



SLUM
CLEARANCE
+
URBAN
RENEWAL

DAVID N. VERBEEK

SLUM CLEARANCE + URBAN RENEWAL:

A DEMOGRAPHIC AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN DOWNTOWN HALIFAX

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, neighbourhoods across Canada and the world underwent slum clearance in the name of planned urban renewal. Large-scale developments often strived to revitalize urban cores and free movement to outlying suburbs via planned regeneration. With even the most successful projects, some sense of place and community was always lost. Many cities, including Halifax, displaced entire neighbourhood structures.

This purpose of this study was: (1) to identify the effects of urban renewal on the built environment and land use arrangements; (2) to illustrate demographic changes resulting from slum clearance; and (3) to interpret changes in demographic and spatial patterns in Census Tract 009, located in downtown Halifax, Nova Scotia. The study area contains within its bounds the Central Redevelopment Area as defined by Gordon Stephenson (1957). Slum clearance began in the late 1950s and massive renewal projects - including Scotia Square, the Cogswell Interchange, and the Metro Centre - were completed throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

To illustrate findings pertaining to change in the area, numerous methods were required. This included: (1) analyzing spatial information as an indicator of change; and (2) collecting, interpreting, and presenting demographic information in comparison to data collected for Halifax.

The methods resulted in significant findings. The research suggests that renewal outcomes did not always meet assumptions about revitalization made by the CMHC, the City of Halifax, and Stephenson (1957).

The assumption that development must begin with a cleared site resulted in many negative spatial impacts. These include the disconnection of neighbourhoods; segregation of the pedestrian and the vehicle; superblock development with long, bland streetwalls; and a loss of commercial viability, to name a few. Assumptions made about increased sanitation and less overcrowding were correct.

Demographic assumptions formed about renewal in the city during the post-war period correctly predicted some changes and failed to accurately foresee others. Correct

assumptions made by the CMHC, the City of Halifax, and Stephenson (1957) include declines in population and density; far fewer dwellings and overcrowding; declines in family numbers and sizes; and a younger, single, male-dominant working class population. Some assumptions about redevelopment were incorrect. Income levels remained low; unemployment did not improve until the 21st century; the African (black) minority population increased compared to Halifax; education rates increased at the same rates as Halifax; and the incidence of crime remains higher than in any other peninsular census tract.

In a complete planning process, identifying the impacts of urban planning theories is important if lessons are to be learned for the future. Present and future planning theory, practice, and political decisions can be informed by examining past failures and successes.

The research tests assumptions about spatial and demographic changes that were seen as necessary in the middle of the 20th century. Assumptions, whether correct or incorrect, are still made about places in the city. The research might lead planners and citizens to test more carefully some of the assumptions made in future work.



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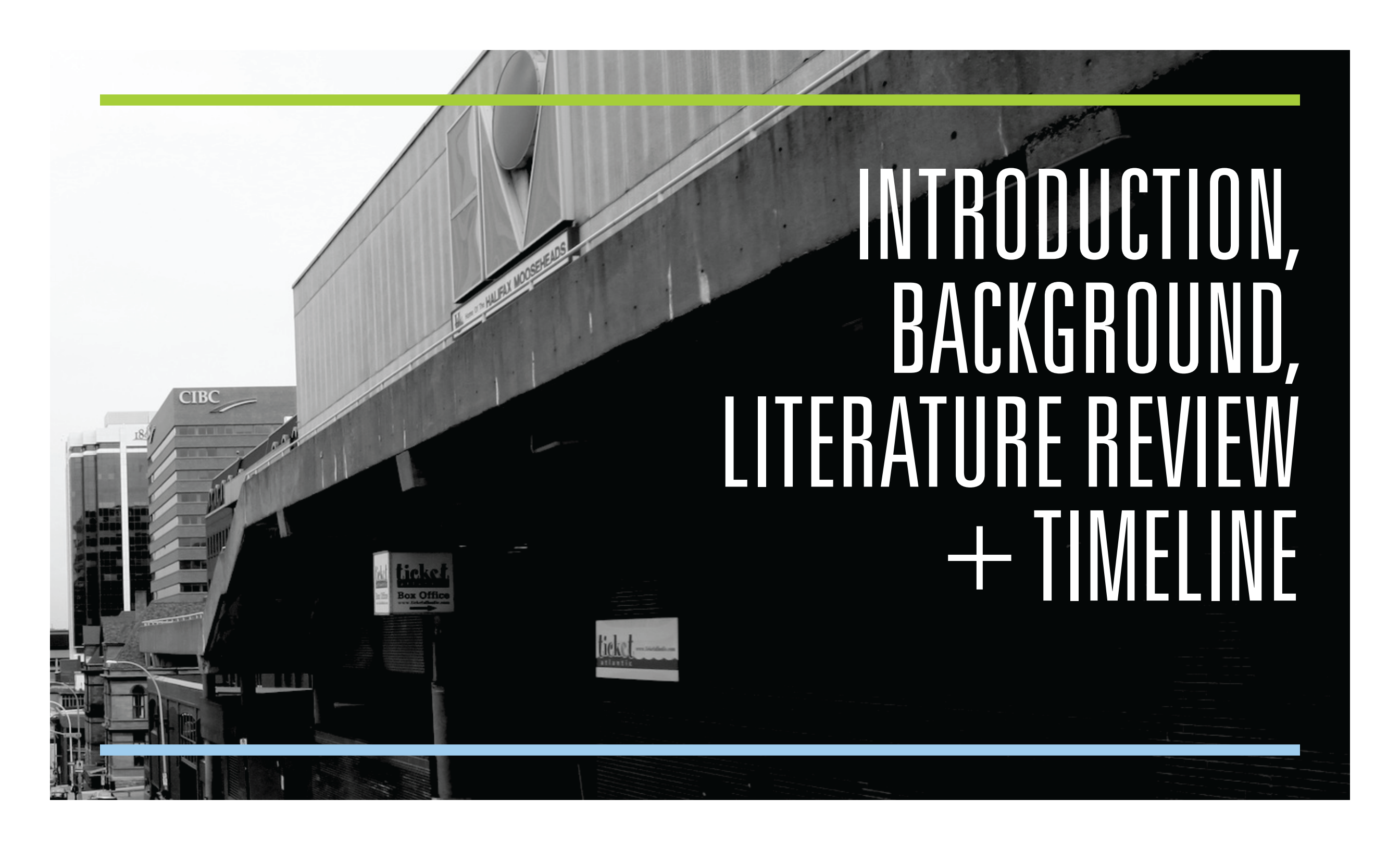
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A black and white photograph of the Halifax Mooseheads arena, a large modern building with a curved facade. In the background, a CIBC bank building is visible. The arena has a sign that reads "HOME OF THE HALIFAX MOOSEHEADS". There are also "ticket Box Office" and "ticket atlantic" signs. A large white text overlay is on the right side of the image.

INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, LITERATURE REVIEW + TIMELINE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH STATEMENT AND QUESTION

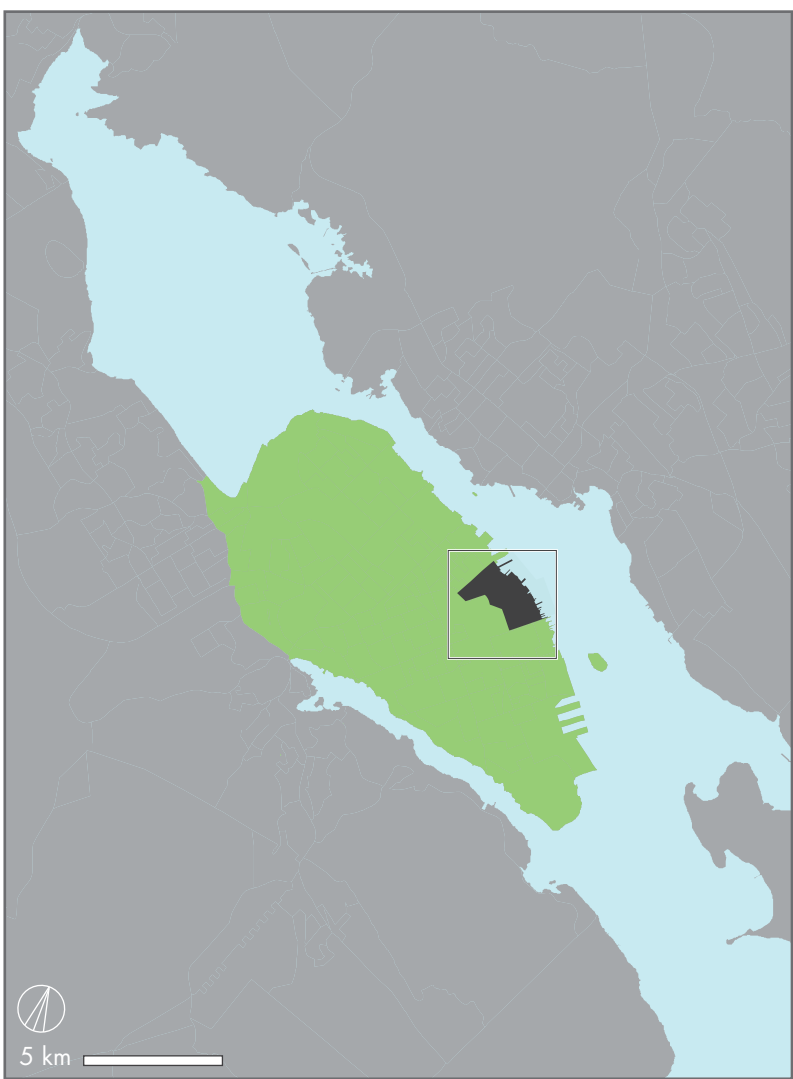
Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, neighbourhoods across Canada and the world underwent slum clearance in the name of planned urban renewal. Large-scale developments often strived to revitalize urban cores and free movement to outlying suburbs via planned regeneration. With even the most successful projects, some sense of place and community was always lost. Many cities, including Halifax, displaced entire neighbourhood structures.

This study seeks to illustrate patterns of demographic and spatial change in one of these communities. Located in downtown Halifax, Nova Scotia and bounded by Cornwallis Street, Sackville Street, the Harbour and the Citadel, the study area is based on Census Tract 009 of the Canada Census (2011). The study area contains within its bounds the Central Redevelopment Area as defined by Gordon Stephenson (1957) and the government of Canada as a slum area – slated for clearance and complete redevelopment.

While urban renewal schemes are often gauged by economic success, changes in resulting urban landscapes and community composition can be intricately complex and less quantifiable. To gain a further understanding of these changes – the products of urban renewal, the research question is as follows:

How did urban renewal influence demographic and spatial patterns in the study area?

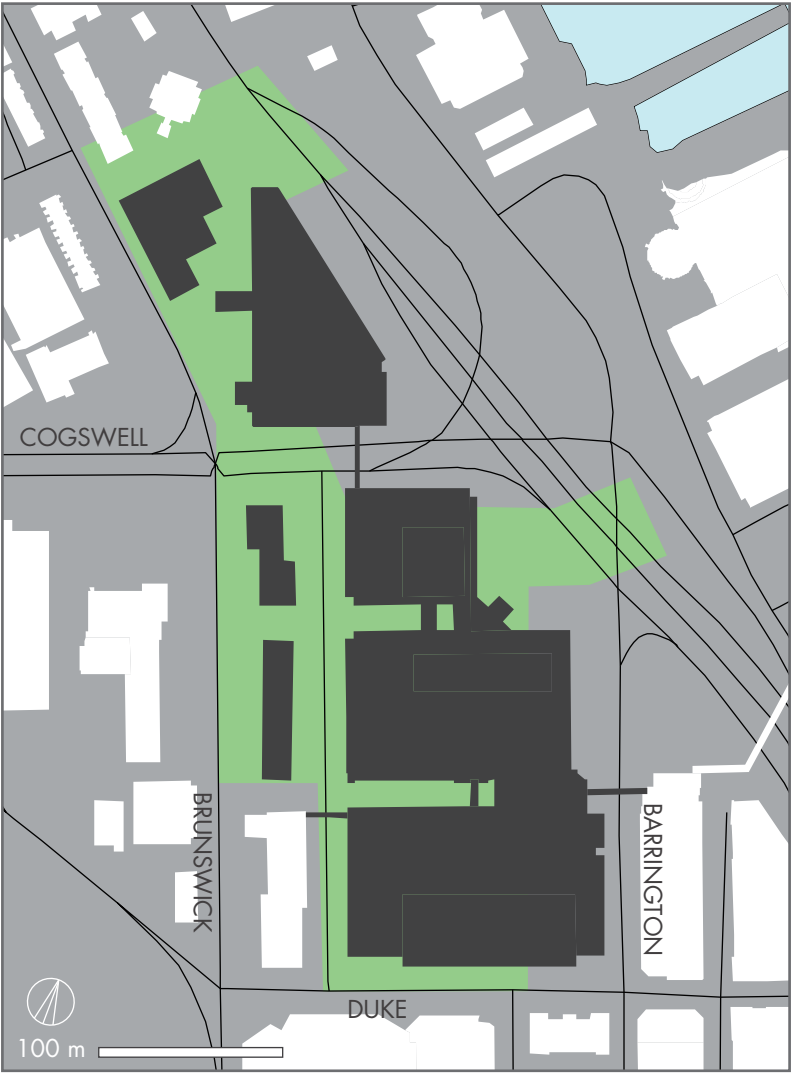
HALIFAX PENINSULA, NOVA SCOTIA



CENSUS TRACT 009, HALIFAX (2011)



CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA (2011)



CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA (1957)



2.0 BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 THE CENTURY OF DESTRUCTION

While the 20th century was a century of rapid urban, economic, and human population expansion, it was also one of previously unimaginable destruction. As landscapes across the world rapidly transformed, intricate networks of urban fabric and the communities that held them together were lost. Tung (2001) refers to the 20th century as the century of destruction. The bombing of Hiroshima, the methodical Nazi destruction of great architectural landmarks in Warsaw, and the economic spiral that hollowed inner city Detroit were dramatic losses in urban form and community structure via different contributing factors and means. Also rampant in leveling urban landscapes and displacing communities was the mid-20th century spree of urban renewal – intentional and widespread changes that saw historic neighbourhoods replaced with “highways clogged with cars and with mass-produced anonymous structures of concrete, glass, and steel” (Tung, 2001, 15).

Major cities in essentially every industrialized nation underwent significant renewal schemes throughout the 20th century. Though the city can be seen as a complex, constantly evolving system, urban renewal differs from

gradual change in the urban landscape through a large-scale public program of slum clearance.

Urban renewal is not a modern phenomenon; perhaps the historical trends of cities are more iterative than linear. Tung (2001) cites architects and city planners challenging plans to disassemble neighbourhoods and ancient monuments during the Italian Renaissance. While the transformation of urban landscapes throughout history has been a continual process, it is the rate of change that most distinguishes the 20th century from those previous.

2.2 AMERICA'S FEDERAL BULLDOZER ERA

Anderson (1964) refers to urban renewal and slum clearance in America during the decades following WWII as the Federal Bulldozer years. Throughout the 1950s, governments of all levels viewed residential blight in downtown cores across North America as a major problem. Slums were a perceived threat to the modernization of the city – undesirable and inconvenient to those in power as well as for the greater public good.

Anderson (1964) summarizes the typical post-war renewal process: an area for renewal was selected and approved by

a local renewal board, municipal government, and federal authorities; a public hearing was held and the project approved; land owners within the selected area could sell willingly or otherwise be forced to sell. The people living in the area were then forced to move; buildings and communities were destroyed and rubble cleared to make way for the installation of public utilities including streets, lights, sewers, and water. The land was then ready for development and typically sold to private developers directly or through bidding for about 30 percent of total municipal costs in land acquisition, clearance, and pre-development. The design of new buildings, typically high-density housing or large commercial structures, was agreeable to the city and developed by the new owners. The missing 70 percent of costs were obtained through federal subsidies for urban renewal, which averaged a 12-year timeline per project (Anderson, 1964).

Throughout the Federal Bulldozer years, large-scale public housing projects, shopping malls, freeways, and office towers were promised to produce vibrant urban cores and ease vehicular movement to and from the suburbs.



2.3 SLUM CLEARANCE: MOTIVES & CONSEQUENCES

Federal urban renewal programs, such as Canada's National Housing Act (1957), were generally initiated by those genuinely concerned with urban housing conditions (Anderson, 1964). Resulting housing was more sanitary than preceding slums, some of which were overcrowded, in poor physical condition, and without access to sanitary sewers or running water. However, the majority of buildings constructed as a result of urban renewal were unaffordable high-rise buildings, aggravating the low-income housing problem (Anderson, 1964). By 1968, 37 large-scale urban renewal projects were being developed across Canada, largely funded by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (Doehler, 2001; Grant & Paterson, 2012). While urban renewal of the Federal Bulldozer era may have initially had appropriate objectives, many of the means undertaken were questionable: the use of taxpayers' money; the forced demolition of homes; the scattering of residents and total fragmentation of communities; and the development of projects deemed more suitable by the standards of private developers and government boards (Anderson, 1964).

Neighbourhoods identified as slums were frequently

cleared – their citizens displaced and physical structures razed. Jacobs' defining work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), is a harsh criticism of slum clearance and community displacement. Jacobs (1961) cites slum clearance, the relocation of communities, and the resulting isolation of space as modernist planning downfalls and refers to this process of neighbourhood destruction as a failure of planning that victimizes slum populations. Further, many authors, including Maginn (2004), identify race as a major factor in the politics of slum clearance. In cases like Africville, property ownership – identified by Stephenson (1957) as crucial to providing socio-economic stability – was stripped from black families. Anderson (1964) observes racial undertones in what was sometimes privately referred to as the "Negro Removal" program of the Federal Bulldozer era in America; two-thirds of those displaced in the creation of primarily white, middle-class neighbourhoods were minority groups. From a demographic perspective, it was often claimed that the people who were displaced from urban renewal areas still had the same incomes, social characteristics, and skin colour but were now relocated to slums in new areas, often in the form of public housing. Moreover, when the government moved families from slums into homes deemed adequate, the average rent was considerably higher

(Anderson, 1964). With limited public housing made available and only about 50 percent of relocated families receiving government aid in moving and property losses, very few families could afford to move back into the communities from which they were displaced (Anderson, 1964, 60).

While post-WWII planning policies and a substantial portion of the general public initially supported urban renewal, groups of citizens across Canada opposed the clearing of neighbourhoods in the name of regeneration. In an interview with Kuntsler (2001), Jacobs referred to urban renewal as a mad spree of deception, vandalism, and waste – a mindless fad readily welcomed by most cities, especially in North America. Jacobs argued that proponents of slum clearance and urban renewal disregarded the ways that urban communities function (1961). Couch (1990) depicts the post-war fixation with urban renewal as a disastrous acceptance of poor decision-making processes and an industrialized approach to providing adequate housing at large scales. The preoccupation with slum clearance and urban renewal appears to be an experiment gone wrong, particularly for those displaced via slum clearance that gave rise to highways and high-rises.

2.4 THE ROLE OF GORDON STEPHENSON IN HALIFAX

Gordon Stephenson, a British town-planning expert, viewed renewal as a means to establish order. He was commissioned by the City of Halifax to undertake a study of housing on the Halifax Peninsula: A Redevelopment Study of Halifax (Grant & Paterson, 2012). Stephenson's 1957 report, working within the framework of Canada's National Housing Act and among the first of its kind in Canada, recommended extensive slum clearance across 56 city blocks in Halifax. The study identified areas for redevelopment based on data compiled from the federal census, provincial archives, and various municipal departments (Stephenson, 1957). In favour of relocation and large-scale development, the study captures the spirit of urban renewal typical of Canadian cities throughout the decades following WWII. Grant and Paterson (2012) imply that the City of Halifax went above and beyond the renewal recommended by Stephenson, clearing more land and displacing more people than envisioned in the initial study. Further, Stephenson's recommendations for Halifax failed to fully account for heritage preservation and favoured the automobile over the citizen (Grant & Paterson, 2012).

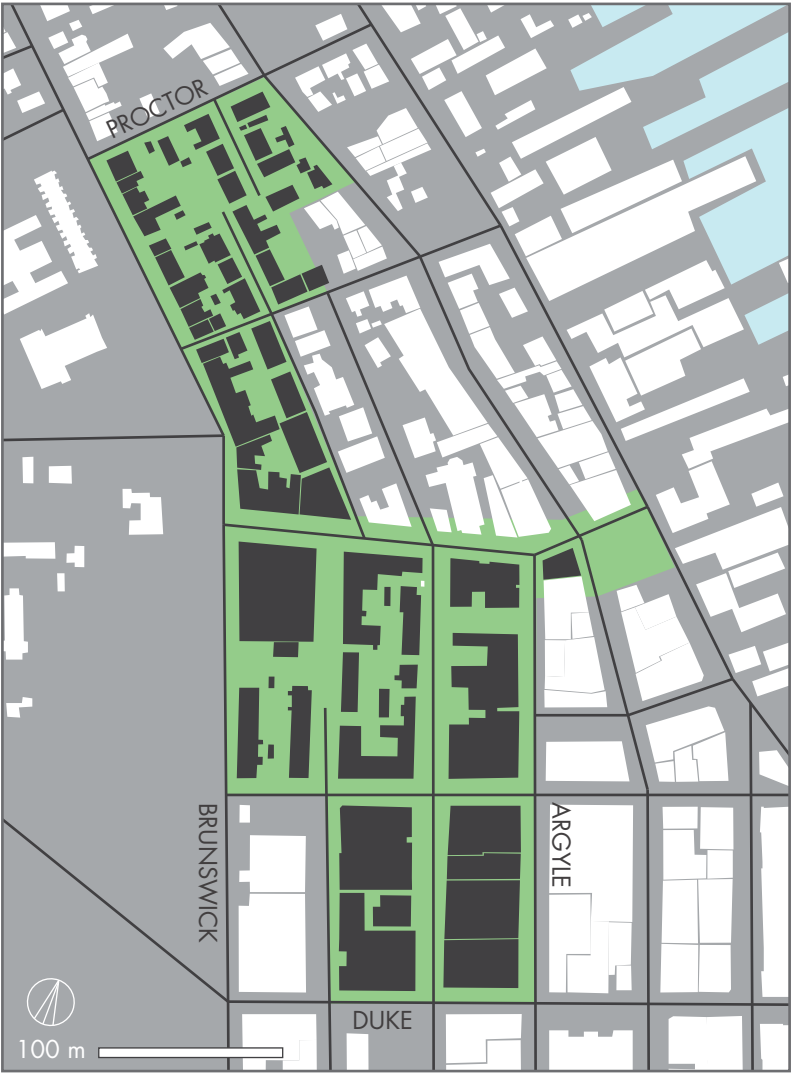
2.5 RENEWAL: LOSS, DEVELOPMENT & OUTCOMES

The study area was defined as Stephenson (1957) as one of the worst slums in Halifax. Stephenson (1957) referred to the area as packed and surrounded by unkempt streets and vacant lots. Stephenson recommended that the land within the Central Redevelopment Area be immediately cleared and made available for commercial development prior to any other area in the city (1957). Doehler (2001) cites overcrowding, drab buildings, high rent, and unsanitary conditions as factors in Stephenson's recommendation. Doehler (2001) writes that beginning in 1958, the municipality's energy was concentrated on the acquisition and clearance of land – 17.3 acres of which had been fully cleared by 1962. The CMHC had already cleared 50 percent of the land prior to the submission of a successful bid. While Stephenson's study emphasized the need for public housing, dwellings units in Mulgrave Park were not ready for occupancy when the Central Redevelopment Area was cleared (Collier, 1974, 167).

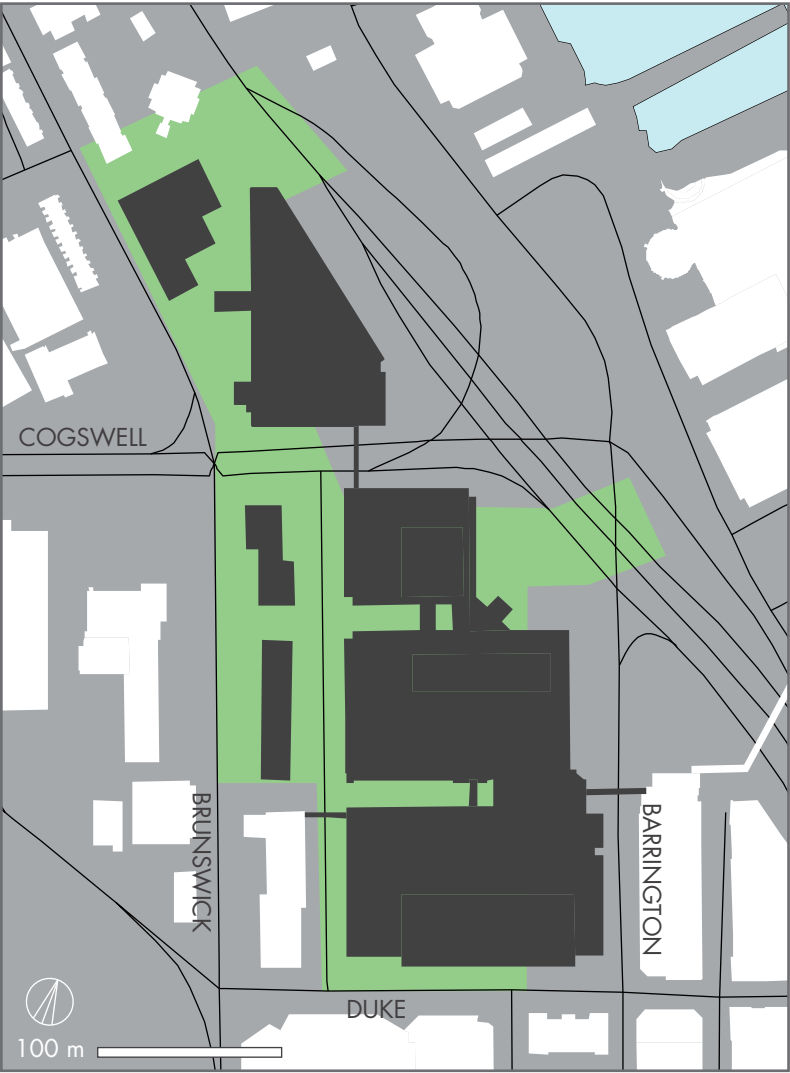
Large-scale, high-density residential and commercial development was desired for the Central Redevelopment Area, which in 1962 was rezoned to accommodate these forms and uses (Doehler, 2001). In 1965, following an

unsuccessful development agreement, the City of Halifax released a second call for proposals on the current site of Scotia Square. In 1966, Halifax Developments Limited proposed Scotia Square, a 19-acre “city” within a city that included a commercial complex and residential apartments. The plan emerged as the successful proposal due to its high municipal tax return, architectural character, and efficient use of land (Doehler, 2001). Further urban renewal developments in the area included the Cogswell Interchange, a gateway to the once-proposed Harbour Drive and the Halifax Metro Centre, an arena and entertainment complex completed in 1978.

CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA (1957)



CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA (2011)



2.6 EXISTING STUDIES: IMPACTS OF RENEWAL

While much of the existing literature surrounding slum clearance and urban renewal in Halifax revolves around the Stephenson report, Africville, and gentrification, there is an absence of literature examining how the demographic structures of communities transform as a result of planned urban renewal. The study of slum clearance and gentrification in relation to race has been extensively documented by numerous authors – specifically in exploring the story of Africville in north end Halifax (Clairmont & Magill, 1971). While culturally important, Africville was not the only community displaced in Halifax throughout the years following WWII. The studies that follow focus on urban renewal and demographic change throughout Canadian cities and collectively contribute toward the proposed study of demographic and spatial changes in downtown Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Ley (1985) studied inner city gentrification and the impact of inner city revitalization in six major Canadian cities: Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. The study focuses on interrelationships between socio-economic status, housing markets, quality of life, and economic development in each urban area.

Ley's study revolves around the migration of the middle class to urban areas historically known for low-income housing. The report outlines the advantages and disadvantages of gentrification – relocation, increasing land prices, and demographic change. Ley (1985) identifies background factors in relocation, gentrification, and urban renewal and finds a high degree of gentrification in Halifax in comparison to other Canadian cities.

Henry's 1974 study, *The Consequences of Relocation*, is concerned with the implications of urban renewal and relocation stemming from a proposed (but never completed) renewal project in Hamilton, Ontario. The study seeks to identify demographic differences between those relocated and those who are not (Henry, 1974, 1). The study identifies several demographic characteristics useful in analyzing neighbourhood change over time: employment, finances, housing, family, health, religion, marriage, and leisure. The study also shares personal accounts of relocation. Findings suggest that those forced to relocate struggled with family relations, were unaffected in other classification categories such as religion, and improved in health.

Post-war slum clearance in Regent Park and the failure of the large-scale public housing development that followed is explored through James' 2010 study. In 2002, The City of Toronto proposed a second chapter of urban renewal for Regent Park, aiming to work closely with residents. Principles for renewal included integrating traditional fine-grained blocks and developing a mix of land uses and incomes. However, James observes that 56% of residents were relocated outside Regent Park. James remains critical of the realities of the process and seems to reject the City's idealized views of the successful new renewal process. The research adds a present and future context to the study of slum clearance and urban renewal. James presents a strong case for continuing the study of urban renewal approaches, policies, and actual outcomes, particularly in the ongoing Regent Park redevelopment.

Slum clearance and urban renewal studies based in downtown Halifax analyze historic spatial and demographic trends (Doehler, 2001; Melles, 2003). While studies of urban renewal, relocation, and demographic change have been completed in Halifax and throughout Canada, a historic spatial and demographic investigation of the Scotia Square urban renewal area has not been undertaken.





3.0 TIMELINE

It is evident that one cannot fully understand a place without exploring its change over time.

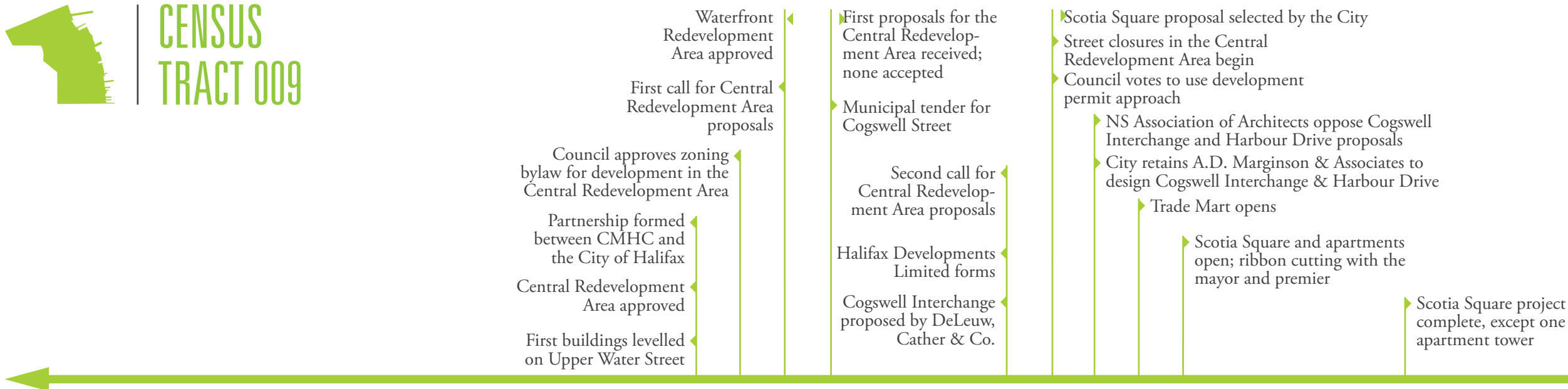
What follows is a timeline illustrating changes in Census Tract 009. Events shown have not been restricted to the immediate area because the community cannot be understood without including broader historical and geographical events. Events focused in Census Tract 009 are shown in green along the top half of the timeline. Municipal and provincial events affecting the development and transformation of downtown Halifax have been included in blue on the bottom half of the timeline.

With a focus on post-war urban renewal, this timeline commences in 1945 and ends in 2010. It does not detail the 200 important years of history prior to rapid change in the 20th century.

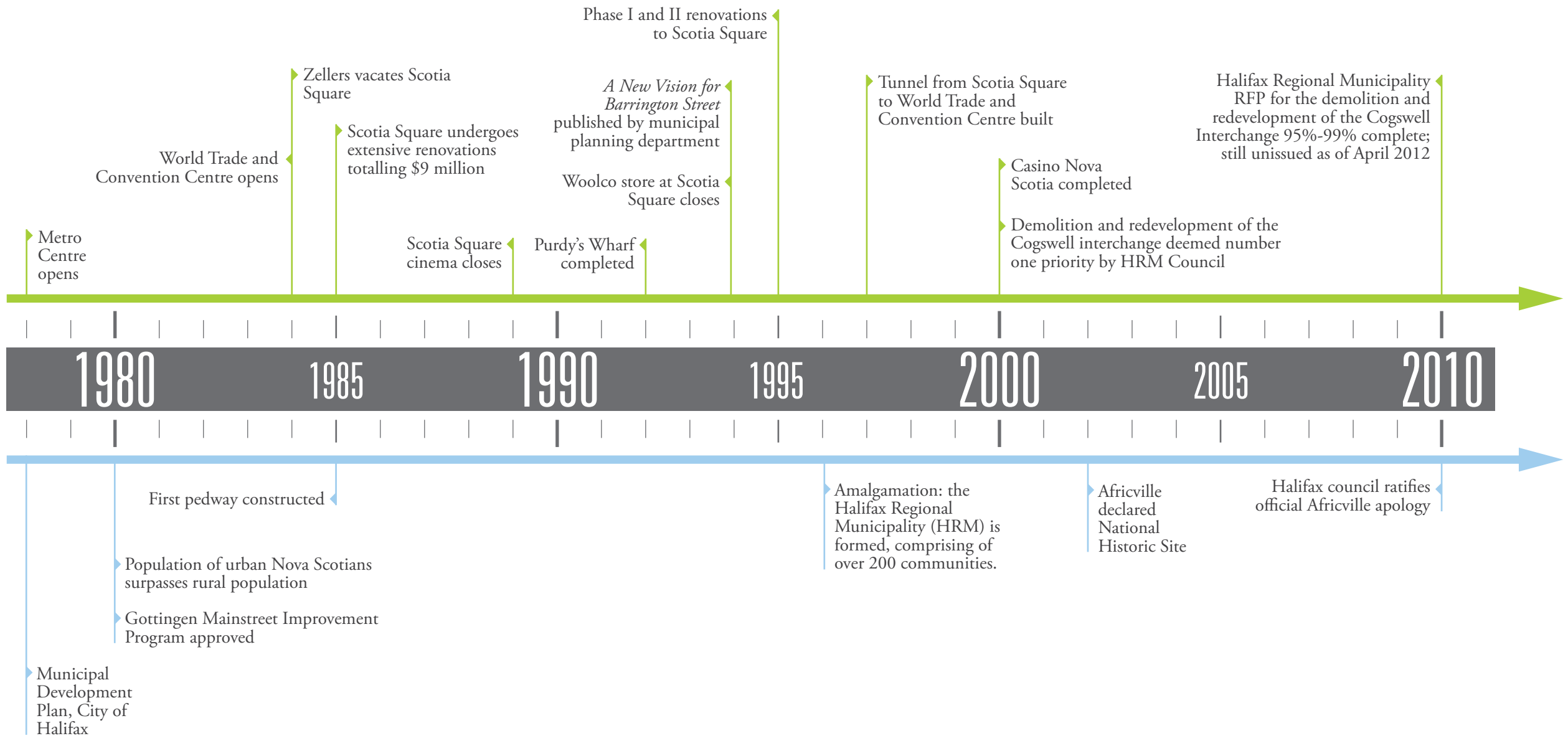
There was a notable concentration of slum clearance and renewal events in the study area between 1958 and 1969. However, events in Halifax show a regular distribution across the timeline. It is worth noting that by 1984 tenants were vacating Scotia Square; by 1985 renovations were beginning. In a short time, appropriate downtown uses (shopping, entertainment) were not economically viable.



CENSUS TRACT 009



PENINSULAR HALIFAX







VISION, OBJECTIVES + METHOD

4.0 VISION

4.1 OBJECTIVES

This study examines the culture of post-war urban renewal: specifically the intended and unintended demographic consequences as well as the motives, processes, and resulting spatial forms that framed demographic change. The following objectives shape the study:

- 1) To identify the effects of urban renewal on the built environment and land use arrangements;
- 2) To illustrate demographic changes resulting from slum clearance; and
- 3) To interpret changes in demographic and spatial patterns in comparison to Peninsular Halifax.

5.0 METHOD

5.1 RESEARCH APPROACH

Multiple research methods are necessary to illustrate demographic and spatial changes in downtown Halifax. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in conducting the investigation. In addition to the literature review and studies previously described, the study required the following research methods: (1) analyzing spatial information as an indicator of change; and (2) collecting, interpreting, and presenting demographic information. The ‘method’ section outlines these research methods in greater detail.

All demographic changes in Census Tract 009 have been compared to changes in Halifax. If changes in the study area were illustrated independently from a separate geographic area, the patterns presented would be without meaning. By comparing demographic changes in the study area with those in Halifax, the findings take on meaning within context. For comparison purposes, ‘Halifax’ refers to the Halifax Peninsula throughout this report.

CENSUS TRACT 009 + HALIFAX



5.2 SPATIAL ANALYSIS

Before analyzing demographic changes in Census Tract 009 and Halifax, understanding changes in the built environment was necessary. Documenting changing spatial patterns provided a visible geographic context for the demographic changes.

The spatial analysis involved mapping patterns in the urban landscape in 1951 and 2011, the earliest and most recent census years used in the study. Aerial photography was collected for each decade between 1951 and 2011, with a concentration of images in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when changes resulting from redevelopment become most visible.

Changes in the coastline, street network, built environment, and land use patterns were mapped using historical maps, geographic information systems (GIS), and aerial photography. The 1951 maps were primarily based on fire insurance maps obtained from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Aerial photography was obtained through the Map Collection at Dalhousie University, the Halifax County Land Registration Office, and Natural Resources Canada's National Air Photo Library. Zoning maps were

based on the former City of Halifax's Zoning Map (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1950) and the Halifax Regional Municipality's ExploreHRM online mapping system (2012). The 1951 urban landscape was digitized from the fire insurance maps and aerial photographs using GIS and Adobe Illustrator. GIS data was obtained from the Halifax Regional Municipality through the GIS Centre at Dalhousie University.

Another effective tool for spatial analysis was the use of historical photography, available through the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Historical photography was used to compare and contrast how the study area changed as a result of urban renewal. The author took recent photographs between September 2011 and April 2012.

5.3 DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The demographic study aimed to identify and analyze changes resulting from urban renewal. Data based on Census Tracts from the Canada Census (1951-2011) was collected, analyzed, and graphically presented. In order to observe change, all demographic data collected for the study area (Census Tract 009) was compared to data for the

Halifax Peninsula (Census Tracts 3-13, 18-23) over the same period. 1951 was used as a base year because census tracts in Canada have remained stable since 1951. When available, census data from the 2011 Canada Census was used. However, only population and dwelling counts were released prior to the completion of this project. Further 2011 census data will be released between May and October 2012. In the interest of presenting demographic data at regular intervals, 2001 census data was used where the 2011 census data was unavailable.

Demographic statistics included total population, gender, age, population density, minority population, number and size of families, dwelling counts and ownership, marital status, average income, unemployment, and education.

Data figures were collected at intervals of 10 years (1951-2011) for each demographic category selected. Generally, total figures were converted to Base 100 Index graphs, which illustrate change as a percentage in a given category using 1951 as the base year. Because Census Tract 009 and Halifax have vastly different geographic areas and populations, demographic patterns expressed as a percentage - not a total - reveals true change or lack thereof.

5.4 DISCUSSION

The methods included in this study represent only a starting point for gauging the effects of urban renewal on downtown Halifax and those who were displaced.

Inevitably, all methods come with limitations. Limitations that surfaced during research were identified and mitigated.

It was statistically impossible to isolate residents of the Central Redevelopment Area within dissemination areas and census tracts as defined by Statistics Canada. Likewise, it was not possible to isolate the population that was displaced as a result of urban renewal. Certain statistical categories available through the Canada Census may not have existed in 1951 and could not be included in this study. Due to unstable census tract borders prior to 1951, demographic research was limited to historical data trends commencing just a decade before urban renewal in Halifax.

Census figures between 1971 and 2011 were subjected to random rounding to prevent the possibility of associating figures with any individual. The totals are independently rounded and do not always equal the sum of their values.

Other limitations pertain to spatial information. Data collected, including aerial photography, historical photography and maps, rarely correlated with the 10-year intervals used in examining demographic patterns (1951-2011).

Further limitations and suggestions for further research are discussed in the ‘Discussion’ section of this report.





SPATIAL ANALYSIS

6.0 SPATIAL ANALYSIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Cities are constantly evolving systems. Across Canada, the scope of clearance, massive scale of built structures and roadways, and immediacy of development set urban renewal apart from unhurried change in the urban landscape. In part, this study aims to identify spatial changes following the direct application of a planning theory. The spatial changes that resulted from slum clearance and urban renewal in downtown Halifax were representative of an urban design theory that was being implemented across Canada. Halifax's Development Plan, completed in 1945, recommended several roads cutting through neighbourhoods; the construction of harbour bridges; and redevelopment projects in the place of slums. In Halifax, "slum clearance and redevelopment were the aspects of the 1945 Development Plan the City Council pursued most energetically" (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 19).

Change in the scale and form of the built environment affects the social dynamics of the community. This section sets a context for demographic changes that took place in Census Tract 009, discussed in Chapter 7.0.



1951

SPATIAL
FORM

2011



6.2 STREET NETWORK

Streets are integral to the city. By comparing the form and function of streets in the study area, it is evident that streets are spatial manifestations of cultural values that changed considerably between 1951 and 2011.

Street patterns in 1951 formed a regular grid that typifies many planned settlements, including Halifax. The regular grid was fine-grained yet flexible enough to follow the natural slope of the land and the coastline. The north end of the study area shows signs of organic influence integrated with the grid pattern as numerous lanes were interwoven throughout the block system.

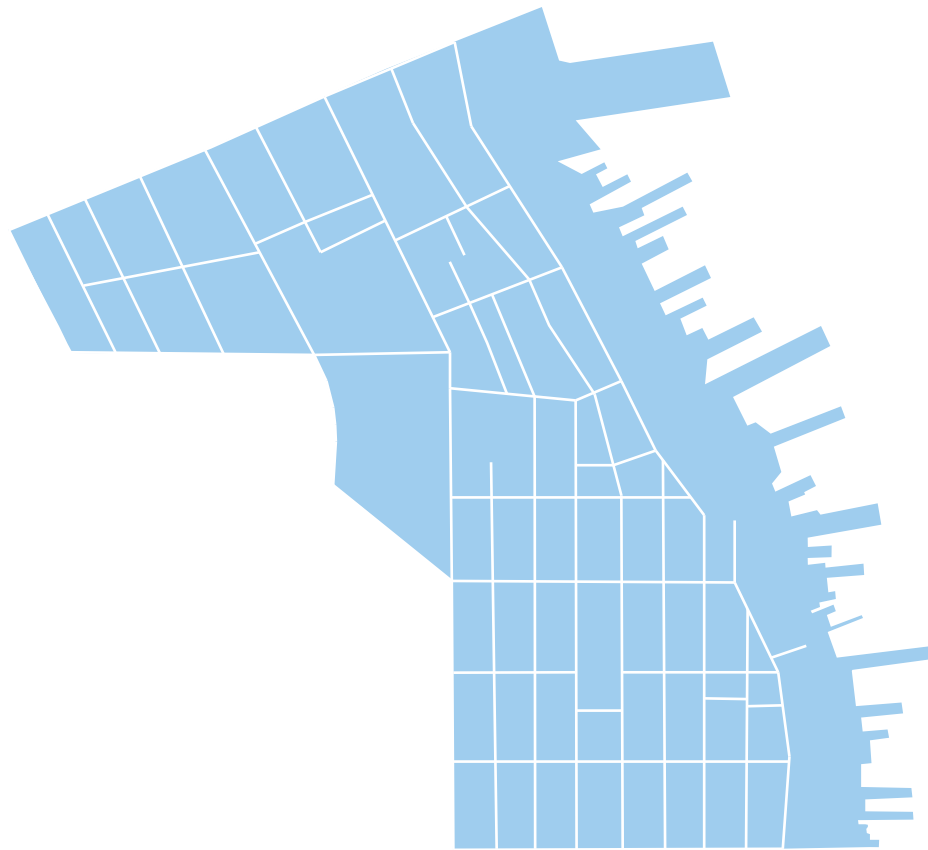
The regular street network encouraged compact urban form and allowed for easy circulation among places of work, living, shopping and socializing (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 9). A continuity of block sizes throughout the study area existed for more than 200 years prior to urban renewal. The varied network of streets shows a high degree of permeability, resulting in more public space in street form (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 28). The 1951 grid allowed connections between the north and south ends and the downtown core.



1951

STREET
NETWORK

2011



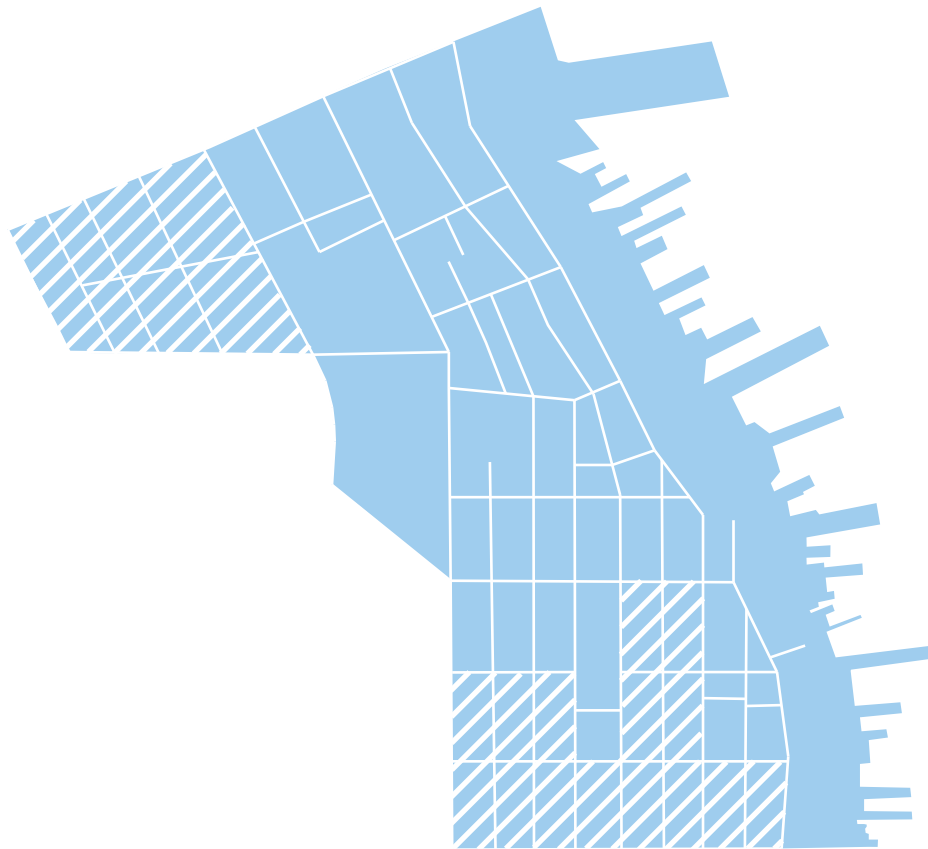
Sandalack and Nicolai (1998) state, “Block consolidation has the most drastic effect on urban form” (36). Urban renewal of the 1960s brought with it superblock development and the loss of traditional blocks in downtown Halifax. According to Sandalack and Nicolai (1998, 36) six blocks and approximately 160 properties were consolidated into one massive block to allow the development of Scotia Square. Similarly, three blocks and sixty lots were consolidated to form the large Metro Centre block (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 36). Construction of the Cogswell Interchange also eliminated many city blocks. With multiple levels of government intervention and mass expropriation, the urban form changed at a more significant rate than traditional neighbourhood changes, which tended to happen one property at a time. As blocks consolidated and streets were lost, pedestrians experienced blocks with longer, less direct routes for walking.



1951

UNCHANGED
BLOCK SIZES

2011



By 2011, there were fewer streets in the study area but many wide streets, primarily the Cogswell Interchange, consisting of seven ramps. Through redevelopment, street hierarchy was rearranged based on the private automobile as the preferred mode of transportation. This rearrangement made it easy to move via automobile but did little to accommodate pedestrians. There has been a separation of the vehicle and the pedestrian. Wide streets designed for faster-moving cars became difficult and unaccommodating for pedestrians. Permeability has been sacrificed in the process of urban renewal; east-west streets leading to the harbour throughout the Central Redevelopment area have disappeared from the landscape, severely restricting pedestrian access to the waterfront. Sidewalks and people have been removed from certain streets, particularly highway ramps that have been imposed on the urban terrain. Marshall (2005) observes a natural correlation between “the busiest, most vital streets and the most significant urban places” (3). Urban renewal broke up the traditional grid and attempted to introduce a highway system to an urban area. In part, the north end has been disconnected from the downtown through a loss of permeability, “the degree to which a place offers people a choice of access through it” (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 28).

35
STREETS
1951

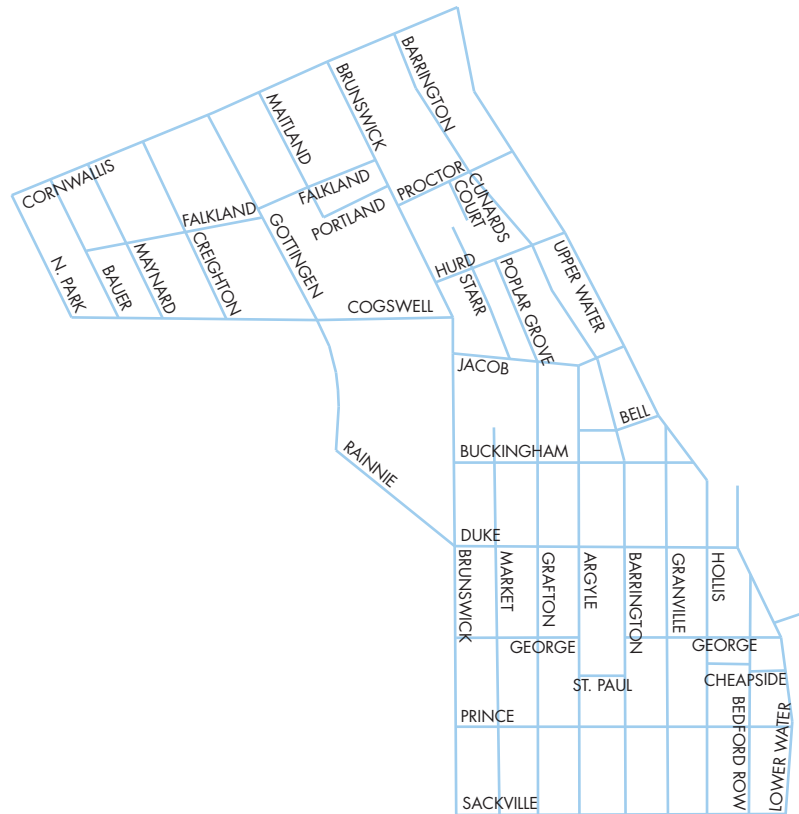
| | |
|----------------|--------------|
| ARGYLE | ARGYLE |
| BARRINGTON | BARRINGTON |
| BAUER | BAUER |
| BEDFORD ROW | BEDFORD ROW |
| BELL | - |
| BRUNSWICK | BRUNSWICK |
| BUCKINGHAM | - |
| - | CARMICHAEL |
| CHEAPSIDE | - |
| COGSWELL | COGSWELL |
| CORNWALLIS | CORNWALLIS |
| CREIGHTON | CREIGHTON |
| CUNARD'S COURT | - |
| DUKE | DUKE |
| FALKLAND | FALKLAND |
| GEORGE | GEORGE |
| GOTTINGEN | GOTTINGEN |
| GRAFTON | GRAFTON |
| GRANVILLE | GRANVILLE |
| HOLLIS | HOLLIS |
| HURD | - |
| JACOB | - |
| LOWER WATER | LOWER WATER |
| MAITLAND | MAITLAND |
| MARKET | MARKET |
| MAYNARD | MAYNARD |
| NORTH PARK | NORTH PARK |
| POPLAR GROVE | - |
| PORTLAND | PORTLAND |
| PRINCE | PRINCE |
| PROCTOR | - |
| - | PROVOWALLIS |
| - | PURDY'S LANE |
| RAINNIE | RAINNIE |
| SACKVILLE | SACKVILLE |
| SAINT PAUL | - |
| - | SAUNDERS |
| - | SCOTIAN |
| STARR | - |
| UPPER WATER | UPPER WATER |
| - | VARLOUR |

31
STREETS
+7 INTERCHANGE RAMPS
2011

1951

STREETS

2011



6.3 THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Changes in downtown Halifax's built environment are representative of a prominent urban design theory in the 20th century. Sandalack and Nicolai (1998) note that "ideas of what the city should be have been driven largely by modernist notions of city form, and by narrow focused economic development and ... modernist planning, of which urban renewal was a symptom" (9). Buildings shape the public realm, framing indoor and outdoor spaces and influencing actions.

The smaller buildings of 1951 together form a more complex and intricate urban fabric. Blocks were organized within a simple pattern that respected the highly structured traditional grid as well as the natural coastline. Buildings were oriented to the streets, which are clearly recognizable on a map of only built form.

The physical composition of the community was a collection of compact buildings, each with a function important to the mix of uses in the neighbourhood. Patterns in the built environment depict urbanism on the individual scale, referred to by Sandalack and Nicolai as incremental growth (1998, 37). The fine-grained network

of buildings observed in 1951 ensures permeability and contributes to the dense, walkable nature of the neighbourhood. Differing building sizes and setbacks indicate variety – urban form that includes a mix of uses and a range of experiential choices for different users of the space (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998, 28).

Much of the residential northwestern portion of the study area has maintained its spatial character, even with new development. Though the spatial form of the community has not dramatically changed over 60 years, the neighbourhood displays many contemporary planning principles desirable for a community; it is dense and mixed-use, accommodates a range of incomes, and is within walking distance of the downtown core.

The 2011 map depicting built form shows fewer buildings, but buildings with greater footprints. Instead of many small stores fronting the street, many small stores are now located in the inward-facing Scotia Square shopping complex. Through the development of tall, bland, concrete street walls, blocks became less interesting and seemingly longer for pedestrians at the street level. The superblock development

pattern has also contributed to an economy that is less local and less diversified.

In addition to expanded building footprints, buildings have increased in height. Development in the Census Tract is central to the citizen-led fight to protect the view of the Halifax Harbour from Citadel Hill (Pacey, 1979). Citizens concerned by increasing building heights have also drawn links between building height and quality of the public spaces between buildings, citing wind tunnels and shadows as detrimental to pedestrian spaces at street level. Larger buildings, such as Scotia Square, depart from the historical built form; they have no real orientation and do not front a particular street.

The 2011 map shows changes in the built environment but also highlights changes to in the public realm. Holes in the urban fabric exist where development has failed to follow demolition. A major gap in built form exists where the Cogswell Interchange replaced intricate blocks of small buildings.

1951

BUILDINGS

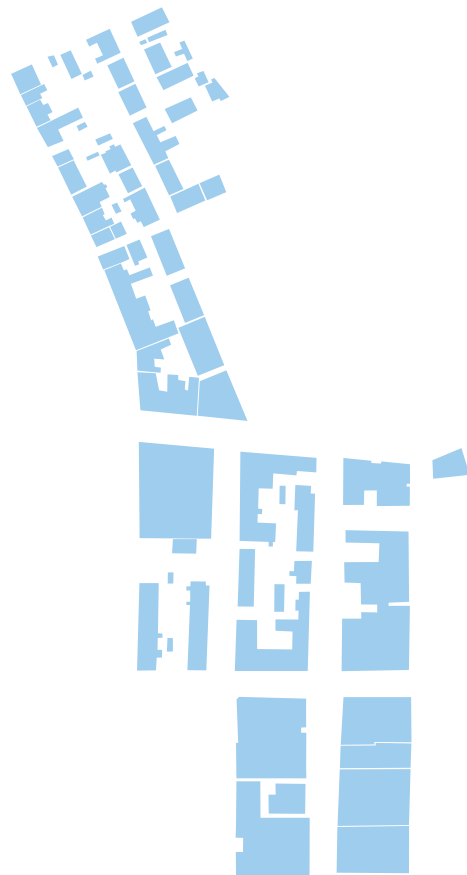
2011

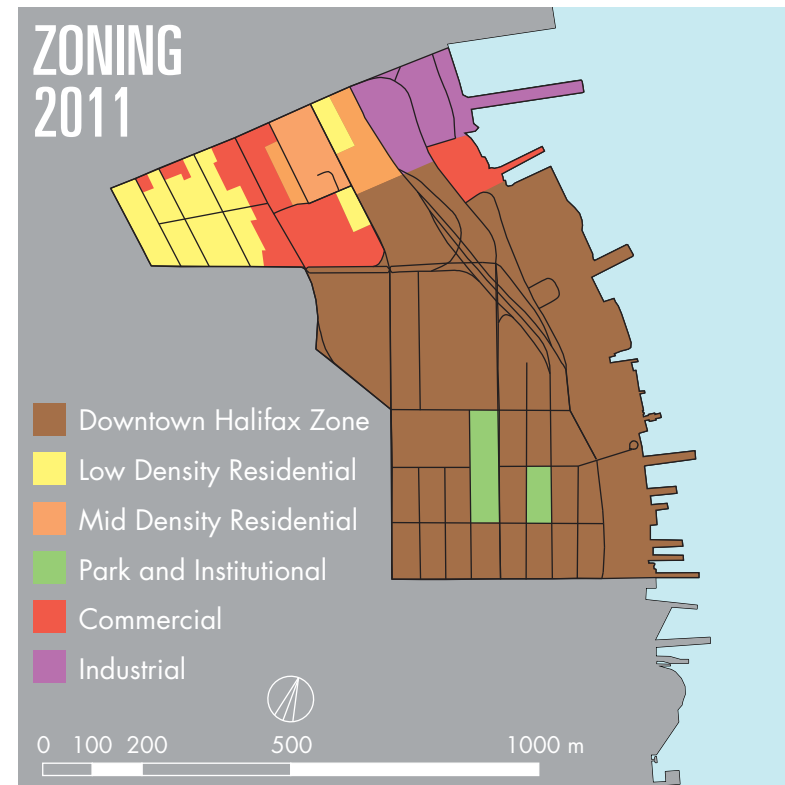
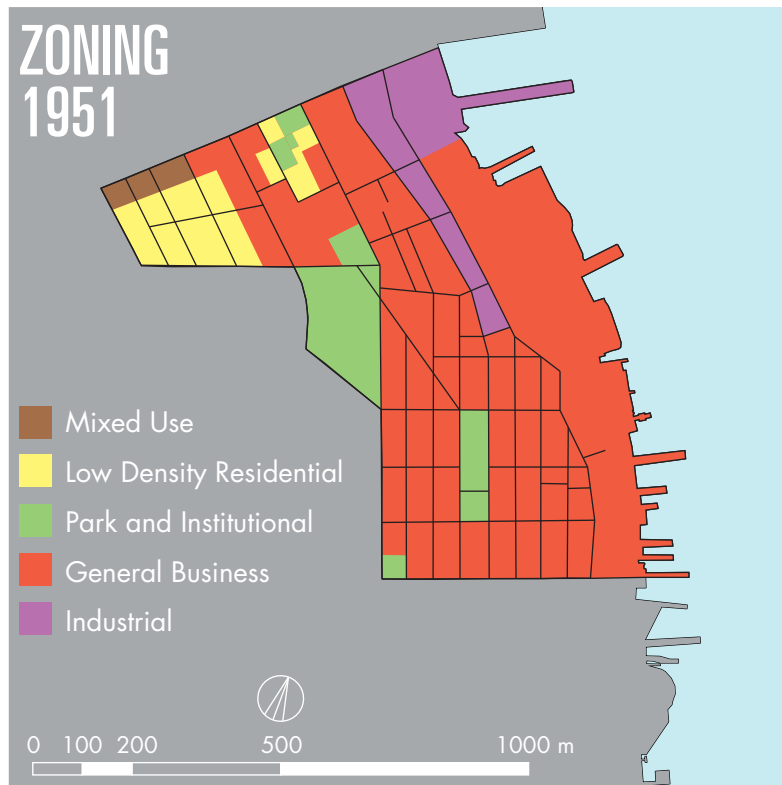


1957

CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA

2011





The research considered land use changes in the study area. However, zoning maps from 1951 and 2011 (post-amalgamation Halifax) were vague. In the 1951 map, many different uses are included in 'General Business'; the same is true of the 2011 map depicting the 'Downtown Halifax Zone'. While significant land use changes are discussed throughout this report, a complete spatial analysis of zoning, involving extensive on-site mapping, was beyond the scope of this project. The final section of this report addresses these limitations in scope and offers suggestions for further research.

6.4 COAST

The overall shape of the coastline bordering the study area is representative of changes made within downtown Halifax. Even without observing built form or streets on a map, dramatic transformations to the coastline between 1951 and 2011 represent changes in the study area.

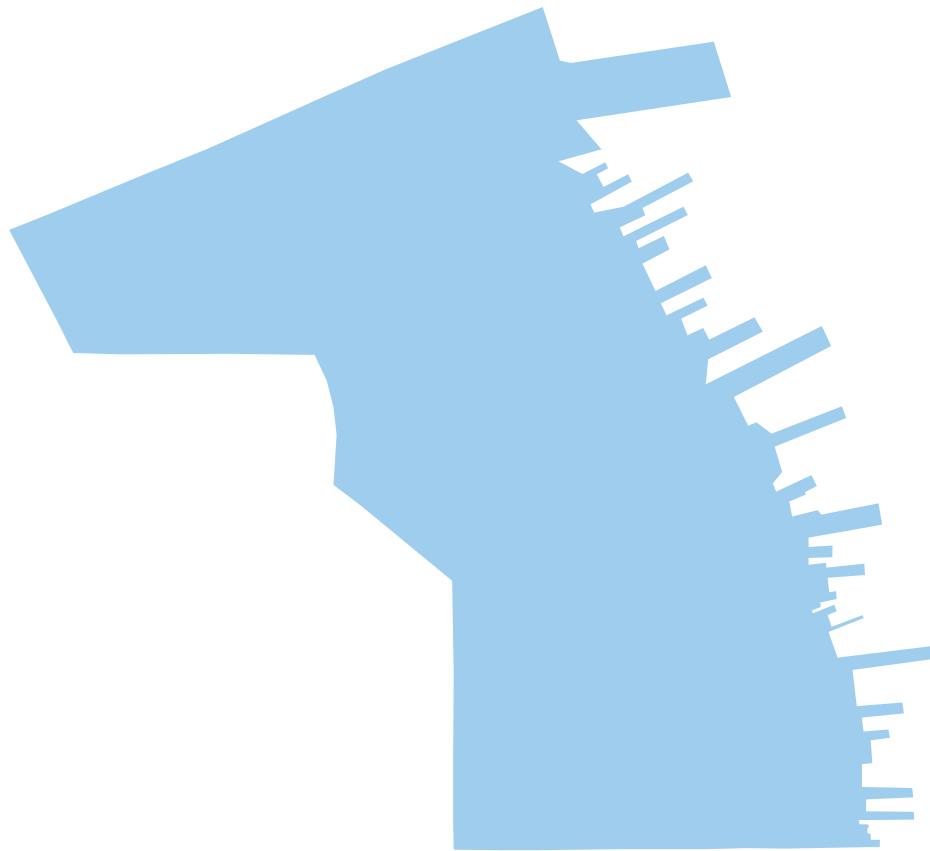
The series of fine-grained piers along the coast, clearly visible in 1951, have merged into larger masses, protruding further into the harbour. Over time, linking the shore with areas of deep water became important for landowners. As the age of commercial shipping ended along the downtown waterfront, intricate shapes that once comprised the coastline were lost in favour of a uniform structure. The Waterfront Development Corporation orchestrated many of the changes along the downtown waterfront as uses changed from commercial to recreational and residential. Many of the narrow properties, each with access to the coast, have been consolidated to form large lots that accommodate more substantial developments.



1951

COAST

2011



6.5 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Aerial photography of the study area shows a transition from fine-grained residential blocks to cleared land, construction, and completed superblocks. Development in the Central Redevelopment Area is most obvious, but other important changes are also visible.

Between 1964 and 1969 there was a loss of many narrow wharves on the waterfront. The development of the Metro Centre, World Trade and Convention Centre, Casino Nova Scotia, Purdy's Wharf, and towers in the business district also contributed to spatial change in the study area.

1954



1964



NAPL (1964)

1969



NAPL (1969)

1973



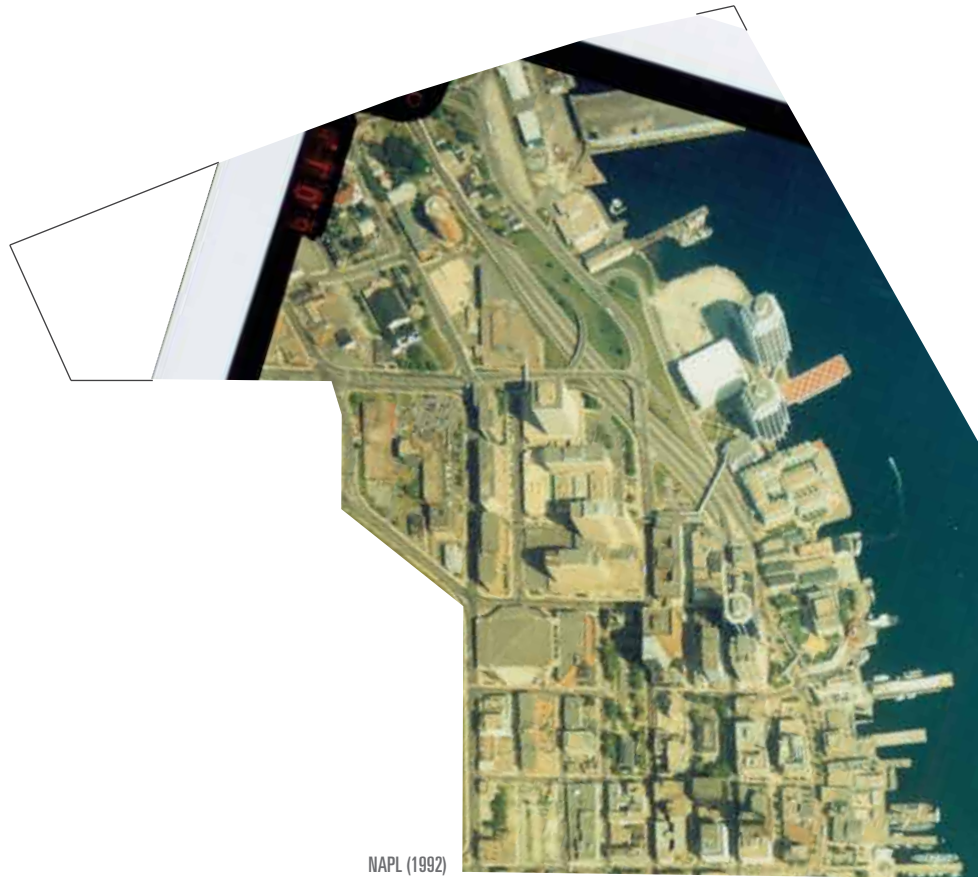
NAPL (1973)

1982



NAPL (1982)

1992




NAPL (1992)

2002



NAPL (2002)





DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

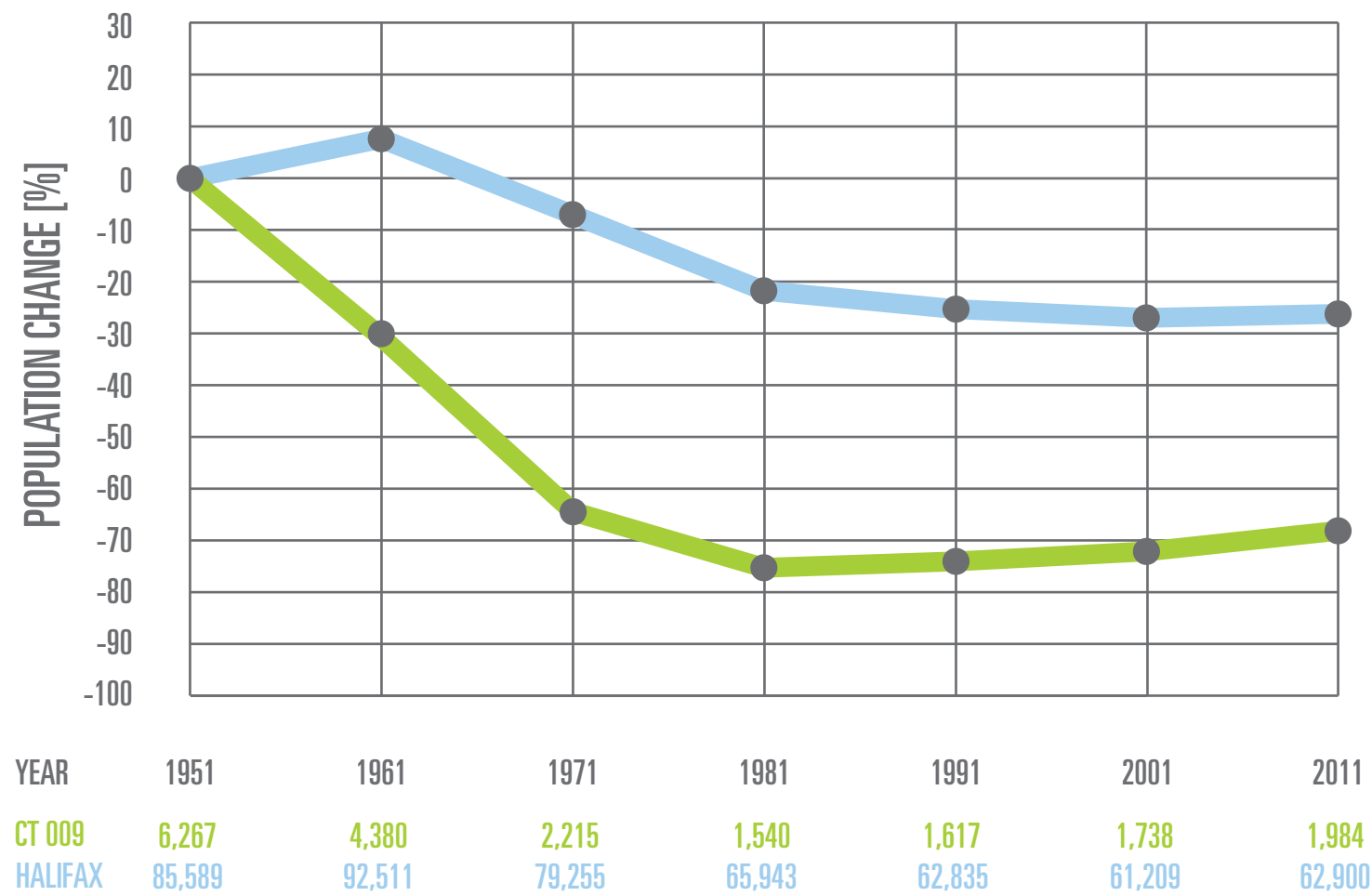
7.0 DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Demographics in any given geographic area experience periods of change. Post-war slum clearance in Canadian cities is assumed to have caused major shifts in the population structures of urban cores. This section aims to identify demographic changes in the study area following urban renewal in Halifax.

TOTAL POPULATION

BASE 100 INDEX, CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



The Halifax Peninsula and Census Tract 009 in downtown Halifax have experienced substantial population declines since 1951. Between 1951 and 2011, the Halifax Peninsula lost 27 percent of its population. Over those years, 22,689 people moved from the peninsula, contributing to a substantial decline in total population. Population on the Peninsula peaked at 92,511 people in 1961 and reached a low of 61,209 people in 2001. Population steadily increased until the 1960s, when a decline began. This trend correlates with post-war urban renewal schemes in Halifax during the 1960s and 1970s. Between 1981 and 2011, the peninsular population has remained relatively stable, fluctuating by less than 3000 people.

Population trends in Halifax Census Tract 009 have proven more extreme than population trends of the Halifax Peninsula. Between 1951 and 2011, Census Tract 009 lost 68 percent of its population. This is a decline of 41 percent more than the Halifax Peninsula. Population in downtown Halifax peaked at 6,267 people in 1951 and reached its low of 1,540 people in 1981. Since 1981, the population has slowly increased to 1,984 in 2011. Over 60 years, 4,283 people have moved out of Census Tract 009. By the 1960s,

POPULATION CHANGE: 1951-2011

when slum clearance and urban renewal were underway in downtown Halifax, population was on a steady decline. This steep decline in population continued until 1971. Because the population decline during the 1960s is a continuation of the previous decade, the decline cannot be conclusively attributed to slum clearance.

CENSUS TRACT 009

↓ 4,283 PEOPLE

CENSUS TRACT 009

LOST 68% OF 1951 POPULATION



HALIFAX

↓ 22,689 PEOPLE

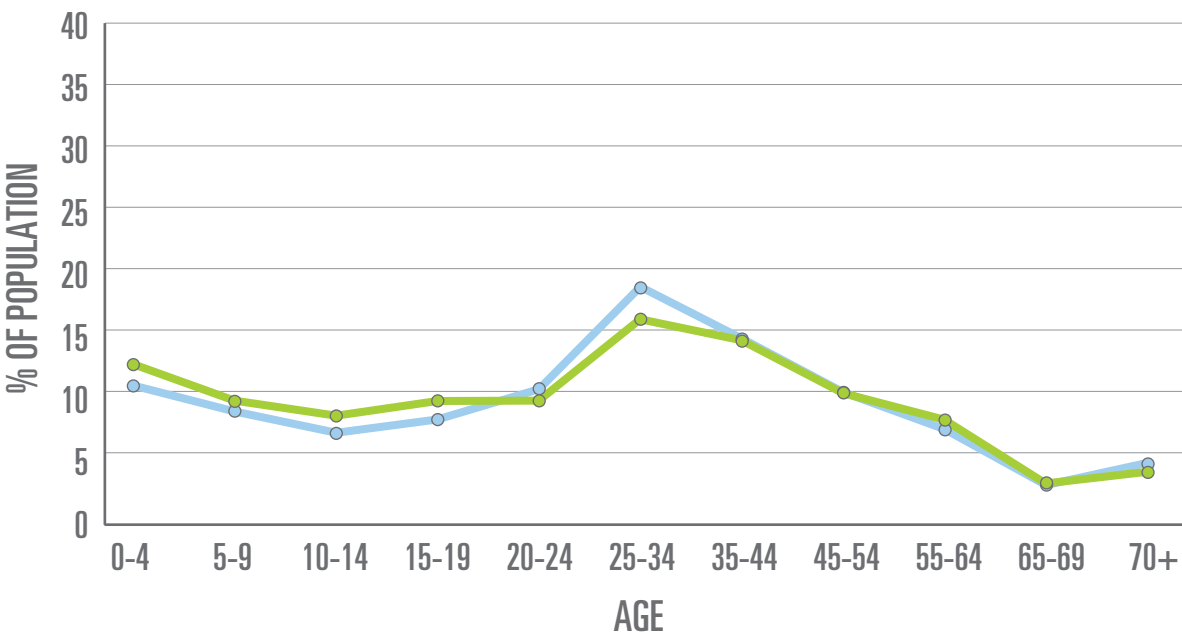
HALIFAX

LOST 27% OF 1951 POPULATION



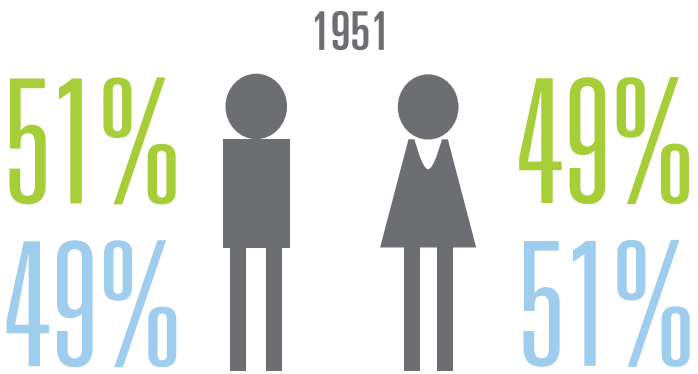
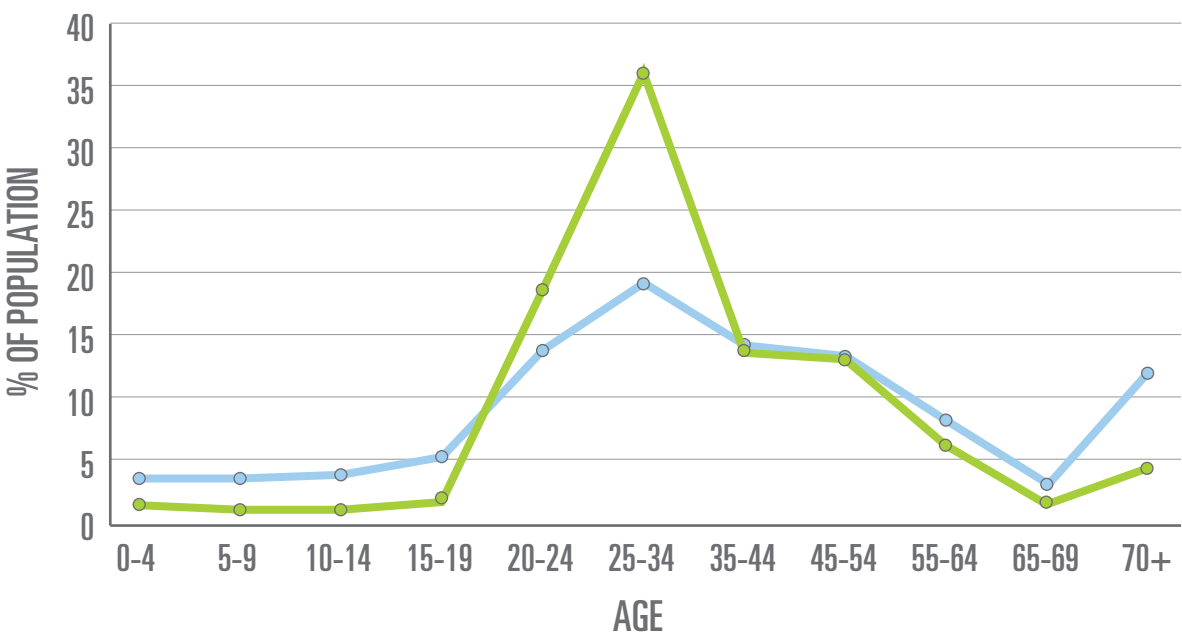
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE + GENDER, 1951

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE + GENDER, 2001

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



CENSUS TRACT 009
HALIFAX



The Halifax Peninsula and Census Tract 009 in downtown Halifax experienced substantial changes in population structure since 1951. Between 1951 and 2001, both populations declined; however, this section is concerned with changing age and gender profiles.

In 1951, the population in Halifax was balanced, with females comprising 51 percent of the population and males 49 percent. Peninsular Halifax had a fairly young population, with 62 percent of the population being younger than 34 years. The population was beginning to experience the post-WWII baby boom, and Halifax was home to more youths than seniors.

By 1961, the age structure in Halifax had not changed much. More children were being born, but the population structure was not noticeably different than in 1951. By 1971, the majority of Halifax's population was younger than 35 years. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the population in Halifax gradually grew older; there are no stark surprises in age or gender profiles.

By 2001, Halifax's population profile was very different than in 1951. The population was less balanced, with females comprising 53 percent of the population and males 47 percent. As with many cities in Canada, the population structure dramatically changed over 50 years following

WWII. Most of the population was over 35 years and substantially fewer young persons lived in the city. While the population change was considerable, changes were not unusual and are representative of population changes across Canada.

Population profile trends in Halifax Census Tract 009 have fluctuated more than population trends of the Halifax Peninsula and show numerous different patterns. Like Halifax, the population of the study area was well balanced in 1951. The female population contributed 51 percent of the total, with males comprising the remaining 49 percent.

By 1961, Census Tract 009 was experiencing a rapid growth in the number of young persons. More children were being born, and by 1971 most of the population was under 35 years. The study area's population between 1951 and 1971, the years of major urban renewal, were substantially younger than Halifax's population. Not until the 1980s and 1990s was there a substantial decrease in senior population in the study area. By 1991, persons in their 20s and early 30s in the study area severely outweighed all other ages in downtown Halifax. Throughout the years of urban renewal, the population structure in downtown Halifax mirrored that of Halifax; only during the 1980s and 1990s did the population profile show a strong departure from trends in Halifax.

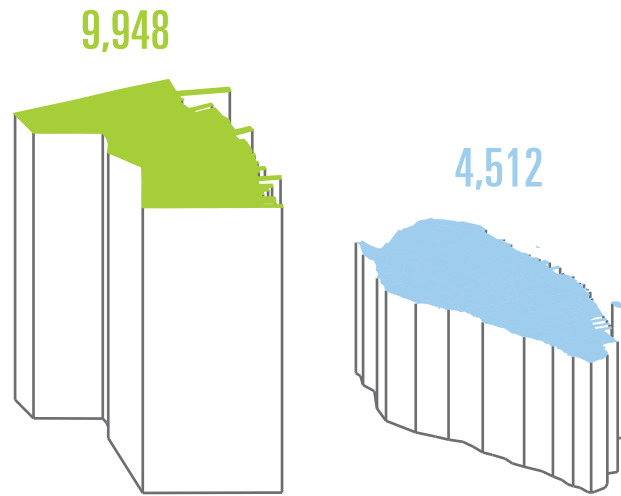
By 2001, hardly any children or seniors lived in the study area. In 2001, just over five percent of the downtown population was under the age of 19 - indicating a low number of families. More than 36 percent of the population was aged 25-34 years in 2001. The gender balance remained fairly constant in Census Tract 009 between 1951 and 2001. By 2001, men accounted for 52 percent of the downtown's population, compared to only 47 percent of Peninsular Halifax's population. This could be due to the number of single-unit apartments as well as corporate and finance jobs in the downtown. While the study area eventually housed fewer seniors and families and more young persons aged 20-34 years, the changes cannot be attributed directly to urban renewal.

POPULATION DENSITY

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



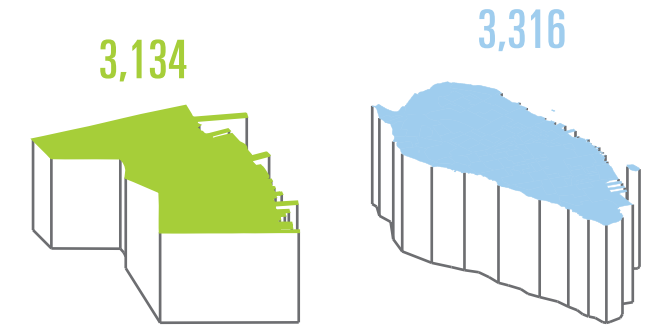
1951



POPULATION DENSITY

PEOPLE PER KM²

2001



Population density in downtown Halifax, from 1951-1961, was much higher than in Halifax. Between 1971 and 2011, population density in the urban core was almost identical to the rest of Peninsular Halifax. Though it began much higher, population density in Census Tract 009 has decreased and experienced the same patterns as population density in Halifax.

Population density on the Halifax Peninsula declined between 1951 and 2011. Over 60 years, density dropped from 4,512 people per square kilometre to 3,316 people per square kilometre.

Population density peaked at 4,877 people per square kilometre in 1961 and fell to a low of 3,227 people per square kilometre in 2001. The total decline in population density was 1,196 people per square kilometre.

Population density trends in Census Tract 009 show greater fluctuation than Halifax between 1951 and 2011. The decades of considerable slum clearance and urban renewal (1951-1971) show a major decline in population density. In 1951, density peaked at 9,948 people per square kilometre, over twice the average density across the Halifax Peninsula. However, by 1981 density plummeted to 2,567 persons per square kilometre, over 1000 persons per square kilometre

lower than Halifax's 3,476 persons per square kilometre. Between 1981 and 2011, population density grew slowly to 3,134 persons per square kilometre.

While both Halifax and Census Tract 009 have experienced substantial declines in population density, fluctuations in density have been much more extreme in the downtown core. In just sixty years, population density decline in Census Tract 009 has been almost six times more drastic than the decline on the Halifax Peninsula.



N. APARTMENTS, CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA, 2012
D. VERBEEK

CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA APARTMENTS

DISSEMINATION AREA 0359

Dissemination Area 0359 is located within Census Tract 009 and includes the apartments developed in the Central Redevelopment Area. Due to unstable Dissemination Area boundaries, the area cannot be compared between 1951 and 2001.

The population of Dissemination Area 0359 is 666, about 34 percent of the total population in Census Tract 009. The population is concentrated in one superblock spanning from Cogswell Street to Duke Street and fronting on Brunswick Street.

The population of Dissemination Area 0359 is very indicative of the population in Census Tract 009. There are few children, but many single, young professionals. The unemployment rate is lower than rates in Census Tract 009 and Halifax. Average income in the Dissemination Area is higher than in Census Tract 009 but lower than the average in Halifax.

OPENED: 1969 AS RESIDENTIAL COMPONENT OF CENTRAL REDEVELOPMENT AREA

POPULATION: 666 (34% OF TOTAL CENSUS TRACT 009 RESIDENTS)

CHILDREN: 25 (AGED 14 AND UNDER)

SINGLE: 63%

TOTAL DWELLINGS: 425

UNITS RENTED: 100%

UNITS OWNED: 0%

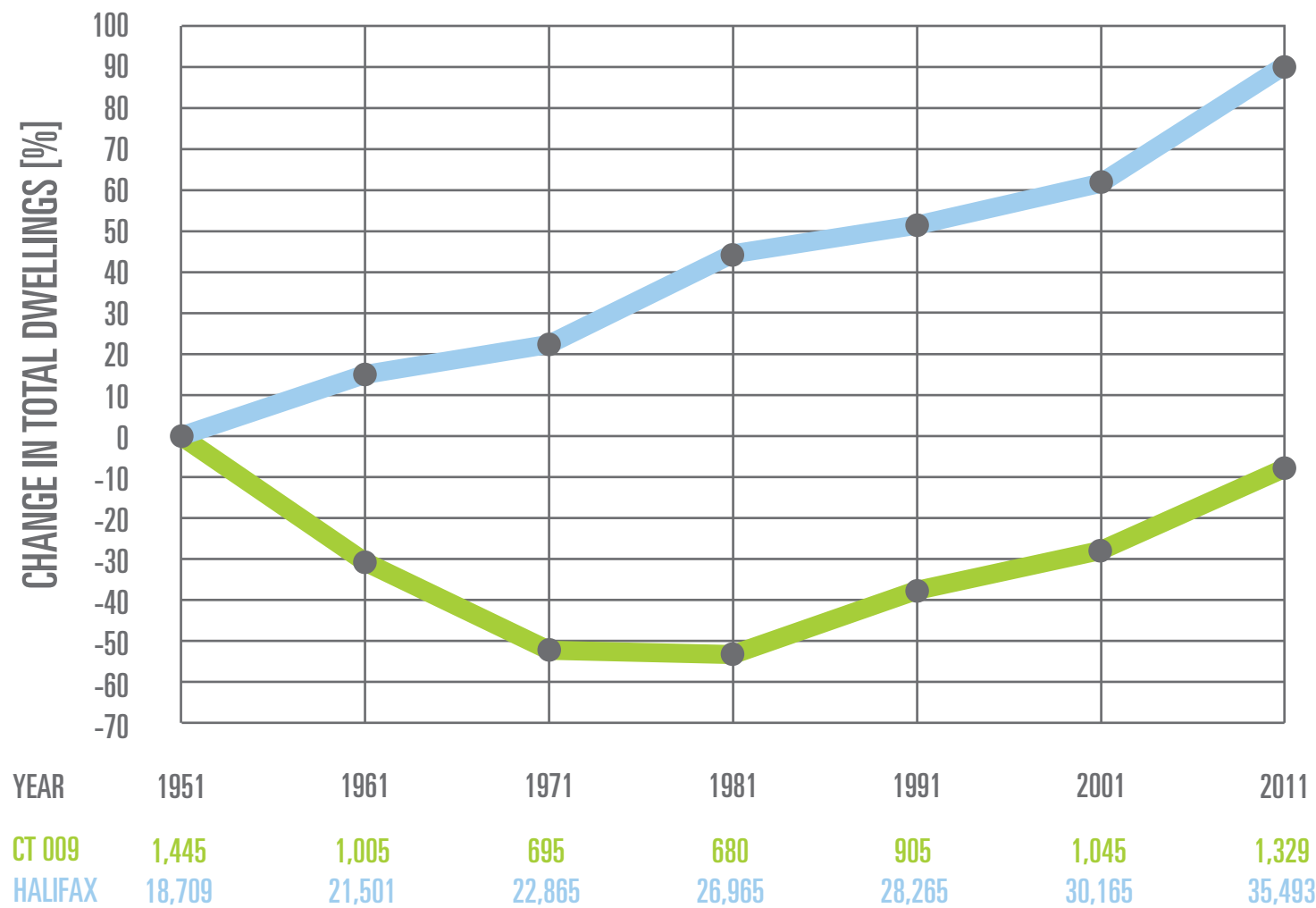
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE: 6.5% 1.0% LOWER THAN CT 009; 1.1% LOWER THAN HALIFAX

AFRICAN (BLACK) POPULATION: 0

AVERAGE INCOME: \$30,290 \$678 MORE THAN CT 009; \$7,012 LESS THAN HALIFAX

NUMBER OF DWELLINGS

BASE 100 INDEX, CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



Observing the number of occupied private dwellings is valuable in understanding a community’s demographic trends and land development patterns. Between 1951 and 2011, patterns of occupied private dwellings in Census Tract 009 and Halifax have differed greatly.

Over the past 60 years, Halifax has experienced a steady growth in occupied private dwellings. The number of dwellings grew in each census year observed. The total number of occupied private dwellings grew from 18,709 in 1951 to 35,493 in 2011. The total increase in occupied private dwellings on the Halifax Peninsula between 1951 and 2011 was 16,784. Growth rates in occupied private dwellings on the Halifax Peninsula are substantial in each census year. The lowest growth rate, five percent, occurred between 1981 and 1991. The highest growth rate in occupied dwellings, 18 percent, occurred between 1971 and 1981. Between 1951 and 2011, growth in occupied private dwellings on the Halifax Peninsula grew by 90 percent, despite an overall decline in total population.

CHANGE IN NUMBER OF DWELLINGS

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX

Trends in occupied private dwellings in Census Tract 009 differ greatly from trends on the Halifax Peninsula. Between 1951 and 1981, the number of dwellings in Census Tract 009 more than halved, dropping from 1,445 dwellings to 680 dwellings. By 2011, the number of dwellings in Census Tract 009 grew almost to 1951 levels, the starting point on the graph. There were only 116 fewer dwellings in 2011 than 1951. Rates of decline reached 31 percent between 1951 and 1961. Between 1951 and 2011, the total decline in occupied private dwellings in Census Tract 009 was eight percent. Declining trends in occupied private dwellings in Census Tract 009 resemble trends in population decline between 1951 and 1981. The first series of buildings in the newly approved Central Redevelopment Area were razed in 1958, contributing to the decline in dwellings in Census Tract 009. Slum clearance in the Central Redevelopment Area contributed to the decline in dwellings into the 1970s.

CENSUS TRACT 009

LOST 8% OF 1951 DWELLINGS

CENSUS TRACT 009

↓ 116 DWELLINGS

HALIFAX

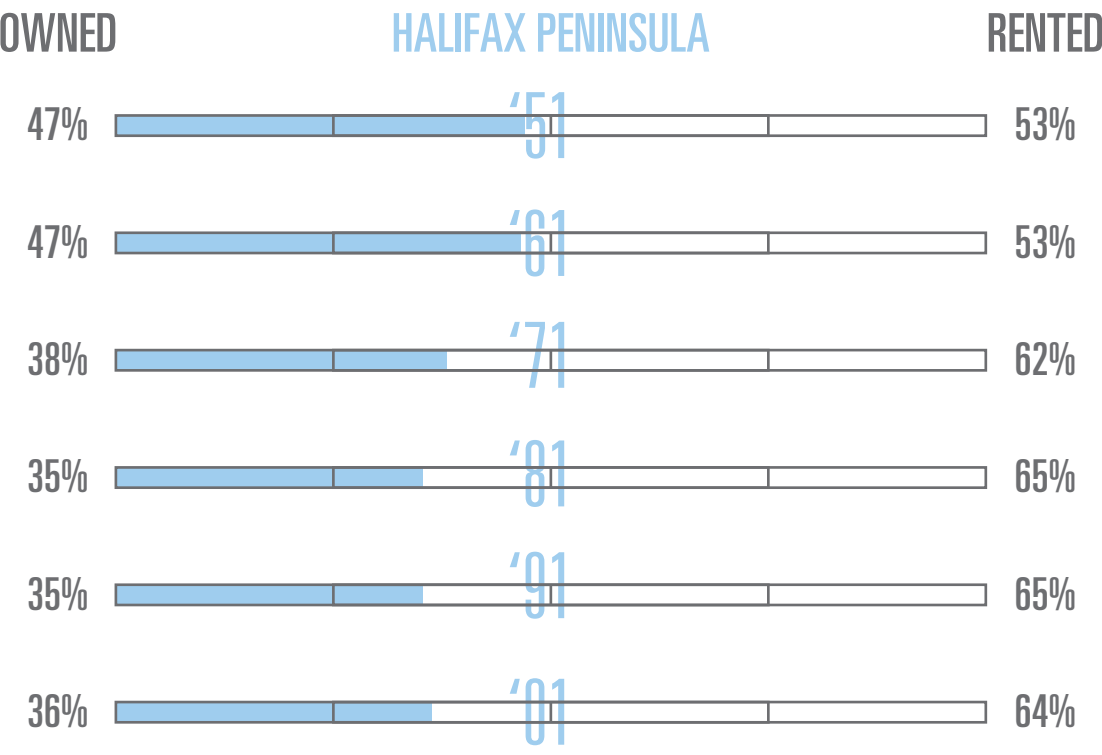
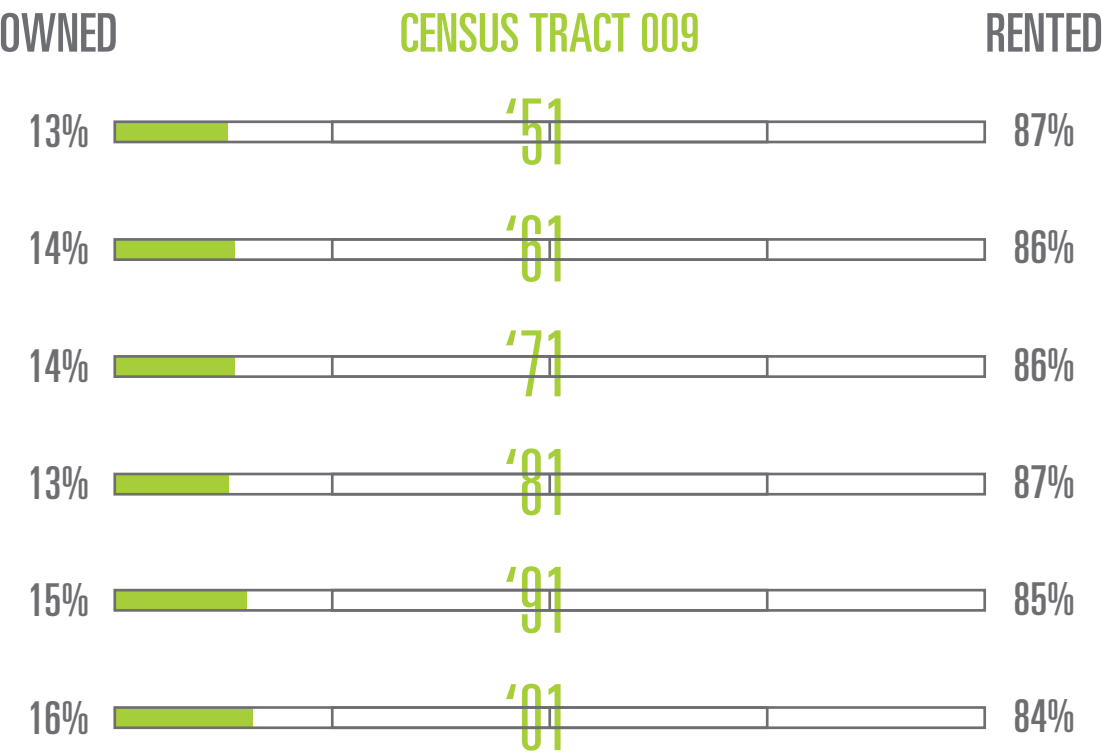
GREW 90%

HALIFAX

↑ 16,784 DWELLINGS

DWELLING OWNERSHIP

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



The ownership of dwellings in a community is not necessarily an indicator of wealth or housing condition. In the 21st century, this is especially true of downtown cores in Canadian cities such as Halifax, which has a strong market for apartments.

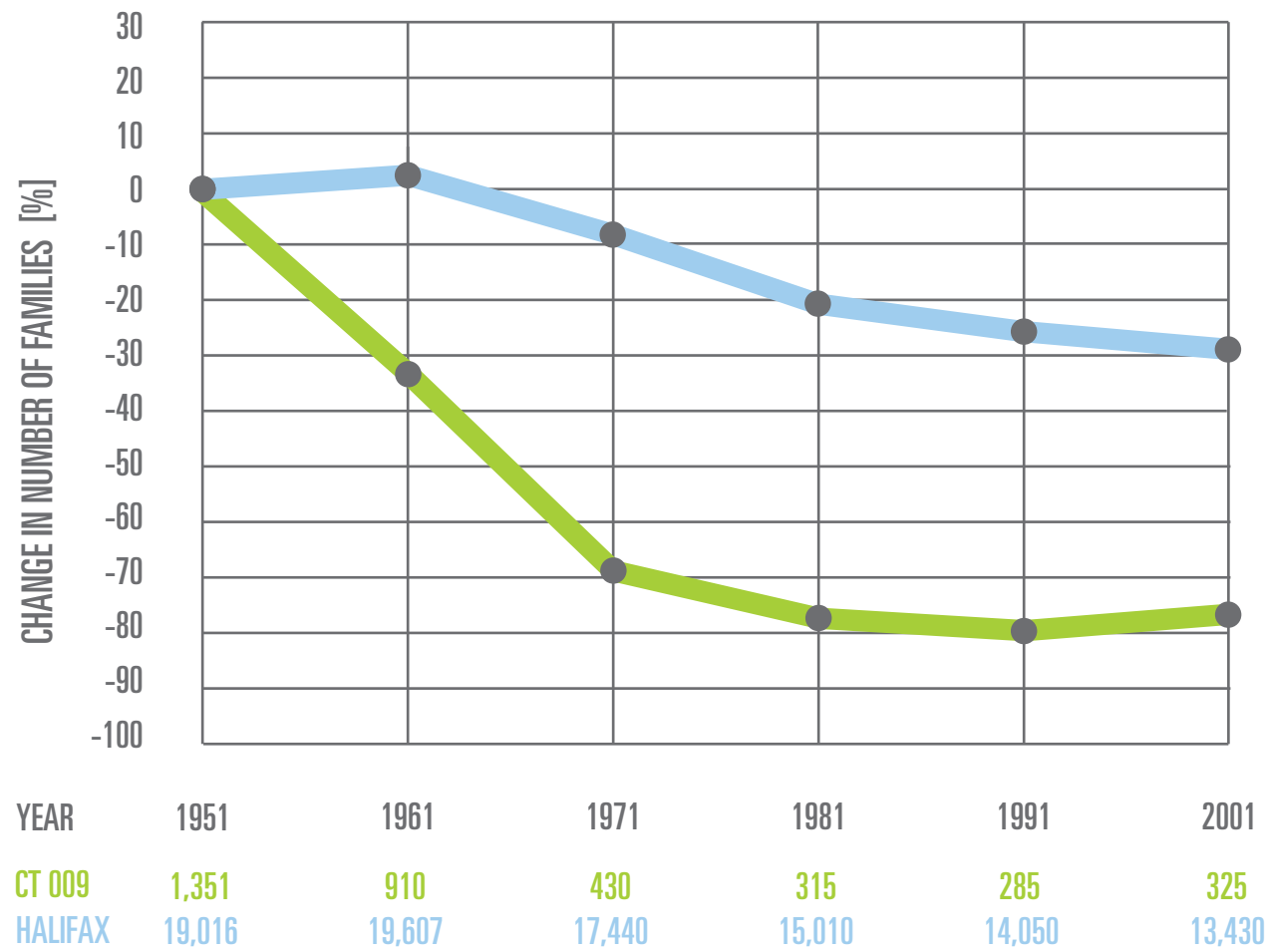
Trends in owned and rented occupied private dwellings for Halifax Census Tract 009 and the Halifax Peninsula differ greatly between 1951 and 2001. Dwelling ownership on the Halifax Peninsula peaked in 1951 at 47 percent of dwellings owned and 53 percent rented. Ownership declined to a low of 35 percent in 1991 and 2001 and climbed slightly to 36 percent in 2011. In 2011, 19,200 dwellings on the Halifax Peninsula were rented while only 10,045 were owned. Overall trends on the Halifax Peninsula between 1951 and

2001 indicate a shift toward higher rates of renting than owning. Over 50 years, the number of rented dwellings has more than doubled while the number of owned dwellings has grown slightly.

Dwelling ownership trends in Census Tract 009 contrast with those of the Halifax Peninsula. Rental and ownership rates have remained stable, despite substantial changes in the total number of privately occupied dwellings available between 1951 and 2001. Over 50 years, ownership and rental rates have only fluctuated three percent. Dwelling ownership rates have risen because the total number of rented dwellings has dropped by 375 since 1951, not because the number of total private dwellings has grown.

CENSUS FAMILIES - TOTAL NUMBER

BASE 100 INDEX, CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



Both the Halifax Peninsula and Census Tract 009 have experienced substantial declines in total number of families in private households. Between 1951 and 2001, the Halifax Peninsula lost 5586 census families, or 29 percent of the 1951 total. Number of census families on the Peninsula peaked at 19,607 in 1961 and reached a low of 13,430 in 2001.

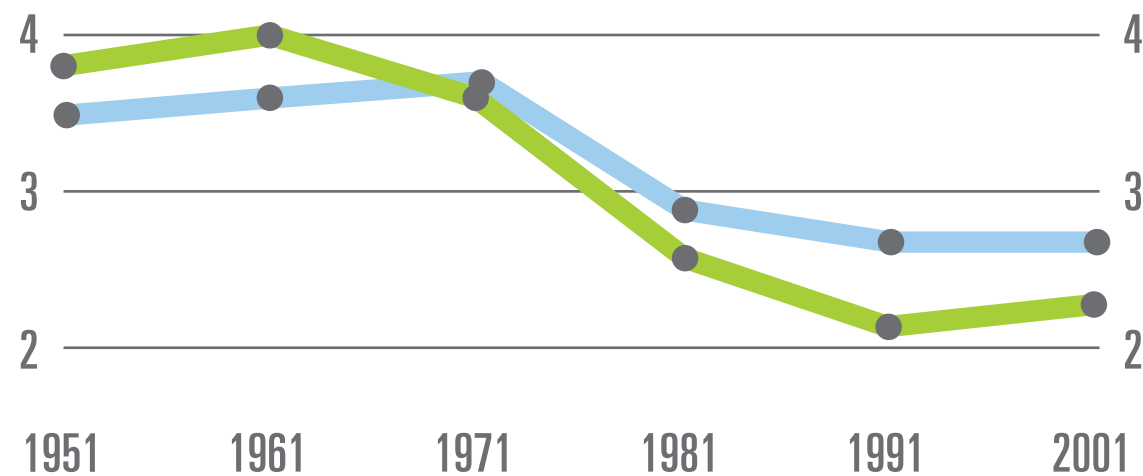
Fluctuations in Census Tract 009 number of census families are more considerable than Halifax trends. Between 1951 and 2001, Census Tract 009 lost 76 percent of its census families, a decline 47 percent higher than decline in Halifax families. Census families in downtown Halifax peaked at 1,351 people in 1951 and reached a low of 285 families in 1981. Over 50 years, Census Tract 009 has lost 1,026 families. While the decline in census families cannot be conclusively attributed to urban renewal, the steepest decline in census families was during slum clearance in the Central Redevelopment Area. Patterns of decline in census families are nearly identical to total population change, within 10 percent accuracy for each year for both Census Tract 009 and the Halifax Peninsula.

CENSUS TRACT 009
LOST
76%
OF 1951 FAMILIES

HALIFAX
LOST
29%
OF 1951 FAMILIES

CENSUS FAMILIES - AVERAGE SIZE

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



Decreasing family sizes are increasingly common as the Canadian population urbanizes. As families have fewer children, a shift in household and community structures can be observed.

While peninsular population declines and total dwellings increase, a decrease in average persons per family balances these seemingly conflicting trends. Between 1951 and 2001, average family size on the Halifax Peninsula dropped from 3.5 persons to 2.7 persons. The largest period of decline was from 1971 to 1981.

Trends in family size in Census Tract 009 show larger fluctuations than in Halifax. Between 1951 and 2001, the average family size dropped from 3.8 persons to 2.3 persons per family. The substantial decline began in 1961, a decade before Halifax experienced a decline in persons per census family. The average family size in Halifax was greater than the average family in Census Tract 009 until 1971. In 2001, the average family in Census Tract 009 was almost half a person smaller than the average family in Halifax.

CENSUS TRACT 009

LOST

1.5

PERSONS PER FAMILY, ON AVERAGE

HALIFAX

LOST

0.8

PERSONS PER FAMILY, ON AVERAGE

MARITAL STATUS

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX

| MARRIED | SINGLE | DIVORCED [+] | WIDOWED [*] |
|---------|--------|--------------|-------------|
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | D W |
| M | | S | D W |
| M | | S | D * |

1951

1961

1971

1981

1991

2001

| MARRIED | SINGLE | DIVORCED [+] | WIDOWED |
|---------|--------|--------------|---------|
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | + W |
| M | | S | D W |
| M | | S | D W |
| M | | S | D W |

Observing trends in marital status characterizes one aspect of family structure and the social composition of the population living in an area.

Trends in Halifax indicate a decline in married persons, while divorce rates rise and more single dwellers reside in the city. In 1951, 43 percent of Halifax's population was married. By 2001, the married population had dropped to 31 percent of total inhabitants. The largest change in married persons occurred between 1981 and 1991. The population of singles remained fairly stable between 1951 and 2001, growing from 51 percent of the population to 56 percent. Divorce rates in the total Halifax population have climbed from under one percent in 1951 to seven percent in 2001. This contributes to changing trends in population, family size, and the social structure of communities. The

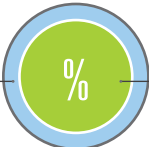
widowed population of Halifax hardly fluctuated, ranging from five percent to eight percent.

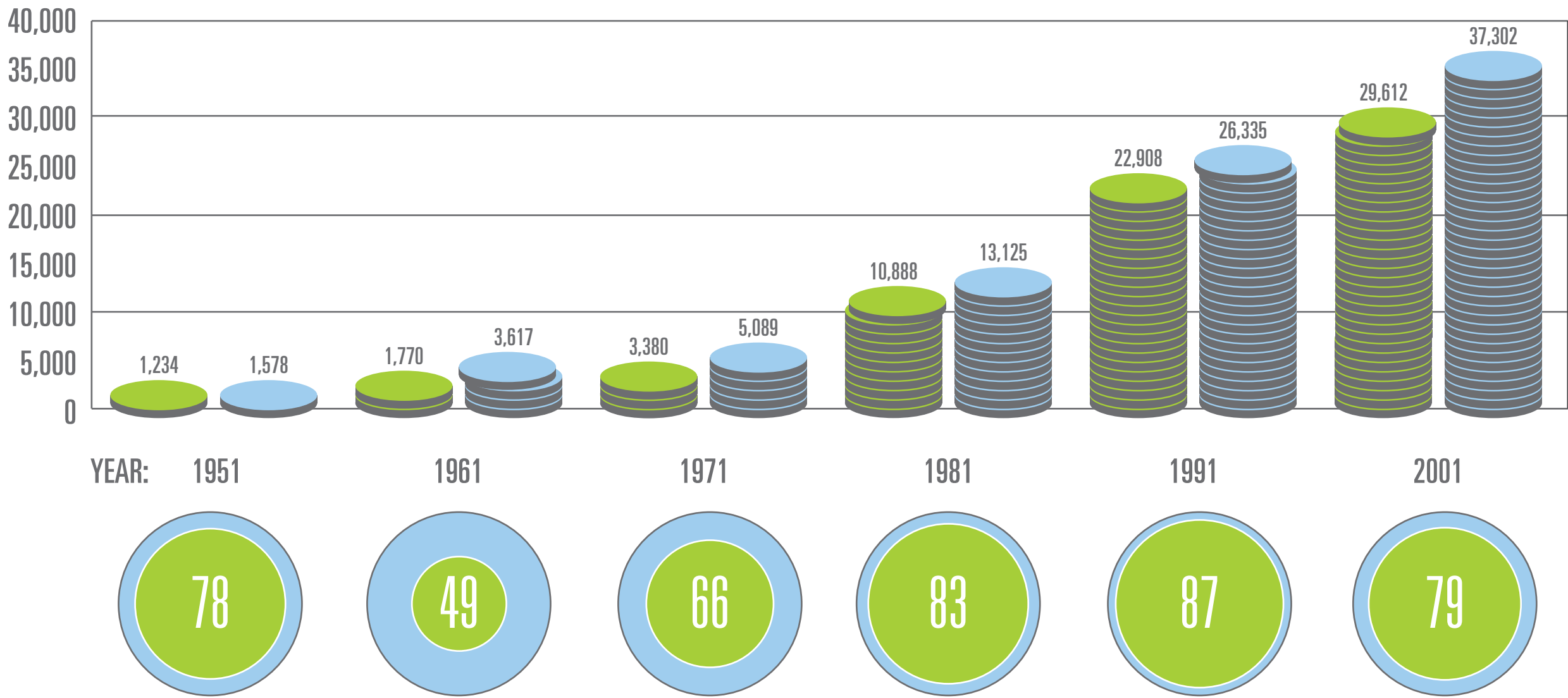
Marital status trends in Census Tract 009 are similar to those in Halifax. However, fluctuations in Census Tract 009 are more wide-ranging. Patterns in marital status signify a considerable decline in married persons while more single residents now occupy the area. Divorce rates have also climbed. In 1951, 40 percent of Census Tract 009's residents were married. The married population remained stable until 1991, when the number of married persons dropped from 39 percent to 25 percent. By 2001, the married population dropped to 22 percent of Census Tract 009 inhabitants, 9 percent lower than the total married persons in Halifax. The population of singles in Census Tract 009 grew substantially more than in Halifax, from 53

percent in 1951 to 68 in 2001. Divorce rates in Census Tract 009 also grew more than in Halifax, from under one percent in 1951 to eight percent in 2001. The widowed population has dwindled from six percent in 1951 to one percent in 2001. Outstanding patterns in Census Tract 009 are declines in married persons and an increase in singles. However, the area was very stable between 1951 and 1981, when slum clearance and urban renewal occurred. Despite a drastic change in population during this period, the ratio of married persons to single persons remained consistent within four percent.

AVERAGE INCOME

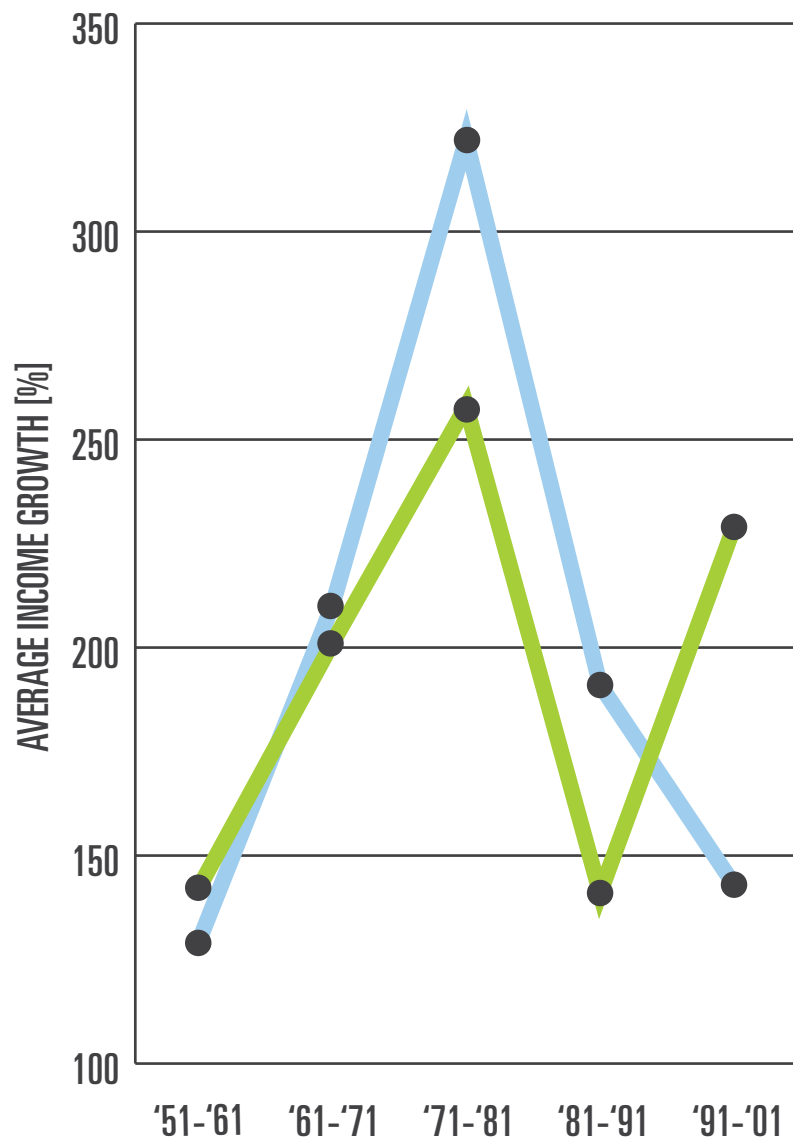
IN CDN DOLLARS, CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX

HALIFAX PENINSULA:
INCOME AS 100%  CENSUS TRACT 009:
INCOME AS A % OF HALIFAX



INCOME GROWTH

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



Income is one indicator of wellbeing in a community and often contributes to the character and condition of a community. The economic wealth of a community often factors into planning decisions.

Residents of Halifax and Census Tract 009 experienced steady growth in income during census years between 1951 and 2001. The average income of residents on the Halifax Peninsula was \$1,578 in 1951 and \$37,302 in 2001. In the decades between 1951 and 2001, Halifax experienced income growth rates between 141 percent (1961-1971) and 258 percent (1971-1981).

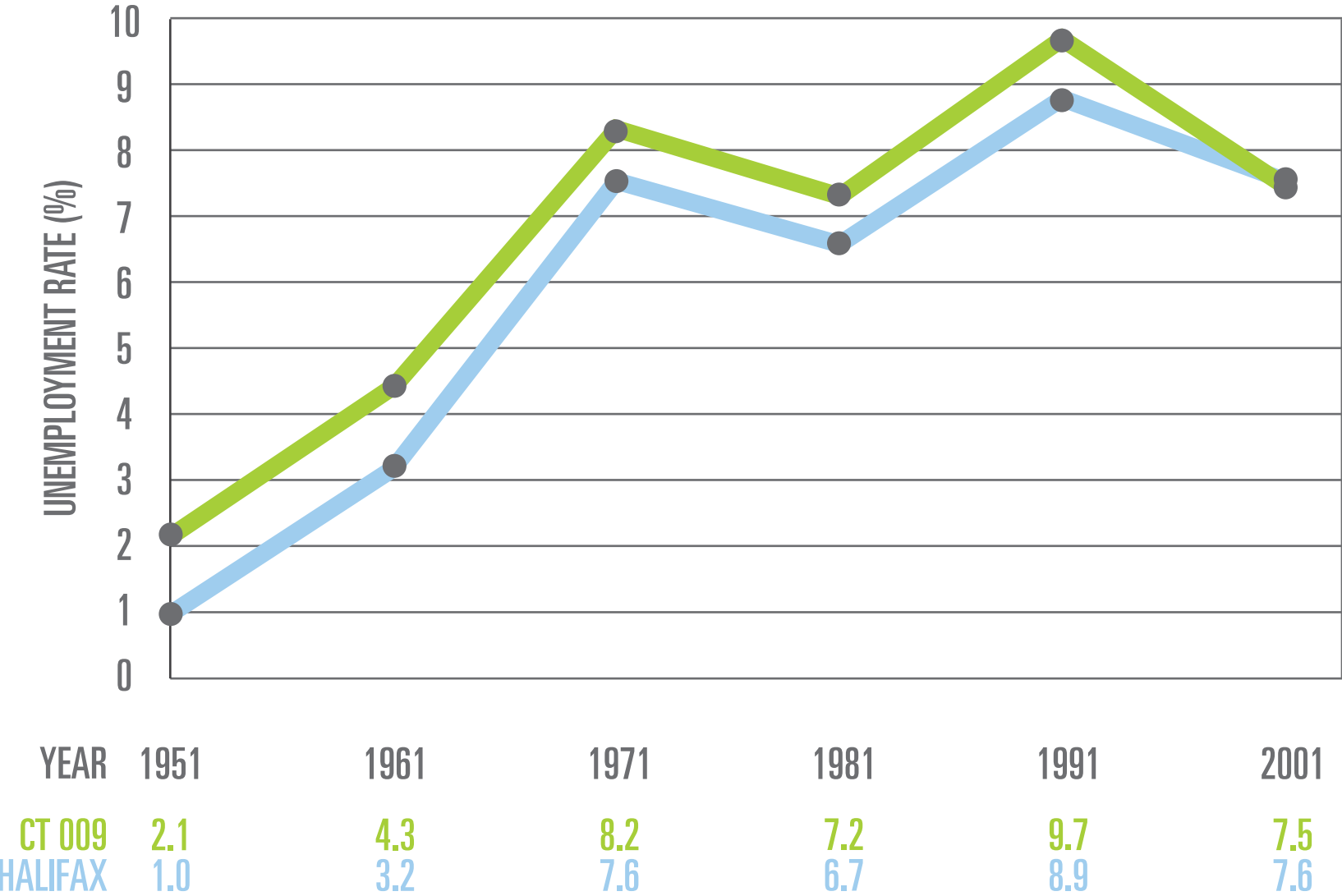
Economic inequality between communities can be measured in a variety of ways, including average income. Like residents of the Halifax Peninsula, residents of Census Tract 009 experienced steady income growth between 1951 and 2001. The average income of residents in Census Tract 009 was \$1,234 in 1951 and \$29,612 in 2001. Income equality between Census Tract 009 and the Halifax Peninsula was smallest between 1981 and 1991, when the average resident of Census Tract 009 earned between 83 and 87 percent of the average resident living on the Halifax Peninsula. During the period of slum clearance and urban renewal (1961-1971) income inequality was greatest. In 1961 the average income in Census Tract 009 was \$1,770, only 49 percent of the average in Halifax.

Following slum clearance, the income earned by residents of Census Tract 009 and Halifax became more equal (1971-1991). One factor that likely affected growth in average income was the relocation of Census Tract 009 residents. Residents of the displaced community and worst slums in Halifax (Stephenson, 1957), were economically disadvantaged and likely contributed to the high income inequality prior to redevelopment.

In Halifax, the lowest growth rate in income was between 1951 and 1961 at 129 percent while the greatest growth rate occurred between 1971 and 1981 (322 percent). Income growth rates of Census Tract 009 mirrored those of Halifax until the most recent decade, when the income growth rate in Halifax was over 90 percent higher than the growth rate of Halifax. This trend signals a shift in occupied residents of downtown Halifax, which is becoming more attractive to higher wage earners.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



Unemployment rates in Halifax and Census Tract 009 grew between 1951 and 2001. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, unemployment in Census Tract 009 and Halifax grew at the same rate. Unemployment rates in 1971 are similar to those in 2001, with minor fluctuations in the years between. No apparent trends set Census Tract 009 apart from Halifax, especially during the years of slum clearance and urban renewal (1951 - 1971). Between 1991 and 2001, downtown Halifax's unemployment rate dropped faster than Peninsular Halifax's unemployment rate. Rates of unemployment between the two geographic areas were a maximum of 1.1 percent apart in 1951. 2001 is the only census year that Census Tract 009 had an unemployment rate lower than Halifax.

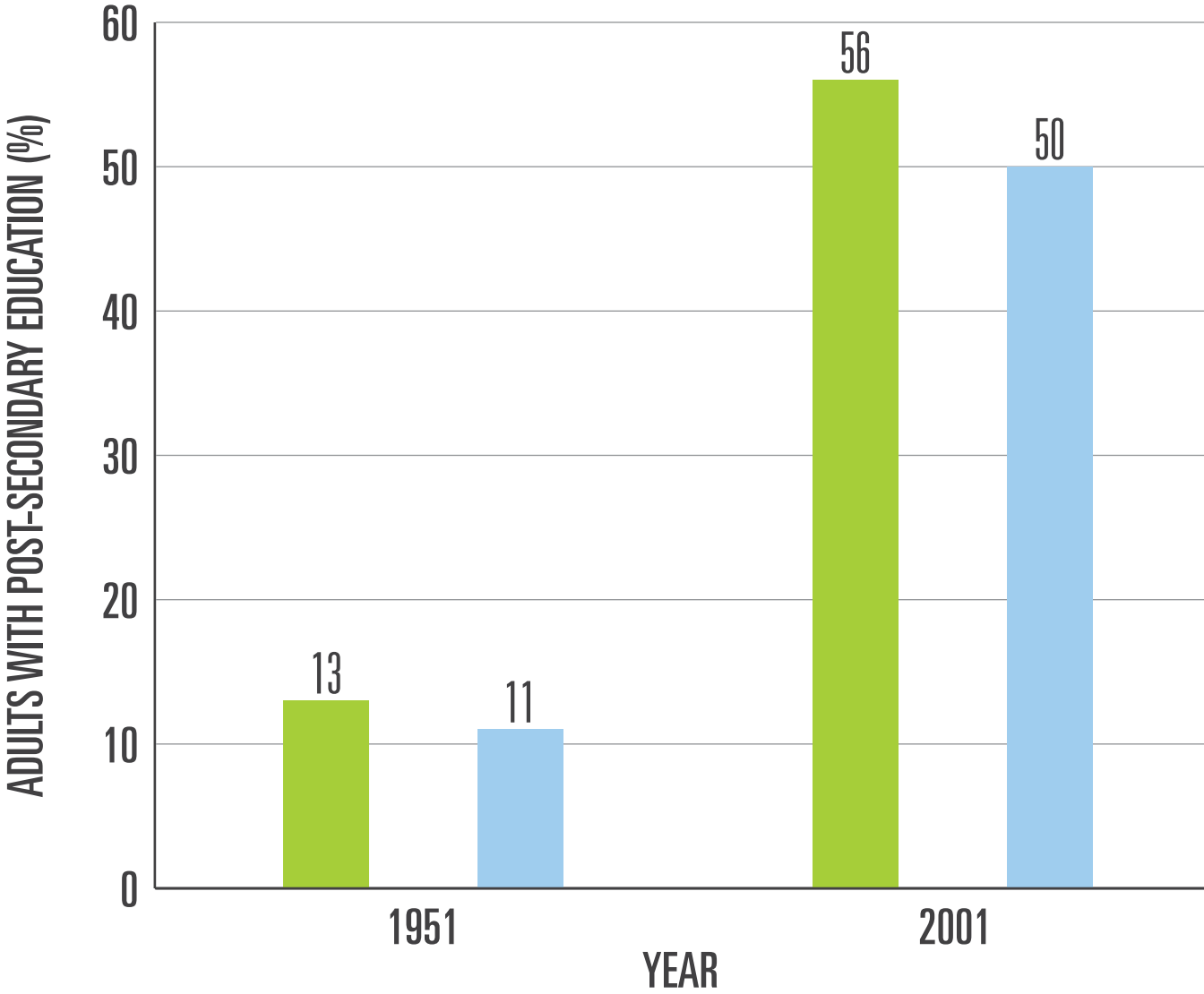
POPULATION WITH POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX

The number of adults (20 and over) with post-secondary education has grown in both Halifax and Census Tract 009.

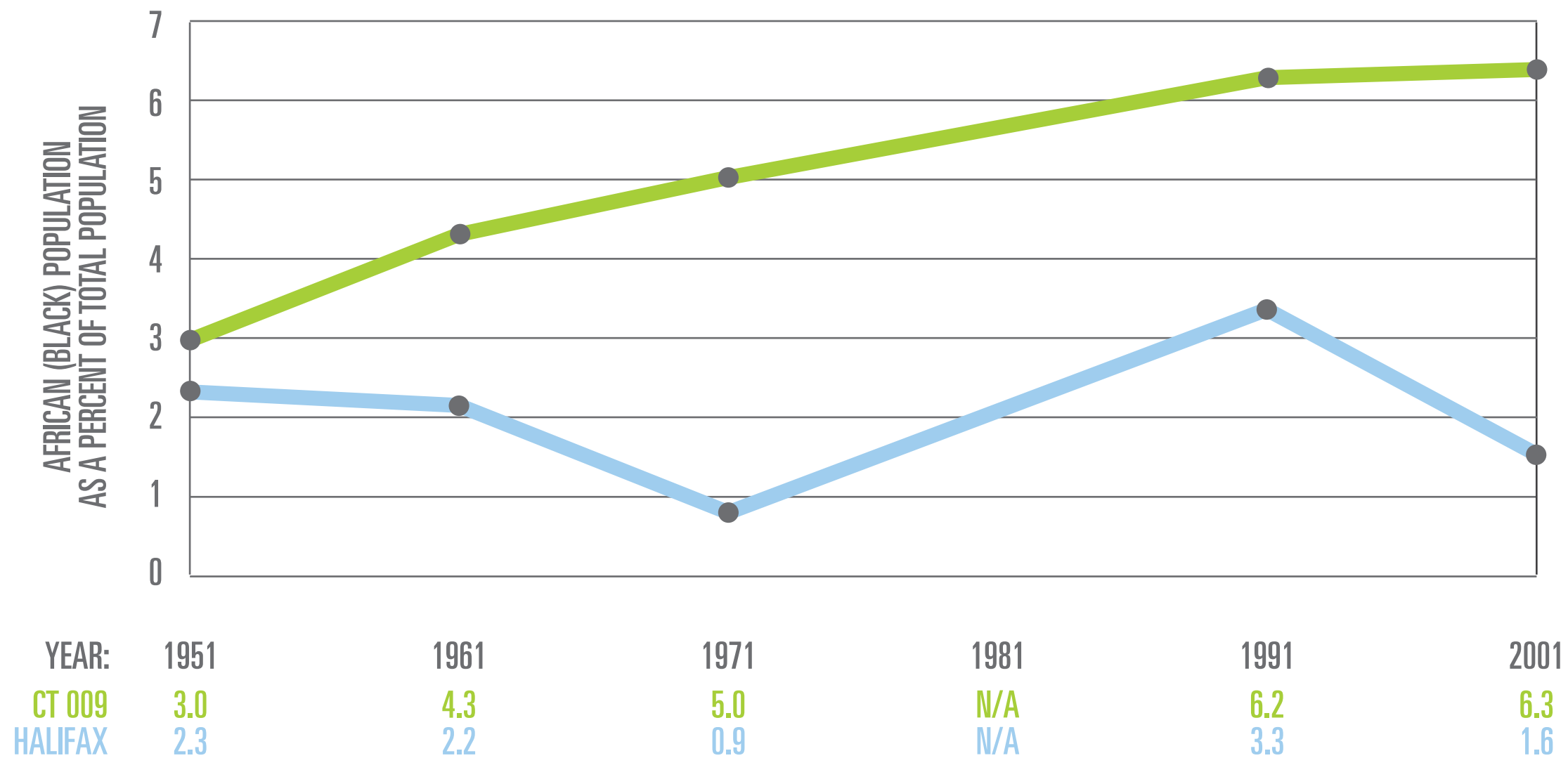
In 1951 only 11 percent of Halifax’s population had post-secondary qualifications. Like other urban centres in Canada, rates of post-secondary education in Halifax steadily increased between 1951 and 2001. By 2001, 50 percent of Haligonians had completed post-secondary education.

13 percent of the study area’s population had completed post-secondary education in 1951. Education rates in Census Tract 009 and Halifax grew at nearly identical rates. By 2001, post-secondary education rates in the study area were six percent higher than in Halifax.



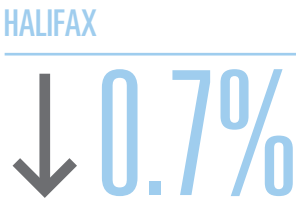
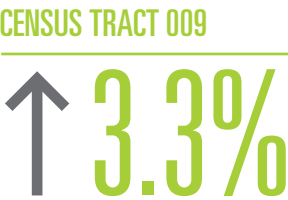
AFRICAN (BLACK) POPULATION

CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



CHANGE IN AFRICAN (BLACK) POPULATION

1951 - 2001, CENSUS TRACT 009 + PENINSULAR HALIFAX



In America, racial undertones were often considered as motives behind post-war slum clearance (Anderson, 1964). Many minority populations in the United States were victimized as a result of urban renewal (Maginn, 2004). Residents of Africville were victimized through planning decisions made by the City of Halifax. However, African (Black) ethnicity patterns in downtown Halifax show almost no correlation with findings from America or Africville.

The African (Black) ethnic population in Halifax dropped from 2.3 percent to 0.9 percent of Halifax’s population between 1951 and 1971. By 1991, African (Black) population had rebounded to form 3.3 percent of the city’s population, before dropping to 1.6 percent in 2001. Between 1951 and 2001, the African (Black) ethnic population remained fairly constant in Peninsular Halifax.

Population trends in Census Tract 009 show a different pattern. Despite fluctuations in total counts, the African (Black) population, as a percent of total population in the study area, continuously increased between 1951 and 2001.

Further, the period of slum clearance and urban renewal (1951-1971) show little evidence of racial victimization; between 1951 and 1971 the ethnic population had its highest growth rates in the study area, climbing from three percent of the total population to five percent. By 1991, African (Black) population climbed to 6.2 percent of the Census Tract’s total population. There is no conclusive evidence that the African (Black) ethnic community was targeted in clearing the core. Likewise, the ethnic population did not experience more heightened effects than the general population of the study area in the years following redevelopment.



A black and white photograph of a modern building with large glass windows and a sign that reads "West Concourse" and "Advance Ticket Holders". The building has a prominent overhang and a series of glass doors at the entrance. A large, bold, white text overlay reads "DISCUSSION, + CONCLUSIONS".

DISCUSSION, + CONCLUSIONS

8.0 DISCUSSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Examining spatial and demographic changes in the study area, as illustrated through photographs, aerial imagery, maps, and statistics, suggests that renewal outcomes did not always meet assumptions about revitalization made by the CMHC, the City of Halifax, and Stephenson (1957). Post-war redevelopment in Census Tract 009 was expert-drive not community-based. Despite attempts by the CMHC, the City of Halifax and Stephenson (1957) to be scientific in the process of slum clearance, the area that was once full of life has lost population, families, children, seniors, dwellings, and density. Though the modern study area is spatially dissimilar from the area in 1951, downtown Halifax continues to face many of the problems initially cited by Stephenson (1957) as reasons for redevelopment.

By identifying intended and unintended changes in downtown Halifax, this study advances work examining the assumptions of Stephenson (1957) and processes associated with slum clearance (Grant & Paterson, 2012), as well as spatial and demographic changes in downtown Halifax (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998; Collier, 1974). The research broadens the spatial analysis completed by Sandalack & Nicolai (1998) through examining changes

over a longer period. However, the research primarily contributes a thorough investigation of undocumented demographic changes in and around the Central Redevelopment Area. The research tests assumptions made about urban renewal and cities, specifically downtown Halifax, in the middle of the 20th century.

8.2 PROGRESS IN THE CITY

Prior to the Stephenson report (1957), Halifax had already considered redevelopment strategies for the downtown and felt the pressure to modernize and compete with major Canadian cities such as Montreal and Toronto (Collier, 1974). The city was afraid to hinder progress through restrictions or aesthetic controls that might slow down the growth rate or force development to other cities (Collier, 1974, 190; Pacey, 1979, 7). While slum clearance may have been justified by concerns for the welfare of those living in poor conditions, the focus quickly became replacing “an outworn section of the city with something better” (Collier, 1979, 163). While problems such as overcrowding and unwholesome sanitary conditions were arguably addressed by Stephenson’s solutions, problems such as crime were not eliminated.

8.3 BLIGHT AND CRIME

By almost all subjective accounts (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012; Stephenson, 1957), the city centre was not beautiful, desirable, or safe prior to redevelopment. It was a worn part of the city that needed improvement. Hardman, manager of the Scotia Square project during its development, and Stephenson (1957) had no doubt that the area was the worst part of the city – “a crime haven and the city’s red light district” (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012). Politicians, planners, and architects implemented modern notions of city planning theory that were prevalent across Canada following WWII, not isolated to Halifax.

The preoccupation with ending blight and excessive crime in Canadian urban cores preceded Stephenson’s 1957 report (Grant & Paterson, 11). While thorough, Stephenson’s report confirmed the convictions already established by many city politicians and planners throughout Canada. In his 1957 study, Stephenson mapped crime in Halifax and noted links between overcrowding, disease and crime (Grant & Paterson, 9).

Throughout Stephenson’s 1957 study, empirical evidence is

followed by assumptions. Stephenson (1957, 38) mapped locations of persons appearing in Juvenile Court and stated, “year after year [the study area] provides the main work for the Juvenile Court and the Probation Officer.” He speculated that most of the young criminals were from “bad housing areas ... forced on to the streets from overcrowded, objectionable homes” (1957, 40). Stephenson’s assumptions were not isolated, but echoed the beliefs common to many in this period. Further, Stephenson presumed that overcrowded home environments made for poor family life (1957, 38). In addition to his assumptions that slums housed young criminals, he concluded that the highest incidence of crime was found in areas of poor housing, namely the urban core that became the Central Redevelopment Area (1957, 34). The correlation between slums and crime was a primary motive in justifying slum clearance and urban renewal in Halifax.

However, it appears that urban renewal failed to alter the overall distribution of crime within the city. In 2001, the Statistics Canada publication *Neighbourhood Characteristics and the Distribution of Crime in Halifax* categorized crime rates in Halifax by census tract. The report provides an overview of crimes that takes place in

census tracts. It does not identify which census tracts criminals are from, as Stephenson’s 1957 does. In 2001, Census Tract 009 consistently displayed the highest crime rates in Peninsular Halifax. The report accounts for populations residing and employed in Census Tract 009, totaling 20,341 – Halifax’s largest “population at risk” (Statistics Canada, 2001). In 2001, Census Tract 009 had the second highest number of violent incidents (321) and the highest number of property incidents (957) (Statistics Canada, 2001). The number of property incidents in downtown Halifax is 33 percent higher than the number of incidents in the next highest census tract on the peninsula. As of 2001, Census Tract 009 had twice as many drug incidents as the next closest census tract. The urban core also ranks highest in incidents of mischief, theft, sexual assault, and homicides, but average in arson, shoplifting, and prostitution (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Despite the post-war preoccupation with ending urban blight and crime, little improvement has been made toward lowering the incidence of crime in downtown Halifax. In 1951, taverns and evening entertainment venues served people from inside and outside the study area; not much changed by 2011. Due to the nature of evening and weekend entertainment venues and the high concentration

of bars in the city core, outsiders presumably commit some of the violence. The incidence of crime might be independent of the people living in the study area. Urban renewal, as a solution, has failed to substantiate Stephenson’s correlations between housing conditions and crime (1957).

8.4 SPATIAL CHANGES

Though spatial changes between 1951 and 2011 varied in period and scope, most massive changes can be directly attributed to urban renewal. Development in the Central Redevelopment Area proceeded on the assumption that the development must start on leveled ground, “wiping the site clean of everything that was there before” (Collier, 1974, 174). While the downtown was derelict, the City of Halifax and the CMHC determined that “good buildings, charming buildings, still-useful buildings, historic and dearly-loved buildings, old trees and little parks, all must be bought up and demolished as the essential first step in such development” (Collier, 1974, 174).

Assumptions about the form of the city in the 20th century have had lasting impacts on the urban landscape. Though the area has changed much in decades since urban renewal,

developments completed in the 1960s and early 1970s are easily recognizable because of their massive scale. Superblock developments and interchange ramps that wiped out entire blocks were a dramatic departure from any development Halifax had experienced in over 200 years.

In justifying the decision to proceed with the Scotia Square concept, the Joint Committee – comprised of representatives from the CMHC and the City of Halifax – stated that the Scotia Square proposal valued “pedestrian movement” and “human activity, accented by landscaping and vistas to the harbour” (Pacey, 1979, 7). They claimed the concrete towers gave “vitality and punctuation without overdominance” and “an awareness and sympathy for the city’s existing character and human scale” (Pacey, 1979, 7). The proposal was thought to be “flexible enough to accommodate modifications” (Pacey, 1979, 7).

The assumption that development must begin with a cleared site resulted in positive and negative impacts. The derelict housing in the Central Redevelopment Area had sanitary problems and undoubtedly needed major investment. Change was in order. Likewise, urban renewal correctly assumed that urban cores were geographically appropriate for commercial and office uses. However,

superblock development and highway interchanges built to last 250 years do not reflect past history or uses through material or form (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012). Hardman argued that the architects behind the massive concrete structure failed to consider what the place would feel like for those residing, working, and travelling through the area (personal communication, March 20, 2012). Scotia Square, the Metro Centre, the Cogswell Interchange and the apartments on Brunswick Street were built out of scale with the rest of Halifax. Furthermore, the buildings, especially the non-residential complexes, focus inward without meaningful contribution to the streetscape (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012).

Assumptions by Stephenson (1957) pertaining to spatial form valued modernity and efficiency. While small blocks sizes in the Central Redevelopment Area once offered experiential choices for different people during different times, the massive resulting forms were built without much regard for variety or permeability of the pedestrian (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998). The segregation of people from vehicles, as proposed by Stephenson (1957) has had major impacts on the community. Land uses have been grouped and stacked in excessive blocks of concrete

primarily accessible from outside the core by car and from inside the buildings by elevators. Between 1951 and 2001, much of downtown Halifax underwent significant changes that negatively affected pedestrian life and left lasting impacts on the urban landscape that have failed to compliment Halifax’s existing form.



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8.5 DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Stephenson's 1957 study proceeded on the assumption that the Central Redevelopment Area would be renewed spatially and demographically. In part, justification for redevelopment in Halifax was guided by modern notions of having the right type of people occupying the urban core. While many people were displaced, certain people in the study area are better off because of assumptions made in the process of urban renewal. Because the statistics were compared with the Halifax Peninsula, many demographic assumptions made about the Central Redevelopment Area prior to redevelopment can be addressed.

A population of more than 1600 people was displaced from the study area when the Central Redevelopment Area was cleared. The Central Redevelopment Area lost 68 percent of its population between 1951 and 2011. Most of the population loss occurred between 1951 and 1971. By clearing slums in the Central Redevelopment Area, the City of Halifax and the CMHC did not reduce the number of poor Haligonians; they merely relocated residents to a different part of the city. Nevertheless, the assumption that population would decline was correct. Population density in the study area dropped to lower than Halifax's average

density. Because the Central Redevelopment Area was defined by Stephenson (1957) and cleared by the City of Halifax, it was easy to control which people were displaced from the urban core. Though 1600 people were expropriated, one of Stephenson's expectations was met in the construction of new apartments – sanitary living conditions serviced by new infrastructure that replaced one of the most derelict districts of the city (Collier, 1974). Very little consideration was given to the relocation of the community by the developers; it was up to the displaced residents to find new housing (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012). Collier (1974) suggests that none of the residents were able to “afford the rents asked in the new apartment blocks on Brunswick Avenue, where their homes had once stood” (167). However, the downtown apartments were appropriate for the population of single office workers that were expected to reside in the block. Demographic findings that isolate the apartment block on Brunswick Street confirm that Stephenson's assumptions about housing a single, white working class were correct. While Stephenson recommended relocating displaced residents to Mulgrave Park, the public housing development was not completed by the time the Central Redevelopment Area was cleared (Collier, 1974, 167). Though residents displaced from the

study area could not be directly traced through demographic data, their departure from Census Tract 009 was clearly marked in much of the data examined.

A connection exists between population, dwellings, and families. Over just two decades (1951-1971), a part of the city twice as dense as Peninsular Halifax became significantly less dense than Halifax. The number of dwellings and families dropped at the same rate as population in the study area (between 50 – 70 percent). The apartment buildings between Brunswick Street and Market Street are 100 percent rented and rates of dwelling ownership in the study area have not changed. However, the people occupying the apartments have changed; the total number of families and average family size experienced major declines. Family sizes in Census Tract 009 were significantly higher than in Halifax (1951-1961) before dropping below Halifax's average (1971-2001). The number of single, young males has grown in comparison to Halifax. Stephenson's assumptions about the kind of people desirable for the urban core – young, white, single male workers – have proven correct.

Though some demographic data illustrates conclusive changes in Census Tract 009 following urban renewal, they

have proven inconsistent. Certain demographic categories illustrate the massive changes brought by urban renewal while some remained virtually unchanged between 1951 and 2001.

Although some demographic statistics remained unchanged between 1951 and 2001, they were not meaningless; the findings show that urban renewal did not always instigate changes assumed by Stephenson (1957), the City, or the CMHC.

In the first census after slum clearance (1961), average incomes in Census Tract 009 declined by 31 percent, compared to Halifax. By 2001, income in the study area was only one percent higher than in 1951, compared to Halifax. Statistically, the community is still a low-income district of the city. By displacing the worst area of the city, Stephenson (1957) made assumptions that the area would improve economically. However, economic inequality between Census Tract 009 and Halifax grew and Stephenson's assumptions were incorrect.

Post-secondary education rates in the study area were always higher than in Halifax. People in the area became more educated following urban renewal, but the area did

not improve in comparison to Halifax. Findings suggest that urban renewal did not affect education rates in the study area. Because income and education often correlate, it is not surprising that education did not grow faster than the rates across Halifax. Assumptions that income and education were low in Central Redevelopment Area were incorrect; the area has always been more educated than Halifax but with lower average incomes.

Unemployment rates in the study area did not improve until 50 years after slums were cleared. The late drop in unemployment, which put Census Tract 009 on par with Halifax, did not occur until 2001 and cannot be attributed to urban renewal, which seemingly did not impact unemployment rates in the community. Though the poorest neighbourhoods in Census Tract 009 were cleared and followed by large-scale commercial development, unemployment rates remained consistently higher than unemployment rates in Halifax. The assumption that employed people with higher incomes and would occupy the study area was incorrect, despite displacement of the poor.

The African (Black) minority population climbed each year since 1951, despite urban renewal schemes in America

targeting minority populations (Anderson, 1964; Maginn, 2004). African (Black) minority population in the study area was measured as a percent of total population. While residents of Africville were removed by slum clearance in Halifax's north end, demographic findings suggest that race was not a motive in clearing the urban core of Halifax. The research highlights differences between slum clearance in America and Canada. What was true of urban renewal in larger American cities cannot be assumed as true in Halifax.

Assumptions formed about renewal in the city during the post-war period correctly predicted some changes and failed to accurately foresee others. Correct assumptions made by the CMHC, the City of Halifax, and Stephenson (1957) include declines in population and density; far fewer dwellings and overcrowding; declines in family numbers and sizes; and a younger, single, male-dominant working class population. Some assumptions about redevelopment were incorrect. Income levels remained low; unemployment did not improve until the 21st century; the African (black) minority population increased compared to Halifax; education rates increased at the same rates as Halifax; and the incidence of crime remains higher than in any other peninsular census tract.

9.0 CONCLUSIONS

Assessment and evaluation are often forgotten parts of the long-term planning process. Community design does not end with implementation. In a complete planning process, identifying the impacts of urban planning theories is important if lessons are to be learned for the future. Present and future planning theory, practice, and political decisions can be informed by examining past failures and successes.

This study interprets an important aspect of local history with lasting effects on human communities and the urban form of Halifax. Intended and unintended spatial and demographic consequences resulted from slum clearance and urban renewal In Halifax's Central Redevelopment Area. Examining changes in Census Tract 009 showed that assumptions made by the City of Halifax and Stephenson (1957) about changes in total population, density, family structures, and dwellings were correct. However, assumptions pertaining to income, employment, minority populations, and crime were incorrect. A sense of place and community was lost through the displacement of people and the construction of large-scale developments, which formed barriers between previously interconnected communities and changed the pedestrian realm. This suggests that contemporary urban design theory and

practice should be informed by planning for long term flexibility in developments; considering scale, variety, and permeability; planning for people as pedestrians, not drivers; and respecting the demographic and spatial history of communities.

While spatial changes had negative impacts in the study area, it is apparent that demographic changes were more difficult to gauge. Pinpointing the demographic impacts of particular projects or urban planning theories on the community was difficult. Spatial changes were not always indicative of demographic changes in the study area, as many external factors contribute to demographic change.

The research tests assumptions about spatial and demographic changes that were seen as necessary in the middle of the 20th century. With a rapid decline in population structure in the study area, economic development following the redevelopment of the Central Redevelopment Area has not been as successful as planned. Just 15 years after the completion of Scotia Square, department stores and cinemas were vacated and renovations to the massive structure proposed. Testing assumptions through retroactive assessment is an important part of the complete community design process.

Assumptions, whether correct or incorrect, are still made about places in the city. The research might lead planners and citizens to test more carefully some of the assumptions made in future work.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This project was restricted in scope. Throughout the research process, a new set of questions emerged as ideas for further research.

Due to time restraints and a focus on demographic analyses, an extensive spatial investigation was not completed. Further research might develop an inventory of relevant spatial changes by period: when land uses changed; when properties were consolidated; and when buildings were constructed. The rearrangement of land uses in the study area was also a major component of change. Land use was mapped prior to slum clearance and following urban renewal, but was not studied as a process over the six decades studied. A more extensive visual analysis might compare historical photographs with contemporary images of the same locations.

The study did not investigate how slum clearance and urban renewal affected the commercial viability of the community. Those who work, shop, eat, and are entertained in the study area also play a role in its function. Street directories and information from older census years (1951 and earlier) include information about business type, location, and income. How did urban renewal impact businesses inside and outside the city core?

Questions of public participation also emerged from the research. The development of the Central Redevelopment Area offered no evidence of successfully integrating citizen participation, “despite the fact that public authorities and public financing played the key role in this development” (Collier, 1974, 168). City politicians, the CMHC, and developers controlled the growth of the study area and failed to integrate public input, though it was “probably necessary for a project of that scale and importance to the city” (William B. Hardman, personal communication, March 20, 2012). Further research might consider how the process of public participation in Halifax’s redevelopment projects has evolved. Current examples of redevelopment contention in Halifax include ongoing municipal attempts to reach a mutual resolution with the Africville Heritage Trust; the Bayers Road widening; the controversy

surrounding municipal, provincial, and federal support for the proposed convention centre in the downtown core; and discussions surrounding the development of a stadium in Halifax.

Finally, using the methods of this research project, the demographic effects of urban renewal in Halifax could be compared to demographic effects of urban renewal in other Canadian communities such as Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver.

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