 68 locations are in the downtown/West End area. Fifteen people work in the Fairview local area which extends from Cambie to Burrard, False Creek to 16th Avenue, and encompasses the hospital and City Hall complex. Eight are employed, or are students, at the University of British Columbia; 10 more work in other areas of Vancouver City. Outside the City, 5 work in Burnaby, 4 in Richmond and, in the distant suburbs, 2 in Delta and 1 in Surrey. Two had work locations that varied, and two worked out of their Fairview homes. Sitting at the intersection of major north-south, east-west arteries passing through the city, Fairview Slopes is ideally located with respect to easy access to most of these areas.

But why do "these potential gentry select an urban location over a suburban one?" (Beauregard 1986:46). Jobs have long been concentrated in the city core. The reason, claims Beauregard, is the nature of their "consumption and reproduction activities....Moreover, high commuting costs and long commuting times would interfere financially and temporally with consumption activities". Of the "reproduction activities", most vital are particular requirements of dual career households. For instance, when asked for the attractive features of living in Fairview Slopes, Andy answers:

"The centrality of the location. Alison works in Burnaby so she's twenty minutes away from work. I work in Richmond so I'm ten to fifteen minutes away".

Penny makes the same response:

"It's very central, it's good for both of us. My husband's up at U.B.C. and I'm at S.F.U. [Simon Fraser University in Burnaby] so it seemed like a good compromise".

And Don explains:

"It's a very convenient place for us to live, for both of our businesses. I work down in False Creek, Deborah works in Kits, so it's convenient for both of us workwise".

In these particular cases, Fairview Slopes represents a fulcrum over which partners can balance their journeys-to-work. Proximity to work is relevant also for singles as well. For example, consider the position of renters. While Fairview's relatively cheap purchasing prices were an attraction to buyers, most rents are high compared to comparable units in the West Side. Thus we can expect location to have been of particular importance for renters. Rose, for example, had been commuting from the West End to a job in Fairview, and found her new apartment during a lunch hour. Tom said:

"I own a Lotus Europa, which is one of the most unreliable cars in the world, and I took a job [in the adjoining block]...so I wanted to live within one mile or half a mile of where I was working!"

Many of the respondents, owners and renters, regularly walk to work. And many referred to the horrors of commuting: specifically the time it wasted (the financial aspect was never mentioned) and the frustrations it caused (what Matthew called "thirty-five minutes of aggravation"). Martin had already experienced this:

"We both had jobs--at U.B.C. for me, and Meg works downtown--so from Burnaby, to drive out there it's a very long drive, it was taking me fifty minutes each way. And we thought, what the heck, we don't really want that".

Another respondent found Fairview Slopes more convenient than his previous home:

"It takes us exactly seven minutes from our garage to a car park downtown. It's much more convenient than West Van when you really don't know whether it's going to take you twenty minutes or two hours to get into the city".

Erica had never tried commuting but was determined never to start:

"Neither of us could see us climbing into our car two times each day and spending forty-five to fifty minutes driving your car into Vancouver each day. That just seemed like a terrible waste of

time".

What does a shorter commuting time mean for the achievement of projects? To Barbara and Bill, it allows for a successful articulation of paths and projects, and Barbara's first sentence indicates the significance of self-definition to what is legitimately doable:

"We're not North Vancouver people, there's no way we would have wanted to go over there because....we're not commuters in that sense, only short distance commuters. We don't like driving to and from work which is fine, we just walk to the top of the road, get the bus downtown where we both work....If we have a nice dinner with a drink [after work] we don't have to worry about driving home. If the weather's bad we can take a taxi, or we can walk home....There's no way I would want to be an hour on the bus coming to work or going home. It just suits us. We're at work in ten minutes and home in ten minutes if we choose to take the bus".

Another respondent also mentioned the advantage of a short taxi ride which freed him from worry about drinking and driving.

Living close to work enables the construction of a style of life defined in part by the freedom to enjoy certain leisure activities. Also it offers an advantage to those with new class jobs that demand a certain amount of flexibility in terms of time spent at work. Erica, for instance, often has to work in the evenings:

"I think there's a real time advantage. I get home from work in five minutes. I think that's a real advantage in my life particularly, as I say, because I go out in the evenings quite a bit, so it means I can go home for an hour and a half and then go out in the evening".

For Gordon too: "I'm so close to work, about six minutes way, especially on the weekend quite often I'll drive down there [and do some work]".

People who work in the inner city, and couples with journeys-to-work extending in opposite directions, are especially advantaged by living in a neighbourhood like Fairview Slopes. There was, however, a small number of cases where single people commuted outside of the City. Alan finds the ease of access to major routes ideal: "I work right downtown plus I spend a lot of

time going out to the airport...and I don't have to deal with the bridges". Dennis, too, works in Richmond yet "being single, I didn't want to move out to a suburban type area...this was central....I've commuted before and I don't like to spend an hour or more just going too and from work". The speed by which one can get out of the city against the dominant traffic flow makes commuting only a minor irritation to one woman:

"I lived out in Delta and worked out in Delta for ten years, and for the last six of those years I was socializing in the Kits area and I was finding it a bind having to drive home whatever the hour of the evening...after due consideration I decided I would rather do the driving on a morning on my way to work as opposed to on the end of an evening to go home. [If I moved now] I would probably...live in the area I was socializing in as opposed to the area I was working".

Another woman who works in Richmond evaluates the suburbs:

"It's fine if you've got a family, but if you're going to be single, or if you have a boyfriend or friends that work down in the city...you can't be living out in Richmond, you can't be out in Delta. I would feel very cut-off out there, and that's why I enjoy living way from the [workplace], because I can be a different person when I come into town".

Her attitude is summarized by this exclamation: "I love it; I love living near the city!"

The experience of commuters underscores two dimensions to the choice of residence. First there seems to be a matter of self-identity ("I can be a different person"), an expressive aspect which I will explore later. Second, there is a special emphasis placed on leisure activities, on socializing and on enjoying the adult-oriented facilities only the city core has to offer. Short journey-to-work is not the only strategic advantage of living on the Slopes: so is short journey-to-play.

Perhaps chief amongst the amenities offered by Fairview Slopes is the view, a panorama of the downtown core and the north shore mountains beyond, which stretches from the Georgia Strait in the west to Simon Fraser University in the east. Downtown itself is within walking distance

(especially if you take a pedestrian ferry across the Creek) and, by driving, one woman claims she can actually be in the downtown Pacific Centre Mall within five minutes. In False Creek there is the landscaped park, a sea-wall and marinas, as well as Granville Island--the formerly industrial area with its restaurants, public market, theatres and various crafts-oriented stores. On Broadway and Granville Streets there are restaurants and high-quality retail outlets. Asked for the attractions of living in Fairview Slopes, a woman who commutes to work out of the City says:

"I think the first thing that I really like about living here is the fact that it's very close to the city. You can walk to town in twenty minutes, over the Cambie Bridge. You can walk to Granville Island in twenty minutes. And you can also take the transportation, the False Creek bus runs down the end of this block. I like being near the waterfront, it's a very pretty area and even though I don't have a garden, I've got the parks, and I don't miss it. But I think that's the one feature, that it's so close to everything".

Many other respondents listed a similar range of valued activities; for example:

"We both considered ourselves city people. I think that we like the amenities that cities have to offer, I think we like that sense of taking advantage of what we consider to be urban things, rather than a lot of the reasons people live in Vancouver--we weren't necessarily skiers or boaters or anything like that, we were more interested in being close to theatres and that kind of city life".

"I would say it's accessibility to downtown. I work right in the core. I think it's proximity to many things, it's location to shopping and to restaurants that are a five, ten minute drive away. And I guess a little bit more of a residential feel than living in an apartment right downtown. It's worked out very well, all the things I would like to do".

I shall have more to say about the culture of consumption and leisure later in the thesis. One dimension of this is the definition of consumption activities necessary for reproduction--those that might otherwise be considered household chores--as components in the construction of self-identity and the search for self-fulfillment. Granville Island offers a perfect example: not only is it a convenient place in which to buy good

produce, but it is also an arena for the negotiation of meaning. Its convenience for a tight time budget (and its symbolism) is noted by Bob:

"Granville Island, yuppie heaven! If I can finish work by six it's perfect, I can do it on my way....I don't do a week's shopping, I survival shop, I will get what I want [at the time]".

Even the aggressively marketed products of the development industry offer spectacles which are consumed as entertainment. Said one young woman of Fairview Slopes:

"It seems like a fun sort of place, there's lots going on, it just seems to be a place that's interesting. It's interesting to look at....if you're not doing anything Saturday or Sunday, you wander round and go into the display suites".

Short journeys-to-play underwrite a style of life that is exceptionally flexible. For Christine, a homemaker who works as a volunteer at the Museum of Anthropology, the Fairview Slopes setting enables her to do the following:

"I can allow myself five, seven minutes to get downtown. I think nothing of going downtown twice a day...that's very handy....
....I often say to my husband, isn't it funny how each day is different....I would do some chores around the apartment, meet somebody for lunch, or I may go out shopping or have somebody in, it's not structured. I'm at the museum twice, sometimes three or four times a week, whatever I feel like I can go along....
....I have learned to be structured--to just play things. And I think that's one of the joys, or supposedly, of the 'golden years' as they call them, to live like that, and I'm taking advantage of it".

Ned places proximity to the water at the top of his list of attractive neighbourhood features, and using time to its fullest is one reason:

"I guess the number one being close to the water. Just last night I was down there on False Creek rowing up and down in a little rubber dinghy, and you just pick the dinghy up, put it in the back of the car, and in five minutes you're home again".

Later, his wife echoes Christine's comments: Fairview Slopes positions one to enjoy a daily life that lacks structure:

Naomi: "Yes, I think the biggest advantage of living here is that because our spare time happens on the spur of the moment, all of a sudden I can't work any more and Ned doesn't feel like working any more, and we've got an hour, and we can just walk down a couple of blocks and we are in a nice area where you can have a bit of a

break. I think there's a lot of places, if you had that spare time you'd probably sit in front of the television, because there isn't anywhere to go in such a short time".

Ned: "And the fact that there isn't any maintenance. We had a house before with a lawn, and I tell you it was like a jungle...it was a real headache, you know. And eventually we hope to get a place like that again, but only when we can afford [the time to maintain it]...And that's one of the nice things about living here, you give yourself breathing space".

Naomi: "In one way it's too small and we wish we had more room, but in another way that's what makes it so easy to have, well everything has got to be in its place".

This conversation carries us nicely from the notion of the strategic setting to that of the tactical townhouse. While a prime institution that structures the pursuit of life projects is the waged workplace, the institution of the household is also a workplace which imposes demands on people's resources, including the resource of time. The home is a setting that can open up and foreclose other options. This perspective emerges very clearly in the interviews. While some respondents would like to own a single family house in the future (and could in fact afford one outside the West Side), a condominium style of housing is best suited to their current needs. Other respondents are not interested in buying a single family house at all. These are typical quotations:

"I guess I didn't want a house, I wanted a townhouse, I didn't want the upkeep, I didn't want to do anything, so a townhouse was the answer".

"We like the convenience of a condominium-type living because there is relatively little maintenance on the place".

"Being a working single parent I really didn't want to have to spend time maintaining the outside of a dwelling, or the inside".

"If something goes wrong I can phone someone and say 'fix it' and just walk out the door".

References to the drudgery of lawn-mowing were extremely frequent. Yard work required in a condominium project is typically contracted out, and owners pay a monthly strata fee to cover the cost:

C: "Would you want a single family house?"

Alison: "No, I don't think so. Too much maintenance and having a lawn--".

Andy: "I like paying 66 bucks a month strata fee and that's it. I don't want to be getting into the two hundred dollars for getting the mower overhauled or raking the leaves".

With what would time spent on mowing lawns interfere? Some respondents related their housing choice to their career-type. Eric is such a case:

"I would probably for a long time be thinking of [living in] a condo. I don't have time for maintenance on houses and upkeep, I want as little time spent at home--except time I want to spend there--as possible, because I work a lot and when I want leisure I want leisure, I don't want to have to look after something like a house".

Two women make the same connection:

"Both my husband and I work hard during the week, so we don't want to spend a lot of time doing housework, cutting grass and that sort of thing. I think that's one of the reasons why we're looking for a townhouse, and I suppose we live in Fairview Slopes because it's near to things we like to do. I really enjoy the lifestyle here...it's trouble-free living".

"We moved from a neighbourhood where the house and the yard were more than we could tackle in our waking hours. So that was part of the reason I think for the move, because this was a much more manageable...way of living for us in terms of the kinds of household chores that there are, and us getting the leisure time and the work time that we want".

Such comments express the fine balance between career and other pursuits which many residents desire to achieve, by means of the "sacrifice" of a conventional home. This is, however, a subtle programme, one in which the dimension of meaning is crucial, as can be seen in the conversation below. Neither Andy nor Alison work particularly close to home, and that might explain Andy's fist reaction. But a consensus on the meaning of Fairview Slopes in comparison to that of Burnaby or Richmond (and especially Surrey--the butt of many jokes on red-necked suburbia) seems to emerge:

C: "Do you think living in this neighbourhood has affected your lifestyle?"

Andy: "No, I could be living thirty blocks west of here and still be the same person that I am, and on the same track..."

Alison: "I disagree with that to a point. I've lived in the Burnaby's of the world, and Richmond, and Surrey, and I don't think

I ever enjoyed living in Surrey, I don't think I would enjoy living as much in Richmond or Burnaby, just because I happen to love living here, I love this area".

Andy: "So it makes things easier?"

Alison: "Well it doesn't change our life, like totally, but it's a nice, how do I word it--?"

Andy: "It makes the other half of the work life a lot easier".

Alison: "Yes, it's just nice".

The next chapter will explore further this perspective on Fairview Slopes in comparison to suburbia.

This section has shown how Fairview Slopes can be made an ingredient in the lives of certain kinds of people. The following sections explore in more detail the stories of some of these different kinds of people, focusing first on the empty nester household.

6.4 THE EMPTY NEST.

A Canadian survey indicates that condominiums are proving to be increasingly attractive as a housing option for older adults (Skaburskis 1984). While the census data show that older age groups are still relatively underrepresented in Fairview Slopes, there is evidence that the population profile is gradually maturing, which could be due to both the changing types of in-movers and the ageing of residents in place. Marketing strategies are still largely aimed at young adults; the same is true for the architectural design of most buildings, with their multi-levels and narrow staircases. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that of all the people interviewed, older couples were, in many cases, most enthusiastic about the attractive features of Fairview Slopes. This group includes four "empty nester" couples who had raised children together, and one older couple who had never had children. In addition to these five on whom I focus here, there was a similar number of households of older adult couples who had previously raised families with former partners; these households proved to have styles of life more in

common with younger adult households (the female partners also tended to be younger).

The enthusiasm of these older adults for their Fairview Slopes setting is hardly surprising. Unlike younger adults who have more limited resources, these people are better-placed to select a new home which is ideally suited to their needs, and gentrification is by no means a fall-back option. Since they each appear to have enjoyed lengthy relationships with one marital partner, they are not constrained financially by maintenance payments to former spouses or families. The childless couple had owned a condominium in the West End, and the four empty nester couples had previously owned houses in the relatively expensive Arbutus Ridge or Kerrisdale neighbourhoods. Working with these capital assets, they purchased some of the larger and more generously-constructed units on the Slopes, which offered room for furniture accumulated over many years. One of these couples had first moved from their house into an apartment within the same Kerrisdale area, and then reluctantly moved again because it was too small; of all the older couples, this was the least happy in Fairview, the wife being strongly committed to the high status social world of Kerrisdale and missing "the type of people that I was used to mixing with in that area". One of the other empty nesters said, "I think the older people in Fairview are more flexible than the Kerrisdale type"; flexibility did indeed seem a key to satisfaction with living in Fairview Slopes. In confirmation of that flexibility, two other couples volunteered the following:

"Our best friends are fifteen years younger than we are...so we tend to rather mix with younger people rather than people our own age, I think because we look on life that way. You have to stay young, to me age is something that doesn't bother me".

"A lot of our friends are a lot younger than us, they don't have children and are living different lifestyles, or are single and are very spiritually informed and that kind of thing...I think a lot of the people we know well tend to be leading rather independent

lives".

The four empty nester couples had previously enjoyed quite conventional "familistic" lifestyles. The reasons for selling the family home are predictable:

Frederick: "Arbutus was mainly a family set-up, we all lived together in this huge house and did all the things you're supposed to do. Then suddenly they all leave...."

Frances: "We both come from families...who are rattling around in huge old houses, and we saw that as something that would happen to us if we didn't move while we were still pretty agile. So we thought that we would move".

Frederick: "Also we still had the flexibility to do that".

The dispersal of family calls forth a need to consolidate other dimensions of life. This was the background offered by Fiona:

"Our youngest son graduated from high school, and that was the last of the children to leave home...so we didn't need a home establishment for him, we have a bedroom for him if he comes home but he's not a permanent resident with us any more. But we had a mortgage on the house...and we decided it was time at our age not to have a mortgage; so we fished around until we could find something we could afford, that we could pay for outright, and we came across Fairview Slopes".

For those closest to retirement, this is a time for developing new projects.

Julia is contemplating starting some freelance activities:

"That's part of the thing about not stagnating, because you don't have a regular job any more, so I have toyed around with the idea [of freelancing]. And my husband...is enjoying doing something that he wasn't able to spend much time on when he was in business, and that's investment".

One man will be ending his job at the end of the year, but he is planning to continue in the same field as a consultant and writer. Another woman is taking a university degree. A new pattern of life must be negotiated, as Julia describes:

"I have a feeling this isn't going to be the last place we live, but as long as we can climb stairs, we are not anticipating a move...now because our lifestyles have changed a bit and we're not working, we are going to have to work out new things. But it will be imposed on the fact that we really like living in the neighbourhood".

Moving to Fairview Slopes is an opportunity to disinvest oneself of burdens--those of property, of a mortgage, of pursuing career success--and to establish a new balance which prioritizes both home activities and enjoying the amenities of the city or its natural setting. The following quotations are examples of how respondents described their styles of life:

Christine: "I've got to the stage where I don't need another bit of crystal, another dinner service, I've got to the age when I've got them all. So therefore as far as being a consumer, I'm just coasting at the moment".

Barbara: "We're very home minded".

Bill: "But we also like the Good Life. I used to be very ambitious, but you get settled when you get to a certain age, and you enjoy perhaps the home, and you're not so career-oriented...."

Barbara: "I'm not one to want to become a dedicated career woman, unless I suppose maybe if I was single...I guess I just want the mixture of what I have which is the home life, a job that I like and people I work with, and we have a pretty good social life".

Frederick: "I enjoy my work but I don't think of it as the be all and end all".

Fiona: "We had a lot more furniture like beds, because we had four bedrooms. And those were distributed round the family. We just decided we didn't need property, we don't want to spend our lives attending to our possessions, we just want to enjoy life".

These orientations towards lifestyle are reflected in residential choice, as

Fiona goes on to describe:

"It appealed to us because it's just very attractive, very pretty. It's a fun sort of place; we feel that we've done all our serious living because we've brought up our four children and so far they are all satisfactory, we are not anticipating any problems! So now we can just relax and enjoy ourselves, and it's a casual sort of place, it's not a formal house with a well set out front garden or anything like that, it's just almost like a holiday home, just a very pleasant atmosphere altogether".

As I argued earlier, the home is not only a reflection, it is also integral to the achievement of new life projects and ambitions. By offering a particular kind of setting, Fairview Slopes opens up opportunities and suggests new possibilities. The following conversation ensued from my question on lifestyle type:

Frances: "Nothing to do with consuming things. Personal fulfillment, I think. This house liberates that. We have another way of living too, with land at Mount Baker and a house we've just built there....what we did, to move to this house, we shed a lot of our stuff, we see it a fairly pared down...that is, paying for our chance to have a lifestyle which in fact is very simple, which is going away to the country at weekends and doing everything we can for ourselves--without electricity, without running water. This house sets us free to do that because it looks after itself, it has no garden....We couldn't have done it with the other house we had". Frederick: I think it liberates the children too because they feel happy that we have somewhere else to go, and they don't feel obligated to come back and keep checking on us to see if we're alright".

While such a style of living is no longer centred on raising a family, the passage to the new home enables a shift to a new kind of orientation towards the family, one allowing for more pleasurable engagement with children or grandchildren, but also offering the chance to withdraw. Frances and Frederick suggested (semi-seriously I think) that the small home now protects them from the return of their children who had previously moved in and out of the family home and tended to treat it as a refuge in times of stress. Fiona and her husband were also very family-oriented; they initially moved to Canada to be near their sons who had married Canadians. The condominium-style of housing liberates them to spend time with their family, or alternatively to enjoy the theatre, movies and other leisure activities:

"Until now [we have been] totally family-oriented....we stay in Vancouver...this is where our grandchildren are, and now we can just enjoy them, we have much more free time, we don't have to attend to a house, I don't have to paint any more, my husband doesn't have to do the garden, so we have much more time to spend either doing the things we want to, or entertaining our children and grandchildren".

The highly visible association of "young urban professionals" with gentrification could, in the long run, prove less pivotal to the future of Canadian inner cities than a re-evaluation of what comprises the "good life" by older adults. Our conversations tended to conclude with a discussion of how Fairview Slopes was increasingly attractive to such people. Two

respondents had this to say:

"Our two closest friends, two couples, they are looking in apartments now having seen ours and seen how we live, they're quite envious, so....they're hopeful [of finding a similar place]".

"A lot of our friends are suddenly looking at their suburban houses and their lawns and thinking, 'what are we doing this for?' We can live in the sort of house we want to live in without having those responsibilities, like cutting the grass everyday because it's not creative gardening, it's manicuring and it gets very tiring. A lot of our friends have come here and got quite thoughtful about looking for a place".

In sum, with the exception of one household mentioned earlier, these older couples seem very satisfied with their choice of residence in Fairview slopes.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the older adult age group included some individuals with marital histories more complex than those experienced by the people just described. The next section examines such conditions of domestic life for residents of all age groups, in an interpretation of how they--with gentrification--are responses to social restructuring. Overly-rigid models of family life cycle are shown to be inadequate for dealing with the flexible and mutable nature of interpersonal relations: what I have termed the "family in flux".

6.5 THE FAMILY IN FLUX.

Amongst the life events which precipitate housing moves, divorce or separation from a marital or cohabiting partner appears to have been of substantial significance to many of the new residents of Fairview Slopes. Quite how unusual their experiences may be in comparison with other neighbourhoods is impossible to establish with this ethnographic approach; however, the information thus obtained helps to establish some of the causal processes underlying the changing demand for inner city living.

Of the 45 households where detailed interviews were carried out, 9 were

comprised of one-adult household who indicated they had previously been married or cohabiting and were now living alone (or with children), and 10 households were comprised of male-female couples where at least one of the partners had previously had such a relationship (this number could be higher, but it does suggest the significance of former relationships which have broken down fairly recently). In 3 cases, respondents indicated that their relationship had dissolved while the couple were living in Fairview Slopes.

For some of those arriving in the neighbourhood newly divorced or separated, the change in marital status was an immediate trigger to the residential move. A divorce led Anne and her teenage daughter back to Vancouver from the interior of British Columbia; she rented in Fairview in part because it was close to the workplace where she was restarting her career. Karl and his wife had previously owned a single family house in a suburb; when asked why he had moved to Fairview Slopes he explained: "It was a separation, and I wanted to live in an area which was close to my children so that it was easy for them to see me...and also close to my work". Having rented briefly in Fairview Slopes after the separation, Karl bought another unit in the area. A similar story was told by an architect who designed one of the projects in the neighbourhood; he and his family had previously owned a house in North Vancouver:

C: "Why did you choose to live in Fairview Slopes?"

Don: ".....While I was doing the development I was also going through a divorce so I ended up living--it was convenient for me to live there.....So did I choose the neighbourhood? No, I think I didn't, it was convenient at the time, and then I got to really like the neighbourhood and I really wanted to stay here".

Helen and her common-law husband also owned a suburban house:

"We split, I got the house to sell, and I lived in it for about five months, and it did sell, so I had to look for something else. The area where I was living is not a singles' environment at all, it's sort of families, couples, that sort of thing. And so I decided I was going to move closer into the city".

Ian ended up living in Fairview Slopes because, "I started my practice in this neighbourhood in 1982, and I left my wife, decided I wanted a place in the neighbourhood". He first rented in the area with a male friend and now lives alone.

While these cases indicate how separation could be an immediate stimulus to the move into an inner city neighbourhood, it was later events that took place as a consequence of a divorce which influenced two other women. Olivia had been living as a single mother in the apartment owned jointly with her ex-husband; when her children left home she decided she would buy a place of her own and moved to Fairview Slopes. In Pat's case, the family house in which she and her daughter lived "was getting old and it would only have made sense to put money into it to continue living there, and I didn't want to do that. My daughter...was fifteen then and we didn't really need a house"; moreover, at that stage the daughter decided to live with her father, and so Pat bought her own townhouse in Fairview and her partner Phil moved in.

As Pat's case illustrates, the consolidation of a new relationship helped to persuade some previously-separated interviewees to move to Fairview Slopes. Both Roberta and her husband had previously been divorced, and they started living together in a rented apartment in Kerrisdale:

C: "Did getting your place here coincide with a change in you job?
 Roberta: "No, it was getting married. And another reason, as I said my husband was married before and has children, and we needed a place that had a couple of rooms for privacy, so that was one of the things that influenced our decision to buy this place. We had a smaller place [in Kerrisdale]".

Another couple also cited support payments to a former family as one reason for living in a townhouse. Martin and Meg had both lived in Richmond during their previous marriages; following their divorces they had shared a rented townhouse in Richmond:

"The reason we rent[ed] is that I have an ex-wife, a son and a daughter, that I support, and all my capital is tied up in the

house where they're living, so asset-wise we are reasonably well-established for the future, but cash-wise it's very difficult for us to buy a place because we don't have the downpayment".

When his children leave school, the house in which they live is to be sold, at which point Martin and Meg may move from Fairview Slopes to purchase a bigger house. Ian also reported, "I would like to build a house shortly, but I've got to get rid of a wife first".

Ethnographic research in a location such as Fairview Slopes confirms the danger of imposing structured models of family life cycle. Composition of the household is revealed to be a highly flexible phenomenon, as people move in and out of different statuses thus destroying conventional categories of family life. Of the 25 households comprised of a male-female couple (with or without children), 8 had formed when one partner had moved in with the other who was already a resident. Given the relatively short time that all respondents had lived in this area, such a figure suggests that we are pinpointing a population whose personal relationships are in a high state of flux. It is impossible, unfortunately, to judge quite how unusual this is--whether, for instance, a similar sample of suburban residents would demonstrate the same kinds of histories--and clearly these are complex factors which are not fully expressed in secondary data such as that available from the census. However, there were some features of the census data reported in Chapter 5 (Tables 5.8 and 5.9) which indicate how Fairview Slopes residents vary in their characteristics from the population of the C.M.A. and City as a whole.

The flexible personal relationships described here further complicates the identification of reasons for a housing move--in the case of Jim for instance who said that his present partner "wasn't the original lady I was living with when I was first here". The changeability in household content is well-represented by characteristics of cohabiting couples. The census

does not discriminate between married and common-law partners. The only sources which might pick up on this are those which list names of household members. From the 1985 voters' list I identified households in which a male and a female with different surnames were listed. From the assessment rolls listing property owners in 1988 I identified owner-occupier households in which there were joint owners: apparently male and female with different surnames. Hyphenated names were not included in this count; neither were households with more than two people listed as occupants or as owners. Of course, there is no means to filter out married couples with different surnames (it is also possible that a male and a female may be living as room-mates rather than as partners, though I came across no such examples). Possibly, the presence of married couples with different names is itself suggestive of a non-conventional attitude towards marriage. Of the 775 owner-occupier households in strata-title units, 83 (11 percent) had joint male-female owners with different names; 19 percent of owner occupiers were male-female couples with the same surname (another 17 households comprised two owner occupiers where I was unable to classify both partners by sex on the basis of their names). On the voters' list, there were 86 households listing one male and one female with different surnames, compared to 118 male-female couples with the same surname.

The interviews did not probe to discover which partnerships were common-law, but such arrangements carry little stigma for most respondents; for example, Rob started to answer a question about the future by saying, "If I was married to somebody or living with somebody", as if the two were interchangeable. A number of interviewees made reference to such relationships voluntarily. In two cases, individuals had bought homes with their common-law partners and were now living alone (one had bought a suburban house with her boyfriend, and their break-up followed by the sale of

their house precipitated her move; the other had bought the Fairview condominium with his girlfriend who had subsequently left). Another woman indicated that a break-up with her cohabiting boyfriend led her to move from their Kitsilano apartment to a new tenancy in Fairview Slopes. Of those living as couples in Fairview Slopes, some are undoubtedly common-law at present, whereas others have been so in the past. The high percentage of never-married singles in the census data may also be misleading; as Irene told me:

"There are a lot of single people, but a lot of them are either divorced or who have lived with people...there are a lot of people in this area who are living together. But there are very few who, at my age [late 30s] have never been involved in a relationship for a length of time".

One example of the very mutable nature of domestic arrangements which result is the case of a man who rented an apartment on the Slopes: his girlfriend, who was divorced, moved in with him; the apartment came up for sale and they decided to buy it; later, they got married.

Instead of a clear status passage signalled by a change in residence at marriage, therefore, boundaries between different marital statuses, and between different residential statuses, are blurred. While semi-sharing with her boyfriend at present, one condominium owner anticipates that they may have to buy a bigger place:

"I think [Hugh] will move in with me here, he's been with me for a couple of months, he's sub-letting his own apartment....I think that this living space here is good for one but not for two...and I think I'd like a little bit more space too, our stuff is pretty crammed upstairs now and he hasn't got much of his stuff here yet".

Karl's girlfriend lives nearby and (from his description of how domestic chores are carried out) it is clear that they already share many such household activities. He expects they will soon move in together, in which case they will have to find a larger apartment. In these two examples, living conditions are adjusted to the state of personal relations. But in

other cases, it seems to operate the other way around, as in the case of this woman:

"I've gone around with the same man now for five years and we've discussed and debated whether to live together or get married. First of all my daughter was with me, and then I wanted to live on my own, and then I bought this place, and now he and his brother are buying a house together, so we still think well maybe in the future, but I'm quite happy with my life now".

In the case of 5 households, children living with other separated parents would visit their parents in Fairview on a regular basis. As Roberta indicated, having that extra space to accommodate her husband's children every other weekend was a consideration in their choice of unit. Martin and Meg, with a small apartment, make do with a trundle bed in the small "den". The unstable composition of households is reflected also in the presence of teenage children as short-term residents rather than weekend visitors, as the following examples show. When a widowed man already living in Fairview Slopes remarried, his son moved out. The youngest son of a married couple lived in their townhouse for one year when they first moved in. The son of a divorcee joined his mother and her partner for a year after they were already in residence in Fairview, and then he moved out again. In two cases, when male divorcees first moved to Fairview, their older children came with them; one child has now left and the other seems likely to do so shortly. An excellent illustration of the complexities of blended family life comes from one of the male divorcees mentioned above: after his teenage son moved out, his new partner moved in, bringing her younger child who leaves to visit his father once a month; her older daughter visits the Fairview Slopes family once a month.

In addition to the shifting constellations of partners and offspring, there were other players in the drama of the unconventional household. One man equips his den with a day-bed to put up friends with broken marriages--he

makes it sound as if this is a frequent event. With another, I tried to pin down the composition of his household:

Ian: "I've just taken in my little brother who is in need of help, and being the responsible one in the family I occasionally help out other siblings. So there's...he and I right now and occasionally I have a girlfriend come through".

C: "So how many would you say were permanent residents?"

Ian: "I'd say two right now. But he is more transitory than permanent. In terms of these blocks you set up, pigeon holes, he's not going to be--well I'm not going to take care of my brother for the next fifty years".

Also, when he first moved into the apartment, Ian had shared with a male friend. Another household where I interviewed comprised two male roommates. One had a job which regularly took him out of town, and so the arrangement worked very well. How are residential conditions congruent with these household types which are so difficult to pigeon-hole? While condominiums do not offer the floor-space of single-family houses, the arrangement of interior space can make for a reasonable degree of privacy. This is especially the case when bedrooms have ensuite bathrooms and are separated from living quarters or other bedrooms by a flight of stairs. Often, the lowest floor in a three-storey townhouse has a bedroom and bathroom which is ideal for a teenage child or a roommate.

This section concludes with a brief analysis of Fairview Slopes as a neighbourhood for families with children. At the time of interviewing, there were 8 children living in the homes of the people interviewed: 3 under five years old, 2 between 10 and 15, and 3 aged 16 and above. Three parents of the very young children were unanimous in their evaluation of the neighbourhood as a place for raising families. One said:

"I don't imagine we could live right in this unit for the next ten years, because as he gets older, and especially if we do have another child, we'll just outgrow it. But I wouldn't want to move too far away either".

And when I asked another if they were expecting to move, she answered:

"We've considered that already actually, because here we're quite strapped for space. It's one thing these buildings were never built for was children and all the paraphernalia that goes with them".

The third set of parents were already buying a home in a more suitable neighbourhood:

"I'd like to see more security in this building. I would never buy a unit like this. It's definitely not conducive to families...I don't feel any sense of community".

I received mixed reports on the safety of the area for children. One parent claimed:

"the neighbourhood is very safe....we feel comfortable with our ten-year-old being out and about. There's good friends...on the flats, he walks down there and they come up here. Not too many children around here, he doesn't have one single friend who lives on Fairview Slopes. There's convenience because of the school in False Creek".

This interview took place on the roofdeck, and we watched for the son's return from a baseball game proceeding on False Creek flats. Similar points were made by a single mother who explained her choice of Fairview Slopes:

"Three reasons. One, it was close to where I [was]...employed. Perhaps even more important than that it was in an area where my daughter could go to a good school. And, thirdly, it was safe....an area in which I felt it would be safe for my daughter...to walk on the streets, and an area for me where it would be safe to walk to work because I did work shift at the time, as safe as possible for a woman to be walking the streets at midnight, and I felt this would also be a safe place for my daughter to be alone at night".

Less confident was a mother who moved, with her son, into the home of her new husband:

"It's not that I'm not keen on the neighbourhood. It's just that...my son was nine years old, and I was worried about the traffic on Sixth Avenue....Quite honestly, Fairview Slopes is convenient and I love--the area's really very livable. But originally my concerns were from a family point of view".

Her husband described another aspect that caused concern about safety and security:

"There's quite a lot of theft around the area, a lot of men who

wander along back alleys going through garbage cans, and it's a lot of it, we'll have three or four different people every day....That annoys my wife very much, and I must admit I don't like it either. We have been robbed three times".

The interviews focused on residents of new condominium and townhouses.

At the end of the period of study, two cooperative projects were completed and residents moved in. In one of these, comprising sixty units, there are approximately fifty children. According to a developer, because the coops are located on the margin of the area, the effect on the neighbourhood as a whole is expected to be slight. However, residents of an adjacent condominium have complained about noise and the presence of children in the back lane. One morning, coop residents discovered a note pinned to their doors saying (in the words of my informant): "Basically--welcome to Fairview Slopes, you must think yourselves pretty fortunate to have landed up in an area like this. WISE UP!" None of the condominium residents to whom I spoke expressed such hostile views. However, the adult-oriented nature of the area is valued, with the density of the residences requiring a particularly careful approach to interaction with one's neighbours, as the following two quotations indicate:

"This isn't a family-type block, it's in the rules, only one child, in the strata rules. So that is what appealed to us, the fact that it was an adult-oriented building rather than a family-type building. Not that we dislike children, the man down the end is divorced and has his kids here sometimes and that's okay. But you don't have children in the area, and that's something you'd have to think about in a townhouse set-up like Champlain Heights where our friends live. Again, it wouldn't be our lifestyle because, well, we'd be commuting...but apart from that, we don't really want to be around families".

"The by-laws in this development are restrictive, and it's not very equitable: children are not permitted--only for rental people, legally you can't discriminate for them--but the by-laws say very strongly that this is an adult-oriented complex, and in fact the families that have bred since they lived here have all moved out because it's not suitable for children. There is no-where to play, there are lots of stairs, and you can see some quite expensive property [elsewhere] littered with children's toys outside. In a way, that's a selfish lifestyle. But it's typical of the Slopes;

the majority of the developments in the Slopes are designed with an adult orientation".

The adult-centred style of life is discussed in more detail below.

6.6 POSTINDUSTRIAL PROFESSIONALS?

Near the end of the interview, I asked respondents if they thought Fairview Slopes had a particular image. Without prompting, the great majority made reference to "yuppies" (yuppies are "young urban professionals", or sometimes "young upwardly-mobile professionals"). Bob, for example, exclaimed:

"Yuppie heaven!...You've got to be middle income, in general it's not a place for children if they're small, so it's singles and young marrieds of reasonable income".

Helen said:

"I think the image people have of this area is one of professional people, people in medium to upper income brackets, people who don't have children, people who I guess are yuppies. Many of us are single".

A fawning article in the "Homes" section of a local magazine seems to confirm this image (Ovenell-Carter 1988). This focuses on Murray (a photographer) and Love (a former model) who live in a Fairview Slopes condominium lavished with Italian furniture and valuable works of art; they run a successful photographic and publishing business. Described as "a young couple who work together, play together, and are rising together to the top of the fashionable heap" (p. 23), Murray and Love together compose what the title of the article claims: "The picture of success". While my own interviewing uncovered no-one who so blatantly fitted the yuppie image, this picture of success is undoubtedly an important ingredient in Fairview Slopes' current reputation--a reputation from which many respondents were keen to distance themselves. Several interviewees hastily denied that the yuppie label applies to themselves:

Naomi: "It's got a yuppie image".

Ned: "We don't think we're yuppies".

Naomi: "I don't think any yuppies think they're yuppies!"

I have avoided using the term "yuppie" to describe gentrifiers. Smith (1987a) mischievously employs the term as a popular equivalent to the notion of the new middle class. That is a connection to be resisted, on the grounds that the frivolous imagery trivializes a phenomenon that deserves serious treatment. Moreover, the significance of the new class is conveniently pared away by such a conflation: this Smith achieves by focusing on the supposed wealth of yuppies, and proving that there has been minimal inflation in the size of the upper middle income group in the United States. Later in his paper (but not before employing the yuppie model to critique demand-side explanations of gentrification) Smith suggests that "yuppie" is a concept conveying a misplaced theoretical concreteness. I would concur that "yuppie" is a chaotic concept--like "gentrifier"--which obscures their production within an economic and social setting. Indeed, it is for this very reason that an ethnographic method should be used to draw out the interaction of practice and context, rather than depending--as so many accounts (Smith's included) have done--on the over-generalized "typical gentrifier".

Notwithstanding the chaos of gentrification, however, the ideological imagery is not insignificant and chaotic conceptions exist for a reason. For instance, the notion of another chaotic concept, the "urban", is highly indicative: it carries a world of meaning about the mutual constitution of people and place. The appearance of the same place-label ("urban") in a social definition ("young urban professional") demands some reflection. This is a task taken up in the next chapter; here, let us acknowledge the power of the yuppie image, and employ it as a template for interpretation of the social changes resulting in gentrification.

The realist approach to social change suggests that the restructuring of

class relations and the restructuring of gender relations are contingently related. Yet the appeal of the yuppie image lies in its conflation of the two. The descriptions given by the Fairview residents above are examples of this conflation. Themes of income and occupation are allied with notions of family and marital status. Although theoretically clumsy, the construct has practical adequacy. We have already considered some aspects of family life of Fairview Slopes residents; before picking up this thread again in the next section, let us look at some indicators of class position for the interviewees.

In the 1981 census, the senior white collar category made up 47 percent of the enumeration district labour force. In the 1985 voters' list, 61 percent of occupations that could be classified fell into this category (people who identified themselves with reference to some industry such as "insurance", or to a particular employer, were amongst those who could not be classified). The interviews carried out with people who are on the voters' list offer an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of that classification. In most cases the occupations given on the list corresponded quite closely to those given by interviewees. A few people had changed their status or occupation since the list was compiled. The greatest likelihood of misclassification was in the case of the "managerial, administrative and related occupations" census group; in this group I had placed people identifying themselves on the list as businesspersons, executives and managers of all kinds (except office managers); such self-descriptions, however, could also be given by those who are more accurately classified elsewhere, especially in sales.

Table 6.3 illustrates the occupational breakdown by census categories of the 62 adults who had classifiable occupations and were living in households where I conducted comprehensive interviews (8 were retired, students or

TABLE 6.3
DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY CENSUS CATEGORIES
FOR PERSONS WITH CLASSIFIED OCCUPATIONS

	Adults in interviewed households		1981 census, enumeration districts	1985 voters' list
	Number	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Managerial	14	23	16	22
Teaching and related	5	8	4	5
Medicine and Health	8	13	11	12
Technological, social, religious, artistic and related	20	32	17	22
Senior white collar	47	76	47	61
Clerical	3	5	19	13
Sales	11	18	10	13
Services	1	2	9	5
Other white collar	15	24	38	31
Blue collar	0	0	16	9
Total	62	100	100	100

homemakers, 2 could not be classified by census categories). Three-quarters of adults in the interviewed households appeared to be senior-white collar, a figure higher than that calculated for the voters' list (which covered remaining non-gentrified houses and old apartment-buildings as well as the new condominiums and apartments from which I drew my interviewees).

The census categories are not equivalent to breakdowns by class division such as that employed by neomarxists such as Wright. Wright (1985) and Wright and Martin (1987) employ a classificatory scheme which pinpoints expanding new class locations, and it proves helpful here in identifying how interviewees fare in terms of the productive assets they control. First, owners are separated from wage labourers. The remaining individuals, wage labourers, are then divided according to their position with respect to skill and organization assets. On the organization-asset dimension, managers make policy decisions, and are organization exploiters; supervisors have marginal organization assets in the form of authority over subordinates; non-managerial positions have no organization assets. On the skill-asset dimension, experts have assets of skill which are often institutionalized by credentials, and these are distinguished from a marginal group of semi-credentialled skilled employees, as well as a non-skilled group. It is the managerial class locations and the expert class locations which have expanded most dramatically with a shift to a "postindustrial" society (Wright and Martin 1987).

The data collected during interviewing allows for only a tentative classification of occupations in terms of the three dimensions discussed by Wright and Martin. The first task is to separate out, from the 64 people with occupations, those who control assets of ownership (seventeen in total). Five owners are small employers with retail or service occupations. Twelve are self-employed petty bourgeois who hire no employees. Of this latter

group, five represent the traditional model of the old middle class (retail or service owners, self-employed professionals like dentists). Two have skills in the arts and crafts field. The remaining five owe their position to occupations which make them rather different from the conventional petty bourgeoisie, in that they have professional credentials which have previously earned them wages as paid employees; they have chosen to establish themselves as freelancers for hire in consultant-type occupations. These five have minimal capital assets and (in the terminology of Wright's formulation) they are more skill exploiters than they are capitalist exploiters (for example, architects). This anomaly arises because, in his adjudication of class positions, Wright makes position with respect to capital the primary basis upon which categorization is to be carried out.

Even discounting this latter group from membership in the new class, skill-based assets prove particularly significant in this neighborhood. Of the 64 people with occupations, I have already designated 17 as owners. Acknowledging that the remaining 47 people may hold both skill and organization assets, let us first estimate the proportion which control little of either. This can be guided by occupational title and education data. Amongst those remaining to be classified, 9 seem to have few skill assets of the credentialled sort, nor managerial assets. Two of these were in clerical positions, 7 in sales. Setting this group aside, we can focus on those with skill assets. I estimate that 19 people fall into the expert category on the basis of their occupations and their possession of a relevant university degree. These include occupations such as physician, professor, teacher, accountant, lawyer. Eight others (all women) have more ambiguous, probably skilled employee positions: 5 do not have degrees (2 of these are nurses); the others have degrees but work in occupations that do not require them. In sum, 27 people benefit primarily from skill assets, not including

those who moved into self-employment.

This leaves 11 people defined primarily by their organization assets, although some also hold skill assets and have moved into managerial positions from expert occupations. About a half of these were in private business (for instance, banking or insurance), and the remainder were in public and non-profit institutions such as education or health. It is difficult further to classify those with organization assets; at least two (describing themselves as "sales managers") might be supervisors rather than managers.

The postindustrial form of class relations implies in particular the growing significance of a new class of managers and experts. In sum, this very rough classification by Wright's criteria identifies (at a conservative estimate) 36 out of 64 occupations as new class. Five are small employers; 17 are petty bourgeois (of which 5 control considerable skill assets). Nine have neither significant organization assets nor sufficient skill assets to be classified as new class. Ten more have moderate skill or organization assets.

Acknowledging that all these classifications are only rough measures of class position, we have a number of indicators of the class position of Fairview Slopes residents. In 1981, almost half of the enumeration district residents with occupations had senior white collar jobs according to the census, and the 1985 voters' list suggests the figure may be 60 percent. Of the 64 people in interviewee households with jobs, three-quarters would fall into this category. And, employing Wright's criteria conservatively, over half of interviewees with jobs have new class type occupations. Such figures correspond with figures on educational level, with 43 out of 72 people in the interviewed households having at least a university degree (and eighteen of these are graduate-level academic or professional qualifications).

At this point it is necessary to return to a consideration of how class

position is experienced, and what this means for the housing market. Whilst by no means equating class with income, there are important features of a new class position which shape a person's earnings "trajectory". The income effect Smith (1987a) considered--that wealth should be redistributing towards the upper centre of the income hierarchy--is too blunt an indicator to capture the new class experience, especially for people in expert positions. These are commonly manifested in credentials which require a lengthy period of formal education, during which earnings are low. Supposedly, having mastered their skills, experts will later reap the financial rewards of their assets which are initially so costly to acquire. However, they may reach an age at which culturally-established norms about "settling down" kick in (for instance, at 30), without commanding the capital resources accumulated by their less skilled counterparts.

While experts have looked forward to more steeply-rising income trajectories once their training is complete, recent economic conditions may have altered the pattern of expectations with respect to financial futures. Rose (1984) points to the effect of house price inflation which means that those who have postponed buying while they earn their skill credentials are now poorly-placed to catch up with others who have already bought. Moreover, recent economic restructuring has placed limits on the degree to which experts can be confident about their future rise in earnings and their job security; as Rose suggests, many professionals may be excluded from more traditional white collar housing markets, and turn to cheaper options (especially renovation) in gentrified neighbourhoods instead.

The income figures for the 1981 census in the enumeration districts (reported in Chapter 5) show that Fairview's incomes are generally high compared to the City and the C.M.A. averages. However, figures for male income especially were not dramatically different from city averages. Since

1981, these figures have probably increased, in part due to the growing number of empty nester households; amongst the interviewees, two-person households in which at least one person is aged 45 and above are most likely to fall into the \$60,000 and above income bracket. Unfortunately, data is not available for other areas with which a useful comparison can be made. As noted earlier in this chapter, establishing a foothold in the property market with limited funds was stated to be an important reason for the move of young buyers to Fairview. This was the case even for those young single adults who had high incomes at the time of interviewing. For example, one young man who now falls into the top income bracket emphasized that he decided to buy (a few years previously with 100 percent financing) because he would otherwise never get into an inflating housing market. Another young man, who earns in the \$40-60,000 bracket, also places great emphasis on the price range he could afford and the pressures he felt to buy into the property market. Both of these men have considerable credentialled skill assets, and in their mid 30s were moving comfortably into a high earning stage.

Fairview Slopes does offer a package of housing goods to those who enter late into the market with limited funds for a downpayment. The financing deals on offer, such as zero percent down, are directed to those with few immediate assets but perhaps with expectations of a good income in the future. By enjoying what approaches a "buy as you rent" alternative, young residents can enjoy conditions of ownership which differ little from their former experience as renters (including lack of responsibility for maintenance). Incidentally--to move away from class briefly--these kinds of arrangements also proved relevant to at least two households in which there lived divorced men whose current financial status is determined by maintenance payments to children, and who are now re-entering the housing market at the bottom of the property ladder.

Whilst such buyers are not exactly what Rose had in mind when she depicted the "marginal gentrifier", there is some parallel in terms of the limited access enjoyed by the younger Fairview Slopes gentrifiers to other attractive parts of the housing market in Vancouver City. Less confirmation is found for the second half of Rose's argument. Few respondents expressed anxiety about future earnings, the exceptions being in the context of retiring and in those cases where interviewees were contemplating or embarked upon a deliberate change in career direction. The dominant impression from most owners was that they had achieved, or were achieving, a settled point in their careers. Thus, despite the presence of some who chose Fairview because it was the only (West Side) buying option available to them, it is clear that many residents view inner city living as a preferred destination rather than a temporary way-station. Ned is one of those who eventually wants to move on to a single family house, and he compares his situation to that of his neighbours:

"In our parking lot, there are six Mercedes!...In some ways it surprises me the kind of people [who live here] because we're here because we can't afford a house, if we had another \$30,000 for a BMW we would buy a house in Kitsilano with the money".

My conversation with Ned drew out two sets of considerations which interact with class position to produce "committed gentrifiers". One aspect of this is gender relations, to which I return later. The other is manifest in consumption style.

Ned suggested to me that some people are attracted to Fairview Slopes as a permanent home because of the status associated with a particular consumption style. Talking about the option of buying a home in another area of the city, he speculates on the thought processes of his neighbours:

"The status of the people in that area wouldn't be as high, whereas if you're in a place on Fairview Slopes, people all of a sudden [think], well, you drive a BMW and you must be a high flyer".

Dennis thinks Fairview has a reputation as a "jet-set area....You can tell by the cars!" Tom expands upon the consumption package of trendy townhouse and flashy car:

"The image that I think people have of this area is that it's chock-a-block full of yuppies. BMWs, the good life, have people over for dinner and stick in your ingredients from "The Lazy Gourmet" [a catering store] down on Granville Island, and out pops the fresh oysters! That's the image I perceive people to have, and when I moved in six years ago I would say that was a pretty reasonable impression. For example, downstairs in our parking garage there would be a Lotus Eclat, a couple of Jaguars, a couple of Mercedes...and you felt you were living with the 'upwardly mobile'".

Despite the consistency of these conclusions drawn from the styles of cars parked in communal garages, only a minority of interviewees came close to the yuppie stereotype in terms of consumption style. One of these, Gordon, spoke of spending his money:

"frivolously...foolishly, I spend it just on indulgences generally, not things of substance. So I eat well, I can spend a lot of money out in restaurants....And I like things, I like things like fast cars. I know it sounds cliched!"

Eric also admits:

"I spend it profusely. I don't save a helluva lot. I don't really have a need to save a lot of money, I don't have the worry that I'm going to be poor or destitute at any time in the future".

What does Eric buy? "Electronics, furniture, cars, junkfood, clothing, you name it! I travel too". In fact, regular foreign travel was probably the most common consumption luxury mentioned by respondents. But with respect to his own lifestyle, Eric also protests: "As long as you don't say yuppie, that's such an offensive term. I get bugged by all my friends for being their total yuppie friend".

Yuppie is not only an offensive term in social circles. It is also offensive in the scholarly field, when employed at one and the same time to suggest the superficiality of the people thus labelled, and the superficiality of analysis which posits "style" as an explanatory category.

We shall explore this in the following chapters. Here, however, we shall focus on the notion proposed by Rose--that gentrification relates to the presence of need amongst certain groups--while acknowledging that this admits a range of needs somewhat broader than that which she had in mind.

There is no necessary relationship between class position and consumption style; to be new class is not to be yuppie. But there are certain features of the new class position which prepare their way for a certain style of consumption--the delayed entry to the housing market, for instance. If housing choice is an outcome of negotiation over what is a workable style of life, then we should consider how demands of the occupation articulate with features of the so-called "private sphere". As indicated in section 6.3, interviewees emphasized the need to achieve a sense of balance in their lives, in which striving for career success did not preclude enjoyment of personal relations and leisure time. However, attaining such a state may require some cycling of roles and an ordering of priorities over time; for example, by dedicating oneself to career initially, the groundwork is laid for a style of life in mid-adulthood in which career can take a less prominent place. Even for the fortunate young couple lauded by Ovenell-Carter in her magazine article: "The richly comfortable home life Murray and Love created for themselves is built on a foundation of stress and sweat" (Ovenell-Carter 1988:24).

When compared to other social groups, the concerns of young experts and managers to assemble a social and physical setting for carrying out their projects may seem trivial. In the long run they may be (in Wright's terms) net exploiters; but they are not unambiguously so, for most are wage earners, and (depending on the local context of market cycles) they may have missed the opportunity to capitalize on the gains won by others in the same age cohort who invested earlier in the property market. It is useful to consider

class position in developmental terms, as a trajectory rather than a pigeon-hole. When studying young gentrifiers, we intersect these trajectories often at a point soon after their major metamorphosis from student to "full-blown" new class position. The people discussed below (most of whom are new class) are embarked on careers with a developmental quality.

From the interviews, we discover that the choice of an inner city condominium provides a material basis which eases the attainment of life projects. While scrambling to consolidate a career, the location and convenience of a condo can be crucial. Eric, for example, described the gruelling schedule of work he had adopted when building up his business: "I'm finally to a point now where I can switch off...but it used to be total commitment, every day and every hour"; (Eric is a small employer, though he is also dedicated to a demanding managerial role). Section 6.3 quoted various residents who felt a townhouse was important for freeing-up time, not only for the demands they chose to place upon themselves with respect to work, but also for enabling them to enjoy the leisure time they felt they had now earned. Linda, for instance, referred to how hard she and her husband worked, and hence their preference for "trouble-free living". Stephanie and Simon had previously owned a single-family house, but found the condominium much more "manageable", in terms of "us getting the leisure time and the work time that we want". Gordon referred to the advantages of a close location to work when it comes to putting in extra hours in the evening or at the weekend. Townhouse gentrification allows a person to engage fully in work and leisure activities focused in the city; it is a base from which to operate.

The youngest interviewees were currently most committed to reaching career goals, so much so that, in some cases, they found their work and non-work existences closely intertwined. Tom and Terry felt this most strongly:

"They all meld into one homogeneous kind of existence, so the separations between work and home are very slim....

....Our entire structure right now is goal- and work- oriented, nothing to do with--anything else is a luxury, a time out, both of us are directed towards career goals and ambitions right now".

Interestingly, although he has owned a house before, Tom has chosen to rent rather than own, which means he has even less responsibility than owning a condominium. Moreover, since both of them have started their own businesses recently (based upon previously-acquired professional skills), their income has fluctuated quite considerably:

"Right now we're really heavy on security, we have money in the bank and we're anxious not to spend it. We have a holiday planned...that's an expense we will put out for. But we're keen to save, invest, earn. That's a direct result of lack of security in starting our own businesses".

Tom's comment on their planned vacation is informative. While sacrifices are made in other areas, some leisure activities are perceived to be essential, in an instrumental fashion. Terri, for instance, says, "I go to fitness class three times a week so that I can work harder". Another woman told me that her extreme commitment to work had led to a breakup with her boyfriend. now she aims for more of a balance:

"It's really important to get away, and it makes working that much more worthwhile if you take off at weekends and then come back fresh to get back at it....I definitely work hard at what I do, I put in a lot of extra time, but I realize that I have to work hard when I work and play hard when I play".

Asked about the distinction between her leisure life and her sales work for a travel agency, she replies:

"They do merge a little....Like if I'm out socializing somewhere and I'm chatting to somebody it usually comes out what you do, and if somebody says they travel to Hong Kong all the time then...I'll certainly do a follow-up with them back in working hours....Same as if I'm out on making sales calls and I'm talking to somebody about business and we happen to get onto...skiing, boating or whatever, I try to blend the two together, and I think that works well in a work atmosphere as well, it gives you credibility because people...tend to warm up more to people who have similar interests".

A very similar comment came from another woman:

"When people ask me what I do...I say I'm a designer...and they mention offhand that their offices are thinking of moving. So I can bring potential leads and possibly secure a prospective client for our firm....It's really quite uncanny the leads that one can get, from going up a chairlift at Whistler, or one was at my health club...so it's fun, you're excited by what you do, and it encourages other people, they like to see some enthusiasm".

Work can be a source of pleasure, a dimension of self-fulfillment. As the young couple featured in the magazine article declared: "Work is not a dirty word for us like it is for some people....We have fun at work. We find it very interesting and stimulating" (Ovenell-Carter 1988:23). And the realms can merge to the degree that one designer told me she finds herself even arranging the contents of her refrigerator in an artistic manner. This merging was emphasized largely by the younger interviewees. In some cases, however, another valuable aspect of townhouse living was highlighted: that of the refuge. The inner city condominium makes it easy to withdraw from the encompassing swirl of high-pressure work and frenzied leisure activities without the strain of commuting. Even the "magazine couple" define their home as a retreat, a place to detach themselves from their demanding careers.

As Ian says of his home:

"I have a very busy practice and I need a place I can call a refuge, and I can sit up there and feel comfortable with that. And [I have] a tremendous amount of privacy".

Jim feels that, "I need a living style that would guarantee a fairly high degree of anonymity". Dennis identified a major advantage of his particular townhouse to be its lack of party walls, which gave him extra privacy and quiet. This quest for privacy particularly important to people who worked in a stressful department of the hospital. One says: "Work life is a very high stress and intensive job, and I try not to live the rest of my life like that....It's a question of survival".

While style of life is not determined by class position, there are

certain aspects of new class jobs with which a particular style of life has special affinity; hence the popular tendency to conflate the two in the yuppie stereotype. A pattern of coping has emerged, in which work and the "consumption lifestyle" sustain one-another. Such a pattern establishes a new code of conduct, a "play hard, work hard" ethic to paraphrase one interviewee. Playing hard (for example, Terri's fitness class) girds one's loins (almost literally!) for the stress and sweat of constructing a career. And in return, this permits indulgence in play. While I would stress that the "magazine couple" are an extreme case, I shall mischievously borrow them as an archetype. Murray says:

"If you really want something, there's absolutely nothing, nothing, that can stop you from getting it....
I've...found the same thing with lifestyle--with a house, a car, a piece of furniture. I've always found that even if the price-tag was higher than I thought was realistic at the time, I've said, 'well, just go out and get it. Work hard for it. Make it happen'" (Ovenell-Carter 1988:23-4).

6.7 POSTPATRIARCHAL HOUSEHOLDS?

While a distinctive class position and orientation to leisure is part of the story of gentrifiers, not all members of the new class live in the inner city. In order to explain the material basis for gentrification requires another mediation, that pertaining to gender relations. Part of the price-tag for career and leisure may lie in the realm of domestic life, as Hester indicates:

"I think it's the biggest waste of time to [commute] for an hour one way and back. Many people do it, but that's the compromise they've made in order to have...a family....In a few years from now [I] might enjoy staying at home, but I like to keep busy and meet people and just do other things".

The ethnographic approach highlights how long-term projects and the paths of everyday life are constructed by negotiating the interface of so-called "public" and "private" realms. Hester's comment indicates that she is very

conscious of the trade-offs between alternative styles of life, particularly between family- and non-family-oriented pursuits.

The discussion on the flexible family showed how difficult it can be to pigeon-hole people and households (section 6.5). It is not so much in terms of strict "marital status" that Fairview Slopes gentrifiers seem to be statistically distinctive: rather, it is in terms of their approach to choices of living arrangements. The 1981 census indicated that 55 percent of households in the enumeration districts comprised one person; in 1986 the figure was 47 percent. This is high compared to the city as a whole, especially in comparison to other neighbourhoods with relatively high socioeconomic status. Of the 45 households interviewed, 16 were essentially one person households, though the temporary movement of people in and out of the home makes this a fuzzy category too.

About half of these one person households interviewed are women. Earlier we noted how Fairview is proving attractive to single women buyers. Some evidence came from interviewees who talked about other people they knew in the area. One mentioned three friends of his wife:

"Karen's friends moved here after they visited us, they sort of liked the lifestyle. For single ladies...it was hard to find a nice place; the West End, Kits, and here were really the choices, and they didn't really consider here until they came over to visit us and they looked around and found it wasn't as pricey as they had thought it was".

Another respondent noted that her sister had also decided to buy on the Slopes having seen, during visits, how pleasant it could be. The feminization of the gentrified inner city is largely a by-product of the entry of increasing numbers of women into new class occupations which gives them access to sufficient incomes to buy their own homes (in areas where housing costs are relatively pricey--see Table 5.10--especially in comparison to the size of units), while at the same time making it more

likely that they will marry late. Buying their own home in some cases was indicative of a passage in self-identity from the "transitional" single to the "stable" single.

One issue which appears to be significant to these women (which we have touched upon before) is that of safety. Leila, for example, explained why she wanted a townhouse: "I'm single and I can't waste the time maintaining a home....With a house you have ...maintenance, and you also have the problem of security because you're on your own". Most interviewees felt the area was relatively quite safe. Since Fairview is within walking distance of so many amenities, there are commonly a good many people in the streets during the summer evenings (though street lighting could be improved). Bus stops are within two block's walk, and parking garages are secured. Security is a selling-point for women which developers are just beginning to recognize; when I was inspecting a new project which employed the conventional "corridor" system rather than separate entrances to each unit, the salesperson claimed this was an attraction to her female clients. While I lived in the neighbourhood, I was not made aware of any specific presence of crime, other than some reports on drug dealing from the interviewees. There has been an unsubstantiated report (Reid 1988) that prostitutes are "moving in" to the area, but this seems to have affected the eastern portion of the district, off the Slopes themselves entirely. One interviewee mentioned seeing a prostitute standing on a corner, but he and I both judge this to be an exceptional occurrence.

Some marketing has been specifically targeted at female buyers. From the 1988 listings of property ownership collected by the B.C. Assessment Authority, 775 out of 1413 strata title units in the neighbourhood were owner occupied; I classified these owners by sex on the basis of their names. Thirty percent list joint ownership between a male and a female, 28 percent

list ownership by a male, and 31 percent list ownership by a female (11 percent could not be classified on the basis of name). The proportions of lone female buyers are particularly high in some of the newer large projects (unit size has tended to fall over time so as to capture less affluent buyers--such as single women). For example, in a project completed in 1986, of 33 owner-occupied units, 8 were owned by couples, 7 by males and 17 by females (one unclassified); in another completed the same year, of 29 unit owner-occupiers, 4 were couples, 7 were men, and 14 were female (one of whom was the project architect). A project completed in 1987 contained 39 owner-occupied units comprising 11 couples, 6 males and 12 females. Of the newest owner-occupied units, probably about a third sell to women alone and a quarter to men alone. These findings must be qualified by the possibility that, in some cases of male-female couples (for instance when men are business-owners), the home may be placed in the name of the female partner to protect him in cases of business liability. Switching to an analysis of all residents (including tenants) of the (post-1970) buildings, of the 308 people on the voters' lists who appear to comprise single adult households, 53 percent are identified as females, compared to 45 percent males.

In accounting for gentrification, Beauregard (1986) points to the postponement of marriage--hand in hand with a career orientation--as facilitating a particular form of consumption. With this, he claims, comes the necessity for unmarried people to frequent places where other singles congregate in order to make friends and meet partners. These social opportunities being most densely concentrated in the central city, gentrification is an attractive option. Hester's comment at the conclusion to section 6.6 emphasizes this dimension of her life. Helen also praised the social opportunities; West Vancouver, where she had previously lived with her boyfriend, was "not a singles' environment at all"; following their

separation she:

"thoroughly enjoyed being a single person in Vancouver, I found it very exciting...I had a vast circle of friends and finally...I started seeing more of one fellow who I've been dating ever since".

Helen and her friends enjoy the facilities of the city core; for example, on a typical Saturday, she and her boyfriend "would have breakfast out...[then] I'd be meeting my friends for a cappuccino or a lunch". Those of her friends from work who live in suburbia:

"started kidding me about being a yuppie and all trendy and being in the city and 'you're just a single swinger'...I think they were secretly envious....I like to keep active, I'm always planning things, I have a difficult time fitting everybody into my schedule sometimes. But, for now, it's really me, and I thought I would really enjoy West Van, but when I moved over there I realized how isolated I was".

How do these women who are currently living alone evaluate the more conventional family-oriented style of life? One said, "Marriage and motherhood have never held too much interest for me. I've always enjoyed socializing and people and sports; and those and marriage don't always agree". Two others, aged about 40 years old, were not so adamant that they would necessarily have chosen not to have a family. One said, "I'm not married at this stage, so I don't think there's much chance of my having a family. I might [have] at one point had I got married". Three others seem to be currently pondering that opportunity. Rose says:

"Actually, I'm deciding at this point about whether to get married and have a family or concentrate on career. I'm confused at the moment, I feel I have to make a choice. At the moment I'm leaning towards going back to school, developing my career, I find it rewarding...I like my lifestyle the way it is".

Helen expects a change very soon to a marital-type relationship, and she is not ruling children out of the picture, though it is not something she is particularly planning for. Being one of the youngest interviewees, Hester does see raising a family as a goal of her life: "I think that within five years I anticipate meeting someone, being married"; she is fortunate in that

her occupation is flexible enough for her to continue her career if she does have children. In the early stages of career-building, however, not having a family can be an advantage, for men as well as women. A teacher explains:

"I devote quite a lot of time and energy at school. I've done some things this year that have really taken a lot of time that I don't think could have been that well done if I'd had family commitments....I think I can do more things with my [school] kids on the spur of the moment, I can plan field trips, I can spend extra time at school, and not worry about getting home for a commitment".

And Eric also finds that, "in my occupation, when it's entirely intense and very sort of nerve-racking on me, it's a little hard to have a relationship".

Childless couples may experience the same stresses, as Stephanie indicates:

"It is very difficult for a woman to maintain a business career and be a mother at the same time....We may remain as a two adult working household, but we may also at some point in time have children".

Two young men also perceive marriage and family to be a distant possibility:

"I don't know that I'm all that excited about having kids right now! I honestly don't see myself getting married in the next five years".

"Children? That's tough. I don't at this point feel prepared or capable of looking after children. Or willing. Five years, not too likely. Ten years, maybe. I would like to have children at some point in my life, but I'd have to have a lot of time".

There is an interesting parallel in the second quotation with the situation of those who plan to buy a single family house--once they have time to maintain it. Ian wants to focus on his career at present, but when he buys a house, "as terroristic as this might sound, I also want some children". Similarly, Gordon jokes about the possibility of having a children as if they were consumption items like the fast cars he loves:

Gordon: "I'd like to 'fall in love' and find somebody one wanted to have as a partner....Whether I'm capable of doing that, I'm getting too set in my ways, is a whole other issue....I would say that there was at least a thirty percent chance...."

C: "What about kids?"

Gordon: "Hard to say. I'm very set in my ways....I think I'd like to have children. The woman I've been going out with lately is 44, she's got a 12 year old kid...If I stayed with her there's obviously no children for me except used ones. But it's not a motivating force for me as it is for some people".

When he talks about being set in his ways, Gordon is referring to a student style of living which has carried over from his professional training: "I've never truly broken away from the graduate student life. The only thing I've learned to deal with is the guilt!"

Of course, family life is not always anticipated, as the mother of a baby implies:

C: "Were there only the two of you when you first moved here--you and your husband?"

Gill: "Yes, and not expecting any more! It seemed like the ideal place for us city dweller types...we didn't think we were going to have children".

C: "So you weren't planning on having a family?"

Gill: "Well, it's something we thought we might do eventually. But when we had the baby we were both still thinking very much of careers and trying to get ahead and getting ourselves well-established".

Though it did not work out as planned, this response points to the connection between reproductive behaviour and career ambitions or other lifestyle considerations. The opportunity cost of having children is described by Mike:

"We don't have any children. It goes with the territory, if you've got two people in the family who work. Children are certainly a financial drain, and what you don't spend on the children becomes disposable income".

For these reasons, other interviewees were keen to preserve their current lifestyle. In response to a question about children, Penny replied, "We don't have any children, and I don't plan on having any children; I chose not to". Alison said: "I think at this point in time, probably not". Once again, the Murray-Love partnership described in the magazine article (Ovenell-Carter 1988) provide an example notable for its extremity; being childless, they lavish attention on their two Shar-Pei dogs; having been

convinced by Love that the two dogs "wouldn't cramp their style", Murray now "fusses over them like a proud father, explaining their personalities, their sibling rivalry"; Love says "'The dogs really are our kids in a lot of ways'".

Most telling as an indication of the connection between gentrification and reproductive choice is the case of a couple whose housing history is the reverse to that assumed by Berry in his supply-side account. Kevin and Karen had originally bought a house in a suburban area because it was more affordable than in Vancouver City itself. Having lived there for five years:

"we reviewed our lifestyles and decided that it was very unlikely that we were going to have children, so it seemed kind of pointless to have this very large property on a very large lot out there, and thought we'd like to try it in this neighbourhood".

Up until then, Kevin had enjoyed a fairly conventional lifestyle. The process of change to being a childless inner city couple is worth following in some detail:

"I was the stereotype...When I graduated from High School I had a steady job and found a steady girlfriend and we got married and then we were sort of saving towards a house, and getting very close to it, and then the immediate next step was to have children--it's just the way things are done. And it was a very rude awakening when my wife said, no, she was too young for that...and that was a total shock, I had to sit back and think about it for a while, and we agreed to wait a few years. And as those years went on, the more my lifestyle changed, then I finally had to sit back and say I didn't really want children at the time, it was just the thing to do, what I perceived the thing to do and what my friends were doing. And ever since then, well to me it was the right decision to make, and I don't want a family now, and I'm pretty sure I'm speaking for Karen too".

It is difficult to imagine a case study that more accurately portrays the stages by which couples enter the permanently childless state, as discussed by Veevers (1980). Such couples postpone having children, first of all for a definite time (while educational or financial goals are achieved, for instance). As these goals seem to come within reach, parenting is postponed for a more indefinite time. Gradually the couple acknowledge that they may

be permanently childless, thought they still postpone making a definite decision. Finally there is an acceptance of childlessness as they conclude that it will be a permanent state. Karen and Kevin have reached that last stage. Other interviewees described above are possibly moving through the early stages of this typical sequence.

Conditions of family life and of residential situation both reflect and enable a particular form of domestic life, one in which role-specialization is particularly weak. Most younger women who were interviewed placed stress on pursuing their own career goals. The dual-career may be crucial to gentrification. We noted earlier how access to two workplaces was a desirable feature of living in Fairview Slopes. In the American context, it has been argued that the fate of the inner city lies in the hands of two-income professional households, the only ones that can afford to live in expensive inner city condominiums (Ginzberg 1978, Markusen 1980). The situation is a little different in Canada, especially with the increasingly significant role played by older adults. However, even with the responsibility for "revitalizing" spread over a broader base in Canada, we can expect the inner city to remain an attractive option for dual-career households with professional and managerial types of occupations which are concentrated in the central city. Conversely, most two adult households will still have to earn two incomes if they wish to live in central neighbourhoods and in housing appropriate to their household size. For instance, Len's wife can not afford to become a full-time mother:

"To live in Vancouver I don't think that's possible. If we want to live where we want to live, she'll have to work full time. She definitely will go back to work unless we move well out of the city".

Despite the way Len explains this, most of the younger women actually desire to remain active in their professions for reasons of self-fulfillment. This

has important consequences for relations within the household.

The analysis of class position in the previous section dealt with residents as atomistic individuals. How does this translate into household characteristics? The feminist critique of urban geography has deplored the use of the household as the basic unit upon which analyses of class are built. Such a traditional approach makes characteristics of "household head" the defining quality of the household as a whole, hence ignoring within-household variations. Of the 45 households interviewed, 25 comprise male/female couples (with or without children). In one of these, both members had retired, and in a further 2 the woman was defined as a homemaker or a retiree. In 4 households the woman was currently a student. In 6 cases the woman worked part time (2 were mothers of small children). In the remaining 12 cases, both partners were employed full time. Four of these couples were comprised of two people with petty bourgeois/self-employed positions, defined by Wright's classification. Only two couples had no new class type occupations, and in three cases both partners had new class positions. Taking into account part time occupations as well as the likely future occupations of students, at least two other dual-new class households can be identified.

The dual-career partnership is one in which both members have careers, that is, job sequences requiring a high degree of commitment and having a developmental character (Rapoport and Rapoport 1976); "their relationship is grounded in and shaped by their two careers. They achieve status through the combined work roles of both partners" (Hall and Hall 1979:10). The literature on dual-career partnerships has been based upon couples where both partners typically have careers of a new-class type (involving a honing of professional skills and a movement up the organization hierarchy), or where they are self-employed with businesses built upon a similar background (for

example, architects). Both partners are offered an opportunity for fulfillment outside the home and the family (Greiff and Munter 1980). This I found to be the assumption of some interviewees. Erica, for instance, talked of their motivation for moving to the inner city: "The only thing I can say about that are that we were a two-career family and I fully intended to continue a career". In response to my question about whether they had always planned to have a dual-career arrangement, Stephanie and Simon agreed that "we've always intended to be dual-career". Some studies (Paloma and Garland 1971; Hall and Hall 1979) have found that couples of this type started their marriages together performing rather more conventional roles. This does not seem to have been the case here, perhaps indicative of a fundamental change in young people's expectations of marriage.

Research on dual-career couples has identified significant costs and benefits of such relationship. Costs are a matter of strain and tension, as two careers plus a realm of "private" life compete for attention. Many studies have focused upon couples with children, and identified issues of parenting as a major source of stress. This situation is less significant for interviewees; however, even if they have not gone in for procreation, stress also comes from the co-creation of very demanding careers, and some of the coping mechanisms described for parents can be adopted by those who are not. Mälmaud (1984) mentions a number of such strategies, including the willingness to compromise, the lowering of expectations, and the reducing of workhours. Rapoport and Rapoport refer to one measure of coping as the emphasis on hard work to create time for leisure. In the previous section we considered the case of Tom and Terri, who illustrate this quite well. Though they are currently living an exhausting schedule that involves working in the evenings and one day each weekend,

"What we try to do is take one day a week, and we try to have the

old prototypical 'quality time' when we make and adventure out of the day, so we'll try to do something crazy and stupid for one day!"

One means of adjusting the demands of careers to childrearing obligations is role-cycling: partners arrange for their careers to "peak" at different times (Malmaud 1984) and they benefit if each is at a different stage in their career (Hall and Hall 1979). Although they are not raising children, Tom and Terri have had a similar experience: each has nursed their own infant business. Last year, she supported him; the year before, he supported her. What motivates the choice of such a stressful existence:

"For dual-career families, the concept of happiness does not seem to be adequate. Most...seemed to be more concerned with equity, and viewed their lives in rather complex terms--as made up of some elements giving happiness and others making for strain, they whole being preferable to other patterns they knew" (Rapoport and Rapoport 1976:14).

Tom: "We have much more of an egalitarian kind of situation where both people are striving towards certain goals, which doesn't necessarily make it easier in your own particular allotment in life. So Terri's going to Japan tonight, that doesn't make my life easy, she's got to cram to get her work done before she goes, then she's away for a week, then she's got to cram to get her work finished. I just came back from Winnipeg, and I went through the same thing. So we have a fair amount of independence from one another, our work life makes each other's life harder. But there's a parallel theme there which mutually aids you in a sense that the other person's doing the same thing".

C: "Was this way of arranging things something you planned?"

Tom: "To an extent it was planned...I could never stand the puppy-dog approach of one person being head of the family and the other person being totally supportive, and I always wanted an egalitarian kind of scenario, and that's what we're doing".

Although it is very stressful, this arrangement is clearly preferred over other alternatives. The very ingredients of stress may give pleasurable spice to a dual-career partnership. Partners benefit by being able to appreciate one-another's situation, the problems they experience in common. Partners can discuss these circumstances, even working together on some projects. For example, Matthew reports that his self-employed partner "comes to me for advice about money problems" in her business. Such is also the

case for Stephanie and Simon:

Stephanie: "Usually it fits in quite well, but there are times when either he's busy or I'm busy and we're out of sync, and we don't see each other for days on end...If one of us has a deadline...sometimes we help each other out. I've had him come in and do work for me, and I've gone in and done work for him, so that we can spend some time together...."

C: "Do you work at weekends?"

Stephanie: "Sometimes, but we try to keep our evenings and weekends free for one another if we possibly can".

Partners can take vicarious pleasure from one-another's achievements (Malmaud 1984). For example, Don compares the situation in his previous marriage to his relationship now:

"Before I met Deborah I was more concerned with career than anything else. I think I am very much split now, between enjoying my career but also enjoying family life. I enjoy family life much more than I used to--I interrelate--and also because Deborah has a career of her own, it is much more interesting to sort of interrelate in careers".

Parsons (1954) predicted that dual-career marriages were implicitly self-destructive. Scanzoni (1972) has depicted marriage as a game of power bargaining depending on the degree of externally-generated resources (such as income) brought into the relationship. On the contrary, evidence from elsewhere suggests that working couples can benefit from "professional-marital endogamy", when interaction between partners helps to promote advancement in their careers (Martin et al 1975): also marital solidity can be enhanced by "role homophily"--a similarity of partner's roles--work being more than a source of power and marital relations being more than a zero-sum game (Simpson and England 1982). The conversations held with Fairview Slopes residents would seem to confirm that dual-career couples can benefit from the postpatriarchal nature of their partnerships.

One means of coping with the strains of a dual-career partnership is to reduce commitments to work, especially by shifting to part-time employment. In Fairview Slopes we see this compromise operating in the case of parents.

Despite indications of the break-down of conventional gender roles in other aspects of life, in all examples it is the female partner who has adjusted in this manner. Two young women care for small children, and they each work three days a week. Another mother of a ten year old was actually switching her status at the time of interviewing:

"Actually, I'm about to change my goals right now. They've been split right down the middle, but now I'm going back to two-thirds family, one-third career".

She sees the advantage as more time for the family and for leisure: "That will be good for us because we'll have more holiday time together". In another case, the mother of a small child is a student who frequently works at home.

In all these cases, the bias of responsibility for child-care seems related to differential success in the workforce. This seems to be the case even when partners are of similar ages: the men have established more decisive career paths prior to the arrival of the child. For instance, Gill (a young mother) remained at university longer than her husband; they were living together, and when she finished her education she followed him on his job transfers; when they returned to Vancouver, she could not find stable employment in her field. Did she feel his job was more important than hers?

"I'm only working part-time, and it's not even a permanent part-time position, so I can be cut off at any time. So we more or less have to go on that assumption that his is more important because it's more stable, it brings in a lot more money, so unfortunately that's the way it is right now, until I go back to work full-time when things may change".

While, in theory, the man's job is not presupposed to be all-important, pragmatically it proves necessary to treat it so. If Gill had a better job, I asked, would Gary have considered taking the major responsibility for the baby? "Actually, he talks about it, I think he would like to have a go at it if he possibly could. He thinks he could play tennis all day!" Two other

father's occupations, however, give them more flexibility to participate in child care, which is clearly something they feel is correct. One says: "I've got an office as well, but I find with the baby that I want to spend more time at home, so I found it easier to be more part of the family if I work in here".

The bias in responsibility reflects an asymmetry in partner's engagement with the sphere of work. Women seem to have adopted a "softer" attitude towards work. One manifestation of this is women's willingness to pursue more lengthy educational goals which do not necessarily feed into well-paying careers. Men's advanced educational training seems more directed to vocational goals in engineering, medicine, law; women's post-secondary education leads into service-oriented professions. However, women still desire a fulfilling career. For instance, one commented on career plans:

"It's going to be a fairly slow process. There's like a ten year sort of plan. Five years from now I would hope to have [dealt with] the early childhood thing, and really be able to devote myself to the major part of my career. And in the meantime I want to be able to work as much as possible, but not perhaps at the kind of job that would require long hours or travelling".

On the possibility that she may have a child, another woman said that she would hope to continue with her (self-employed) profession: "I think I would seek help, I'd probably want full-time care for the child, and then household [responsibilities] could continue the way they are".

Respondents do not question whether child-care can be procured. Depending on the rhythms of his job, Len sometimes takes responsibility; the grandparents and a day care service have also been called into play. In the future. "I think we'll need more child-care. Right now everything is running smoothly, but the older she gets we'll need more help". Gill is also fortunate to be able to afford good care: "I have a sitter who comes in two days a week. Other days and odd days I have a sitter who I take her to, in

East Vancouver, she's somebody I know so it's somebody I trust". Naomi's plans for the future are as follows:

"Well, I'd like to see him in day-care no more than two days a week, And my Dad is a really good babysitter...and Ned to have maybe a day. And a day at the weekend we could maybe all be together as a family. So if it had to be structured, it would be nice to have it in that kind of way".

Ironically, attempts by these families to work towards a postpatriarchal mode of reproduction within the current structure of opportunities are dependent in part upon tapping the labour of other social groups. The use of child-care services is paralleled by the employment of maid services to perform household chores. As one interviewee said: "There's a servant class out there I haven't seen since my great-aunt used to be in service". About a third of households used a maid service (though he or she might only come in every couple of weeks); other households reported having used a maid, or expecting to do so in the future. With reference to the gentrification by marginal gentrifiers such as female-headed households, Rose warns: "It is easy to forget...the displacement of low-income single parents while lauding housing arrangements that enable a couple of middle-class single parents to cooperatively manage their multiple roles" (Rose 1984:66). In the current social context, the success of households run along postpatriarchal lines is underwritten by inequalities elsewhere.

While Fairview women treat career as an important source of self-fulfillment, I have discussed some attitudinal features (highlighted in the case of parenting), which modify this assumption. Women might take a less instrumental approach to education. They also seem less committed to the particular occupations they hold. Rules of engagement with the world of work are rewritten by women who do not pursue a conventional course of career development. Only one man was reported to be involved in a course of education, and this was a correspondence course pursued in the evenings. Two

women were working towards degrees which would help them advance in the professions upon which they were embarked (one of these took courses while working full time). A third woman felt she had reached a plateau in her occupation, and she told me she would probably take time out for a degree. Two other young women were taking graduate degrees.

Once embarked on a career, women seem more willing to contemplate changes in direction. This might involve a radical switch in career; one had moved between teaching, paralegal and real estate; another had been a clerical worker who, frustrated by the poor rewards, had set up her own business. One woman who took an advanced degree in her field said: "I think I may possibly be forced to change careers just because there's very little opportunity right now, it seems to be a field that's not expanding". Women with more secure jobs desire greater challenge and plan to build upon present skills while remaining within the same general field: a nurse said, "I will be making changes, in that I may work in some allied area of nursing, or teaching counselling, but to use the nursing as a base". Changes within the same general field are common for men and for women, especially moving from expert into managerial positions. However, a distinctive tactic pursued largely by women was building upon skills learned as employees in order to set up opportunities for freelance self-employment. One of these women was described by her partner:

"She changes jobs every few years and always seems to go up one more step, it always throws me into a turmoil, we have a high mortgage here and she's always quitting or...the job just runs out".

This woman had been employed in clerical positions, often by taking up short-term contracts--a practice she may develop into fully-fledged self-employment in a consulting role. She has also been teaching at night school and may take that up more thoroughly. I asked another woman, Pat, if she was

committed to her sales occupation; she answered: "Only as long as it gives me the kind of money that I want. If it didn't I'd be self-employed". I discussed this possibility with Hester, in the context of talking about continuing a career while raising a family:

Hester: "In the work I've chosen you can work on more of a contract basis, or part time, it's always something you can keep abreast in, it doesn't have to be 100 percent of your day. So if you wanted to have a baby at a particular time, that could easily be scheduled, I think....There's a lot of variety--at the moment I work in very large scale projects...but I could always go into residential design or smaller projects, work part time in a design firm. So it has that excellent flexibility....

....If I were to change it would be in a related avenue, I would draw on my experiences as a designer and build on that, whether it was having my own business, or getting involved in the furniture industry or textiles".

C: "You sound quite keen on developing your own firm".

Hester: "Being an employee, only being able to reach a certain level in an organization, you can't get into profit sharing".

Another woman is also looking for new challenges and better financial rewards, and is feeling her way towards other possibilities:

"My career, as a teacher, is one I've been at for 15 years. I don't find it much of a challenge any more....I think my aspiration is now to use some of the...leeway I have in my job...to pursue other kinds of interests. And I think one of the goals that I'd like to do next year is to investigate some other career activities: [maybe] real estate; my boyfriend is getting me involved in the stock market and I find it quite exciting;...maybe take a year off and see what things are out there".

Another female teacher will find stimulation in another way: "I've decided that I'm burned out and I need a year off so I'm going to take a year off". She is planning to visit Japan and Australia, and then return to the same occupation.

I have discussed the tendency for Fairview women to be anticipating changes in job direction in the future. Men also have shifted job status, becoming involved in consulting for instance; however, in these cases their employment shift occurred before moving to the Slopes, and no male interviewees mentioned the possibility of that in the future. The difference

may be indicative of the tendency for female residents to be less advanced along career paths men have already trod. However, there does also seem to be a sense amongst the women that these shifts are strategic responses to conditions that do not allow them to take satisfaction from more conventional and stable career opportunities. Women are negotiating new rules of work which undermine notions of both the developmental career path, and the traditional place of women in paid employment.

With ethnographic description of one neighbourhood, we cannot judge to what degree the Fairview women are pursuing an unusual strategy concerning work. Nor is it possible to tell how much degree of choice a woman may have in taking this approach; in that sense, we may be seeing the working out of new patriarchal arrangements rather than the active establishment of new domestic alternatives. However, expressed attitudes towards the fulfilling aspect of paid employment, and the unwillingness to take on too early the responsibilities of parenthood, suggest that we see here some working out of active choice rather than merely a response to constraint.

Changing conditions within the household are suggestive of new ways in which men and women are articulating their public and private lives. Central to the notion of postpatriarchal gender relations is a decline in role-specialization determined on the grounds of sex. In the interview I asked two questions on this topic; first, I queried how respondents felt about the division of household tasks between male and female partners "in theory", and then I asked how it worked in practice in their own experience. With few exceptions, I found respondents firmly rejected the notion that the division of household chores should depend on sex. This did not mean that specialization could not occur, but rather that the nature of that specialization was determined more by the nature of individuals' own skills and preferences than by what one respondent called "the old women's work,

men's work kind of thing". In a number of cases, with no prompting, the replies to my questions began as follows:

Anne: "In theory, if a woman is working then it should be fifty-fifty".

Olivia: "I think they should be divided. If both partners are working then the household chores should be divided fifty-fifty".

Bob: "I think if both are working--even".

Pat: "Well, if the two people are working, I think it should just be equal".

Erica: "I think if both members of the family are working, then both members of the family have to have domestic tasks".

Don: "I think if both the partners have careers, then the home chores are definitely split".

Hester: "I suppose if both people were working I think [tasks] should definitely be shared".

Rob: "I think they should be relatively even, I guess. It depends on the set-up I suppose. If I was married to somebody or living with somebody who was working a full day, same as I was, then obviously I wouldn't expect them to be cooking and cleaning".

These are examples of a "conditional equality", that condition being expressed as follows:

Bob: "I think if one is not working, whichever sex, then it's a different situation".

Matthew: "Totally who is available to do it, and if you both are, to share it".

Andy: "it's who's got the time".

Pat: "But if the woman happens to be staying at home, or vice versa, then they should pretty much do everything".

Eric: "I think it should be fifty-fifty. Mostly it's working couples [round here], so whoever works less or gets home earlier they should do what has to be done or more frequently".

In these cases, degree and nature of participation in the waged workforce is assumed as an uncomplicated "given" factor which imposes the limits within which sharing of household chores. For example, Eric explained that, "mine wasn't divided fifty-fifty because I wasn't around an awful lot. My job was

more intense than her job". When one partner worked part time (and amongst all such couples, this was the woman), then this determined the major responsibility for chores. For instance, Gill said:

"Theoretically I think it should be divided fifty-fifty according to time. So for instance if there are four hours of housework to be done, the two partners get to do two hours each. But it doesn't really work out that way, mostly because Gary's at work so much....I don't think it's fair when he works twelve hours a day that he should have to do housework as well, so he doesn't [do much]. It used to be a lot more even when he wasn't working such long hours".

These arrangements on the basis of time and energy are perceived to be the just solution. Both male and female members of the team are assumed to have access to waged work, and their choice with respect to that opportunity determines their responsibility for housework. Little tension is acknowledged between individuals' preferences and the structures of employment opportunity. As a result, in their responses to the interview question some respondents make the immediate assumption that both male and female partners are going to have jobs; thus Tom believes in "straight fifty-fifty, all tasks", whereas Gordon says:

"It's nothing to do with plumbing....My experience has been as a couple who had no children, and we both had a lot of time commitments, and so this was just the natural order of things....I don't think either gender was meant to be a servant".

The only person to mention the possibility of unequal employment opportunity was a single mother who is rebuilding her career after a divorce; since she is closest in type to Rose's "marginal gentrifier", it is noteworthy that she is more conscious of such tensions:

"I do have concerns about childcare...on the other hand I recognize that women may not be able to give up their jobs in order to serve the family life...that it just doesn't leave you economically strong enough when relationships fail....I was happy to quit work and have a family, and...I don't regret it a bit, except that at forty it leaves you without any real career status....Of course they are different times now. But I don't think for one minute that it's easy for young women, and I really feel for them because I think there is a lot of

verbalization about how things are changing--and things are changing to a degree--a lot...of the pressures are still the same between men and women".

Most interviewees, however, are well-placed to operate according to an individualistic ideology, as a result of their "given" assets and those they have negotiated for themselves through education. Moreover, they have ensured they are relatively unencumbered with household chores by choosing housing which is easy to maintain. When asked about the division of household tasks, one woman pointed out, "this is a small place...there's not much to do".

How can domestic chores be split "as evenly as possible"? The ideal model is a team which operates to cope with the demands placed upon it by external conditions. The teamwork can be explicit: "We've basically organized ourselves into a work party so that the two of us can tackle the house and get it done in an evening". Another solution, which implies a very conscious effort to ensure equity, is described by Tom:

"The housecleaning is done by our housecleaning service...John comes every Wednesday, he does the washing and the ironing and the cleaning...and we spend a week on and a week off cooking; cleaning, planning, buying is all one person's responsibility and the other person has zero responsibility...we found that's the only way to do it so it's really fifty-fifty...I'm on for a week and the next week I don't have to do anything...I can sit up here and read....No guilt, it's great! We tried many different ways, and all humans being naturally lazy, pizza won...this is the fairest way that we found".

Most households, however, allowed for a specialization in household tasks and some degree of flexibility depending on constraints of time, as these three women explain:

"I don't mean that everything is shared up fifty-fifty, but that it should work out that everyone is contributing equally to the household, but you can negotiate about who does what, if one person likes shopping and the other likes cleaning, then that's fine. But if there are tasks that neither like doing then I think both should be involved".

"Whatever a couple can work out to their mutual satisfaction".

"[Tasks] should definitely be shared, and doing the tasks that each person likes to do. If someone likes yardwork, it might be the woman, but if she likes the yardwork--great. It should be fifty-fifty, or whoever can accommodate it in their work schedule, because if...there's a certain busy time when you have to work a lot of overtime, I think you have to have that balance. You work as a team".

Just getting down and doing what has to be done seems to be a common approach to tasks. Alan recalls how this worked in his past relationships:

"If I happen to be the first one home from work then I'd start dinner. I quite enjoy cooking, if a wash has to be done I don't wait for somebody else to do it. I've lived with girls before and that's the way it was. If the bath had to be cleaned, or vacuuming to be done, a glass got broken on the floor, you just do it, it's not a big issue to talk about. Everything should be fifty-fifty, it's not anybody's job to do anything. I'd expect if the garbage bag was full and I wasn't around, the lady friend would take it out".

Most frequently, however, a more regular pattern of specialization seems to become established, perhaps because, as Penny says, "the way it probably works best is to have a person assigned to do specific things rather than trying to do them together". Penny and Peter split the tasks as follows:

"I'm very lucky because he cooks and he does a lot of the shopping; occasionally I go along and I get in the way. What do I do? About everything else, laundry".

Below, I report other examples of the manner in which chores are divided. In conversation with couples, the partners offered supportive comments which suggested they were (by and large) satisfied with the division of tasks.

Stephanie: "We share the tasks, and we both feel that we should share the tasks...there are things that I do better than he does and things that he does better than I do, so he has specific tasks and I have specific tasks. He's more prone to the kitchen than I am and he's disastrous with the laundry so that's my area".

Don: "I think in our case--"

Deborah: "--He gets to do fun creative things in the basement while I cook dinner on the weekends!"

Don: "I think initially, when I was single I enjoyed cooking, so when Deborah joined me I would perhaps do more cooking than I do now, which is something we've slipped into which perhaps shouldn't be. I think the cooking should be divided when we are both working".

Deborah: "But of course he doesn't sit around reading the newspaper when I cook either. He's doing something else that's constructive that needs to be done in the house".

Don: "Or helping with the cooking, but I tend to be doing menial labour, not creative cooking".

C: "How about cleaning duties".

Don: "Dishes are usually my responsibility, so after the chaos has been created in the kitchen I have to clean it up".

Deborah: "I do most of the laundry, just because I seem to have more clothes to wash".

Don: "And cleaning up around the house, I think that's split more-or-less fifty-fifty".

Andy: "Alison hates doing windows so no sweat. But there's no female role-male role here. I'm a lousy cook so I'm more than happy to allow her to take over in the kitchen. But I like getting in there and chopping and slicing and things like that. But as for digging into the toilets or whatever, it's who's got the time, that's what dictates".

Naomi: "In theory, I think we both believe fifty-fifty".

Ned: "Naomi always does laundry and I always do the dishes and organize the kitchen".

Naomi: "Cooking we divide".

Ned: "Yes, in general, but we don't have hard and fast rules".

Matthew: "Generally the cleaning, clothes and washing and all, Mary does that, because she sees the pile getting bigger, and I'm not ready to take the pile yet, and she thinks it's ready to go. Cooking, probably I do seventy-five percent of the cooking, and she probably does seventy-five percent of the cleaning in the kitchen. And the rest of it, tidying up and so on, she usually does because she's usually home before I am".

Pat: "Well, we don't even discuss it, we just do it. He doesn't do windows, I do windows. I never take the garbage out because there's a dumpster and I can't get in it".

Phil: "She does do things like the wash".

Pat: "But you've done it. We both fall into a pattern of what we do".

Phil: "We both specialize in what we do. And we are both very systematic people. Lately we have gotten in the habit of coming home, she makes the dinner and I make the tea".

Pat: "But if he makes the dinner, I make the tea".

Phil: "And I vacuum the big pieces and she does the little pieces".

Pat: "Put it this way, I do the deep cleaning...like I clean those metal things around the windows...and the mirrors. Phil cleans his bathroom and I clean the one downstairs which we both use. But we don't have to really have an argument over it. I think you get to a certain stage where you don't really quibble over it".

C: "So it would be fair to say that you don't have a traditional division between the man's job and the woman's job?"

Pat: "Not at all, except that he takes out the garbage".

Phil: "I can do the wash--I don't!"

So by what criteria is the division of tasks actually established? First, there are cases in which people mention the practicality of performing certain tasks: Pat cannot get the garbage into the skip; Roberta also suggested that vacuuming is heavy work and is better performed by the man, who is stronger. Second, there are matters of preference: Phil does not like cleaning windows, so Pat does them; Alison hates doing windows so Andy does them. Such examples lend themselves to incorporation in a system of domestic organization which is equitable overall. However, a further aspect seems less equitable, and in practice there does seem to be some working out of gender roles into which they have been socialized. Rob had said: "I would say it should be fairly equally shared, depending which of the two has the skills or the inclination to do each chore". However, in this housing there is minimal requirement for the kinds of maintenance work in which men are more likely to have been trained. Thus, for an equal split, men must adopt the skills and attitudes which go with traditional "women's tasks". Yet Mike reports "I have a higher dirt tolerance than she does, and she ends up instigating the cleaning more often than I do". Matthew (quoted above) also could endure a larger pile of dirty clothes. On the other hand, Matthew has some experience as a cook, and he jokes: "If I had my way, women wouldn't be allowed in the kitchen except to clean up, I hate cleaning up!" In two other cases, women reported that their husbands loved to cook, which seemed to be the prime determinant of the division of tasks. Nobody was reported to enjoy doing the laundry, and this appeared to be the task in which women most commonly had to specialize.

Although he now shares tasks with Karen, Kevin had been brought up to a conventional division of roles: "I didn't know anything about cooking. I did the lawns and things like that, but nothing else, nothing inside the house, and to dust has never entered my head". With a more limited repertoire of

housekeeping skills (and inclinations) therefore, the man first takes the jobs which he prefers, leaving the other jobs to his partner. Martin also makes a joke out of it:

"I have no aversion to doing laundry and the ironing. I would do it if you had a broken arm, I'd be quite happy to do it! I don't do a very good job of it, but it's not the old women's work, men's work kind of thing".

And Kevin claims, "I refuse to dust!" This arrangement is supported by the women as well, although they might exhibit some mild skepticism:

Rose: "I think you can specialize. There are certain things men can't do--or at least they claim they can't!"

Barbara: "We don't actually decide that's my job, that's his job. Bill doesn't do any cooking, he makes out that he doesn't know how to do anything....I do the laundry and the ironing. But Bill will get the vacuum cleaner out and he'll clean, he'll do the windows. He does all the gardening, I mean all the flower boxes....I think we just share the workload without any problems: the only things he doesn't do, as I say, is the cooking and the laundry and the ironing".

Bill: "It takes me about half an hour to iron a shirt".

Barbara: "But we probably do it on a fifty-fifty basis".

In the case of this older couple quoted above, and the one below, it is difficult to see how the equality they claim actually operates:

David: "The only thing I will not do is ironing. It depends on who's doing what, we both do our share".

C: "So you share the cooking?"

David: "No, not the cooking. I do eggs, so I often do breakfast".

There was a minority of households which admitted to a conventional arrangement of tasks. These were typically older, empty nest households, in which women might have a minimal engagement in the waged workforce, and since they may have raised families in the past they have adopted a traditional "mother's" role. These women were glad of their husband's "help" with household chores when necessary:

"My husband is very helpful, if I'm having a dinner party he might chop the parsley or an onion".

"Whenever I do invite anyone, assistance is always there, it's not a question of, 'I'm doing a big favour by helping you'. Frederick

really does take out the garbage! He unloads the shopping, he likes to do the vacuuming; and he is as likely to go in and cook the meal especially if I'm feeling tired...If anything, it's Frederick saying to me, 'look, you're doing too much, let me'. We had a very traditional marriage where he went out and worked, and I looked after the kids".

Note how both these women define dinner parties as their own event. It is this group of households which was most likely to identify the husband as the head of the household, though important decisions were always said to be discussed ("In general I suppose my husband plays that role--with a strong woman behind him!"). In other, usually younger households, one partner may be responsible for paying the bills, but there was almost unanimous rejection of the notion of head of household; for example:

"Making the financial decisions is rather a splendid term for writing the hydro bill. I think if decisions have to be made, then we both make them".

Another small group of respondents (two women, one man) had previously experienced partnerships with a more conventional division of roles. Although the women enjoyed raising a family, they regretted the lack of support for their own goals:

"In my age group there are not many men that believe they should do, quote, women's work. I'm fortunate now to have a man in my life who does....
....When I was still living with my ex-husband, I still had to do virtually everything at home....Now I'm very free to be my own person, do what I want when I want to so...for me it has freed up time to do my job and to do what I have to do".

And from the other side of the coin, the man had left a conventional marriage:

"As far as meals and washing, I didn't even know how to press a washing machine button or fry an egg to be honest with you. And now...I thoroughly enjoy cooking, it's become a bit of a hobby for me. I love entertaining, have learned how to use a washing machine....And now I have a girlfriend and I would say we share basically everything we do. As far as those sorts of tasks go...I enjoy it!.

It would be rash to draw out any direct causal connection between a person's

move to Fairview Slopes and a change in their gender relations. However, these quotations suggest that the move in residence is reflective of a passage in which not only marital status shifts, but also other aspects of self-identity may transform.

With more young unmarried people setting up their own one-person households, men will become more familiar with household chores. Rob pointed out that, if he had a partner:

"I wouldn't be the kind of guy who was sitting on the couch watching football while my wife was in the kitchen mopping floors....I've lived by myself for five years, and anything that has to be done gets done by me".

In sum, most respondents felt that gender should not determine the division of chores; partners had to operate as a team, and this was often best achieved when they specialized in different tasks; the nature of that specialization, however, might retain the legacy of socialization into traditional skills.

In conclusion, how can we evaluate the gender relations of the Fairview Slopes households; are they postpatriarchal? I have identified points at which women do perform roles different to those of men, and where they may approach decisions about career in a rather different manner. In some cases, these are responses to institutionalized constraints or conventions which limit the agency of women. At the same time however--perhaps more verbalized than in practice--there is evidence of a pattern of gender relations which seeks to undermine the established roles of men and women. Like the postindustrial, the notion of postpatriarchal is intended to capture the "messiness" of the world, which resists reduction to structuralist theories of women's oppression. I have tried to indicate how the space of gentrification may be closely bound to the process of change in patriarchal gender relations.

6.8 CONCLUSIONS.

This chapter has asked, "how do gentrifiers 'produce themselves'?" Earlier chapters laid out the setting in which gentrifiers are situated, with respect to the emergence of a postindustrial mode of class relations and a postpatriarchal mode of gender relations. Here, an ethnographic method draws out the subtleties of practice by which individuals construct workable styles of life out of the raw material of their class location and their gender identity. Gentrification has been portrayed as an ingredient in the recipe for achieving certain kinds of projects.

It could be possible to adopt such practices wherever one lives. But residential locations carry different packages of costs and benefits. Because of the relative "richness" of opportunity in a central location, what is "doable" (in terms of time and money) declines with distance from the city core. That is the cost of the suburban home, which has taken its toll in the stress of commuting and the isolation of women. The cost of urban living has conventionally been pictured as one of environmental quality--for instance, the negative externalities of density and deterioration. However, in recent years, not only does gentrification make a certain style of life doable: it is also increasingly thinkable.

The mutability of categories is one theme which emerges with some consistency from the ethnographic data. Issues of self-perception were raised as important elements in the residential decision process. If such decisions have previously rested upon firmly-established events in a "family life-cycle", today there is a broad range of statuses through which a person might legitimately pass, associated with a more complex set of self-definitions. We must stress the processual nature of family and household relations which are constantly in flux. Class boundaries, too, are

permeable, especially with the cashing in of skill assets to give access to self-employment or managerial positions. Women may be writing new rules for the concept of career, and their actions explore the elasticity of the categories which have been taken for granted. For young adults, boundaries between work and leisure are faintly drawn, and we see the emergence of a model of life which acknowledges what Rossi (quoted in Malmaud 1984:5) calls "the work inherent in love, the love inherent in work".

This chapter has drawn out the power of agency, and it has emphasized people's negotiation for solutions to the conditions in which they are placed. The liberating condition of inner city living operates for those who can afford to live by an individualistic code, those who are already blessed with many advantages; there remain hidden oppressions, as the social costs of setting up new styles of life are displaced (both figuratively and literally) onto other groups. The fortunes of gentrifiers, however, should not preclude them from serious investigation. Their level of welfare cannot be taken for granted; it must be established by often very hard work in the young adult stage, and by a judicious choice of housing. As Helen says:

"I have adopted a lifestyle--adapted to a lifestyle--that fits my income. And I enjoy it, and I'm willing to work hard for it".

In stressing the pragmatic side to gentrification, I have employed the term "style of life", to describe the package of projects adopted by the group under study. Style of life demands an enabling setting, and so the gentrified inner city can be analysed in terms of how it contributes to the successful practice of career and other projects. Yet, as we see from Helen's comment above, style of life undergoes a transmutation when it becomes a component of everyday discourse. It is reified as "lifestyle", a pattern into which people can be socialized, one that is concretized in geography itself. As Eric says of Fairview Slopes:

"It's great, suits my purposes perfectly, I've been happy I've moved here....it just fits my lifestyle perfectly--or maybe my lifestyle fits it, because it was here before me!"

Chapters 7 and 8 explore the meaning of the gentrification lifestyle.

To explain the social conduct culminating in gentrification requires an understanding of the personality of the place:

Frances: "I think it's going to settle and become a place that people get quite committed to, as opposed to a place that's convenient for a while. I think it's going to make certain claims on people...."

Frederick: "I think it's going to be a very desirable place when it firms up and people realize how convenient it is, how workable it is..."

Frances: "I think [the fact that] these homes are here is going to encourage people to change their lifestyle, rather than these places are being built because people have already changed their lifestyle...I see it as becoming...less of a yuppie place...people seeing its virtues not just as a place you can live cheaply on your way to somewhere but as a place with a lifestyle with its own. And the fact that it's here, people will adapt their lifestyle to here".

CHAPTER SEVEN

"LIFE ON THE UPSLOPE"

"Take a moment and reflect on the ideal lifestyle. Picture a home of impeccably good taste, superior quality and spectacular views. Imagine the amenities you find most pleasurable, the kind of neighbours you appreciate. A nurturing, creative environment. Think about immersing yourself in the pulse and vigor of a dynamic city...

The place you imagine exists, Rhapsody Citihomes. Overlooking a vibrant city--all the prestigious [sic] amenities you've sought. And deserve.

Now, in a city recognized across the country for its innovative architecture, there's Rhapsody.

At once fresh and familiar, an eclectic fusion on [sic] classical and contemporary details. A private enclave with panache, character, and style."

(Advertising brochure for Rhapsody Citihomes, Combined Equities Inc., 1986).

With grandiloquent words such as these, marketers have drawn potential gentrifiers to Fairview Slopes. The language of lifestyle carries us forward to a confrontation with culture and landscape, an engagement which many urban geographers have hitherto avoided.

Previous chapters have built upon the "production of gentrifiers" approach, which represents a counter-current particularly to accounts of gentrification which were exclusively grounded in the sphere of production. In arguing for the incorporation of reproduction as a component of urban theory, Hamnett (1984), Rose (1984) and Beauregard (1986) focused attention on the outcome of social and economic restructuring, in the emergence of distinctive social groups. Conditions of work and of domestic organization enjoyed by some of these groups disposed them to seek "environmental solutions" to the challenge of constructing a workable style of life, gentrification being one such strategy. In the last chapter, I explored the active side to this process, the manner in which people thought through their constraints and their needs, and "produced themselves" as gentrifiers.

But the discussion so far has been limited in its treatment of culture. For instance, while Hamnett argues against Smith's classification of occupational and demographic forces as "cultural" as opposed to "material" factors, the implication appears to be that he agrees with Smith over the dismissal of anything which would be rightly categorized as a "cultural" explanation. The same unwillingness to take on culture is evidenced by Rose's critique of how demand-oriented explanations of gentrification emphasise "lifestyle" issues. "The very concept of 'life-style' conjures up scenarios of unbridled choice", she says (Rose 1984:65). Rose argues for the approach which treats lifestyle alternatives as ways of coping, thus making their theorization inseparable from issues of socioeconomic restructuring.

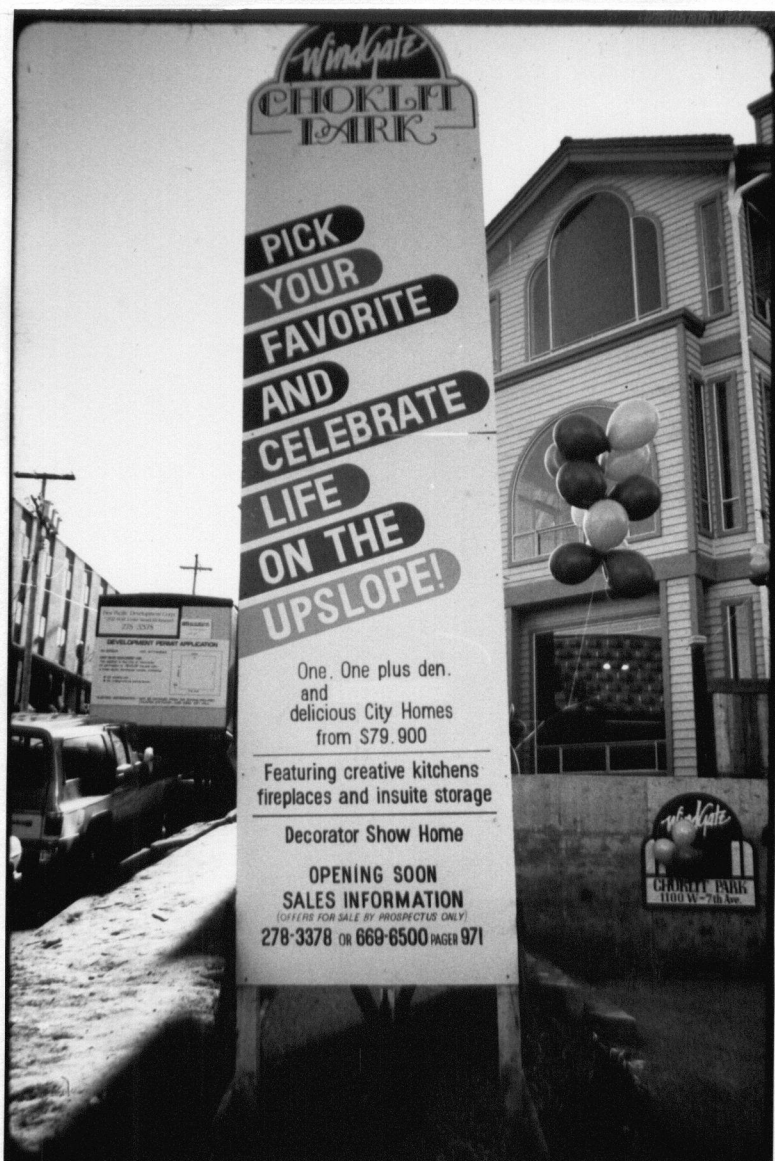
In line with these emphases, Chapter 6 employed the phrase "style of life" to underscore how gentrification results from people's negotiation within a field of opportunities and constraints. But by unpacking the "gentrification lifestyle", we are in effect abstracting from the lived experience of the people concerned, and denying the language by which they make sense of their own lives--in the same way as the debate over the urban question dissolved the commonsense (as well as the scholarly) object of "the urban". Before a realist critique, both "the urban", and "gentrification", are shown up as chaotic conceptions.

The limits of such a critique are that it does not deal with the expressive forms of phenomena, their place in the language of everyday life. Ways of living have become established as patterns which do carry meaning for people; style of life is objectified, as lifestyle. In this chapter and the next I discuss the meaning of gentrification, by tracing its entanglement with other codes of meaning--such as "lifestyle". The discussion draws upon marketing material in the form of pamphlets and advertisements; interviews with key "producers" such as developers, architects, salespeople (these took

place in the Spring of 1986); and upon popular accounts of gentrification in Fairview Slopes. This chapter starts by sketching out some of the nuances of the lifestyle language; quotations are from marketing material. Following that, in section 7.1, there is a review of how gentrification can be understood in terms of capital accumulation. Then, drawing upon the interviews with residents, section 7.2 identifies some dimensions to the meaning of the inner city neighbourhood, in particular with respect to the notion of the urban. The next chapter elaborates some of these issues in an interpretation which draws upon new developments in the theorization of cultural change.

I spoke to a real estate agent who was selling one of the new condominium developments in Fairview Slopes. "We're selling a lifestyle", she told me. And all the advertising slogans seem to bear this out: for as one claims, "We don't just sell you a townhome, we offer you an exciting new lifestyle". "Living", "life" and "lifestyle" are expressions which feature abundantly in the advertising material (Plate 7.1). Two sides to the notion of "living" are cunningly conflated: to live in Fairview Slopes (that is, to reside there), is to be a certain kind of person, a person who knows how to really live. Offering "all the conveniences of an urban lifestyle", Fairview Slopes is also "perfect for those who really know how to enjoy the best of inner city living". Not only is the inner city a setting which enables the act of everyday life, the ritual obligations and chores of "making a living"; it is also a stage upon which one performs the art of living. Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor for the presentation of self is carried through in the presence of performance analogies. One condominium, Dover Pointe, is advertised with a warning adapted from the world of film: with the black cat logo (symbol of Restricted films), it claims to offer "Scenes suggestive of a lifestyle you've always wanted to live". Dover Pointe held a "premiere

Plate 7.1



An advertising board celebrating "Life on the Upslope".

opening", and we are informed that "the critics are calling [it] a five-star performer". "Admission" prices (offering "Home entertainment value") and "Showtimes" are also advertised (Plate 7.2). Other developments promote special "sneak preview" open houses when they are close to completion.

In a satirical piece on the brief history of the term "lifestyle", Yagoda (1979) notes the rise of the so-called "Lifestyle Market". According to Yagoda, while "lifestyle" was once a noun to be modified, now it has become an adjective which refers to the style of living of one particular group of people (essentially, the "yuppies"). There are suggestions of this in Fairview Slopes which is, apparently, "A distinctive area for a living investment"; another slogan cries: "Live it up!". The actual style of living to which this refers remains taken-for-granted. Potential buyers are presumed to be in no need of qualifications to the claim that this is "A quality townhome for the way you live". In other cases, however, modifiers are incorporated. Typically these are vague. We are offered, for instance, "designer living", "An upwardly mobile lifestyle", an "active lifestyle", "An extraordinary lifestyle", and a lifestyle that's "exciting and new". Most tellingly, however, the adjective is frequently geographical. One advertisement tells us that False Creek and the Slopes are the hearth of much of "Vancouver's famous 'West Coast Lifestyle'". New developments offer the best in "city living", "urban living", the "urban lifestyle", "downtown style living", and even "inner city living".

The mutual reinforcement of one chaotic conception with another, lifestyle with urban place, lies at the centre of the meaning of gentrification and the meaning of Fairview Slopes. Later in this chapter, attention shall be drawn again to the urban theme--with which the notion of the gentrification lifestyle is so closely entangled.

Plate 7.2



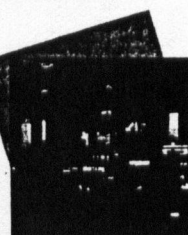
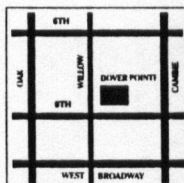
Première Performance of Dover Pointe

"The brightest addition to the Slopes—Architect James Cheng has a winner with these one-bedroom, bedroom/den, and two-bedroom quality townhomes."

"METRO NEWS"

There's room at the top in the newest development on Fairview Slopes. Exclusive hillside location overlooking Expo and the Vancouver skyline. Floorplans you can live with completely, and amenities you can't live without including: gourmet kitchens, woodburning fireplaces, tile floors, thick carpeting, and lots of natural light.

Join the Polygon cast for our première opening and find out for yourself why the critics are calling Dover Pointe a 5-Star performer.



Scenes suggestive of a lifestyle you've always wanted to live.

Admission: Home entertainment value from \$89,900 to \$144,900

Showtimes: 12 noon–6 p.m. daily (except Friday)
Suite #1–795 West 8th Avenue



Developed by
Polygon Properties
Limited

Advertisement for "Dover Pointe" (The West Ender, October 17, 1985).

7.1 "A DISTINCTIVE AREA FOR A LIVING INVESTMENT".

In a defence of his rent gap theory and in counter-response to the "production of gentrifiers" position, Smith (1987a) takes on the claim that "values of consumption rather than production guide central city land use decisions" in the "postindustrial city" (Ley 1978:11). Has an "urban dream [come] to supercede the suburban dream of past decades"? (Smith 1987:165). While such an interpretation of gentrification may be immediately appealing, given the rise of many a "bourgeois playground" in the central cities of North America, it is at heart (Smith claims) a "shallow empirical abstraction...incapable of sustaining theoretical scrutiny" (p. 166). Before looking in more detail at the new "urban dream", this section reviews Smith's position.

Smith's precis of the issue demands a choice between mutually exclusive options: is urban form "now being structured by consumption ideologies and demand preferences rather than by production requirements and geographical patterns of capital mobility?" (p. 166). His own position is unambiguous. Consumption-side growth may be unprecedentedly dominant, but this is not "demand-led":

"Consumption-side growth implies the importance of sectors producing for individual consumption, whereas 'demand-led urbanization' implies that, in the move from the extensive to the intensive regime of accumulation, the dynamics and demands of accumulation are now subordinated to those of consumption. Accumulation is potentially relegated to a by-product of consumption and some sort of consumer-demand theory would then be necessary to understand the direction of 'demand-led urbanization'" (Smith 1987:169).

The prospect of such a consumer-demand theory is unacceptable.

In his recent work, therefore, Smith persists in interpreting changes in consumption patterns in terms of strategies of capital accumulation--which once took the form of the "suburban solution" and the standardization of commodity production, and now materialises in a contemporary "urban solution"

and the differentiation of commodity production. Consumption ideology as an explanatory concept is dismissed in favour of capital's requirement to revitalize the profit rate. This proceeds in the form of flexible accumulation, which is reshaping capitalist urbanization in a context of increased competition for economic advantage:

"Investments to attract the consumption dollar have paradoxically grown as a response to recession, and they increasingly focus on the quality of life (gentrification, cultural innovation, and physical up-grading), consumer attractions (sports stadia, convention and shopping centers, marinas, and exotic eating places) and entertainment....It is indeed remarkable how much urban investment there has been in this kind of conspicuous consumption since 1973, and much of it has had a more specialized and 'discriminating' edge to it compared to the mass consumption of the 1960s. Above all, the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live, play, and consume" (Harvey 1987:12).

As shall be demonstrated in greater detail later, such a notion of the city itself is of direct relevance to the success of recent investments in the built environment in the form of gentrification.

A search for new arenas of accumulation carries forward the pattern of investment in the built environment. Gentrification is indeed an outlet for productive and speculative capital, which is manifest in a number of different forms in Fairview Slopes. Chief amongst the visible actors in Fairview are the developers who, with encouragement from the state, have been creating new kinds of commodities with a supposed "discriminating" edge to them. As well as milking profit from home buyers, developers have established some highly creative means of acquiring return on their investments. One project, for example, leased units for six months to Expo 86 executives; as a result, they could advertise to potential buyers a "no money down" financing package; (contrary to condominium bylaws, some individual owners of units also ran a virtual hotel service during Expo). Another example of creative profiteering comes from the use of projects as

film sets: one featured as the home of a young couple in an automobile-servicing advertisement; another appeared as the scene of a kidnapping and explosion in a production of "Airwolf", a television series which stars a high-tech helicopter. Andre Molnar, canny developer of a number of projects in this and other areas of inner city Vancouver (his company has about a fifty percent share in the city condominium market (Lees 1986)), also donated suites in this latter development for "Suite dreams": a fund-raising event for the Red Cross where interior designers were invited to display their skills (Plate 7.3).

As noted earlier, there is a significant number of absentee owners of new units in Fairview Slopes. This was, of course, the case for the old houses before the area was redeveloped and it was encouraged subsequently by the building of multiple unit residential buildings (MURBs) under a federal programme (no longer in operation) intended to boost the supply of rental units by tax incentives. Moreover, due to fluctuations in the housing market some developments failed to sell and are largely rented, while remaining in the hands of development companies. Of the strata units on the 1988 property assessment list, 45 percent were not owner occupied. Forty-three percent of those non-resident owners were listed as developers, investment or holding companies of various types, indicating in some cases that the units have not yet been sold after construction. Fifty-six percent of the non-resident listings gave names of private absentee owners with no mention of such companies, 265 of which listed home addresses which could be analyzed. Most of these owners lived in Vancouver or the Lower Mainland (typically the affluent city neighbourhoods or the suburbs of Richmond and West Vancouver), 26 lived elsewhere in Canada and only 9 gave home addresses outside Canada.

Although the local addresses of MURB owners does not seem surprising, the small number of overseas owners is unexpected in the light of supposed

Plate 7.3



"La Galleria II", developed by Andre Molnar, completed 1987.

large recent investments from Hong Kong Chinese in the Vancouver property market. Developer Andre Molnar told me:

"I got some Hong Kong buyers....It was work we have done and sold to one Chinese couple, then two and three, and the word spread, and we have a whole raft of Chinese clients now....They are very loyal customers, they send on other customers to us".

One marketing pamphlet for a Molnar building points out that Fairview Slopes is located close to "North America's second largest Chinatown". In 1983 Molnar initiated a programme of marketing to people planning to move to Vancouver, through realtors Steve and Grace Kwok of Anson Realty Ltd. who represented him to Hong Kong companies; his corporation was represented at the International Real Estate Exposition in Hong Kong, which led to some cash sales of properties bought "sight unseen" (Lees 1986). Since "pre-selling" of units--encouraging sales before the building is constructed--became feasible, many development companies in the area have taken advantage of the opportunity, and one would assume that this form of sales might attract buyers who do not intend to occupy their purchases. It seems likely that overseas purchasers of this sort are operating through investment and property companies, or through new immigrants: one architect told me that "there are quite a few sold to new immigrants who are just buying them to hold as an investment, just renting them out". Some investment companies which control all the units in a building appear to be held by Vancouver residents with a Chinese background (this assumption is based on the names listed). In other buildings where units are being sold individually there are quite high proportions of absentee owners with Chinese-origin names. For example, in Molnar's two most recent Fairview buildings there are 110 units in total: 55 units are not owner-occupied, of which almost half are owned by people with what seem to be Chinese-origin names (most held "care of" Anson Realty).

The investment potential for individual buyers who are likely to be owner-occupiers is a minor motif of the marketing promotions. One architect told me:

"They're marketing the lifestyle, and it's also they're marketing the units as a commodity, which is something that I think people tend to think like these days which is unfortunate....the most important thing they're trying to put over is that it's a good investment for people....I think they were trying to compare moving in and owning one of these things with just renting, and they certainly seem to have convinced many people".

While the comparison with renting is surely tempting for many buyers (one can buy for under 600 dollars a month, which is probably less than one would pay for a comparable rented unit in the area), resale value was barely mentioned by interviewees. One exception was Martin, who praised the creative financing made available by the developers, and added:

"I expect in the next ten years the value to appreciate substantially, having looked at similar areas of Chicago and Washington D.C., areas like this double, triple, quadruple in value in very short periods of time because of the concentration of people who want to be close to all these things".

I suspect Martin to be over-optimistic, for there remain substantial areas of inner Vancouver ready to be developed, and on Fairview Slopes itself the eastern portion is now the site of new residential projects. Moreover, the high percentage of rented units already mentioned can pose problems for resale value, as some residents of one Molnar building have already found (Godley 1987). Combine this with the problem of building quality and endurance that some interviewees mentioned, and long-term investment potential for small owners of condominiums does not seem great. However, there appears to be some rapid turnover of units immediately after a project starts selling; one architect explains:

"The developer is always keen to sell the first few units fairly soon, and perhaps give people a fairly good deal....People who 'pre-buy' these units can, if it's a well-marketed building, turn round after it's completely finished and make some profit. I think that would account for some of those resales".

While some of the developments have sold out very fast, (in a couple of months, with substantial pre-sales before completion), new owners might also be discovering what realtor Darlene Much says of Molnar's buildings: "His units do have such eye appeal. They can't resist. They say, 'This is smaller than I wanted, smaller than I need, but I want to buy'" (Rossiter 1987:32). Both the potential use and exchange value of a unit in Fairview Slopes is extremely difficult to pin down in any conclusive manner.

Smith sees the immediate mechanism underlying gentrification to be the rent gap. He has posed the important question of what are the conditions of profitability: which neighbourhoods are profitable to redevelop. The difficulty with his proposition (in the form in which it was originally stated) is distinguishing the point at which the rent gap is wide enough to attract reinvestment, and evaluating the potential ground rent of a devalued area. Moreover, the content of reinvestment is open to negotiation as actors with different skills and ambitions haggle over the outcome. One architect, with respect to his relationship with the client (developer) and the importance of product differentiation, says:

"I'm always sort of fighting them....I try to limit the numbers of walls or partitions in the units because they just make things look smaller....Vaulted ceilings for top floor units are important, they give again the sense of some volume....Bathrooms lately have become sort of trendy, in that developers are sprucing up bathrooms...not just put in a standard tub if I can avoid it. And I understand budgets are tough to stick to when developers are costing things out, but I think it helps sell, perhaps fitting a double vanity, putting in a skylight....

....You get [developers] like Molnar and Polygon, these people have very slick operations and they know how to sell, they know what cheap ingredients to put in a townhouse to catch somebody's eye....You see all over signs [saying] 'These are all quality developments', but it's a lot of garbage; these are the cheapest developments you can possibly build under the building code....The architects are struggling like crazy to try and get whatever they can in, but they know that most of it will get chopped out, and the smart ones...don't even bother any more trying to make it nice, because they won't have a job next time".

This particular architect in fact does seem to have abandoned the fight and he has designed some of the most pared-down recent projects in the area. But developers are not necessarily correct in their judgments, and one of these projects seems to have sold very poorly. Other architects who are more inspired by social and aesthetic challenges may gain a pay-off in terms of professional recognition, yet their designs might receive a slow response from the buying public and are in consequence unpopular with developers. One architect in this position, who designed one of the most innovative award-winning developments in the area, reports that developers are now reluctant to hire him because he is too uncompromising. However, this second architect was also caught off-guard by the enthusiastic response to another of his buildings in the neighbourhood. By all accounts, units in this latter project were too expensive, too well-appointed, to compete with the smaller and cheaper units which had come to dominate the market. Yet it sold quickly and, had this been anticipated, the architect would have aimed for an even more affluent buyer. Thus while such individual actors are guided in their production decisions by the broader context of dominant market dynamics, there is room for plenty of misjudgment as well as the identification (and wooing) of sub-markets with tastes outside the mainstream.

Until a workable formula is established which fits current market conditions, there must be a process of exploration and experimentation. This was the case for the first moves to redevelop Fairview Slopes in the 1970s, in which the key actors were smaller developer/architects who were more willing to take risks for the pay-off of reputation. The principal of one innovative firm describes the beginning of their involvement:

"In 1960 we bought our first house, as an office on Seventh Avenue...it was owned by a widow who wanted to leave it, and the area was red-lined, mortgage companies would not lend money, it was a slum....I recognised at that time the incredible potential of the view out over the city. At that time we were looking out over

lumber mills, False Creek was purely industrial...[but] the view, the water, the city, downtown was close...we recognised that as valuable....And then we move to the period when the change starts, and that really gets going when we bought the second building across the street for our growing architectural practice, and...that at the time was actually a house of ill-repute!..We wanted to put our architectural office in it, and we had a terrible time with the Planning Department because we were a non-conforming use!...It was about that time that it became possible to think about the area in terms of redevelopment".

The first units built by this firm were of an "experimental" kind, and since they were located in a "slum", the anticipated customers were "non-establishment people". In contrast, the big developer Andre Molnar was slow to participate in the development of the Slopes, although his work now dominates much of its landscape:

Molnar: "I looked at Fairview Slopes in the 1976-77 era first and I had done a preliminary overview...and I didn't like it, I liked the view, I liked the location, but I didn't like the atmosphere, plus I was terrified of pioneering the area because it was so wishy-washy as far as acceptability was concerned for the middle classes...so it was a business judgement that we didn't get involved after spending four months looking at it".

C: "So what changed your mind?"

Molnar: "Just because of the location of the area [Molnar's office is in the neighbourhood] it was very easy to keep track of it...plus with the tremendous success of the lower Fairview area, you know, the whole subdivision that the City...did right on the waterfront, slowly this area got cleaned up, and some smaller developers really pioneered, and some of them got arrows in their backs to show for it, but they started the cleaning up of the area....Really, the only obstacle I felt it had was that it was very spotty--a nice new project and [next to it] three or four dilapidated houses with people not even living there legally, there was a lot of squatting and it was a terrible neighbourhood at that time--and I was frightened that my customers wouldn't find it acceptable. Some other more courageous developers were not frightened away by this and started to develop....[Then once it was started] I got involved, I got some reassurance from the fact that some of the really dilapidated houses were cleared away".

The ideas of Marshall Sahlins offer a perspective on Molnar's approach, and a critique of the view of gentrification proposed by Smith and Harvey. Molnar was not confident in investing until he could perceive the emergence of a potential market and the change in attitudes and values that this must entail. As Sahlins points out:

"The accumulation of exchange-value is always the creation of use-value. The goods must sell, which is to say that they must have a preferred 'utility', real or imagined--but always imaginable--for someone" (Sahlins 1976:213).

Not until social and cultural conditions were right did the gentrification good in Fairview Slopes achieve the necessary "imaginability" for production to proceed. Production and consumption are much richer acts than their portrayal in structuralist marxist analyses would imply; they "sediment thought", in Sahlins' words (p. 178):

"Not even capitalism, despite its ostensible organization by and for pragmatic advantage, can escape this cultural constitution of an apparently objective praxis. For as Marx also taught, all production, even where it is governed by the commodity-form, by exchange value, remains the production of use-values. Without consumption, the object does not complete itself as a product: a house left unoccupied is no house. Yet use-value cannot be specifically understood on the natural level of 'needs' and 'wants,'--precisely because men do not merely produce 'housing' or 'shelter': they produce dwellings of definite sorts, as a peasant's hut, or a nobleman's castle. This determination of use-values, of a particular type of house as a particular type of home, represents a continuous process of social life in which men reciprocally define objects in terms of themselves and themselves in terms of objects" (Sahlins 1976:169).

As I noted earlier, Smith seems set on forcing a decision between two mutually-exclusive options, the demand-led model and his own model of capital accumulation driven by the requirements of production. Molnar's experience, as one example, should indicate the more complex interplay of forces. The product marketer him/herself had first to be marketed an "imaginable" product, before he or she could know and respond to consumers' wants. Sahlins' view of production as the "substantialization of a cultural logic" should therefore:

"prohibit us from speaking naively of the generation of demand by supply, as though the social product were the conspiracy of a few 'decision-makers,' able to impose an ideology of fashion through the deceits of advertising. In Marx's phrase, 'The educator himself needs educating'....production is organized to exploit all possible social differentiation by a motivated differentiation of goods....The product that reaches its destined market constitutes an objectification of a social category, and so helps to constitute

the latter in society; as in turn, the differentiation of the category develops further social declensions of the goods system" (Sahlins 1976:184-5).

Molnar considered the Fairview Slopes landscape inappropriate to the middle class of the early and mid 1970s. Clearly he later changed his mind, as the landscape and the class altered their properties. A new social differentiation emerged within the middle class, which was ready for and required a new differentiation of objects: including a housing object and a neighbourhood object.

The perspective developed here gives a particular cast to the notion of production as "merely the precipitate of an enlightened rationality" (Sahlins 1976:166). In his early work, Smith saw gentrification as a rational market response to the pattern of potential exchange values following the opening of the rent gap. More recently, following Harvey, the switch in accumulation strategy towards increased product differentiation is presented by Smith as the rational response to prevailing economic conditions in a period of recession. But Sahlins' approach demands a reinterpretation of that "rationality" in the light of the necessary relationship between the cultural codes governing utility and exchange value:

"exchange-value is acquired by producing objects that are not the same as other products: objects that have a differential meaning in the society as organized--Cadillacs as opposed to Chevrolets, suits as opposed to overalls, steak as opposed to entrails. Rational production for gain is in one and the same motion the production of symbols" (p. 215).

Thus production is (again in Sahlins' words) a cultural intention.

Smith and Harvey are, in fact, not far from this conclusion themselves, for they call upon some notion of status symbolism. Harvey explicitly references Bordieu's concept of "symbolic capital"--defined as "the collection of luxury goods attesting the taste and distinction of the owner" (Harvey 1987:30)--as an important dimension to processes of gentrification,

the packaging for sale of history and community, and "the need for embellishment decoration, and ornamentation that could function as so may [sic] codes and symbols of social distinction" (p. 31). However, the notion of conspicuous consumption, though useful, poses some difficulties. How does one draw the line between luxury or conspicuous goods, and those more basic goods necessary for human subsistence? Smith insists that there is "a difference between, on the one hand, the worker buying a house to reproduce his labor power, and on the other, the capitalist buying a house to enhance his conspicuous individual consumption" (Smith 1979:25). In real western societies, however, the distinction between need and indulgence is not so evident.

"No society....can neglect to provide shelter in producing houses, or nourishment in distinguishing the edible from the inedible. Yet men do not merely 'survive'. They survive in a definite way. They reproduce themselves as certain kinds of men and women, social classes and groups, not as biological organisms" (Sahlins 1976:168).

This is true not only of the conspicuously-consuming capitalist, but of all those who subscribe to a class culture.

Whether or not this is the result of mystification cannot by itself help us understand the actual content of real people's lives--nor explain the career of real places. In Fairview Slopes this comes through in the advertising rhetoric of "living" which I noted earlier. "Can you afford not to be living at Emerald Court?" asks one slogan which seems to evoke connotations both pecuniary and positional. Even more candid references to exchange value are partially cloaked in a language of lifestyle which taps the ambiguities of new class culture. Alderview, for instance,

"is designed to appeal to residents who prefer a standard of luxury and lifestyle amenity normally considered executive level, thereby further assuring a compatible attitude towards a lasting investment in real estate and real sensitivity to others".

Meanwhile, Fairview Slopes represents at one and the same time an attractive

area for a financial investment, and "a distinctive area for a living investment". The next section explores the dimensions of this mode of "living".

7.2 "CITY LIVING AT ITS BEST".

Culture and consumption ideology are also neglected by the "production of gentrifiers" writers who unpack gentrification to reveal its underpinnings in economic restructuring, but fail to consider the expressive side of social and spatial change: the meaning of gentrification.

How people choose to act--how they decide to deal with the problems and opportunities arising from economic restructuring, for instance--is shaped by the meanings they attribute to the various alternatives that are objectively possible. I shall begin interpretation by illustrating how notions of the urban enter into the language of gentrification. The object is a scrutiny of that language, which has so penetrated everyday speech in some social worlds and so broadly diffused in the popular media that it appears as the commonsense mode by which we refer to certain objects. Even the terminology employed to describe the Fairview Slopes residences themselves carries forward the meaning of the "urban"; semi-officially alluded to as "townhouses" in planning documents and similar sources, Fairview condominiums are also advertised as "townhomes", "citihomes", and other variants upon the same theme. The ideological content of such language is revealed by a method which draws out comparisons with the language employed for other times and places, and which traces leakages of meaning between realms that are, objectively, discrete.

Leakages of meaning such as that demonstrated by the notion of "urban lifestyle" are carried through in the personification of the city, the neighbourhood and the "citihome". For instance, the Windgate development on

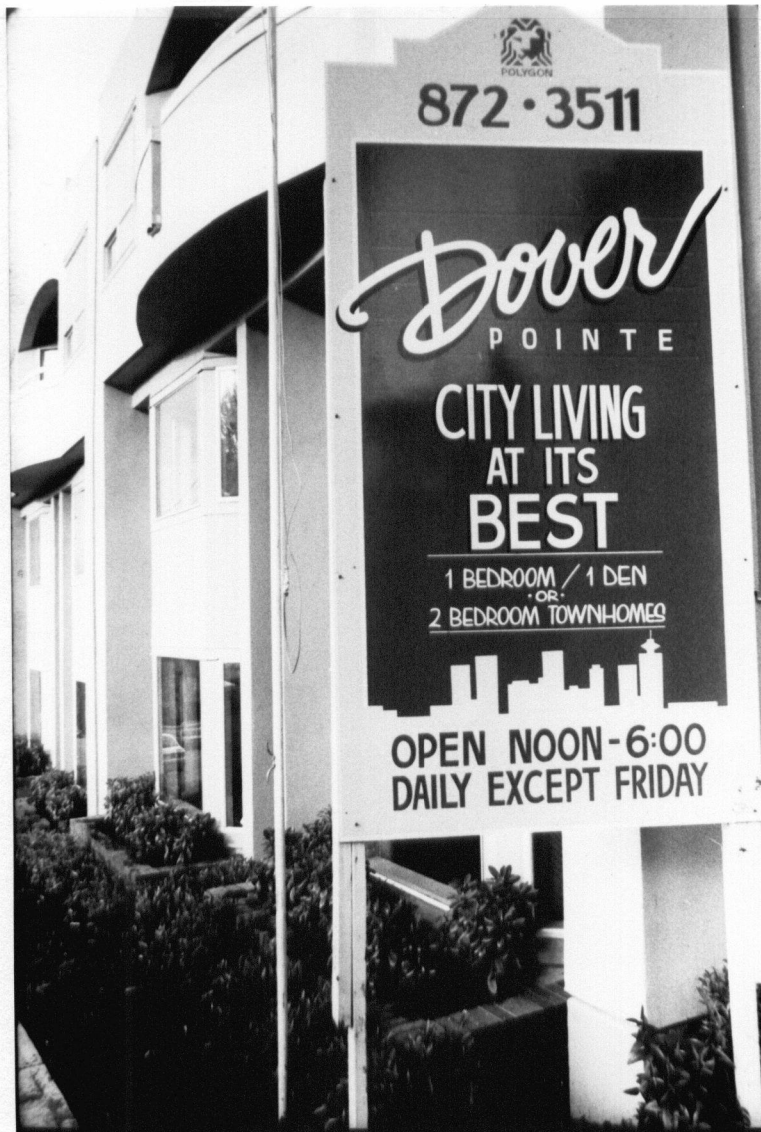
Fairview Slopes offers "City homes with energy, designs with vitality". The anatomical metaphor figures strongly. Rhapsody citihomes is "in the center of an exciting urban neighbourhood", and enjoys access to the "pulse and vigor of a dynamic city"; it is located "pulse beats away" from numerous amenities, "in the heart of Vancouver's Fairview Slopes, a revitalized neighbourhood described by Vancouver Life as the 'hottest of residential hotspots'". Similarly, Fairview Place is "quiet [sic] simply THE place, pulsing with excitement", whereas Alderview Court is at "The pulse--the heart--the centre of the city". Urbanity features as a dominant positive trait, as illustrated by these slogans: "City living at its best" (Plate 7.4); "A new city 'centre'"; "For those who value an active lifestyle in the heart of the city"; "the most desirable metropolitan location in Vancouver"; and "Vancouver's premium urban neighbourhood". The Southport development offers "truly distinctive city homes--homes that city people will treasure for the pleasure they add to an urban lifestyle"--the pleasure which is "all part of daily urban life".

The notion of "city people" which is employed in this last advertisement forces a comparison with the suburban dream, one which interviewees explicitly made for themselves. The intertwining of place and identity has already been mentioned in the previous chapter; Barbara, for instance, describes the lifestyle preferred by herself and her husband: "We're not North Vancouver people....we're not commuters". In explanation she adds:

"It's the way we like to be. We couldn't do the things we like to do if we lived, say, in Burnaby, North Vancouver or West Vancouver--we like to be close to downtown with everything at our fingertips".

As with the epithet "yuppie", a person's social identity is defined by a geographical adjective. Phil says: I think the people here are very 'downtown people'. And Erica adopts the same tone:

Plate 7.4



Advertising board for "Dover Pointe", featuring a city skyline.

"We both considered ourselves city people. I think that we like the amenities that cities have to offer, I think we like that sense of taking advantage of what we consider to be urban things, rather than a lot of the reasons people live in Vancouver. We weren't necessarily skiers or boaters or anything like that, we were more interested in being close to theatres and that kind of city life".

Even when Erica's behaviour does not fit this self-depiction, she employs the geographical counterpart in a self-deprecating quip: "Yes, I'm terribly suburban, I go to Oakridge!" (a shopping mall in an inner suburb). To Gill, Fairview Slopes "seemed the ideal place for us city dweller types". More indirectly, there were suggestions of how outsiders view the gentrifiers. Helen says, "most of the people I work with are in their mid to late 30s, and they have young families and they live in suburbia. They are very different in their lifestyles from me". Other people's image of Helen is directly related to her place of residence; apparently they think of her as: "being in the city, and you're just a single swinger".

What perceptions of place, of the city and the suburb, lie behind this labelling of people? Neil makes a comparison of the two worlds:

"I wouldn't want to live in Surrey or Richmond, it's too [sub]urban, too California, it's just not me. It's that style of mainstreets and homes in cul-de-sacs, it's too boring, it's...just too ugly. I like the city style of living. I like the pace of the city. I like the culture".

"Suburb" is tied to an image of a way of life: family-centred suburbia. As Linda says:

"We prefer to live in a townhouse rather than a lot of property....If we did move it would be to the same type of surroundings, we wouldn't go out and buy a single family house, have a yard and a dog".

Suburbia stands for a bland existence, a compromise in Andy's view:

"I've lived in Toronto, I'm a believer in, if you're going to live in the city, live in the city. I'm not a suburban or a country person, I like living close to the urban area".

Alison treats the suburb as a generic banality:

"I've lived in the Burnaby's of the world, and New Westminster, and

I have lived in Surrey, and I don't think I ever enjoyed living in Surrey, I don't think I would enjoy living as much in New Westminster or Burnaby. Just because I happen to love living here, I love this area".

In some cases, interviewees spoke of the suburbs in a tone of horror.

In talking about the possible changes in his family life, Gordon says:

"I hope and pray that if I ever have to move on the basis of some sort of really altered circumstances, I'll still be able to live in the city. I do not want to live in the suburbs, I don't think it would ever suit me. Even if one was forced in[to] some awful situation like the single family detached house--which is something I hope I can avoid--one can still do that in the city".

Gill also says "I can't bear the thought of moving into the suburbs". And in mock disgust, Pat refers to the suburb of Richmond: "My sister, as much as it shames me to say it, has moved to 'Ditchmond'".

At the other extreme, gentrifiers express their excitement about the inner city. An older couple reported: "we made a distinct decision that we wanted to come down into a more urban area". Helen said: "I think the first thing that I really like about living here is the fact that it's very close to the city". Later she exclaimed: "I love it, I love living near the city!". The same is the case for Eric:

Eric: "It certainly has a different feel to it than Surrey or someplace else. It collects people...who like to play tennis and walk in the evening. It's an attractive place to do that".

C: "Would you ever think about moving out to a suburban area?"

Eric: "Never, never. If I'm going to live in the city--I like cities, I like busyness--I want to be right here in the city. Being in a suburb is, like, forget it! It's not where I want to be".

The negative perception of suburban living is partly explained by the more pragmatic considerations discussed in the last chapter--gentrification being in some senses a matter of need for particular kinds of households. But there is a set of values, of patterns of meaning about different ways of life which can only be dealt with in cultural terms. The "myth of suburbia" has received substantial attention in the academic literature (Schwartz

1976). A "classic" model has depicted suburbia as an integral cultural identity, one in which its symbols (such as the ranch house) and its activities (such as the kaffeeklatsch) compose a way of life which has been condemned as trivial, complacent and tedious. This model was formulated in direct opposition to the image of the city, contrasting dynamic core with languid periphery. In contradiction to the classic view, the "myth" has been challenged by a second model which argues for suburbia as merely a selective spatial extension of existing modes of life. To restate Gans' position (see Chapter 1) with respect to the possibility of an objective urban phenomenon (and in response to the notion of "urbanism as a way of life"):

"If ways of life do not coincide with settlement types, and if these ways are functions of class and life-cycle stage rather than of the ecological attributes of the settlement, a sociological definition of the city cannot be formulated" (Gans 1968:114-5).

Like the city, the suburb also was dismissed as an integral cultural entity, on the grounds that it is merely one portion of a social surface patterned as a result of processes of differential mobility and life cycle demands.

In a review of this debate on suburbia, Schwartz has argued a case which parallels that which I would make with respect to the inner city. It remains useful to think of the city, like the suburb, as a moral order, as an epithet possessing "symbolic...properties. To their residents, communities furnish a way of life; to outsiders, visions of a way of life" (Schwartz 1976:326). In support of the power of the image, Schwartz quotes Berger (1971)--a critic of the suburban myth--as admitting:

"Despite everything reasonable I have said about suburbs, I know that the fact that I unreasonably dislike them has been conditioned, beyond the possibility of redemption by mere research, by the fact that the myth of suburbia exists".

And in outlining the content of that myth, Schwartz also calls upon the books of novelist John Cheever to describe the parameters of suburban life:

"Desperation and boredom, on the one hand; on the other, the commutation hysteria....The suburb is therefore contemptible because of its spiritual bleakness, its 'shallow and despicable life-style,' which transforms poetic dreams of pastoral bliss into the cheap prose of the 7:50 and the power mower...suburbia organizes a life without meaning, whose logical indictment is death itself." (Schwartz 1976:337).

This is of course a remarkably extreme view of the suburbs! But its accuracy is irrelevant to those such as the Fairview residents for whom suburbia remains a powerfully negative signifier, and who are actively (re)constructing a counterpart symbolic site in the notion of the "urban". When I interviewed David, I queried his future residential plans; he replied in Cheeveresque exaggeration:

C: "If you moved to Richmond--?"
David: "I think I would die!"

One interesting aspect of the mythical order is the association of space with a symbolism of sex. Schwartz refers to the "femininity" of suburbia, its alienation from the "serious" work of the city, its association with the passive and the trivial. While Schwartz's portrayal of a symbolic structuring of the female/suburban against the male/urban lacks a critical perspective, it does reflect what Saegert (1980) has called a "guiding fiction" about the domains of men and women, which feeds into policy, planning and self-perceptions. In her critique of how the organization of space can contribute to the alienation of women, Saegert points out that "these culturally bifurcated conceptions have power. They help to give rise to organizations of space and time that make real choices between domestic, private activities and public, productive ones difficult" (Saegert 1980:9). As we have already learned from the interviewees' patterns of domestic organization, and their antipathy for commuting and for the obligations of household maintenance (mowing the lawn being the dominant image they employ), there is substantial evidence for a conscious rejection of what Schwartz

called the "cheap prose of the 7:50 and the power mower" in both practical and symbolic terms. This could carry forward an erosion of conventional masculine and feminine identities, along with a rejection of the "suburban time-space rhythms of separate spheres of work and daily life and the manner in which the latter is yet dominated by the former" (Rose 1984:62).

Practices of time management and leisure amongst the gentrifiers reflect a desire to be closely engaged with the cycles of urban life. Carole says, "I wouldn't fit in in the suburbs. I like to be able to do my own banking late at night if I have to". Neil enjoys "walking and cycling. I enjoy looking at architecture, just going around the city and seeing what's happening, and staring at buildings". Martin reports: We like to go for walks up and down the streets and look at what's going on". And Anne is setting forth on a project to become more familiar with city life after leaving her more rural home:

"Well things are very different here of course to what they were in a small town. I like to go to the symphony...I like to go down to the art galleries....And I am rediscovering the city by doing the walks in [the book] 'Walks in Vancouver'".

Such practices suggest a desire to overcome certain alienating separations, those between subject and object--the "real" person enjoying self-expressive activities, and the world of the city which has represented the instrumental activities of commerce and the world of work. This becomes possible when the face of the city is transformed into a commodity for consumption and a vehicle for self-fulfillment.

The power of the urban metaphor as a language by which its gentrifiers understand their lives is reinforced by the drawing in of patterns of urban life from other times and places. The developer of two projects christened them "The San Franciscan" (I and II). While not referring directly to these projects, interviewees detected the same correspondence. Jack said: "It's a

little bit like San Francisco around here". Hester claims: "I sort of nickname it 'The Streets of San Francisco' because of the really steep pitch on some of the streets". For Rose, "It reminds me a lot of San Francisco--the slope and the look. I went to San Francisco and decided I'd love to live there". And according to one couple:

Bill: "A lot of people refer to it actually as 'San Francisco North'. Its very much like San Francisco..."

Barbara: "Several of the designs of the condominiums--"

Bill: "[And] the fact that we are on a slope like San Francisco, and having the view which is fantastic".

The other resemblance picked out by two interviewees was that with New York--or rather, some notion of the New York "style of living". Neil reports:

"I cycle, I have no car, that's how I know what's going on in the city, and every time I came into this corridor I rather liked it. It reminded me of an inner urban or very New York style of living, and I thought, I'd like to live over there".

Later he explains:

"In 1983, I went to New York. I always wanted to go there, this thing about being able to call for a taxi on the street impressed me. The incredible amount of architecture, the art deco. I would go any day back to New York, there is so much jazz, so much happening, so much culture--that was exciting".

And Keith reports: "We've become New Yorkers. We use taxis, walk. Granville Island within walking distance was one of the goodies".

References to these other urban models act as templates for understanding the new Vancouver inner city. The interviewees' narratives constantly draw out connections of meaning, between one place and another, and between place and identity. As Raymond Williams has shown in his analysis of "The Country and the City" (1973), expressions of the supposed character of a place function in the establishment and carrying forward of social relations. In a discussion of Williams' work, Sayer draws out the lessons for geographers:

"people seek...to give meaning to their lives, to form identities. People seek out situations in which they think their desired

identities will actually be confirmed through their actions, their material circumstances and the actions of others towards them. Images of place are strongly affected by this search, particularly in the quest for community, as an 'organic' form of association in which people can develop their individuality through their unalienated relations with others. Everyday concepts of the urban are therefore not merely descriptive but expressive and carry a heavy affective load of associations which allude to much broader and more fundamental concerns and responses" (Sayer 1984b:283).

The nature of a place contributes to the construction of social identity. Sayer's example is that of the community, a notion which carries with it images of close knit social life where intensity of interpersonal relations is highly valued as a context of support. The pursuit of the suburban dream supposedly represents a search for community which centres on the family. Is there a community being sought in gentrification? Unfortunately, Sayer's organic community is at once too vague and too specific to be applied as a description of the content of any real social world. Evidence from Fairview Slopes suggests little emphasis placed on the presence of "unalienated relations with others": in fact, some interviewees explicitly welcomed the degree of anonymity possible with a retreat from the city to a well-insulated condominium. Yet the search for an engagement of the self with the city as a means for expressing individuality confirms the existence of some kind of related quest.

This engagement with the city is expressed most strongly in the emphasis placed on Fairview's strategic location which allows people to make intensive use of the local area, especially by means of excursions on foot. Interviewees frequently pointed out the advantage of being able to walk to their workplaces or to various leisure facilities. False Creek and Granville Island are the most treasured amenities. As Isabelle says,

"It seems like a fun sort of place, there's lots going on. There are restaurants nearby, and Granville Island within walking distance, and walks along the False Creek seawall, it just seems to be a place that's interesting, it's interesting to look at and there are some interesting people around".

Another resident points out, "You don't have to have a car here, you can do everything that you want citywise here". Matthew finds Fairview Slopes "handy to Granville Island and on nice days on weekends generally we'll walk down and wander around, and you don't have to park, and it's just handy to everything". A number of interviewees are able to walk to work:

Frances: "We wanted a townhouse...then we realised that I could walk to work, Frederick could get a bus that would take him into work, and we love the market, so we can really walk to everything we want to do".

Barbara: "We walk, we walk home from work. I meet Bill at his office downtown, we walk over Cambie Street Bridge...."

Bill: "Or we come the other way and take the ferry over, go over to the Arts Theatre [on Granville Island] and have a drink on the way....And we walk to restaurants, again we don't have to take transportation....And we've got bikes here so again we don't lose anything because [you can go] straight down the Creek, and now they've opened it up right the way through, you can go all the way along through Kitsilano up to Spanish Banks".

Walking is not merely valued as a means to an end, but a source of enjoyment in itself, and a number of people reported that they frequently took walks for pleasure in the False Creek area. Sylvia, for instance, says "Nine times out of ten we go for a walk after dinner when we're not going out in the evening". Meg says: "I often walk downtown, it's very accessible. We often walk at night--we often walk across one bridge, all the way around [False Creek], and back over". Fiona and Frank,

"love Granville Market, so we can walk down there on this beautiful parkway across Sixth Avenue--it's just a bridge but they've landscaped it and it really is so pleasant just to walk down there. And when they had Expo we would walk down to Stamps Landing and get the ferry boat across. And it was just so pleasant to be able to do these things and not have to drive and find somewhere to park the car".

Even Gordon admits:

"I bought a bike when I moved in here. People thought that I'd really bought the farm on that one! And I actually ride it around a little, ride it to Expo, it's six minutes away".

The planning philosophy underpinning Granville Island and False Creek

(Ley 1987b) placed full emphasis on the development of a "sense of place"-- moreover, a sense of a "people place". An inbuilt functional diversity deliberately promotes the "walking city" (or perhaps what would better be described as a "jogging neighbourhood": amongst local Fairview joggers was (now ex-) resident and (now ex-) city mayor Mike Harcourt, who would greet other pedestrians with a cheery wave as he ran by in his red tracksuit). In some respects, then, there are some similarities to Jane Jacobs' favoured urban neighbourhoods (Jacobs 1961), where residents can enjoy a sense of stewardship over spaces beyond their own front doors. Helen, for example, says:

"I think the first thing that I really like about living here is the fact that it's very close to the city. You can walk to town in twenty minutes, over the Cambie Bridge. You can walk to Granville Island in twenty minutes...I like being near the waterfront, it's a very pretty area, and even though I don't have a yard, I've got the parks and I don't miss it".

Later she adds:

"I think also I consider myself as part of the Creek. A lot of people use the walkway to go to the market, they use the restaurants and the pub down in Leg-in-Boot Square, and I would say it is quite a community, the people in this [building] like to use this community...the local stores etcetera, because you can walk".

Jane Jacobs' emphasis on safety in vitality comes through in some residents' comments. For example, when I asked Gill if she fit the yuppie image, she began to muse over the assumption that Fairview Slopes is not appropriate for families with children:

"Possibly, because we both like a lot of the urban things. We're not terribly interested in coaching little league baseball teams and mowing lawns on Saturday and that sort of stuff. And that's one of the reasons why we have considered not moving, actually, is because there are a lot of fun things you can do with kids down here on the weekends too--Arts Umbrella, fun stuff like that, organized sports.

Two fathers also stressed a similar advantage in terms of security:

"There's a lot of park area around here, even if you don't have a yard, we tend to spend a lot of time out at the park. And just in

general, it's a fairly nice feeling, you feel safe in this neighbourhood".

"We feel the neighbourhood is very safe, we never feel uncomfortable walking around at night, and there's usually a reasonable number of people out late at night".

Unlike Jane Jacobs' streets made safe by neighbourly surveillance, however, here there are no stoop-sitters, and few residences are oriented towards the street. Rather, residents enjoy a more "elevated" sense of citizenship, from their roofdeck lookouts which connect them with more distant horizons rather than with the street immediately below. There may be a relatively vibrant "daily ballet" (Jacobs' term), with pedestrians walking to work or for pleasure, cyclists, joggers, deliveries to neighbourhood businesses, and Sunday morning BMW-washers. But it is a rather impersonal one, lacking long term commitment.

Such ambiguity in terms of community comes through in mixed experiences of neighbourliness. Most interviewees reported that they were acquainted with their neighbours (this is inevitable in a condominium setting), but many admitted that these relationships remained fairly formal. There were some exceptions:

"I think we're fortunate that we're in a small building and so we get to know them. And if I'm out digging in the front garden, then usually there will be four people ending up sitting on the steps, talking, and there is that friendly feeling. And I find, in this immediate area, if you're out on the street washing your car, you get people from next door who stop and chat, I don't find it an unfriendly area".

In another small building with a number of older residents, a woman told me that she often exchanged cat-sitting duties with one neighbour, and helped another with car rides. Certainly, the smaller projects dominated by owner-occupiers seemed most likely to encourage neighbouring. Eric reports:

"Sometimes when it's a sunny day people have barbecues out there, sometimes they hang out out there, you always meet and talk with your neighbours out there. Late at night, people come staggering in howling drunk out there, whatever!..we hear it all".

And of his friends in this neighbourhood:

"Two or three are fairly close friends in this building. Eighty percent of this complex I'm on speaking terms with, we chat about things. The other 10 or 20 percent I'm friends with, and go out with".

Frances reports that she is likely to "smile and say hello with more people on the way to work walking along Seventh [Avenue] than I ever did in Kerrisdale". And, in tune with Jane Jacobs, Julia finds an advantage in the functional mix of her development: "People are friendly in this building, and because it's not strictly residential, there are offices and so forth, you see couriers and so on going through, that's nice". Julia adds: "if you tend to do something routinely, you see the same people so you become acquaintances, it's sort of friendly, you don't feel isolated". An excellent example of this is given by Roberta:

"[Every evening] I take the dog out, that's a routine....And we have met some people in the park who have dogs themselves, so we make quite a few friends through dogs, it's quite interesting how a group of people have formed."

Despite these examples, there is plenty of evidence that this is not a close-knit neighbourhood. While various planning issues have sparked some resident action, there seems to be little sustained community involvement. Renters seem never to receive invitations to participate in such activities. Residents seem to prefer to treat their homes on Fairview Slopes as private "pieds-a-terre", from which to launch themselves into the "non-place urban realm". As Frederick notes of the courtyard:

"[it] would lend itself to summer parties but it doesn't happen....it's not unfriendly, but it's really that everyone has their own things to do....sometimes we sit and have morning coffee on our steps. But it's a very underutilised space. You would have thought we'd all have got to know each other very well, and be in and out of each other's places, but it doesn't work that way".

Similarly, Barbara says of her immediate neighbours:

"We chat if we see each other and pass the time of day, they've been in to see just what we've done to the place, we don't press it....they're a couple on their own, they go their own way, and we don't interfere with each other, we're just friendly".

Other interviewees emphasised that they do not "live in each others' pockets". When I asked David if he had made friends in the area, he answered,

"Yes, although you tend not to...it's a lifestyle which doesn't lend itself to neighbourliness very well, it's a protective thing really...you have to be very careful you don't make quick friendships which could sour very quickly, people who live in condominiums".

Most extreme were the following viewpoints;

Alison: We don't really know our neighbours, I don't think anybody gets to know their neighbours in this area".

Karl: "I've met no-one in that area because of living there. It's very isolated I think there; [a local media celebrity] lives right next door to me...he made some comment to me that nobody ever talks...he said, what a funny place you live in here, you never see anyone around and yet there are so many people living there....He just wanted to talk, that doesn't happen very often".

From the varied comments noted above, there can be no firm conclusion as to the overall strength of Fairview Slopes as a "community". Certainly there is little explicit evidence that resident gentrifiers are "seeking community" of the type to which Sayer was referring. Allen (1980) offers some insight into the ambiguities of gentrification ideology. He identifies gentrification with a form of utopian social movement, a quest for social and cultural diversity which is motivated by nostalgia for the lost community experience. At the same time, Allen acknowledges the ambivalent nature of this search which desires the proximity of stimulating diversity--but at a "safe" perceptual range. In the case of Fairview Slopes, there is indeed a search for diversity--especially a variety of consumption experiences and of visual stimulations--yet this is an ordered and safe diversity. While, for instance, residents may agree hypothetically with the social mix objectives

of False Creek's municipal redevelopment, in practice they do not welcome some forms of social mix within their own enclaves. The negative reaction of residents to recent cooperative projects which I noted in Chapter 5, and to the presence of children in their own condominium projects, plus the lack of support for social housing in the neighbourhood found by Fujii (1981), are all suggestive of a narrow definition of social diversity close to home--one which might welcome mixes of (adult) age-brackets and of household types (singles, couples and gays--as long as they are childless), but only if they are affluent enough to pay their own way. Careless co-resident tenants, or noisy neighbours still inhabiting the remaining dilapidated old houses, are not welcome. Similarly, variety in urban functions and the advantages of nearby commercial establishments are undesirable if they impinge in certain ways: for example, by non-resident parking or the smells of a restaurant that was proposed on Seventh and Birch. Neighbourly contact is of a "civilised" kind, one which will remain relatively formal and impersonal. Residents have other arenas for establishing social position and prefer to maintain their self-sufficiency within the neighbourhood itself.

As a consequence, Fairview Slopes is valued for its quality of being of the city, and yet somewhat withdrawn from it. Dover Pointe is located in: "Vancouver's premium urban neighbourhood....So close to downtown, yet removed from the hustle and bustle". Rhapsody Citihomes are "a part of the city and yet apart from it". And while Maximillian offers "the excitement of the city core", it has the following features:

"Perhaps the finest city residences ever offered in Fairview Slopes. The architecture is distinctive--an elegant fusion of traditional urban styling and modern citihome. A sheltered courtyard buffers your citihome from the vitality of the city".

These are features valued by residents as well. Tom says: "It has a certain urban sense which is not as urban as the West End, which I find too urban,

and it's definitely not in the sticks". Gordon describes Fairview as "Urban core, but right off the downtown". Comparisons are made with the West End, which has a reputation for noise and sometimes disruptive social diversity (for example, prostitution and panhandling); in making that comparison, Rose praises Fairview for being "not an apartment jungle", while Alan says:

"There were parts of the West End that I liked, but it is too crowded, too downtown, too much traffic....And then to go to Richmond or the outlying areas is just too far away....I really love [Fairview Slopes] because it is so close to downtown but it's not in that heart of downtown".

However, in one case I did uncover the minority viewpoint that Fairview does not offer sufficient stimulation:

David: "The view is certainly very nice, proximity to downtown is nice. But there are certain things I miss about the West End...there isn't the urbanity on the Slopes that there is in the West End. The West End is full of life, it's full of people, full of activity, and we miss that aspect of it".

C: "It's interesting you say that, because many of the buildings are advertised as very 'urban'".

David: "Well, it is in many ways, but when you compare it to the West End it has some deficiencies".

One resident described Fairview Slopes as enjoying a "position above the city, but in it". As a consequence of its topography, the neighbourhood is indeed "above the city", and it commands a spectacular view of Vancouver's downtown core set between the water and the mountains. This view is an important selling point for the new condominiums, and it features predominantly in the marketing material. In a typical pamphlet, for instance, we are invited to "consider being able to view a dramatic and constantly changing panorama of marine vistas, Vancouver's dazzling cityscape and the majestic mountains". Directly or indirectly, the view is incorporated into project names, such as "Alderview", or "Seascape Vista". Most marketing pamphlets are illustrated by a panoramic photograph; others employ more abstracted motifs such as that appearing on Dover Pointe's noticeboard (Plate 7.4).

The promotion of a view seems commonplace. But the idea of landscape is a reification of social processes recoverable by a closer examination of the "view language"--the notion of "commanding a view" for instance. "The very idea of landscape implies separation and observation" (Williams 1973:120) between subject (the observer) and object (the land). Cosgrove has written of landscape as "a way of seeing the world" (Cosgrove 1984:13):

"[Landscape] is an ideological concept. It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature" (Cosgrove 1984:15).

Cosgrove and Williams both place the historical advent of landscape at a point of changing property relations and the emergence of a new class of property owners. Perhaps it is appropriate that those who have fashioned the new notion of "cityscape" are also a new class in the ascendent. In Fairview Slopes the advertising language blends ownership and observation, presenting the landscape as an object to be consumed (my emphases):

"Rhapsody offers exciting panoramic cityscapes, view of Expo 86, False Creek, and behind them all, the majesty of the mountains".

"Southport has been specifically designed to capitalize on spectacular views".

At Seascape Vista, "A panorama of the city is yours for the viewing"--echoes of appropriation? The notion of view as commodity is carried through in this slogan for the "Courtyards" development: "Perspectives on the city's most desirable new neighbourhood....A view towards value".

The people I interviewed were proud of their views, and some had arranged their home lives so as to enjoy them to the full--breakfast on the roof-deck in the summer, for instance. One resident has installed a telescope observatory on his roof, from which he inspects the city skyline. Expo 86 had the effect of exaggerating this sense of possession. From

Fairview Slopes, the world's fair was easily accessible by foot or by ferry. The music was heard with clarity across the water. The fireworks show (which took place each evening all summer) was a grandstand event: parties of Fairview residents and their guests emerged regularly at the correct time on their roofdecks, sipped wine, and watched the spectacle. The elevated vantage point is, most simply, suggestive of status. The development named "Santorini", for instance, is acclaimed as "Above the city. Above all expectations". The neighbourhood is defined with respect to its external prospect; the view makes the place, and its people.

In commanding a view, what is it that is being possessed? Williams has argued that the elevated vantage point gave landowners a particular vision of a landscape emptied of labour, "from which the facts of production had been banished". A real engagement with what is on the ground is thus confounded by distance and elevation. From Fairview Slopes, Vancouver's C.B.D. becomes an outline, abstracted as "the city". From Fairview, you are (according to the marketing material), "Overlooking a vibrant city". And in fact "there's no place more spectacular than relaxing on roof decks overlooking the dramatic skyline of one of the world's most beautiful cities". One is able to relax precisely because, one's horizons being fixed at an elevated height, the working city at street level is obscured. One architect with whom I spoke compared "the Fairview aesthetic" with the style he adopted in his designs for cooperative housing developments:

"it's quite a hedonistic approach in that every suite is designed for the view, and they're designed to sort of turn their back on everyone else. You're in your little world, you're up there in your own box looking at the city and that's great. Whereas in a coop you don't want everyone to turn their back on each other, you want group interaction".

Under the Fairview aesthetic, the city is framed by a selective viewpoint; indeed, the builders of Emerald Court proclaim: "We create exciting windows

on city living". Vision defines the urban experience--there is a new "way of seeing" the city (related to a new class) in theatrical terms. Hence the strength of the language of vision, the power of the view which defines for observers their relative position in the world. Alderview invites you to "Come, share our views of life atop Fairview Slopes". And at Southport you can acquire "a new outlook on city living":

"Southport shows you just how good the best city living can be: magnificent views from every home; a location close to Vancouver's business core; and all the leisure-time diversions of Granville Island and False Creek.

Let a new home at Southport refresh your outlook on urban living".

With this advertisement we are returned to the urban theme. From the language wielded by both producers and consumers, it is evident that notions of the city and city life enjoy some status as archetypes. Williams (1973) has traced the archetypal meaning of the city--and that of its apparent counterpart, the country--through literary sources, drawing out "The rhetorical contrast between town and country life" (p. 46). As partial interpretations of social relations, the archetypes allude to more fundamental concerns, and are the means by which social practices are carried forward and communicated (Sayer 1984b).

In drawing out the significance of this to the debate over the "urban question" debate, Sayer (1984b) offers a list of oppositions which expresses the content of these archetypes. Lined up with "city", for instance, is industry, consumption, work, week and progress; lined up on the opposite side with "country" are agriculture, production, leisure, weekend and tradition. There is no inevitability about these oppositions; indeed, historically some have "changed sides". In the vertical dimension, associations "spill over", with all concepts lined up on one side of the bifurcation shaping one another. This leakage of meaning between finite provinces (here Sayer quotes

Mary Douglas) defines metaphorical connections which structure our social experience. Sahlins similarly refers to a classification thrown "across the entire cultural superstructure" which comprises "'symbolic synapses'",

"conjunctions of oppositions from distinct cultural planes which thus take the form of homologous differentiations--such as work/leisure:weekday/weekend; or downtown/uptown:impersonality/familiarity....they embody logical processes and are used to think (therefore to be in) the cultural world" (Sahlins 1976:216).

Williams invites us to ask what ideas of country and of city dominate at any particular time: for instance, to note the association between changing class conditions, and variations in the manner in which the country is interpreted as a "working country". In extracting the lessons for students of the city, Sayer criticises the tendencies of marxist geographers and humanist geographers to ignore, respectively, the expressive dimensions of places, and the historically-specific material contexts within which beliefs are forged. Is it possible and useful, therefore, to update the list of oppositions offered by Sayer?

It seems there is another powerful archetype which must be drawn into interpretation: that of the suburb. While city and country as modes of existence remain prominent poles in the cultural order, the latter--having shaped the ideological face of the suburb--may be giving way in relative importance to the notion of suburbia. For instance:

"The autonomy of the suburb is...jealously guarded and perfected by practice in the administration of things which count little....Hence its 'banality' and 'superficial' character. In a dominantly urban society, the previous condemnation of the 'idiocy of rural life' is reserved for the suburban provinces" (Schwartz 1976:336).

Fairview residents' unprompted comments would seem to indicate that the distinction between city and suburb represents another important classification within the expressive realm. If we were to construct a list of oppositions similar to that offered by Sayer, the historicity of the

concepts becomes immediately clear. In her review of city and suburb as polar opposites, for instance, Saegert (1980) notes the symbolic structuring by sex which has been particularly dominant. The archetypical suburb and city of which she writes could be represented by lining up work, activity, instrumentality, production, and men, alongside "city"; whilst, with suburb, would be aligned leisure, passivity, expressivity, consumption and women.

But although this classification of city and suburb may be a correct rendering for some times and some for people, it would have to be revised in the light of the most recent transformations in meaning which reflect the practices manifest in gentrification. Recall, for instance, the advertisement for the Speigal catalogue with which this thesis opened: Ozzie and Harriet, the soap opera suburban family of the 1950s and 1960s, fell short as a model for the new condominium couple of the 1970s and the 1980s. Uncomplimentary observations on suburban life by the Fairview Slopes gentrifiers make this perfectly clear. Some of the oppositions outlined above have broken down; women, leisure, consumption and expressivity are all "at home" in the new, gentrified inner city, and the notion of the suburb has flattened out to some mere purgatory of boredom and banality. This reflects, of course, only one perspective--but a perspective in the ascendent, associated as it is with an expanding new class which has special power over the shaping and dissemination of cultural images.

The city is no longer just a place for work-centred drudgery; today it is a locus for conspicuous leisure. The accoutrements of consumption have come to overshadow, in some cases, the activities of production. In the context of the dominance of some aspects of the city by a new class, work itself is redefined as a source of self-fulfillment, and the instrumental world of commerce becomes expressive. At the same time the notion of domestic life and the nature of gender relations are restructured. In fact

we seem to have experienced a dramatic collapse of meaning, in which some of the established oppositions are folding in upon themselves. The city, as a symbolic site, draws towards itself a bundle of associations formerly thought contradictory or repellant. Work and leisure, for example, are practiced cheek-by-jowl in redeveloped inner city areas such as Granville Island where theatres and restaurants are juxtaposed with heavy industry, and at a finer scale in neighbourhoods such as Fairview Slopes. The actual mix is, of course, not new, representing as it does an updating of the traditional urban village. Yet the representations placed upon the mix are new, since these places represent a reversal of decades of planning practice and assumptions about the preferred residential environment. Hester, for instance, said:

"I quite liked this area because it was a combination of residential and commercial....And it's kind of interesting because there's a lot of architectural firms that are scattered across the area...there's a really nice sort of skin cosmetician in the San Franciscan [development], so that sort of blend of commercial office space or service retail kind of space is sort of appealing, it has a nice blend".

Moreover, the acts of production and consumption are more than geographically mingled. Commerce--the public face of production--is become a spectacle, and the city is redefined as an aesthetic and sensuous object to be enjoyed rather than tolerated: "the taming of the industrial city" (Ley 1987b:48). In response, Fairview Slopes residents report their visits to Granville Island or to Open House displays in the neighbourhood as events of entertainment--not of "reproduction" in the sense of purchasing food or housing. As Isabelle points out as a positive attribute of Fairview Slopes, "If you're not doing anything Saturday or Sunday, you wander round and go into the display suites--I think it's interesting". In this visual acquisition, the object being consumed dissolves to an intangible ambience or an experience, even the contemplation of the act of consumption, and eventually a meaning to be acquired in the construction of self-identity.

It is, according to Sahlins, the role of advertising agents and designers to perform a "synaptic function", to be sensitive to, and exploit, some of the symbolic connections already present in social life whose conjunction is an opportunity for increased exchange value. As Harvey and Smith have argued, this is the power of the productive enterprise under the regime of flexible accumulation, to "saturate a symbolic correspondence by an appropriate product" (Sahlins 1976:217), and to fashion new "symbolic capital" in an exploration of product differentiation. At the same time, the strategies of production are shaped by events in the cultural realm: Sahlins describes the fashion expert as a bricoleur who "uses bits and pieces with an embedded significance from a previous existence to create an object that works, which is to say that sells" (p. 217). With respect to the "gentrification object", one prominent "piece" must be "the urban", a category which has recently undergone substantial reshuffling of its symbolic content and metaphorical connections, such that its "embedded significance" is in considerable flux.

The next chapter carries through this interpretation of changes in the cultural sphere and their interpenetration with new strategies of production and circulation, which are restructuring the meaning of our inner cities. Drawing upon new developments in the theorisation of cultural change, I propose a third construct underpinning gentrification: the postmodern.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"FABULOUS FAIRVIEW": THE MAKING OF A POSTMODERN TEXT

"Culture is not a residual category, the surface variation left unaccounted for by more powerful economic analyses; it is the very medium through which social change is experienced, contested and constituted" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987:95).

With this premise, the last few years have seen the revival of a "new cultural geography" in which the metaphor of text has underscored the symbolic qualities of landscape. This chapter applies some of the ideas informing this cultural research to the changing meaning of the inner city, culminating in a perspective on gentrification as a postmodern landscape.

In the first section, a discussion of contemporary advertising imagery leads into some comments on the interpretation of landscape. The second section is concerned with postmodernism, as method and as style, and the Fairview Slopes is described as a postmodern landscape. In the final section the heuristic of the postmodern is applied to the practice of gentrification, as I consider its significance to the textual communities of producers and consumers in the local built environment.

8.1 ADVERTISING, LANDSCAPE AND COMMODITY.

Advertising is one conduit along which cultural meaning flows. From the culturally constituted world--the world of everyday experience which is organized according to cultural categories--meaning is transferred into consumer goods. The fashion and advertising systems are two strategies by which this is achieved. Consumer goods act as repositories and way-stations of meaning, which can be drawn out by individuals through various rituals including those of possession, exchange and grooming. In contemporary societies, the organizing cultural categories which divide up the phenomenal world are subject to the manipulative efforts of marketers who can cultivate

new categories--for instance, new categories of persons such as yuppies--with new goods (McCracken 1986).

Objects possess a "spirituality" (Hirschman 1985); they can be invested with the psychic energy of an owner's personal identity. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) describe this in terms of the "cultivation" by people of objects to capture and express aspects of their history. Conversely, McCracken's ritual act of object "grooming" supercharges an object so that it can release its meaningful qualities for the consumer. An excellent example of grooming is the care lavished on automobiles--for instance, the ritual Sunday cleaning of the flashy car in the street outside one's Fairview Slopes condominium. But other apparently ritual behaviour could also be thus interpreted: for instance, the customary Saturday brunch at Granville Island, or the regular walk around the neighbourhood to "see what's going on" with the new residential developments; these routines of familiarity were reported a number of times by interviewees, and are suggestive of some act by which people appropriate, on a repetitive basis, the qualities previously "set" into the environment.

This "fabulous" nature of objects and their relation to social organization is conventionally considered the stuff of "primitive" anthropologies. But the magical system of "primitive" cultures has its contemporary counterpart. There are both continuities and discontinuities in the history of human relationships with objects: continuity in that conceptions of material utility are always delimited by a cultural system of interpretation (Sahlins' argument); discontinuity in that the drives for subsistence and prestige, pursued in primitive societies through separate dual economies, seem now to be collapsed together in each contemplated act of consumption (Leiss 1978, 1983). The function of advertising is to connect objects to subjective states by means of metaphor; effective marketing seeks

"to provide the points of coherence around which consumers can organize social experience into meaningful patterns" (Leiss 1983:15). And, as Williams points out:

"The short description of the pattern we have is magic: a highly organized and professional system of magical inducements and satisfactions, functionally very similar to magical systems in simpler societies, but rather strangely coexistent with a highly developed scientific technology" (Williams 1980:185).

Others agree with this diagnosis: "Today the world of commodity production has become a true magical show" (Jhally et al 1985:19).

Williams considers advertising to be a major form of modern social communication--even the official art of modern capitalist society--and one which requires a "total analysis" in which it is contextualized with respect to economic, social and cultural facts (Williams 1980:184). Historical reviews of advertising technique reveal how it has expressed broad shifts in prevailing social practices. With a switch in social ethos "from salvation to self-realization" in turn-of-the-century America (where bourgeois Protestantism encountered the emerging consumer culture), advertising dropped its sober informational tone and adopted a style promoting therapeutic satisfaction through consumption (Lears 1983). Since then, the product information content of advertisements has fallen, and the frequency of advertisements offering "magical inducements" (promises of self-transformation, power over nature and over other people) has risen substantially (Jhally et al 1985). As a consumer, therefore, "you do not only buy an object: you buy social respect, discrimination, health, beauty, success, power to control your environment" (Williams 1980:189). The persistent thrust of twentieth-century advertising is to insinuate some identity of the commodity with properties of the culturally constituted world (McCracken 1986).

But the latest phase is notable for a crumbling of the chain fastening

advertising sign to cultural referent. The link between the product and the satisfaction it is intended to bring is increasingly ambiguous and unstable (Leiss 1983), especially since advertisements rely less and less on providing product information and employ more visual "lifestyle" imagery (Jhally et al 1985). Commodity attributes--their convenience, their newness or whatever--are the objects of consumer desire that are marketed, and no longer are these necessarily attached to specific goods:

"commodity characteristics [are] freed from any customary association with specific objects. The 'fluid medium' of the mass market dissolves the social and cultural sediment in which symbolic forms are embedded; it continually and systematically dislodges the meanings that humans have always expressed through and attached to their own artifacts" (Agnew 1983:72).

In consequence of this defamiliarization, the function of the advertisement, suggests Agnew, is to refamiliarize or recontextualize the commodity: thus it is the commodity contexts that are marketed. Hence the significance of the contemplated, as well as the consummated act of consumption. Consumption is contemplated as a means of acquiring a "fix" on a social world, a way of possessing or mastering an increasingly complex culture: "we rehearse in our minds the appropriation of that social world via the commodity. We consume by proxy. We window-shop" (Agnew 1983:73). This "mental consumption" is an important aspect of the visually acquisitive life for those many Fairview Slopes residents who spend their leisure hours "soaking in" the ambience of commodity circulation in places such as Granville Island (it involves, also, the consumption of more abstract commodities such as view and landscape). Moreover, since Fairview condominiums are put on the market before construction is even close to completion, their purchase depends on a comprehensive mental rehearsal to imagine the consummated act of living there. Maps for that rehearsal come in the form of marketing material, and the choice of visual images that are

employed in some of the marketing is of interest. In the 57 pictorial representations drawn from sixteen "glossy" marketing folders handed out at Open Houses, over half were views: many of these featured the distant skyline (often taken from a very elevated position in one of the Broadway office towers; others used the False Creek marinas as a fore-ground). Only four illustrations showed what a condominium interior might be like--none of these included people. In only seven pictures was a person the main focus, and four of these could have been taken anywhere (Rhapsody Citihomes features a healthy-looking couple who enjoy a ride in a sportscar, use an exercise machine, admire a bowl of arranged roses, and stare with clean-cut earnestness into the camera). The overwhelming choice of a detached view as the key message to be conveyed by the marketing material confirms the suggestion (discussed in the last chapter) that it is some outer-directedness that defines, for the view's possessor, their relative position in Vancouver's social universe. The contemplated purchase of a product admits the possible purchase on a world.

The condominium commodity, therefore, is barely represented by these images in terms of its simple use-value of housing, nor even the access it offers to community. And although there seems to be a message about social status, it is set in a field of ambiguities (as shall be demonstrated further when the architecture is discussed). With commodities increasingly opaque in terms of the meanings they encapsulate, Agnew argues that social relations themselves lose their transparency. A visual metaphor of image-projection seems particularly appropriate to the state of relations between commodity and meaning, and it has been used by a number of commentators. Lears writes of a condition

"in which there were few symbols rooted in specific customs...nor even many signs with specific referents....There were only floating detached images that (like the flickering faces in the movies)

promised therapeutic feelings of emotional or sensuous excitement" (Lears 1983:22).

However, such promises of satisfaction are unlikely to be fulfilled in circumstances where needs and commodity attributes seem to have become infinitely divisible. Kline and Leiss use the same image:

"with the increasing implicitness and ambiguity in advertising imagery, the commodity seems to become a 'projective field' in which human states of feeling achievable in consumption are fluidly superimposed upon the non-human, physical-sensory aspects of the commodity" (Kline and Leiss 1978:17-8).

And with respect to the emulative drive of positional competition, Leiss suggests that

"commodities seem to be more and more the perfectly transparent repositories of...meanings--i.e.. the satisfaction of needs takes place in the context of an open-ended competitive emulation, where the assortment of both objects and symbols is constantly reshuffled" (Leiss 1978:44).

The fundamental point of these commentaries, however, is not that commodities transparently represent cultural meanings "lying behind" them, but that they seem to do so. This same issue has been the subject of discussion in recent work in cultural geography on the landscape. The heuristic around which interpretation has centred is that of the postmodern.

Among the constitutive features of postmodernity Jameson identifies a "culture of the image"--in which depth is replaced by surfaces of textual play--plus a rupture of the chains linking image and reality, leaving a "rubble of distinct and unrelated signifiers" (Jameson 1984a:72) and liberating meaning as symbols are recycled in different contexts (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987). "Life becomes a ritualized choreography of signs, symbols, and expectations led by and mirrored in the media (especially advertising)" (Dear 1986:380). This poses problems in geography for those who wish to read landscapes as innocent representations of deeper meanings. Like Lears' metaphor of the detached and flickering images engendered by

advertising, landscapes have been likened to "a flickering text displayed on the word-processor screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the merest touch of a button" (Daniels and Cosgrove forthcoming). Characteristically postmodern, argue these writers, is the duplicity of landscape imagery:

"Instead of providing a transparent window on a 'real' world, images and languages are now regarded as a sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparency concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation, a process of ideological mystification" (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987:98, drawing from Mitchell 1986).

Landscape images are social constructions meaningful to the social groups which develop them, but they are therefore also restricted ways of seeing the world (Cosgrove 1984). Hence the metaphor of image projection stretches, across to the geography of landscape, from the universe of advertising where the object is not only to sell the product but to "sell the system", limiting the definition of real human needs to those which can be satisfied through individual commodity consumption (Jhally et al 1985) and thus promoting a restricted way of being in the world.

Geertz's ethnography is one model for the scrutiny of landscape as cultural form. Geertz interrogates the dialogue of text and context, cultural practices and social life, through a method of "thick description" which aims to excavate the multiple layers of meaning that actions have to social actors (Geertz 1973). The notion of thick description conveys a sense of depths of meaning which can be plumbed in a straightforward manner. Yet Geertz draws back from an analogy of the interpretative enterprise as that of a cipher clerk translating established codes; no one construction of what is going on is privileged in advance, and anthropological writings themselves are described as "fictions" (that is, literally, "fashioned") which add an extra layer of cultural meaning to the social drama ("we are already

explicating: and worse, explicating explications. Winks upon winks upon winks" (Geertz 1973:9). Daniels and Cosgrove (forthcoming) refer to a similar effect arising from multiple interpretations of a landscape, each of which has the effect of retransforming the meaning of that landscape. The new landscape of Fairview Slopes is an excellent example of such a layering of texts. Since 1970, Fairview Slopes has been an explicit object of planning discourse in Vancouver, and a field upon which opposing philosophies of city development have been consciously fought out. It has been an object of interpretation in both scholarly texts and in more popular writings. Even at the time of its first development and naming by white settlers (and perhaps before), Fairview Slopes had symbolic value. It has been the domain of affluent city families, and later a "slum"; it has been variously offered up for symbolic consumption as a landscape of rural charm and a commendably urban place; it has been viewed by business interests as a prime piece of real estate, by families as a secure place for raising children, by drug-dealers as an ideal turf, by poets as an inspiration, by planners as an experiment in participatory planning, by a marxist commentator as a sell-out, and by geographers as a thesis topic!

In their historical outline of how landscape can be grasped as a text, Daniels and Cosgrove (forthcoming) refer to Panofsky's interpretation of the gothic cathedral as a "treatise in stone". Bearing in mind the postmodern problem of plural discourse, can we treat Fairview Slopes as a "treatise in stucco"? It is appropriate to approach this landscape as a text, but also (like all landscapes) one of duplicity (Daniels forthcoming). Two perspectives discussed above must inform this approach. First is the postmodern concession to a multiplicity of private languages, between which we cannot adjudicate with reference to some "grand theory" or metanarrative: as Daniels and Cosgrove (forthcoming) have claimed, "this sense of the

duplicity of landscape imagery is characteristically 'post-modern'". Second, there is the perspective of Williams in "The Country and the City", which gives access to the politics of landscape and highlights the social processes of power underlying an historical multilayering of texts. Can these two approaches enlighten one-another? (Daniels and Cosgrove, incidentally, place their notion of duplicity in the context of a discussion of Williams' work.)

As Dear has shown in his application of postmodern method to the disciplinary texts of planning (Dear 1986), the strength of postmodern method is to lay bare, by means of deconstruction, the conditions under which claims for understanding are advanced. This practice must be continuously performed, even upon those interpretations offered by the deconstructionist his/herself. The postmodern method carries with it, however, a danger of anarchy. Jameson describes consumer capitalism as the "culture of the image", where the very memory of use-value is obliterated (1984a). If all is free-floating signifiers, surfaces of play, then we are left groping for a handhold for appraisal. Jameson resolves this with economic reductionism: the new depthlessness in the cultural realm is generated by the latest phase of capitalist commodity production. The trends in advertising reviewed above would offer partial support to this view. A significant weakness of the postmodern perspective as championed by Jameson, however, is its lack of a sociology.

In their discussion of how landscape may be treated as a text, Duncan and Duncan (1988) make a similar critique in terms of the social context of textuality. Following the work of Roland Barthes, they support the concept of text as intertextual, not to be read referentially (its content expressing some one-to-one correspondence with objects in the 'real world', and being the "unified, original creation[]" of a "Cartesian subject"), but rather in terms of the plurality of already partly familiar signifiers which play upon

its surface. Nevertheless, they admit the limitations of this literary-based theory:

"Although it is important to recognize the instability of meaning, it is equally important to realize that this plurality...is related to actual empirical differences in interpretations. These differences are neither merely individual constructions nor autonomously generated by signifiers. Interpretations are the product of social contexts of historically and culturally specific discourses; they are constructed by interpretative communities and they frequently, but not always, reflect hegemonic value systems" (Duncan and Duncan 1988:120).

In consequence, Duncan and Duncan recommend the identification of interpretative communities who mobilize, promote and live through a textual model--for instance, a model of landscape appropriateness. This, then, is a modification of Jameson's argument that use value is no longer meaningful; rather, one must acknowledge the existence of many possible use values for many possible social constituencies, and reiterate again Sahlins' insistence on the cultural constitution of utility. A useful research question from this perspective, therefore, is "whose text?"

In uncovering the textual communities concerned, one reveals also the power of landscape to naturalize a version of the world. And this calls geographers to a modified method of thick description. Though Geertz was concerned with interrelations between culture and society, those applying thick description have tended to downplay social consequences other than those of social cohesion. But, as historians have been warned, "the play is not the whole thing--...symbolic dramas, however interesting in their own right, can serve larger purposes of power, domination, exploitation, and resistance" (Walters 1980:556). An integration of Geertz's approach with the concept of cultural hegemony (Lears 1985) may be helpful in drawing out the "duplicity" of landscape.

The notion of hegemony conveys the subtleties of cultural domination, deepening the view of who has power (Lears 1985) to include those who define

conceptions of taste and good manners (such as advertisers or architects). Cultural hegemony is the "spontaneous philosophy" of a society, something which so saturates social consciousness that it defines the very "substance and limits of common sense (Williams 1980:37). Its dynamic nature reflects its basis in the patterning of social life; a social group may fashion its own world view as reflective of its experience of everyday life and hence cement an "historical bloc". The issue is then how the world view of the historical bloc relates to the development of a hegemonic culture, the line between dominant and subordinate cultures being "a permeable membrane, not an impenetrable barrier" (Lears 1985:574). Williams (1980) describes that relationship in these terms: because any dominant system of values and practices is necessarily selective, there are always spaces in which alternative or oppositional cultures can take seed. Residual cultural forms preserve values and practices from previous social formations. Emergent cultural forms are continually germinating new meanings and practices; they may develop in association with the formation of a new class, or with the discovery of new sensibilities in the arts or other realms. The dominant culture can tolerate a certain plurality. But, being constantly "renewed, recreated and defended", it is also capable of incorporating potentially oppositional cultures which are thereby redefined as alternative lifestyles, permitted within the defined limits of the dominant culture.

Hegemony--in contrast to its straitlaced sibling, ideology--offers us a dynamic and flexible perspective on the cultural realm, one which (as a spontaneous philosophy) connects usefully to the notion of text. The concept of hegemony requires us to search for the tensions between hostile or incompatible texts on a cultural field. The fate of the inner city neighbourhood, for instance, would be interpreted in terms of the place of "the city" as a symbolic category in different social formations where

different interpretative communities come to the fore (the last chapter indicated how the symbolism of the city is in flux). Perhaps hegemony, as an interpretative tool, offers an incomplete sense of the play of cultural oppositions which postmodernism has highlighted: the universe of signifiers "up for grabs", the new oppositional strategies of symbol recycling by reproducing and appropriating (with irony) the codes of a dominant culture. Daniels has found that landscape must be treated as a concept in high tension,

"an ambiguous synthesis whose redemptive and manipulative aspects cannot finally be disentangled, which can neither be completely reified as an authentic object in the world nor thoroughly dissolved as an ideological mirage" (Daniels, forthcoming).

The same might be argued for the idea of the city. In its currently dominant meaning, we can regard it with a mixture of joy and a guilty conscience; like Williams' appreciation of the monumentality of cathedrals, we can be moved by its redemptive qualities as an exhilarating setting for human activity, while still being aware of its place as a commodified component in a strategy of corporate domination. We shall find both representations relevant to the landscape of Fairview Slopes.

8.2 THE POSTMODERN LANDSCAPE.

Dear (1986) draws a distinction between three meanings for "postmodernism": as method, as epoch, and as style. The postmodern method he describes is one of deconstruction: unpacking the meaning of texts, laying bare the bases for authority by which one discourse dominates another. Dear seeks to extend this method of deconstruction into a reconstruction which forces an (always provisional) mode of comparative discourse between competing epistemologies. It is such a postmodern method which seems to underlie the textual interpretation of landscape recommended by Cosgrove and

Daniels.

The notion of postmodernism as epoch proposes that there has been some radical break with the past which defines an identifiably new and different culture. This is the ("all too modern" (Gregory 1987:246)) position argued by Jameson (1984a) who describes postmodernism as "the cultural logic of late [multinational] capitalism". Harvey (1987) similarly speaks of a "break into post-modern urban culture ordained by flexible accumulation" (p. 34); postmodernism is treated as "the cultural clothing of flexible accumulation" (p. 38). Such practices as advertising offer some support to Jameson's depiction of the depthlessness engendered by new trends in commodity production, which can be traced across to other practices of interest such as the shaping of new landscapes for commercial exploitation. Additionally, Jameson develops the notion of an all-embracing stretch of "postmodern hyperspace"--a global political economy which dominates and commercializes culture and which forces social dislocation as traditional forms of organization are distorted. According to Dear, however, the cultural world "is more likely to consist of a melange of the obsolete, current, and newborn artifacts comingling anachronistically in each region" (Dear 1986:374). If postmodernism is treated as an epoch, one might fail to notice how processes operate across space at different paces and with differential effects. A contextual interpretation is required to appreciate the political and sociological dimensions of change, as well as to admit any possibility of human resistance. Like the notion of the postindustrial society, then, the notion of a postmodern culture is not employed effectively in a search for radical breaks, but rather its utility lies in its status as a heuristic which can draw out tendencies and future possibilities, while at the same time allowing for certain continuities from the past.

Finally, Dear refers to postmodern style, especially as it is manifest

in architecture. Dear has some uncomplimentary things to say on postmodern architecture, and as a consequence he squeezes style aside from his discussion of the postmodern. It would be more effective, however, to use critique of postmodern architecture to illustrate the practices of postmodern method as applied to landscape interpretation. In the case of Fairview Slopes and False creek, such an approach is worthwhile.

As outlined briefly at the end of Chapter 5, both False Creek and Fairview Slopes can be described as postmodern landscapes. Much of the architecture on the Slopes is explicitly postmodern, and in that sense it is an extreme illustration which highlights similar processes manifest in changing inner city landscapes elsewhere. What is the nature of postmodern architecture? This question is particularly important in the context of Dear's reference (following Jameson) to the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles as the archetypal building which exemplifies the concept of "postmodern hyperspace". But, according to Jencks (1986), architecture of this sort should be classified as "late modern" rather than postmodern. If modern architecture is distinguished by the value it places upon abstraction, truth to materials and the purity of form, then design which carries to extremes this self-referentiality and commitment to "the new" is "late", not "Post". Buildings such as the Bonaventure, with their high-tech mirrored-glass skin, kinetic "people movers", and breathtakingly confusing lobby may indeed represent the ultimate depthlessness and dissociation engendered by the commodified hyperspace of multinational capitalism. But Dear's choice of example seems contradicted by his own discussion of postmodern method--deconstruction followed by reconstruction. If architecture, and the shaping of landscape in other ways, is approached as an activity--rather than as a product and an indicator of forces beyond human control--then a postmodern architecture is one that results from an application of the postmodern

method.

Postmodern architects carry through (with varying degrees of success) the project of deconstructing and reconstructing the text of Modernity. Much of this process centres on a recovery of certain pre-modern texts which have hitherto been dismissed. The text of Modernity is that of the avant-garde, "setting out before the rest of society to conquer new territory, new states of consciousness and social order" (Jencks 1986:32). In architecture specifically, its ideology centres on the redeeming qualities of technology married to aesthetics, the purity of form which follows function, and the purge of ornament. Originally shocking, this avant-garde text of "heroic modernism" was captured, in the post-1945 period, by its institutionalization into affirmative culture. Modernism "became increasingly an architecture of power and representation" (Huyssen 1984:14), the aesthetic garb of multinational capitalism. Stripped of its utopian force, and its claims to social vision exhausted, modern architecture was carried forward by the lingering drive to "make it new", culminating in the ultra-hermetic megabuildings of late modernism which take the self-referential nature of modernism to an extreme.

In line with postmodern method, commentators such as Jacobs (for planning) and Jencks (for architecture) unpacked the master narrative of the modernist project, acknowledging the utopian roots of the modern movement but also revealing its qualities as elitist, alienating and repressive. The products of postmodern architecture and planning--the new buildings, the new landscapes--are therefore best appreciated as attempts at reconstruction. Having dismantled the language which had justified modernism (culminating in the devastation of inner city redevelopment at a massive scale), architects and planners were faced with the challenge of reconstruction. Postmodern practice in design is comprised of attempts to reassemble what has previously

been disassembled. It is in this sense that I wish to approach the postmodern landscape of Fairview Slopes.

The defining quality of postmodern architecture, as specified by Jencks (1986) is its (at least) double coding. Postmodernism is multivalent. It is an architecture which combines both modernism and its transcendence; it joins new techniques to old patterns, elite with popular codes, to create a hybrid language. In line with the postmodern notion of landscape as text, and in opposition to modernism's failure to address the codes of users, postmodern architecture and planning focuses on the process of communication. This communication proceeds at various levels, simultaneously tapping popular and professional languages. Necessarily there is a recognition of intertextuality: the multiple contexts in which symbols available to the designer are situated. One type of context with which the built object must articulate is the immediate geographical setting. Whereas modern buildings set themselves apart from the "fallen city fabric", postmodern buildings supposedly "celebrate their insertion into the heterogeneous fabric of the commercial strip...thereby renouncing the high modernist claim to radical difference and innovation" (Jameson 1984b:64-5). Similarly, across the arts,

"the artifact is likely to be treated less as a work in modernist terms--unique, symbolic, visionary--than as a text in a postmodernist sense--'already written', allegorical, contingent" (Foster 1983:x).

While postmodern architecture deals explicitly in the currency of intertextuality, however, it is necessary also to locate the modernist landscape with respect to the other, implicit, discourse(s) of which it is an expression. In his interpretation of the two shores of False Creek, Ley (1987b) has drawn out the prevailing ideologies which have shaped the different landscapes of inner city Vancouver. Before redevelopment of the Creek in the 1970s, the dominant discourse of planning was modernist. This

encompassed a particular ideal of the city as efficient and functional. Since form was to follow function, so the fate of neighbourhoods and communities depended on the promotion of efficient arteries of circulation (and it was political action around such plans which brought about the shift in ideology in the 1970s). This ideology of planning was originally aligned (in the 1920s) with the normative and utopian reform movement of the Progressive era. This aimed for the healthy city, one to be organized by professionals and specialists (especially engineers), and comprised an ideology of planning which "resonated with the slogans of modern movements in architecture" (Ley 1987b:49). If the modern building was a machine for living in, so too was the city, and its success would depend on the expert application of technology and the principles of scientific management. Since a sign of a healthy city was the growth of its productive economy, so an efficient planning strategy would facilitate this growth. Clearly, however, the text of instrumentalism in society's general interests was overlain by another text: that of business interests.

In the same way as the modern and late-modern skyscraper became the symbol of the corporation, so the efficient freeway city became the symbol of the corporate city--run along the lines of private corporate planning, and controlled by (and for) the same. These were the accusations directed at the Non-Partisan Association, the civic party which dominated Vancouver City politics between 1937 and 1968, and which was led by the local business elite. If the role of city government was to facilitate and manage growth, then those who provided the means for growth--the big property developers especially--were clearly to benefit. When "blight" was spotted in the inner city (once the industries which promoted it were in decline), then it was assumed that it should be replaced by the "highest and best use": probably high density housing and commercial uses. This concept of highest and best

use is, of course, dependent on a conditioned view of exchange (and more fundamentally use) value, and is representative of the economic discourse underlying the landscape forms it has engendered.

As described in Chapter 5, the philosophy of highest and best use which informed the eventual redevelopment of False Creek's south shore was that of a different and more ambiguous elite. The new liberal reform party, TEAM, composed itself around an alternative vision of the city and of what the "best use" of city land should be. Their critique of instrumental rationalism was written into various texts. Ley (1980) discusses the written texts, specifically the planning documents and campaign slogans where the notion of "the livable city" was the key rallying point. False Creek south shore is another such text, "the most dramatic landscape metaphor of liberal ideology" (Ley 1980:252). The liberal ideology was mobilized around a new ideal of the city--not as efficient machine, but as the home of people ("people before property") and the site of a new "quality of life". It is here that the "urban" comes to the fore as an expression for the positive aspects of everyday life.

False Creek south side is a very modest postmodernism. An ideology of "sensitive urban place-making" (Jencks 1981:82) was the keynote for design (Ley 1987b). Ley quotes development proposals which held up the dense high-rise environment of Vancouver's West End as the kind of modernist housing "solution" which must be resisted. Thus scale became one of the most important considerations, leading to medium densities, housing enclaves in landscaped settings, and a circulation design planned from the point of view of the pedestrian. In the residential buildings of False Creek, the double coding which is definitive of postmodernism is very understated: the working-in of users' codes, for instance, does not tap the variety of cultural heritages which would be appropriate to develop in a city such as

Vancouver. Nor is there much incorporation of past urban architectural styles in the city, such as the Arts and Crafts movement, which might have been appropriate--although the orange stepped sloping roofs of at least one enclave were meant to resemble the railway wagons which had earlier used the site, and street names recall the industrial past of the False Creek basin. More successful was the working in of regional themes and there is a good sense of connection with the geographical context at that scale (as Ley describes in terms of the ecological landscaping). The response to views, light and site characteristics of the Pacific Northwest environment resulted in a sensuous and picturesque landscape. However, despite the fact that planning discourse centred around ideas of the livable city, False Creek inadequately develops its intertextuality with the immediate environment--that of the urban context. In the early 1970s when the area was planned, the positive urban symbolism which was incorporated depended largely on a revival of the "urban village" as a defensive city enclave, which is itself poised in opposition to the notion of the city as a cosmopolitan site. The existence of the Sixth Avenue road and rail corridor, and the "slum"-like conditions of the Slopes at the time, meant it was difficult for planners to make connections to the surrounding neighbourhoods, although an effort was made in terms of the pedestrian overpass and the development of city land on the Slopes' side. As a consequence of this particular version of the "good city", the south side of False Creek seems a rather conservative landscape, self-consciously idyllic and nostalgic.

A more deliberate expression of postmodern deconstruction and reconstruction is found on Granville Island, where commercial and recreational uses were interleaved with new and existing industrial activities. This landscape is (or was--its variety has declined) thick with multiple layers of meaning, and it does communicate at a number of different

levels. It recaptures, with irony, an industrial past and juxtaposes it (in all its gleaming paintwork) with an industrial present: the dirty industry still operating on the island. It plays havoc with the modernist assumption that productive efficiency is paramount; it disputes the distinction between work and play, between innocent recreation and commodified spectacle. The work of architectural renovation incorporates symbols familiar to the public at large, while making full use of contemporary technologies.

In the early phase of its redevelopment, Fairview Slopes shared many design features with the residential planning of False Creek. Its planning history was similar, in that the new liberal politicians and planners had to fight off attempts in the early 1970s to develop it modernistically into high rise apartment buildings. Again, the notion of the "urban" was pivotal to discourse around the new style of development which was to be encouraged on the Slopes; for instance, the zoning put in place in 1972 called for "a highly urban environment" (City of Vancouver 1983b). In this context, urban was defined by the planning strategy, aiming at "a compatible mixture of commercial, residential and ancillary uses" and "low profile development", and "designed to optimize the potential amenities" of the location. Aspects of the zoning schedule were very agreeable with a postmodern response, in encouraging compatibility with neighbouring buildings, infill and preservation, and a variety of facades with a "broken up" appearance. Clearly, the idea of the city operating in this socio-political context was quite different from that informing earlier phases of planning and the promotion of the "city efficient". "Urban" now meant variety, complexity and stimulation: not segregation, clarity and sterility (terms which residents now reserve for the anti-city of the suburbs). It was also a slightly different sense of "urban" than that which guided the redevelopment of False Creek, with a rather more positive attitude towards the city outside the

urban village.

In the first instance, the architectural response was in fact quite similar to that in False Creek. A landscaped courtyard or "mid-block street", which were features incorporated in many developments, responded to pro-pedestrian values and it was hoped they would be conducive to neighbourly association within "defended space". To emphasize the individuality of the separate dwellings, conventional codes such as roof line and doorway details were encouraged. These worked most effectively when they followed through on the style of existing buildings which could be preserved, thus ensuring built-in vernacular and historical allusions. The best of these developments emphasized a harmony with their built and natural context; they retained a human scale, with structures clustered organically around landscaped courtyards, and responding to the slope and to adjacent older buildings with sensitivity and inspiration.

The later Fairview projects display a more pointed postmodern sensibility, and wield a symbolic vocabulary of design conventions drawn both from the vernacular and from other times and places. Local themes include a more conscious application of colours and materials such as cedar siding, and architectural elements such as the porch and the gable. These are not straight revivalism, but rather re-presentations; for example, the gable appears functionally in smug neovernacular (Jencks 1981:99) (Plate 8.1) with a change in scale, or iconically: pared-down, abstracted and truncated (Plate 8.2). Elsewhere, the use in small quantities of industrial glass brick and shiny metal rails in primary colours reflects the industrial heritage of the Creek and its current manifestation in the neotraditionalism of Granville Island. Use of trellis arbours, porches and rustic arches in some developments are suggestive of Fairview's earlier reputation as a quiet backwater.

Plate 8.1



"Ballentyne Square", completed 1985, incorporates a large converted house (to the right).

Plate 8.2



"Alder Village Townhouses", an award-winning development designed by James Cheng, completed 1982.

Local themes are played against a range of themes drawn from more distant sources. A Mediterranean motif has been chosen to fit both the topography and the orientation to the Creek (although it seems out of place in terms of local history). In some cases this is in a kitschy "Spanish fishing village" style, with white terraced stucco and red pantiles; project names such as "Marbella", "PortoVerdi" and "Il Terrazo" carry through the theme. Elsewhere the motif is more abstract: a development advertised in "deep sea blue" and white is christened "The Santorini", and its curved prow are reminiscent of a luxury liner.

Two developments named "The San Franciscan" (I and II) reinforce the popular reputation of Fairview Slopes as "San Francisco North" (Plate 8.3). Andre Molnar's development company introduced this style to Fairview Slopes, and it has been widely copied--outside the neighbourhood as well. Flat roofs with cornices, bays and round-top windows, smooth pastel stucco on a rusticated base, and dramatic classically-styled entrances are typical features. I would call this style "California Regency"; it may be quietly elegant in a few buildings, but it has proved intrusive in others (Molnar's most recent projects are not in keeping with the scale of the streetscape, and they are poorly articulated with the street itself).

A notable code in many buildings draws on classical forms in facade proportions, columns, arches, symmetries and Palladian windows (Plate 8.4). Many are clearly trying to connect to a notion of urbanity such as has not been favoured since Georgian times; they conjour up a cosmopolitan atmosphere to suggest rowhouses in Boston, Toronto, or Georgian London. Projects are named "Charleson Terrace", "Ballentyne Square", "Wemsley Mews" (Plate 8.5). Some have a distinct flavour of Bath or Brighton, the elegant leisure resort. A hint, or more, of red brick is important in establishing this sense of a true townhouse pie'd a terre. Affiliated with this are elements of

Plate 8.3



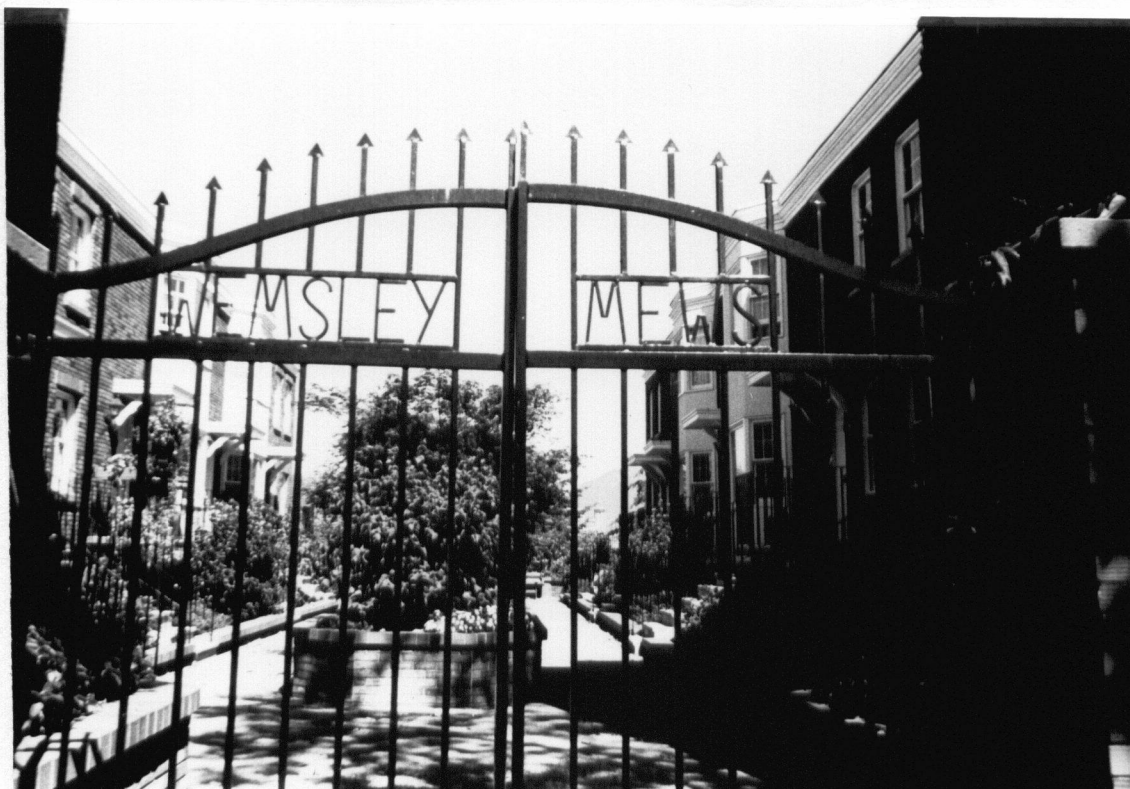
The archway to "The San Franciscan II", a development by Andre Molnar.

Plate 8.4



"Alder View Court" incorporates palladian-style windows and an arched entranceway.

Plate 8.5



"Wemsley Mews" is modelled on Georgian mews in London, and incorporates this courtyard behind wrought iron gates.

"industrial type" space, which are both immediately vernacular and more broadly emblematic (especially with regards to the Bohemian style of loft-living).

Jencks centres postmodernism in the double coding of modern with traditional patterns, elite with popular codes, and it is in these later buildings that this is most evident. Recall that Rhapsody Citihomes was advertised as "an eclectic fusion of classical and contemporary details". The Maximillian project is also described as "an elegant fusion of traditional European styling and modern citihome". Some of the architects who have designed award-winning buildings in the neighbourhood have developed this most convincingly and, although in interviews they proved unwilling to label their work by any style, their approach to design is clearly sensitive to the intentions of postmodern architecture. One architect interviewed did identify specifically with one aspect of postmodernism:

"What I call 'indigenous'--a lot of people are taking local, regional forms and working with them....recognizing their emotional content and meaning, which in this part of the world takes us back to the Arts and Crafts movement....[One of his Fairview developments was] pure romanticism, an early experiment in freeing myself from the modern movement....People like those old forms....they give a message: 'this is home'".

Another architect was also particularly sensitive to the contextual approach:

"My starting point was not from a stylistic point of view...but to find what is the proper character for a certain area, and in Fairview Slopes it started out with a bunch of old houses with front porches...so I tried to adapt that kind of character back into the new buildings".

Indeed, the porch and veranda were attractive features of the original houses, and in some cases these had a certain classical styling which makes appropriate the classical elements incorporated in the newest developments. This particular architect has concentrated especially on the signification of entrance, with arches and porches offering a transition zone between public and private space which gives an opportunity for neighbourly interaction.

The nostalgia for Fairview's recent past as an almost "rural" backwater is developed in conjunction with some more universal design elements, and his soft interior courtyards have drawn from Moorish and Japanese sources. If this is reminiscent of the quiet residential past, the architect has also had to articulate it with aspects of the less tender industrial heritage. In this design (Plate 8.6) the rustic courtyard with its trellis arches is nestled within a hard shell of brick which is built to the lot line and addresses the starker warehouse architecture to which it is adjoined. The units themselves have loft-like spaces which suggest the artist's garret in the factory building.

A third award-winning architect has carried through most convincingly the urban theme, and he describes himself and his firm as "architects of urban repair". One of the best examples of this is a large project which incorporates three existing warehouses. These comprise the facade on busy Sixth Avenue, where they are joined with walls of glass brick--an appropriately industrial material which protect the peaceful interior "street" (Plate 8.7). The art deco styling of the warehouses seems to be reflected in the massing of the condominiums inside the development. However, superimposed on the rear facade are gable forms in richly-stained wood siding, which iconically represent the ghosts of houses past (Plate 8.8). The architect of this building claims to employ, not so much direct historical symbols, as "more subliminal, underlying images". Again, brick is a favoured material (he believes it to be appropriately urban and residential in scale). Double-height windows with airy atriums are reminiscent of the artist's studio (in fact, one of my interviewees used it for just that)--as well as solving the practical problem of noisy streets. The difficulties of the site demand solutions where postmodern layering of space is most fitting, as another architect also found. He designed a project with two facades, one

Plate 8.6



The triumphal arch to "Willow Arbour Townhouses",
an award-winning design by James Cheng.

Plate 8.7



Original warehouses are incorporated in Roger Hughes' award-winning "The Sixth Estate"; a pedestrian "street" runs through the development, protected from the traffic noise of Sixth Avenue by a wall of glass blocks.

Plate 8.8



The rear facade of "The Sixth Estate" incorporates outlines of the "ghosts of houses past".

on busy Sixth Avenue, the other on a quieter north-south street:

"Walls and facades have only really cropped up lately, in postmodernism. So in a way we used postmodernism because the design solution seemed to call for something that postmodernism would solve most readily....[on the side facade] we wanted to recall the individual house vernacular...with the sloped roofs and balconies expressed...we were targetting more on expressing the individual units, and giving a sense of individualism--in contrast to this very long front facade that intentionally didn't express individual units, because we said, well, no-one really wants to have their identity [expressed] on this very busy, nasty street".

Even if the dual coding in this building was adapted on pragmatic grounds, it still results from a sensitivity to the relationship between building and its context which is itself most postmodern. Readability of entrances--either individual doorways or triumphal portals to the courtyard--was important to all of these designers and exemplifies the manner in which they have to articulate the building with the street and with the codes of its users. Another architect, for instance, has used formal porticoes which are reached by a flight of steps up over a kind of "area":

"We have three separate entrances from each of the porticoes, so there are three households entering through the same entrance, and we've given it a bit of formality with the way we've detailed the columns. But at the same time there's some individual identity to the doors, and with a careful use of signing and so on people really do feel they have a certain amount of privacy".

This architect describes his projects on Fairview Slopes as "contextual". They avoid straight revivalism and instead "capture the essence of the elements...if we use a column it will simply just be a cylindrical column, and it won't contain a lot of detail". This capturing of essences through selective use of iconic material suspends the best Fairview Slopes architecture between the local and the cosmopolitan, between the vernacular codes which connect to local history and culture, and the broader realms of meaning which can be transported in to shape and define the nature of contemporary urban living.

8.3 POSTMODERNISM AND THE PRACTICE OF GENTRIFICATION.

As noted above, Dear dismisses postmodern style in his discussion of postmodern method. His condemnation is, in part, a consequence of his mistaken choice of models for postmodern architecture. However, Dear's opinion that postmodernism is "a singularly superficial philosophy" (Dear 1986:372) remains a charge with teeth. Ley follows Jencks in his definition of postmodern architecture in terms of its multivalency: he acknowledges that, while "At its best...postmodern forms represent an architecture of everyday life....At its worst, postmodernism caters in a trivial manner to the culture of consumption in advanced nations" (Ley 1985b:419). And in the architectural press--which looks more to Jencks than to Jameson for its explications--there has been a dominant tone of stern disapproval. For example, comments published in a debate (AIA 1983) condemn postmodernism as "ephemeral, a throw-away, subject to the caprice of commercial culture and the exigencies of the marketplace"; "shoddy merchandise in titillating packages"; "neofashion for the bored, the rich, the jaded, the blind".

Nevertheless, the significance of the postmodern lies in the fact that,

"what appears on one level as the latest fad, advertising pitch and hollow spectacle is part of a slowly emerging cultural transformation in Western societies, a change in sensibility" (Huyssen 1984:8).

Assessments of that change pivot around the question of whether postmodernism has lost the politically critical edge of modernist aesthetics. Huyssen offers a map to that debate (see also Jencks, 1986). In the 1960s, he argues, postmodernism in the arts revived the heritage of the avant-garde in a revolt not against modernism per se, but against those versions of modernism which had been institutionalized and domesticated, losing their adversarial perspective in the process. Modernism's very success had transformed it into a part of high, affirmative culture. Themes of the

postmodern revolt included a powerful sense of the future, a euphoric vision of postindustrial society, and a celebration of certain dimensions of mass culture against establishment notions of high culture. The drive for a postmodern architecture was similarly motivated by a reaction against the elitism of modernist design and the destruction of the city fabric. In the design professions, key actors included Jacobs, Venturi, and the Advocacy Planners (Jencks 1986); note that these provided the model for the style of planning put in place in Fairview.

But this adversarial ethos was vulnerable to co-optation. Huyssen identifies the second phase as the unfolding of an "affirmative" postmodernism--with which would be aligned some of the latest Fairview architecture--that appears to have abandoned its claim to critique. Affirmative postmodernism is deeply implicated in consumption ideology. It is this aspect of style which writers such as Frampton (1983:19) can condemn as "merely feeding the media-society with gratuitous, quietistic images":

"Its tactical aim is to attain, as economically as possible, a preconceived level of gratification in behavioristic terms. In this respect, the strong affinity of Populism for the rhetorical techniques and imagery of advertising is hardly accidental" (Frampton 1983:21).

One architect has reminded postmodern designers of "the wellspring of most architecture": "in many cases the activating purposes of a building is not to allude to Mr. Soane (postmodern) nor even to house people (modern), but simply to make money" (Moore 1980:48). This position clearly parallels Harvey's argument that postmodernism is the cultural guise of a strategy of flexible accumulation.

Both expressions of postmodernism--the critical and the affirmative--appear on Fairview Slopes. Amongst the recent developments, most exemplify how developers are grasping to capitalize on available symbolic systems which will give their product a special allure. Andre Molnar, for instance, is

quite candid: "I strictly cater to a commercial need and I only design what sells, I don't build monuments". The San Franciscan style he pioneered was well-received in the market:

"The colour is very important. The initial impact, when they drive up to the project, a certain mood has to be set. And if you capture that mood you will be successful in keeping their attention as a consumer of your product".

However, another architect working in the area has criticized Molnar's "one-statement buildings": "that's what fashion is all about". Nevertheless, even if Molnar's work could be proved to be "bad" design, exemplifying the depthlessness of Jameson's surfaces of textual play, there is an interplay between consumer demand and developer imposition which Jameson's and Harvey's interpretations fail to capture: hence Molnar's special attention to market research.

Whilst initially rooted in an adversarial attitude towards the master narrative of the modern city, the postmodern planning in Fairview has been consolidated a new, authoritarian, ideology of landscape. Although "what the market wants" can dictate the finer details--of ornament for instance--broader issues such as density, the articulation of building with building, or the preservation of old houses, are less easily negotiated. Since Fairview Slopes was developed privately, and its zoning schedule had an inbuilt element of discretion, the actual practice of planning in the area has capitulated to strong pressures for building to the highest density legally allowed. Planners seem to feel rather embarrassed that this has happened, and as a result--while the landscape turned out not quite as they anticipated--they must defend the outcome and modify post hoc their original intentions accordingly. Thus, in the face of residents' complaints that the area is overbuilt, the City concludes that "the intensification of residential development in this area seems entirely appropriate" (City of

Vancouver 1981:3, my emphasis). Similarly, planners call upon recent history to justify and dictate the new position: "Is it fair to penalize developers just because they didn't get in until the final phase?" (Ballantyne 1987b:3, my emphasis). Thus a highly commodified version of postmodern environmental design is becoming the dominant discourse, and calls out for its own deconstruction as the authoritative master narrative. Ironically, there are two perspectives from which this newly reified discourse has been critiqued: marxists and neoconservatives have discovered a common enemy in the postindustrial, postmodern (even perhaps postpatriarchal) city. We have already met the marxist critique, in the form of Harvey and Smith. The bases for authority from which the neoconservative attacks are launched are firmly established, now that perspective has replaced liberal ideology as the cultural dominant in Vancouver politics (Ley 1987b). As an example, Vancouver Sun columnist Trevor Lautens has attacked demands to redevelop the Expo site on the north shore of False Creek into a "people place" (a planning slogan originating with Jane Jacobs which was widely used in the era of TEAM). His comments are worth repeating in some detail:

"I proclaim myself sick of this phrase. And of the attitude underlying it.

I don't want to see the Expo site...turned into a people place. I want to see it turned into a work place.

Yes, real work. For real people.

Not full of boutiques that look as if they've been poured like liquid plastic and topped with pink neon.

Not sushi bars with decks where the leisured loll in the sun-- where do they come from, these people who sit chatting the whole afternoon over Perrier and white wine? They can't all be in the drug racket.

Not smart shoppes in fake Palladian with fake Italian names...staffed by aspiring Beautiful People at \$4 an hour....

Not places operated...by slim young men of a kind I'm not, candidly, keen on....

I want to see, for a change in this...flaccid city, something actually being produced--not consumed. And not cottage pottery or weaving either. Real stuff, made by real workers for real people and filling real needs....

And not, please God, another park....More joggers? More jut-jawed cyclists? Spare us.

No, I want to see actual factories on the Expo site--even if it means a little smoke. I want to hear the noise of something being built--not the swish of yuppie commerce.

Most of all, I want to see blue-collar workers...paid \$20 an hour, enough to buy detached houses on real lots and to raise decent families....

...I often think fondly of Sigurdson's....A great, green, ugly mill on West Sixth [bottom of Fairview Slopes]....it...gave honest work to generations of small businessmen and workers, who, in the days before Head Office was somewhere else, were bonded into a caste whose members...understood one another....

This city is becoming a Narcissus, vain, precious, preening in the mirror-like pond that reflects its beautiful self but hides the shallow reality" (Lautens 1987:B9).

In this astonishing polemic, Lautens starts by acknowledging the existence of a "master narrative" (the "underlying attitude") from which he dissents. In a few paragraphs he attacks the new class, postmodern architecture, gays, consumer culture, ecological concerns, and multinational capitalism; in turn, he promotes suburban neighbourhoods, single family housing, the family wage (and thus the conventional family), and paternalistic labour relations. His mission is to re-erect an old status quo as the objectively correct mode of social life--to return people to their "proper" places, and places to their "proper" people.

I have argued that postmodern architectural style is best approached as a product of postmodern method as applied to the built environment. As the outcome of an agenda of reconstruction, however, it has to answer the challenge laid down by Dear (1986): that is, which postmodernism will it follow? Here, Dear adopts Foster's distinction between a postmodernism of reaction (what he calls "neoconservative postmodernism") and a postmodernism of resistance ("poststructuralist postmodernism"):

"Neoconservative postmodernism advocates a return to representation: it takes the referential status of its images and meaning for granted. Poststructuralist postmodernism, on the other hand, rests on a critique of representation: it questions the truth content of visual representation, whether realist, symbolic or abstract, and explores the regimes of meaning and order that these different codes support" (Foster 1985:128-9).

A postmodernism of reaction seeks to retreat into traditionalism and apolitical pastiche and thus provide a cosmetic and highly marketable product which disguises the political content of its aesthetic choices. Foster describes this postmodernism as the public relations of urban chaos: "such architectural postmodernism exploits the fragmentary nature of late-capitalist urban life; we are conditioned to its delirium, even as its causes are concealed from us" (p. 127). This too is Harvey's critique of postmodern architecture as part of the mobilization of the spectacle.

If the purpose of deconstructing modernism is to challenge its master narratives with the discourse of others (Foster 1985), then a reconstruction of resistance must oppose the erection of new master narratives. In this effort, of course, the rhetorical master narratives by which one censures a "postmodernism of reaction" (such as a monolithic structuralist marxism) are themselves suspect as elite, for failing to recognize the diversity of meanings which vernacular or traditional forms may have for user groups such as residents. The postmodernism, of resistance rests upon a radical redefinition of culture's relation to society; postmodernism,

"operates in a field of tension between tradition and innovation, conservation and renewal, mass culture and high art, in which the second terms are no longer automatically privileged over the first" (Huyssen 1984:48),

and it is to be characterized "by the drive to cross boundaries, to forge mediations and connections between spheres that modernism had tried to construe as inherently independent" (Polan 1984:265).

This postmodernism of resistance strives for "a critique of origins... to explore rather than conceal social and political affiliations" (Foster 1985:xii). And it is this exploration that makes possible a harnessing of the tension between local culture and the dominant discourse, in the empowerment of the underprivileged. This may be a modest resistance (hence

Harvey's censure of postmodernism), one which depends on its always equivocal quality which lies "in a blurring of boundaries between high and popular, between critical and creative, between aesthetic and political" (Polan 1984:269).

Redeveloping inner-city neighbourhoods, not with massive modernist monuments but with sensually stimulating postmodernist enclaves may mean a significant enrichment of the life-styles of their new residents and the enjoyment of the city by others. We can not afford to forget, however, the differential distribution of costs, which fall on those poorer residents displaced from communities which may already have been rich in cultural diversity and sense of place. Postmodernism may mean a small victory for the quality of the urban environment, but it is one which can confound the assault on social injustice, except in those cases where it was wedded to bold programmes of equitable housing allocation. The texts of high, institutionalized Modernism in planning were also elitist (for instance, the notion of highest and best use of land by segregating urban activities), and it was partly a deconstruction of such assumptions which powered the development of False Creek as a socially-mixed neighbourhood (Ley 1986b). Similarly, in Fairview Slopes, stress was placed in the early planning proposals on retaining a social mix; also, some architectural solutions did support the possibility of a range of unconventional household types (for instance, by designing for a "mingles" market in which unrelated people could occupy the same unit with ease). The type of building which did take place on the Slopes was socially-innovative in offering housing of desirable and appropriate design to single women and divorced people with children. But a mix of income and class has not been achieved. Even in the case of its success in empowering non-conventional family types, it is quite possible that this was at the expense of poorer households with similar concerns.

Innovations in design style cannot overcome the power of the private land market.

How does the notion of cultural hegemony contribute to interpreting the chain of events in False Creek and Fairview Slopes? Despite its future orientation, and its faith in the liberating power of new informed techniques and approaches, the worldview of 1970s Vancouver liberals hung partly on the revival of residual cultural forms. Williams' depiction has a striking correspondence with those events:

"In the subsequent default of a particular phase of a dominant culture, there is then a reaching back to those meanings and values which were created in real societies in the past, and which still seem to have some significance because they represent areas of human experience, aspiration and achievement, which the dominant culture under-values or opposes, or even cannot recognise" (Williams 1980:42).

The new conjunction of values developed in a niche unoccupied by the prevailing ideology associated with rational planning and the corporate city; "Against the uniformity of the modern movement is a renewed interest in the specificity of regional and historical styles and a respect for the diversity of urban subcultures" (Ley 1987b:43). The language of folk knowledge and urban villages and shared symbolic systems reestablishes lines of continuity with history. Its familiarity is the joy of living in a renovated inner city neighbourhood, the enchantment of postmodern design which, "in its best moments reaches back across the wreckage of post-war urbanism to seize the strands of urban culture at the point they became unravelled" (AIA 1983:254).

The return to history is one basis for the critique of postmodernism as neoconservative. However, the possibility of a postmodernism of resistance has also been mooted: by coupling the modernist patterns of the cultural dominant with the symbolic systems of residual cultures, bringing the latter into critical engagement with the former, there is potential for knitting them into a new emergent form. In his discussion of hegemony, Williams

(1980) describes the "emergent" cultural forms which germinate new meanings and practices, in association perhaps with the formation of a new class or new artistic sensibilities. "Dominant" cultures reach to incorporate such potentially oppositional forms by redefining them as unthreatening "alternative lifestyles". In the history of conflict over Vancouver's inner city landscapes, the rise of a new class was indeed related to a new way of treating the city and a new concept of "the good life". However, the hegemonic model cannot perhaps capture fully the defining quality of the postmodern. While Williams emphasizes the complex, flexible and processual relationship between hegemonic and oppositional forms, he has also declared that the space between oppositional and alternative (tolerated) practices is narrowing. Resistance conventionally requires a prizing open of that space by generating "new practices, new significances and experiences" (p. 41); under postmodern conditions, such a prospect is enigmatic. From one side of the gap, dominant cultural practice itself derives stamina from the discovery of new areas of experience:

"[T]he frantic economic urgency of producing fresh waves of ever more novel-seeming goods...now assigns an increasingly essential structural function and position to aesthetic innovation and experimentation" (Jameson 1984a:56).

From the perspective of the oppositional side of the gap, the modernist notion of the avant-garde is undermined (Huyssen 1984); the drive to "make it new" which inspired modern architecture no longer holds sway, and experimentation is a matter of recycling residual with dominant sensibilities, pastiche rather than progression. It becomes increasingly difficult to identify and follow the path of greatest resistance against a cultural hegemony which can reach out so effectively in incorporating acts of opposition.

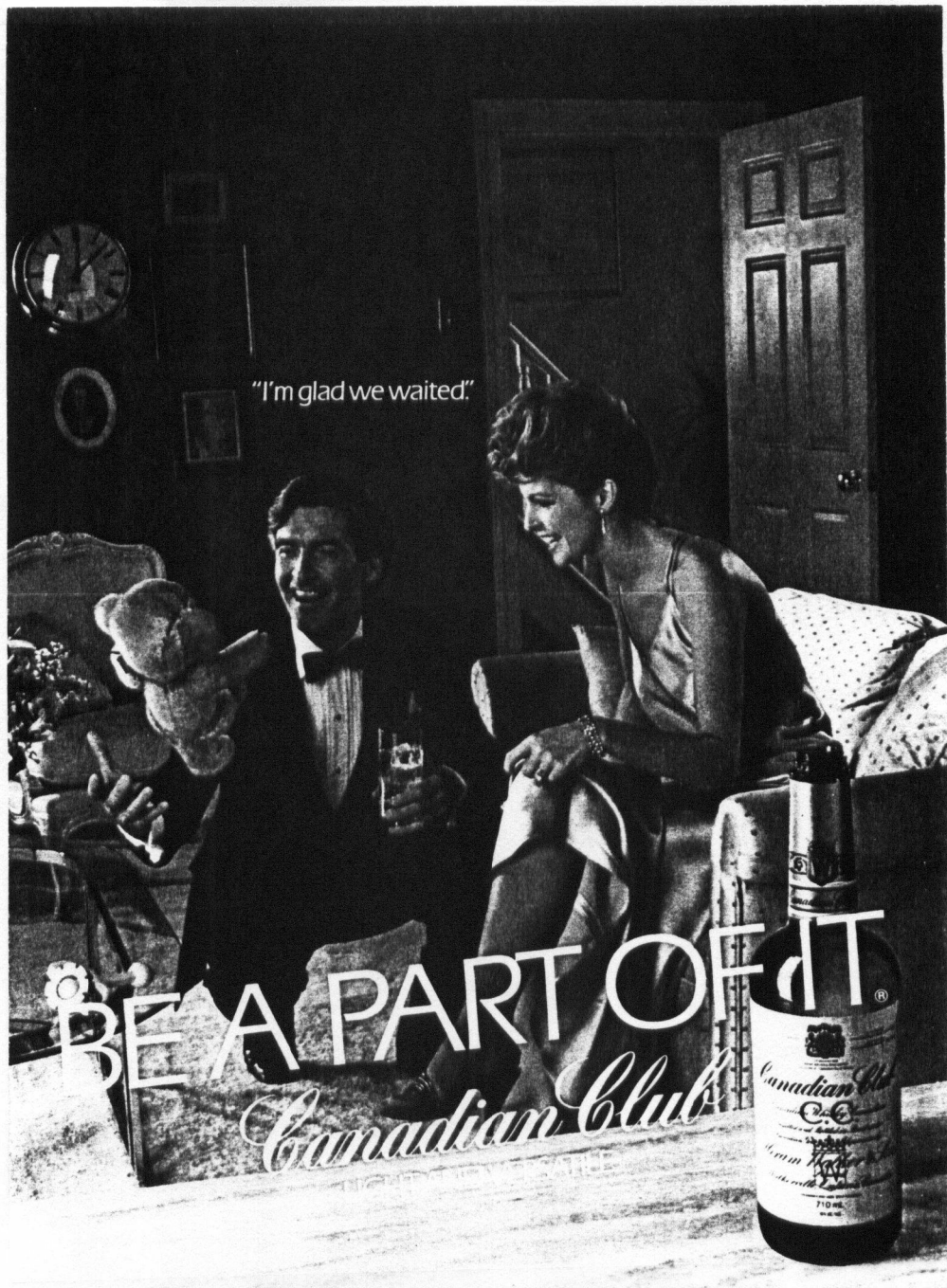
Such a dilemma has been faced in the political arena by feminism: in the

postmodern world, "all the old (patriarchal) signs of cultural authority collapse in the direction of androgyny", and feminism is packaged and "processed" by commodity marketing which reverses sexual stereotypes in depictions of women as sexual dominants--"ultracapitalism triumphant" in the Calvin Klein underwear advertisements (Kroker and Kroker 1985:5). The "commodification of sexual liberation" in such advertisements is, indeed, a part of the foundation for gentrification. One may read it indirectly in the "condominium childless couple" introduced in Chapter one; it is carried through in the more recent Canadian Club advertisements where an "executive" woman greets her gourmet husband in a condo kitchen, or an attractive couple celebrate their delayed parenthood in the stylish sitting room of their renovated townhouse (Plate 8.9). More direct are the marketing ploys directed to female buyers in Fairview Slopes. For instance, one newspaper advertisement features the visage of a startled-looking young woman, with the warning to buy quickly before all the units are gone (Plate 8.10). Another pamphlet includes a cartoon in which a woman informs her husband that she has bought herself a new condominium (Plate 8.11). Andre Molnar, with his finger firmly on the pulse of the market, has sold to many women:

"We always had a very good acceptance of our homes [by] single women, and there are two very simple reasons. One is security because we are very conscious of good lock and good security systems...and the other one is the aesthetics, [the units] are very homey and pleasing, so women are more sensitive...[they] pick up faster on this kind of fine touches we pride ourselves on....we have a following".

One of the agents in a Molnar-inspired building pointed to the security of an inner hallway, as well as the attractive grey, yellow and pale pink colour-scheme which she described as "feminine". Molnar also claims to have a following amongst gays: "each time we open a building the gay community comes down and looks at our product". This would partly be due to the fact that he developed a number of projects in the West End, the core of the Vancouver gay


Plate 8.9



Advertisement for Canadian Club (Hiram Walker and Sons).

Plate 8.10

BETTER HURRY!



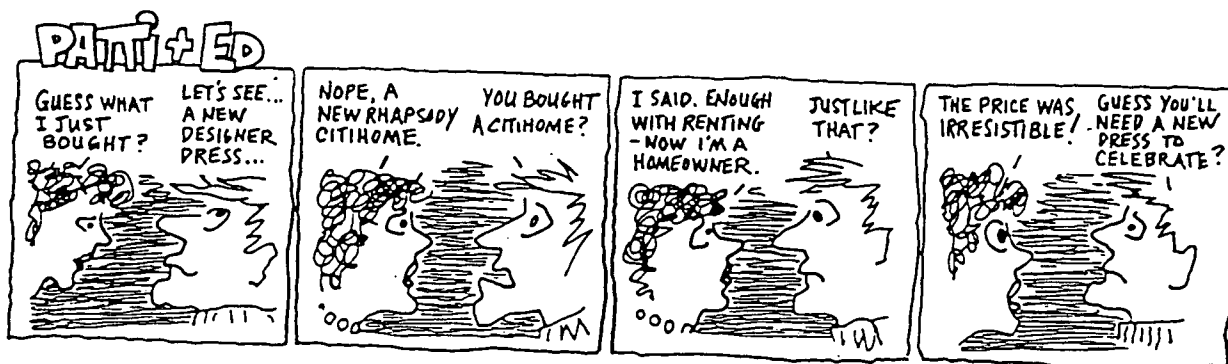
**FAIRVIEW SLOPES' MOST
SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT
JUST OPENED AND IT'S
60% SOLD**

M
the Maximillian

FIND OUT WHY
 1040 W 8TH AVE OF CAL
 SANDRA SCOTT 738-0324
 or pager 557-0567
 OPEN 11-4 DAILY
 100% OFFER AVAILABLE

Advertisement for "The Maximillian", The West Ender,
January 8, 1987.

Plate 8.11



Cartoon appearing in pamphlet for the Grand Opening of "Rhapsody Citihomes".

community, but he also suggests it has something to do with the "San Francisco" style of architecture: "The rounded shapes and the moulded shapes, the sculptured buildings, are very attractive to the women and to the gays". Indeed, the Molnar postmodernism breaks the distinction between the private, domestic sphere, and the public world, with its sensuous curves and bedroom colours on external walls (Gibson 1984), thus establishing a kind of androgynous landscape which breaks the "masculine" discourse of modern architecture.

As noted earlier, there have been suggestions in the geographical literature that the study of contemporary landscapes is confounded by the unstable fluid relations between signifier and signified, image and reality. No longer is it possible to map each symbolic component directly onto one reading. For instance, the grammar of status symbolism in clothing fashion is totally transformed in the newspeak of radical chic, where icons of both status and stigma from dominant or residual societies are recycled and bound together in an act of bricolage. Similarly, postmodern architecture is a pastiche of seemingly contradictory codes. If we cannot dig behind the image to lay bare its significance, we can however explore its intertextuality by looking across to new conjunctures, the binding together of seemingly-contradictory and already partly familiar images. Our focus is on points where the free-floating images do come to rest, where they are fixed into a new system which, at least temporarily, is reproducible. And since that grounding of images is performed by actors in the process of social interaction, since meanings are mobilized and texts are constructed by interpretative communities (Duncan and Duncan 1988), we can trace some dimensions of meaning through the link between intention and consequence. In this way, we avoid Jameson's asociological postmodernism, and accept that cultural change advances at an uneven pace in different locations and amongst

different social worlds. These, then, are the questions to be asked of gentrification: what is gentrification as a postmodern cultural project? Whose project is it?--who are the textual communities involved? And more specifically, what (say) has an interpenetration of folk and classical allusions in architectural style been made to do by these people at this time and in this place?

The producer of urban housing is rarely also its consumer. This opens up space for fatal misinterpretations, leading in architecture to such drastic solutions as the demolition of public housing projects like Pruitt-Igoe. The disjunction of the two perspectives of producer and consumer is supposedly collapsed in postmodern architecture, which refuses to elevate high culture over folk culture; the ideal of the architect as a visionary figure seeking a radical break from the existing social and urban structures is abandoned. In Fairview Slopes it is also significant that both sets of actors are largely drawn from the same New Class, share a speech community, and operate within similar social circles. This was especially so in the 1970s, when a number of architect-developers lived in the area, and some actively encouraged a participatory role for residents in neighbourhood planning. If postmodern architecture is to respond to its social context, producers and consumers supposedly work together to negotiate actively the meaning of living in Fairview Slopes. The new landscape must engage the cultural codes of consumers.

That may be the ideal postmodernism but, as we have seen, it is institutionalized in forms which fail to sustain this promise. Interpersonal interaction between producer and consumer is largely replaced by producers' efforts to "personalize" their products and thus suggest that they share a social world. In this they are aided and abetted by local architectural journalists who, while making the architects and developers familiar figures

in Vancouver society, also raise them again to the status as visionaries and as fashionable "personalities" to be emulated. For example, architects who made their reputations on Fairview Slopes are lauded in special articles: one is described as the "mixed-metaphor condo honcho of Fairview" (Rossiter 1984:108), whereas another "is too modest to take credit for giving life to a run-down neighborhood, but that is exactly what he did for Fairview Slopes" (Ovenell-Carter 1986:25k). The developers themselves adopt a "pseudo-personal" tactic of name-dropping. For instance, Andre Molnar, who describes his work as the "the Pierre Cardin approach", affixes his name prominently on advertising billboards which even light up at night (learning from Las Vegas?). On this topic, Molnar says:

"I put my name up front and say, 'Here, there is a guy...behind all this and you can even call him if you have a problem after you've bought' and so on, and that happens. And I think that gives...a different kind of confidence. Like, we are in the service business, the retail business really, we sell you a product, sometimes the most expensive product that you buy in your entire life, so you have to have some confidence in us, and I think that it's easier to have confidence in a person who's well known in the community, than in a company that is called 'XY company', and who the hell sits behind the desk there! So this way you can call up Mr. Molnar or Mrs. Molnar and yell at them".

Unfortunately, this may not hold true in practice: an article describing complaints from owner-occupiers in a Molnar building who were concerned about absentee investors quotes the developer as saying that, once a building is sold, he has no further responsibility for it (Godley 1987). Another developer who has taken the "personal" route is Matthew Briscoe, who assures consumers that he is someone like themselves. Quoted in the marketing pamphlet as saying "I build homes that I would like to live in myself", we are told that

"Matthew Briscoe fits his own 'buyers profile'. His own discerning tastes allow him to design homes that are distinctive, affordable and conveniently located...perfectly adapted to an upwardly mobile lifestyle".

Launching his development "Emerald Court" became a celebratory spectacle, complete with a hot air balloon, a draw for a weekend's skiing, a "homewarming party" for buyers, and a colour-coordinated (with the stucco) pop group playing all the 'baby boomer classics'.

From the point of view of the marketers, then, a combination of themes encompassing conventional messages of congeniality and joy is converted into a vehicle for selling a product; like sexual liberation, friendliness has been commodified.

In selecting a Fairview Slopes condominium as their residential setting, what are the gentrifiers making the landscape do for themselves? In postmodern architecture, contradiction is preferred over simplification, tension over straightforwardness. And, as postmodern architecture is typified by ambiguity, so too are its new class champions. One response to an ambiguous social position is to try and pin it down through some clever 'work' with objects and events which symbolise social categories. This involves associating oneself with some 'things', disassociating oneself from other 'things'--the meanings of which are constantly in flux. Features of the landscape are means for fixing, even temporarily, social position. Jager's (1986) study of middle class renovation of Victorian houses in Melbourne, describes how people with an ambiguous class position can jockey for position in the sphere of consumption. This buying into history serves to revive a symbolism of conspicuous consumption associated with the decorative excesses of Victoriana. Identity is cemented through the work of remodeling houses; neighbourhood stigma is transposed into status as features such as bare brick walls and exposed timbers are redefined as tokens of aesthetic discernment. This helps to recover a sense of rootedness and a connection with cultural heritage. However, the "past" thus repossessed is ahistorical--disengaged from its social and political context--thus implying

a previous golden age whose apparent attractions as an escapist world can blinker one to the contexts of the present as well.

Moore (1982) interprets gentrification as "residential credentialism", a prime "positional good" (Hirsch 1976) at a time when, for some, the suburbs have lost their exclusive status. Some advertisements in Fairview Slopes stress this aspect of landscape and identity. This neighbourhood is the home of "people on the way up"; it contributes to "a statement about societal achievement". These are award-winning homes, and as a customer you are invited to "award yourself" with a purchase. "Prestigious Fairview Slopes" is "an address for those who like to set the standards". "Life on the Upslope" is indeed a message of status.

However, when asked whether they thought Fairview Slopes had a reputation for status or prestige, the responses from interviewees were mixed. Some denied it totally; for instance, one woman said "No, I think it has a reputation for aspiring to status and prestige". Since "yuppie" can be a term of derision, the area's reputation as a home for those who seek to be "upwardly mobile" is considered an unappealing aspect of the neighbourhood. Most interviewees responded by noting that it is an expensive area, and that they see signs that it is "kind of yuppie", upmarket and trendy (for example, the cars in the underground garages). Many described the surprised and envious comments they received from friends when told that they lived on the Slopes. For instance, Anne says:

"I've been told, 'Gee, how can you afford to live there? Gee, that's an upper class neighbourhood', that sort of thing, so it gives me the feedback that it's an alright place to live. I chose it because it was close to my work, and to me it wouldn't really matter".

Similarly, Linda thinks people are

"misinformed. When you tell people you live here, some people say 'That must be nice', as if you must be rich, but they have houses that cost as much as this, but we prefer to live in a townhouse

rather than a lot of property".

There was some agreement, then, that non-residents might treat residents differently in consequence. Pat thinks it possible that "They think that if you're living in Fairview Slopes you must be--someone to be reckoned with, maybe, is the only way I can put it". And in commenting on other (owner-occupying) residents, a renter said, "I think people think it's a fairly rich kind of area...a fairly nice, fairly strategic place to live, I guess" (my emphasis). However, respondents are generally quick to distance themselves from this reputation, and point out how it must be mistaken because people like themselves live there. Kevin was not the only person to admit, "I don't even like saying it, when people ask me where I live!"

Nobody admitted that Fairview's prestigious reputation positively influenced their choice to live in the neighbourhood, and there was no evidence for a conscious search for social status by residential choice. This remains, however, a difficult dimension to dismiss, especially in the light of the search patterns which residents employed when buying a new home. In Chapter 6, I discussed how interviewees had started their search within well-defined geographical limits. East Vancouver was virtually ruled out before the search began, even though some respondents claimed that the cost of housing was paramount. Interviewees' comments on the possibility of moving further east in the city suggested that an evaluation by status contributed to the lack of serious consideration given to that option. Of course, access to particular amenities which suited respondents' previously-established lifestyles was an important part of the rationale given for this restricted search pattern. However, we cannot reduce this to a strictly utilitarian explanation, especially in the light of Sahlins' argument about the cultural constitution of use value. The pursuit of particular kinds of leisure activities, for instance, is not socially-meaningless; at the most

petty level, while Fairview residents often mentioned skiing or concert-going as leisure activities, nobody mentioned ten-pin bowling! Moreover, the desire for proximity--to the city and its cultural activities, as well as to the workplace--is by no means "natural", as the history of suburbanization illustrates. While it would be inappropriate to picture residential choice or, specifically, gentrification as a search for mere rank (that is, a position along a unilinear social scale), it is necessary to treat it as an integral part of the constitution of social identity. The nature of status thus becomes more ambiguous and opaque.

Jager has portrayed gentrification as a cultural tactic by which an ambiguous new class draws out its social distinctiveness. Similarly, paraphrasing Gouldner, Moore argues that "Just as blue jeans became the international uniform of the new class...so gentrified housing became its international neighbourhood" (Moore 1982:27). Ironically, as blue jeans turned into a new conformity, so does the landscape distinctiveness of the gentrified neighbourhood. The 'discovery' of ever-new scarce commodities which can act as vehicles for social status remains barely one step ahead of the mass market; for instance, in Vancouver, Granville Island public market has been copied in a number of less central locations, and a suburban condominium is advertised by this slogan: "The Kits lifestyle comes to Richmond". The new class seeks to define its otherwise ambiguous identity by signaling through a particular combination of objects or experiences: "etched into the landscape in the decorative forms of gentrification is a picture of the dynamics of social class" (Jager 1986:78). But its efforts can never rest, for, once new signs enter into a system of communication, their exclusivity is lost. The bamboo blinds, brass door knockers, paper lanterns and hanging ferns which Williams (1986) observed to be the domestic spoor of gentrification, are now so ubiquitous that the social message is confused.

Authentic versions of taste and experience can, however, be perpetually redefined, so that the external observer can distinguish no stable referent and the upwardly aspiring individual must be forever mastering new languages of taste. Hence the frantic inversion and shuffling of signs which postmodern architecture so vividly displays.

The quality of postmodernism is one of blurring boundaries (Polan 1984), of questioning the authority by which oppositional categories have been distinguished and evaluated, and by which they have been held apart. In postmodern architecture, the categories of high and vernacular, of local and cosmopolitan, are challenged. More generally, the criteria by which distinctions have been drawn between the cultural and the political realms, between reactionary acts and acts of resistance, are challenged; oppositional categories cannot capture the subtleties of a fluid reality. The effect on studies of the social world is to acknowledge that claims to have discovered the rational foundations for understanding social life must be resisted, for there is no position outside the hegemony of language from which they can be judged. No ultimate definition of the mechanism underlying, for instance, gender (Flax 1987) or class is possible.

This chapter has presented the Vancouver inner city landscape as a type of language which has underwritten and expressed at least two ideological positions. The text of landscape was one terrain over which ideas about social, economic and cultural life were fought out. As the neoconservative rhetoric of Lautens (quoted above) implies, the landscape is (both literally and figuratively) a scheme for keeping people "in their proper place". Conversely, therefore, a tactic for installing a new "place" in the interstices of social structure--for example, establishing a new class--is to shape the landscape in a new way. This is the significance of gentrification to the new class, as Jager and Moore have suggested.

A distinguishing feature of the new class is its paradoxical status as both emancipatory and elitist (Gouldner (1979) calls it the "Flawed Universal Class"), and the gentrified--and most specifically postmodern--landscape personifies this very characteristic. On the one hand, the new class culture of critical discourse requires a broader vision than utilitarian profit-oriented pursuits; in Fairview Slopes this takes the guise of bohemia and folk culture: the romantic cottage eaves, garrett skylights and lofts, the fine mesh of commercial and residential space. Yet the new class is also elitist; a sense of superiority and an overindulgence in reflexive and theoretical thought disposes it to a sometimes unhealthy self-consciousness; meanwhile, on the ground, we see triumphal arches, classical pillars, and other accoutrements of "high style". Significantly, however, straight historical reproductions would not 'work': they would be considered in poor taste and reactionary. Similar use of status icons (such as plaster lions on suburban fences) by other groups is condemned as kitsch, yet the selective combination evolving here, the "kitsch of the new middle classes" is "consecrated as aesthetic" (Jager 1986:87): hence the arbitrariness of the sign is revealed.

Furthermore, the new class plays an ambiguous part as both the exploiter and the exploited. Williams' former university colleague found that his previous training in the criticism of advertisements made him an excellent advertiser; the knowing, humorous style of advertising makes claims "so ludicrously exaggerated as to include the critical response" (1980:181). A Fairview architect of a column-bedecked condominium offering some of the cheapest units in the area, claims that his customers are seduced by dreams of living in "grand mansions"; but surely the deception is not that simple, nor is the status thus implied so straightforward: the purchase of such a home must be contemplated by the consumer with some degree of ironic

detachment. The architectural sign is no longer transparently connected to its conventional cultural referent.

In sum, postmodern architecture is the project of a new social group, and the reworking of modern landscapes into postmodern forms is simultaneously a rewriting (or re-presentation) of the fundamental nature of the social world. The aesthetic truth of minimalist architectural form, the rationality of economic planning, are questioned and found wanting. The landscape text of postmodernity resurrects those principles exorcized by modernism--stimulation, difference, distinction, the individuality of separate entrances and the sensuality of texture and colour. Speaking of their Fairview Slopes homes, for instance, two women drew attention to some of these features:

"The particular complex we live in is very attractive....We feel as if we're on holiday....

....It looks different, it doesn't look like a box, there are different levels...different layers, little passages, just different, not flat and dull and box-like....

....It appealed to us because it's just very attractive, very pretty. It's a fun sort of place; we feel that we've done all our serious living...so now we can just relax and enjoy ourselves, and it's a casual sort of place...it's just almost like a holiday home, just a very pleasant atmosphere altogether".

"It's nice to live in a neighbourhood that has a sort of special feel about it, because we did live in the West End for quite a few years and a lot of the apartments could be identical, actually, they all look the same and there's nothing to distinguish them especially the older ones that we were in that looked like little flat boxes. And these certainly have the appeal, everything is different, and even units within the same complex are quite different".

At the same time as these architectural texts are developed, the seemingly "natural" distinctions of social life are distorted and challenged, as can be illustrated from residents' comments. The distinction between instrumental and expressive realms, for instance, is worn away as the city (which modernism treated as purely instrumental) is redefined as aesthetic and

sensuous. Helen, for instance, describes the new development in which she lives, which is modelled around a renovated older house:

"I liked the idea of coming in off the street to an interior courtyard, that to me gave this an added bit of privacy....I like the colours, I like the idea that it was based on the old-fashioned design following the house, and they'd put quite a bit of detail, like they'd used a circular motif right through for the windows and the gates; and I liked the idea of the combination of the brick and wood".

While Helen enjoyed the design of her particular home, however, the streetscape itself also encapsulates some of these expressive qualities, as Pat points out:

"We like the style of the places in the area, we like the way it looks....

....What I like is, in the summer we used to walk down to London Drugs or whatever, and if you keep walking down Seventh [Avenue] here for instance, there's that mix of townhouses that are somewhat...set to the front, right against the sidewalk, in a way copying the old-fashioned Victorian look without the Victorian colours, and then there will be an old house that's really kept up. And there are trees draping over the edge, and some of the places have waterfalls, and everything is clustered right up to the sidewalk, and there are lots of flowers. And you just have a nice feeling walking through it, and you think 'this is in fact nicer than San Francisco'. You're aware of the Vancouver green. And it's just got its own flavour, there isn't anywhere else in the city that looks like that....the clustered feeling. I think part of the charm of it is that it's different as you go along, it's different each one."

Another interviewee describes the unusual landscape tapestry which has broken down conventional distinctions between public and private space:

"I think it's a different type of building--I think the whole of the environment is different--and that's what people are attracted to here...I think the decision that was made when the zoning was adopted here was to forget the concept of front, side and rear yards, which of course exist in Kitsilano even in the apartment zoning so you feel very much part of a building in Kitsilano when you move in there because it has its own identity, rather than a particular environment which I find that Fairview Slopes has developed--an environment of pathways, steps and courtyards that you can walk through, so although you are moving into a particular building you are also moving into a built environment".

The Fairview designs are not necessarily very successful examples of their kind; some residents had very uncomplimentary things to say about the

standards of construction and planning permission. For example, one man said:

"There's nothing outstanding about any of the architecture on the Slopes that I can see....everything is sort of like rabbit hutches....Most of these buildings are not well-constructed....Postmodern architecture is just a marketing tool, it's got nothing to do with reality".

However, they do have something to do with a new postmodern reality, one where the fundamental bases for defining and evaluating "reality" have been eroded, one where creativity and commodity, culture and economics enter into a new conjuncture which cannot be resolved by recourse to the modern metanarratives--and one where other "natural" distinctions are breaking down. Both geographically and figuratively, Fairview Slopes is a field upon which the dichotomies of play and work, of innocent recreation and commodified spectacle, of consumption and production, of utility and ornament, of masculine and feminine are collapsing. This is the cultural context to gentrification as a social practice: one flippantly implied by one Fairview Slopes resident who told me: "I really feel myself to be postmodern!"

With this folding in of oppositions upon themselves, there has arisen a new metanarrative which carries forward the new cultural discourse. This is centred on the super-metaphor of the City. As we saw earlier, Williams has drawn up sets of oppositions lined up with city and country which operated at particular historical moments. In the postmodern world, even if we replace country with suburb as the operative antipode to the notion of urban life, we are unable to draw up a similar table where each concept is balanced by its apposite mirror image. For those who carry forward the postmodern project, the city has captured multiple sets of oppositions which were formerly considered contradictory; as a symbolic site the suburb has flattened out to mere vacancy--the void against which are measured the presences of the city. And as the agents of the new super-synapse, advertisers wallow in the

delirium of the image:

"Everywhere there is a flow to each city home as graceful as good conversation....

....The Windgate philosophy is unabashed creativity and flair. Architecturally untimid...here is design to accent superabundance, as distinctive as you are, beyond commonplace, exuberantly original...a setting to excite your own creative potential and forever escape the ordinary. Windgate Choklit Park is a celebration of life on the upslope"

(advertising brochure, Windgate Choklit Park,
First Pacific Development Corporation, 1985).

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

The specific topic of this thesis has been gentrification. However, gentrification has also been used as a vehicle to carry through an argument pertinent to other objects of geographical investigation. The immediate aim of this argument has been to build upon, and to extend in a new direction, the "production of gentrifiers" approach. That useful approach was based upon a view of gentrification as a chaotic conception, and it is this feature which connects gentrification to other phenomena of geographical interest--the "locality" for instance. However, without reviving a cultural geography of the meaning of place, I argue, we are unable to account for the experience of inner city gentrification.

The research in Fairview Slopes followed a programme of thick description, but it was placed within the context of broad structural shifts in the nature of society and the economy. Many attempts to account for gentrification have sought for explanation at the broadest scale. For example, structuralist perspectives have depicted the sweep of capital across geographical space; in each round of uneven development, new territories emerge as centres of growth. With the most recent economic crisis, according to this perspective, gentrification comes to the fore as the bearer of the next wave of capital accumulation.

To paint only with this broadest of brushes, however, is to neglect the part played by people themselves--the actors who motivate the sweep of capital. Moreover, it fails to explain fully the distribution and character of gentrification. In response to this problem, therefore, some scholars have looked for explanation in the social realm. The focus here has been on locating social actors with respect to transformations in relations of class and gender. Residential "choices" are connected to structural position.

This forms the basis of what I recommended as the first level of approach to gentrification: as a conjuncture of contingent social processes.

At the second level, I argued that gentrification must be approached as a context for negotiating social conduct. Rose (1984) pointed in this direction by suggesting that some marginalized social groups respond to changes in the economic sphere by pursuing gentrification as a strategy for coping. Here there are implicit links to parallel research at the locality scale where feminists have highlighted the implications of changes in production for the sphere of reproduction (and vice versa). In the work of Pahl (1985) and Christopherson (1983), attention is drawn to the flexibility in the organization of households as they negotiate a position within the context of changing constraints and opportunities. In my case study in Fairview Slopes, I followed and expanded upon this suggestion by drawing in a broader range of considerations involved in constructing satisfying and workable styles of life. These were applicable not only to Rose's marginal gentrifiers, but also to the more "mainstream" gentrifier households of Fairview Slopes. In Chapter 6 I stressed the creative "use" of space--in terms of the "strategic setting" and the "tactical townhouse". I drew out the changing modes of articulation of "public" and "private" realms, between career and domestic life. I emphasized the "messiness" of social life on the ground--the family in flux, for example--which legislates against the imposition of reductionist explanation.

This second stage of research couples the study of gentrification to the geography of restructuring, exploring the interplay of territory and social practice, production and reproduction. The differentiation of space connects directly to the deep-seated processes of change in capitalist societies. New class and gender relations are defined differently in different places. The ethnographic approach of thick description draws attention to the small

features of everyday life which underscore the message of the geography of restructuring: that broad forces for change are differentially expressed on the landscape, as local social worlds mobilise and negotiate a response which is always spatially constituted.

It is, however, largely at the third level of approach that the present work makes a contribution which extends the literature into new areas. At this third level, gentrification is interpreted as a constituent in the construction of social identity. This treatment acknowledges the significance of the emergent powers which may be captured by objects in the process of social and cultural change. Having found some parallels in the debate on the "urban question", in Chapters 7 and 8 I explored the changing meaning of the inner city, as a property of the stratified world which must be incorporated into the explanation of gentrification. By stressing the expressive dimension of place, I argued for a revival of a critical cultural geography. This explores how new dimensions of meaning emerge and dissolve in the context of social relations, and how they are incorporated in the process of subjectification: the making of the self. In this process I have examined the reflexive relations between identity and the landscape: how residents engage the postmodern landscape of Fairview Slopes in the construction of their own identity.

Restructuring in the economic, social and cultural realms necessarily proceeds unevenly across space. A task for the geographer, therefore, is to unravel the complex horizons of events which, in synthesis, compose each locality. In turn, our concern is with landscapes as contexts which act back upon social relations, often by naturalizing the way that society is ordered, occasionally denaturalizing it (Duncan and Duncan 1988). The meaning of landscape is never inherent, always intertextual: produced, reproduced or contested. The landscape of gentrification, I have argued, is establishing

itself as an emergent cultural pattern, upon which is inscribed a particular version of social relations. Those relations I have described, in shorthand, as "postindustrial" and "postpatriarchal", terms selected with the aim of conveying some sense of the tension between change and continuity in class and gender relations with renders unreliable the application of grand theory.

At the same time, however, my own text--my own choice of heuristics--naturalizes a bias which gentrification itself makes concrete. This is a bias in favour of those who, in many respects, may be considered the most fortunate creatures of the postindustrial mode of class relations and the postpatriarchal mode of gender relations. While gentrification is a landscape proclaiming "success", it is not a landscape inhabited by the unskilled worker facing redundancy as industry is restructured, nor the female-headed household which has lost its male breadwinner--people whose lives are also (and even more literally!) postindustrial and postpatriarchal.

Since my concern is with the construction of meaning and how this is encapsulated in landscape, I feel these terms do capture what has become the dominant popular discourse of gentrification, from the glossy magazineze of the advertisements--our condominium childless couple again--to the glossy metaphorese of the architecture. At the same time as establishing the growing power of these images in popular culture, however, I have traced what Gregory (forthcoming) calls the "loose-knit texture of everyday life", which resists capture by these--or any other--models. I have shown the tension implicit in the establishing of new patterns of lifestyle, the textual communities of "producers" and "consumers" who struggle--sometimes together, sometimes opposed--over the meaning of these new models. In imposing my own construction on events, of course, I offer my own master-narrative which is as open to deconstruction as any other: the contention that gentrification is a phenomenon supported by three posts--the postindustrial, the

postpatriarchal, and the postmodern.

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APPENDIX A
RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Before we start I want to assure you that your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality. When I write up my findings from the interviews I will not use any names, and I am the only person who will know that you were one of the respondents.

In my letter I suggested that it might be quicker and easier if I tape record this interview, but if you prefer I will just take notes.

This form sets out the conditions of the interview; it says that I will treat your responses confidentially, and that you have no obligation to answer any question.

There are four major parts to this interview. The first is the longest, and it concerns your reasons for living here. The second section deals with your household characteristics, the third with your career and leisure activities. The fourth section brings them all together.

1) Let me start by asking if you think of this neighbourhood as having a name?

If gives name other than "Fairview Slopes" or "The Slopes":

Many people think of this neighbourhood as Fairview Slopes-- do you ever think of it as that?

2) Do you own or do your rent?

If owns: Are you a member of a co-op or of a condominium?

3) Were you brought up in Vancouver?

What other area or areas of Vancouver have you lived in?

4) Where were you living immediately before you moved in here?

How long were you living there?

Were you renting or did you own?

If at previous location under a year, also ask for location before that.

5) Would you tell me how you came to be living in this neighbourhood?

6) Did you consider moving to any other neighbourhoods?

Did you actively search for a home in other neighbourhoods?

7) What would you say are the attractive features about this neighbourhood as a place to live, starting with the most most important one first?

8) When you thought about moving to this place, were you aware of any other homes available in this neighbourhood?

Did you look at any other homes available in this neighbourhood?

Some of following not applicable to custom-built homes.

9) What would you say were the major factors which attracted you to this building, starting with the most important one first?

10) How did you learn that this place was available to rent/buy? For example, was it through informal contacts, just passing by, some kind of advertising or something else?

11) Have you seen any advertising or marketing material for this (development or) unit, either before or after you looked at the (development or) unit?

If so: What kind of material was that, and what impression did you get from it?

12) This is a very general question, but I am interested in how people perceive their environment. I would like you to describe for me, in your own words, the exterior of this building.

13) Were there any features about the exterior of this building which especially attracted you to live here?

On features volunteered: Can you say why they attracted you?

After volunteered answers then prompt:

- Materials
- Colour
- Decoration or features of the facade
- Layout (courtyard, privacy)
- Entrance or doors
- Windows
- Other

14) Did you have a choice of more than one unit in this building?

15) What features about this unit were especially attractive to you?

On features volunteered Can you say why they attracted you?

After volunteered answers then prompt:

- Size of unit
- Number of rooms and layout
- View
- Levels
- Special features
- Interior decoration
- Ease of maintenance
- Privacy, noise
- Parking
- Other

16) Since you have moved in, have you made any major changes to the unit?

17) I am interested in how you use the space in this unit for different activities. Are there any ways in which you use this space in a "non-conventional" manner?

Prompt: Is there any space set up for an office area?
Was the potential for doing that one of the things which attracted you to this unit?

18) Do you carry out any activities in the courtyard, other than just coming in and out from your unit?

Prompt: do you ever chat with neighbours in the courtyard?

19) Many people feel that the exterior of their home is an expression of their personality and lifestyle. Do you think the exterior of this building makes a statement about about your personality or your lifestyle?

Have you made an attempt to express something of your personality or lifestyle that can be seen from outside?

20) Some people have said that Fairview is distinctive because of the architecture of some of its new buildings. Do you think you would have chosen to live in this building if it was a more conventional or ordinary design (If asked, give example of apartment-type units in Kitsilano)?

If yes Do you think you would have chosen to live here if all the residential buildings in the neighbourhood were more conventional or ordinary?

Do you think you would have chosen to live here if this building was the same as it is now, but the other residential buildings in the neighbourhood were more conventional or ordinary?

That was the first and longest section of the interview.
I would now like to talk about the composition of your household.

21) How many members of the household are there?

If more than one:

What is their/his/her relationship to you?

What is/are their/his/her approximate age/ages (within five year age groups)?

22) So there is/are just the --- of you living in this household? And has that been the case since you first moved into this home?

When did you move in here?

23) Do any (other) of your close relatives live in Vancouver?

24) Would you tell me, using the categories on this card, the highest level of education you have attained.

Also for other household members.

25) I have a very general question now. Some of us think of our lives as going through a progression of stages. These stages might relate to levels of education, to changing your occupation or perhaps taking on new responsibilities in your occupation. They might also relate to different periods in your family life. Can you identify major stages in your adult life, since you 'left home'?

Did these stages correspond to changes in where you lived? (Probe).

26) This is another broad question, and it concerns the kinds of aspirations or motivations which are most important to you. Some people say they are very family oriented, some are most concerned with their career, others might say they are most interested in "living the good life"... and of course, you might be concerned with a combination of these things, or with other things.

Can you say what kind of aspirations are most important to you?

How have these aspirations influenced the choices you have made about your family life?

How have these aspirations influenced your choice to live here?

Let's move on to the third section, which deals with your occupation and other activities

27) Are you presently in paid employment or self-employed, and if so, what is your occupation?

Is this a full-time occupation?

If not: So about how many hours a week is that?

If retired or temporarily unemployed: Ascertain nature of previous occupation and approximate time since stopping work.

28) Where is your place of employment?

29) Do you take any of your work home?

If so: In an average week, about how much time would you spend on your work at home?

30) Does your work require you to travel out of Vancouver?

If so: About how frequently and for how long each time?

31) Do you feel you are strongly committed to the type of occupation you have now, or do you anticipate moving to another type of occupation by choice? (I don't mean moves like promotion).

32) So about how long do you think you will be employed in the type of occupation you have now?

33) Do you do any other work, for example freelance work, in addition to your main employment?

If so: Where do you do this work?

34) Not for one person households

I would now like to ask the same questions about the occupation of your -----.

Is he/she in paid employment or self-employed, and if so what is his/her occupation?

Is that a full time occupation?

If not: So about how many hours a week is that?

If retired or temporarily unemployed: Ascertain nature of previous occupation and approximate time since stopping work.

35) So where is his/her place of employment?

36) Does he/she take any work home?

If so: In an average week, about how much time would he/she spend on his/her work at home?

37) Does his/her work require that he/she travel outside Vancouver?

If so: About how frequently and for how long each time?

38) Do you think he/she is strongly committed to the occupation he/she has now, or do you anticipate that he/she will move to another type of occupation by choice?

39) So about how long do you think he/she will be employed in the type of occupation he/she has now?

40) Does he/she do any other work, for example freelance work, in addition to his/her main employment?

If so: Where does he/she do this work?

41) This may be a difficult question, but what would you say are (or were if retired) the differences and the similarities between your work life and other aspects of your life?

Prompt: What about the meaning that work has (or had) for you?

42) Other than strictly leisure activities, are there any other activities with which you (or other members of the household) are actively involved, for example, clubs or organisations, education, and so on?

43) In your leisure time outside the home, what activities do you commonly participate in?

Who do you usually share those activities with?

44) Do you spend much leisure time at home?

Do you do much formal entertaining at home, such as dinner parties, and if so, how frequently?

45) Do you find this location convenient for shopping?

What places do you visit, in an average week, to buy food?

In which parts of Vancouver do you do most of your clothes shopping?

In which parts of Vancouver have you bought most of your furnishings?

46) Where do your close friends live? (Of those in Vancouver, which area or areas do they live in?)

Do you come in contact with any of your close friends in your work?

47) Have you any friends living in this neighbourhood? Do any live in this building?

If so: How did you get to know them?

Are you acquainted with any other people living in this building?

If so: How did you get to know them?

In the last section I have some questions which deal with the way you organise your time and activities within the household, and how that relates to where you live.

48) So my first question is about your typical daily schedule. I would like to get a sense of the time you spend in different locations and doing different things. Could you think of a weekday which was not too unusual, perhaps yesterday, and give me a general idea of the places you visited and what you were doing in each place.

Prompt--eg. so it is usual for you to work late?

49) Not for one person households

How does your daily schedule fit in with the other member(s) of your household?

Prompt on time spent together.

50) About how many times per week do you eat your evening meal at a restaurant?

51) What would be a typical weekend for you?

Prompt: Do you do any work at the weekends?

52) I would like to know if you have any deliberate strategies to free up time.

--Do you have a microwave?

--Do you buy a lot of prepared foods, for example, frozen or deli foods?

--Do you use any kind of maid service?

--Do you use any professional services for cooking or help when you entertain?

Anything else?

53) How do you feel, "in theory", about the way tasks should be divided up between male and female partners in a family?

54) Not for one person households

Do you think the other member(s) of your household agree with your feelings, "in theory"?

55) Not for one person households

In practice, how are different tasks divided in this household, for example, cooking, maintenance, etc.?

Why are they divided in this way?

56) Not for one person households

Is there one person in this household who takes the role of head of household?

Can you explain how this works?

57) Not for one person households

When you decided to live here, did one of you particularly influence the decision?

Did you have different priorities when you were looking for somewhere to live?

58) Not for one person households

Do you have any form of financial contract within the household?

Does one household member make most of the decisions about spending the household money?

59) You may prefer not to answer my next question, about income, but it would be useful to my research if I could get some general sense of household incomes in the area. I have a card here with some income groups, before tax. Would you tell me which group your household fell into last year?

60) For two-wage earner households only

Approximately in what ratio do each of you contribute to the household income--fifty fifty, or what?

Probe on who earns more

61) What kinds of things do you prefer to do with your money after you have paid for necessities. For example, do you prefer to save it, invest it, or spend it on certain goods and activities?

62) Would you say your kind of family type and the lifestyle associated with it is an advantage to you in the kind of occupation you have chosen?

63) For dual-earner households

Would you say that the way your household is organised (ELABORATE) is something you planned for and anticipated, or was it more a result of unforeseen circumstances?

Are there any ways in which you would prefer to reorganise the household responsibilities and tasks?

64) Not for one person households

If you were not living in this neighbourhood, do you think it would be more difficult to have your household organised the way you want it (ELABORATE)?

65) If has children living at home

How did having children affect your occupation and the way your household was organised?

66) Do you think living here has helped or will help your career in any way?

67) What do you think is the reputation or image of this neighbourhood?

Wait, then prompt:

Do you think it has a reputation for being high status and prestigious?

Do you think the reputation or image of this neighbourhood had any influence on your decision to move here?

68) I would like to end by asking about the future.

Looking forward to the next five years, what changes do you anticipate in the composition of your household?

If mention having children: If you had children, how would you try to arrange the organisation of household tasks and childcare?

(If appropriate) Would this affect your marital status?

If already has children living at home: How did having children affect your occupation and the way your household was organised?

69) Do you anticipate moving your residence, and if so, where would you be likely to move?

If yes Why would you be likely to move?

Thank you very much for answering all those questions. Let me assure you that when I write up my findings, I will not be using any names, and no-one will know that you were one of my respondents.

I hope that the questionnaire was interesting to you. I would be interested in any comments you have to make about the topics we covered.

I am asking my respondents if they can suggest any other people who live in the Fairview Slopes area who might enjoy taking part in this research project. If you can think of anybody like that, you might like to call them first to see if they would be interested. I would be very grateful if you could give me a contact.



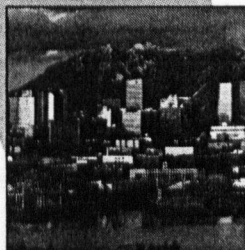
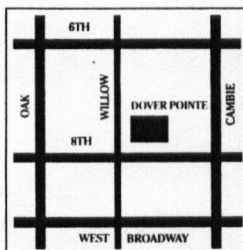
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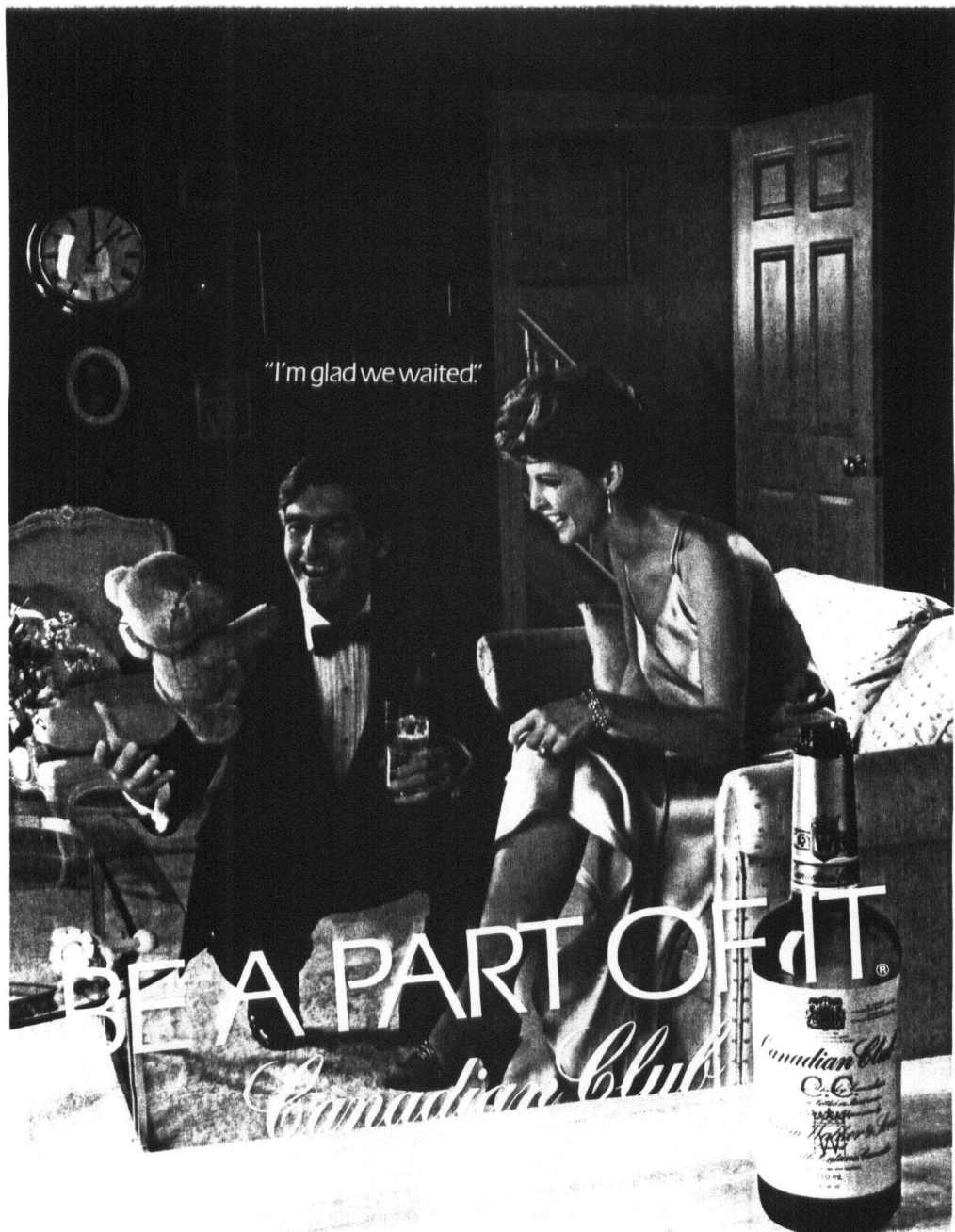
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