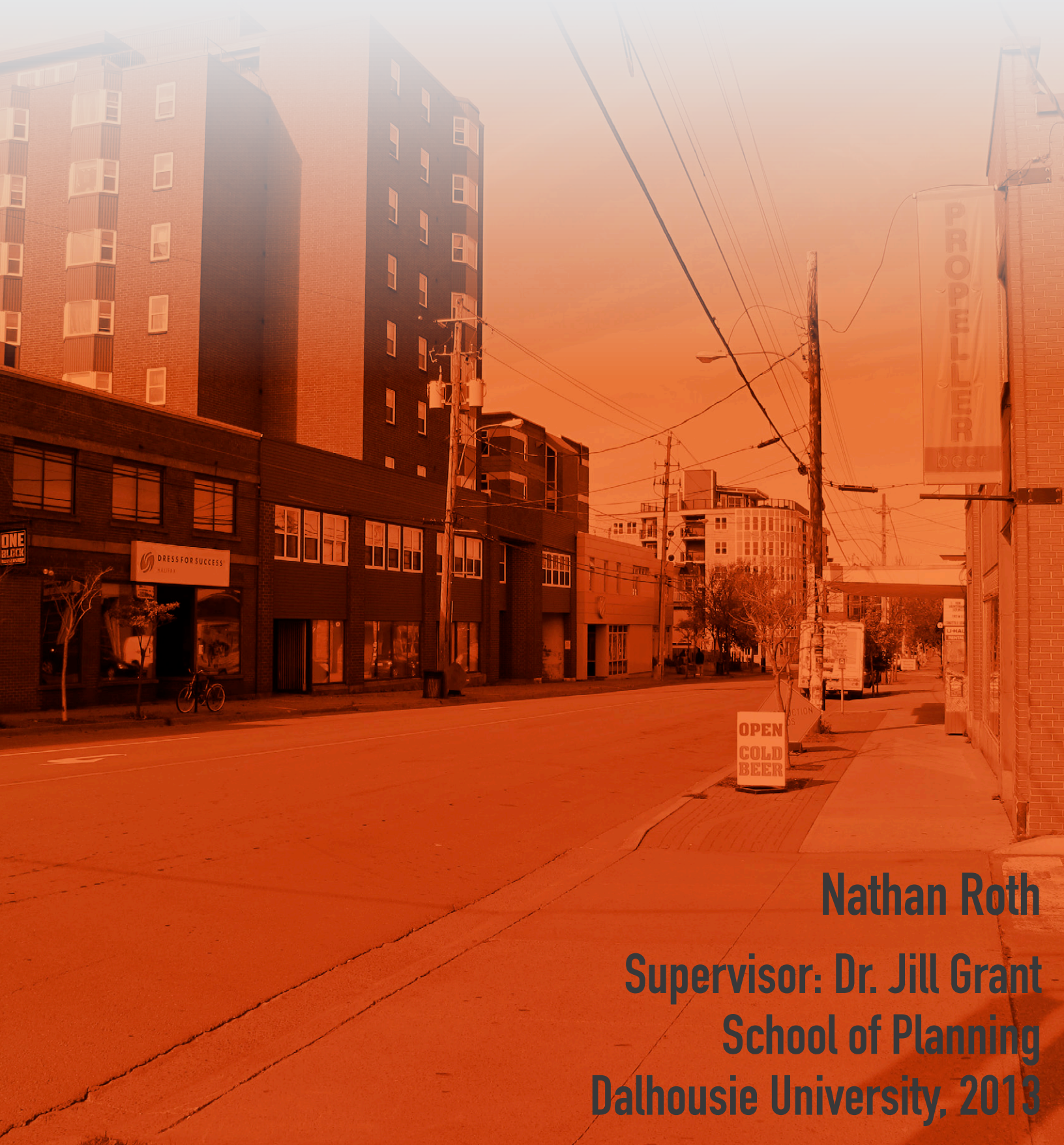


NORTH END HALIFAX IN TRANSITION: A CURRENT EXAMINATION OF CHANGE AND REDEVELOPMENT ON GOTTINGEN STREET



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Executive Summary

Despite decades of disinvestment, much media attention has been directed towards the current redevelopment of Gottingen Street in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Historically the main commercial, entertainment, and transportation corridor of North End Halifax, Gottingen Street fell into decline in the latter half of the twentieth century as a victim of “slum” clearance and urban renewal. Contemporary redevelopment has prompted some to argue that “revitalization” is precisely what is needed for the area to return to economic and commercial prominence. Others contend redevelopment will lead to a polarized community where local services, marginalized residents and affordable housing will soon disappear. Consequently, Gottingen Street is a significant case study of urban uneven geographical development.

This study explores the redevelopment of Gottingen Street since 2000. Of particular concern are established community services and local businesses on Gottingen Street, and the existing residents who use them. The study utilizes socioeconomic Census and property assessment data, 11 semi-structured interviews with local business owners, community service operators, and community experts, and case study exploration to critically examine the changes brought upon Gottingen Street by recent redevelopment, and whether affordability is being compromised for existing business owners and community services in the neighbourhood. Whether gentrification (the dynamic process by which middle and upper class individuals migrate to and reinvest in affordable and less affluent urban neighbourhoods) is currently occurring on Gottingen Street is also investigated, as many interview participants identified gentrification as a current or potential concern.

Gottingen Street is in the midst of a gradual but potentially significant transformation. The number of Gottingen Street businesses has increased moderately since 2000, while the number of community services has remained stable. Redevelopment on Gottingen Street has created a polarizing and “embedded landscape” (Patch, 2004), whereby new and/or more affluent uses are sited among and between the existing, established, and disinvested. This polarization was also reflected in the socioeconomic Census data collected for the Gottingen Street area, as median household income has begun to climb while low income incidence is still significant (albeit gradually decreasing). The study found little evidence of current, gentrification-induced displacement of established businesses, community services, or residents. However, interview participants expressed concern whether they will be able to stay located on Gottingen Street in the near future given the recent rapid increases in property values and pressure for redevelopment to take a more upscale approach. Although increased redevelopment and business interest on Gottingen Street will benefit a community that has long been saddled with economic disinvestment and devaluation, this study concludes that concern is warranted when questioning whether current and future services will serve as many Gottingen Street residents as possible. The fundamental question “who benefits” (Mehta, 2012) needs to be asked of Gottingen Street redevelopment to ensure evaluation is based on more equitable outcomes rather than only potential overall economic growth.

I.

Introduction



North End Halifax in Transition

You know, even 20 years ago, nobody wanted to even 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 (Participant Go6C12).

Gottingen Street, once declared the "most feared neighbourhood" (Benjamin, 2010) in Halifax, Nova Scotia, has had a tumultuous history to say the least. For most of the early and mid-twentieth century, Gottingen Street was the main commercial, entertainment, and transportation corridor for North End Halifax. The Street's precipitous decline began in the 1960s as a victim of "slum" clearance and urban renewal, along with rapid suburban population and economic growth. By 2000, Gottingen Street was a site of disinvestment and devalorisation, with a reputation, sensationalized by the media, of poverty and crime. However, much has been written in the popular media of Gottingen Street's redevelopment over the past decade (Bousquet, 2011; Van Berkel, 2007). Some argue that the area is slowly regaining its former status, stating "there's a new energy on Gottingen Street" (Bousquet, 2011, para. 1). With the development of new condominium and mixed-use projects on the Street, and several more proposed, it is visually apparent that Gottingen Street is changing.

Debates have emerged whether the increasing redevelopment of Gottingen Street is precisely what is needed for the area to return to economic and commercial prominence, or whether redevelopment will lead to a polarized community where local services, an impoverished population and affordable housing will soon disappear (Van Berkel, 2007; Silver, 2008). This study will explore the redevelopment (through both built and proposed projects) of Gottingen

Street in North End Halifax since 2000.¹

Of particular concern are established community services and local businesses of Gottingen Street, and the existing residents who use them. The study utilized property value assessment data, interviews, and case study exploration to critically examine the changes brought upon Gottingen Street by recent redevelopment, and whether affordability is being compromised for existing business owners and community services to operate in the neighbourhood. How local residents may be impacted, as customers, clients, and users of these services, is also investigated.

Two main research questions, developed further by sub-questions, guide the findings and analysis of the study:

1) How have uses changed on Gottingen Street since 2000?

- What has been the local business and community service turnover since 2000?
- How has current redevelopment physically transformed Gottingen Street?

2) What are the impacts of redevelopment on current and long established business owners, community service operators, and local residents (as users and clients) of Gottingen Street?

- Have their choices to operate on Gottingen Street been affected by recent redevelopment?
- How have redevelopment projects contributed to uneven development, polarization, and increased costs of living/doing business in the community?

¹ This time frame is chosen in order to update and build on Melles' (2003) Urban and Rural Planning thesis at Dalhousie University, which examined the historical change of development on Gottingen Street from 1950 to 2000.



II. Lessons From Literature

Uneven Geographical Development And Polarization

The process by which certain areas develop while others are sites of disinvestment has fascinated researchers (Badcock, 1997; Blomley, 2004; Dear, 2011; Harvey, 2006; Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Smith, 1996; Ward, 2003; Zukin, 1991). Harvey (2006) declares that “one of the most intriguing and politically salient features of our contemporary world” is the “chronic and ever-fluctuating state of uneven geographical development” (116). This process becomes even more accentuated and intensified in urban areas, given the concentration of wealth and capital that accumulate in cities (Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). Lees et al. (2008) provide two main foundations of urban uneven geographical development: the paradoxical nature of contemporary capitalism (by which growth and the “discovery” of new areas for investment and accumulation are coupled with disinvestment of previous areas of profit); and the finding that new urban development of competitive market economies is driven to maximize profit above all other priorities. Smith (1996) describes this “rhythm of unevenness”:

the logic of uneven development is that the development of one area creates barriers to further development, thus leading to an underdevelopment that in turn creates opportunities for a new phase of development. Geographically, this leads to the possibility of what we might call a ‘locational seesaw’: the successive development, underdevelopment and redevelopment of given areas as capital jumps from one place to another, then back again, both creating and destroying its own opportunities for development (88).

Although there are limits to the “jumping” of capital in most cities (Smith 1996), for Dear (2011) the most

extreme result of this process is the “postmodern city” and what he terms “keno capitalism,” where capital and development “jump” in almost complete disregard for the existing urban landscape.

Patterns of uneven development in contemporary times are also shaped by the political and economic tenets of neoliberalism (Badcock, 1997; Harvey, 2006; Smith, 1996).²

The liberalization of trade, deregulation of finance, privatization and commodification of what were previously public assets, and realignment of the state’s primarily role to promoting economic growth, allow for “flexible accumulation” and production (Badcock, 1997; Harvey, 2006). The “heightened competition between ‘borderless’ economies” (Badcock, 1997, 252) is not universal, but it has exacerbated regional economic differences while equalizing conditions for economic development and production (Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1991). While some areas become concentrated centres of development and subsequent wealth, other “areas that begin to lose business investment become even less attractive. They utterly fail to develop high-status production and consumption. The same country, and the same region, can easily be divided between these two paths of development” (Zukin, 1991, 13).

Such patterns of uneven geographical development have had tremendous impacts on the built environment and the city, as changes in urban development are related to the larger scale national and international economies (Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1991). Smith (1996) argues that “at the urban scale, the main pattern of uneven development lies

2 Although neoliberalism as a political and economic process has become hegemonic in Western countries like Canada, its development and adoption has been unique, contextual, and differential even at the regional and urban scales (Blomley, 2004; Harvey, 2006).

in the relation between the suburbs and the inner city. The crucial economic force mediating this relation, at the urban scale, is ground rent” (80). Smith recognizes that there are social, cultural, and political factors that influence where development occurs in the city. However, as land and property values are complex and collective social creations (Lees et al., 2008), social and cultural distinctions and preferences of certain locations are often included in the value of a place. Suburban growth does not only represent new consumer preferences for housing, but also simultaneously as the means to significant economic growth and a barrier to development of other locations due to its near-monopoly status (Smith, 1996).

Typically, patterns of uneven development at the urban scale do not change often or rapidly (one need only think of the condition and popular image of inner-city disinvestment in North America since the 1970s) (Harvey, 2006; Smith, 1996). Harvey (2006) attributes the generally slow movement of development to “competition between different land uses, the power of land owners to extract rent from favored locations as well as the tendency for physical landscapes to become more sclerotic and less flexible with time” (102). However, Smith (1996) argues that the long disinvestment and underdevelopment of inner-city neighbourhoods eventually provides new opportunities for reinvestment, economic growth and high rates of return (i.e. a “spatial fix” for capital (Harvey, 2006)). This is not a “return to the city” movement by people, but by capital (Smith, 1996). Blomley (2004) concurs, recognizing the downtown and central city as current sites of “massive reinvestment” (30).

Uneven geographical development in cities has a significant social dimension too. Much research has focused on the deepening socioeconomic

polarization occurring in cities between those who are able to benefit from development and those who are not and are subsequently left behind (Allegra, Casaglia, & Rokem, 2012; Badcock, 1997; Blomley, 2004; Smith, 1996; Ward, 2003; Zukin, 1991). Several authors argue the State’s primary role is now economic growth rather than social wellbeing (Allegra et al., 2012; DeVerteuil, May, & Mahs, 2009; Smith, 1996; Ward, 2003). Given the broad economic and labour trends of “bifurcation” (Badcock, 1997; Ward, 2003), urban inequalities are deepening at the same time as many urban areas are being “revitalized” (Blomley, 2004; Ward, 2003). Blomley (2004) characterizes the increasing social polarization of downtowns and inner-city neighbourhoods as “the valorization of certain spaces and people, and the simultaneous but interlocking devalorization of those deemed marginal, such as immigrants and the urban poor” (31). Urban socio-spatial polarization, as a product of uneven development, can at its most extreme make localities “sharply divided between landscapes of consumption and devastation” (Zukin, 1991, 5). While this conclusion may be overstated (Patch, 2004), local government efforts to promote urban development through city-marketing strategies rarely benefit low-income populations (Allegra et al., 2012).

City Marketing and “Creative” City Placemaking

With the increasing flexibility of capital, regions and cities must now compete on a global scale for economic growth. Therefore, cities must market and brand themselves, and adopt governance structures such as “urban entrepreneurialism” in order to gain competitive advantages (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Badcock, 1997; Harvey, 2006). The

increasingly popular work of Florida (2010; see also 2002) claims that cities are best able to attract economic investment and development when they cater to the “creative class” (identified as bohemians, design professionals, students, musicians, the GLBT community, etcetera) and “creative” industries (film, architecture, music, new media, and so on) (Catungal, Leslie, & Hii, 2009; Lees et al., 2008; Rose, 2004; Slater, 2006; Ward, 2003). This argument prioritizes creativity for its economic value and associated consumptive practices of the “creative class” (Catungal et al., 2009; Slater, 2006). Slater (2006) characterizes the “creative class” thesis as:

hip, bohemian, cool, arty tribes who occupy the cafes, galleries and cycle paths of formerly disinvested neighbourhoods once lacking in ‘creativity’, is increasingly seen as a sign of a healthy economic present and future for cities across the globe (738).

Florida’s (2010) work on the “creative class” has been promoted and adopted by a plethora of local governments and policy makers looking for a competitive advantage (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Catungal et al., 2009; Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2006). For instance, the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) has actively branded and promoted itself as a “creative” city (Silver, 2008). HRM’s *Cultural Plan* (2006a) proclaims “new public agendas are highlighting Culture as a pillar of economic and community growth” (4). HRM (2006a) promotes its second place ranking on the “bohemian index” among similarly sized Canadian cities (and seventh in North America) (Silver, 2008). Furthermore, the *Cultural Plan* “recognizes that people will not be attracted to HRM if its cultural identity is hidden and its creative development is suppressed. It is HRM’s culture that sets it apart, and ultimately that

culture will bring prosperity” (2006a, 4).

However, multiple authors have critiqued the “creative class” argument for economic growth as not only ambivalent (Lees et al., 2008), but targeted primarily towards middle and upper income individuals while ignoring those with less purchasing power (Catungal et al., 2009; Silver, 2008; Slater, 2006). Catungal et al. (2009) concludes that “creative city initiatives, while successful in facilitating inner-city renewal and the formation of business clusters, actually fail to address attendant urban problems such as gentrification, inequality, working poverty and racialised exclusion” (1111). Others argue that promoting “creative class” urbanism and development leads to the process of gentrification which “threatens the longevity of the diverse and creative conditions which attracted them” (Lees et al., 2008, 108).

Gentrification

Gentrification is a dynamic process by which middle and upper-class individuals migrate to and reinvest in affordable and less affluent urban neighbourhoods (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Hackworth, 2002; Johnson, 2000; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). Although gentrification as a concept has proven malleable over time and by study, it is generally agreed that socioeconomic change and potential displacement of established residents and services through migration are its defining characteristics (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Johnson, 2000; Slater, 2006; Van Crieelingen, 2009). The process of gentrification has been proclaimed as the “leading edge of neoliberal urbanism” and uneven development (Lees et al., 2008, xvii; Smith, 1996).

Gentrification has been widely debated and studied among academics since the initial study

on the phenomenon almost fifty years ago (Glass, 1964). Lees et al. (2008) note that the concept of gentrification is likely more “political, politicized, and politically loaded” (155) than any other urban phenomenon studied. Investigations of the consequences of gentrification have expanded since the studies of the 1960s and 1970s from primarily observable residential migration changes and economic development via renovation only (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Glass, 1964; Lees, 2008; Lees et al., 2008). Contemporary research identifies gentrification as being manifested by spatial representations of larger social, cultural, political and economic repercussions within a community (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Brown-Saracino, 2010; Lees, 2008; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). Contemporary gentrification processes, which have become a global phenomenon (although unique in each specific local context), are viewed as similar to redevelopment processes in that the physical makeup of neighbourhoods (e.g. construction of new buildings and demolishing of old structures) also undergoes transformation along with the demographic composition (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Brown-Saracino, 2010; Lees, 2008; Lees et al., 2008; Ley & Dobson, 2008; Shaw, 2005; Smith, 1996; Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2007). Consequently, Hackworth (2002) defines contemporary gentrification as “the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users” (815). Slater (2006) contends this definition is closest to how contemporary gentrification is viewed and understood, noting its mutation since Glass’ (1964) first coining of the process.

The Gentrification Debates

It is not surprising how highly contested

and debated gentrification is among researchers and commentators given how popular and political this area of study is (Bridge, 2001; Lees et al., 2008). Slater (2006) finds various aspects of gentrification have been studied and debated, from causes and effects of the process to articles that only discuss the semantics of gentrification (see Redfern, 2003). The major areas of debate within gentrification literature discuss whether the causes of the phenomenon are production or consumption driven, and whether the process itself has positive or negative effects for disinvested communities (Bridge, 2001; Brown-Saracino, 2010; Lees et al., 1998; Slater, 2006; Smith, 1996).

The production-side explanations of gentrification focus on the larger economic and capital patterns of the city, concentrating on “the importance of the capital accumulation process through the urban land market” (Bridge, 2001, 205; see also Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). Smith (1996) is recognized as the most influential contributor of production-side gentrification theories. His theory of the “rent gap” has become highly influential and hotly debated (Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). The rent gap is essentially “the shortfall between the actual economic return from a land parcel given its present land use (capitalized ground rent) and the potential return if it were put to its optimal, highest and best use (potential ground rent)” (Lees et al., 2008, 52). Older, devalorised urban areas like inner-cities often have significant rent gaps due to many of the factors of uneven geographical development, such as the necessity for capital to continually find new areas of investment while disinvesting in others (Bridge, 2001; Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 1996). Therefore, as the rent gap grows larger, the greater the opportunities for profit by developers, investors, property owners, and governments to “orchestrate a

shift in land use—for instance, from working-class residential to middle- or upper-class residential” (Lees et al., 2008, 52; Smith, 1996). While Smith (1996) recognizes the importance of consumer choice and social restructuring to the gentrification process, he argues that it only makes sense “in the context of the emergence of a rent gap and a wider political and economic restructuring” (110).

On the other hand, many researchers—most notably Ley (2003) and Zukin (1982, 1991, et al., 2009)—are recognized for their work in identifying consumption and cultural practices as a main motive for the gentrification process (Bridge, 2001; Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2006). The consumer preferences of a new, post-industrial middle class, which holds “liberal” cultural and lifestyle values, are argued to prefer non-standard consumption and value historic preservation (Bridge, 2001; Lees et al., 2008). In other words, the artistic and so-called “bohemian” populations are crucial for initial reinvestment of devalorised neighbourhoods due to their “post-modern lifestyles of self-conscious consumption” (Bridge, 2001, 205; Ley, 2003). However, despite the preference of urban areas that are alternative to suburban life, the artistic and “bohemian” groups are often the inadvertent “first wave” of gentrifiers as investors and developers look to capitalize and profit from the “cool” and niche area created by those groups who are high in cultural capital but low in economic capacity (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1982). The formerly affordable area thus becomes a more upscale neighbourhood for those middle and upper middle class individuals who have similar postmodern tastes but more capital to invest (Lees et al., 2008; Zukin, 1982).

Despite the apparent dichotomy of production versus consumption explanations, many commentators have recently noted—including Ley

and Smith—that both theories are equally useful to understanding gentrification and are likely working in tandem rather than as mutually exclusive causalities (Bridge, 2001; Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2006; Zukin, 1991).

Current gentrification literature also debates whether the phenomenon is a positive or negative process for disinvested communities (Butler, 2007; Freeman, 2005; Lees et al., 2008; Shaw, 2005; Slater, 2006). Some scholars argue that gentrification brings economic development and improved housing and services to neighbourhoods in decline (Butler, 2007; Duany, 2001; Freeman, 2005, 2006). Many governments are promoting gentrification as “urban renewal” and a tool to establish mixed-income development in impoverished neighbourhoods (Blomley, 2004; Crump, 2002; Davidson, 2008; Lees, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2006; Uitermark et al., 2007). For Freeman (2005, 2006) and others, the risk of direct displacement of residents via gentrification was found to be minimal. Others, such as Duany (2001), contend more overtly that gentrification is a positive process overall:

gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax-base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle class, and in the process improves the quality of life for all of a community’s residents. It is the rising tide that lifts all boats (37).

Others assert that Duany’s position privileges and romanticizes economic development over civic and social cohesion and equity (Lees et al., 2008; Slater, 2006). Furthermore, many researchers argue that positive arguments for gentrification ignore the major impacts of the process, namely

displacement and socioeconomic change (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Davidson, 2008; Slater, 2006; Smith, 1996; Wacquant, 2008). Newman and Wyly (2006) provide a critique of Freeman's findings, concluding in their study with similar data sets that displacement of existing residents is still a salient feature of gentrification. Several commentators have also found indirect displacement—such as rising costs of property values so that individuals are not able to move into a certain area—to be just as critical an impact as direct displacement (e.g., eviction, conversion of rental units to ownership, housing costs, rent and taxes) (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Davidson, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006). Slater (2006) and Wacquant (2008) call for a return of critical perspectives and research on gentrification, which they feel have been missing from the literature and policy work.

Development and Gentrification: Businesses and Community Services

Research on local businesses in redeveloping and gentrifying areas has only recently become more prevalent (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Catungal et al., 2009; Deener, 2007; Freeman, 2006; Shaw & Sullivan, 2011; Patch, 2004, 2008; Zukin et al., 2009). Research has found increases in retail, café, and boutique uses in gentrifying areas (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Deener, 2007; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). The benefits to increased business development include aesthetic improvements, increased access and variety of services, community development through owners who are also “social entrepreneurs”, and potential increases in comfort and safety for some residents and customers (Patch, 2008; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). However, other research has

shown that some community members, particularly those existing or long established, do not feel that new businesses reflect their needs, nor do they feel comfortable in how their community is changing (Deener, 2007; Freeman, 2006; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011). Furthermore, existing local businesses may be displaced as property values rise and incoming services are increasingly upscale (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Catungal et al., 2009; Zukin et al., 2009). Bridge and Dowling (2001) find that retail changes not only reflect changing consumption patterns but also “pressures in the housing market” (96) and subsequent income differences. Consequently, several commentators have argued that the question “who benefits?” from new business uses has been missing from the discussion (Deener, 2007; Shaw & Sullivan, 2011).

Community services, as non-profit organizations, are often at risk of displacement in redeveloping and gentrifying areas as well (DeVerteuil, 2011, 2012). It is commonly thought that community services, which often provide services to the most stigmatized and marginalized clientele, are likely to leave or be priced out of redeveloping areas as businesses increase, or vice versa in disinvested communities (Davidson, 2008; DeVerteuil, 2011; Melles, 2003; Reese, DeVerteuil, & Thach, 2010). However, there is very little research on displacement impacts on community service outside of two recent studies by DeVerteuil (2011, 2012). DeVerteuil (2011, 2012) finds interesting, and at times contradictory, results illustrating that while some community services are at risk of displacement, others have resisted moving through property ownership or generous lease agreements, while many others are victim to entrapment (i.e. “involuntary immobility” (2011, 1569)).

The out migration of existing residents,

businesses, and social services, that are common outcomes of gentrification processes, illustrate the significant impact these can have on the social and urban fabric (Brown-Saracino, 2010; Johnson, 2000; Slater, 2006). Understanding the processes of redevelopment and gentrification are crucial for consensus-based community planning, as neighbourhoods undergoing transition often become highly politicized and “contested space[s]” (Silver, 2008, 16), not only between new and existing residents, but also by the conflict between those who see the area in question as their home community versus others who view it primarily as a place of ideal economic investment (Lees et al., 2008; Silver, 2008).

Little research has been published on the experience of non-gentrifiers, such as community services operators and established local businesses (Slater, 2006; DeVerteuil, 2011, 2012). As noted above, there are significant gaps in the literature on the redevelopment and gentrification impacts on community services, despite the fact that these facilities “influence opportunities and life-chances of the most vulnerable citizens” (DeVerteuil, 2011, 1564).

The redevelopment of Gottingen Street has not been a common topic in academic research. While Silver (2008) and Kimber (2007) have briefly discussed Gottingen Street and gentrification in their examinations of Uniacke Square, there has been no scholarly literature discussing the developmental changes on Gottingen Street since Melles’ (2003) thesis, and only one master’s thesis from two decades ago (Stern, 1993) that focused on potential gentrification and Gottingen Street. Millward and Davis’ article from 1986 is the lone applicable study on gentrification in Halifax. No research has examined the impact of redevelopment

on Gottingen Street businesses and community services. Thus, this project will attempt to provide a greater understanding of the dynamic and transforming nature of Gottingen Street, both in terms of how uses and the resultant physical make-up of the area are changing, and their impact on the users of these services. This project attempts to collect and analyze data from a balanced yet critical stance, which Slater (2006) and Wacquant (2008) argue have been missing from the gentrification literature.



III. Context and Brief History of Gottingen Street



Map 3.1 – Gottingen Street, Halifax Regional Municipality Context Map

Gottingen Street has historically been the main commercial and traffic artery of inner city North End Halifax, Halifax Regional Municipality, Nova Scotia (see Map 3.1 and 3.2) (Erickson, 2004; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998; Silver, 2008). Prior to the suburban growth and large-scale urban renewal projects of the 1960s and 1970s, Gottingen Street was a thriving commercial and entertainment district with a diverse residential population (see Figures 3.1-2) (Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998; Silver, 2008). Much of Gottingen Street's development was spurred by the expansion of the Halifax Shipyards and Naval bases during World War II, as most North End residents were industrial workers and military personnel (Erickson, 2004; Melles, 2003; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998; Silver, 2008).

However, the economic boom of the postwar period, the return of Canadian servicemen and women, and the emergence of the automobile led to

urban growth policies that spurred suburbanization and disinvestment in the inner-city and urban core (Millward, 1981; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998). Utilizing a federal grant from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), the City of Halifax hired Gordon Stephenson, a professor of urban planning from the University of Toronto, to develop an urban renewal study to “modernize” the Halifax peninsula (Erickson, 2004; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998). Stephenson advocated a vast restructuring of downtown and inner-city Halifax, arguing that the older, more working class neighbourhoods of North End Halifax were “slums” in both physical appearance and social behaviour (Erickson, 2004; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998). The City of Halifax carried out almost all of Stephenson's recommendations, including the razing of several North End neighbourhoods, the construction of large downtown developments, and the forced relocation and demolition of the predominantly African-Nova Scotian Africville community (Erickson, 2004).³ Urban renewal projects, such as Scotia Square (which displaced residents just south of Gottingen Street) and the Cogswell Interchange, and suburban commercial development (such as the Halifax Shopping Centre) of the 1960s initiated the decline of the number and diversity of businesses on Gottingen Street (Melles, 2003; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998).

The trend of diminishing population and economic disinvestment continued for the next several decades (Melles, 2003; Sandalack & Nicolai, 1998; Silver, 2008). As a result, land value and

³ Despite paying taxes to the City of Halifax, Africville did not receive full services from the municipality (Erickson, 2004). In an obvious example of the malign neglect performed by the municipality—of which race certainly played a major factor—the City of Halifax placed a rail road, an infectious disease hospital, and a garbage dump within the Africville community (Erickson, 2004).

rents decreased on Gottingen Street, leading to increased development of public housing (such as Uniacke Square in 1966) and community services by non-profit organizations (Silver, 2008; Kimber, 2007; Melles, 2003). Many of the former Africville residents ended up relocating in the Gottingen Street area around Creighton and Maynard Streets (traditionally the area with the most established African-Nova Scotian residents) or in public housing such as Uniacke Square (Erickson, 2004; Kimber 2007; Silver, 2008). The Gottingen Street area lost over sixty-five percent of its residential population between 1961 and 1996 (Melles, 2003). By 2000, Gottingen Street had 100 fewer retail and commercial uses than it did at its peak in 1960 (Melles, 2003). Stern (1993) describes the Street's status in the early 1990s:

Gottingen Street is a sad shadow of its former self. Its commercial devalorization is visible in its physical deterioration. Its people-scaled buildings and street-accessible facades are shabby with neglect. Craters of vacant lots have disrupted the continuity of its streetscape and attest to the market-driven opportunism of speculative ownership and lack of planned direction that marks the city's attitude to development



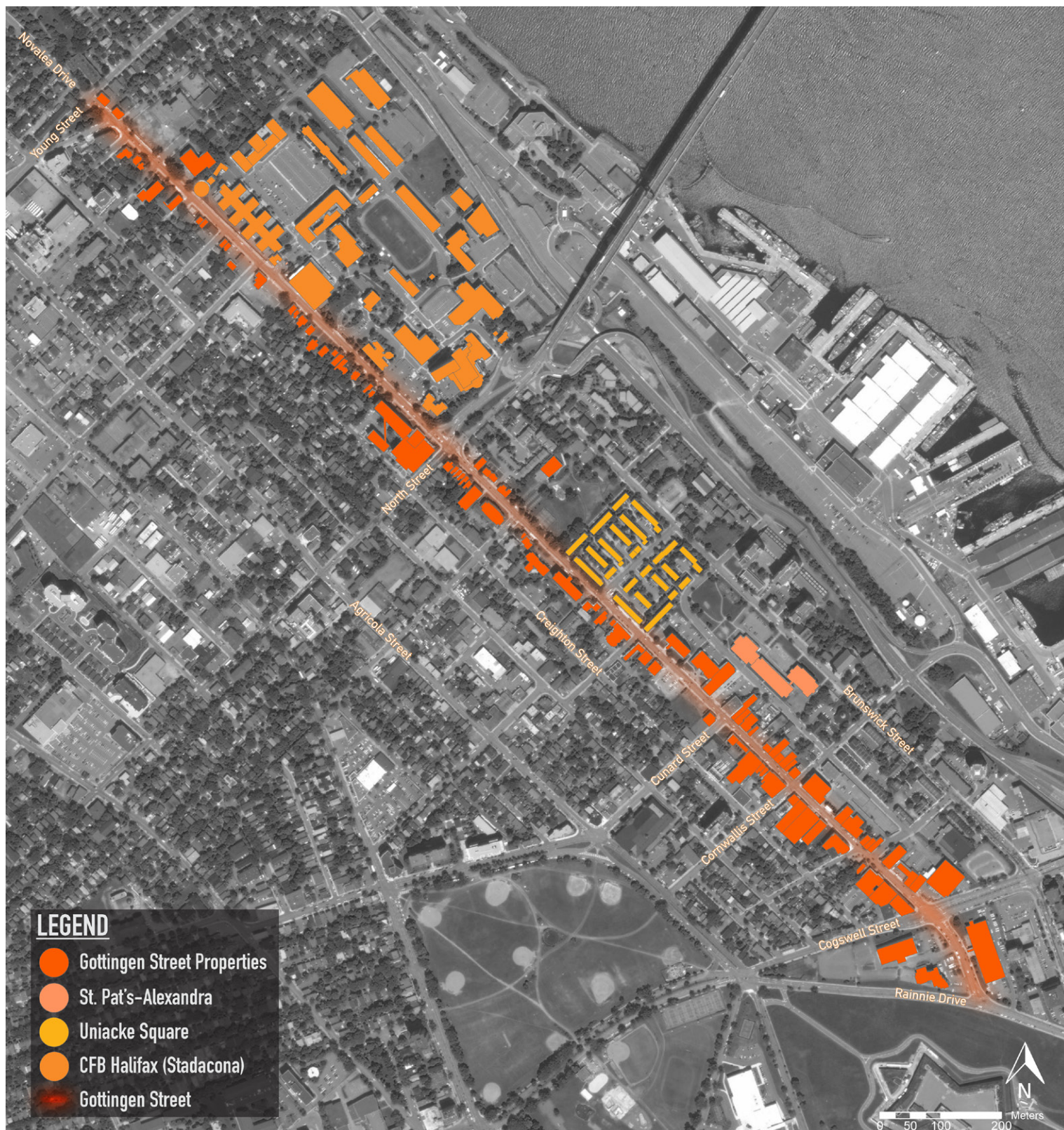
Figure 3.1 – Gottingen Street circa 1960s

here. The adjacent neighborhood has been disfigured, remodeled, vilified by the press, yet still struggles with vigour and brazenness in a city largely indifferent to its outcome (3).

The dramatic decline of the Street, coupled with the increasing number of services for the most marginalized populations of Halifax, led to a primarily negative perception of Gottingen Street since the postwar period (Melles, 2003; Silver, 2008).⁴

While suburban development is still the primary means of residential growth in the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM), the Regional Municipal Planning Strategy for HRM (2006b) states the desire to attract economic and residential growth back to the urban core of Halifax. Silver (2008) argues that this is an attempt by HRM, like most North American municipalities, to encourage economic growth and a higher income tax base in the context of the neoliberal era of decreasing funding for municipal governance. The competition among cities is to attract inner city redevelopment and in-migration by those with the ability to invest (Silver, 2008; Lees et al., 2008). As Gottingen Street has currently become an area of interest due to its relatively affordable property and proximity to downtown, the increasing redevelopment of the Street since 2000 has suggested that a gentrification process may be underway (Silver, 2008).

4 Large public housing projects, such as the 250-unit Uniacke Square development, have become both “stigma and scapegoat[s]” (Kimber, 2007, para. 1) in North American cities, mainly due to social perceptions of poverty, race, and social assistance (Silver, 2008).



Map 3.2 – Gottingen Street Study Area

IV. Methodology



Urban redevelopment and gentrification are complex phenomena that involve large, structural issues, but which also affect individuals and physical space “on the ground.” In other words, gentrification and urban redevelopment manifest in personal experience and perspective, quantitative data and trends, and in the physical urban landscape. Consequently, this project utilized a concurrent mixed methods approach, which combines and synthesizes data collected from quantitative and qualitative methods (see Figure 4.1) (Creswell, 2009). The quantitative data gathered and analyzed—socioeconomic data, property value assessments, and housing stock data—is required to empirically address structural issues such as cost of living and tenure type of housing (among others). However, these quantitative analyses provide little information to answer questions of the effects on individuals, similarities and differences of

perception of the changes on the Street, and how life choices and chances have been affected, if at all, on Gottingen Street in recent times. Qualitative methods—specifically semi-structured interviews with business owners, community service operators and community and planning experts, and visual analysis of redevelopment on the Street—were required to answer these important questions of the process of gentrification and redevelopment.

The quantitative data collected included descriptive socioeconomic statistics from Statistics Canada for the 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011 (population change only) Censuses, housing and rental market information from the Royal LePage Housing Price Survey (2000-2012), and property value information from Viewpoint Realty Services (2012) and the Property Online tool provided by Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations (2012).⁵ Specific census data categories gathered



Figure 4.1 – Mixed Methods Analysis Diagram

5 A limitation to the census data collected is that the 2011 Census and National Household Survey data for the categories utilized in this study (except total population) will not be released by Statistics Canada until mid to late 2013.

included incidence of low-income, university education, median household income, ethnicity, dwelling tenure type, mobility, and population change. These categories have been presented as some of the most salient to examine the process of gentrification and redevelopment in previous studies (Hammel & Wyly, 1996; Heidkamp & Lucas, 2006; Meligrana & Skaburskis, 2005; Sullivan, 2007; Wyly & Hammel, 1998). The socioeconomic data was gathered for census tracts 09, 10, and 20 of the Halifax Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). These three tracts most closely align to the Gottingen Street study area (see Map 4.1). A limitation to the collected census data is that the census tracts do not cover only the Gottingen Street area, but also larger swaths of the North End and the downtown (i.e. census tract 09). However, other studies have illustrated that the generalizability of census data which does not perfectly line up with the study area

is still useful (Heidkamp & Lucas, 2006; Silver, 2008; Sullivan, 2007; Wyly & Hammel, 1998). Census data of the chosen socioeconomic categories were also collected of the Halifax peninsula (census tracts 3-13, 18-23) and the Halifax CMA for comparison purposes to observe whether the trends presented were unique to Gottingen Street.

Qualitative data collected consisted of 11 semi-structured in-person interviews with community experts (community leaders and organizers, academics, professionals), local business owners, and community service operators. A targeting method was initially used to find interviewees, while snowballing was subsequently used to locate additional participants. The interviews were recorded and transcribed with the participants' consent, and were then coded to ensure confidentiality in analysis (see Appendix I for consent form and interview questions).⁶

Specifically, interviews were coded for where themes are similar, divergent, appear to reflect redevelopment and gentrification trends or contradict them, and/or other unique themes that appear when compared to the existing literature and the other data gathered (Creswell, 2009). The interview data gathered, while not necessarily representative of all of Gottingen Street, are a crucial data source for gathering, understanding, and exploring people's perspectives, which are key to how individuals act and how they view the world in which they live.

Data collected from visual site observations included a cataloguing of recent development and the types of community services and businesses



Map 4.1 - Study Area Census Tracts

⁶ The codes used to cite participants throughout the paper identify the location of study ("G" for Gottingen), sequence of the interview, in chronological order (01-11), the category of participant ("B" for business owner, "C" for community service operator, or "E" for community expert) and the year ("12" for 2012) (e.g. G01E12).

that currently exist on Gottingen Street (aided with Halifax city directories and phonebooks). Bridge & Dowling (2001) have successfully utilized such an approach in visually assessing the consumptive practices associated with processes of gentrification, while Heidkamp & Lucas (2006) and Patch (2004, 2008) used site observations to identify areas that were gentrifying and redeveloping more or less than others. A similar approach was employed to collect data from proposed development projects to determine what visual cues and cultural symbols they may bring to the Street that might reflect typical or unique redevelopment and gentrification processes. Photographs were taken to document the current state of change of Gottingen Street. Photographs were used as a rigorous method of data collection, where shots were carefully taken to consider the surrounding context and landscape (Harper, 1998). Visual analysis and photography

have been demonstrated as a useful method of data collection and analysis (Patch, 2004, 2008) as they exist as “visual quotes” and “provide a degree of tangible detail, a sense of being there and a way of knowing that may not readily translate into other symbolic modes of communication” (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998, 116).

The collection of quantitative and qualitative data allowed for triangulated analyses through which salient themes emerged (Creswell, 2009). The comparison and analysis of all quantitative and qualitative data gathered was required to answer the research questions and fulfill the purpose of the study (see Figure 4.2). In order for themes to have emerged from data analysis and interpretation, and the conclusions to be drawn about the redevelopment process of Gottingen Street required an “ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data” (Creswell, 2009, 184).

| Research Questions | Methodology |
|---|---|
| How have uses changed on Gottingen Street since 2000? | Business and community service use inventory since 2000 |
| What has been the local business and community service turnover since 2000? | Site Survey and investigation |
| How has current redevelopment physically transformed Gottingen Street? | Quantitative data: housing and rental market trends, property assessment values |
| What are the impacts of redevelopment on current and long established business owners, community service operators, and local residents (as customers and clients) of Gottingen Street? | Qualitative semi-structured interviews with local business owners, community service operators, and community experts |
| Have their choices to operate on Gottingen Street been affected by recent redevelopment? | Quantitative data: Property assessment values, Census socio-economic data |
| How have redevelopment projects contributed to uneven development, polarization, and increasing costs of living, operating, and doing business in the community? | |

Figure 4.2 – Research Questions and Applicable Methods

V. Charting Change on Gottingen Street Since 2000



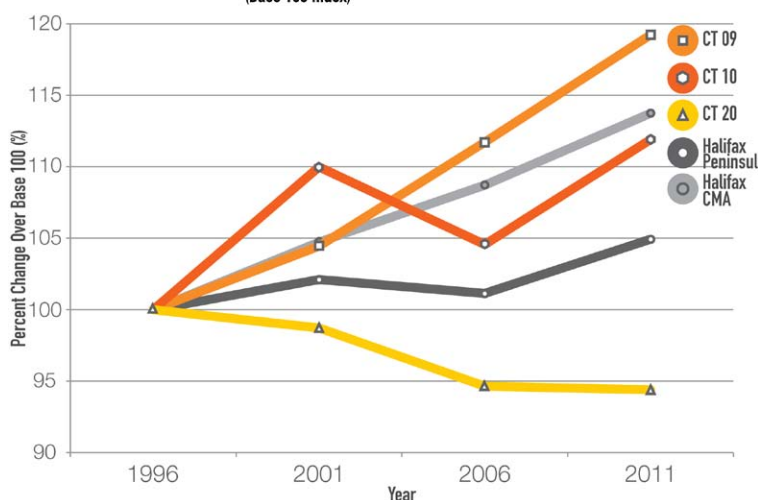
Socioeconomic Change

The total population for census tract 10 grew between 2006 and 2011 for only the second time since 1961 (see Figure 5.1; Melles, 2003). However, this growth added 535 individuals to the 1996 total of 4,494, which Melles (2003) notes was approximately 8,500 less than the 1961 total. Despite this modest addition, both census tract 10 and 09 grew at a more rapid pace than the Halifax peninsula since 1996. This trend indicates at least a moderate resurgence in the Gottingen Street area south of North Street. Census tract 09, which includes most of downtown Halifax, has had a greater change in its population than that of the Halifax CMA, despite the fact that the majority of population growth in HRM has been in the suburban and rural commutershed areas (HRM, 2006b). Some of the growth of the Gottingen Street/North End may be attributed to a limited “return to the city” movement in HRM. However, several community experts expressed little hope that central Halifax commercial development will outpace suburban growth anytime in the near future (Participant G01E12; Participant G02E12).

Census tract 20, which comprises primarily

Figure 5.1

Total Population Change Since 1996
(Base 100 Index)



Note: A Base 100 Index sets a value at given time (in this case, the year 1996) at 100 (or base value). Each subsequent year's value is compared to the base value, which produces the percentage over (or under) the Base of 100. This is performed to easily represent change.

older residential areas and Canadian Forces Base Halifax (Stadacona), has seen a continually decreasing population for the last decade and a half. The portion of Gottingen Street north of North Street that is included in this tract has seen little of the development pressures applied to those portions of the street closer to central Halifax. However, a significant new mixed-use condominium and retail building is scheduled to be built at the northernmost intersection of Gottingen Street before it turns into Novalea Drive (St. Joseph's Square; HRM, 2011).

The mobility rates for the subject census tracts, and for the peninsula and CMA as well, have remained relatively consistent (see Figure 5.2). Census tracts 9, 10, and 20 have seen little change in the percentages of population that have moved into the tract over 5-year periods at each census date. The high mobility rates of the three census tracts are indicative of the predominance of rental housing tenure in subject census tracts, and of the peninsula overall (see Figure 5.3; Van Crieking, 2009). This is evident when compared to the Halifax CMA category, which is undergoing a gradual reduction of the percentage of in-migrants while an increasing majority of residents are homeowners.

Figure 5.2

Total In-Movers (As Percent of Total Population)
Within Last 5 Years of Census Date

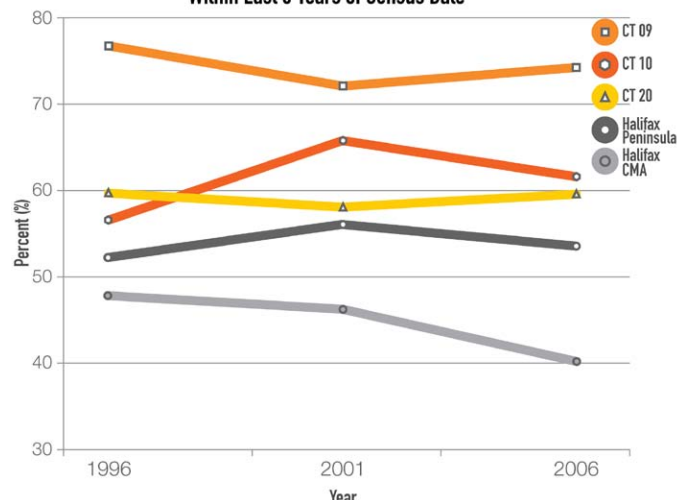


Figure 5.3

| Household Tenure Type 1996–2006 | | | |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Halifax CMA | 1996 | 2001 | 2006 |
| Rent | 40% | 36% | 36% |
| Own | 60% | 64% | 64% |
| Halifax Peninsula | | | |
| Rent | 64% | 64% | 63% |
| Own | 36% | 36% | 37% |
| CT 09 | | | |
| Rent | 85% | 84% | 85% |
| Own | 15% | 16% | 15% |
| CT 10 | | | |
| Rent | 87% | 90% | 86% |
| Own | 13% | 10% | 14% |
| CT 20 | | | |
| Rent | 76% | 71% | 66% |
| Own | 24% | 29% | 34% |

Although the three census tracts of the Gottingen Street-North End area are relatively unstable in terms of residential mobility, this trend in isolation says little about whether a significant socioeconomic shift is occurring in the area, or whether wealthier residents are gradually moving into the community or even displacing lower income individuals (Van Criecken, 2009).

Freeman (2005) and others have suggested that as neighbourhoods undergo continuing rounds of gentrification, they become more ethnically homogenous and less diverse. This is currently not the case in census tracts 09, 10, and 20 (see Figure 5.4). All three tracts continue to represent areas that have some of the highest proportions of visible minorities in all of HRM. The African-Nova Scotian population has remained consistent or risen slightly in the subject census tracts, except for tract 20, which has seen an overall reduction in the proportion of visible minorities since 1996. The Aboriginal population has grown in all three census tracts, a trend noted by several interview participants. These trends do not illustrate an absence of socioeconomic shift just because the population is maintaining its heterogeneity. While Freeman (2005) makes the argument that more

Figure 5.4

| Self-Identifying Ethnicity (As Percent of Total Population) 1996–2006 | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| CT 09 | 1996 | 2001 | 2006 |
| Total Black | 4.81% | 5.75% | 5.11% |
| Total Aboriginal Identity | 0.60% | 0.58% | 1.08% |
| Total Visible Minority | 9.92% | 8.92% | 11.3% |
| Total Non-Visible Minority | 90.4% | 89.5% | 84.2% |
| CT 10 | | | |
| Total Black | 25.8% | 24.3% | 26.7% |
| Total Aboriginal Identity | 2.00% | 1.82% | 3.83% |
| Total Visible Minority | 31.7% | 31.4% | 31.6% |
| Total Non-Visible Minority | 67.8% | 67.7% | 66.6% |
| CT 20 | | | |
| Total Black | 5.67% | 4.49% | 3.18% |
| Total Aboriginal Identity | 0.35% | 0.36% | 0.94% |
| Total Visible Minority | 8.50% | 6.64% | 4.87% |
| Total Non-Visible Minority | 72.4% | 75.5% | 78.6% |

affluent newcomers are likely to be white (or non-visible minorities)—which is the general trend in the United States, with exceptions—this does not preclude the possibility that visible minorities may also be the “gentry” (as is the case in predominantly African-American Harlem (Zukin et al., 2009)).

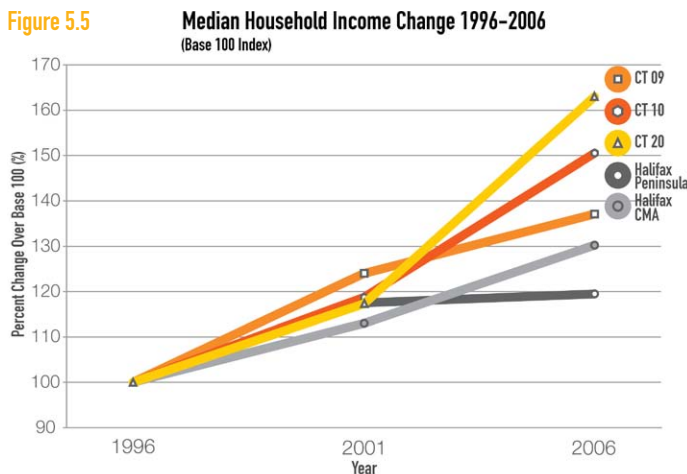
Between 1996 and 2006, all three census tracts of the Gottingen Street-North End area had median household incomes less than the Halifax peninsula and CMA. In 2006, census tracts 09, 10, and 20 registered median household incomes of \$37,641, \$24,800, and \$37,908, respectively. Compared to those of the Halifax peninsula (\$39,726) and the CMA (\$54,108), the subject census tracts—and especially census tract 10—remain primarily as areas of modest income. However, as illustrated by Figure 5.5, census tracts 09, 10, and 20 experienced median household income growth rates since 1996 that outpaced both the peninsula and the CMA. The median household incomes of census tracts 10 and 20 increased rapidly between 2001 and 2006, with both census tracts registering increases at over 150 percent of their 1996 median income levels. The median household income growth of census tract 09 mirrors the percent change of the Halifax

North End Halifax in Transition

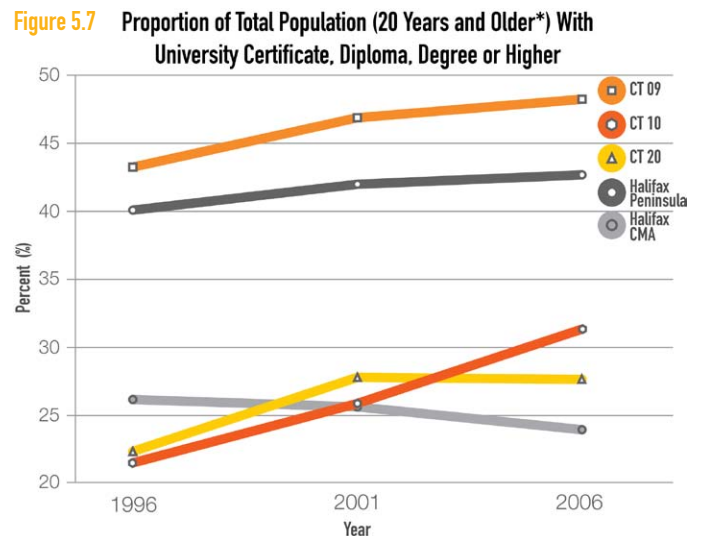
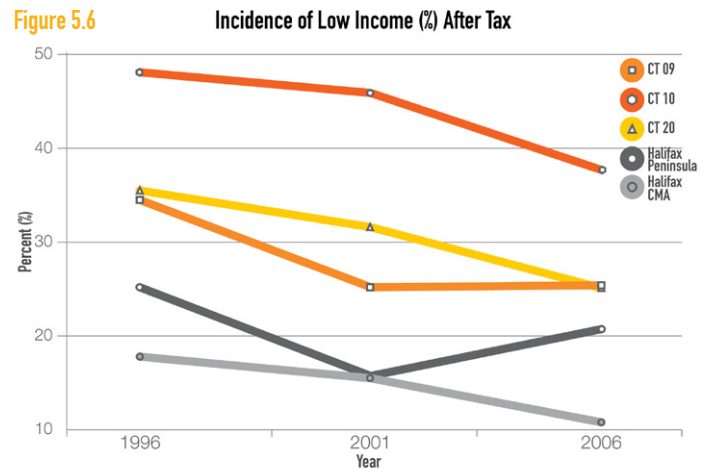
peninsula as both begin to taper off towards 2006.

The incidence of low income between 1996 and 2006 (see Figure 5.6) was significantly higher in the Gottingen Street-North end area census tracts than for the peninsula and CMA.⁷ As of 2006, census tracts 10, 09, and 20 ranked first, sixth, and seventh, respectively, in incidence of low income out of the eighteen census tracts comprising the Halifax peninsula. However, despite having some of the highest incidences of low income in Halifax, census tracts 10 and 20 illustrate an approximately ten percent decrease in low income prevalence between 1996 and 2006. This trend correlates with the rapid growth of median household income for these two census tracts outlined above. Also similar is census tract 09's mirroring of low income incidence on the peninsula, which dipped in 2001 before rising approximately five percent in 2006.

Figure 5.7 shows negligible change in the portion of the population twenty years of age and older (fifteen and over in 1996) with university education in all areas. Census tract 10 showed the sharpest increase of all areas measured, increasing the proportion of adults twenty years old and



7 Statistics Canada's measures and thresholds of low income vary by census year, as they are determined in a matrix of income by household size and community size (the larger the household and community, the higher the low income threshold) (Statistics Canada, 2007).



Note: In 1996, the proportion of total population 15 years and older was collected by the Census for this category. It changed to 20 years and older in 2001.

over with university educational attainment from twenty-two percent in 1996 to thirty-one percent in 2006. However, this change is arguably not rapid or sudden.

The socioeconomic indicators outlined above portray a population that is undergoing some change in the Gottingen Street-North End area. However, the indicators do not describe a rapid transformation since 1996 that would be consistent with a briskly gentrifying area, and the displacement of lower income residents and services that would be a consequence of this process. While the socioeconomic indicators certainly do not describe the whole story of the area, some trends indicate

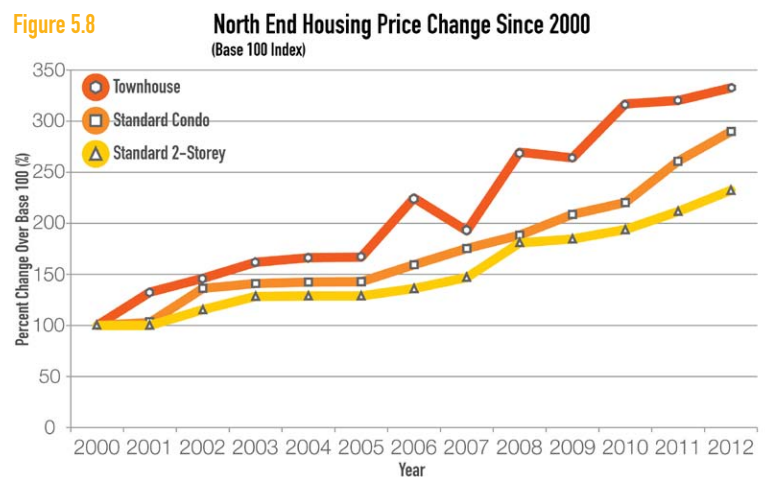
change is coming to the Gottingen Street area. For instance, if median household income continues to climb at a more-or-less rapid pace in census tracts 10 and 20, the demographic profile of the area could become significantly different socioeconomically. Although the Gottingen Street-North End area still has a high incidence of residents with low income, the continuation of a gradual decrease in the proportion of low income residents in the area could contribute to a socioeconomic shift. These two trends may or may not work together. As the remainder of the findings from analyzing property value data and participant interviews will show, a polarization of the Gottingen Street area seems to be occurring. This could help to explain the increasing median household incomes in census tracts 10 and 20, while incidence of low income is still fairly significant. A continual decrease in low income prevalence may produce a more affluent demographic, where the area could eventually become more costly to lower income residents in the future. Because the Gottingen Street-North End area, and the peninsula overall, have a relatively mobile resident base these trends could change either way fairly suddenly. However, these statistics only describe change. They do not indicate any strong causality of gentrification, displacement, and/or polarization without being coupled with other data gathered and analyzed by other means.

Property Value and Land Use Change

Although this project focuses on the impacts of redevelopment on local businesses and community services, a brief observation of housing market changes is useful as another indicator of neighbourhood change. When compared to the rest of Halifax (city), the housing

prices of the North End have grown with, but not eclipsed or exceeded, the rest of Halifax (Royal LePage, 2000-2012).⁸ This is despite the considerable increase housing prices have undergone in the North End, particularly since 2007 (see Figure 5.8). North End townhouse prices, which have been subject to an exceptional rate of increase, are slightly more expensive than townhouse prices in the rest of Halifax (in 2012, North End townhouses had an average price of \$296,000 while the rest of Halifax averaged \$269,000). Condominium prices have grown at a similar rate as those in the rest of Halifax, although their current pricing average of \$200,000 is over \$50,000 less than the rest of Halifax average. However, new condominium projects on Gottingen Street have been priced similarly to that of the rest of Halifax. For example, units in the Theatre Lofts run from \$170,000 to \$335,000, and Falkland Street Condos range from \$150,000 to \$360,000 (Condo Company, 2012a, 2012b). While these condominium prices are much higher than the average for the North End, and for Gottingen Street previously, they are still not yet as expensive as those found in the more affluent South End (Royal LePage, 2000-2012).

Figure 5.8



⁸ Halifax (city) is the boundary of the former City of Halifax before amalgamating into HRM (Royal LePage, 2000-2012; CMHC, 2000-2011a).

North End Halifax in Transition

A similar story is also found in the rental market. The average rent for apartments in the “peninsula north” area (defined by CMHC as everything on the peninsula north of the Halifax Commons and Chebucto Road) has grown between 2000 and 2011 at an almost identical rate as the average rent for Halifax (city) (see Figure 5.9; CMHC, 2000-2011a). While rental cost is increasing, the average rent for peninsula north has consistently been approximately \$50 less than the average rent for Halifax (city). Vacancy rates for peninsula north decreased substantially between 2010 and 2011 (see Figure 5.10), although they have remained higher than those for Halifax (city) since 2005 (CMHC, 2000-2011a). The rental market for peninsula north is tightening, although it is not as costly as the South End (which had a vacancy rate of 1.4 % and average rent of \$1,067 in 2011) (CMHC, 2011a).

The assessed property values of Gottingen Street businesses and community services have

gradually risen from the early 2000s to a significant rate of increase over the last two years (see Figure 5.11). The rate of increase has been greater for businesses, where the incline in average assessed property values started in 2008. Although property values have increased throughout HRM, the provincial Property Valuation Services Corporation has stated “increases are most significant on the peninsula and in the North End, in particular, where demand is the highest” (Power, 2012, para. 13). Average assessed commercial property values increased in all of peninsular Halifax’s main business districts since 2011: 16% on Spring Garden Road, 12% on Quinpool Road, and 17% in the North End (Bundale, 2012). The average property values for Gottingen Street community services increased approximately 16.5% since 2011, while Gottingen Street business property values rose 17.2%. The average assessed values for both Gottingen Street businesses and community services exceeded the HRM average commercial property value increase

of 8% (Fraser, 2012a, 2012b). The increases in average assessed values for Gottingen Street businesses have outpaced the rest of peninsular Halifax since 2009. The dramatic increases in property values over the last two years can have a tremendous impact on local businesses and community services, through not only an increase in taxes for those who own their buildings, but also in rents and costs of operation for those who lease their spaces.

The dramatic increase in property values along Gottingen Street was echoed by one community expert participant, who bought land on Gottingen Street in the late 1990s “for \$7 a square foot. Two years ago it was appraised at \$50 a square

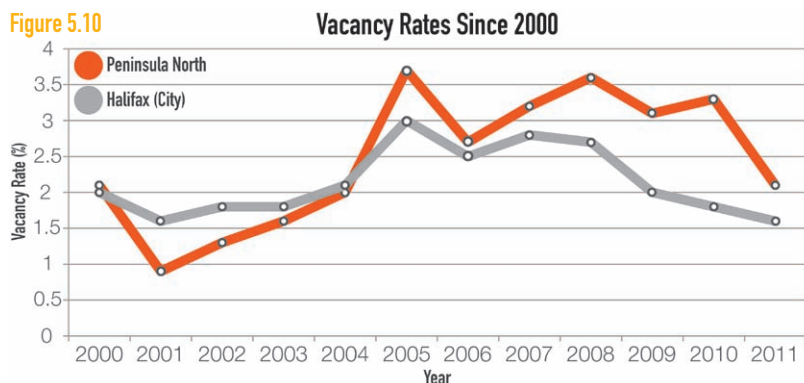
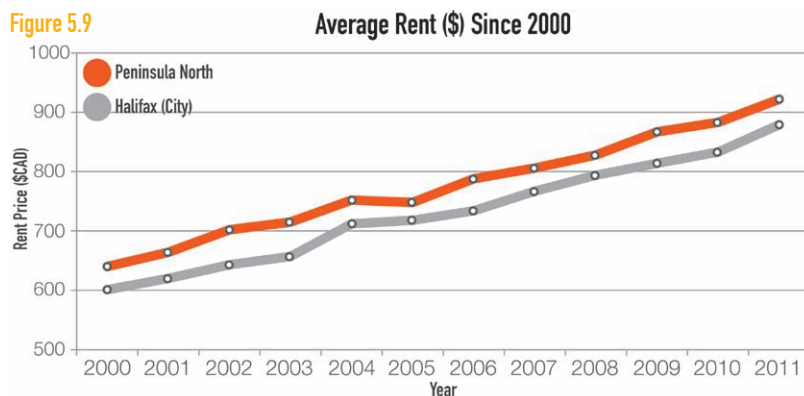
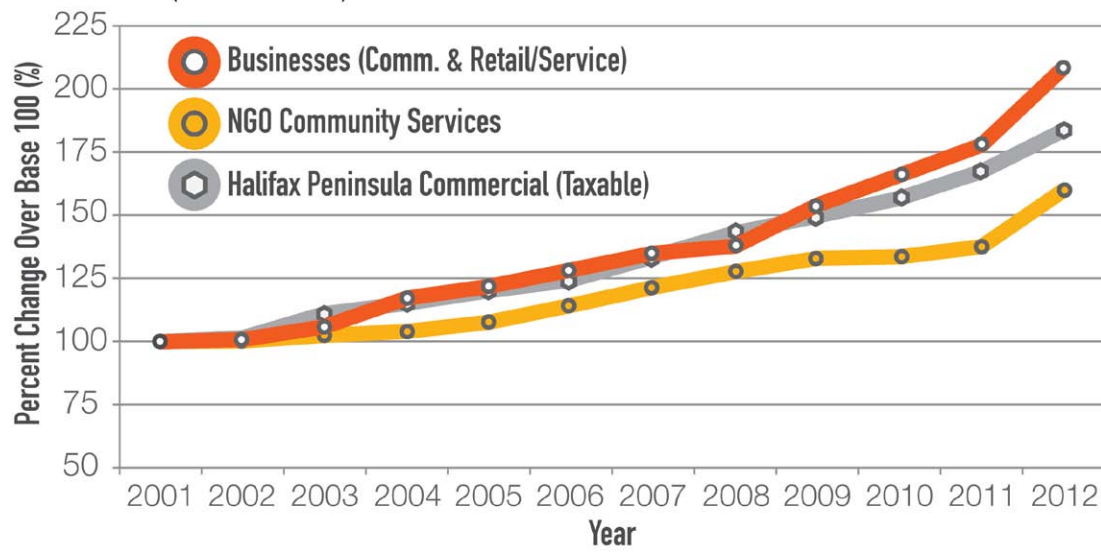


Figure 5.11

Gottingen Street Average Assessed Property Values Since 2001 (Base 100 Index)



foot, what was left of it because we had subdivided it. So I mean if that's any indication" (Participant Go2E12). There is a risk of even more rapid increases in property values for businesses and community services in the near future, as the 2012 assessments did not take into account the real estate speculation attached to the \$25 billion contract recently awarded to the nearby Irving Halifax Shipyards (Fraser, 2012a; Jones, 2012). While the actual impact of the shipbuilding contract on the local economy is still to be seen (and hotly debated in the popular media), analysts are predicting an additional \$10 million in real estate sales per year for the 30-year contract (Jones, 2012). This has led to some speculative buying in the North End area already (Jones, 2012). One community expert suggests that the current spike in commercial property values over the last two years has more to do with "developers looking for opportunities to move onto the peninsula and, you know, make things happen" (Participant Go2E12) than speculation driven by the Shipbuilding contract.

Gottingen Street businesses and community services have undergone distinct changes since 2000

in terms of the number and type of uses of each (see Figure 5.12). The total number of businesses on Gottingen Street has increased slightly since

| Businesses | 2000 | 2006 | 2012 |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Retail | 12 | 10 | 13 |
| Food Service | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| Art & Entertainment | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Service | 18 | 13 | 14 |
| Commercial | 6 | 6 | 10 |
| TOTALS | 51 | 46 | 54 |

| Community Services | 2000 | 2006 | 2012 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Community Non-Profit | 11 | 13 | 15 |
| National NGO | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| Government (Municipal) | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Government (Provincial) | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| TOTALS | 23 | 25 | 25 |

Figure 5.12

2000, and has rebounded since a "bottoming out" in 2006 (a fire in 2004 destroyed approximately six businesses where the Falkland Street Condos now sit (Participant Go9B12)). The community experts, business owners, and community service operators interviewed saw an increasing interest in business (especially local and small businesses) and commercial development in the North End, and a modest recovery occurring for Gottingen Street specifically.

Far more telling of the current changes in businesses along Gottingen Street, however, is how the types of businesses uses have altered since 2000. Retail, arts and entertainment (e.g. art galleries, performance spaces, and bars/nightclubs), and commercial uses have increased slightly since 2000 and 2006, while there is one more service use on the street than there was in 2006. The increase in arts and entertainment spaces since 2000, with the opening of such spaces as the Company House, The Bus Stop Theatre, Menz and Mollyz Bar, and most recently the re-opening of the Marquee (Horne, 2012), indicate a focus on serving a generally young clientele. Along with established uses such as the Eyelevel Gallery and Alter Ego's Café/Halifax Backpackers Hostel (deemed a "Gottingen Street institution" by several business owners (Participant Go5B12; Participant Go7B12; Participant Go9B12)), new art spaces such as the Galleria Unplugged correlate to the findings in literature that many areas under recent redevelopment become increasingly concentrated with uses that serve students, young artists, and so-called "alternative" culture generally (Deener, 2007; Ley, 2003; Patch, 2004). The new commercial uses since 2000 have mainly been in the so-called "creative class" industries (Florida, 2010; Catungal et al., 2009), such as Creative Atlantic, a marketing and branding firm. Several new technology firms have also opened on Gottingen Street. Interestingly, there are now fewer food service uses on the street than there were in 2000. This trend is contrary to that suggested by Zukin (1991) for redeveloping and potentially gentrifying areas. However, a charcuterie opened in 2011 and there are at least two new restaurants and potentially a grocery cooperative planned for the area in the near future (Julian, 2012).

Despite the modest increase in the number of businesses on Gottingen Street, the

recent spike in property values, and stagnant or diminishing government funding, community service uses have remained relatively stable since 2000. One community service operator observed that "with service provision, I think in fact there are possibly even more..." (Participant Go3C12) community services than there were a decade ago. This observation was also stated by several other community service operators and community experts. The number of local non-profit community services has increased since 2006, with recent additions such as the Adsum House for Women and Children and the Grace Street Mission opening within the last two years. Long-standing local community non-profits, such as the Micmac Native Friendship Centre and the North End Community Health Centre, continue to play a central role in service provision on Gottingen Street (Participant Go2E12; Participant Go8E12). As expected, the governmental services (such as the Department of Community Services for the Province of Nova Scotia, and the North End Memorial Public Library and George Dixon Centre of HRM) have changed little over the past decade, as changes in property value likely play a minimal role in their costs of operation. The only community service category to lose uses between 2006 and 2012 was the national non-governmental organization grouping, with both the regional offices of the Canadian Red Cross and Oxfam Canada moving elsewhere in HRM.

Current Impacts to Businesses and Community Services

LOCATIONAL STRENGTHS AND ISSUES

Many recent local businesses of Gottingen Street reflect the "bohemian" or artistic cultural mores that have been found elsewhere in currently redeveloping areas (see Deener, 2007; Ley, 2003;

Patch 2004, 2008; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). One community expert declared Gottingen Street a “hipster heaven” (Participant Go8E12). For a significant proportion of local businesses, this younger, “hipster” characterization of the clientele that frequents Gottingen Street (such as students and artists) is precisely why they located to the area. This is especially true for those uses included in the arts and entertainment, retail, and food service categories which have opened on Gottingen Street over the last decade. One business owner explained that Gottingen Street:

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 like *the centre of hipdom in Halifax*. And we're right in the middle of it (emphasis added, Participant Go4B12).

Several new businesses decided to locate on Gottingen Street because they sensed the changing perception of the area as a generally younger and up and coming area (Go4B12, Go5B12). These business owners feel that they “represent the interests of a ‘cultural’ community” (Zukin et al., 2009, 58), otherwise, they would not locate on a street where they felt their unique services could not succeed (Bridge & Dowling, 2001). Artists and other “alternative” culture individuals are the small but growing vanguard who are slowly changing the perception of Gottingen Street, as evidenced by the increase in arts and entertainment uses since 2000. This is a trend that is consistent with most other areas undergoing initial redevelopment and change (Ley 2003; Patch, 2004; Zukin, 1991; Zukin et al., 2009). Using Pierre Bourdieu’s notions of the different types of capital an individual may possess

and exercise, Ley (2003) argues that despite the lives of “voluntary poverty” (2533) of most artists, they (as a general group) often lead the way in valorizing an area because of their considerable cultural capital. Artists, therefore, identify “authentic” urban spaces that become culturally significant, although they often lack the economic capital to fully redevelop the area themselves, and are often among the first to be displaced when costs of operating increase (Ley, 2003). Gottingen Street’s changing perception and initial redevelopment is clearly being led by those new businesses which either cater to, or are owned and run by individuals with high cultural capital.

Most, but not all, of the new, “alternative” or artistic uses have occupied vacant spaces on the street, rather than directly displacing existing uses. This is not surprising, considering the decline of commercial and retail activity since the 1960s and the measured business growth since 2000. Despite the beginnings of a recovery of retail and commercial activity observed by participants (Go1E12, Go2E12, Go4B12, Go5B12, Go8E12), Gottingen Street still grapples with a primarily negative perception. Some interviewees saw this as a challenge to existing and future businesses on the street. One community expert stated “there’s a certain reluctance to come and do business in this area from a safety point of view. So obviously the business is trying very hard to deal with that all the time” (Participant Go1E12). Another participant felt that the impacts of a negative perception of the street would affect more than just Gottingen Street businesses:

when every minute you turn around and you’re hearing something negative about the community, as a business owner, that’s going to impact you. It’s going to make you think, well, you know what, no one is going to come shop in my store if this is

considered or labeled a bad community. So what that forces the owner to do is relocate. And the impact it has on the community is okay, well, there's a good possibility that that business owner was hiring right here within the community, and now he may have to let somebody go (Participant G10C12).

Extending the impacts of businesses leaving the area, the vacant spaces left behind encourage crime by providing spaces that are neither really public nor utilized, adding to the stigma of crime that Gottingen Street suffers (Participant G10C12).

Three business owners interviewed argue that the negative perception of Gottingen Street is either false or changing, in part because of the increase of "bohemian" or artistic businesses which attract clientele and have filled some vacant areas on the street. One of the business owners recalls a common sentiment of older clients: "I haven't been down here in 35 years because it's not safe. But it's nice that you're here doing good things" (Participant G07B12). Another business owner argues that this common perception of Gottingen Street, held primarily by long-time Halifax residents living outside of the North End, is not only false but that it is changing for most: "I always heard such a bad reputation about Gottingen. And it's slowly starting in the mentality of some people by not thinking like that" (Participant G05B12). A long-standing business owner concludes that the lived reality of Gottingen Street is much different from that portrayed by popular media: "Gottingen Street feels like rural [Nova Scotia] in some ways. Everyone kind of knows each other. It's very safe, very comfortable. The experience of being here is very different than sometimes people see it" (Participant G09B12).

Interestingly, for one business owner the common perceived reality and attitude of Gottingen

Street appeared to actually attract customers:

When we moved in just even a year ago, it had a little edge. It was a bit seedy. And the thing is that actually works to our advantage for our store. It's a little dangerous to come down to our store. Not really but there's a bit of a perception. Which makes it a little more fun to make an excursion out to the store (Participant G04B12).

Despite the attraction of customers this business owner indicated due to Gottingen Street's perceived "seediness," the North End Business Association (NEBA) has enacted street beautification measures, such as daily street cleaning, to at least in part counteract the negative perception of Gottingen Street (Participant G01E12). The attraction to an edgy inner-urban street is likely limited to the "bohemian" or artistic population.

The number of community services on Gottingen Street has remained stable since 2000, in spite of a two-year spike in property values similar to the increase for business uses. Both community service operators and community experts did not see community services leaving Gottingen Street despite modest growth in business uses on the street. One participant explained:

what non-profits look like [for the North End]. One of the things is that some of the office space around here is still fairly inexpensive. So there are a lot of non-profits occupying floors above retail. Sometimes even above empty retail. And some of the non-profits are even occupying street level space. So that's all going on. They're liable to get squeezed up or out as the place progresses (Participant G01E12).

Notwithstanding the potential risk of displacement this community expert observed for local

community services, other participants recognized the still significant portion of the population that depends on Gottingen Street community services. One community service operator commented that

as long as that public housing is there, that's [community services] going to stay. There also are a lot of elderly people living below the poverty line. They live in rooms, little units, who have chronic diseases and really need the services. And there's a lot of mental health issues. I don't see that that's going to disappear (Participant Go3C12).

For some participants, community service use and programming has grown on Gottingen Street for the last decade and a half:

I went to a meeting at the needle exchange... That wasn't there, you know, 15 years ago. The housing support centre, I mean that's a new thing...There are after 4:00 programs in the churches and stuff. I don't think much of that existed 10, 15 years ago (Participant Go2E12).

The “more fine grained” (Participant Go2E12) nature of community service provision on Gottingen Street reflects the relatively stable number of impoverished and marginalized service clientele (which was also illustrated by the high-but-decreasing incidence of low-income for the Gottingen Street area) in and around the street. The concentration of community services on Gottingen Street may make the area a “service hub” by which other HRM residents in need may travel to. For instance, one community service operator stated that the clientele was both local and from the larger urban region (Go6C12). Not surprisingly, growth in the need for community service provision due to regional economic trends affects residents of both Gottingen Street and of HRM:

I would say for us, you know, we tend to see more community service aspects that affect us. As a whole, I mean growth of business has been very extensive with HRM. With that growth has come a lot of impacts for us, social impacts. So I guess for us, it's more the social side that we see from the impact of businesses. I mean there's been huge growth within HRM. I mean there's huge growth all around. Of course with that growth comes social services. That also increases as well. You see more and more crime. You see more addictions. More homelessness. Everything in general (Participant Go6C12).

CLIENTELE AND RELATION TO LOCAL COMMUNITY

Three out of the four business owners interviewed stated that their clientele and customer base was mainly local. For one participant, the business mostly attracted local young adults and the large concentration of artists around the Gottingen Street area (Participant Go7B12), reflecting the emerging perception of the area discussed above. However, the clientele for the business also varied often, which was necessary for the business to remain economically viable. For another participant, the unique and arguably more upscale nature of the business required a larger customer base than just Gottingen Street or the surrounding North End neighbourhoods:

Participant: Well, for what I do, it is a bit different. You know, if I had let's say a café or anything like that, it would probably be more local. But considering again that what I do is very unique to the city, I have people driving from Fall River...to Chester when they come up in town...It's coming a bit from all over HRM already.

Interviewer: And do you see that changing at all in the future or will it be more of

the same, would you say?

Participant: I would say it's probably going to be more or less the same. Yes, I would say so. Probably maybe a bit more locally, you know, because obviously there is more, like I say, apartments going up and things like that. So I think the population is going to grow in the area, and in the North End in general. So probably a bit more locally. But otherwise, it's probably going to stay more or less the same (Participant G05B12).

Two of the business owner participants explicitly stated a concerted effort on the part of their businesses to serve and/or employ what they considered the local community. For instance, one participant recalls holding a special event for the predominantly African-Nova Scotian residents of Uniacke Square:

And I think for the [business] it was really awesome at that point to have that connection because there was a real sense of being a part of a neighbourhood and giving a valuable service to these people who didn't want to go down to the Dome [a downtown nightclub], who were sick of going downtown, who wanted to stay close to home, who wanted to be able to come out for an hour and not leave the kids all night or whatever (Participant G07B12).

The biggest obstacle to serving “the local community, the black and gay community” (Participant G07B12) for the participant's business were governmental regulations. Another business owner spoke of the relationship between the business and Gottingen Street-North End residents the participant relied on to remain successful:

I have [over a decade of] of running with a really committed, regular client base in my [business]. And decisions we make are

always engaged with the community, and the community is always bringing things to us. And there's a real circular kind of existence on the street. We need each other. And it's really incredible (Participant G09B12).

Despite the changes to both the local business and demographic landscape that new development projects may bring to the area in the near future, this participant declared an interest to remain a “local” business:

I would say that once some of these apartment buildings get built that we are likely to be busier. And we want to retain our focus and not change too much to a changing demographic. But having some awareness about providing needs that will exist in the community in the future, those kinds of things we're looking at. Again, a lot of people would describe my [business] as fitting quite well with the streetscape in terms of who you would see here on any given day. It's a good reflection of what's actually happening on the street. And I'm really proud of that. And so I would like that to sort of expand in itself, give me opportunity to hire more local people, all that stuff (Participant G09B12).

Although what these two participants consider the “local” community to be may differ from what others regard as “locals,” their statements seem to indicate that, at least for now, some local businesses are not simply catering to the “hipster chic” and ignoring those who have historically been long established residents. While a different attitude towards Gottingen Street locals may be found in the near future when redevelopment ramps up, currently these statements by two local business owners arguably contradict the findings presented by Sullivan & Shaw (2011) and Deener (2007). These authors find businesses of recently redeveloping areas to mostly ignore the historical local community

in favour of a new, “bohemian” customer base.

Most Gottingen Street community services provide for the local community, or at least the local community within service provision to the larger urban region as a whole (an exception to this would be the national NGOs, such as Canadian Blood Services, which provides services for those in need nationally). While the municipal-run services are technically directed to provide programming for the whole of HRM, several community services, such as the George Dixon Centre and the North End Memorial Public Library, had programming directed primarily for Gottingen Street residents. Almost all of the local community non-profit services were directed towards Gottingen Street residents or the surrounding North End area. This is to be expected as community services obviously function best when located near their target clientele (Allard, 2004; Allard, Tolman, & Rosen, 2003). Some residents move to the Gottingen Street area in order to access more specialized services: “we have a huge majority of people who access our services and moved to this area because we are here” (Participant Go6C12).

The community services on Gottingen Street provide programming for diverse needs, a large number of which cater to “the most stigmatised clientele—namely, homeless individuals and persons with substance abuse issues and/or mental health problems” (DeVerteuil, 2011, 1574). One community expert observed that many of the services and supports found on Gottingen Street cater to this clientele:

I think if you were simply thinking in terms of the lower end economic strata, the lowest quintile, if you like, the supports for that population, which still makes up a significant portion of the total population of that

area, is much better served by the services that are there (Participant Go2E12).

This reality undoubtedly contributes to the long-held negative perception of Gottingen Street that is held mainly by the external community and popular media. Other community services provide programming regarding health, education, employment, nutrition, family counseling, and recreation, which appeal to the broader population of the Gottingen Street area as well as the “most stigmatised” clientele.

In terms of demographic changes, community service operators witnessed some change occurring in their clientele bases, while noting that the existing service populations of the area were not likely to change (Participants Go3C12, Go6C12, G10C12). One participant described it this way:

Well, there’s a whole new demographic that will be coming. The old demographic is still there. And so I would say the [community service] is busier than ever. Busier than ever. You know, there is a population there that isn’t going anywhere. These are the people at Uniacke Square. You know, a number of long term, long time residents who live in the south streets surrounding the [community service], and generally more north of Cornwallis [Street]. And so, you know, they’ll always be there...I would say it’s perhaps even increasing because there’s a level of frustration amongst some of the people that’s leading to violence and drug dealing, etcetera. And that’s always been there. But it’s more now than it used to be way back (Participant Go3C12).

For another community service operator, the programming that the service will provide is expected to broadly expand with a projected “influx of Aboriginal people coming into the city. We are

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definitely expecting it to increase” (Participant Go6C12). The participant noted that the community service plans to provide more housing, education, and job placement programming along with existing counseling services to address the increase in this unique grouping of the Gottingen Street community (Participant Go6C12).

COSTS OF OPERATION

The assessed values for commercial properties have increased dramatically since 2001, and especially over the last two years. This increasing trend in property values, and by extension lease rates, is clearly an issue for existing businesses (Participant Go1E12). One business owner observed that “there was a big tax increase recently for the North End in general. So that definitely impacted lots of places on Gottingen” (Participant Go9B12). Another participant echoed this concern by recognizing a “concern on the part of people that own property there that things are becoming more and more expensive, and it will be hard to do business there. So that’s a concern” (Participant G12E12).

The impact of increasing property values is felt more so by those business owners who lease their space and/or those who do not operate what is considered to be an upscale or high-end business. The recent rapid increases in property taxes are debilitating to one business owner: “our property taxes have gone up 40 percent in the last two years. And that almost crushes us every year” (Participant Go7B12). For one business owner, the current increases in property values are only the beginning: We signed a 2-year lease because we weren’t sure how things were going to go. And at the stage we’re at now, we, of course, have been thinking geez, we should have taken that 5-year lease. Because the gentrification on

the street is rapid. Rapid. Again, I think we were a little conservative in imagining how long it was going to take to turn the street around. And it seems to be moving at a blinding pace. Blink your eyes and there’s a new set of condos going up or new development ((Participant Go4B12).

In contrast, some business owners have either not felt the impacts of property value increases yet or feel they are paying a fair price for their service and location: “I’m considered a prime location anyway so I’m paying the full price anyway” (Participant Go5B12). Another business owner recognizes the trend of increasing property costs, but states “I wasn’t impacted at this point, I think because the development hasn’t pushed into this block as much yet. But over time as that happens, I think there will be some impact there” (Participant Go9B12).

Other costs and issues of doing business mentioned by business owners concerned the day-to-day costs of running a small business, complicated and unclear regulations from municipal and provincial government bureaucracies, and banks reluctant to deal with women, young “hippie kids,” and Gottingen Street small businesses in general (Participant Go7B12). However, none of these concerns were mentioned as often as costs related to property value increases. The apparent impact of speculation driving up property values is so great that NEBA is lobbying for a property tax increase cap or limit, so that current and future local businesses are not priced out of the North End (Participant Go7B12, Participant Go9B12). A community expert participant concurred with this action: “maybe the attack point is not so much in trying to control the taxes as opposed to control the huge jump in what’s happening” (Participant G12E12).

Community service operators have likewise

felt cost impacts due to increasing property values, although the number of uses on Gottingen Street has not decreased between 2000 and 2012. One community service participant describes their impact as such:

well, rents have particularly gone up. There's no question about that. Real estate, in anticipation of the ship building influx, it's really soaring. So yes. Our costs of doing business really hasn't gone up more than one would expect. There hasn't been...as far as I'm aware any impact of the rising real estate except that our rent will be going up. And we have to scramble for every cent that we get. So that's going to make a difference for us (Participant Go3C12).

For other community services who own the building in which they are located, the impact has been less noticeable so far when compared to those who lease space:

For us, we own our building. So rent-wise, it doesn't affect us because we do own... however, in saying that, I do know that the price of rent for other programs that we've seen, I mean it's unattainable. It's becoming more and more expensive (Participant Go6C12).

There is obviously some pressure being applied to community services that may be eventually priced out or evicted from the area. However, as DeVerteuil (2012) notes, the increases in property and real estate values may not impact those community services that either pay greatly reduced lease rates or property taxes because of the services they provide, or as illustrated above, own their building. Nevertheless, even when community services own their building, a risk of displacement still exists:

I mean there's a huge trend here on Gottingen. I mean at one time, nobody

wanted to be on Gottingen Street. And now that face has been changing in the last few years. And there's pressure on social services like [this one] to not be in this area (Participant Go6C12).

Community services also incur cost of operation challenges given their non-profit status which relies on "erratic" funding from both government and voluntary donations (DeVerteuil, 2011). Two community service operators commented on the changing funding schemes from government and granting institutions, which requires the services to do "more with less." One participant described the paradoxical competition for cooperative funding community services must now strive for:

now the government tends to say okay, well, we just gave [a community service] \$250,000 so go partner with them. And as well all know, \$250,000 isn't a whole lot of money. When it comes down to programming, it's not. So then you have to partner with various organizations that at one point in time supported each other. Where now they're competing for the same funding. So you know, again, the government has found a way to sort of limit us from being able to utilize positive programs (Participant G10C12).

The apparent inadequacy of government funding requires community services, according to one participant:

to try and fill the gaps. And we tend to do a little bit above and beyond with what we receive. We usually do above...We tend to do a little bit more than what we're supposed to do. And nobody can deny that. We tend to work with less, and try and still reach as many people as possible (Participant Go6C12).

Polarization and the “Embedded Landscape”

The seemingly divergent trends of gradual business and retail growth on Gottingen Street and the continued substantial presence of community services—several of which can be considered important community institutions (Participant Go2E12)—are creating a “double landscape” (Patch, 2004, 182) on the street. For one community expert, the polarization process has been gradually developing:

I think things have come along slowly. As I say, all of the poverty and homelessness-related stuff is still there. It hasn't disappeared. All of the 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 (Participant Go2E12).

Polarization is manifesting itself not only among the socioeconomic character of Gottingen Street area residents but also among the types of land uses on the street. The emerging divide between the types of uses on Gottingen Street is most evident between the newly revalorized spaces of art and entertainment spaces, retail, and to some extent “creative economy” commercial, and the existing (and typically longer established) spaces of stigma: such as public and affordable housing, and community services that provide for the most marginalized populations (Catungal et al., 2009). This process of polarization, despite its gradual development, is one that has only impacted Gottingen Street over the last decade or so,

So I suppose if anything has happened, the neighbourhood has become more polarized as more wealthy people have moved in. There are a couple of little businesses. There's a

couple of galleries and a few other things that have started to happen that obviously, you know, wouldn't have been there 10 years ago, and make a bit more sense now that there is some shift (Participant Go2E12).

Of course, the polarization occurring between and within Gottingen Street land uses and local residents is reflexive; residents, as clientele and users of local services, influence and are influenced by the types of uses that are available on the street. However, this is not to say that all local residents have equal say in what types of services are available on the street. Nor do all services currently available only draw from the local Gottingen Street or North End population. The impact of polarization has been identified by one local business owner, who lamented the costs of running a small business when compared to the apparent luxury of new mixed-use condominium developments:

I guess it was also hard to see these apartments that are just gorgeous being built, and you're struggling to find funds to paint the front of your building and put up a sign or whatever (Participant Go7B12).

The two most obvious examples of recent condominium developments are the Theatre Lofts and Falkland Street Condos, a block apart. Both have space for ground-floor retail uses (see Figure 5.13). These retail spaces, which are still vacant aside from one tenant, a charcuterie, are likely to attract a clientele that has historically not been present on Gottingen Street since the 1960s. For an example, the description of the Theatre Lofts project reads: “located in a rapidly developing area of Halifax, this condo caters to young professionals who work and live downtown” (The Condo Company, 2012a, “Theatre Lofts”). The Condo Company (2012a)



Figure 5.13 – Retail space below the Theatre Lofts (top) and Falkland Street Condos (above)

website lists seven other recent condominium developments in the vicinity of Gottingen Street which are also targeting “creative class” residents and consumers. The attitude of services towards the street and Gottingen Street residents additionally reflects a polarizing landscape. The attitude of some

services is more welcoming and wanting to be a part of the street, as expressed by this business owner:

We really came here because we love the community and love the people on the Street and had a sense that what we were bringing was going to contribute to that in a positive way...we don't see ourselves as separate from the street (Participant Go7B12).

For others, some services on the street appeared to portray the opposite effect. A local architecture firm on Gottingen Street has a large gate that protects the street-level window at night, which for some signifies an attempt to exclude the service from the street and locals from the office (see Figure 5.14) (Participant Go8E12; Van Berkel, 2007).

Despite the presence of some new “creative economy” commercial, arts and entertainment spaces, and upcoming ground-floor retail uses, Gottingen Street lacks day-to-day essential services such as a bank or grocery. Although there are a few convenience store and small food “markets” on Gottingen Street, the last full-size grocery left the street in 1987 (Hill, 2012). The last bank left in 1997. Five interview participants identified the lack of these two essential services as a serious deficiency in the types of services available on the street. A local business owner observed a recent change in



Figure 5.14 – Protective gate in front of architect's office on Gottingen Street

appearance of what used to be a bank (see Figure 5.15):

but this building here that just got ‘graffitized’ is the old bank building. And you just forget that the architecture was those things. And I think it puts into context, you know, the services that are missing from the area. We don’t have a grocery store. We don’t have a bank. And those two things make it very difficult to operate a business or live a healthy life (Participant G07B12).

Two other participants identified the impact a lack of local essential services has on local residents who do not have easy access to transportation. One community expert stated:

There’s no grocery store in that area. And I know there’s some discussion about having a food co-op. But talk about a food desert, particularly for people who don’t have access to transportation in an easy way, like seniors and people living in public housing. That’s a huge issue (Participant G11E12).

Another participant recognized the lack of basic services on Gottingen Street, but saw some hope in their return as the street redevelops:



Figure 5.15 – The “graffitized” former bank building

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. I don’t know that their more fundamental needs are being addressed by that kind of structure. But anyway, maybe that will come as the neighbourhood becomes more diverse. You know, some of those things will come back (Participant G02E12).

Much of the literature put forth on areas undergoing local retail and business redevelopment have also found a lack of essential services in their respective study areas (Deener, 2007; Patch, 2004, 2008; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). Patch (2004), for instance, found that for individuals moving into Williamsburg, New York and setting up new businesses, “the most striking element was the initial lack of even basic services – a full-size grocery store, a hardware store, a bank, clean streets, much less dry-cleaning services and art supplies” (171). However, caution should be heeded in believing that new retail development will fill all the gaps in essential services. In a later study, Patch (2008) also found that “most new businesses fail to fill the lacunae in basic local services such as banking, inexpensive groceries, dry-cleaning, home repair supplies and until recently, childcare” (116).

There have been some preliminary discussions and proposals put in place to potentially have a credit union (Bousquet, 2011) and a locally run food co-operative open on Gottingen Street to fill service gaps (Participant G01E12; Hill, 2012). However, two community experts note that with the

recent trend of socioeconomic polarization of the local population, two different clienteles must be served and addressed by a new food co-operative (Participant Go1E12, Participant Go8E12). This conundrum is summed up by one participant who states “the people moving into the neighbourhood want certain kinds of groceries, and the people who live in the neighbourhood already need a different kind of groceries. So it’s complicated” (Participant Go8E12). Although the food co-operative has identified potential locations on Gottingen Street, one community expert explains that it must start to develop its marketing strategy with some urgency⁹:

but what we’re seeing now is more expensive, certainly middle-class and upper middle-class people coming in who would constitute a different clientele. So really that food store has to start thinking about offering two kinds of food...You know, they have to offer food choices that meet those needs. So you can’t ignore one or you’re not going to get enough volume. And we’re not even sure we’re going to get enough volume anyway, it’s going to be difficult. But we’re moved by the fact that we can see old people who obviously are on social assistance dragging themselves back from the stores which are a mile, a mile and a half away, carrying parcels of food (Participant Go1E12).

Other participants, such as this community expert, are not optimistic that any new food co-operative will serve the entire Gottingen Street community:

we opened a co-op on Gottingen in 1973-74. And it closed down because it is very hard for low income communities to sustain the participation and organizational work that it takes for a co-op. So it didn’t work. So I

⁹ The food co-operative, which hopes to open by 2014, is attempting to purchase or rent one of the vacant store fronts on Gottingen Street, or else to use a more informal approach such as an agglomeration of shipping containers on a vacant lot or parking lot (Hill, 2012).

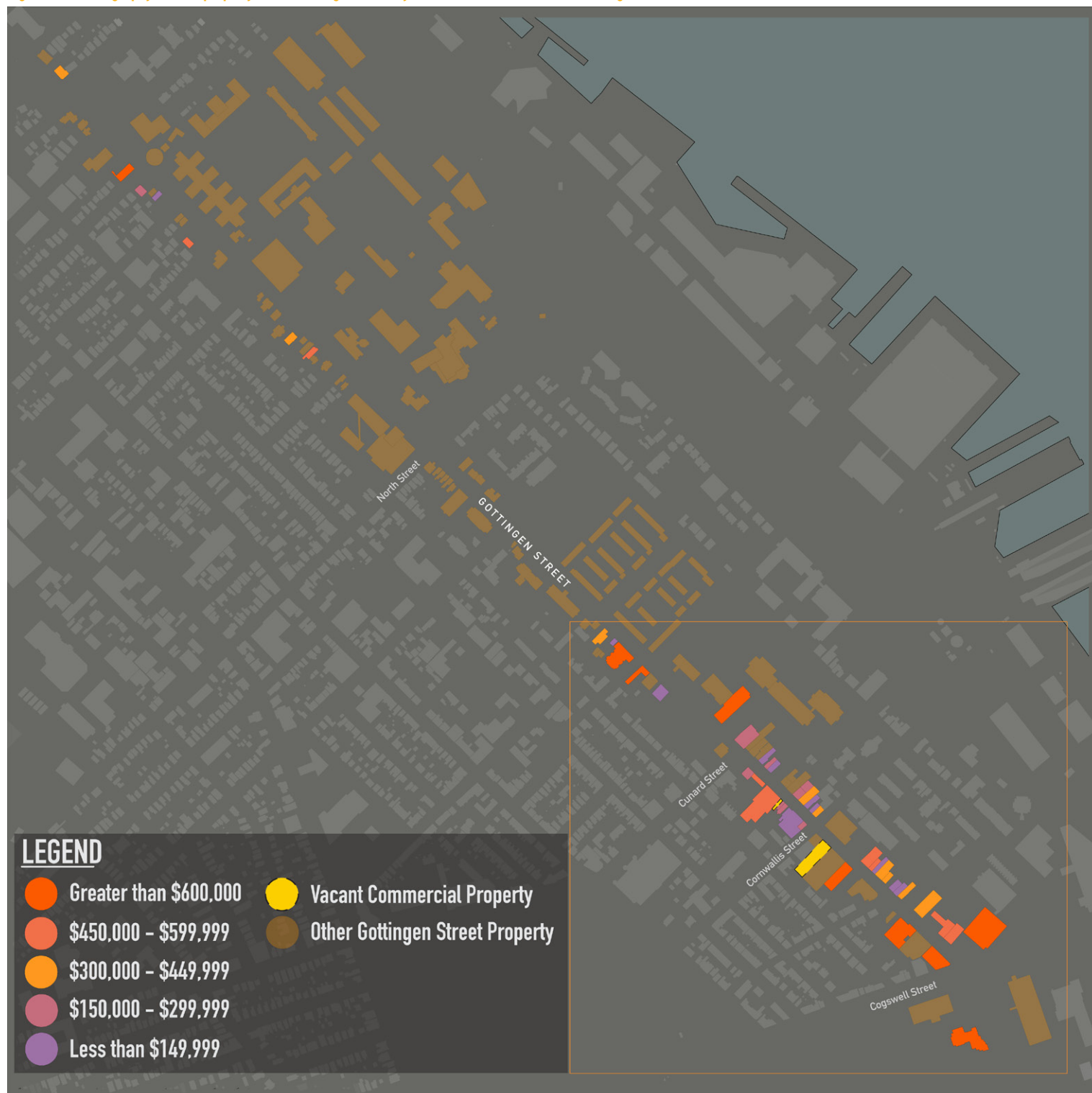
mean I’m not opposed to co-ops but at this point, they’re not going to serve the poor, immigrant, single parent or black population that remains in this last square, right? This last squeezed place. That’s not who’s going to shop there because they won’t be able to afford it and they won’t be able probably to manage the time that it would take to take care of it (Participant Go8E12).

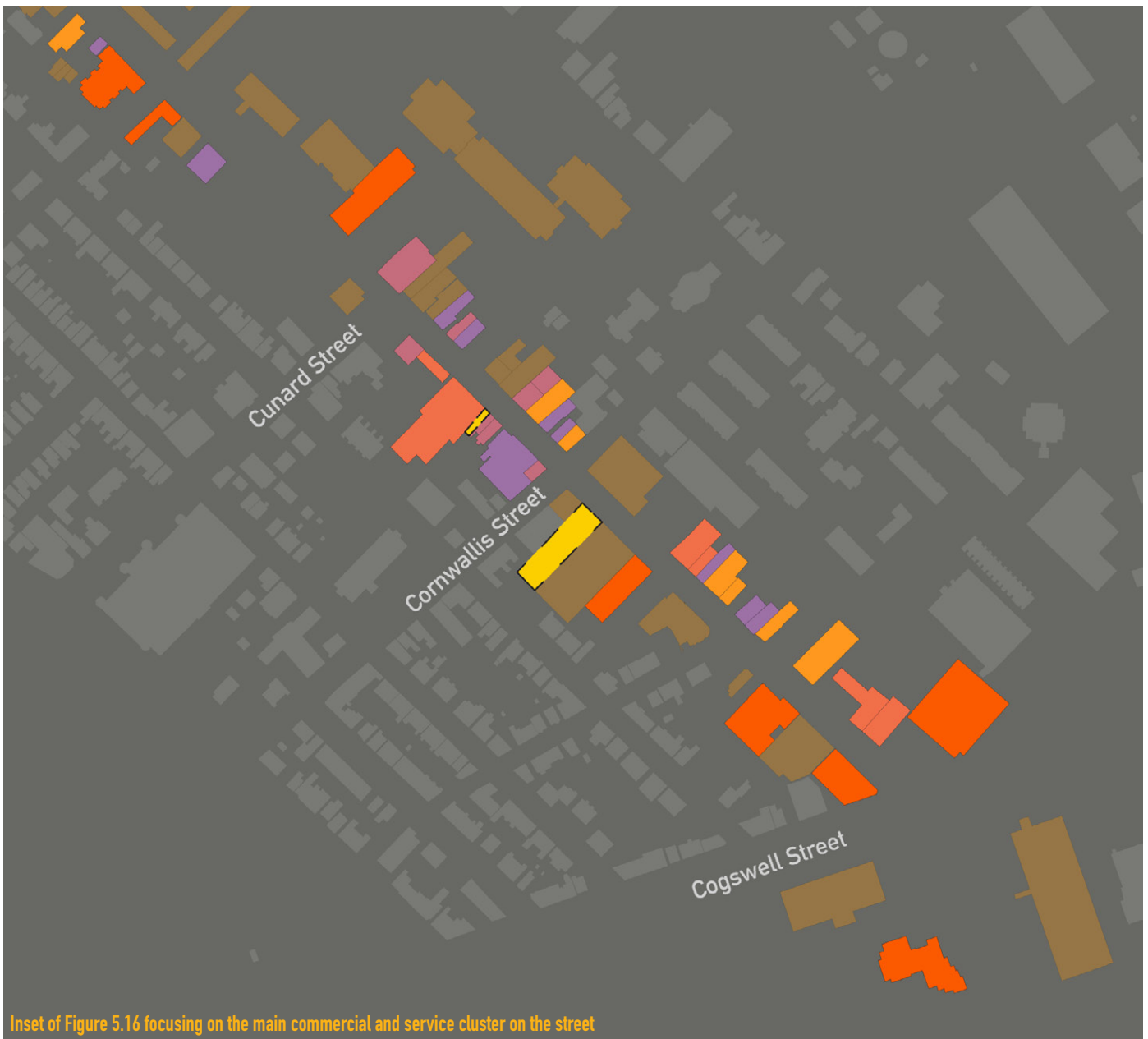
Serving a polarizing community is most certainly a difficult task.

The polarizing landscape of Gottingen Street can also be observed in the geography of current assessed property values for the business and community service uses on the street (see Figure 5.16). Higher value properties tend to be concentrated towards Cogswell Street and Rainnie Drive, the southern terminus of Gottingen Street. These properties are also closest in proximity to the downtown area of peninsular Halifax. Lower value properties, while dispersed throughout the street, tend to agglomerate more on the stretch of Gottingen Street between Cornwallis and Cunard Streets. It also apparent that most business and community service uses are located south of North Street, with the majority of them between Cunard and Cogswell Streets. The polarization of property values on Gottingen Street is not spatially defined neatly between low value and high value areas. Rather, small patches of low value properties remain next to higher value ones, creating a patchwork of contrasting properties and uses on the street.¹⁰

¹⁰ The property value data gathered illustrates little difference in value between properties housing businesses versus those housing community services generally; however, smaller uses and properties were found to be more likely of low value than those services and properties that were larger and/or newer (Viewpoint.ca, 2012).

Figure 5.16 – Geography of 2012 property values among community services and businesses on Gottingen Street





The distinct landscape of Gottingen Street is also visually evident. Current processes of change and redevelopment of Gottingen Street—and arguably the initial stages of gentrification—have obviously not completely transformed the street yet. Rather, new and renovated spaces are set among and between the established and existing. Patch (2004) terms the physical and visual manifestation of the incompleteness of community change and redevelopment the “embedded landscape” (169).¹¹

11 For Patch, the new and redeveloped physical space of the “gentrification landscape tracks with the imagery and space

This concept is useful in understanding Gottingen Street’s current state of change for it recognizes that redevelopment and “gentrification [are] fixed in pre-existing urban conditions” (Patch, 2004, 169). While some high value and newer buildings do cluster together on Gottingen Street (as do lower value and older ones), visual observation illustrates that new of the industrial past” (2004, 176) of his study area, Williamsburg, New York. Although Gottingen Street’s existing landscape has been shaped primarily by a recent history of community service provision and economic disinvestment, rather than an industrial past, the “embedded landscape” is applicable to understanding the visual and physical manifestations of the polarization evident of the area.



Figure 5.17 – A representative snapshot of the current “embedded landscape”

development exists next to old, sometimes vacant buildings and uses. It is not uncommon to find on Gottingen Street new and renovated buildings and uses embedded next to what would typically be thought of as a contradictory use or site. For instance, Figure 5.17 illustrates a newly renovated building housing an art gallery and above-ground apartments situated next to a methadone clinic and a home restoration business, half of which is vacant. The Theatre Lofts for “young professionals” neighbours a boarded-up vacant building (see Figure 5.18). Two Gottingen Street “institutions,” the Alter Ego’s Café/Halifax Backpackers Hostel and the North End Community Health Centre sit next to sites in transition (see Figures 5.19 and 5.20). Even Gottingen Street north of North Street, which is typically considered an older and low-density residential area, shows considerable variety in terms of use and the quality of structures on the Street. Figures 5.21-26 illustrate that older stock housing, newly renovated heritage homes, corner-store businesses, new “creative economy” commercial uses, a large seniors’ housing complex, and a military base (which walls off the

eastern side of the street) are embedded in a seemingly incongruous streetscape.

Even with the recent redevelopment and renovation occurring and visually altering Gottingen Street, Patch argues that “all this newness does not spontaneously emerge and cannot proceed in an unbridled fashion. Instead, the space and persons already existing in the neighbourhood physically circumscribe the new world” (Patch, 2004, 172). New uses and buildings embed themselves in the existing Gottingen Street landscape, and businesses and community services “exist without overwhelming each other with their contradictions in clientele and product qualities” (Patch, 2004, 176). Patch theorizes that these contradictory clienteles and services exist side-by-side through a “stark indifference” to each other (2004, 184). This is unlikely the case for Gottingen Street considering the small size of the community and the high visibility of services on a main street of the North End. Thus, one must question how long the embedded landscape of redevelopment and gentrification on Gottingen Street can be sustained. There is the possibility that the street may become homogenized one way or the other in the future as the street undergoes further change.

Figure 5.18 – A new mixed-use condominium neighbours a vacant property





Figure 5.19 – Alter Ego's Cafe sits next to the potential site for a mixed-income, mixed-use housing development



Figure 5.20 – The long established North End Community Health Centre adjacent to a building in transition

North End Halifax in Transition



Figure 5.21 – A barbershop and older housing stock



Figure 5.23 – A corner store business use inserted into the existing building form

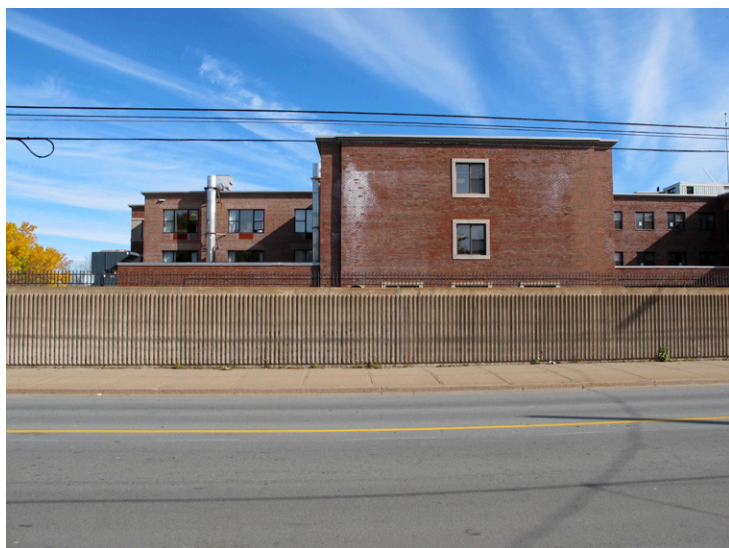


Figure 5.26 – Canadian Forces Base Halifax (Stadacona) behind a continuous wall



Figure 5.22 – Renovated and upgraded heritage homes



Figure 5.24 – New renovated office of T4G Limited, a "Technology Solutions" firm



Figure 5.25 – Northwood Manor, a large retirement and assisted living complex for seniors

VI. Gentrification and the Future of Gottingen Street



Is Gentrification Occurring? Is Gentrification a Potentiality?

Gentrification is modestly occurring on Gottingen Street according to Hackworth's (2002) definition of gentrification, "the production of urban space for progressively more affluent urban users" (815). However, despite the development of new mixed-use condominiums and a few more upscale businesses—which would be considered urban space produced for a more affluent clientele—much of the existing landscape of the street has been relatively untouched thus far. Furthermore, the two central characteristics of gentrification—direct and indirect displacement, and socioeconomic change—have not occurred so far in any significant manner. The socioeconomic data collected indicates only minimal and/or gradual change in most categories. The only evidence found of direct displacement of businesses or community services was the eviction of Turnstile Pottery and Soul Clippers Hairstyling in 2008 (Bousquet, 2008). Capp Larsen of the Halifax Coalition Against Poverty declared the act "a blatant example of gentrification" (cited in Bousquet, 2008, para. 9). Condominium units and a Member of Parliament constituency office replaced the two businesses and the apartments that existed above them (Bousquet, 2008).

The geography of current property values (see Figure 5.16) provides some insight into which properties may be targeted for eviction, possible demolition, and subsequent redevelopment. This is especially true of concentrations of properties with low values. Two particular areas stand out as areas of future redevelopment: the corner of Cornwallis and Gottingen Street (which is comprised of several community services and a restaurant), and a stretch of retail and commercial on the eastern side of the

street between Falkland and Cornwallis Streets.

Indirect and/or exclusionary displacement, which are difficult to quantitatively measure accurately (Slater, 2006), have been observed by one community expert:

we're building stuff for middle class and above and we've got no means by which, at the moment, to house the lower income members of our community who we want to keep employed and who as a result we're forcing to bus themselves in from way out or drive in expensively...

Well, there is still a large number of people who are receiving social service payments who live in this area. I mean they gradually, some of them are gradually getting priced out of the market. I mean the whole system is regrettable (Participant G01E12).

In contrast, another community expert perceived that progressively more affluent urban redevelopment is not occurring currently in any concentrated pattern:

there was some gentrification below North Street, just below the Citadel. But not a hell of a lot...The south end of all that stuff, between Agricola and Gottingen, you know, the first couple of blocks were starting to, you know, people were buying them. They were converting dumps into heritage homes and finding ways to sort of fit in. And then some of it was demolished and little projects were developed, that kind of thing. I never thought of it as much of a threat when people asked me about it. I said that's good ...

And so I think some of that enthusiasm is making its way southward from that area. It's beginning to...You know, people are picking up little buildings and fixing them up. So I mean this is not a tsunami. This is a kind of gradual encroachment ...I don't think there's any pattern to it. I don't think it's particularly purposeful. I think it's just sort of happening (Participant G02E12).

Although only one participant saw gentrification as rapidly occurring (Go4B12), nine out of eleven interview participants stated that gentrification and gentrification induced-displacement were likely to occur on Gottingen Street in the near future. The impacts of these processes for local businesses, community services, and the residents who use them would be extensive, potentially altering the diversity of uses (and who they serve) for years to come.

Community service participants expressed some guarded concern for the potential consequences of gentrification and redevelopment of Gottingen Street, especially in consideration of the enthusiasm surrounding development on the street because of the previous decades of disinvestment:

I would definitely say that the area is more diverse. Which is always a good thing. Change is always good. However, I would also say that with change comes animosity because, you know, when you take something...when you remove something from a community, you need to replace it with something equally as good or better. And when that doesn't happen then other problems tend to occur. And there's been a lot that has been taken out of this community and not replaced (Participant G10C12).

But nobody wanted to be here even 10 years ago. And now all of a sudden there's this push to see it grow, to see it change. Which is a good thing. By any means, I'm not saying that it's not a good thing. I'm not. It's just making sure that steps are taken to ensure that people are not pushed out that wish to be here (Participant Go6C12).

For other participants, the trajectory of Gottingen Street is towards a more homogenous upper middle income neighbourhood:

I think that the street itself is going to really develop. I mean I think it's going to become much more like...people refer to this as sort of the 'SoHo' of Halifax. And I think that we will follow the same model of the actual 'SoHo' in New York City. It's sort of first artists move in. Then the clubs, then the boutiques, then the development starts. You know, loft living starts (Participant Go4B12).

When discussing the remaining vacant lots on Gottingen Street, one participant argued potential developers are "not going to build, you know, a little grocery store. They're going to build yuppie shit. They just have to wait until the timing is perfect and they can sell all those condos to people dying to move back downtown" (Participant Go8E12). In spite of the arguments for widespread redevelopment of Gottingen Street, several business owners do not want see the street go down the path of gentrified communities elsewhere. For instance, one participant states:

you know, there's a good argument for Gottingen Street in terms of it being developed and gentrified, not having more social services on it. But none of us are here fighting for Yorkville, you know (Participant Go7B12).

FUTURE FOR LOCAL BUSINESSES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES: STAYING PUT, DISPLACEMENT, AND/OR ENTRAPMENT

When questioned about the future of their services on Gottingen Street, two business owners felt their uses may be priced out through continuing redevelopment of the area. One participant expressed concerns that, given the real estate speculation and property values increases that may come with the Halifax Irving Shipyard development, the

future of the business on the street would be limited:

I know that the shipping contract is going to play a big sort of rule in speeding things up here. Because otherwise I think we would have had like maybe eight to ten [years] that you could sit here and not really worry about the neighbourhood too much. But after say, you know, eight odd years, the neighbourhood would have changed to such a degree that the rents would have been climbing steadily as more and more businesses move in and the competition for the space goes up. So the 3200 square foot space that we're sitting in would become fairly valuable. And the deal we were able to work with the landlord just to get someone in the door would no longer be the case, you know, because of the demand for the space. So either we pay up or get our marching papers and find the next new 'SoHo' area to move to (Participant Go4B12).

Consequently, as the participant stated the business attracted more of a younger, "bohemian" customer base, and products which would not likely fit on a more upscale boutique and café streetscape, the service would likely be pushed out as Gottingen Street becomes more affluent in the future (Participant Go4B12). This business owner likened the eventual future of Gottingen Street to that of the now-trendy Hydrostone Market:

Participant: You know, that Hydrostone, what a dump that place was when I was younger. Like in my teens, that was a real rundown area. Now it's 'chi-chi ville.'

Interviewer: Yes, exactly.

Participant: You know, it's soccer moms like to sit out front of the little pastry shop there and have their cappuccinos and read the Sunday paper. And Gottingen Street I think

is going to move in that direction. But I'd still give us...I think we're going to have five good years at least here of like rocking it out before it becomes a little too expensive for us to be here (Participant Go4B12).

Gentrification presented a threat for another participant who also provides a unique service for the artistic/"hip" community. However, there is hope that the service will withstand redevelopment:

I mean they [the mortgaging bank] are interested in holding onto it as a property investment. Which means to think realistically about it, one day it will probably be condos. I would love to see that not happen. Or at the very least, the condos can go out back and on top, and the [service] stays (Participant Go7B12).

Several other business owners have told reporters they expect their services to be redeveloped for more profitable uses. The owner of the Marquee Club expects it to be redeveloped as apartments (Horne, 2012), and a restaurateur plans to open on the site of a current art gallery (Julian, 2012).

On the other hand, the participating business owners who either own the building they are in outright or provide a more upscale service are more confident in their ability to stay on the street in the future. This is consistent with the findings of their current situation discussed above, where these business owners felt less impacted by current property value increases. One participant foresaw the future of their business as such:

maybe expanding. We'll see what happens. I'd definitely like to keep the location because, you know, I guess by the time my lease will be over, this part of town, it's probably going to have its reputation back. So it would be a bit ridiculous to not be here at the beginning and when the things are hap-

pening. So yes, I'm planning on staying, absolutely (Participant Go5B12).

Expansion is also a likely strategy for another participant who sees Gottingen Street's transition as advantageous:

We have spent the last couple of years while Gottingen Street is sort of transitioning with kind of tightening up what happens internally, financially, all those kinds of things, in an effort to at some point to really kind of expand that. So if there are lots of people living in the downtown, and if there's a balance of incomes...Because as we know, the income threshold is a bit lower in this area right now. As that starts to balance out a bit better, I think we have an opportunity for growth (Participant Go9B12).

Community service operators primarily view their future as uncertain. Community service participants do not foresee a significant displacement of local residents who are in need, even with increasing pressure from developers wanting to build more retail and mixed-use development on the street. A community service participant explains this uncertain future as such:

Well, I think what's going to happen inevitably is that the street will become much more retail. And some of the community services, some will stay. I mean our [service], we're looking for new space...But we will stay on the street, that's an absolute and we've stated that very clearly. So it could be a good mix (Participant Go3C12).

For other participants, the ability of their community services to stay on Gottingen Street may become increasingly difficult. One participant explains the pressure applied to community services to be pushed off the street:

Participant: they want to change and revive Gottingen, and I'm all for that. I'm the first one, 'you know what, I think it's great.' But don't try to push out the social services, because that's what happens many times. And is there a pressure? Absolutely there's pressure there for us to sell what we have and find another location. There's no doubt... There's definitely that pressure to see, you know, community services like [this one] be pushed aside. You know, people don't want that kind of programming going on in their backyard.

Interviewer: And what kind of uses are replacing them, would you say, on the street?

Participant: Oh, it's definitely becoming more commercial. More commercial, there's no doubt. More commercial, more business-oriented instead of not-for-profit. There's housing issues. So I would definitely say it's more commercial that's coming this way (Participant Go6C12).

One community service operator argues that because most of the clientele they serve are among the most stigmatised and marginalized population of the area, incoming businesses and services will likely feel that these groups are not conducive to attracting customers (Participant Go6C12). Thus, this participant also sees significant risk of displacement for community members who use community services for myriad reasons:

you know, for me, it's keeping the community members here. It's not pushing community members out. We've experienced that with residential schools. We've experienced that with reserves. We experienced that within the black community. You know, they're being pushed out. 'This is where you're going to go.' They didn't call it a reserve but, you know, that's your area. I really hope to see that that doesn't happen. There are pres-

asures already to see it happen...Our clientele probably isn't what people want walking around their business. They are people who have needs and have fallen through the gaps, have fallen through the educational system. So these are people that need an additional...a little bit of extra help. And many times those are the people that get pushed aside (Participant Go6C12).

Furthermore, community services that wish to expand but are facing pressures to relocate must deal with conflicting tensions:

I have no more space to put any more programming. So that's kind of why we are looking elsewhere. We need space. So it's not just being pushed out but our own strategic plan is saying okay, we need space...And how do we do that? Well, I can only build so far up. And is it worth building so far up? So for us, there's definitely a need all the way around. But there's also that huge pressure to sell our building. 'We'll help you sell your building.' Yeah, no, that's okay (Participant Go6C12).

Notwithstanding the growing development pressures community services will continue to face, current NIMBY (Not-In-My-Back-Yard) sentiments towards Gottingen Street community services are arguably more prevalent from the external rather than internal community (DeVerteuil, 2011). However, the statements made above by participants indicate potential for an internal NIMBY sentiment as well, especially from new businesses and developments. This presents a potentially difficult problem for existing community services. First, the internal pressures stemming from other Gottingen Street residents and uses for community services to locate elsewhere may become more intense. Second, many community services, especially those which

are local and have a smaller funding base, might find it particularly difficult to find a new location that is as central and transit-connected as Gottingen Street without having to pay relatively exorbitant prices to lease or purchase space. Consequently, those community services that wish to expand or relocate to a less visible space may not be able to do so, and thus will be forced to stay on Gottingen Street for lack of other feasible options (besides locating well outside the central city). This potentiality is consistent with the findings of DeVerteuil (2011, 2012), who concluded that "gentrification is more likely spatially to entrap social services than it is to displace them" (2011, 1564).

However, some community services may find relief from entrapment—"where gentrification has effectively excluded any opportunity to relocate or expand in situ" (DeVerteuil, 2011, 1569)—if a proposal to turn the currently vacant St. Pat's-Alexandra school site near Uniacke Square into a community service centre is successful.¹² Of course, it is not certain that all community services will be pushed out of the area. One business owner expressed the value of a diversity of uses for the Gottingen Street community:

So I think that was a good show for the community, that the services, that we sort of stand together with the services that are here and want to see the North End Health Clinic, which serves all of us up here, and the Mi'kmaq Friendship Centre along with the street as opposed to be pushed out...No one wants this idea of people being pushed out. Everyone wants the idea that we stand

12 HRM had originally turned the site over to a private developer, effectively ignoring their own policy to give non-profit organizations first opportunity to present development proposals for formerly public lands. The controversial decision by HRM was challenged and subsequently quashed in court in October 2012, giving new hope to community services to present a development proposal for the site that may be successful (Bousquet, 2012).

together. And that if people are going to get better then we do that together as a community and not by ostracizing one group or another (Participant G07B12).

The Development of a New Business and Service Landscape

How the future of service and local business provision will look, and who will benefit, is a source of much debate. Gottingen Street business owners have expressed a hope that the business climate of the area will remain primarily local. One business owner feels “that Gottingen Street will still have a lot of local investment” (Participant G09B12). Another participant hopes to see the local ownership of Gottingen Street businesses continue:

Participant: Well, you know, if you look at the North End in general, I think, as far as I know, all the businesses are all small independent businesses.

Interviewer: Right.

Participant: So whatever happens in the future, I'd like to stay that way. You know, having the big chains staying out of the way and making it maybe more like a neighbourhood where people go shop to support...You know everyone talks about local and all this stuff. But I think if there is one part of the city which is actually very local, it's definitely the North End for sure (Participant G05B12).

The concern about local ownership among some Gottingen Street business owners is consistent with similar sentiments from other redeveloping areas (see Deener, 2007). Local ownership is important in how a community develops as these new and long established “public agents,” who are often quite

involved in the community at large, “reframe the community by redefining who is included” (Patch, 2008, 118). Their stores and services signify how the street should be used (Patch 2008). However, Deener (2007) argues that local ownership does not prevent the development of a potentially homogenous business and service landscape from developing.

In addition to the efforts outlined previously of two business owners who try to appeal to the larger community, some business owners mentioned hope to start or continue to hire local residents. One business owner, whose business has “a lot of local people working here who live in Uniacke Square” (Participant G09B12), hopes that growth on Gottingen Street will allow the business to hire more locals:

the opportunity to have 3 or 4 people behind the counter instead of 1. And I'm really excited about that, to have an incredible team. I get lots of resumés, and there are lots of people who want to work. And I want to be able to give them jobs. That's what [this business] wants to do, you know (Participant G09B12).

However, several researchers and participants alike have asked who benefits from the increasing amount (and types) of businesses that are projected for gentrifying and redeveloping streets like Gottingen. As Patch (2008) explains how “newer residents change the space around them by opening new types of businesses” (123), the types of services local businesses provide, and who they are targeted for, also change. The reinvestment into communities that have seen little economic development over previous decades, like Gottingen Street, can improve the safety and physical appearance of the area (Deener, 2007; Patch, 2008). However, as the

thematic discourse of such urban neighbourhoods in transition shifts towards a primarily “bohemian” and cultural narrative—driven by the uses on the street and their clientele—long established and existing business owners and residents often find that their needs, experiences, voices, and influence on the street becomes muted (Deener, 2007).

Several community participants expressed concern that new businesses and services proposed for Gottingen Street might not reflect and cater to the existing community:

Are the businesses there that really are going to respond to community need? And then will the community really respond and support the businesses? I mean there's no sense in putting in a grocery store there if people aren't going to buy there because it's still cheaper for them to go to the Superstore, even though you have to pay taxi back and forth. So there's a whole community perceptual change there I think that people need to think about. Who's doing business there? How does it relate to the community? And then how is the community relating and committed to the businesses on the street? That's a big issue (Participant G11E12).

The [businesses] that are there or recently moved in definitely don't reflect this community. You know, a lot of the new businesses that are here, you know, they don't hire from the community. You know, they don't hire. Whereas before, a lot of the older businesses, they hired within the community. They contributed to the community. While the new businesses coming in, they don't do any of that. Like they don't do any of that. You know, a lot of them are professional businesses or organizations. So you know, 'no, we don't do that. You know, we're affiliated with the government so we don't do this and that.' But it's sad. It's sad (Participant G10C12).

Despite the efforts discussed previously of some business owners to hire locally and appeal to the larger community, several participants expressed that the view that some community members feel excluded or not welcome. Another community expert provides a critique of the trend of newer arts and entertainment uses that are becoming more prevalent on Gottingen Street:

I hear people all the time just really thrilled about the developments on Gottingen Street of, you know, the artists' spaces and the this spaces and the that spaces. And again, this is not a personal opinion of wrongdoing of individuals. I mean the Company House, the stores, I mean they're great. You know, Menz Bar. I mean, you know, like 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's an organic relationship to now is not the community that was thrown out. The community that has an organic relationship to is the people like me (Participant G08E12).

On the other hand, one business owner appears to recognize the issues explicated by the participant above, but argues that art and entertainment uses also have a net benefit for the street as a whole, which speaks to the paradoxical nature of urban redevelopment:

I think we're all very aware that we're agents of gentrification. But there's something in that process of gentrification where the artist has a natural home, and a student has a natural home, and it's a positive thing that does bring money and culture to the area (Participant G07B12).

The relationship of new and future uses to the local community of Gottingen Street, which is also undergoing gradual change, provides a unique and complex challenge for business owners, community service operators, and residents alike. Few would argue that Gottingen Street is unlikely to benefit from a greater number of businesses and services on the street. However, an even more fractured community may occur if these local businesses only cater to certain clientele, or whether in the future the businesses become less local and/or more homogenous as they attempt to serve an increasingly wealthy population if socioeconomic polarization continues.

There is significant literature to suggest that local businesses that are long established, attempt to serve a diverse demographic, and/or provide unique services (including those considered artistic or “bohemian”) could be displaced as successively more affluent uses and development projects enter the Gottingen Street landscape (Ley, 2003; see also Catungal et al., 2009; Deener, 2007; Lees et al., 2008; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). This trend was known to the business owner participants, as three of them mentioned potential risks of displacement for current local businesses with redevelopment. At particular risk of displacement, besides those services in low value properties, are those local businesses that are seen as unique because of their artistic or “bohemian” character. These types of uses are often followed by new businesses with greater economic capital, who can typically not only afford the increasing costs of property and operation while attempting to “cash in” on the “bohemian” character, but also to serve a new clientele that is more affluent than students

and artists (Deener, 2007; Ley, 2003).¹³ If Gottingen Street follows the trends found in other cities, the diversity of uses that Gottingen Street could have over the next few years as redevelopment continues may eventually turnover and transform the street into a more affluent and homogenized commercial landscape. This is consistent with the perspectives of several business owners who, as discussed above, felt they may be priced out by more affluent business uses as Gottingen Street continued to gentrify and property values increase.

Instead, Gottingen Street residents, community service providers, and business owners must question whether those “bohemian” and other local businesses that attempt to hire and include all residents of Gottingen Street—including those of low income and those who reside in public housing—could become the norm of the local service streetscape. Included in this query should also be how to include essential services that appeal to different socioeconomic groupings. The major concern of local businesses and community services may soon become how to withstand the potential upcoming development pressures which may displace a variety of both “bohemian” and non-“bohemian” existing businesses and services alike as the street becomes increasingly redeveloped.

13 Of course, redevelopment will not only be spurred by the capitalization of an artistic and “alternatively” themed street, but rather a collection of economic, social, and political factors. Ley (2003) declares:

to blame artists for the gentrification that so often follows their residency in a district is a misplaced charge; it is the societal valorisation of the cultural competencies of the artist that brings followers richer in economic capital. Secondly, the interdigitation of economic and cultural competencies and pursuits in the gentrification field makes any statement of monocausality questionable (see Hamnett, 1991). It is not a matter of whether economic or cultural arguments prevail, but rather how they work together to produce gentrification as an outcome (2541-2542).

Future Development, Affordable Housing, and the Role of Planning

Development interest and construction in the Gottingen Street area is gradually increasing despite the numerous vacant lots that persist on the street. One business owner observes:

There has been some speculation on buildings that was impacting in terms of actual like spaces that have been kind of held but not rented. So people talk a lot about empty spaces on Gottingen. But often if you were looking, there wasn't something available because people were hanging on to develop or start to do these kinds of things. So that's been an interesting sort of thing to manoeuvre (Participant G09B12).

Coupled with the sentiment that most interview participants felt economic development would continually increase on Gottingen Street over the near future, and the trends of increasing property values, many of the proposed developments for vacant lots may finally be realized over the next five to ten years. Additionally, the recent Request For Proposals put forth by HRM for the dismantling and redevelopment of the Cogswell Interchange—one of the pieces of Halifax urban renewal of the 1960s which isolated the North End from downtown—may initiate more development interest for the Gottingen Street area (Zaccagna, 2012).

Most of the major developments proposed for Gottingen Street are significant mixed-use projects. The St. Joseph's Square development, located near the northern end of Gottingen Street, was approved by HRM Council in 2012. It will feature nine storeys of condominium residential and ground floor retail (see Figure 6.1) (HRM, 2011). This project, which is emblematic of the type of mixed-use development that is popular among planning



Figure 6.1 – Rendering of the St. Joseph's Square mixed-use condominium development

authorities, hopes to exploit some of the success of the nearby Hydrostone Market. St. Joseph's Square will likely add café and boutique type business uses to the northern half of Gottingen Street which has significantly less commercial development than the portions of the street below North Street. However, as it is being constructed in a primarily low-density residential area, neighbouring residents have found the project fairly contentious (Participant G11E12; Demont, 2012).

The next phase of HRM By Design (an urban design plan established to streamline the processing of development proposals) is the Centre Plan which will develop urban design guidelines and policies for how development will be approved along certain “opportunity corridors” in central Halifax and Dartmouth (HRM, 2012). The Centre Plan is likely to be passed by Council in late 2012 or early 2013. The Centre Plan will propose changes to land use by-laws of the corridors in order to enforce rules on maximum building height, land use, streetwall height, and design performance standards (HRM, 2012).

Gottingen Street is one of the proposed corridors (See Figure 6.2). The changes the Centre Plan would bring to the street only affect those

areas between Buddy Daye Street to the north and Cogswell Street to the south. The Centre Plan proposes mixed-use land use designation for all properties facing the Gottingen Street “corridor” (HRM, 2012). The proposed changes would see a maximum height of 20 storeys for the properties near Cogswell Street (currently a big box store, a brewery, an automotive repair service, and a technology research firm), with heights decreasing to 10 and 8 storeys for the east and west sides of the street, respectively (HRM, 2012). Outside of several apartment and condominium buildings, there are no other structures on Gottingen Street that are currently close to the maximum heights proposed. Maximum streetwall heights between three and five storeys would also be enforced, requiring additional storeys to be stepped back from the street (or use a building “podium” at street level) in order to meet the

maximum building heights (HRM, 2012). Given the proposed changes to land use and building heights, these changes primarily promote development similar to the mixed-use condominium buildings of Falkland Street Condos, St. Joseph’s Square, and Theatre Lofts. Two participants familiar with the regulations proposed by the Centre Plan questioned whether the changes, particularly building height, are appropriate for the context of the street. One community expert argues:

looking at some of the heights that are proposed around there, I don’t personally think are appropriate. I think that they’re too high and would have a negative impact, I think, on the existing area because there’s also quite a bit of historical housing development in that area as well (Participant G11E12).

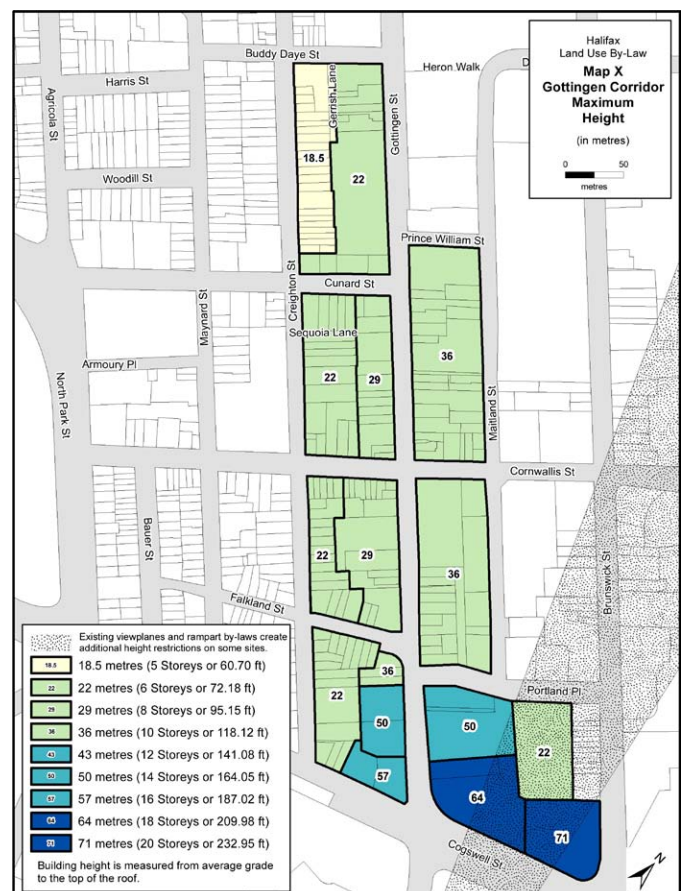


Figure 6.2 – Proposed Centre Plan development and design guidelines for the Gottingen Street corridor

Another participant expresses the varying opinions community members have on the proposed changes, and how it may impact Gottingen Street development in the future:

The Centre Plan right now, it's interesting, there's lots of back and forth on that. People have differing opinions about what level of height should happen on Gottingen. Whether some of that height and that density happens within the residential streets as well. My biggest goals are around not losing the feel and the vibe of the community already. As the street develops, making sure that there are opportunities for youth in the area to work and also benefit from that (Participant G09B12).

While mixed-use development certainly has its benefits, the main concern for Gottingen Street residents as it pertains to new and future development is this:

the big question is going to be how to support density there that still respects existing neighbourhoods and is affordable. That's going to be a huge challenge around the residential questions that are there right now (Participant G11E12).



Figure 6.3 – Renderings of two proposed Housing Trust of Nova Scotia Projects

Two proposed mixed-income housing developments, which have received much attention in the media (see Benjamin, 2012; Bousquet, 2010), are set to be built on two vacant lots (former sites of Diamond's Bar and Mitchell's Enviro Treasures) on the east side of Gottingen Street between Prince William and Cornwallis Streets. These two potential projects are stalled because the developer, the non-profit Housing Trust of Nova Scotia, argues that it is not economically feasible for them to build given the current height restrictions on Gottingen Street (approximately five-storeys) (Benjamin, 2012). Furthermore, the Provincial subsidy they receive can only partially cover the land costs for the two developments (Benjamin, 2012). However, the projects may have the heights they require (approximately 10-storeys each) if and when the Centre Plan is approved. In addition to being mixed-income housing developments—that is, approximately half of the units are “affordable” and the other half are sold at market rate—the projects will also likely have street-level commercial in accordance of the mixed-use requirement preferred by NEBA and outlined by the Centre Plan's proposed policies (Benjamin, 2012; Participant G01E12).¹⁴

The Province of Nova Scotia has expressed interest in becoming more directly involved in housing in HRM by developing the first Provincial Housing Strategy and by initiating the redevelopment of two public housing projects (Sunrise and Isnor Manor) in the Gottingen Street area into mixed-income developments (Benjamin, 2012). Curiously, the Province refused to fund a proposed affordable housing development by the Creighton/Gerrish Development Association (CGDA) (Benjamin, 2012). The proposed Gottingen Terrace project would provide 48 condominium units for those who

¹⁴ Affordable housing is generally defined as adequate shelter which does not cost more than 30 percent of a household's income (CMHC, 2012).

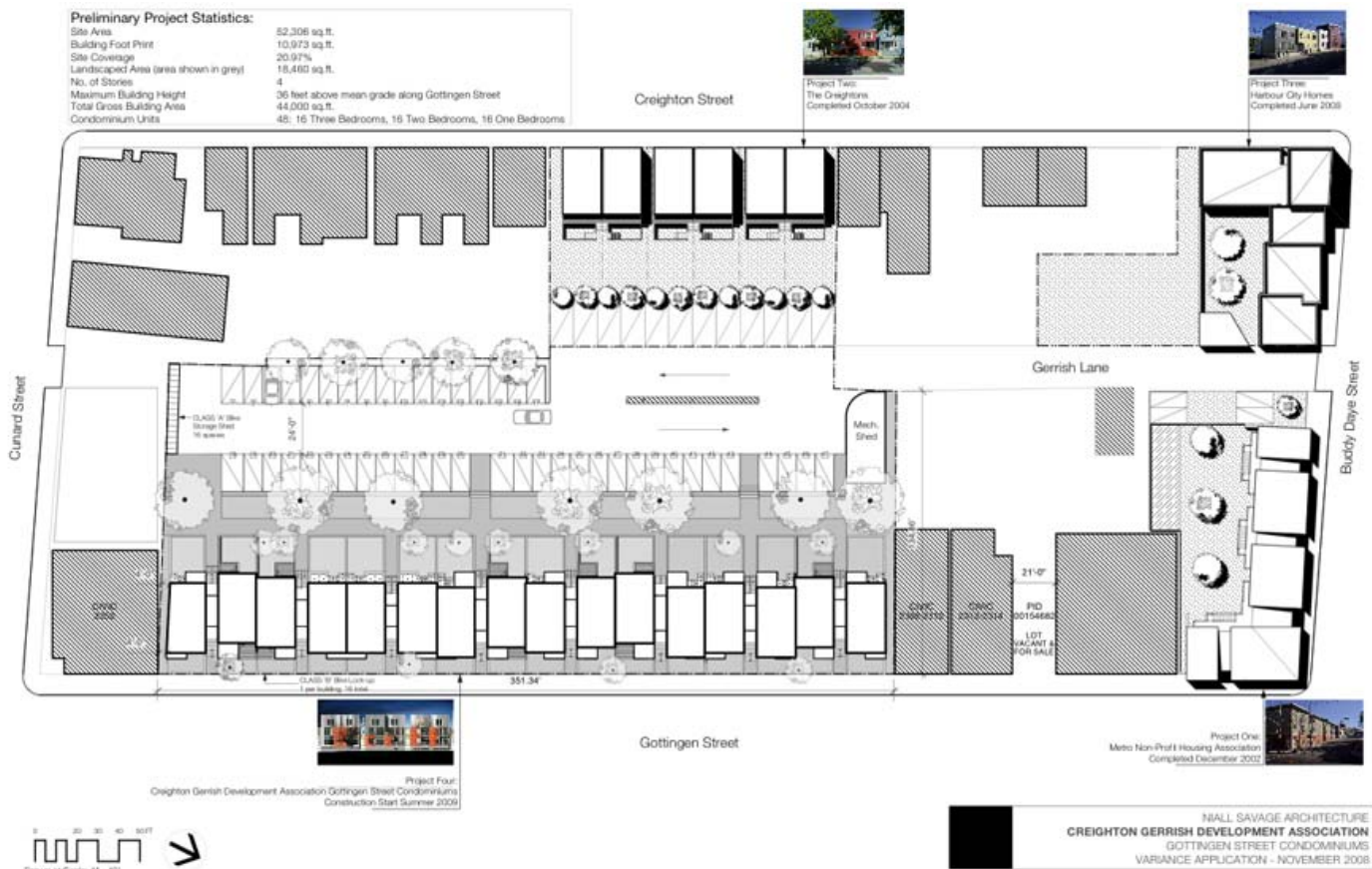


Figure 6.4 – Site plan of current and proposed CDGA developments

earn less than \$31,000 a year (Benjamin, 2012; Galvin, 2009). The unique model of affordable housing proposed by the CGDA (utilizing home-ownership and/or tenure mix) has been successfully demonstrated by three other projects, all situated on the block between Gottingen, Buddy Daye, Creighton, and Cunard Streets (See Figure 6.3) (Galvin, 2009). The proposed Gottingen Terrace development would fill a large vacant lot on the street where the former Foodland grocery used to exist (see Figure 6.4). The CGDA's innovative approach to affordable housing is unique in that tenure types and affordable units are added to the neighbourhood, rather than reshuffled or taken from existing social housing stock as is typical of contemporary mixed-income housing models (Galvin, 2009; Crump, 2002; Cuff, 2000). The CGDA cancelled the Gottingen Terrace in September 2012 development and refunded deposits due to the inability to establish a

workable financial model for the project without Provincial support or a willing NGO partner (Benjamin, 2012). However, with recent provincial interest in affordable housing, the Gottingen Terrace project is once again in the process of being realized, now as a larger, mixed-income housing development (Benjamin, 2013).



Figure 6.5 – Vast vacant lot across from the YMCA; proposed site of Gottingen Terrace Project

The ability of the Province of Nova Scotia to fund and exert significant influence over public and affordable housing may be severely limited in the near future. The current Social Housing Agreement (1997) between the CMHC (acting on behalf of the Canadian Federal government) and the Province of Nova Scotia's Housing Development Corporation is set to expire by March 31, 2035 (CMHC, 2011b; Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, 1998; Deloitte, 2012). The Agreement stipulates that CMHC transfer a total of \$1.35 billion to the Nova Scotia Housing Development Corporation (NSHDC) in exchange for NSHDC taking on all managerial and administrative control of social housing programs and projects (including financial risk) within Nova Scotia (Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, 1998; Deloitte, 2012). The per annum funding from CMHC decreases each year since the Agreement towards zero in 2035 (Deloitte, 2012). Unless a new agreement is signed by the Province with CMHC, which would require a significant change in current Federal policy, the Agreement's expiration in 2035 signifies the Federal government's total withdrawal from funding social and affordable housing (Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada, 1998). The potential end of Federal funding will significantly hamper the NSHDC's goals of addressing affordable housing issues within Nova Scotia, given that the Province of Nova Scotia is already limited in its funding capabilities. A weakening of the NSHDC may have significant consequences given that "evidence indicates that the need for housing programs is not going to diminish any time in the near future; and in all likelihood will grow" (NSHDC, 2012, 5).

The continual decrease in and termination of Federal funding for Provincial affordable and public housing programs will have several consequences.

First, despite the housing strategy the Province is developing, much of the responsibilities for providing affordable housing will (and already have) trickle down to HRM due to the Province's inability to act. One community expert describes this situation:

Participant: the one jurisdiction that has the least ability to raise money is in a way the most on the hook for all this stuff, and that's the municipal level.

Interviewer: Exactly

Participant: So the municipality lacks capacity. It actually lacks capacity to develop an approach to living here that provides the greatest good for the greatest number. And so it's at the mercy basically of people who have resources and are able to tell them what to do. And in this case, it's the private sector. And at the same time, you know, all of the different councillors represent constituencies in a very parochial way (Participant G02E12).

Compounding this issue is the perspective espoused by several participants who noted HRM's lack of understanding of the increasingly expensive housing market on the Halifax peninsula as a whole (Participant G02E12; Participant G11E12; Participant G09B12). Given the lower median household incomes of the Gottingen Street area, the inaffordability of housing will impact this community even more acutely. Furthermore, as the majority of affordable housing in HRM is provided by the private sector (one community expert put public housing at approximately six percent of the total housing stock (Participant G02E12)), one participant suggested that HRM develop a method to support developers who wish to supply affordable housing units as a portion of their developments (Participant G11E12).

Both HRM and the Province currently lack the proper policy regimes to accomplish this (Participant G11E12).

The second consequence of declining Federal affordable housing funding is the potential shift of Provincial public housing developments into mixed-income schemes. As noted above, the Province is already redeveloping two public housing developments on Gottingen Street into mixed-income formats. Governments across North America have begun to favour mixed-income public and affordable housing developments in the neoliberal era for several reasons: it reduces costs induced by the governmental body by providing market-rate units along with subsidized ones; the mixing of incomes is thought to help low-income residents out of poverty; and finally, mixed-income development and smaller scale projects arguably reduce the stigma that large public housing projects have in North America, and contributes to the “deconcentration of poverty” (Crump, 2002; Cuff, 2000; Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007; NSHDC, 2012). The validity of these arguments will be examined later on.

Given the move towards mixed-income public housing by the Province of Nova Scotia, the fate of Uniacke Square comes into question. Given the stigma the Uniacke Square public housing development holds in HRM (no doubt due in part to the fact that the majority of residents are African-Nova Scotian and descendants of Africville residents), and that Uniacke Square has a vacancy rate of approximately ten to fifteen percent, the Province may see the alteration of at least part of the development to market-rate housing as a cost effective “fix” for the area (Kimber, 2007; Silver,



Figure 6.6 – Brick townhouses of Uniacke Square

2008). The potential threat of displacement has not evaded the perspectives of local community members. One participant explained the common sentiments felt by many in the Uniacke Square community:

what a lot of people feel is happening with this particular area right now is a modern day Africville...But people are feeling as if they're going to be forced out of their homes once again. The difference is this time, if you live in the Uniacke Square area, well, you lease your home. You don't own it. Whereas in Africville, you owned your home. They came, they stripped you of your own home. Which is even more tragic. However, the feeling that's being left behind is the same. And they're replanting that whole seed all over again. And by doing that, if that does occur, what do they think is going to grow there? It's just going to be more of what we're already seeing, and it's going to be five times worse. And it may not happen for maybe 15, maybe 20 years after. However, it's going to take place (Participant G10C12).

Some see the continuation and gradual increase of current redevelopment “by which the North End neighbourhood around Uniacke Square is being consciously remade into a part of the downtown, attractive to people with higher incomes” (Silver, 2008, 17) as an additional incentive to redevelop

Uniacke Square (see Figure 6.5):

It's 2012, and people have no idea, you know, within the next few years where they're going to be. When you look at Uniacke Square, when you look at those units, townhouses aren't made like that anymore. You know, those are solid. They're three levels. Brick the whole way around. I mean as a developer, and I'm not saying this is going to take place but it just leaves you to speculate, if I was a developer, would I be interested in purchasing those homes? Damn straight. You know, I can make a mint off of that because go in, renovate them. They don't make them that way anymore (Participant G10C12).

Eventually they'll tear down Uniacke Square or they'll completely renovate it. They'll take over the co-ops and they'll renovate them. And it will become funky cute housing like the Hydrostone, which was working class housing forever (Participant G08E12).

One community expert argues that both the Provincial and Municipal governments need to be extremely clear on their plans for Uniacke Square given the current speculation within the community:

certainly there's a lot of, I think a huge issue of trust and people feeling that they are being actively...that they would be or need to be... or even are they currently engaged in what the potential plans are around that? So whether there are plans, for example, plans or no plans for Uniacke Square, just people being very clear about that and upfront about that. And how would the community and public engagement happen? (Participant G11E12).

Considering HRM's recent actions in the community, especially the lack of public engagement surrounding the sale of St. Pat's Alexandra school site—which one participant

declared “a direct slap in the face to the residents of this community” (Participant G10C12)—the worries of local residents are not unwarranted. Going beyond mere speculation, the *Halifax Public Facilities Needs and Opportunities Strategy* (2004) recommended “HRM should lobby the NS Dept. of Community Services to consider selling at least half of the units in Uniacke Square to their current occupants, to create a critical mass of pride of ownership and community stewardship” (cited in Kimber, 2007, para. 97). Rather than instilling “community stewardship,” Silver (2008) argues that “offering units up for sale to existing tenants” is akin to “removing them from the financial means of low-income people in future” (31). Although the lived experience of Uniacke Square residents is undeniably difficult, these public housing units have the potential, along with other affordable housing in HRM, to become an important “first-step” housing opportunity for community members (Participant G09B12).

The policy of promoting mixed-income development has become prevalent across multiple levels of government in Canada and the United States (Blomley, 2004; Joseph et al., 2007; Lees, 2008; Silver, 2008; Slater, 2006). However, much research has concluded that the benefits enthusiastically touted of mixed-income development—including the deconcentration of stigmatized public housing, and lifting impoverished residents out of poverty—have had mixed results at best when put in practice (Blomley, 2004; Joseph et al., 2007; Lees, 2008; Silver, 2008; Slater, 2006).¹⁵ These findings have led several

15 There has been no direct evidence found to support the argument (put forth by Duany (2001) and others) that mixed-income developments will provide low-income residents with increased access to social capital and networking via “successful,” higher income role models (clearly assuming that wealth equates proper social behaviour) (Joseph et al., 2007; Slater, 2006). Residents and neighbours, regardless of their so-

authors to conclude that the hopes and benefits of mixed-income developments are severely overstated (Joseph et al., 2007). Blomley (2004) argues that mixed-income policies are “socially one-sided” (99), and that empirical evidence of direct social and economic benefits to lower-income residents is limited. Popkin et al. (2004) conclude:

While it is clearly feasible to create a healthy mixed-income development that will attract higher-income tenants and provide a pleasant and safe community for all residents, it remains less clear what conditions are required to ensure that living in these communities will have substantial pay-offs for the social and economic status of low-income families over the long term (23-24).

Despite the evidence of mixed-income development’s negligible success to date, the NSHDC is noticeably moving ahead with this model. Given the large concentration of both affordable and public housing in the Gottingen Street area, coupled with the Province’s interest in redeveloping two public housing developments on Gottingen Street into mixed-income and their shrinking budget, mixed-income development will likely be the method of choice for the foreseeable future. The NSHDC also seems to believe in the ability of the mixed-income model of affordable housing, as the NSHDC Business Plan for 2012-13 states:

Nova Scotia, especially HRM, currently has a large number of concentrated public developments, and these housing units frequently cluster low-income residents into discrete developments and neighbourhoods. Research indicates that concentrations of low-income households are strongly linked

cioeconomic status, are more likely to build relationships based on common life experiences rather than because of differing income levels and economic opportunities (Joseph et al., 2007).

to poorer education, health, social and economic outcomes (2012, 6).

The NSHDC later concludes, due to the apparent “ghetto-ization” of public housing developments, it will “employ its assets and financial tools to build community-based housing capacity through future mixed income approaches” (2012, 6).¹⁶ The NSHDC’s proposed method of providing low-income housing additionally ignores the finding that mixed-income developments typically do not add to the existing affordable housing stock of an area (Crump, 2002; Cuff, 2000; Lees, 2008).

The continual redevelopment and gentrification of Gottingen Street in the future may deconcentrate not only public and affordable housing but also existing community services as well. Recent government policy in North America has supported the “deconcentration of poverty” (Crump, 2002; Davidson, 2008; Reese, DeVerteuil, & Thatch, 2010). Crump states that “the notion that poverty needs to be deconcentrated is widely accepted in the policy arena and also by advocacy groups” (2002, 582). Of course, this view fails to recognize that public housing often constitutes a nuanced community rather than just centres of poverty (Kimber, 2007; Silver, 2008). This is the source of much debate not only among researchers and scholars but among interview participants of this study as well. Several participants recognized a concentration of community services and public housing on Gottingen Street, and for some this is an

¹⁶ Wacquant (1997) would argue the conclusion stated by NSHDC that the concentrated presence of low-income households have created a “ghetto” of poor socioeconomic outcomes in public housing developments is historically inaccurate:

To say they are ghettos because they are poor is to reverse social and historical causation: it is because they were and are ghettos that joblessness and misery are unusually acute and persistent in them—not the other way around (343).

issue moving forward:

so the area bounded by Cornwallis, North, Agricola and Brunswick are literally becoming a ghetto on the peninsula. I mean literally being squeezed like a tight belt. It's a perfect square. And if you look at a map of the city, you can see where it's coming in and coming in and coming in and coming in. And it's because that area still contains the highest density of co-op housing, former co-op housing and public housing (Participant Go8E12).

The trouble is that they're all in that neighbourhood. I think that's wrong. I think it's a mistake. And strategically, it's inappropriate. On the other hand...And then it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. So you know, where you might hope people might be able to locate to better housing in other neighbourhoods, they can't because it's all there...So if you were going to eliminate homelessness, we're not doing it. We're basically serving people. We're keeping them there. We haven't found a way to get them out of that place. We haven't found a way to get them back into the economy. And I'm not talking about dependency or anything like that. I'm just sort of saying that we haven't found creative strategies. And I think in a way, all of this has just become much more embedded (Participant Go2E12).

On the other hand, the cluster of community services and affordable housing on Gottingen Street does currently provide important services and ease of access to those in need. However, as community services become much more entrapped in areas of gentrification and redevelopment, the ability of these services to be more equitably located throughout the city and follow populations in need (who may be displaced) becomes significantly hampered (DeVerteuil, 2011, 2012). Rather than existing as several smaller, more ingrained and

accepted nodes throughout the city, community services currently tend to cluster into one large, obvious service centre (Dear & Wolch, 1987; Crump, 2002). This often leads to stigmatization of the service cluster, like parts of Gottingen Street, and intense rejection of any attempt to try to create a more useful and equitable community service balance. Dear (1980) summarizes these challenges:

the concentration of clients and facilities seems to provide a supportive environment for the user, but this environment is dominated by society's wounded. From the exclusionary community's viewpoint, however, the concentration of 'deviants' in the transient, variegated city core probably seems the least threatening solution (238).

Rather than blame the concentration of community services on the services and operators themselves—who on Gottingen Street provide essential and myriad types of services with limited resources—the external community must also come to accept the necessity of these services and the lived realities of those in need (Dear & Wolch, 1987). This is necessary if a more equitable, and ultimately more efficient, service provision schema is ever to occur (Dear & Wolch, 1987). Furthermore, in light of the lack of funding for community services and increasing costs of operation, new creative strategies are required to help Gottingen Street residents in need. One participant calls for a much more organized and creative paradigm for service provision:

So there is capacity out there but it's wasted because it's not accumulating into anything. It's just band-aid after band-aid after band-aid, and grant application after grant application after grant application that suck in people, chew them up

and spit them out. So all the people who are under-paid doing all of that kind of work, you know, they're subsidizing it. And they believe in it. So there's a real issue here about how you mobilize to do something, be effective and do it on a scale that actually has a lasting impact so it actually changes the paradigm (Participant G02E12).

A more equitable distribution of service provision that is better enabled to respond to the community's needs is certainly preferable to the "conceptually inadequate view" (Crump, 2002, 582) of deconcentrating all signs of lower income groups and poverty (be they services or housing) in urban areas such as Gottingen Street.

Although the focus of this study has primarily been on the impacts of redevelopment and potential gentrification on Gottingen Street businesses and community services, local changes in affordable and public housing will have tremendous impacts on what types of services exist and will locate to Gottingen Street. This is true not only of how community services are located on Gottingen Street, but whether future businesses, such as a grocery co-operative, are geared primarily to more affluent customers or whether it will also provide more affordable options as well. This is not to say that upscale services should not be welcomed on Gottingen Street, but rather that the services that do exist in the future serve the whole range of community members and not just those with the most money to spend. Additionally, potential changes in the affordability of housing on the street will also impact the wide variety of community services, and not just those that serve the most marginalized and those in need of the most immediate help. Services like the North End Memorial Public Library, the George Dixon Recreation Centre, and the local YMCA do much more than what typical

libraries and recreation centres do. These types of services, and others on Gottingen Street, are central to the local community and provide programming beyond what is expected. If existing residents such as those at Uniacke Square are eventually displaced, then community services such as these may end up having the same fate as well, which would be a tremendous loss for Gottingen Street residents as a whole.

VII. Conclusion

North is freedom—
Uptown, down-home:
Each book a drum;
Each life a poem.

Albany North Memorial
Public Library

Gottingen Street is in the midst of a gradual but potentially significant transformation. The Street's redevelopment has so far been complex, and at times, contradictory. The number of Gottingen Street businesses has increased modestly since 2000, especially among arts and entertainment, retail, and "creative" commercial uses. The number of community service uses has remained stable, in spite of sharp increases in property values over the last several years. However, the range of values of Gottingen Street properties is still vast, creating a contrasting landscape of uses and buildings on the street. The new and renovated uses on Gottingen Street have not displaced the established and existing, but instead are embedded among them. The socioeconomic data collected also illustrates a current polarization process on Gottingen, as median household incomes are increasing while the incidence of low income is still significant (albeit slowly decreasing). Despite these contrasts, the potential displacement of existing services and more rapid redevelopment and gentrification of Gottingen Street was an expressed concern by some business owners, community service operators, and community experts alike. Several participants among both business owners and community service operators perceived the future of the street to become significantly more affluent and upscale, to the point that they would no longer be able to afford (or be welcome) to exist on Gottingen Street. The future ability of Gottingen Street residents to find affordable housing and businesses and services that suit their needs may eventually be challenged.

This study provides an additional case study of the impacts of redevelopment and gentrification on existing services to the academic literature. The examination of Gottingen Street presents a study site that is unique from those in the existing

research, in that it is a smaller urban area than most others studied (such as Venice in Los Angeles, California (Deener, 2007), and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, New York (Patch, 2004,2008; Zukin et al., 2009)). Gottingen Street is also distinctive in that its redevelopment is still far from complete, and the consequences of gentrification were found to be more of a potentiality than a current reality. Existing research on redevelopment impacts on businesses and community services has tended to focus on urban areas that are more obviously undergoing a process of gentrification. Furthermore, the participant interviews presented provide nuanced findings from the existing literature, indicating that some businesses do make a conscious attempt to employ and serve the wider, and more diverse, local community, rather than just their base clientele. Thus, these business owners are more akin to Patch's (2008) "social entrepreneurs" than the more exclusionary service providers found by Deener (2007) and Sullivan and Shaw (2011). Finally, this study has attempted to address the significant research gap on redevelopment impacts on community services, of which only DeVerteuil's (2011,2012) studies have investigated previously.

The unavailability of certain sets of data—such as 2011 National Household Survey Data from Statistics Canada (to be released in mid-2013) and comparable commercial property values for Halifax—are limitations to this study that should be rectified in future research on Gottingen Street. Further interviews should be conducted with Gottingen Street business owners, community service operators, community experts and residents in future research to gain a more representative sample of the local community and perhaps discover new findings. Given the current discussion surrounding the potential impact of the

Irving Halifax Shipyard expansion, future research is warranted to examine the actual impacts of this development (when completed) on the Gottingen Street community and to observe whether or not gentrification has become a more noticeable process with significant impacts on existing businesses, community services, and residents.

Increased development and business interest on Gottingen Street will likely provide some benefit for a community that for decades has been saddled with economic disinvestment and devalorisation. Given the remaining vacant spaces on the Street and the existing service gaps on Gottingen Street, there is certainly room for a variety of new businesses and services, including those geared towards more upscale and/or niche clientele. However, concern is warranted when questioning whether current and future services will serve as many Gottingen Street residents (of varied socioeconomic statuses) as possible. As Barkley (2012) states, for Gottingen Street redevelopment “the issue is not whether development is good or bad, but development for whom and when” (para. 8). One needs to ask who benefits from the continued and potentially increasing redevelopment of Gottingen Street. For although new businesses and services that provide arts and culture to the area or boutiques that provide unique shopping experiences certainly do much for previously distressed communities, they do not provide benefits to everyone (Deener, 2007; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011; Zukin et al., 2009). Rather, the question “who benefits” should be asked so that the redevelopment of Gottingen Street is re-focused and evaluated based on more equitable outcomes than just overall economic growth (Mehta, 2012). As Slater (2006) and Davidson (2008) show, the choice often presented to communities by developers and policy-makers between either

affluent-only redevelopment and gentrification (and the consequences of displacement it brings) or disinvestment and distress is a false one.

In order for Gottingen Street to redevelop equitably, Gottingen Street community members need to press their political representatives and HRM planners to actively advocate on their behalf. The potential for greater Gottingen Street community participation has been demonstrated not only by NEBA and certain business owners, but also by community services and those who supported their bid to overturn the St. Pat's-Alexandra development decision and keep the school site in the community's control. Several interview participants expressed perspectives on planning and policy that, although they alone will not address all of the issues facing the community, have significant value in aiding Gottingen Street to redevelop equitably:

we have a number of ways that we can, through policy and direction, have a very concrete physical presence in terms of what the street actually looks like, to actually more of a larger sort of qualitative thing of community development approach as well (Participant G11E12).

What could happen is a much more wholesome approach to thinking about quality of life issues and a much more developed and sophisticated way of actually thinking about well, okay, we've got these resources, how do we stack those resources with other resources, how do we engage the private sector, how do we use what we've got as leverage to get something better for everybody? And I think that's what's been missing (Participant G02E12).

The advocacy and engaging role required of HRM, the Province, and planners for future redevelopment of Gottingen Street to be to the benefit of the

community as a whole would necessitate a significant change, according to several participants, in the way HRM has avoided or neglected the Gottingen Street community in the past. Furthermore, asking the fundamental question “who benefits?” would create a significant shift in how current planning and development projects are evaluated by both developers and the municipality. Asking who benefits also forces the question, “who does not benefit?”, to be addressed. Ultimately, Mehta (2012) declares “who benefits?” as the central question at issue in building “stronger, healthier communities” (para. 23), and the one that is often asked the least.

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MAPS

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Appendix I - Consent Form and Interview Questions



North End Halifax in Transition: A Current Examination of Change & Redevelopment on Gottingen Street

Consent Form

This project aims to explore the redevelopment (through both built and proposed projects) of Gottingen Street in North End Halifax since 2000. As the street undergoes rapid redevelopment and physical change, we are looking at how affordability and the ability to live/operate in the area are affected. Of particular concern for this study are established community services and local businesses on Gottingen Street, and the residents who use them. This project will attempt to provide a greater understanding of how Gottingen Street is transforming, both in terms of how uses are changing, and any impacts on the operators and users of the local services and businesses on the street.

I am asking you to participate because of your in-depth knowledge and experience with Gottingen Street. While there will be no immediate benefit to you for participating in this study, the goal of the research is to explore current redevelopment processes occurring on Gottingen Street to gain an understanding of the effects on the local community. If you wish, I would be more than happy to provide you with a copy of the final report once it is completed in December.

I am asking you to contribute to this study by participating in an interview. If you consent, the interview will last approximately 45 minutes to a maximum of 1 hour. With your permission the interview will be recorded with a digital voice recorder for later analysis.

All personal and identifying information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Code numbers will be assigned to each participant so that the information you provide will not identify you. All interview data will be kept locked and secured by measures approved by the faculty supervisor, Dr. Jill Grant. You will not be identified nor will any of your personal information appear in the final report or in any presentation, without your prior express written permission. Quotes from the information you provide in the interview will be used without attribution to you.

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary and you are obviously free to choose to not answer any questions and/or withdraw at any time without consequences. If requested, you may also have the opportunity to review the transcript from your interview and advise me of any errors noted.

You are more than welcome to ask any questions you may have about the study or the interview. If you have any concerns about the ethics of this study or the interview process, you are asked to contact the faculty supervisor, Dr. Grant (see contact details below).

Thank-you very much for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

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Consent Form

I, _____,
(Name/Title/Organization – Please Print)

have read the explanation about this study, have had the opportunity to discuss and had my questions answered satisfactorily. I agree to participate in the study as outlined above. My participation in this study is voluntary and I understand that I may withdraw at any time.

Participant's Signature

Date

I give permission for the researcher to use quotations of my comments without direct attribution.

Participant's signature or initials

I give permission for the researcher to record my comments.

Participant's signature or initials:

Date:

If you would like to receive a copy of the research paper reporting on the findings, please provide a mailing or email address, indicating whether you would prefer a physical or digital copy:

Interview Questions:

COMMUNITY EXPERTS:

- In what ways has the urban physical composition of the Halifax peninsula changed over the last decade?
- How has Gottingen Street changed over the last decade in terms of uses and physical composition?
- How has the recent redevelopment of Gottingen Street impacted the North End?
- What are the changes in cost of living/doing business on Gottingen street that you have noticed, if at all, in your work over the last decade or so?
- How have the kinds of businesses and services available on Gottingen Street changed in the last decade or so?
- What development projects on Gottingen Street, if any, do you see as having the greatest impact (in terms of cost and/or physical composition) on the Street?
- Are there any specific policies/projects/studies that have been undertaken because of the recent redevelopment of Gottingen Street?
- What aspects of the current redevelopment do you feel need attention that have not been addressed already?
- What kinds of planning policies or actions do you think are required for the future of Gottingen Street, given the recent pattern of redevelopment?

BUSINESS OWNERS:

- How long have you operated your business on Gottingen Street?
- How has your business changed over that time?
- How has Gottingen Street changed over the last decade in terms of the economic success of businesses? How have uses overall changed?
- What changes in rents and/or costs of doing business on Gottingen street have you noticed over the last decade or so?
- What sorts of impacts do you see from these changes, either good or bad, for your business or for the street overall?
- Which specific development projects, if any, may have influenced your business, in terms of clientele, profit, and/or cost of operation?
- What kind of clientele does your business attract (local, from the North End, the Peninsula, commuters, all of the above, etc.)?
- How have these changes on Gottingen Street and to your business individually affected your clientele?
- How have you had to alter your business, if at all, to meet the demands of the local clientele over the past decade?
- What kind of future do you see for you and your business on Gottingen Street?
- What kinds of planning policies or actions, if any, do you think are required for Gottingen Street?

North End Halifax in Transition

COMMUNITY SERVICE OPERATORS:

- What is your official title of your position, and how long have you had it?
- How long have you operated your service on Gottingen Street?
- What sorts of changes have you witnessed to community service provision overall in the Halifax area over the last decade?
- How has Gottingen Street changed over the last decade in terms of service provision? In terms of uses overall?
- What changes in rents and/or costs of community service provision on Gottingen street have you noticed over the last decade or so?
- How has recent development on Gottingen Street altered the need for your service in the local community, if at all?
- What are the impacts of the redevelopment of Gottingen Street on your clientele?
- What changes have you seen, either positive or negative, with the amount or the demographic composition of your clientele?
- What kind of future do you see for you and your service on Gottingen Street?
- What kinds of planning policies or actions do you think are required for the future of Gottingen Street, given the recent pattern of redevelopment?

