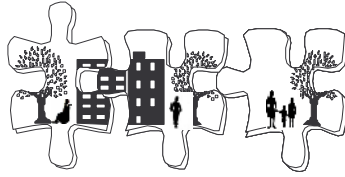




WINNIPEG INNER CITY RESEARCH ALLIANCE



Housing Intervention and Neighbourhood Development: Harnessing Change in West Broadway

Report 2: Housing Interventions and Market Responses

November 2004

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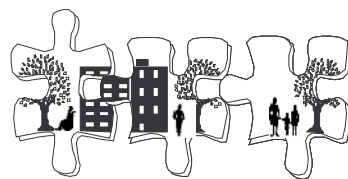
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Project Description

During the period leading to the early 1990s the West Broadway area of inner city Winnipeg experienced many signs of neighbourhood decline, such as residential fires, housing abandonment and structural deterioration. From the mid 1990s considerable amounts of volunteer energy, public funding and philanthropic resources were devoted to turning the neighbourhood around, focusing efforts through community development, employment training, arts programs, housing upgrading and other themes. Many individuals and organizations combined their capabilities in the attempt to create an inclusive and diverse community.

Casual observation in West Broadway suggests that the interventions have been influential. Many houses have been renovated and the appearance of many street faces in the neighbourhood indicates physical improvement. This suggests movement towards the attainment of a stable and mixed neighbourhood. However, at the same time, anecdotal evidence also suggests that in some respects, neighbourhood revitalization may have led to resident turnover rather than, or as well as, to improvement in the lives of residents. For example, there are reports of rising rents due to low vacancy rates and of upgrading of rental units, leading in turn to residents moving out of the area to more affordable districts such as the St. Matthews and Spence neighbourhoods and the North End.

The study Housing Intervention and Neighbourhood Development was grounded in the need to take stock of changes in the neighbourhood and to relate these to knowledge of the nature of neighbourhood change. It was intended that this would enable an informed assessment of whether dynamics such as gentrification, disinvestment and stabilization appear to be in operation in parts of the neighbourhood. This assessment, in turn, would support discussion of strategies that could be implemented to help guide how the neighbourhood would unfold.

Project Objectives

The project examined neighbourhood conditions in West Broadway, housing market activity and perceptions of residents and key informants. It aimed to identify recent changes and to assess them in relation to neighbourhood dynamics such as gentrification, disinvestment and stabilization. In order to inform the problem stated above, the project had the following specific objectives:

1. To identify spatial patterns in renovation and demolition activity since 1998: The City of Winnipeg was able to supply building permit data for the West Broadway neighbourhood from January 1st, 1999 to July 12th, 2003. This data proved extremely useful though it was limited in two ways. First, not all building renovation/maintenance activity is performed with a permit. We had intended to track all residential modifications using a 1998 photo inventory of 800 properties throughout the neighbourhood as the basis for comparisons with current

conditions. Unfortunately, this analysis was limited by the coarse resolution of the original photographs.

Second, work indicated by building permits is not necessarily carried out. However, inspection of the data revealed very few building permits for which the work was not done.

Brian Grant of West Broadway Development Corporation was very helpful in locating additional sources of information to assist in our analysis of renovation activity since 1998.

2. To identify spatial patterns in rent increases since 1998, and the reasons used to justify the increases:
Several requests were made to the Residential Tenancies Branch for the required information. However, after protracted delays our requests were not fulfilled.
3. To compare the current physical condition of housing with that in 1998:
The HIND researchers met with members of a North Point Douglas research team to discuss the methods they had developed for assessing housing conditions. We decided that it would prove difficult to make firm comparisons between the current state of housing stock in West Broadway and the situation in 1998, largely because of the limitations of the photographic inventory mentioned above.
4. To compare Census figures from 1996 and 2001:
Analysis of census data was done between 1996 and 2001 and it was extended back to 1971. Variables included: unemployment, average household income, ethnicity, population age and housing quality.

The analysis was done in stages: pre-1960, 1960-1981, 1981-1991 and 1996-2001. This was for the purpose of demonstrating trends such as progressive decline and recent revitalization.

5. To gather the views on neighbourhood change of key informants knowledgeable of the area:
The key informant interviews (see protocol in Appendix 1) brought out three sets of group comparisons to assess key informant views on the neighbourhood's change: resident vs. non-resident; length of familiarity with neighbourhood; and community workers vs. business owners.
6. To understand how different types of residents and previous residents feel about change in the area:
Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of residents (see Appendix 2) and the analysis focused on four differentiating variables: homeowners vs. renters; education levels; men vs. women; and average household income.

Like the key informant interviews responses were categorized for easy summation and the most frequent responses assessed using the different variables. Five respondents were ex-residents and two were in a transitional stage of moving out. There was difficulty in locating ex-residents so the eventual sample size was too small to make any definite conclusions in the analysis of their responses.

7. To convene a process of discussion on strategies for relating to the processes of change:

A focus group session was held to meet this particular objective. The session included a presentation on the findings from the interviews and the census data analysis. The participants were then posed questions regarding the conclusions drawn from the previous analysis and asked to make comments regarding the results. Finally the participants were asked to discuss strategies for developing the neighbourhood further.

8. To disseminate the findings and analysis locally and to selected external audiences:

The results of the study have been disseminated in the focus group, at conferences and journal articles.

The present report deals with Objective 1 and a companion report covers Objectives 4 through 6. Objectives 7 and 8 are ongoing.

Abstract

Substantial efforts in housing and community development have been focussed onto the West Broadway neighbourhood of inner city Winnipeg in order to stem processes of decline. This paper focuses on the effects of housing work in which residential buildings have been purchased and / or renovated with the support of public or philanthropic resources. Beyond the upgrading of housing stock and the provision of improved quality accommodation, the impacts of such housing work are poorly understood. The paper seeks to document and interpret the relationship in space and time between supported housing work and improvement to the stock undertaken without support. It finds that in some cases in West Broadway, assisted housing work appears to have had a stabilizing influence on the local area and in others there are indications that private sector activity has concentrated near assisted interventions. Early indications of the emergence of gentrification pose particular tasks for community development workers and funding agencies in West Broadway and provide lessons for this work in other areas.

Introduction

Over the years leading into the early 1990s, the West Broadway neighbourhood of inner city Winnipeg, Canada was in decline, showing signs of physical deterioration and social malaise. Its proximity to the central business district and to upscale neighbourhoods posed further threats of redevelopment and gentrification (see Figure 1). From the mid 1990s considerable amounts of volunteer energy, public funding, and philanthropic resources have been expended in the name of neighbourhood stabilization, with programs focusing on community development, employment, community art, housing and other themes. Physical upgrading of the stock has been widely recognized and anecdotal evidence abounds that social change has been rapid in the area.

Since the summer of 2003, a team of community and academic research workers funded by the Winnipeg Inner City Research Alliance has been taking stock of changes in the neighbourhood. Social changes were documented through analysis of Census data as a first step. Then the study attempted to elaborate relationships between residential real estate investment by philanthropic organizations and investment by private agents. Its overall goal has been to determine whether neighbourhood change can be attributed to philanthropic housing work and to interpret any consequences for community development strategies. The study focuses on the slice of time between 1999, when revitalisation interventions were gaining momentum, and July 2003, when the data gathering phase was underway. The time frame is narrow, though nonetheless it appears to have captured certain neighbourhood dynamics as they were unfolding.

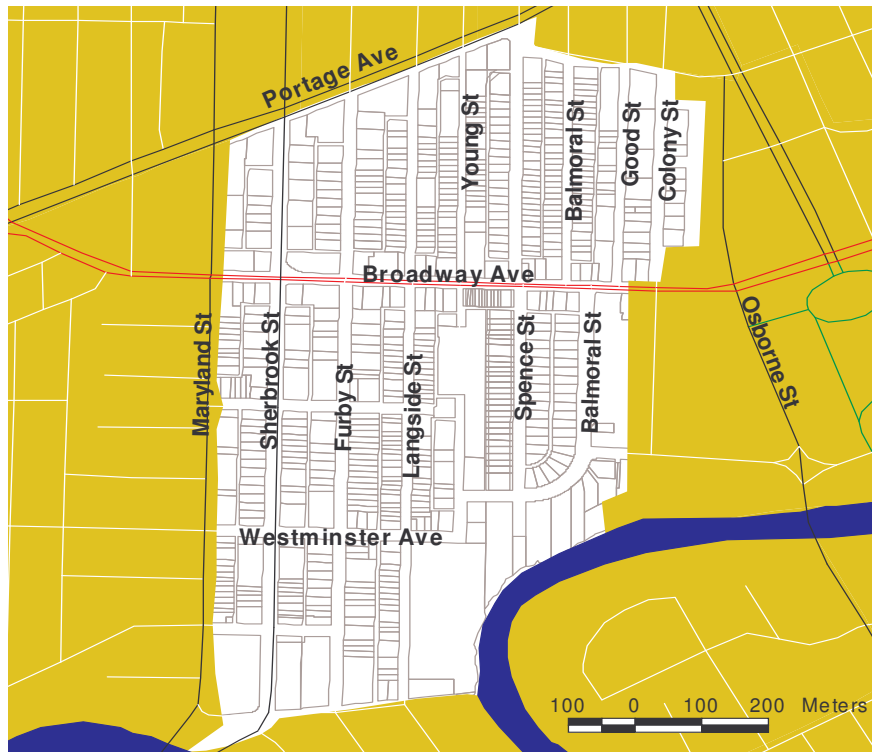
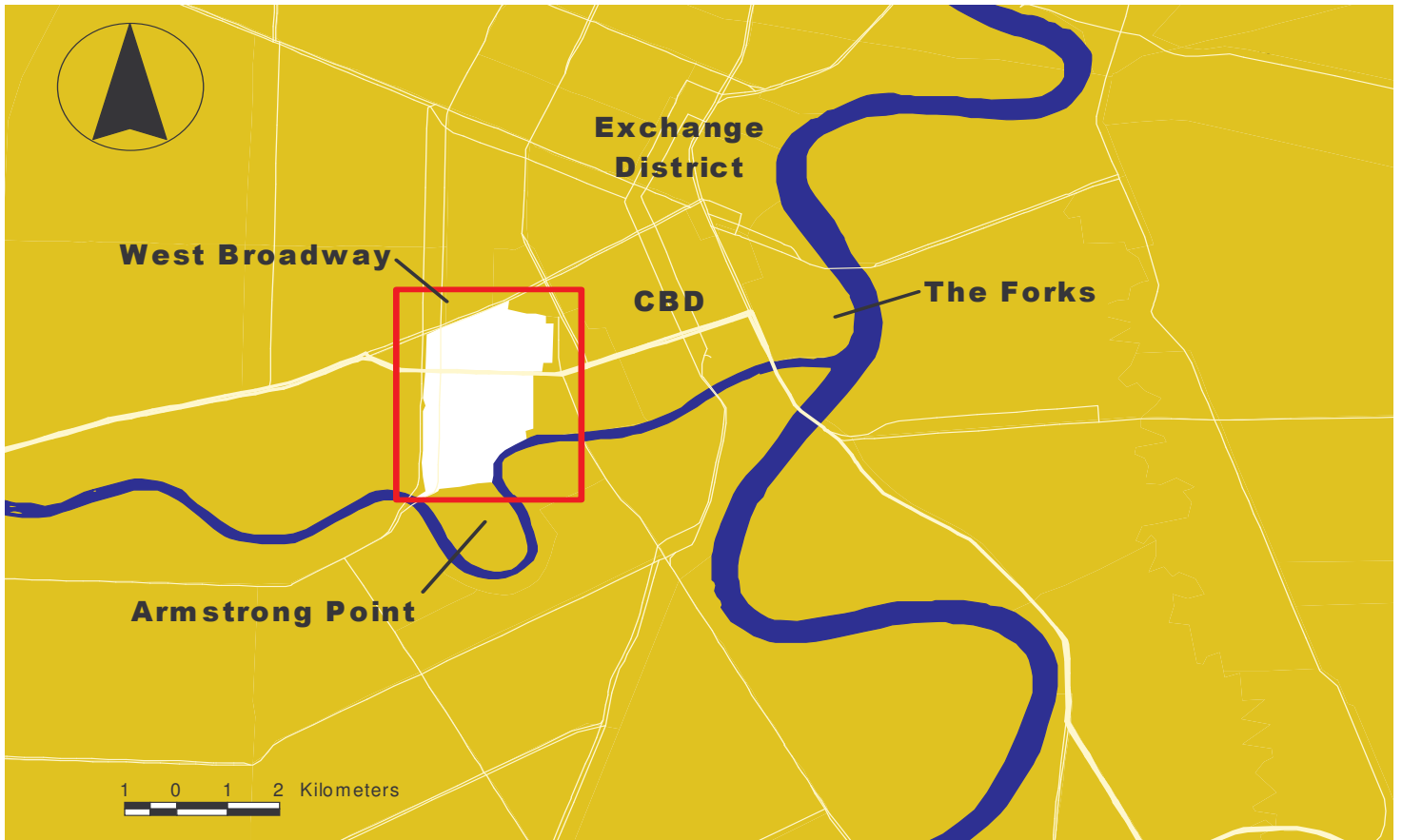


Figure 1. West Broadway in its Urban Context

The present paper first provides a discussion of neighbourhood change and gentrification. It then outlines neighbourhood change in West Broadway as seen through Census data, showing that a period of decline has been followed by a period in which indications of gentrification can be seen. The next section describes the main housing interventions that have been implemented in West Broadway by public and community organizations. The paper then explores relationships between these interventions and real estate improvements in the area as indicated by permits for residential construction and modification to be undertaken without direct public or organized community support. Finally, consequences of the study for community development theory and practice are outlined.

Neighbourhood Change and Gentrification

The viability and stability of inner city neighbourhoods have received the attention of urban analysts for generations. Early work of human ecologists in the Chicago School (see Keating and Smith 1996) examined processes of neighbourhood change, such as invasion-succession in which the movement of relatively disadvantaged groups into relatively affluent neighbourhoods precipitates the exodus of earlier residents; and filtering in which neighbourhoods are abandoned by relatively affluent groups and occupied by relatively disadvantaged groups (Baer and Williamson 1988). Grigsby and others pursued this work in the post-war period (Galster 1996; Grigsby et al. 1987) producing an extensive body of knowledge on residential real estate markets, setting out expected effects of factors such as changing incomes, population shifts and government policy.

Others have focused on typologies of neighbourhoods; for example, the Canadian Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) categorized neighbourhoods into states of decline, stability, revitalization and massive redevelopment (McLemore et al. 1975). Similarly the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the USA used a five-stage model to characterize the life cycle of neighbourhoods, from healthy areas with homogeneous housing, through the ageing of the housing stock, eventually to abandonment (Birch 1971); and Goetze and Colton (1980) linked housing conditions in three categories to market perception in four categories to create a detailed schema of neighbourhood types. Processes identified by the human ecologists such as filtering and invasion-succession were implicitly or explicitly considered to be what would cause a neighbourhood to change its characterization, through activity in markets for housing.

Critics have pointed out that much of this work was conditioned by its contemporary experiences and expectations. For example, Metzger (2000) argued (not without controversy – see Galster 2000) that theories of neighbourhood change took the forms they did because they reflected the racial oppression prevalent in cities in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s. Similarly, the MSUA categorization emerged from contemporary urban experience with concern for deteriorating neighbourhoods and for the many neighbourhoods experiencing large-scale redevelopment by public and private proponents throughout urban Canada.

Another criticism was that work on processes of change and neighbourhood categories became, in effect, self-fulfilling in terms of its consequences for

neighbourhood change (Metzger 2000). For example, the designation of a neighbourhood in a negative category could prompt urban underwriters such as insurance companies and mortgage lenders to pull out of an otherwise viable residential area, starving it of capital and thrusting it towards decline.

Life cycle imagery suggests a tendency towards decline as an area ages, though contemporary work on urban decline probably will avoid the problem of anticipating an inexorable trend towards deterioration by examining decline as a complex outcome of inter-related processes (Carter and Polevychok 2003). However, casting back almost a couple of generations, the proclivity of urban theory for the anticipation of decline was underscored when a counter-tendency was recognized in the 1960s. Urban sociologist Ruth Glass noticed the reoccupation of run-down, inner city housing in the inner London borough of Islington by relatively affluent populations, and the consequent displacement of less affluent populations. This phenomenon of gentrification has been observed in many settings since (for a useful review see Lees 2000) and as Lyons (2001) notes, in many instances it appears to exhibit similar characteristics, such as:

- Displacement or replacement of a marginalized resident group by a higher status group;
- Renovation of previously downgraded buildings for residential use;
- Uneven occurrence, found in some areas but not others; and
- Staged development.

Gentrification contrasted starkly with predominant urban knowledge by showing that areas could recover from deterioration, and its “discovery” therefore led to a substantial rethinking of urban theory and practice. It has been the subject of heated debate in both academic and community activist circles. Due to its significance in urban theory, academics have disputed the causes of gentrification – the very understanding of basic processes within contemporary cities is at stake. Due to the significant consequences of gentrification, the concern for activists has been divided, with one strand of opinion appreciating the reinvestment in housing and consequent reversal of the trend towards deterioration of the urban fabric; and another lamenting the adverse effects on residents inevitably displaced as they become priced out of the housing market.

During the early period of gentrification research it was recognized that the phenomenon was related to a number of factors: the post war baby boom was heating up the housing markets; incomes were rising and household formation was at high levels; and immigration was placing pressure on the cities. It was noted that gentrification could come about when the initiative of a particular group, possibly real estate investors or a particular social group, changes expectations or opportunities in a local housing market. Studies found, for example, that gentrification could be associated with the settlement of an inner city neighbourhood by artists, gays, lesbians or other groups seeking to carve out a liberating niche in the city. The staged aspect of gentrification is that late newcomers in a gentrifying area may differ from the early proponents: they are likely more risk averse, conservative and mainstream; and in fact early gentrifiers may leave. This reflects the changes in the local market brought about in the early stage of gentrification.

Two clear waves of gentrification have been identified, each associated with its own imagery of the gentrifying population, as shown in Table 1. More recently a new wave of gentrification, known as "supergentrification" or "financifiers gentrification" has been identified in world cities such as London (Battersea and Putney) and New York

(Brooklyn Heights), in which extraordinarily wealthy people have displaced earlier gentrifiers (Lees 2000).

Table 1. Images of Gentrifiers

<u>1960s - 1970s</u>	<u>1980s-1990s</u>
"pioneer"	mature
thrift	conspicuous consumption
hippie, yippie	yuppie
class denial	new middle class
VW micro bus	BMW
sweat equity	interior decorators
Greenpeace	bonsai trees, Body Shop
municipal socialism	New Left
spiritualism	secularism
yogic flying	mountain bikes
counter culture	mainstream

Source: Lees 1996: 455

Note: Quotation marks have been added here to the term "pioneer" to recognize that in the case of gentrification, as in other contexts, the newly arriving groups could be thought of this way only in their own gaze – others occupied these sites previously.

As research matured and thinking about gentrification became more theoretical, the debate about its causes centred around two themes: one focussing on supply-side economic arguments and the other on cultural factors, or what could be called the demand side. Supply side arguments, largely attributed to Neil Smith, focus on the rent gap, the difference between actual and potential revenues produced at a site. Initially invoking a life-cycle idea of neighbourhood change, these arguments hold that as a neighbourhood ages, disinvestment by individual owners through neglected repairs, by private urban underwriters through redlining of mortgages and insurance, and by the public sector through under-funding of public services, will lower the ground rent produced at a given location. The neighbourhood filters down. When the gap between the actual and the potential ground rents is large enough, then investors or members of a social group such as those mentioned above might precipitate a process of gentrification. The market-led side of gentrification prompted Smith to characterise the phenomenon as a "back to the city movement by capital, not people" (1979: 538).

Ley has been a major proponent of the cultural or demand side arguments. In essence, the view is that cultural shifts have led to changing tastes, including a preference for inner city living. The cultural shifts have been traced to economic restructuring and the emergence of the post-industrial society; the gentrifiers are thought to be affluent, professional workers in high-end services. While one rationale for gentrification is based on the preferences of this emerging group, others have pointed out that for working women with domestic responsibilities, downtown living is a matter of necessity in order to secure access to employment and services (Rose 1984).

A number of commentators have argued that the supply side arguments provide partial but not necessary conditions for gentrification to occur. By the late 1980s the relationships between the two broad lines of reasoning around gentrification became apparent as a result of theoretical developments in the social sciences. We can talk, for example, about the expression of the preferences of the new middle class in restructuring cities through gentrification, but it is economic restructuring itself, the emergence of the post-industrial economy, that gives rise to the new middle class in the first place. Marxist understandings of the profound effects that capital has on urban areas enabled critics to frame supply side arguments in terms of structural forces in society. Cultural issues came to be associated with human agency – the capability of people to act independently of structural forces. Both elements have mounted pressure on the inner city as a place of residence, and, linking economic and cultural influences, have "*imposed* gentrification upon certain neighbourhoods" (Redfern 1997: 1280; italics original). It has become apparent that gentrification may come about in certain circumstances, but also that it is a contingent, not necessary, outcome in a "tension between accumulation and community" (Beauregard 1990:856).

The possibility that neighbourhood revitalisation can alter local housing markets and thereby create conditions for gentrification has been a concern because the latter process can displace the residents that revitalization was intended to benefit. Nevertheless, strategies to protect neighbourhoods from gentrification are elusive, as market dynamics can be difficult to apprehend. A possible defence is to build community cohesion through enhancing social capital (Temkin and Rohe 1998). Temkin and Rohe invoke the analogy of cheesecloth, where tight weaving is impervious to unwanted change and a loose weave leaves a neighbourhood at threat (1996).

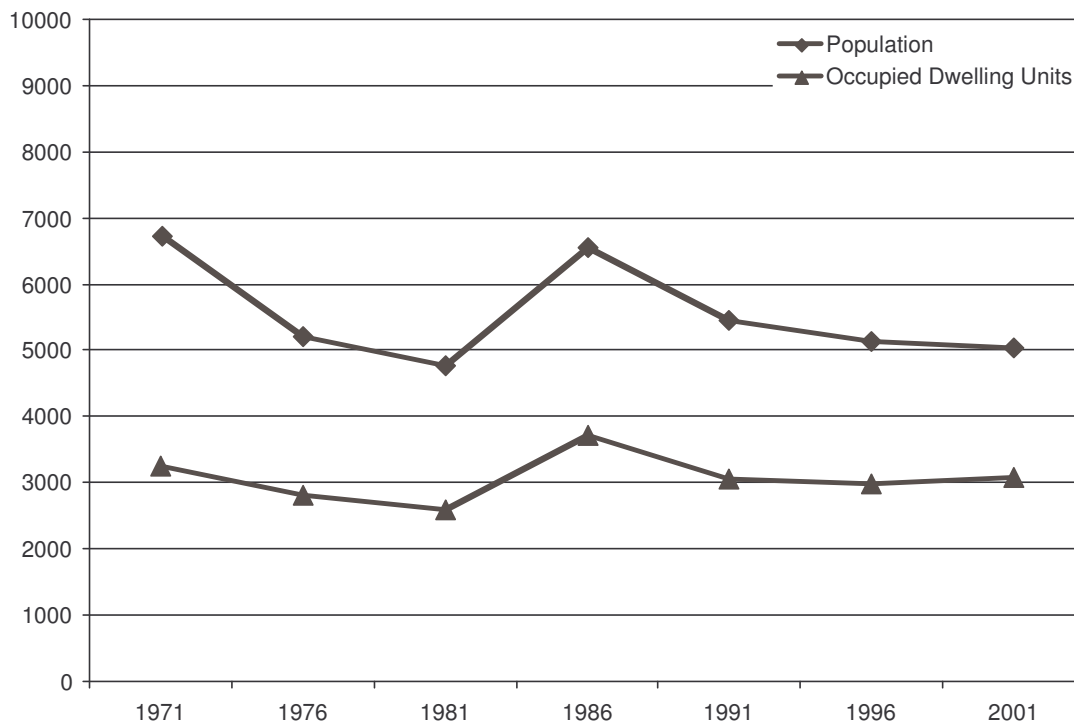
Contemporary community development strategies attempt to address both perspectives on gentrification – community and housing market issues – by engaging in service provision, organising and participatory planning, on one side, and house buyers' education, house owner support for renovation and maintenance and mortgage finance (Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation 2004), on the other. These strategies recognise that community development has to embrace the twin components of building social inclusion and of upgrading and stabilisation of the housing stock. Yet even well laid plans can founder in their attempts to arrest gentrification once it comes into play, as market forces tend to undermine community cohesion (Peterman 2000). We now turn to an overview of social change in West Broadway to provide context for the ensuing examination of changes in the housing stock.

Social Change in West Broadway

West Broadway is a mixed neighbourhood of about 5,000 people exhibiting many characteristics typical of Prairie inner cities in Canada. (Further details can be found in Anderson 2004.) The dominant single ethnic origin in the 2001 Census was European at over 25%, and the number of people reporting an Aboriginal ethnic origin was 27.5%. West Broadway was built up as a middle class area, and while many streets filtered down through the real estate market as suburbanization drew affluent populations away, some streets retained middle class residents. As seen in Figure 2, over the period from 1971 to

1981 the population dropped by close to 30%, with a strong recovery by 1986 and a levelling off following a decline to 1991. The trend in occupied dwellings is similar, probably reflecting conversion of single-family units to apartments and rooming houses in the mid 1980s. In the most recent inter-Census period (1996 to 2001) the number of dwelling units increased slightly, contrasting with the slight population decrease, suggesting occupation at lower densities.

Figure 2. Population and Occupied Dwelling Units, 1971 – 2001.



Source: Anderson, 2004.

Rates of owner occupation dropped from over 10% in the 1970s to about 6% in the mid 1980s, reflecting the middle class exodus and stock conversion. In the most recent inter-Census period, owner occupation increased. Also in this period, average household income in West Broadway rose 22.5% to about \$21,000, while the increase in the City was more modest, by 15.5% to about \$53,000. The rising income coincides with indications of marginalization, such as a high incidence of low-income households (55%) and individuals (70%); and thus it is likely that a group of residents with incomes considerably above the mean are raising the neighbourhood average. The figures suggest that the contrast in the neighbourhood between the middle class and poor groups is increasing. Furthermore, the growth in income and owner occupation points to gentrification.

Housing Strategies in West Broadway

In late 1996 and early 1997, a number of residents, community based organizations, housing organizations, planners, and representatives from all levels of government came together as the West Broadway Alliance with a mission “to renew and revitalize West Broadway through the responsible leadership and participation of the people who live, work and play in the neighbourhood.” West Broadway Development Corporation formed in May 1997 as the legal arm of the Alliance with a mandate to coordinate revitalization activities, invite new partners and develop programs where there were gaps. Alliance member groups and the Development Corporation initiated projects and programs in a range of areas including greening, education and employment, family resource centres and programs for youth. In terms of housing, Westminster Housing Society focused on developing affordable rental housing opportunities, while Lions Club of Winnipeg concentrated on renovation and restoration for home ownership. West Broadway Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre began the TLC (Tenant Landlord Cooperation) program that identified quality rental opportunities in the neighbourhood. Several programs included a specific component of making improvements to the housing stock and the locations of these are mapped in Figure 3.

The housing intervention of the Lions Club, a service organisation with large seniors’ residences just north of the neighbourhood, was focussed on Langside St. where housing decay had set in and marginalized populations had concentrated. Beginning in 1997 Lions bought and renovated 13 dilapidated houses that had been converted to rooming houses and apartments, and sold them as single-family dwellings in the \$75,000 price range. Westminster Housing Society, a local non-profit developer, has been active in the area since the mid 1990s and has developed 16 properties, encompassing about 63 units, currently utilising resources from donations, foundations and public programs. The Community Land Trust (CLT) was formed through a partnership between the West Broadway Development Corporation and Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation (WHRC). Under this arrangement the WHRC purchases properties, renovates the houses as necessary, sells the houses to individuals through rent-to-own arrangements and turns the land over to the CLT for retention in order to dampen price escalation. Since 2001 the WHRC has bought 17 properties in different states of deterioration creating 22 units. Two of these will continue as rentals and the remainder are rent-to-own units with appraised market values in the \$60,000 to \$80,000 range. Small grants are available under the Property Improvement Program (PIP) to owner occupants (up to \$500) and owners of multiple unit buildings (up to \$1000) for assistance in aesthetic improvements. PIP has issued almost 60 grants and is administered by WBDC. Given the heavy demand for funds and the relative short supply, sections of the neighbourhood are eligible on a rotating basis that aims to give every property owner access to PIP funding once a decade.



Figure 3. Housing Interventions in West Broadway

The final housing program is the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) providing up to \$18,000 per unit to landlords or owner occupants. For the latter, access depends on need as determined by an applicant's income, and therefore the specific locations are not a matter of public record. However, it is widely understood that RRAP recipients in West Broadway are clustered around Langside Strtte. Alongside these recent interventions there are over 200 units of public housing in 11 developments administered by Manitoba Housing Authority or WHRC built up since the mid 1970s.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of these interventions intended to improve the housing stock, grouped together, by year and in total, expressed in terms of a density gradient. Raster GIS was used to compute the number of interventions per square kilometre. In order to allow patterns within the neighbourhood to emerge, interventions within 100 metres of any given location were considered in the computation. The resulting range of density values from the cumulative map was used to establish a standardized legend that was then applied to all gradient maps created during the analysis, thus making comparison between maps possible. It can be seen that the density ranges up to 1200 interventions per square kilometre in the cumulative map. Over the years the different housing interventions can be located. The Lions renovations are apparent in 1999 in the centre of the neighbourhood. In 2000 the concentration of PIP grants in the northeast is visible and in the remaining years the CLT and PIP grants are seen in clusters of interventions north of Broadway.

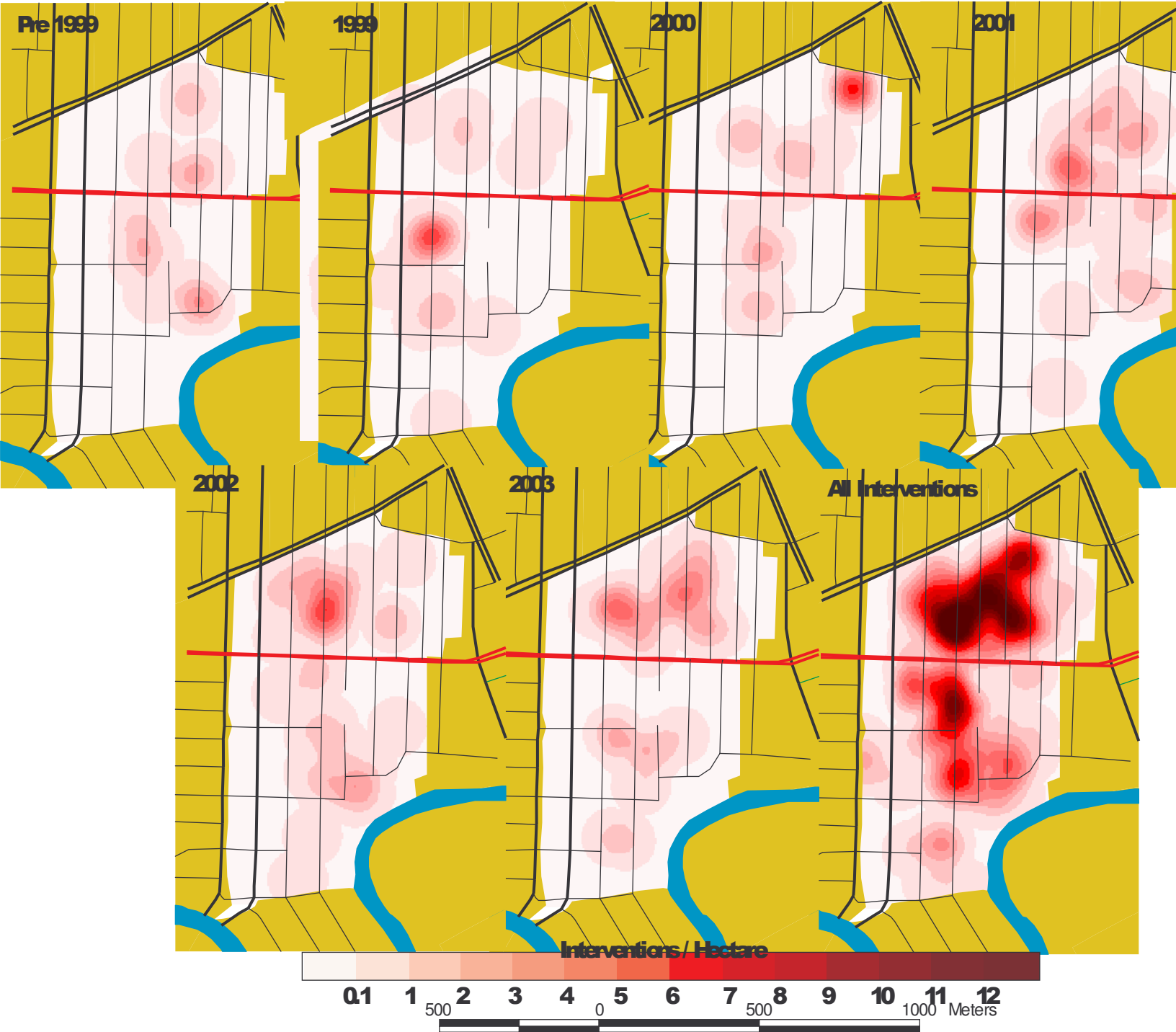


Figure 4. Density Gradient of Housing Interventions, Annual and Cumulative

Private, Unassisted Housing Activity

Municipal permits were used to indicate private market activity. One limitation of this indicator is that a property owner might take out a permit without undertaking changes to the property in the time period specified, though this seems to happen rarely because of the absence of repeat permits in the data. Another limitation is that some forms of upgrading, such as replacing windows, do not require a permit. Finally, some property improvements requiring permits might be undertaken without one. With these

limitations, the association over space and time between housing interventions and private activity was used to assess whether a causal relation could be seen. Data for alternate tests, for example, comparing permits in West Broadway to permits in the inner city; or examining rent increases, were not available. Housing sales were considered as an alternate source, but these can pose difficulties for interpretation as the price and frequency of transactions can reflect different investor behaviours and regional market factors.

Table 2 shows the total number of permits from 1999 through the first half of 2003. Overall, the number of permits taken out dipped slightly in 2001 and 2002, and appears to have recovered by the first half of 2003.

Table 2. Permits by Land Use by Year

Land use	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003/2	Total
Residential	34	33	26	31	19	143
Institutional	13	7	7	6	6	39
Commercial	12	22	13	12	7	66
Total	59	62	46	49	32	248

The focus of the present analysis is on residential land use and permits for the other uses were deleted from the data set. Similarly, a number of permits were for demolition or property occupation, and they were also deleted. Table 3 shows the purposes for which permits were taken out on residential property. The annual number of residential permits was fairly stable over the time, and the main purposes were interior alteration, accounting for almost one quarter of all permits, and non-structural and structural alterations, together accounting for almost 35%. The number of permits for new construction and additional construction was small, together about 12% of permits.

A distinction was made between permits for private unassisted activity and permits reflecting the interventions included above. Table 4 shows the building type for permits taken by these two types of proponent over the time period. The 46 private permits account for about 40% of all permits and the main building type was single-family housing. Private permitted activity is usually at a lower level than assisted permitted activity and its low in 2001 corresponds with the peak in assisted activity, suggesting that the two may be somewhat out of phase.

Table 3. Residential permits for building alteration by purpose

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003/2	Total
Exterior alteration	3	2	2	5	1	13
Interior alteration	3	6	3	9	8	29
Non-structural alteration	4	3	7	5	2	21
Structural alteration	6	10	3	1	1	21
Fire Repair	4	0	2	3	0	9
New construction	3	1	2	3	0	9
Addition construction	2	2	0	1	0	5
Other Repair	0	2	7	1	1	11
Foundation repair	0	0	0	0	2	2
Demolition & construction	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	25	26	26	28	16	121

Table 4. Residential Permits by Proponent Type, Year and Building Type

	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003/2		Total	
	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P	I	P
Apartment	1	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	2	3	10	8
Rooming house	3	3	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
Duplex	2	1	3	1	4	2	3	1	2	1	14	6
Single	6	2	5	4	12	2	5	6	5	1	33	15
Garage	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3
Triplex	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	5	1
Deck	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	2
Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Boarding house	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Total	15	10	15	11	22	4	14	14	9	7	75	46

Note: "I" indicates permits for interventions; "P" indicates private, unassisted proponent

Permits taken by private owners for unassisted work are used in this analysis. The density gradient for these permits over the time period can be seen in Figure 5. The

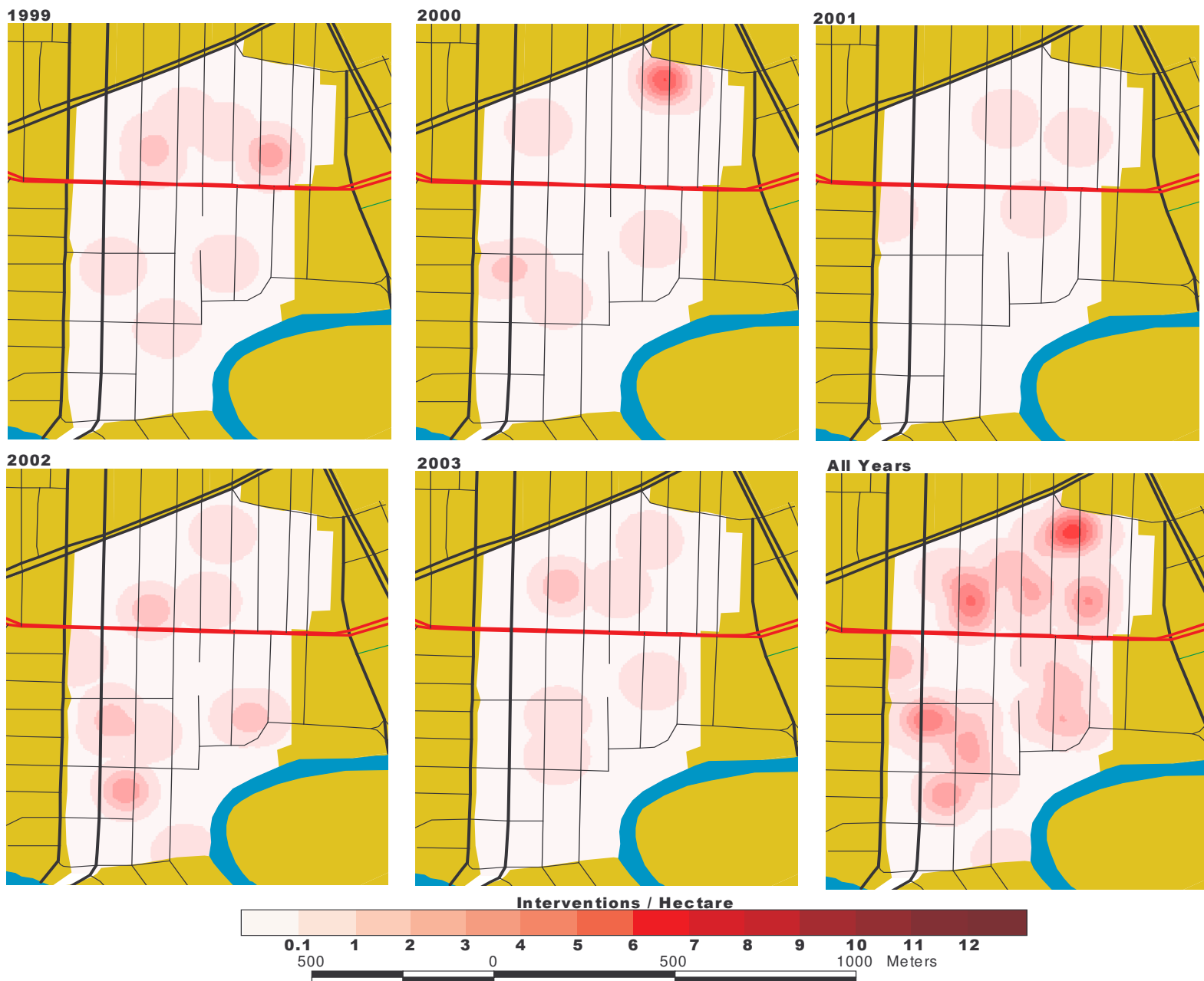


Figure 5. Density Gradient of Permits for Unassisted Work, Annual and Cumulative

number of permits is quite low in some years, particularly in 2001, yet the Figure does give an indication of the localization of private activity. In the area south of Broadway, private activity appears relatively slow to develop. Concentrations can be seen along Spence St, above Broadway, moving north from 1999 to 2000. The concentration in 2000 coincides with a concentration of interventions there in the same year. This suggests that the interventions fostered market activity, because interventions are given dates when the work was completed, but the permits precede market activity.

Comparison of Intervention and Permit Patterns

Comparing Figures 4 and 5, it is evident that the early concentration of interventions along Langside St. did not foster subsequent private investment in the immediate area. These interventions effected a remarkable change along the street, converting dilapidated rooming houses into quality singles and multiples, in a mix of occupancy costs and tenure arrangements; however, the current disposition of housing along this section of Langside would appear to be stable under current market conditions.

Dividing the area along Broadway, Figure 6 (south side) and Figure 7 (north side) enable a closer examination of the relationship between interventions and unassisted permits. Figure 6 shows that private investment appears to develop within the gaps between areas with interventions – private activity on Spence and Furby is most concentrated where interventions are least clustered. Referring back to Figures 4 and 5, it can be seen that most of the unassisted permits were taken out following the interventions; in particular, 2002 is the heaviest year. The relationship between the patterns strongly suggests a multiplier effect on nearby streets, though the effect is not immediately adjacent.

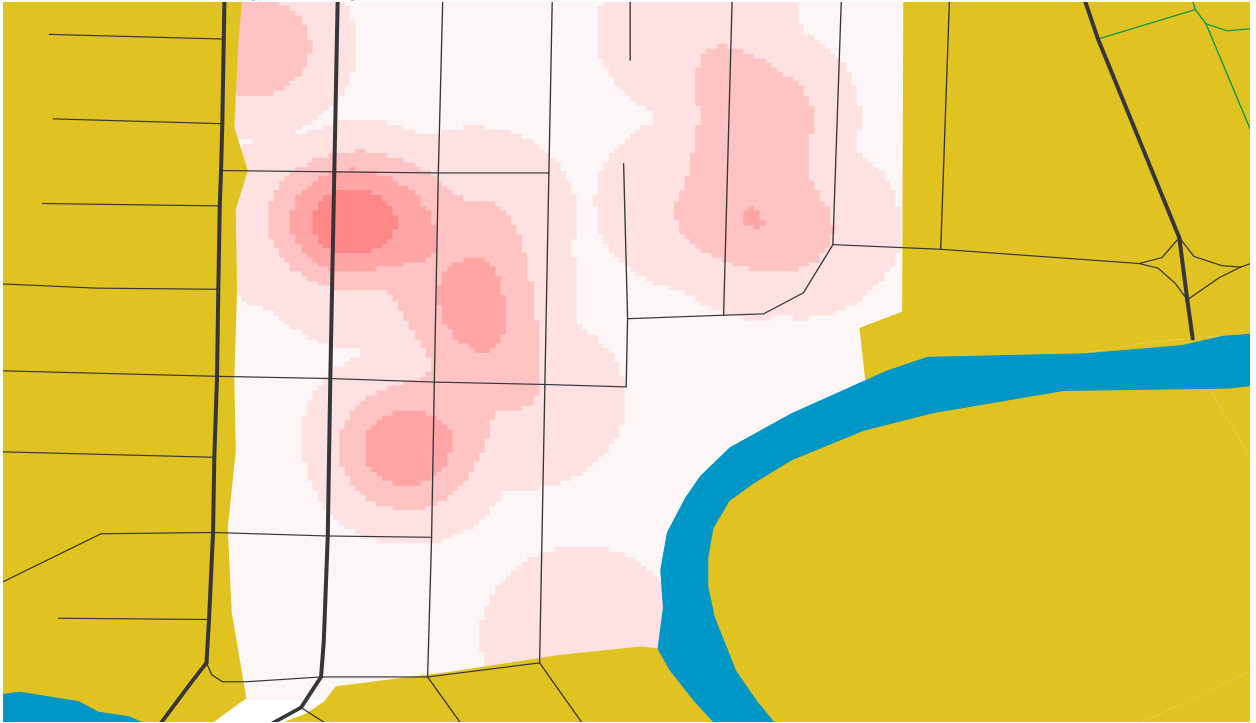
In the north (Figure 7), four clusters can be seen. First, the densest concentration is located in the north-eastern corner, along Balmoral and Spence. Figures 4 and 5 show that the main activity in this area, in both private permits and assisted investment, took place in 2000. With the exception of the PIP grants, interventions are dated from when they come on stream, after any physical alterations have taken place, whereas permits are dated prior to the alterations. Therefore, it is clear that the unassisted permitted activity was subsequent to the intervention and it is probable that the latter set the conditions enabling the former to take place.

The second cluster in Figure 7 is just above Broadway along Balmoral and Good, with its main year of activity in 1999. This area lies on the fringes of the intervention cluster, and Figure 4 shows that the nearby interventions took place well after, in 2003; therefore the private activity in this cluster was not a consequence of the interventions.

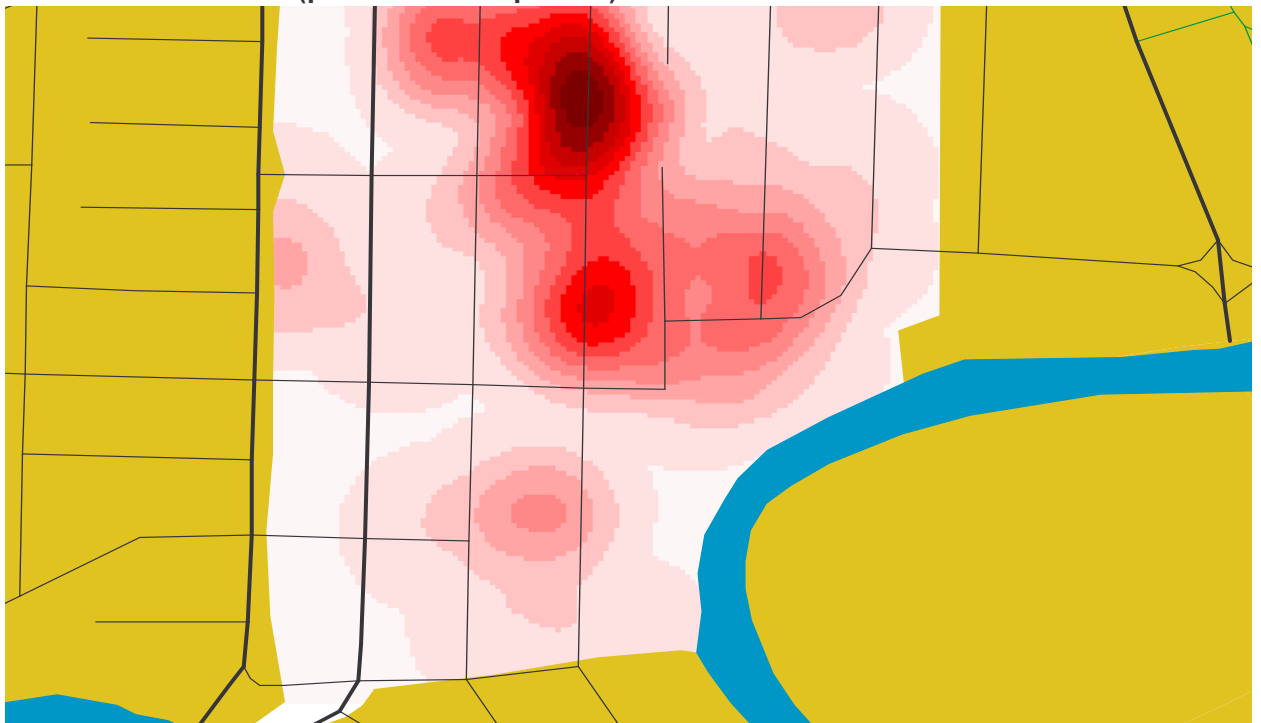
The third cluster in Figure 7, on Young and Spence, resulted from a gradual accumulation of investment over the years, and it is less intensive than the clusters. The area had early interventions in public housing and non-profit housing.

The fourth cluster in Figure 7 is the heavy concentration on Langside and Furby. Here, permit taking was evident as early as 1999 and it strengthened considerably in 2002 and 2003 after a hiatus in 2000 and 2001. In 2001 the Community Land Trust was active in the area, suggesting that it stimulated the private permitted activity.

Private Unassisted (permits)



Assisted Interventions (permits and non-permits)



100 0 100 200 Meters

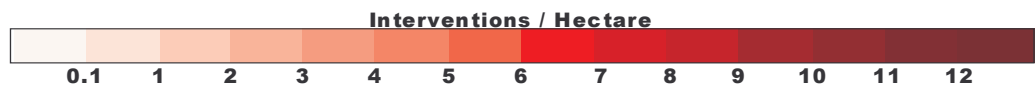
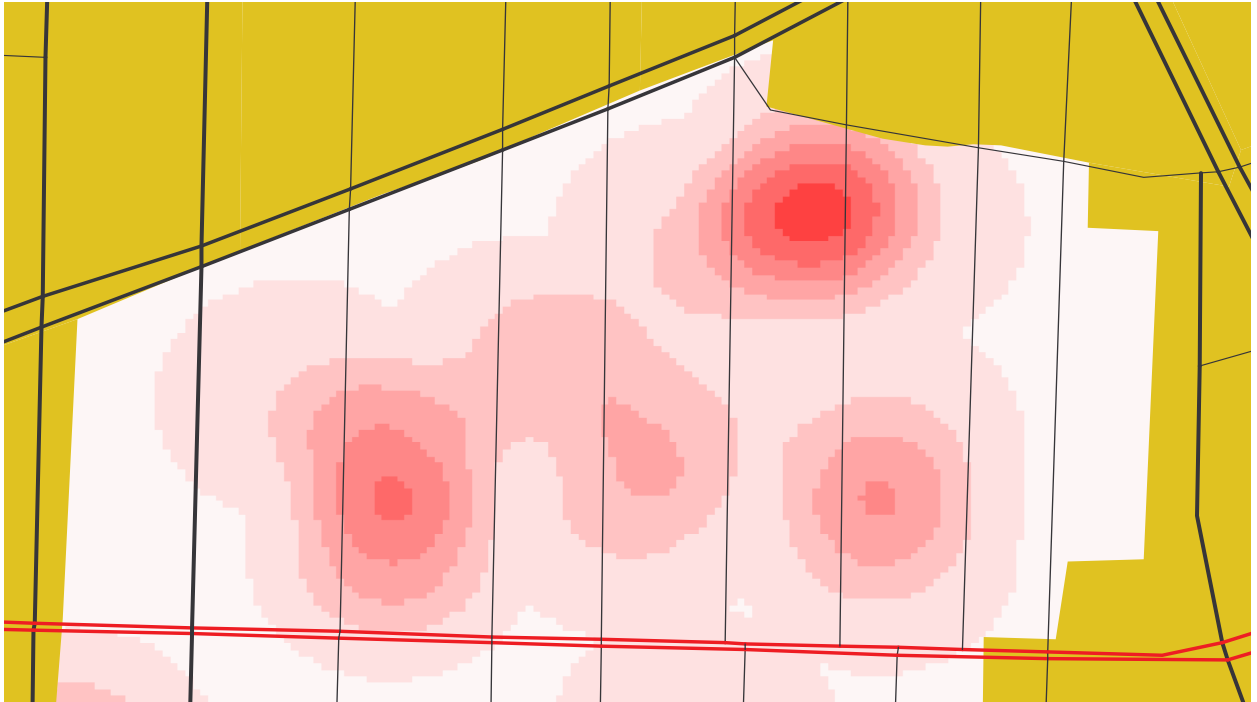
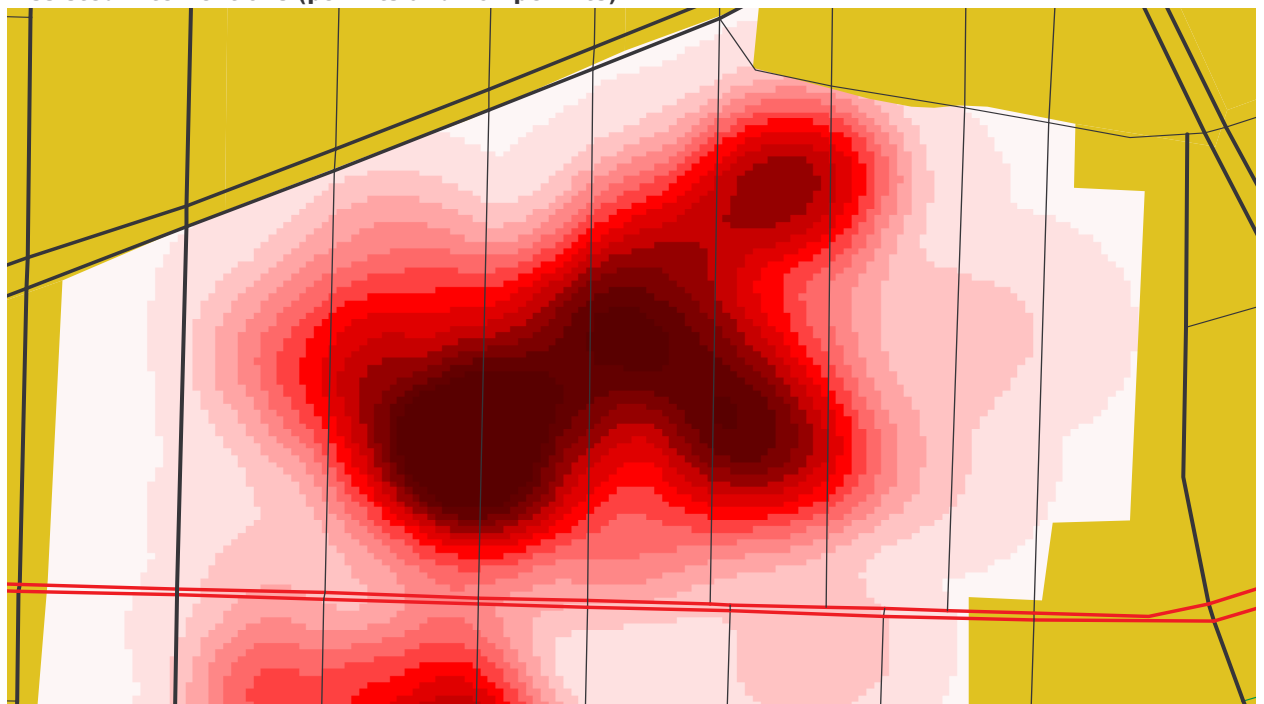


Figure 6. Comparison of Cumulative Interventions and Permits for Unassisted Work, South of Broadway

Private Unassisted (permits)**Assisted Interventions (permits and non-permits)**

100 0 100 200 Meters

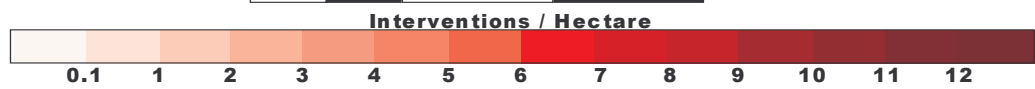


Figure 7. Comparison of Cumulative Interventions and Permits for Unassisted Work, North of Broadway

Discussion

The widely recognised turnaround in West Broadway can be seen in the investment in housing upgrading by assisted interventions and unassisted market activity. Given the trajectory of the neighbourhood towards deterioration in the years prior to the emergence of the West Broadway Alliance, it seems unlikely that the housing market was positioned to make this change in direction spontaneously. The spatial and temporal relationships documented in the findings reported above show that in many cases the assisted interventions preceded unassisted activity represented by permits, suggesting that conditions for the latter were set by the former. It is very likely that the interventions have paid off in terms of upgrading the housing stock by fostering additional investment in the area. It can therefore be concluded that the physical component of neighbourhood revitalization has been highly successful.

These findings have to be examined in the context of other developments and theoretical insights. At a general level, the 2001 Census showed indications of gentrification alongside growing social marginalization, and many of the housing interventions, however apt at bringing about improvements to the housing stock, have likely had the effect of supporting the former process rather than mitigating the latter. This strongly points to an emergent priority for West Broadway in a focus on building social inclusion, where gains have not been as clear. While limited increases to the stock of low-cost rentals have been made, it remains that the mix of programming has been predominantly directed towards owner occupation through assisting home ownership and property improvements. In the absence of sustained funding for low-cost housing, community development corporations faced with the need to upgrade and stabilize the housing stock have had little choice other than to use programs similar to those adopted in West Broadway, although they are inevitably focussed on moderate- rather than low-income people.

A social inclusion focus – and this applies to other areas as well as West Broadway – should include services and facilities such as those provided in local community development work aiming to enable local residents to participate in paid employment and training without barriers. It should also include a major emphasis on low-cost housing options and local one-on-one replacement for anyone displaced by housing upgrading work.

Looking Forward

Revitalisation work in West Broadway has achieved considerable success in upgrading and stabilising the housing stock. The housing interventions, supported by public programs, foundation money and voluntary activity, have directly provided many units of quality accommodation, and have also fostered unassisted improvements. It is a fair conclusion to say that these interventions have been instrumental in the reversal of the tendency towards decline in the area. This study has demonstrated that new issues emerge as the neighbourhood takes on a different character. As the agenda shifts to

social inclusion, certain circumstances should be recognised and some possibilities examined.

We suggest that this is a good time to take stock of the situation, and offer the following considerations.

- First, it is important to highlight that the challenges of providing quality housing to economically marginalized people without substantial public subsidy have been demonstrated in West Broadway. The expenditure of collective resources – public and foundation money, and people’s time – on stock revitalisation clearly appeals to a broad collective interest in maintaining the urban infrastructure. However, the level of resources required to link this collective interest with the further one of mitigating the processes that led to social marginalization is far deeper than what has been spent in West Broadway, because many of the strategies adopted must rely on fairly high financial contributions by program recipients.
- Second, consequences of addressing the physical side of revitalization without fully addressing the social inclusion side, as the literature suggests, encompass the stimulation of the market, the undermining of existing social cohesion and the possible gentrification of the area. Evidence of two of these outcomes is provided by the study.
- Third, recent projections (Winnipeg 2004) indicate that pressures on inner city real estate markets will intensify over the coming period, and this will intensify tendencies towards gentrification.
- Fourth, the current situation in West Broadway is that several properties have been improved, with the displacement in many cases of sitting tenants. It is likely that rent increases in local apartment buildings have followed renovations without permits, and that these have displaced others. Yet the neighbourhood retains a rich diversity in its housing stock, with small scale detached and medium scale multiple buildings in quality conditions ranging from abandoned and condemned, through to amenity levels afforded by the upper middle class. Therefore, while tendencies towards gentrification can be identified, it is clearly not the case that the neighbourhood has already gentrified. A wide range of possibilities is open to West Broadway – but without concerted effort, the default scenario will be that capital will overcome community and the area will give way to gentrification.

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