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Commercial growth, decline, and gentrification on Gottingen Street in Halifax

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Between the 1830s and 2010s Gottingen Street in Halifax, Canada, transitioned from a residential street, to a commercial corridor, to an area of community services, to a revitalizing 'hip' area. Its story reflects the influence of changing regulatory regimes, transportation modes, commercial practices, and cultural values. The paper follows uses in selected properties on the street to tell the story of an area in perpetual transition as a result of major infrastructure investments and changing economic conditions between 1910 and 2014.

History of a commercial street

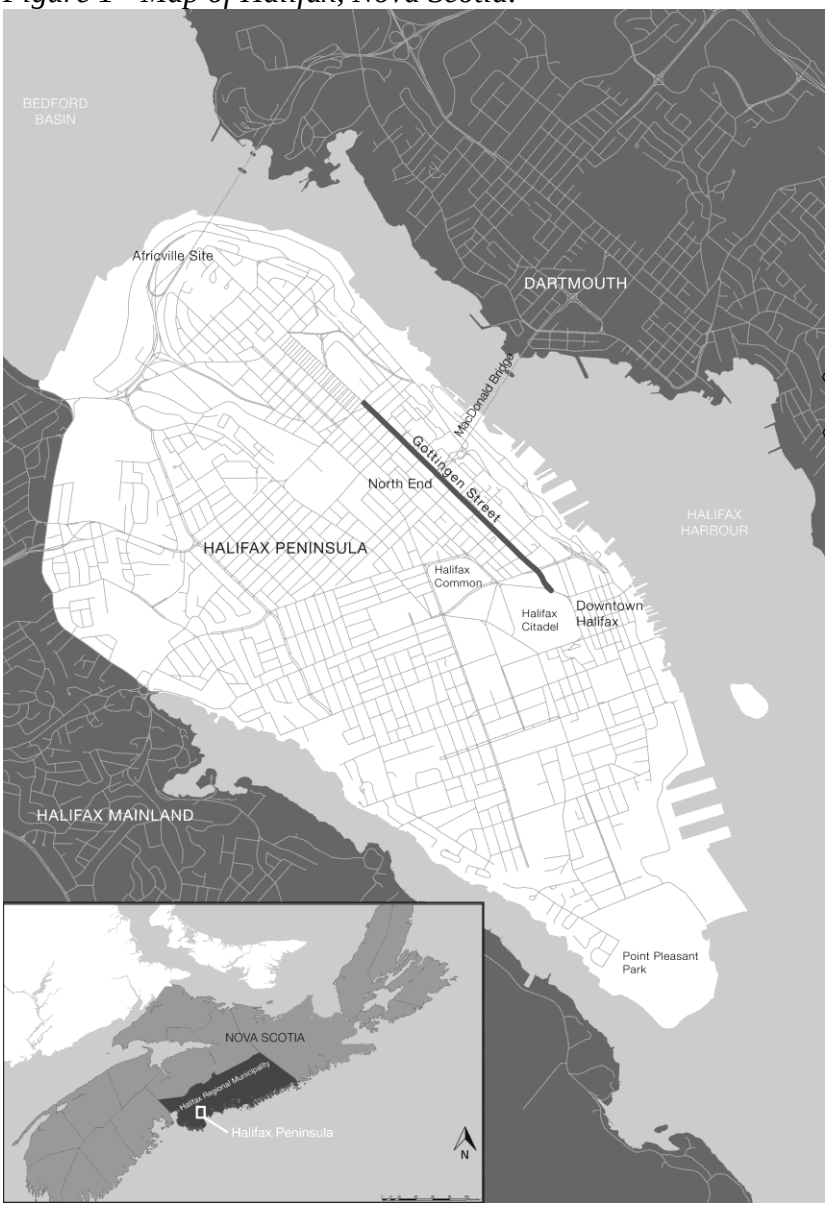
> *"To be sure, the older city has been replaced by the one that uses many of the same bricks and much of the same asphalt, along with nearly all of the old names for streets and neighborhoods. These material and cultural fossils invite an illusion of continuity: these same streets were here a century ago. But only in the most superficial sense is that so, for the streets have changed utterly—in their functions, their social meaning, even their moral standing—for those who use them."*[1]

Cities are sites of perpetual transition, changing with political decisions, economic conditions, and residents' choices. Neighbourhood change occurs in an economic context that affects which parts of cities experience growth and prosperity and which find themselves losing jobs and currency. Urban regulatory and policy environments affect the kinds of buildings, infrastructure, and services that appear in cities, and enable or constrain the types of uses a street can support. Within the cultural context of any city people tell stories about which areas are "nice" and which may be "dangerous", and make pragmatic choices about where to live, where to shop, where to invest. The trajectory of any particular street in any given city thus reflects decisions made by multiple levels of governments, international corporations and local businesses, and individual residents and consumers. Understanding the history of significant streets provides insight into the local implications of macro and micro processes that drive urban change.

This article examines the history of uses on Gottingen Street in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada (Figure 1). Settled as a British military foothold within traditional Mi'kmaq indigenous territory on Canada's east coast in 1749, Halifax expanded northward in the nineteenth century with the migration of German Protestants who inscribed Germanic names on many streets, including Gottingen. By the end of the nineteenth century Gottingen Street had a cluster of commercial uses serving local residents. During the early to mid-twentieth century it became the major commercial street of the North End neighbourhood. The complex trajectory of Gottingen

Street—from a site of commercial prowess until the 1960s, to a poor and stigmatized neighbourhood through the 1990s, to a gentrifying district in the 2000s—reflects some of the ways in which government policy and infrastructure investments, commercial practices and corporate decisions, and consumers' and residents' choices shape urban change. Following selected properties on the street from 1910 to 2014 illustrates the transformation of commercial uses and reveals transition points in the fate of the neighbourhood. Commercial streets in older inner city neighbourhoods offer important stories about the dynamic nature of urban form and function: telling their stories helps explain why and how cities change. The article begins by briefly discussing the context of change in commercial districts before proceeding to review the chronology of transformation on Gottingen Street. The final section considers key insights from the case study.

Figure 1 - Map of Halifax, Nova Scotia.



Changing retail streets

Cities are dynamic spaces. Retail districts are especially fluid, responding to changing population patterns, consumer tastes, transportation patterns, and economic conditions.[2] In the early twentieth century in North America, small-scale retail uses—in the form of grocers, butchers, and others providing daily necessities—were widely distributed through residential districts. Concentrations of retailers providing other goods developed in central cities along particular streets. As omnibus and streetcar services improved, some streets became important shopping streets, attracting higher-end and large retailers.[3]

Widespread access to private automobiles began to disrupt the hierarchy of urban commercial streets in the mid-twentieth century, as businesses increasingly moved to suburban malls and chain retailers replaced independents. Although governments implemented urban renewal projects and often set policies to try to protect or revitalize older retail districts, the fate of formerly powerful commercial streets varied.[4] Older retail streets in central cities often lost major retailers: some developed niche markets, but others faced severe decline. Cities increasingly became places of uneven geographic development.[5]

By the late twentieth century, some central city areas previously marginalized by suburban growth had become areas of reinvestment and gentrification.[6] A second round of urban renewal began to bring people back to older districts and created new opportunities for retailers.[7] Policy-maker interest in trying to attract talented and creative workers to fuel investment and growth—based on the ideas of Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida—encouraged redevelopment of older areas with new and "edgy" uses.[8] In the United States, programs such as HOPE VI provided federal funding to demolish public housing and replace it with mixed-income and mixed-use neighbourhoods: with over 130,000 units destroyed, the program fundamentally reorganized large areas and displaced poor African-American tenants.[9] Recent urban redevelopment in Canada is driving gentrification in major cities, but local governments that are renewing public housing have committed to replacing demolished units while adding market housing.[10]

Shifting investment strategies in the city affect not only who lives where but also the trajectory of commercial districts.[11] If people abandon a neighbourhood, stores close and investors shy away. As wealthier people move into an area, investors see opportunities. The types of local retail may change: upscale shops and services often displace those that met the needs of previous residents in a process of commercial gentrification.[12] Examining uses on commercial streets thus offers insights into urban processes at work.

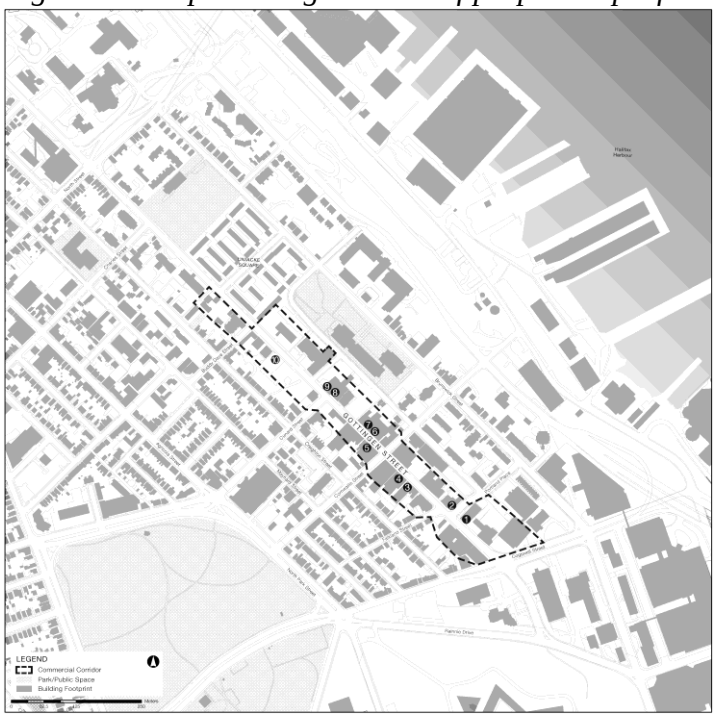
What can a case study of a street offer? Following the history of a commercial street provides detail on transitions in uses as economic and cultural conditions change (see Table 1, Figure 2). The next sections of the paper follow commercial uses on Gottingen Street in Halifax, Nova Scotia from the 1910s to the 2010s, reporting on a mixed methods study.[13] Halifax is a port city on the Atlantic coast, with a population of around 400,000. Although Halifax is not growing as quickly as larger Canadian cities, its city centre shows signs of gentrification as young professionals and retired couples move in. On the northern edge of the downtown, Gottingen Street is experiencing rapid change.

Table 1 – History of selected properties on Gottingen Street

Locator Number	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2014
1	Halifax Military Hospital	Halifax Military Hospital	Halifax Military Hospital	Halifax Military Hospital	Vacant lot	Derby Tavern & Grill	Derby Tavern & Grill	Derby Tavern & Grill	Derby Tavern & Grill	The Marquee Club (Paragon Mid-decade)	The Marquee Ballroom
2	Residence	Dry Goods Store	Residence	Barber Shop and Residence (Vacant)	Reliable Cleaners & Tailors	Vacant and Residence	Saveway Cleaners	Saveway Cleaners	Wendy's Reliable Dry Cleaners	Vacant	EDNA Restaurant
3	North Baptist Church	North Baptist Church	Community Theatre	Community Theatre	Vogue Theatre	Vogue Theatre	Vogue Theatre	Cove Cinema (Flamingo Club mid-decade)	Rumours Club	Vacant (Palooka's Boxing Club mid-decade)	GlobalNews Television Studios
4	Grove House	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Casino Theatre	Empire Casino Theatre	Vacant	Theatre Lofts (condominiums)
5	Freeman Department Store	Max's Department Store	Kay's Ltd. Ladies& Men's Wear	Kline's Ladies & Men's Wear	Kline's Ltd. Apparel	Kline's Ltd. Apparel	Kline's Ltd. Clothing	Open Circle Cabaret	Micmac Native Friendship Centre	Micmac Native Friendship Centre	Micmac Native Friendship Centre
6	Vineberg Goodman Co. Dry Goods	Tapp's Tots Toggerie	Woolworth F.W. Co. (Depart-ment Store)	Woolworth F.W. Co.	Woolworth F.W. Co.	Woolworth F.W. Co.	Discount Shoeland	Buckley's Music Centre	Buckley's Music Centre	Mi'kmaq Child Development Centre	Mi'kmaq Child Development Centre
7	Shane & Campbell Grocery	Borne E.K. Confectionery	Rubin's Men's Wear	Rubin's Men's Wear	Rubin's Men's & Boys Wear	Rubin's Men's & Boys Wear	Lord's Super Value Pharmacy	North End Community Health Centre	North End Community Health Centre	North End Community Health Centre	North End Community Health Centre
8	Bigney Crockery	Bigney Crockery	Vernon J. Worth Druggist	Vernon Worth Druggist	J.A. Withrow Druggist	J.A. Withrow Druggist	J.A. Withrow Druggist	Withrow Rexall Drug Store	Guardian Drug Store	Withrow Pharmasave	Bus Stop Theatre
9	Linton Meat Dealer	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Royal Bank of Canada	Dalhousie University Legal Aid Service	Dalhousie University Legal Aid Service
10	Shoe Repair & Doctor's Office	Shoe Repair & Doctor's Office	Shoe Repair & Residence	Residence	Residence	Sobey's Super-market	Sobey's Super-market	Foodland (Vacant Mid-decade)	Vacant lot	Vacant lot	[Mixed-income housing development proposed]

Note: Data drawn from city directories for the years 1910-2000, and updated from telephone directories and field surveys for recent years.

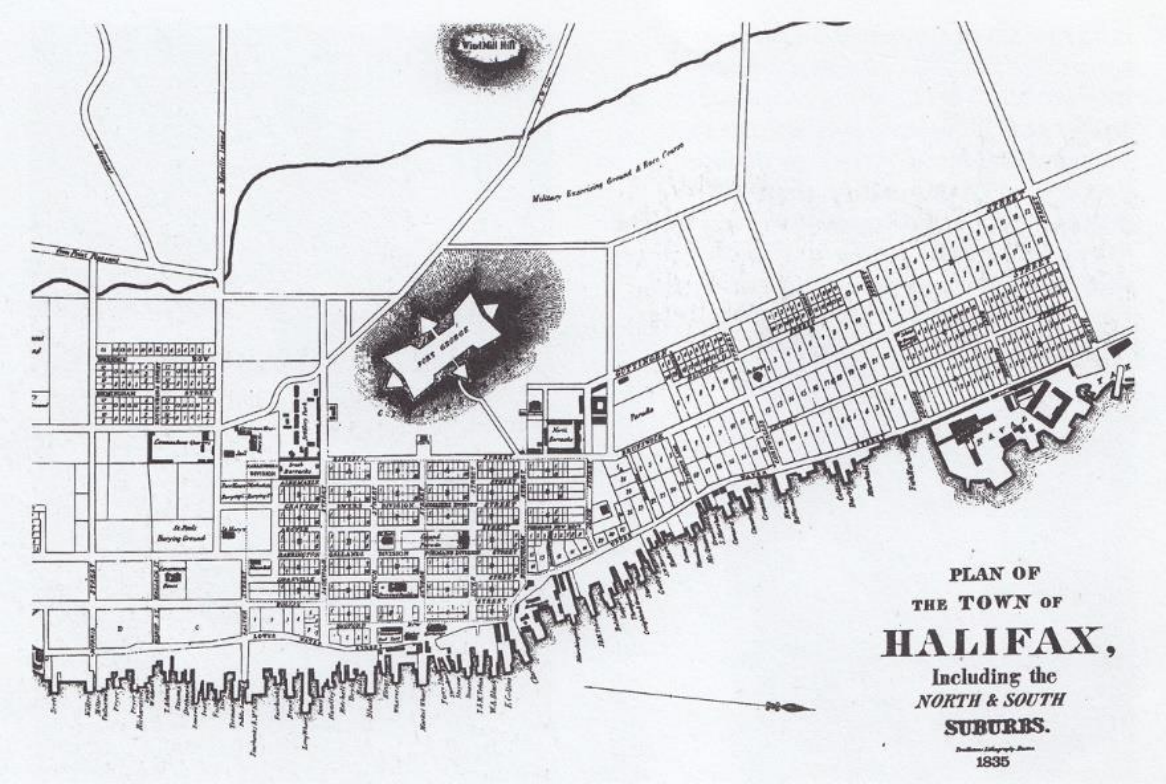
Figure 2 – Map showing location of properties profiled



Turn of the century streetcar development

Gottingen Street and the North End neighbourhood developed in the nineteenth century as one of Halifax's first extensions of its original 17-block settlement grid (Figure 3).[14] The area grew as part of an industrial northern suburb, with a mix of working class and manager occupants of a labour-intensive manufacturing, military, and resource economy along the harbour.[15] Shops and services for workers and their families opened along Gottingen Street, easily accessed by horse-drawn streetcar lines. Neighbourhood-scale retailers first emerged along the southern portions of the street, closer to the city centre.

Figure 3 - 1835 map of Halifax



By 1896, electric streetcars replaced the horse-drawn carriage lines.[16] A small portion of a streetcar line travelled the southern end of Gottingen Street. Small businesses, or "micro-retailers", continued to dominate the residentially dense, pedestrian, and mixed-use neighbourhood.[17] Table 1 highlights the mix of uses by illustrating uses in selected properties on Gottingen Street in 1910: it follows those properties through to 2014. Residences, a military hospital, and a Baptist Church along the most southern stretches of the street coexisted with small-scale retailers providing daily necessities. Commercial uses at that time included a dry goods store, a grocery, a crockery, and a butcher. Only one retailer, Freeman Department Store, stood out as potentially serving a customer base outside of the local neighbourhood.

A vibrant commercial strip developed along Gottingen Street between Cunard and Cornwallis Streets in the early 1900s. This retail cluster became the main goods and services point for the densely populated North End.[18] The number of retail uses north of Cunard grew

after the streetcar line extended in 1913.[19] Streetcars stopped at most street corners and intersections, rather than at formal transit stops, thus providing retailers and customers ready access. Not surprisingly, the diversity of commercial uses on Gottingen increased from 1913 to 1920.[20]

Some specialty goods and services stores began to appear in the 1920s among the profiled properties. For instance, Casino Theatre, one of Halifax's first cinemas, replaced a former residence; a small local grocery changed hands and became a specialized confectionery. The opening of a major financial institution, the Royal Bank of Canada, underlined the commercial strength and stability of the neighbourhood. While the growing retail strip on the Gottingen streetcar line increased rents and provided comparison shopping competition for some micro-retailers, many small grocers and other food goods providers (the dominant retailers in Halifax) survived on the strip, or just off the corridor.[21] Although Gottingen Street remained a primarily working-class area in the 1920s, the growth in retailing along with the expansion of the streetcar system responded to the needs of a generally more prosperous populace.[22] The early twentieth century involved what Douglas Rae called a self-regulating urbanism: various levels of government interfered little in legal uses, allowing a complex web of activities to thrive.[23]

Height of the commercial street

By the 1930s, the Halifax streetcar system suffered from competition by the private automobile and the vicissitudes of the Depression.[24] Businesses struggled. Shifting transportation modes had significant impacts in the decades following 1930. As an established commercial street, Gottingen Street and its retail services adapted and grew from the 1930s to the 1950s. Like other commercial corridors radiating from the city centre, Gottingen Street competed with the central business district.[25] Between 1930 and 1940, many of Gottingen Street's landmark retail businesses opened. Some of these businesses, such as Worth's pharmacy, provided necessities. Others, such as Kline's and Rubin's, sold clothing. A few offered high-end consumer goods. Of greatest importance, however, was Woolworths, Gottingen Street's first modern department store. Investment by an international retailer marked Gottingen Street as a successful commercial corridor, and reflected the growing reach of international corporations. Such inner city department stores provided "a destination for mass transit, an anchor for other commerce, a provider of jobs, an icon for the city."[26]

With Halifax a crucial launching point for Canadian soldiers and goods heading to Europe, World War II stimulated economic and population growth (Figure 4). Many workers for the nearby naval shipyards resided in the North End, increasing population densities around Gottingen Street.[27] Halifax faced a critical housing shortage in the postwar years as veterans returned home and started families. In order to deal with the perceived crises of rapid economic growth and housing demand, the City of Halifax enacted its first plan, the 1945 Master Plan.[28] The Plan focussed on improving transportation connections (by car) and developing new suburban communities: it said little about established areas like Gottingen Street.[29]

Figure 4 – Gottingen and Cornwallis in 1949 [Nova Scotia Archives, used with permission]

Halifax's streetcars stopped running in 1949. With increasing automobile use and lack of transit coverage to new suburban neighbourhoods, municipal authorities decided that a bus system would better suit needs.[30] The end of the streetcar system ultimately dealt a heavy blow to commercial streets such as Gottingen that had prospered around it.

Early in the 1950s, Gottingen Street was only outperformed as a commercial strip by the higher income Spring Garden Road district.[31] Some 130 retail and commercial uses lined the main shopping corridor of Gottingen Street (between Gerrish and Cogswell Streets): only three buildings on the strip sat empty.[32] Necessity and luxurious consumer goods shopping coexisted: barber, bank, and pharmacist operated alongside Woolworths, clothing stores, and two large movie theatres. The old military hospital was demolished, with plans announced to build a tavern on the site. A community service worker and former resident interviewed for the research nostalgically recalled Gottingen Street in the 1950s:

> At Christmastime, the whole street was lit up. It looked like downtown New York. It really did. It was lit up, all of it...It was amazing. It was very, very busy. It was a constantly crowded street.[33]

Despite the vibrancy of Gottingen in the 1950s, urban prospects were changing. Suburban residential and commercial growth increased in Halifax by the mid-1950s. Suburban expansion reflected several factors: the postwar economic boom, a national and local housing crisis, increased general prosperity of the population and resulting prevalence of the private car, and the lack of "green-field" development sites on the peninsula.[34] Government officials and planning experts focused their efforts on how to simultaneously connect and protect inner-city neighbourhoods as the suburbs developed. In 1955, the first car bridge across Halifax Harbour linked the urban cores of Halifax and Dartmouth. Gottingen Street became an important artery for downtown-bound automobile traffic, raising new concerns about the availability of parking for shoppers.

The 1950s intensified discussions about deteriorating older neighbourhoods, including some parts of the North End.[35] During the war, the federal Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (the Curtis Committee) had "recommended broad-scale housing programs to accommodate the backlog of housing demands caused by the Depression and the war."[36] The combined desire to modernize the city, to address housing needs, and to facilitate automobile travel would have devastating effects on the Gottingen Street commercial corridor.

The urban renewal era

Canada experienced simultaneous crises in the postwar period: a national housing shortage and deteriorating inner cities.[37] The federal government moved first to solve the former by updating the National Housing Act (NHA) in 1944 and then forming the Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) a year later to provide "federal assistance for home-ownership housing and rental projects" via mortgage funds, direct loans, and eventually mortgage insurance.[38] Canadian home ownership and suburban development boomed over the next decade as a result.[39] CMHC not only stimulated suburban residential and commercial growth, it also established a comprehensive urban renewal program through amendments to the NHA in 1954, 1956, and 1964.[40]

Prior to the NHA amendments, private developers had little incentive to "divert energies and capital from the buoyant suburban housing boom to the high risks of replacing pockets of substandard housing set in a dubious environment," the inner city.[41] The 1954 NHA amendment provided federal and provincial cost-sharing via CMHC for the clearance of "slum" housing replaced by new affordable or public housing.[42] The wide-ranging urban renewal policies enacted in the 1956 and 1964 NHA amendments provided legal opportunity and financial incentive for municipalities to "preserve and protect" their central business districts through land assembly.[43] The 1956 NHA enabled municipalities to clear land as long as the area was predominantly residential either before or after redevelopment: municipalities could establish the "highest and best use for the area."[44] Consequently, "it became possible to clear slum housing and dispose of the land for whatever use was indicated in the municipal plan for the area."[45] The federal government also provided funding for municipalities to conduct or contract urban renewal studies and slum identification surveys.[46] With the introduction of federal grants covering as much as 75 percent of urban renewal program costs, almost all Canadian cities enacted some sort of urban renewal over the next decade, Halifax included.[47]

Canadian cities rarely adopted planning regulations and land-use policies prior to the 1950s. The federally driven urban renewal program, with its financial inducements, normalized planning functions as part of municipal governance.[48] In Halifax,

> …while politicians remained sceptical about planning, they were ready to experiment with planning to get access to federal funds and to try to promote development. As players on a national stage, they feared that Halifax could fall behind other communities. If other cities used planning, then Halifax should do so as well.[49]

Building on the preliminary urban renewal policies of the 1945 Master Plan, the City of Halifax adopted an Official Plan and Land-Use By-law in 1950 to identify and recommend areas

ripe for slum clearance and redevelopment.[50] Utilizing federal grants earmarked for urban renewal studies in 1956, City Council hired Gordon Stephenson, a professor of planning from the University of Toronto, to conduct a redevelopment study to modernize Halifax's inner urban neighbourhoods.[51] Stephenson described some of Halifax's older, tight-knit, built form—much of it in the inner North End and around Gottingen Street—as a hazard rather than a resource.

> The time is ripe for urban redevelopment and improvement, in which many of the bad results of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vicissitudes may be removed.[52]

Stephenson, like most modernist planning experts of the era, employed demographic descriptors and social measures to evaluate the physical environment. He gave planners easy solutions to restoring physical, social, and moral order: clear blight and separate land uses.[53] Stephenson recommended radical change for the northern downtown.[54] Although he praised the commercial vitality of Gottingen Street, he proposed replacing mixed use areas with zones for defined uses. Stephenson associated physical age and deterioration not only with fire and safety concerns but with social and moral decay.[55] The areas of greatest concern were near the urban centre: southern portions of the North End and the residential areas surrounding Gottingen Street. Stephenson recommended clearing 8.8 acres.[56] Recommended redevelopment projects for the cleared areas included large commercial uses and high-density residential complexes.[57] Stephenson made similar recommendations for Gottingen Street. He described Gottingen's commercial corridor as an asset to strengthen through zoning, suburban-style shopping centre building forms, and better access and parking for cars.[58]

Many of Halifax's political leaders and residents saw urban renewal as a way to obliterate "an obnoxious and embarrassing slum."[59] Widespread faith in the solutions Stephenson put forward is evidenced by the speed with which Council and staff moved urban renewal into action. Between 1958 and 1963 the City acquired and cleared almost 17 acres of land in the northern downtown, dubbed the Central Redevelopment Area (CRA). The vast tract, just south of the Gottingen Street commercial corridor, remained vacant until 1967 when construction began on Scotia Square, a superblock shopping and office complex development.[60] In downtown Halifax, large development projects built to cover several city blocks replaced street grid patterns that had changed little since the eighteenth century. Large downtown redevelopment projects, oriented towards the automobile and suburban-style shopping, competed directly with Gottingen Street retail uses in subsequent decades. Clearance and redevelopment of the CRA had significant implications for the vitality of the Gottingen neighbourhood.[61]

Residents displaced by downtown clearing generally moved far from Gottingen Street, but Halifax used federal funds to build new public housing complexes to house some of those displaced. Mulgrave Park opened north of Gottingen's commercial corridor in 1962. The city cleared 31 acres of old housing and the School for the Deaf to build Uniacke Square and associated facilities (library, community centre, and school).[62] With 250 social housing units developed in 1966, Uniacke Square abutted Gottingen's commercial strip to the northeast.[63] A significant portion of Uniacke Square's original tenants came from Africville, an African-Nova Scotian community cleared by the City of Halifax between 1964 and 1967.[64]

As Stephenson tabled his report before Council in 1957, Gottingen Street's commercial corridor thrived. The 1960s started well for some of Gottingen Street's premiere commercial

uses (see Table 1). In 1960, anchored by Woolworths, Kline's, and Rubin's, 138 commercial uses operated on Gottingen, eight more than in 1950.[65] "Necessity" uses still operated on the street, including the Royal Bank and three other financial institutions which opened by 1960. In 1965, Atlantic Canada's supermarket chain, Sobey's, opened directly across from the North End Public Library, near the public housing complex.

After its "amputation from the CBD" through the urban renewal program, Gottingen Street soon began a precipitous decline.[66] With the clearance of the dense residential neighbourhoods between the downtown and Gottingen Street, population—and, therefore, customer base—declined rapidly. In a single decade, the neighbourhood lost approximately 5200 residents, or 42 percent of its 1950 total population. The downtown dropped almost half of its 1950 population.[67] It is not surprising then that the total number of retail and commercial uses on Gottingen's commercial corridor diminished to 95 in 1970, with 35 fewer retailers than a decade earlier.[68] Woolworths, the venerable department store, closed and was replaced by a discount shoe store. Rubin's shut its doors, replaced by a pharmacy. The 1970s marked a transition in Gottingen Street's trajectory: this was the first in a series of decades in which the number of community/social services increased, while commercial and retail activity decreased.

Commercial decline and the emergence of the service sector

The 1960s and 1970s represented a remarkable period of suburban and commuter-shed residential and commercial growth in the Halifax region. Eighty percent of residential and commercial development occurred in the periphery of the Halifax-Dartmouth metropolitan region during the 1970s.[69] Many shopping malls appeared in suburban areas between 1956 and 1980.[70] Council advocated commercial, office, and hotel development downtown with the "naïve assumption that it was possible to simultaneously restore the downtown to its former dominant position...while unquestioningly promoting the construction of large regional malls in the suburbs."[71] Areas such as Gottingen paid the price of suburban commercial growth.

Rapid suburban expansion depended on several factors: inexpensive and accessible land; the 1963 Regional Housing Survey's recommendations for infrastructure expansion to accommodate projected population growth; the 1975 Regional Development Plan proposals for satellite communities; few development controls or restrictions on suburban development; construction of a second harbour bridge; and new provincial highways and ring roads to facilitate vehicular traffic flow throughout the region.[72]

The final project executed during Halifax's urban renewal era – major traffic improvements—completed Gottingen Street's isolation. To increase traffic flow through the downtown, traffic engineers proposed a six-lane freeway, Harbour Drive, along Halifax's waterfront to run the length of the peninsula. The Cogswell Interchange, completed in 1973 to control traffic in and out of downtown, was the first phase of the freeway implementation. Located south east of Gottingen Street, the Interchange covered over 10 acres and dramatically altered street patterns that previously connected the North End to downtown.[73] Public concerns about heritage destruction and the effects of urban renewal eventually halted progress on Harbour Drive: Council cancelled the project.[74] The interchange became an obtrusive reminder

of Halifax's urban renewal era. Meanwhile, improvements to Barrington Street rerouted downtown traffic to the bridges, bypassing Gottingen Street.

Gottingen's days as a fine-grained commercial corridor serving a dense urban neighbourhood came to an end after the 1960s. By the 1970s, the neighbourhood was a low-rent district with a concentration of public housing, a growing number of coop and non-profit housing projects, and a smattering of rooming houses. Storefronts increasingly housed pawn shops, low-end retailers, or stood empty. A local planning and design professional interviewed recalled the significant transformation of the Gottingen Street corridor and the impact it had on residents.

> What was evident was that the place had become insulated from the rest of the city. Very one-dimensional in terms of who lived there. I mean there was diversity within it, but economically speaking, it was one dimensional. And more or less it was cast adrift.[75]

Significant national and local criticism of slum clearance and large scale public housing projects from community groups, activists, and scholars led the provincial government to provide a greater role for public participation in planning processes through the 1969 Planning Act.[76] Federal authorities also noted the backlash against urban renewal. The amended National Housing Act of 1973 refocused legislation to provide financial support for affordable housing schemes while reducing commitments to urban renewal and public housing.[77] With a new focus on rehabilitating distressed areas, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program spent almost 3.5 million dollars in the Gottingen Street area.[78] Despite improvements to some of the housing stock and street beautification measures, the programs had little effect on the declining commercial status of the street and provided negligible long-term benefit to the economically disadvantaged population in the area.[79]

By 1980, Gottingen had 20 fewer retail uses than in 1970 and 1500 fewer residents in the neighbourhood: by contrast, it had more than double the number of community services (including transient shelters and legal aid services).[80] For the first time in the twentieth century, the increase in number of vacant buildings and lots outperformed commercial growth on Gottingen's corridor.[81] A long-time Gottingen Street resident interviewed recalled the decline.

> Basically from about 1980 on was this absolute deterioration... [Prior to 1980] I mean everything was there. It was a completely organic intact economic unit: a poor one but completely organic. So just slowly everything started disappearing. The banks left, and this and that, and the Sobey's left. You know, there were empty lots. And I mean it was just horrific.[82]

Another of Gottingen Street's primary clothing goods stores, Kline's, closed by 1980. The Vogue Theatre shut in the 1970s, became the Cove Cinema by 1980, and a nightclub by mid-decade. The North End Community Health Centre opened on the former site of Rubin's Men's Wear, and soon became a landmark community service on Gottingen Street. Perhaps the biggest loss to the community during the 1980s was the closure of the supermarket in 1985.

The presence of the large low-income population housed in Uniacke Square and nearby in coop housing affected the perception of Gottingen Street throughout the 1970s and 1980s. A growing drug culture and associated criminality left impoverished neighbourhoods increasingly

stigmatized. The 1980s brought neoliberal policies to federal and provincial governments, leading to straightened circumstances for those living with poverty. Community and church groups struggled to fill the gaps in social services. The concentration of affordable housing projects developed on and near Gottingen's commercial corridor facilitated clustering of community services that may have been unwelcome in other neighbourhoods in the city but proved essential in the North End.[83] A predominantly visible minority and impoverished population increased fears for would-be shoppers on Gottingen Street. The social stigma of public housing, mixed with a documented history of prejudice against African Nova Scotians, marked Gottingen Street as an undesirable low-income service street.[84] Those interviewed for the research, especially people involved in the social service sector, noted that local business owners often blamed the community service clientele and residents of Uniacke Square for driving customers away.[85] Local media also highlighted the perception of a commercial street in decline:

> Some local businesses blame Uniacke Square for the area's decline. Many white Haligonians see it as a ghetto..."the black eye that's hurting the rest of the community."[86]

In an apparent about-face from the urban renewal era 20 years prior --when it completed major surgery to transform Gottingen Street-- the municipality took a *laissez-faire* approach to North End Halifax by the 1980s. Planners initiated a community plan for the northern portion of the Halifax peninsula in 1979 but never completed it.[87] Some gentrification occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, as young professionals and cultural workers bought architecturally interesting older homes on nearby streets.[88] With large numbers of low-income residents, sensational media coverage of local crime, and the perception that community services undermined private business success, Gottingen suffered from negative perception issues from the 1980s through the 2000s. Consequently, financial institutions were unwilling to provide loans for Gottingen Street developments and developers lacked confidence to invest.[89]

The Gottingen Street of the 1990s continued on the trajectory of the previous two decades. More uses on Gottingen's commercial corridor reoriented from providing consumer goods to community services. Describing commercial degradation on Gottingen Street, Millward and Winsor found "aging buildings and a lack of major 'anchor' stores contributed to a downward spiral of retail decay". [90] The remaining retailers generally offered convenience goods. While the number of residents in and around Gottingen Street increased modestly by the 1990s, retail and commercial uses on the corridor dropped again by 16 to a total of 54.[91] Retail uses decreased to 36, while 13 community services operated on Gottingen Street.[92] The former site of Kline's clothing store, which held a cabaret in the 1980s, became another signature community service on the street as the Mi'kmaq Native Friendship Centre moved in. The pharmacy owned by the Withrow family transferred through national pharmacy chains, from Rexall to Guardian to Pharmasave. The 1990s was the last decade for Gottingen Street's first landmark cinema, the Casino Theatre. When the Royal Bank closed in the early 1990s, the final "essential" commercial service left the corridor.

Urban revitalization and the resurgence in urban living

The Gottingen Street commercial corridor experienced the nadir of its commercial strength at the turn of the twenty-first century. In 2000, the number of retail and commercial uses was the lowest in a century, while vacant uses and lots proliferated. Community services peaked in the 2000s with over 20 distinct uses and locations. [93] Table 1 reflects the situation for profiled sites: the only commercial uses by the twenty-first century were the longstanding Withrow Pharmacy and the Marquee Club, while both theatres and the long-time drycleaners became vacant. Community services had displaced department stores, supermarkets, and theatres as landmark uses on the street. In the era of neoliberal governance and the downshifting of social welfare responsibility, health, legal, and community services became "necessity" uses for an increasingly marginalized local population.

By mid-decade, however, census data began to hint at a resurgence both in population and household income in the Gottingen Street area. Population growth from 2001 to 2011 outpaced that of the urban Halifax peninsula, bringing the total number of residents in the Gottingen Street area to its highest levels since 1980.[94] The Gottingen Street area's median household income grew faster between 2001 and 2011 than anywhere else in Halifax, while the prevalence of low-income residents, which remained the highest of all census tracts on the Halifax peninsula, had rapidly decreased since 2000. Although public and non-profit housing anchored the most disadvantaged in the neighbourhood, the working class population that once dominated the Gottingen Street area was increasingly pushed to suburban and rural neighbourhoods. North End housing became less affordable for those without high incomes or those who did not qualify for subsidized housing.[95] Data from assessed property valuations of Gottingen Street commercial uses indicated a brisk rise in property values, especially since 2009.[96] These socioeconomic indicators portrayed a community undergoing rapid change.

Although most commercial and residential development still occurs in Halifax's suburban areas, the apparent beginnings of a "return to the city" movement of people and capital had its roots in regional planning policy (promoting intensification and revitalization) and wider cultural and consumer preferences (defining city amenities as attractive). Given the large stock of affordable space available on Gottingen Street at the start of the twenty-first century, the commercial corridor—and the North End in general—began to receive an influx of artists, university students, and young professionals looking for cheap, diverse, and historically rich alternatives to suburban living.[97] Early condominium developments produced affordable ownership options within easy walking distance of the city centre. The uses on the Gottingen commercial corridor began to reflect "bohemian" or alternative cultural tastes starting in the early 2000s, with the opening of art galleries, a hostel and café, and several iterations of LGBT-inclusive bars and clubs. Gottingen Street began attracting new capital investment.

Those following the "first wave" of new residents to gentrifying areas are generally educated and affluent individuals with similar lifestyles but greater economic capital than early pioneers.[98] The increasing popularity of inner-city living in North End Halifax follows a common redevelopment trend. The increasing prevalence of planning and development work promoting the strengths of central cities in the "new knowledge economy"— postulated by Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida—provided the foundation for Halifax to "boost an urban agenda not

previously feasible."[99] Halifax promotes inner-city redevelopment through a "creative city" lens, highlighting its high skilled worker and "bohemian" indices ratings, alongside a framework allowing increased density and mixed-use development on the Halifax peninsula.[100] The new era of urban renewal seeks revitalization not through clearing "blight," [101] but by including Gottingen Street and other inner-city areas in economic growth and development. Once again, the trajectory of Gottingen's commercial corridor is being altered, this time through the confluence of economic and consumer trends, and municipal regulations encouraging redevelopment and greater densities.

A century after Gottingen's streetcar commercial corridor began, the street is once again developing a prominent retail strip, albeit of a different character. With almost 60 retail and commercial uses in 2014 the Gottingen corridor had the strongest commercial strip since the 1970s. The retail areas with the most rapid growth are food services, cafés, and fine dining. The number of specialized uses on Gottingen's commercial corridor is at its highest since the 1950s and 1960s.[102] Arts and entertainment uses are also prominent on the street. As suburban commercial development increasingly dominated the consumer goods market for over half a century, inner-city commercial districts had to specialize to remain relevant.[103] On Gottingen Street most specialized retail uses and services—especially cafés and food services—cater to those with alternative or "self-conscious" tastes.[104] Interviews with local business owners showed that the current characterization of Gottingen Street as a unique emerging area played a significant role in decisions to operate on the corridor.

> This was literally an ideal spot for us to open. Our business is geared a little more to the sort of 20, 30 year-old set. We also appeal more to the arts crowd. And this is sort of like ground zero for that. I call it the centre of "hipdom" in Halifax. And we're right in the middle of it. It's the gateway to the North End, this end of Gottingen Street.[105]

Reconceptualising Gottingen Street as a trendy commercial street[106] has highlighted the transition the street experienced over the 15 years. Several interview participants with long-standing connections to Gottingen Street—especially those involved in the community service sector—were cautious in categorizing the street as in transition.

> You know, even 20 years ago, nobody wanted to walk up and down Gottingen Street. Nobody wanted to be here. And now it seems to be the cool place to be – or the in place. I don't know, I'm not quite sure what it is yet.[107]

The unique locally-owned businesses beginning to populate the corridor involve the type of commerce seen by planners as generating active street-life and neighbourhood vibrancy. Table 1 illustrates dramatic changes among profiled sites on Gottingen Street since its period of commercial decline; new commercial landmarks have replaced those which once signaled the prosperity of the commercial corridor. A television studio and chic, well-designed condominiums rise on sites formerly occupied by Gottingen's movie theatres (Figure 5). Among the many food and fine-dining services, EDNA Restaurant opened at the former site of a dry-cleaner. A non-profit theatre group took on a property that housed a pharmacy since the 1930s. Some structures remain unoccupied, while others are being renovated for new uses. Despite the addition of new high-end uses, however, community services remain firmly embedded on Gottingen Street. Those agencies that own the structures they occupy have no plans to relocate as

the area gentrifies. Those that rent space, however, may find themselves priced off the street at some point. Nonetheless, it seems likely that Gottingen Street will remain vibrantly mixed-use for the near future.

Figure 5 – Theatre Lofts in 2014

In the current era of hip and specialized retail and services, the absence of "necessity" commercial uses (outside of a grocery cooperative under development) remains a sore spot for residents. One person interviewed explained:

> The kind of other things that people need to just manage their ordinary daily lives like a supermarket, like a bank, like a decent pharmacy, like a hardware store, they're not there. They're gone. They went away. So you know, in other words, it's the kind of urgent needs that people have that aren't being addressed.[108]

Gottingen Street in 2014 has a polarized character: a cluster of low-income and largely African-Canadian residents between Cunard Street and North Street but more affluent (and predominantly white) residents in other areas; high-end food services interspersed with social services for the area's disadvantaged residents. Several interview participants described extreme contrasts along Gottingen Street. For instance, a resident noted:

> My sense is that Gottingen Street from Cornwallis to North is different than Gottingen Street from North to Young [Street]. And Gottingen Street from Cornwallis [south] is different. So there are three Gottingen Streets. Right? And that's really important. It is not a single community and it's not a single identifiable demographic.[109]

Although residents are spatially and socially segregated, the street provides a complex mix of uses for different consumers.

The resurgence of commercial and residential development on Gottingen Street has primarily occurred on the corridor's southern portion towards downtown, away from the large

public housing development. Because community services had decades to become embedded on the street, processes of gentrification began later, have moved more slowly, and are producing greater mixing than in some cities. As one interview participant observed,

> all of the poverty and homelessness-related stuff is still there. It hasn't dispersed. All of the [public] housing is still there. Many of the slum rooming houses are still there. At the same time, there is this sort of gradual introduction into the neighbourhood of more upscale housing and small businesses.[110]

Interview participants who worked with community services suggested that low-income and public housing residents spent little time along the Gottingen Street Commercial Corridor south of Cornwallis Street, where higher-end businesses and condominiums are sited. Conversely, several local business owners and community service operators said higher income residents and visitors hesitate to travel north of Cornwallis Street. As bohemian uses move northward, however, conditions are changing. A local owner/operator of a bohemian use spoke of the diversity of communities accommodated through the mix.

> In the last five years, a lot of businesses have opened up. The Company House [bar] was another step forward, I think, in there being a cemented sense in which there's a gay community and there's a black community and there's also now this arts community.[111]

Some long-time residents spoke warily of the changing clientele and demographic makeup of Gottingen Street. One interview participant worried the shifting retail and service landscape of the Gottingen commercial corridor displaced historically rooted—and generally economically disadvantaged—residents in favour of new ones with more income to spend and new cultural tastes to satisfy.

> There's nothing the matter with those places and institutions, it's just that they bear absolutely no relationship to the community. There's no organic relationship to the community. The community there is an organic relationship to now is not the community that was thrown out.[112]

Recent development pressures in the North End threaten to overwhelm the regulatory capacity of the planning department: the risk of gentrification—and the displacement and potentially homogenous upscale development that comes with it—is significant. Community service providers say they face Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) sentiments, as emerging retailers resent the disadvantaged clientele. Despite the efforts of some "social entrepreneurs"—small business owners and organizations that promote inclusivity among new and old residents—Gottingen Street risks increasing land values and consequent social homogeneity.

Perpetual transitions

To what extent can the history of particular properties on specific streets help to tell the story of neighbourhood transition and urban change? Profiling the changing use of properties on Gottingen Street in Halifax gives a sense of how, through the last century and a half, one street transitioned from a residential street, to the commercial corridor for a working class district, to a vibrant shopping area for the northern part of downtown, to a place linked with poverty and

crime, to an "edgy" arts district, and now to a gentrifying neighbourhood. Its fate reflected changing government interests and priorities, commercial activities and actors, transportation modes, and consumer preferences and practices. Following particular properties through time provides an intimate account of how land uses reflect shifts in economic conditions, government interests, and residents' needs.

The factors that produced vibrant commercial streets in the 1920s differed from those at play in the 1950s and from those important in the 2010s. Commercial success and the types of retail uses present reflect dynamic economic, transportation, and cultural patterns, processes, and practices. In the 1920s Gottingen benefitted from the centralizing effects of the streetcar system, and thrived with a robust mix of retailers. In the 1950s the street was the commercial heart of the North End, although it struggled to accommodate the growing number of cars bringing shoppers to its attractive retailers. Gottingen lost its retail purpose after urban renewal and highway development relocated its customers and cut it off from retail traffic. Its stigmatized status as an area of public housing brought community services and likely affected the decisions of the last necessity retailers to close in the 1980s. By 2010, Gottingen developed a new commercial niche in trendy food and entertainment establishments to serve hip young residents moving into the North End. Gottingen's story is one of perpetual transition reflecting broader urban trends.

Contemporary planning philosophy idealizes the vibrant, mixed use, mixed income districts of the early twentieth century: the kind Jane Jacobs described in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.*[113] Examining the trajectory of Gottingen Street shows that commercial life on the street changed as streetcars gave way to buses and cars, and urban residents relocated to suburban areas. In recent decades, commercial uses—lack thereof or new patterns in—reflected changing cultural attitudes about urban living and new residents moving into the neighbourhood.[114] The revival of commercial uses in gentrifying neighbourhoods may signify urban renaissance but it also reflects transitions that may not benefit all residents equally.

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Notes

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[2] Sharon Zukin, Valerie Trujillo, Peter Frase, Danielle Jackson, Tim Recuber, and Abraham Walker, "New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City." *City and Community* 8, no.1 (2009): 47-64.
[3] Rae, *City*.
[4] Jose Rio Fernandes, and Pedro Chamusca, "Urban Policies, Planning and Retail Resilience," *Cities* 36 (2014), 170-177; Derek S. Hyra, "Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present," *Urban Affairs Review* 48, no. 4 (2012): 498-527.
[5] David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (London: Verso, 2006).
[6] Neil Blomley, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
[7] Hyra, "New Urban Renewal," 504, 507; see also Gary Bridge and Robyn Dowling, "Microgeographies of Retail and Gentrification," *Australian Geographer* 32, no. 1(2001), 93–107.

[8] Stefan Krätke, "The New Urban Growth Ideology of 'Creative Cities', in *Cities for People, Not for Profit*, eds. Neil Brenner, Peter Marcus and Margit Mayer (New York: Routledge, 2012), 138-149; Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961); Richard L. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).
[9] Hyra, "New Urban Renewal," 509.
[10] Alan Walks and Martine August, "The Factors Inhibiting Gentrification in Areas with Little Non-market Housing: Policy Lessons from the Toronto Experience," *Urban Studies* 45, no.12 (2008): 2594-2625.
[11] Loretta Lees, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly, *Gentrification* (New York: Routledge, 2008);
Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
[12] Zukin et al., "New Retail Capital" 47-64; Andrew Deener, *Venice: A Contested Bohemia in Los Angeles* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012).
[13] The research draws on historical and archival materials, business directories, and 11 interviews (with current business owners and operators, community service providers, architectural and planning professionals, and local community leaders from the street).
[14] An 1835 map of Halifax shows a mix of small and estate lots along the east side of Gottingen Street. http://spacing.ca/atlantic/2010/02/04/representing-halifax-2-against-the-grain/
[15] By the turn of the century, the North End held more than half of the total values of all assessed properties in the city, and was home to major employers including the Halifax rail-yard, shipyards, resource industries, and numerous small and medium-sized manufacturing plants. Paul A. Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2004), xiii.
[16] Hugh Millward, *The Geography of Housing in Metropolitan Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Atlantic Region Geographical Studies 3. Halifax, NS: Saint Mary's University, 1981).
[17] Sean Gillis, "Halifax's Streetcars: Connections between Transportation and Urban Form" (Master of Planning Project, Dalhousie University, 2007), 11. http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/history/history_student.html
[18] Gillis, "Halifax's Streetcars," 17; Hugh Millward and Lorna Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change in the Halifax Central Business District", *Canadian Geographer* 41, no. 2 (1997): 194-201.
[19] Gillis, "Halifax's Streetcars," 17.
[20] Millward and Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change"; Trudi E. Bunting, and Hugh Millward, "A Tale of Two CBDs II: The Internal Retail Dynamics of Downtown Halifax and Downtown Kitchener," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 8, no.1 (1999): 1-27.
[21] Millward and Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change," 194-201.
[22] Gillis, "Halifax's Streetcars," 46.
[23] Rae, *City*, 203.
[24] Gillis, "Halifax's Streetcars," 29.
[25] Millward and Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change", 196.
[26] Elizabeth Cohen, "Buying into Downtown Revival: The Centrality of Retail to Postwar Urban Renewal in American Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 611 (2007): 84; See also Rae, *City*, 96-7.
[27] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax*; Beverley A. Sandalack, and Andrei Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax: An Urban Design Approach* (Halifax, NS: TUNS Press, 1998).
[28] Jill L. Grant, *The Drama of Democracy: Contention and Dispute in Community Planning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 52. Planning legislation from the Province and the City at this time provided a negligible role for the public in the planning process, foreshadowing the massive, "top-down" urban renewal projects that came over the next several decades.
[29] Ibid; Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 19; Millward, *Housing in Metropolitan Halifax*. In the immediate postwar period, approximately 3000 new housing units were constructed in the Halifax urban area. Gerald Hodge, *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to the Principles, Practices and Participants (4th Edition)* (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2003), 111.
[30] Don Artz and Don Cunningham, *The Halifax Street Railway 1866-1949* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2009).
[31] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 18.
[32] Bruktawit B. Melles, "The Relationship between Policy, Planning and Neighbourhood Change: The Case of the Gottingen Street Neighbourhood, 1950-2000" (Master of Urban and Rural Planning Thesis, Dalhousie University, 2003), 93.
[33] Interview Participant G10C.
[34] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 18-19.

[35] Marcus Paterson, "Slum Clearance in Halifax: The Role of Gordon Stephenson" (Master of Planning Project, Dalhousie University, 2009), available at http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/history/history_student.html
[36] Hodge, *Planning Canadian Communities*, 84.
[37] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 19.
[38] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *CMHC and the National Housing Act* (Ottawa, ON: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1974), 7; Stanley H. Pickett, "An Appraisal of the Urban Renewal Program in Canada," *The University of Toronto Law Journal* 18, no. 3 (1968): 233.
[39] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada", 233; Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *CMHC and the National Housing Act*, 12.
[40] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada", 233-235.
[41] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada", 234.
[42] Gordon Stephenson, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), vii.
[43] Hyra, "Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal," 513; Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 52.
[44] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* vii.
[45] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada," 234.
[46] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *CMHC and the National Housing Act*, 5.
[47] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada," 235.
[48] Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada," 241.
[49] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 61.
[50] Jill L. Grant and Marcus Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart: Gordon Stephenson and the Redevelopment Study of Halifax, 1957," *Town Planning Review* 83, no. 3 (2012): 321; Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax*, 6.
[51] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax,* 19; Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 165; Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 321.
[52] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* 6.
[53] Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 104; Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 325.
[54] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* 18.
[55] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax*, 21; Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak, Romantic Heart," 325.
[56] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 19.
[57] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* 23, 26.
[58] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study of Halifax,* 26-27.
[59] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 59.
[60] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 57, 60; Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 20; Bunting and Millward, "A Tale of Two CBDs," 12.
[61] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 60.
[62] Clifton F. Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse, and Enduring Culture* (Toronto, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996), 117, 123, 128. Despite local opposition from the school and Halifax's deaf community, the programs and services provided by the School for Deaf were moved to a new campus in Amherst, Nova Scotia following the School's demolition in 1961. Erickson, *Halifax's North End*, 81.
[63] Jim Silver, *Public Housing Risks and Alternatives: Uniacke Square in North End Halifax* (Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2008), 10-11; Pickett, "Urban Renewal Program in Canada," 237.
[64] See Donald H.J. Clairmont and Dennis W. McGill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart, 1974) and Jennifer J. Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
[65] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 93.
[66] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 24.
[67] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 48-49; William Gregory, "Who Lives Downtown? Population and Demographic Change in Downtown Halifax, 1951-2011" (Master of Planning Project, Dalhousie University, 2014) – available at http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/student-research.html
[68] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 93.
[69] Angela L. Cuthbert and William P. Anderson, "An Examination of Urban Form in Halifax-Dartmouth: Alternative Approaches in Data," *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 11, no. 2 (2002): 222.
[70] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 24.

[71] Bunting and Millward, "A Tale of Two CBDs," 16.
[72] Hugh Millward, "Peri-Urban Residential Development in the Halifax Region 1960-2000: Magnets, Constraints, and Planning Policies," *The Canadian Geographer* 46, no. 1 (2002):36-40. See also Hugh Millward, "The Spread of Commuter Development in the Eastern Shore Zone of Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1920-1988," *Urban History Review* 29, no. 1 (2000): 21-32.
[73] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 63.
[74] Sandalack and Nicolai, *Urban Structure Halifax*, 22; Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax*, 167-168.
[75] Interview Participant G02E.
[76] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 52.
[77] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *CMHC and the National Housing Act*, 6.
[78] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 54.
[79] Ibid, 54-55.
[80] Ibid, 93, 95.
[81] Ibid, 95. Believing that one large project could act as a catalyst for redevelopment on the street, the federal government provided funds to the City of Halifax to find land to construct a new government office building on Gottingen. The City assembled several suitable tracts on Gottingen Street, and cleared the lots for potential construction. The lots sat vacant for nine years until one site was finally selected. The building failed to increase business activity substantially on Gottingen Street. Ibid, 81-84.
[82] Interview Participant G08E.
[83] Stephen Kimber, "Inside the Square," *The Coast*, 1 March, 2007, http://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/inside-the-square/Content?oid=960417
[84] See Silver, *Uniacke Square*, 8. See also Adrienne Lucas Sehatzadeh, "A Retrospective on the Strengths of African Nova Scotian Communities: Closing Ranks to Survive," *Journal of Black Studies* 38, no. 3 (2008): 407-412.
[85] Interview Participants G06C and G10C.
[86] *Atlantic Insight*, January 1988, cited in Kimber, "Inside the Square," para. 31.
[87] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 59.
[88] David Ley, *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Hugh Millward and Donna Davis, "Housing renovation in Halifax: 'gentrification' or 'incumbent upgrading'?" *Plan Canada* 26 (1986): 148–55.
[89] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 118.
[90] Millward and Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change," 200.
[91] Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 93, 95.
[92] Ibid, 93.
[93] Equifax Polk, *Halifax City Directory* (2000); Infogroup/Info Canada, *Select Phone Canada* [CD-ROM] (2011); Bell Alliant, *Halifax Regional Municipality Telephone Directory* (2006, 2012); Site surveys by author; Melles, "Policy, Planning, and Neighbourhood Change," 93.
[94] Statistics Canada, 1996, 2006, 2011 Canadian Census, Halifax 1209034.
[95] Victoria Prouse, Jill L Grant, Martha Radice, Howard Ramos, and Paul Shakotko, "Neighbourhood Change in Halifax Regional Municipality, 1970 to 2010: Applying the "Three Cities" Model" (Working Paper, 2014), http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/working-papers.html; Mackenzie Childs, "Residential Change in Halifax's North End: Inventory and Pattern Analysis" (Bachelor of Community Design Thesis, Dalhousie University, 2014), http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/student-research.html
[96] http://www.viewpoint.ca. Since 2009 Gottingen Street commercial and retail properties have had property value increases that outpace the rest of the Halifax peninsula.
[97] David Ley, "Artists, Aestheticisation, and the Field of Gentrification," *Urban Studies* 40, no.12 (2003): 2527-254; See also Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982).
[98] Bridge and Dowling, "Microgeographies of retailing," 205.
[99] Jill L. Grant, Robyn Holme, and Aaron Pettman, "Global Theory and Local Planning Practice in Halifax: The Seaport Redevelopment," *Planning Practice and Research* 23, no. 4 (2008): 517. See also Jacobs, *Death and Life*; Jane Jacobs, *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Random House); Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class.*
[100] Halifax Regional Municipality, *HRM Cultural Plan* (2006), http://www.halifax.ca/culturalplan/documents/CulturalPlan112007.pdf; Halifax Regional Municipality, *Regional Municipal Planning Strategy* (2006), http://www.halifax.ca/regionalplanning/documents/Regional_MPS.pdf ; Halifax Regional Municipality, "Proposed Built Form & Land Use: Gottingen Street," *HRM by Design: The Centre Plan* (2012), http://www.halifax.ca/planhrm/documents/Gottingenboards.pdf

[101] Hyra, "Conceptualizing the New Urban Renewal," 500.
[102] Popular media coverage of the current commercial resurgence on Gottingen Street often nostalgically recalls the heyday of the commercial strip of the 1930-60s. For instance, see Tim Bousquet, "Gottingen Street Changing in Big Ways," *The Coast*, 17 May 17, 2011; Colleen Cosgrove, "Shelf Life: Attention Thrifty, Altruistic Shoppers," *The Chronicle Herald* 18 March, 2014; Jessica Howard, "It's Not Business as Usual on Gottingen," *Gottingen: Two Sides of the Street* (2013), http://gottingenstreet.kingsjournalism.com/new-businesses-on-gottingen/
[103] Millward and Winsor, "Twentieth-Century Retail Change," 195.
[104] See Deener, *Venice*; Ley, "Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification"; and Jason Patch, "The Embedded Landscape of Gentrification," *Visual Studies* 19, no. 2 (2004): 169-186.
[105] Interview participant G04B (emphasis added).
[106] Air Canada's *En Route Magazine* featured "Halifax's North End Renewal" in May 2014.
[107] Interview participant G06C.
[108] Interview participant G02E.
[109] Interview participant G08E.
[110] Interview participant G02E.
[111] Interview participant G07B.
[112] Interview participant G08E.
[113] Jacobs, *Death and Life.*
[114] Deener, *Venice*, 233.