

Who Lives

Downtown?

Population and demographic change in downtown Halifax, 1951-2011

William Gregory

Submitted in partial completion of

PLAN6000

Jill Grant (supervisor)

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following organizations and individuals in no particular order for their invaluable support:

Jill Grant for her guidance, feedback and support.

The Plan Coordination and Neighbourhood Change teams at Dalhousie.

HRM's Centre Plan planning team for helping me to cultivate the skills I needed for this project.

Phyllis Ross for her aid in obtaining census data used in this project.

Tori Prouse for providing me with essential revenue information.

Paul Spin for helping me to interpret economic data.

My parents for encouragement in my academic pursuits.

Justine Galbraith, Abigail Franklin, and Waldo Buttons.

Executive Summary

This study examines census information from 1951-2011 to determine how demographic indicators have changed in downtown Halifax. Population and the number of children have declined in real terms over the course of the study period, while the number of occupied dwellings and single households have increased considerably. A review of City of Halifax's planning policies and land use bylaw complements the census analysis. The goal is to determine how planning practices and policies have worked as incentives or deterrents to residential uses in Halifax's downtown. In general, planning policies have had a quantifiable effect, although causation is difficult to determine. Urban renewal slum clearance programs in the 1950s and 1960s can be directly linked to major population declines. The concentration of high density residential zones in the southern downtown correlate to sustained and real growth in the area.

Table of Contents

1	Who Lives Downtown?	3.8	Community of Apartment Dwellers
1.1	Approach	3.9	Residents are Wealthier
1.2	Downtown in Context	3.10	Owners and Renters
2	Planning and Downtown	3.11	Working Women
2.1	Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal	3.12	Degrees of Education
2.2	A Living Downtown in a Growing Region	4	Who Really Lives Downtown?
2.3	New Urbanism and Downtown Density	5	Planning and Residential Change
3	Census Findings	6	A Downtown Renaissance?
3.1	There are Fewer Downtown Residents	7	Works Cited
3.2	The Gender Ratio is Even		
3.3	There are More Occupied Dwellings		
3.4	A City with No Children		
3.5	Downtown Haligonians Live Alone		
3.6	Fewer Families and Married Couples		
3.7	A More Diverse Downtown		

1 Who Lives Downtown?

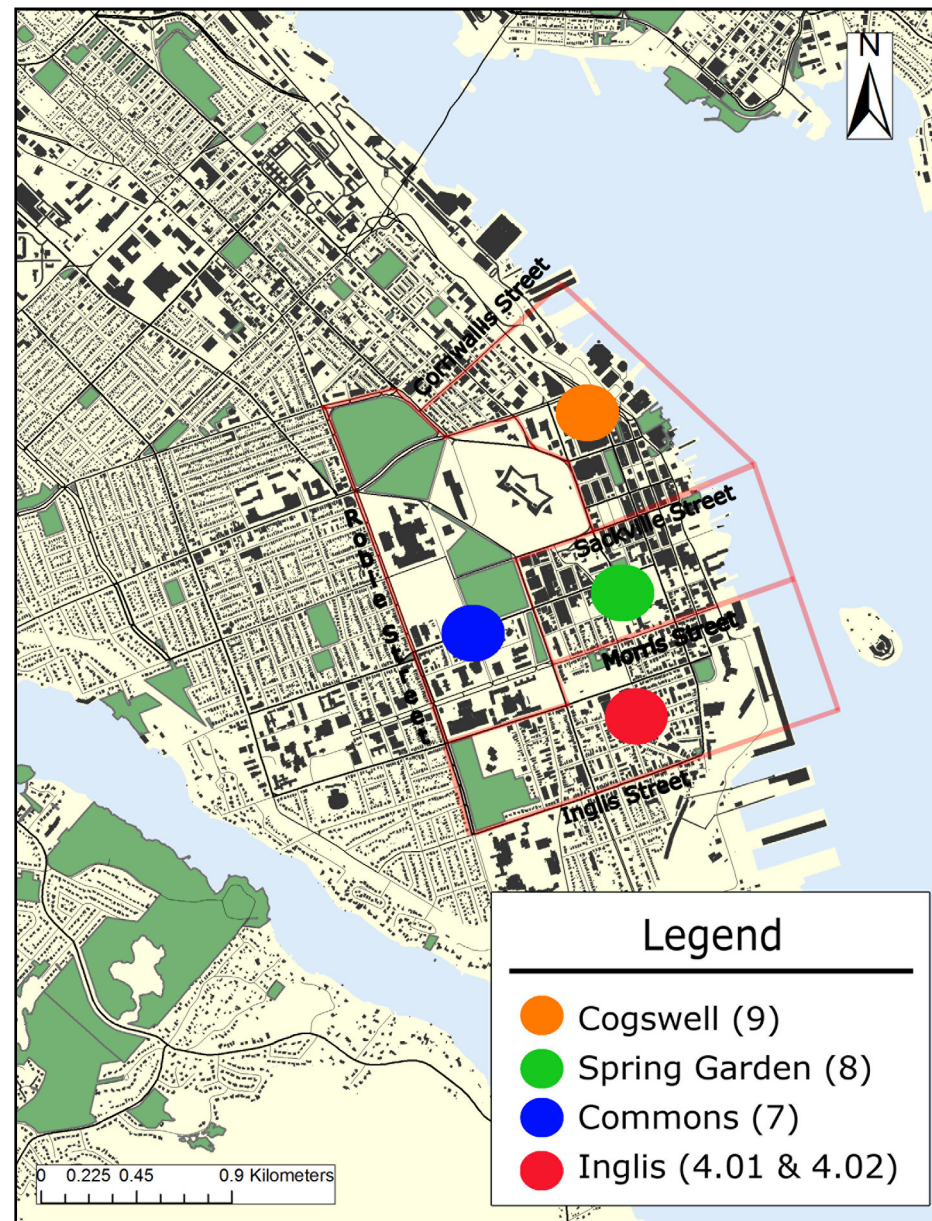
The question “who lives downtown” is a simple one. It asks what kind of person resides in the urban core, how old they are, what kind of job they have, and how long have they lived downtown. Socio-economic and demographic change are key components of the question. This paper asks: are neighbourhoods mixed-income and has the downtown core experienced population growth. The answers could affect what kind of buildings are constructed to house urban residents: are they single family dwellings, multi-family rental apartments, or single occupant luxury condominiums? This project seeks to answer the question, “who lives in downtown Halifax”? The project examines a long timeframe to adequately answer this question. The analysis of six census periods over a 60-year period will provide the bulk of the quantitative answers of who lives downtown. A municipal planning document review will assess the impact of the city of Halifax’s, and later HRM’s, downtown planning policies. Map 1 shows the report’s downtown study area for the five census tracts closest to the Central Business District (CBD).

Urban studies paradigms and HRM policy have identified dense, compact urban cores as the ideal urban form. In Halifax, decades of residential dispersion to the city’s fringes have made the allure of densification’s benefits more tangible. In 2006, HRM adopted growth targets for urban, suburban, and rural areas. The plan allocates 25% of anticipated population growth until 2013 to the Regional Centre, which includes the downtown core (HRM, 2006, p.36). The supplementary plan, HRM by Design established form based standards for new urban core development in 2009. It also changed the long-standing and time consuming municipal practice of individual development agreements for each new downtown development. HRM by Design expedited the approval process reducing the average wait time for building permits and municipal approval from 2-3 years to 12-18 months. The availability of density bonusing in the downtown allows developers to build 30% higher than as of right height restrictions. The additional floor area possible through density bonusing agreements favours the provision of additional residential units in new developments.

The City of Halifax and its post-amalgamation successor HRM have advocated numerous housing and residential policies in the downtown core. Peninsular Halifax is an interesting focus for studies of residential morphology because it largely developed prior to 1950 and the adoption of comprehensive zoning by-laws (Millward, 2007, p. 67). In the 1950s and 1960s, Halifax approached growth and development through the lens of slum clearance. The 1945 and 1950 Official Town Plans introduced “slum clearance” as a principal objective for the northern reaches of the downtown core. Council hired outside expert Gordon Stephenson in 1956 to evaluate Halifax’s slum conditions and to propose solutions. His 1957 report recommended the demolition

Map 1:

Downtown Halifax Context Map with Census Tract Divisions



(HRM, 2012).

and eviction of working class neighbourhoods north of Duke Street. Over the next two decades, council enacted ambitious renewal schemes that replaced the dense mixed-use neighbourhood with the Cogswell Interchange and Scotia Square Mall. David Verbeek (2010) found that urban renewal displaced 1,600 people and irrevocably lessened the area's density (p.74). Regional planning initiatives in the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to the City of Halifax's annexation of Mainland areas, diminished the historic city's importance in planning documents. Residential growth shifted away from established neighbourhoods in the downtown core and the Halifax

Peninsula in favour of rapidly expanding communities on the periphery.

Halifax's central city area underwent radical changes in demographic, economic, and urban morphology after 1950. Immediately after World War Two, downtown Halifax residents had lower incomes and education levels, and crammed into crowded tenements. A combination of planning policies favouring suburban ownership in the 1940s-1960s, investment decisions in commercial properties, and consumer preference for suburban accommodations drove major population decline in most of the central city. With the exception of the south end, Halifax's urban neighbourhoods experienced serious population loss throughout the study period. Despite modest growth since 1991, most urban areas have lower populations in 2011 than 1951. The emerging downtown resident type since 1991 is slanted towards single or two person households with higher education and income levels than CMA averages.

In the era of urban renewal, planning policies designated the downtown core as a place for business and private investors backed the development of expanded office, hotel, and shopping complexes in former residential neighbourhoods. A lack of adequate housing stock was a common municipal theme after 1945. Successive Halifax councils viewed the provision of new cheaper housing as the solution (Fingard et al., p.169). Shortage of housing stock combined with dilapidated and aging stock in central Halifax motivated sweeping planning interventions in the 1950s and 1960s. Urban renewal radically reshaped Halifax in the 1960s. Large mega-projects interrupted the downtown's 1749 original street grid.

Suburban communities fared well after 1945. The completion of the MacDonald Bridge across Halifax Harbour in 1955 linked Dartmouth directly to Halifax's commercial district, sparking sustained population growth on the opposite side of the harbour. Expansion of Halifax's municipal boundaries in 1969 permitted the City to access cheap, unsettled lands within its political purview. Provincial government housing programs encouraged home ownership in Sackville, Cole Harbour, and Spryfield. For Fingard (1999), the contrast between residential development in suburban and old city was more marked in Halifax than any other Canadian city due to the absence of urban residential neighbourhoods built in the 1920s and 1930s (p.167).

Provincially mandated regional planning coordination in the 1970s badly over estimated population growth projections. The City of Halifax adopted high annual new housing construction targets that pushed development into the Mainland areas of Clayton Park and Spryfield. Large apartment complexes appeared primarily in the City's southend in conflict with the area's pre-existing 19th century Victorian housing stock.

In the past two decades, there has been a noticeable shift in the composition downtown residents; they are becoming wealthier, better educated, and are living in smaller households. Recent planning policies attempt to streamline the development approval process through clearer regulations and zoning allowances. Condominium developments have benefited from the planning reforms and a new demographic appears to desire urban housing.

This study enters a twofold debate. Locally, it engages with perceptions of Halifax's downtown decline and the need to attract more residents to Halifax's urban areas. Recent publications praise Halifax's recent reversal of an intractable trend of losing economic and residential importance to suburban areas. The Canadian Urban Institute (2013) characterizes Halifax's downtown as experiencing "unprecedented levels of growth" in residential development (p.36).

The Greater Halifax Partnership (2012) laments the regional core's slow growth rate compared to the rest of the municipality, "despite [the] reversal of [the] 20 year trend of decline" (p.2). HRM by Design operates in a contextual framework designed to densify residential use in the downtown. Non-government organizations (NGO) operating in Halifax also promote the benefits of municipal efforts to invest in and to attract more residents to the Central Business District (CBD). Ideologically diverse groups like the environmental lobby Ecology Action Centre and developer friendly Fusion Halifax agree on the need to densify the urban core and combat suburban sprawl in Halifax. The Strategic Urban Partnership's constitution repeatedly lauds the benefits of a dense urban core and downtown Halifax's crucial importance to the regional economy (2011). The environmental group Our HRM Alliance proposes seven solutions to HRM's intractable problems, most of which revolve around limiting sprawl and investing in Halifax's urban core infrastructure (2012). The Greater Halifax Partnership seeks to attract 8,000 new residents to the urban core between 2011 and 2016 (2011, p.5). These respond to a perception of uncontrolled residential growth on the municipality's suburban fringes. A dramatic build-up of residential and commercial development in Clayton Park since the 1960s and new proposals for 25-year build-out in West Bedford accentuates the perception of the hollowing out of the downtown since urban renewal.

HRM is not unique in its diagnosis of and prescription for its downtown malaise. The axiom that most North American cities have experienced central decline and low-density suburban growth on metropolitan fringes is well established. New urbanism, smart growth, transit-oriented development, and creative cities paradigms all advocate the redensification of the urban core, reversing the long-term "volcano model" of urban morphology (Bunting and Millward, 2008). These approaches have entered local debate and animate municipal policy and NGO suggestions. The focus on income and socio-economic concentration within the downtown residential core questions the social outcomes of these policies. The gentrification discourse is well represented in larger metropolitan regions. In the Canadian context, Vancouver figures prominently in debates over gentrification due to the city's densely populated peninsula and extensive high-rise condominium development (Ley and Dobson, 2008; Harris, 2011). In Halifax, I track the changing socio-economic profile of downtown residents to determine whether gentrification along the waterfront or near Spring Garden Road has occurred. In the worst-

case scenario, new residential developments force lower income populations out of the area, replacing them with affluent residents at equal or lower densities. In the best-case scenario, new condominium developments bring new residents to underutilized areas of the downtown, without displacing former residents, creating a social mix.

My purpose is to track demographic change in downtown Halifax between 1951 and 2011 with census data. Included in the working definition of demography are socio-economic, gender, ethnic, age, and professional indices. I ask three central research questions. First, what is the demographic profile of Halifax's downtown residents, and how has it changed over time? How has income, age, profession, ethnicity, and household size in the downtown core changed over the study period?

Once the major demographic changes are understood, I move on to the relationship between planning policies and residential change. I ask to what extent can demographic shifts be linked to major city planning policies? Did the urban renewal program greatly affect downtown residential levels? Did the 2006 Municipal Planning Strategy and HRM by Design increase the residential population in the downtown core? Principally, how have planning policies worked as a framework, but not driver, for encouraging or discouraging residential development in downtown Halifax?

Finally, I engage the question of gentrification. I examine how patterns of social mix changed over time at the census tract level, and how housing tenure and type have changed. I ask how does changes in economic distribution and social mix relate to changes in socio-economic distribution in downtown? In particular, I am interested in how economic disparity is reflected in the urban form; are luxury condominium developments next door to government assisted housing for instance?

1.1 Approach:

I utilize a mixed method census based analysis for this project. Census results from 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2011 establish the downtown core’s demography. I seek to enumerate Halifax’s urban population and assess the relationship between demographic changes and planning policies. The study area is adapted from HRM by Design’s nine peninsular precincts to reflect current planning rhetoric of the “Regional Core.” Major planning policies provide a regulatory context for population shifts.

The method can be separated into three parts. First, I review Halifax’s planning documents. The review begins with Halifax’s 1945 Master Plan and concludes with HRM’s draft Regional Municipal Planning Strategy that emerged from the municipality’s five year review process, RP+5. I review both the official plan documents and secondary land use bylaws for the urban downtown. Although planning strategies for areas outside of the CBD may have affected residential patterns by facilitating sprawl, I do not analyze them. The political boundaries of Halifax changed substantially over the study period, expanding from the peninsula to encompass the entirety of Halifax County in 1996.

Figure 1: Summary of Major City of Halifax Planning Policies, 1945-2013

1945	→	City of Halifax Master Plan
1950	→	City of Halifax 10 Year Development Plan
1957	→	Gordon Stephenson Redevelopment Report
1969	→	Halifax Master Plan!
1972	→	Downtown Urban Design Plans
1975	→	Halifax-Dartmouth Regional Development Plan
1978	→	Halifax Municipal Development Plan
1984	→	Halifax MDP Amendemnt
1993	→	Halifax MDP Amendment
1997	→	HRM Peninsula MDP Consolidation
2006	→	HRM Regional Municipal Planning Strategy
2009	→	HRM By Design
2013	→	RP+5

In particular, three major planning approaches merit attention. Figure 1 lists the pertinent Halifax planning documents reviewed. In the 1950s and 1960s, the City’s urban renewal policy radically reshaped the downtown core. The 1945 and 1950 Official Plans identified slum clearance as a priority. Gordon Stephenson’s 1957 report furthered the City’s agenda of radical renovations to the downtown core’s housing stock, street plans, and density. In 1975, the city adopted a new regional plan. New land use bylaws entered use in the late 1970s, many of which are still in effect today. Finally, the 2006 Municipal Planning Strategy and its 2009 addition HRM by Design represent a marked shift in municipal policy. For each of these official plans, the essential goals relating to downtown residential targets and goals will be summarized for efficient comparison with census data.

My plan analysis employs textual criticism as I discern the relevant policies relating to downtown residential development in Halifax’s planning documents. A heightened sensitivity to language is essential for this project. For instance, the language of “slums” in the 1940s and 1950s has been eclipsed by a desire for a “living downtown” in the new millennium. I distinguish between definitions of the downtown as a coherent multi-faceted entity that comprises residents, retail, business, and tourism and policies that are economic. Although the Halifax and HRM strategies have frequently addressed the downtown, many approach it primarily as an economic entity. I only consider plans and strategies that explicitly address residential retention or attraction will be considered, although economic policies have a secondary effect on residential use. Major “downtown” policies will be summarized to provide a coherent picture of the municipality’s residential goals in the downtown area and how they change over time. Figure 1 shows major reports or plans. In addition to these major documents, municipal reports and discussion papers on residential development and land use distribution provide context for Halifax’s downtown planning over the study period.

Second, I conduct the census and socio-economic analysis. Twelve census periods fall under the study’s timeline, but I only analyze six. The information from the 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2011 censuses will be sufficient to construct a broad residential data sample. The five downtown census tracts’ boundaries have changed relatively little over the study period; Statistics Canada separated tract four into tracts 4.01 and 4.02 in 1991. For the purposes of my historical comparison, however, these tracts will be amalgamated into a single tract in order to compare earlier statistics to the 1991-2011 period. I rename the tracts for readability: tracts 4.01 and 4.02 are referred to as the Inglis tract; tract 7 is the Commons tract; tract 8 is the Spring Garden tract; and tract 9 is the Cogswell tract. See Map 1 for the tract boundaries and aliases. To compensate for changing census questions, only statistics that are consistently available throughout the study period will be used. Unfortunately, this means that I do not use pertinent information from questions like “are you a visible minority?” since it first appeared in the 1996 census (University of Toronto 2009). Finally, the federal government’s changes to the 2011 long form census present challenges. The introduction of the voluntary National Household Survey (NHS) replaced Statistics Canada’s long standing practice of administering a more detailed long form census to 20% of respondents in each census tract. While these changes had no effect on the short form census, the NHS produced uneven and statistically dubious results. Due to data quality errors, Statistics Canada suppressed the results from tracts 4.02 and 7 from the NHS. As a result, I omit all NHS information in this study. In some cases, I use alternate information from

1.2 : Downtown in Context

other government agencies, like Revenue Canada, in lieu of census data. However, in the absence of reliable alternatives from 2010 or 2011, I use 2006 long form census information to complete historical comparisons.

Finally, I interpret the collected census data and the planning policies. I construct a comprehensive 60-year demographic profile for each census tract neighbourhood. In particular, I identify areas that experience short term, between 1-2 census periods, changes. I map areas that experience significant bumps or drops in density and population between censuses to provide a complete geographical understanding of Halifax's demographic dynamics. I also answer how planning policies have affected population change and housing type over time. Finally, economic trends over time, in conjunction with age and professional indicators, determines if socio-economic concentration is occurring in downtown Halifax. My analysis focuses on changing concentrations of wealthy and lower income residents in different parts of the downtown's geography. If these concentrations can be connected to new developments, the gentrification argument gains further credence.

The census analysis involves qualitative connection with Halifax planning policies and quantitative mapping of demographic changes. Critical analytical skills are necessary to ascertain demographic changes. With numerous indicators followed, changes over a 10-year period can be complicated. It is necessary to separate education, income, age, ethnicity, origin, and tenure to derive intelligible patterns. For instance, a condominium boom in downtown Halifax during a period of population decline can be explained if people with higher incomes and education levels, living in smaller households are filling these new developments.

I recognize potential problems with using census information as the basis of analytical framework. Pilkey (2005) indicates problems with census reporting in Nova Scotia. He found that underreporting often occurs. In addition, he argued that the 20-34 age group often has significant reporting distortions, which are particularly acute in Nova Scotia due to the high numbers of out of province students. Furthermore, the recent federal government decision to eliminate the mandatory long form census before the 2011 census has repercussions for this project. The 20% sample provided additional socio-economic information beyond age, gender, and civic address, such as education, income, and geographic mobility. The potential lack of comprehensive long form census information for the study area presents a potential information gap for the study's last census point.

Relatively little is published about Halifax's residential development. Although urban neighbourhood segregation is a frequent focus in Anglo-American literature, it often focuses on the largest centres. In the Canadian context, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver occupy most planning or urban studies' treatments (Hall, 2008). Halifax has been largely ignored in studies of residential changes and housing patterns. The theoretical framework already exists to apply census analysis to housing changes. Halifax, although not among the top ten largest Canadian cities, merits special attention. In its regional context, Halifax's central cultural, economic, social, and political importance to the four Atlantic Provinces is undisputed (Lefebvre and Brender, 2006). In examining Halifax as a small city, scholars might note that Halifax is a major city in the Atlantic Canadian context. Halifax is a legitimate focus of attention for scholars and planners interested in the dynamics of urban core residential changes.

For the purposes of this review, the relevant literature is separated into local context, general residential change theory, and gentrification studies. Studies of downtown change often focus on retail and commercial attributes and treat residential population as an afterthought (Charney, 2005; Fillion et al., 2004; Rutland, 2010). Although residential change analyses and gentrification studies have some overlap, the author's perspective and focus distinguishes each evaluation. For the most part, there are few relevant Halifax studies. However, the methodology and approaches are available from other Canadian studies.

The local context is relatively understudied in comparison to larger Canadian centres. Jill Grant's and Hugh Millward's numerous studies on suburban settlement patterns examine the effects of fringe development that inform my study of the centre city. Millward (2000; 2002) focused on residential development in the greater Halifax area over the course of the twentieth century. In *Eastern Passage*, he studied developments from 1920-1988 and in peri-urban areas from 1951 and 1991. In both papers, Millward argued that Halifax city policies facilitated residential development in the suburban fringe. In his 2002 article, he saw this 40-year period as a major de-urbanization period. Millward interprets peri-urban development using magnet/ attractor, constraints/inhibitors analyses, in addition to an evaluation of Halifax's planning policies. Grant and Peterson (2012) offer insights into Gordon Stephenson's evaluation process in Halifax's urban renewal recommendations in 1957. Stephenson's studies targeted two residential neighbourhoods for redevelopment. The mixed-use industrial slums around what is now Scotia Square elicited attention. Stephenson's report formed the basis of the city's massive downtown urban renewal program that lasted for a decade. David Verbeek (2012) and Marcus Paterson's (2009) planning theses explore the rationales for Stephenson's recommendations and the results.

Residential analyzes typically focus on transportation connections, relevancy to theory, or density/development patterns. Often, mathematically based density regression studies attempt to accurately track decentralization (Bunting, 2004; Cuthert and Anderson, 2002; Gordon and Vipond, 2005; and Millward and Bunting, 2008). Bunting, Fillion, and Priston (2002)

examined Canadian cities' centralized morphology with populations over 250 000. While the authors concluded that Canada's urban centres have generally become more decentralized since 1945, the results are not uniform across the country. They used census tract analysis to track residential decentralization over time. Due to the long timeframe and large geographic study area, their conclusions were relatively generalized. However, they found that Halifax is a low-density settlement that departed from their major findings. Bunting et al. determined that newer metropolitan areas, western cities, and mid-sized cities tend to have lower densities.

Whitzman (2009) explored the evolution of Toronto's Parkdale neighbourhood from 1875-2002. The long time frame covers Parkdale's change from an up-scale suburb to an inner-city slum. Whitzman's analysis utilized media coverage in her construction of the term "slum" and census returns to track the neighbourhood's change. Whitzman's examination of urban renewal in the 1960s directly informs this study's treatment of Halifax's demolition regime in the 1960s. Her census indicators – residential tenure, income, occupation, and number of units per building – will inform this study's methodology.

Gentrification is a major issue confronting downtown residential developments. Gentrification is a comprehensive and complicated issue that involves the displacement of lower income groups from neighbourhoods as wealthier inhabitants move in to take advantage of inexpensive real estate in prime urban locations (Zukin, 1987; Slater, 2004). This study approaches gentrification discourse from the broadest possible perspective. The measure of gentrification will be spatial concentrations of homogenous socio-economic groups (Ross et al., 2004). Kern (2010) approached gentrification in urban condominium construction, and the central role of single women as condo purchasers. She placed the process in a neo-liberal project to "reclaim" the city, and highlights the allure of placing safe condominium developments in dangerous areas. She contended that the experience of living on the frontier of safe neighbourhoods drives, in part, the proliferation of new condominium developments in lower-income Toronto areas. Ley and Dobson (2008) studied spatial distribution of gentrification from another perspective. Instead of analyzing where gentrification has occurred, Ley and Dobson examined two neighbourhoods that have resisted gentrification, the Downtown Eastside and Grandview-Woodland. The authors formulated criteria for the likelihood of downtown gentrification: proximity to environmental and cultural amenities, historic and unique architectural properties, and spatial distance from public housing or active industrial lands. Second, the authors examined the role of community action in resisting gentrification in the Downtown Eastside and Grandview-Woodland.

2 Planning and Downtown, 1945-2011

The study period encompasses three distinct planning time periods: urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s, regional coordination in the 1970s and 1980s, and amalgamation after the 1990s. The discourse of revitalization flows throughout planning documents over time. Municipal and other government or advocacy organizations, like the Downtown Business Commission, routinely approach downtown planning from a position of perceived decline that proposed policies seek to reverse. The role of residential use in the downtown has changed substantially over time. Residential use in the downtown core has evolved from an unwanted blight in the 1950s to an indispensable facet of a successful and vibrant urban core. Downtown land use regulation encouraged residential developments throughout the downtown after the 1970s. Primarily residential zones south of Morris allowed the development of medium and high-density residential developments as-of-right.

2.1 Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal

The 1945 Master Plan and the 1950 Official Town Plan update focused on housing through the lens of "urban blight" and "slum clearance." In general, housing's ideal built form was low rise and low density. In the downtown core, both plans advocated removing individuals and housing stock north of Citadel Hill. The plans supported the expansion of commercial uses in the central area. The 1945 Master Plan identified two residential areas within the study area around Spring Garden Road and Gottingen Street for redevelopment.

The importance of residential use in the downtown core is unclear from the Master Plan. The Plan defined ten attributes of a desirable neighbourhood, including "low-density of population", hard surfaced interior streets without heavy traffic, and ample social, cultural, and institutional facilities (City of Halifax, 1945, p.43). These attributes seem to lionize the form of emerging suburban neighbourhoods. However, the Plan explicitly stated that individual single home ownership was unrealistic due to its location and high land value in the peninsula's central area. Between the Citadel and North Street, the fully developed form would support thousands of low rent apartments close to major employment centres (p.54).



Halifax's urban slum. The intersection of Brunswick and Jacob Streets was at the centre of the neighbourhoods identified as urban blight in Halifax's official plans. In the 1960s the area was cleared for commercial towers and shopping malls. (Castle Studios, nd).

Slum clearance and redevelopment in the downtown area had a high profile in the Master Plan. Recommendation 22 advocated that the City immediately undertake slum clearance and public housing programs to alleviate the deleterious effects of substandard housing (p.53). The areas cleared would largely be reconstructed for residential habitation. The area would be reconstructed to a higher design and architectural standard. The Plan envisioned redeveloping dilapidated and overcrowded houses as modern multi-family dwellings. A new street structure, public space, and facilities would provide residents with amenities and services (p.54). The northern reaches of the CBD, under the Master Plan slum clearance program, would remain high density residential neighbourhoods with minimal commercial uses.

The 1950 Official Town Plan updated key short term goals of the 1945 Plan. It consisted of a series of specific policies such as completing the Westmount residential development and widening roads. The 1950 Plan provided direction for immediate City initiatives. It proposed 16 short term projects, including slum clearance, road widening, traffic flow improvements, and a Halifax-Dartmouth bridge crossing. From an urban residential perspective, the City's only interest was slum clearance.

The City abandoned the potential for publically financed low cost housing in the area north of Duke Street in favour of replacing the existing residential uses with commercial towers and shopping malls. The Plan considered the coexistence of commercial and residential uses in the area unacceptable. The Plan established two reasons for changing the area's primary land use to commercial. First, the area's proximity to the Central Business District precluded its suitability for residential housing. Instead, the Plan argued, any public housing scheme was better situated around the North Common. Second, the city's geographic structure prevented commercial growth in any other direction. Geographic features prevented expansion east, towards the waterfront, and north, along the steep slopes towards Citadel Hill, while institutional and parkland blocked business expansion to the south (City of Halifax, 1950, p.7).

The 1950 Plan established the desire for urban renewal. The Plans posited that residential and commercial uses were fundamentally incompatible. The Plan advocated the completion of the Westmount development and low-income housing adjacent to the North Commons. However, the anticipated slum clearance program would precede any housing scheme to free available land.

1950 Zoning Map

Despite the language of slum clearance and the unacceptability of residential use in the CBD, the 1950 Zoning Map permitted residential uses throughout the downtown core. The CBD was zoned C2 General Business, which allowed R1, R2, R3, and C1 uses. South of Morris to Inglis was largely zoned high density residential with small pockets of C2 and parkland interspersed. North of the CBD, the C2 designation extended along Gottingen to Cornwallis with R3 zones east and west of the commercial Gottingen area. Parkland and institutional uses occupied most of the centre of the city, between South Park and Robie. R3 zones permitted apartment buildings up to 50 feet in height, with no dwelling count restriction. R1 and R2 uses, on the other hand, have a maximum height limit of 35 feet. R1 dwellings are for single family occupation, while R2 uses allow for semi-detached and row houses with up to four apartment units. A few isolated blocks had a designation of commercial with dwellings over. These mixed use zones were confined to 1-2 block stretches of Cogswell, Cunard, and Agricola Streets.

Gordon Stephenson Justifies Urban Renewal

Gordon Stephenson's 1957 report provided the rationale for slum clearance north of Duke Street. His recommendations for additional off-street parking lots, greater highway infrastructure to connect the downtown core with the emerging suburbs and razing low-income residential neighbourhoods drove the City's downtown policy until the 1970s. He anticipated an increase in the metropolitan population from 160,000 to 300,000 by 1982 and contended that the majority of residential developments would occur in suburban areas (Stephenson, 1957, p.21). Furthermore, he argued that the ideal use mix was single use residential or commercial. Indeed, he criticized the Gottingen area for a lack of differentiation between commercial and residential uses (p.27).

The major result of Stephenson's report was his recommendation that the City redevelop deficient neighbourhoods and rehouse current residents elsewhere. The neighbourhood north of City Hall in particular elicited condemnation: "here are some of the worst tenements and dirty cinder sidewalks merge with patches of cleared land littered with rubbish" (p.26). To accommodate growing commercial sector, Stephenson recommended clearing the area of housing to make way for commercial uses (p.54). Stephenson also recommended clearing waterfront property to make way for commercial and government offices as well as commercial improvements in the Spring Garden Road and Gottingen Street areas (p.54). Overall, Stephenson privileged commercial over residential uses in the downtown core, a position which advanced preexisting City attitudes.

The series of planning policies implemented between 1945 and 1970 irrevocably altered the population density, location, and profile in downtown Halifax. The residential neighbours north of the Central Business District were among the densest in Halifax in 1951 (Stephenson, p.137). However, with the adoption of the 1950 Official Town Plan and Stephenson's 1957 redevelopment recommendations, the Cogswell tract, which was included in the northern slum redevelopment, experienced a precipitous decline in population between 1951 and 1961. In that decade, the population declined by one-third; by 1971, the number of residents had fallen by two-thirds. In total, 4,052 people moved from the area between 1951 and 1971. The area's population has remained relatively stable since 1971, losing another 300 people over 40 years. The population density in the Cogswell area declined. In 1951, it was the densest downtown tract with 9,792 persons per square kilometre. Density fell sharply as the population decreased, falling to 3,460 persons per square kilometre in 1971.

In 1963, the City of Halifax conducted an extensive land use survey that intended to categorize all land uses within the city. Using data from the 1961 census, the planners created profiles for the City's 17 census tracts. The Inglis tract had the largest percentage of residential uses, with 46% of the land area occupied by residential uses. The Cogswell tract, on the other hand, had a small residential population and significant commercial land use (Coblentz, 1963, p.11). The report comments that the Inglis tract "...is typified by a significant mixing of what would appear to be conflicting land uses; i.e., residential, commercial, industrial, and warehousing. Approximately one-half of the area is devoted to residential use, but no single dominant mode of residential dwelling predominates" (p.35). The Inglis area had a particularly

large concentration of 3-8 unit dwellings within the peninsular context, especially walkups and flats (p.43). The Spring Garden area had a small residential population primarily housed in larger scale multi-family developments (p35).



Urban renewal underway, 1967. Duke Tower excavation site looking north towards Gottingen Street. (NSARM, 1967).

The transition from lower density single detached residential neighbourhoods to higher intensity use was already evident in the areas abutting the CBD. The report noted the development pressures already underway in the Inglis and Cogswell tracts. The study singles out the Inglis tract as experiencing "...the transition of old and large single family dwellings to multiple-family use as the demand for housing increases" (Coblentz, p.43). The neighbourhood north and adjacent to the CBD also exhibited some of the same pressures, although the development patterns are less clear than in the Inglis tract.

Coblentz also profiled housing quality. Urban renewal schemes had already targeted the "slum" areas in the Cogswell tract identified in the Stephenson report. According to Coblentz, the quality of housing south of Morris to Inglis and west to Robie had undergone a marked decline in quality, despite the neighbourhood's omission from the 1957 report (pp.87-88). Overall, the report described housing in the downtown as dilapidated and deteriorating, with small clusters of good quality housing around Spring Garden Road and north of Morris Street (Appendix).

2.2 A Living Downtown within a Growing Region, 1970-1990

A paradigm shift occurred in Halifax's planning thinking in the late 1960s. The 1971 Master Plan! established development policies for the newly annexed Halifax Mainland. Regional planning attempted to coordinate the policies of Halifax, Dartmouth, and Halifax County. The 1978 MDP introduced planning policies for the CBD that implemented the regional vision laid out in the MAPC plan. The new planning policies adopted for the peninsula remain in effect in 2014. The Downtown Halifax MPS and LUB replaced the 1978 MDP in the downtown core. In both the 1971 Master Plan! and the 1978 MDP, the City of Halifax positioned itself as the protector of neighbourhood stability. Large-scale developments and street alterations were actively discouraged.

The City of Halifax initiated downtown planning process under the Downtown Commission that resulted in two urban design plans for Grafton and Salter Streets. The ideological distance between Stephenson's support of large scale urban renewal schemes and the 1970s downtown plans was significant. However, the most significant planning development was the adoption of the Citadel Hill viewplanes that capped building heights to preserve views of the harbour from Citadel Hill.

1971 Master Plan!

The 1971 Master Plan! focused on development policies for the newly annexed Mainland. The downtown and peninsula occupied a minor part. The Plan anticipated healthy population growth in the downtown areas. Overall, the Plan projected growth from 121,000 to 155,000 by 1986. The Plan expected the CBD and south end areas that include this project's downtown core to grow by 5,000 people. The Plan also predicted sharper falls in household size than elsewhere in Halifax, but greater density per acre (City of Halifax, 1971, pp. III-4-5). However, the City projected a net reduction of 100 acres in the amount of land available for residential uses by 1986 (City of Halifax, 1972, p.7).

The only direct reference to downtown residential development was a policy to "encourage the provision of housing in and near the downtown core. Develop sliding scales for zoning provisions to encourage development in and near the downtown core" (City of Halifax, 1971, IV-5). Otherwise, residential policies and programs targeted complete neighbourhoods and consistent urban morphologies. In existing residential areas, the Plan implemented policies to preserve and protect the area's character from incompatible uses and densities. The importance of preserving the character and scale of existing neighbourhoods was prominent. The Plan vaguely referred to "notorious" instances of incompatible high-density redevelopments in low-density

neighbourhoods, which should be avoided in the future (City of Halifax, 1971, II-3). As a result, new developments in the downtown favoured infill and modest redevelopments.

The main policy change from previous plans was the introduction of neighbourhood and community planning areas. The Plan proposed the creation of targeted neighbourhood planning units of 2,500-5,000 and communities that comprised 3-5 neighbourhoods. However, the City intended for neighbourhood planning units to be restricted to low- and medium-density areas (III-2).

A sewer, capital works, and services report accompanied the Master Plan!. It called for greater sprawl control to maximize the efficiency of existing systems and proposed Mainland developments. Although the Plan did not include any firm limitations on Mainland growth, it called for amended zoning bylaws to implement density control.

The Downtown Committee and Urban Design

The Downtown Committee released a pamphlet entitled "What kind of downtown do we want?" in December 1973. The vision privileged creating a vibrant pedestrian network, retaining architecturally distinctive and historic buildings, and providing dedicated auto routes and structured parking facilities to minimize traffic flow in the downtown core (Downtown Committee, 1973b). Under land use, the Commission proposed a mix of uses: "non-office, recreational, entertainment, hotel, cultural and related type [sic] of uses should be promising activities for a redeveloped waterfront" (p.2). The earlier drive to maximize office buildings in the downtown core was tempered with a desire "for a balanced downtown" that did not become "an evening wasteland" after working hours ended (p.2). The Committee's grouped its vision under three broad categories: economic, social, and environmental design. The social rubric desired a "lively [and] vibrant downtown" as well as enhancing the area's quality to make it an attractive place for people to work, play, and live (p.1).

Two ambitious urban design plans emerged in the early 1970s following the principles of the Downtown Committee vision. The Downtown South Design Plan envisioned a mixed use hub centred around Salter Street. The plan embraced nodal development as the principal means of downtown revitalization. Building upon existing nodes on Spring Garden and Scotia Square, new mixed use developments would create pedestrian paths and generate activity. The



The views from the Citadel's ramparts limited building heights in much of the downtown core after its adoption in 1973. The area claimed by office towers during urban renewal was largely unaffected by the viewplane restrictions. (Nova Scotia, nd).

The Committee proposed two nodes on the waterfront and a cultural node centred on Blowers-Sackville-Brunswick-Barrington Streets. Consistent with subsequent plans, land use policy 4 envisions the future waterfront to be "...comprehensively designed and redeveloped to include a mixture of uses such as: office, housing, hotel, recreational, retail store, entertainment, restaurant, cultural and related" (Downtown Committee, 1973b, p.4). Otherwise, downtown housing would be largely confined to the western boundaries of the urban core between Brunswick and Grafton Streets in a low-rise form (p.4). A high-density mixed use waterfront development at the foot of Salter Street was the centrepiece of the Plan because of the lack of viewplane height restrictions and the desire to create a major node. However, the Plan was never implemented.

The Granville Street Moratorium Area Development Plan attempted to implement the principles of walkability in the downtown core. The seven block, 9.2 acre development area bounded by Barrington, George, Lower Water, and Hollis proposed an ambitious program of pedestrian and open space realm improvements. The plan championed the retention and rehabilitation of historic buildings and a pedestrian mall over residential development. The plan's three alternative scenarios saw office, retail, and institutional as the main land uses (p.11).

Halifax-Dartmouth Regional Development Plan

Regional coordination efforts overtook urban design in the 1970s. In 1969, the provincial government updated the 1939 Planning Act to focus on provincial led regional planning, which required municipal governments to conform to provincial regional plans (Nova Scotia, 2013). The Halifax-Dartmouth Regional Plan was the first regional plan produced. Due to the binding nature of the Planning Act, Halifax's municipal planning documents in the 1970s and 1980s needed to support the Regional Municipal Development Plan (MDP). Overall, the MDP intended to harmonize regional planning strategies in order to most efficiently utilize existing capacity and to accommodate anticipated population growth until 1991. In general, Halifax's built-up urban core had a low priority for residential expansion. While the MDP implemented a settlement boundary, the expected population growth would be located in suburban and exurban fringe areas.

The plan projected massive population growth that would double the region's population by 1991. MAPC expected 200,000 new residents to join the 1973 population of 235,000, which required 10,000 acres of land to accommodate new development. (MAPC, 1973, p.33). The population projection resulted in high annual dwelling projections. Allowing for family size and stock loss, the plan anticipated the need for 63,000 new dwellings by 1991. To reach this target, the construction of 3,000-3,200 new units per year would be needed (p.163). The report criticized the "unnecessary" constraints on new residential development by municipal zoning, development approvals, and public control standards (pp.220-221).

Halifax's downtown core occupied a section of the regional development plan. The downtown region appears as a symbolic heart of the region:

Just as a person cannot function without a heart, so too a region cannot function unless it has a dynamic and attractive centre with which people can identify. In our own area the success of Metro as a region will be directly related to the vitality and uniqueness of the Halifax Central Business District (CBD)... Together they will form the region's urban core or 'heart', and it is this core area which will be making Metro's first impression on potential investors, residents, etc (p.139).

A series of recommendations sought to revitalize Halifax's downtown. First, arising from the acrimonious confrontations over urban renewal, the regional plan introduced heritage conservation measures to preserve and rehabilitate historic or architecturally significant buildings. Second, the proposed Citadel view plane bylaw intended to safeguard important harbour views from the walls of Citadel Hill. The third major recommendation proposed to contain, intensify, and diversify the CBD. Recommendations 4 and 5 minimized the traffic levels downtown by establishing a public open space and pedestrian network and a new transportation and parking strategy.

The vision statement and major recommendations suggested the expansion of residential

uses in the downtown. The Plan called for new development to accommodate numerous uses, including offices, housing, speciality shops, and transportation nodes (p.143). The other downtown area targeted for residential housing is the area east of Brunswick Street adjacent to Citadel Hill. In this area, low-rise, high-density housing can “...assist in meeting some of the Region’s housing needs and to help support an extended activity period in the downtown area” (p.143). However, neither housing recommendation proposes growth targets or desired residential increases.

In 1973, the City introduced a new viewplane bylaw that restricted development heights along specified sightlines from the Halifax Citadel to the waterfront. Nine viewplanes covered most of the original city layout in order to preserve views from the ramparts of the Halifax Citadel. The slope of the viewplanes meant that building heights could be higher closer to the waterfront than higher up the slope of the downtown streets. The height of the rampart and the slope of the viewplane down to the water determined the building heights in the downtown core. The bylaw provided reference buildings and approximate heights at defined intersections or streets rather than a comprehensive height system for downtown lots. For instance, viewplane B-1 extended over the intersection of Barrington and Cornwallis Streets and allowed a maximum height of 78 feet at that location. In general, maximum heights were held to around 65 feet. Taller buildings around 110 feet were allowed in the southern downtown around Morris and Lower Water Streets. The bylaw remains in effect.

1978 MDP and Peninsula LUB

To comply with the regional plan, the City adopted a new Municipal Development Plan in 1978. The MDP still governs most of the Halifax Peninsula. The 2009 Downtown Halifax MPS replaced the MDP. The impending Centre Plan in 2014 will replace the 1978 MDP completely.

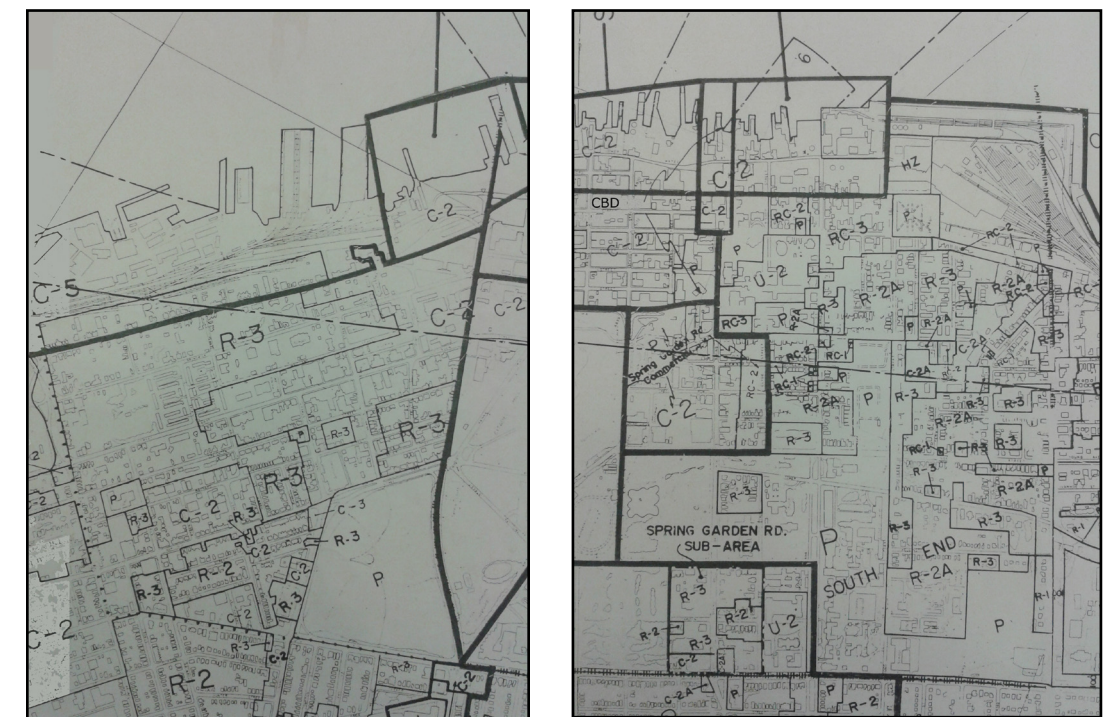
The MDP directed new residential development towards the Halifax Peninsula and Mainland North. The vision of residential development was diverse housing types and retention of existing neighbourhoods. On the Peninsula, the City encouraged residential development through “retention, rehabilitation, and infill” to preserve the character of existing neighbourhoods (City of Halifax, 1984, II-3). Softer development styles intended to minimize the effects of new development on established residential areas. As a result, the MDP allowed limited redevelopment at higher densities. When approving redevelopment applications, the plan directed the City to permit redevelopment

only at a scale compatible with those neighbourhoods. The City should attempt to preclude massive redevelopment of neighbourhood housing stock and dislocations of residents by encouraging infill housing and rehabilitation. The City should prevent large and socially unjustifiable neighbourhood dislocations and should ensure change processes that are manageable and acceptable to the residents (II-7).

In 1981, Halifax Council introduced neighbourhood planning areas to direct land use planning. The City organized planning areas around geographic areas and building types in order to preserve and protect the area’s primary character. The South End, Peninsula Centre, Central Business District, and Spring Garden Road Commercial Area overlapped with this study’s downtown area.

In the South End, medium- and high-density residential neighbourhoods catered to non-family unit types. Conversions into multi-unit dwellings required the provision of family units in

Figure 2: L: Gottingen Street zones. R: South End zones



City of Halifax. (1978). City of Halifax zoning map.

both zones, however. The Peninsula Centre plan aimed to maintain the area's low-density single family residential character. Portions of the Commons tract, Spring Garden Road between Robie and South Park Streets, fall under the Spring Garden Road Commercial Area of the Peninsula Centre. This area allowed the highest residential densities in Peninsula Centre. The only limiting provision in the plan was to prevent shadow casting on the Public Gardens. Both of these planning areas will remain in effect until HRM adopts the Regional Centre Plan.

Residential uses figured prominently in the CBD planning area. There were frequent references to mixed-use residential and commercial uses to bring life and vitality into the downtown core. The CBD also designated a waterfront development zone. The plan concentrated waterfront residential uses in the southern portion. In the central waterfront area, the City favoured office and retail developments, although residential uses were allowed to create pedestrian traffic. HRM by Design replaced the CBD planning area in 2009.

The City's updated LUB did not alter its urban residential regulation significantly. The land use bylaw introduced new commercial and residential zones. The 1950s era General Business Zone in the downtown core was replaced by numerous commercial zones. Most of the area was zoned C2 which allowed for residential above commercial uses. The Inglis tract had a concentration of higher density primary residential zones R2A, R2, and R3. R2A and R2 zones allowed small apartment buildings and town homes. R3 permitted higher density construction of taller apartment buildings. The Gottingen Street was zoned C2. High density R3 zones ran east of Gottingen Street down to the waterfront. The R2 zone extended west of Gottingen Street towards North Park Street. **Figure 2** shows Gottingen Street area and South End residential and mixed use zones from the 1978 zoning map.

In 1977, the City of Halifax released a land distribution strategy designed to allocate land for anticipated residential growth as laid out in the regional Halifax Dartmouth plan. The report condensed the downtown core into Halifax peninsula, alongside three divisions for the Mainland areas. The survey established growth targets based on anticipated infrastructure capacity. On the Halifax Peninsula, the authors made an upper residential threshold of 90,000 and an increase of 8,000 (City of Halifax, 1977, p.ii). The growth targets for the Halifax Mainland were considerably higher. In total, the City encouraged 44,000 new residents in the Mainland areas. It is clear that the City viewed the newly annexed Mainland areas as the main location for Halifax's share of the 200,000 new regional residents.

The population projections anticipated a diminished role for the Halifax Peninsula within the City. Despite a growth target of 8,000, the report's growth scenarios projected a decline of 5,000 people on the Peninsula by 1991. Out of 10 alternatives, only two considered a population increase. Alternative 8 stands out for its high growth projection in which the population on the Halifax Peninsula was projected to grow from 82,000 to 110,000. The report considered this possibility only if undefined "soft areas" on the peninsula were redeveloped at higher densities than existing conditions (p.25).

Opportunities for High Density

A 1992 City discussion paper examined opportunities for higher density development and conversion on the Halifax peninsula. The report concluded that higher density residential intensification on the peninsula was a desirable goal. However, the authors found that the passive development tools implemented in the 1970s plans were insufficient tools to promote and realize intensification (City of Halifax, 1992, p.1). The 1978 MDP favoured neighbourhood preservation over demolition and major construction (City of Halifax, 1992, p.6). The focus on conversion and infill supported neighbourhood compatibility. The preservationist policies did not create many new units. The report finds that of all new residential units created between 1986 and 1991, only 19% were the result of additions or conversions of existing units (p.6). Recommendation four championed transitioning from development agreements to as of right development to encourage more high density residential development (p.13).

The report included an interview summary with local developers to better understand barriers to residential development. The report lists nine major reasons, including higher land costs, lack of available locations, public perceptions about the undersiability of urban living, and long and uncertain approval process (p.5). From a zoning perspective, land cost and scarcity are important. Land cost in the downtown core and centre city, in addition to existing building stock, creates more expensive development conditions than greenfield development in the suburban fringe. Furthermore, in most parts of the downtown area, residential development would compete with commercial and office uses for land, potentially driving up costs.

2.3 New Urbanism and Downtown Density, 1990-2011

The major municipal event of the 1990s was amalgamation in 1996. The province dissolved the independent entities in Halifax County and joined the City of Halifax with Dartmouth, Bedford, Sackville and the County to form the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). The geographically sprawling municipality covered 5,500 km² including rural, suburban, and urban morphologies. The upheaval caused by amalgamation slowed the City's momentum for some time. In 2006, a regional Municipal Planning Strategy (MPS) provided a unified planning direction for the entire municipality. However, the Halifax Peninsula retained the Municipal Planning Strategy and Land Use Bylaws (LUB) from the 1970s. In 2009, HRM council adopted a new LUB and MPS for downtown Halifax, commonly known as HRM by Design. The Downtown Plan integrated urban design principles, density bonusing, and replaced the development agreement negotiation process with streamlined as of right regulations.

An MDP for HRM

In 1997, HRM consolidated the 20 year old MDP to reflect HRM's new direction. Some amendments to the boundaries of South End, CBD, and Peninsula Centre planning areas. However, the major changes in the 1978 and 1981 MDP remained largely in effect. The 1997 update placed economic concerns at the forefront of downtown planning and changed language. The vision for the CBD became more ambitious: "The strengthening of the Halifax CBD as a dynamic focus of governmental, commercial, retail, residential, recreational, and entertainment uses, and the appropriate development of the waterfront to promote the City as the major business and cultural centre of Atlantic Canada (HRM, 1997, III-4)."

The Plan cited the importance of maintaining the South End as a "vital inner-city neighbourhood" with a mix of family and non-family uses. The previous family unit provision regulations were removed. The South End Plan also introduced new policies that limited the expansion of Dalhousie and Saint Mary's University uses into residential areas as well as delineating appropriate buffering uses.

Spring Garden Commercial Area plan stressed the importance of residential uses to create life and safety in the commercial district. "Residential uses should be encouraged in commercial buildings in the Spring Garden area in order to preserve a lively and varied street environment and to enhance street safety after business hours. In particular, such uses should be encouraged on the second and third floors on the street front (IX-3)"

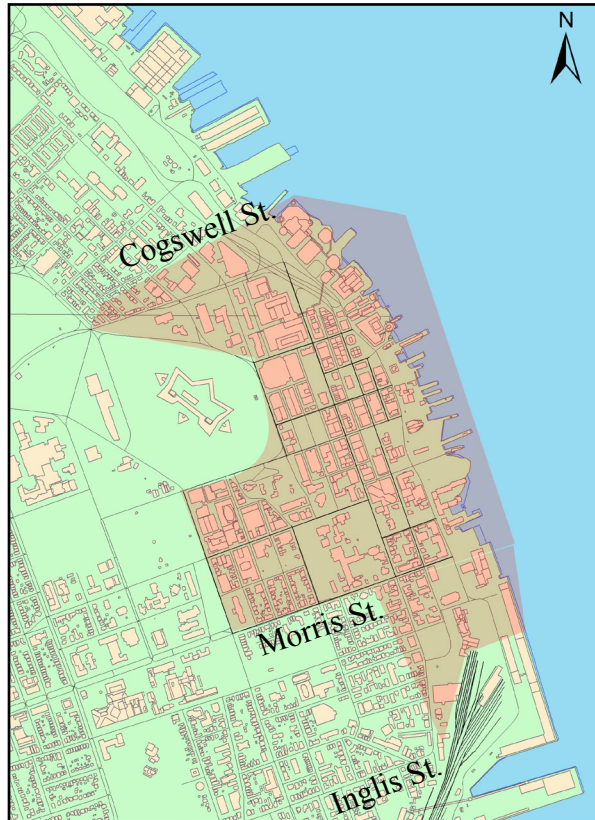
Amalgamation and a Regional Plan

In 2006, the amalgamated municipality released a Regional Municipal Planning Strategy (RMPS). Given the enlarged geographic boundaries of HRM, the downtown core and former city of Halifax had a smaller profile than in City of Halifax plans. The RMPS established growth targets and categorized the region into urban Regional Centre, suburban commutershed, and rural areas. The Regional Centre category comprised the Halifax Peninsula, including the downtown, and Dartmouth within the circumferential highway. The suburban commutershed comprised Bedford, Sackville, Timberlea, Cole Harbour areas. The plan designated the remainder of HRM as rural. The RMPS set growth shares of anticipated population growth until 2013 for each area: 25% in the Regional Centre, 50% in suburban areas, and the remaining 25% in rural lands (HRM, 2006, p.36).

Instead of development boundaries as in the 1970s regional plan, the RMPS adopted growth centres ranked by urban category. Urban growth centres, for instance, can be expected to accommodate higher population densities and greater transit connections. However, the RMPS implemented no firm enforcement mechanism to ensure that population growth goes to designated urban, suburban, and rural growth centres.

The RMPS revised population targets, predicting steady growth until 2031. The plan expected between 52,000 and 125,000 with a likely medium scenario growth of 84,000 people over the lifespan of the plan. Interestingly, the plan anticipates an increase of 24,000 people from natural increase with the remaining 60,000 coming from migration. One third, or 20,000 people, of the migration is projected to come from international sources (HRM, 2006, p.7). If population adheres to the Regional Centre growth target of 25%, 21,100 more people will live in the Halifax

Figure 3: Downtown Halifax LUB Planning Area



The Downtown Halifax Planning area bisects several of the downtown census tracts. It omits the northern portion of the Cogswell tract and the western portion of the Inglis tract, 4.02. (HRM, 2012).

Peninsula and Dartmouth. The downtown’s specific share of the 21,100 is not specified in the RMPS. HRM projects 57 000 new households to emerge between 2001 and 2026, with medium and high density development accounting for 42% of the new growth (p.8).

In 2009, HRM adopted a new plan for the downtown core. The downtown zone bisects many of the downtown census tracts and omits census tract 4.02 altogether. **Figure 3** shows the downtown planning area. The MPS departs from older approaches and divides the area into precincts based on neighbourhood and use. The Downtown LUB attempted to streamline the development regulations in the downtown core. The Viewplanes by-law remained in effect, although revisions created a more predictable framework. In conjunction with the bonus zoning provisions of the Downtown Halifax MPS, the viewplanes established predetermined maximum height districts which replaced development agreement negotiations. In addition, the MPS replaces the zoning map with two zones: Downtown Halifax (DH-1) and Institutional, Cultural and Open Space (ICO). Most of the downtown core falls under the DH-1 designation which allows commercial, cultural, institutional, marine-related, open space, residential, and

transportation uses (HRM, 2009a, p.16).

Residential intensification is a major foundation for the plan. Residential intensification and opportunities are envisioned in close proximity to office, commercial, cultural and institutional uses. Similar to the Downtown Halifax Business Commission’s goals in 1994, the Downtown Halifax MPS identified the aim to increase the number of downtown residents as a major facet of planning policy. Simply put, the MPS “... supports more people living in downtown Halifax and establishes population targets to support this growth. Residential growth

will be encouraged by removing previous density limitations and encouraging a broad mix of unit types, housing affordability, and amenities to support downtown living” (HRM, 2009b, p.16). Residential development figures prominently in the MPS’s “Ten Big Moves.” The MPS anticipated an increase of 16,000 residents in the downtown core over 15 year period, as part of the regional MPS’s growth target of 25,000 in the Regional Centre (p.6). The potential Cogswell Interchange redevelopment offers opportunities to create new housing stock and to attract more residents to the downtown (p.7).

The downtown plan anticipated a renewed interest in urban residential development as a driver for new development: “Capitalizing on these trends, this Plan targets downtown Halifax for significant residential growth, building on the Regional Municipal Planning Strategy goals of promoting walkable, transit-oriented [and] complete neighbourhoods” (HRM, 2009b, p.2). In particular, multi-family dwellings suitable for two or more people are identified as a priority for new residential developments to offset the overabundance of studio and one-bedroom units (p.17).

The LUB introduced a new policy tool density bonusing which attempts to incentivize development. Land owners may exceed the as of right height maximums by 30% by providing the municipality with a public benefit. The Citadel viewplanes determined the maximum pre- and post-bonus heights. However, HRM by Design created specific height precincts for the entire downtown planning area, eliminating the ambiguity of the 1973 Viewplane Bylaw building heights. The additional floor space is assessed at \$4.00 per 0.1m2 of floor area gained through the exchange (HRM 2009). Density bonusing new downtown development has the potential to create additional residential units by intensifying the land use of proposed developments. It also signalled to developers and land owners that HRM desired taller buildings, with more residential units or office space on the extra storeys.

3 Census Findings

RP+5: The Regional Plan Review, 2013

As part of the review process for the 2006 RMPS, HRM undertook a comprehensive review in 2013. The RP+5 revisited concepts and proposed modest revisions. The growth target and centre concept, however, remained unchanged from 2006. The population projections for 2011-2031 was 73,115 (HRM, 2013, p.14). Following the regional centre growth target of 25%, 18,279 new residents are hoped to find homes in Halifax and Dartmouth. Furthermore, the age distribution is expected to favour seniors; the regional MPS predicts a doubling of the 65 years and older cohort in 2031 from the 2001 population (p.15). The school aged population will likely level off (p.15).

The review plan did not address the performance of the urban, suburban, and rural growth targets. Between 2006 and 2012, the Regional Centre attracted only 16% of HRM's population growth. The suburban and rural designations accounted for 56% and 28% of total growth respectively.

To enhance the Regional Centre, the Regional MPS promises to "Create incentives for growth through streamlined development approval processes, tax policies, density bonusing, capital investments and other strategies to achieve the Regional Plan's urban growth targets" (p.7). For the areas designated as downtown in this study, new land use bylaws and planning strategies will revise the land use designations in a manner similar to the Downtown Halifax MPS and LUB (p.7). The review plan upheld the Downtown Halifax LUB and MPS and intended to expand their applicability through the adoption of the Regional Centre Plan.

The review reiterated the importance of the Regional Centre. Citing a report by private consulting firm Stantec, if HRM reaches the 25% population growth target in the Regional Centre, the municipality will save \$670 million in infrastructure and servicing costs over suburban or rural settlement patterns. The review allocated 75% of new housing units for location in the suburban and Regional Centre designation areas, with a minimum of 25% of new units in the Regional Centre.

Six census periods provide the statistical data for downtown Halifax's changing profile. Four census tracts comprise the geographical extent of the downtown area. For the purposes of clarity, these tracts have been named to reflect local street names. In this report, tract 4 will be labelled as the Inglis tract; tract 7 as Commons area; tract 8 as Spring Garden; and tract 9 as Cogswell. The latter three tracts have not changed boundaries during the study period. Statistics Canada split the Inglis tract in two subparts in 1991. For the purposes of historical comparison, tracts 4.01 and 4.02 will be combined and into a unified statistical area for the 1991, 2001 and 2011 censuses. Statistics Canada reordered the tracts for the 1971 census, but did not change the geographic boundaries. Table 1 summarizes tract aliases and census designations for the consulted censuses. Due to coverage problems with the voluntary 2011 National Household Survey, certain information, such as ethnicity and tenure type use 2006 census data. For 2010 income, data from Canada Revenue Agency allows comparison with earlier census results.

Table 1: Downtown and Regional Census Categories

Report Alias	2011 Tract Number	1951-1961 Tract Number	Important Changes
Inglis	4.01 and 4.02	2	Split in 1991
Commons	7	13	N/A
Spring Garden	8	3	N/A
Cogswell	9	4	N/A
CMA	CMA	Metro	Grew significantly

3.1 Fewer Downtown Residents

Halifax's downtown has undergone significant change over the 60 year study period. Overall, a general trend of population decline in the all but the Inglis census tracts through to the 1980s. The last two census periods indicate a small recovery in urban population, although most areas still have fewer residents in 2011 than 1951. The low point was the 1991 census. **Table 2** shows downtown population by tract.

Table 2: Total Population by Tract, 1951-2011

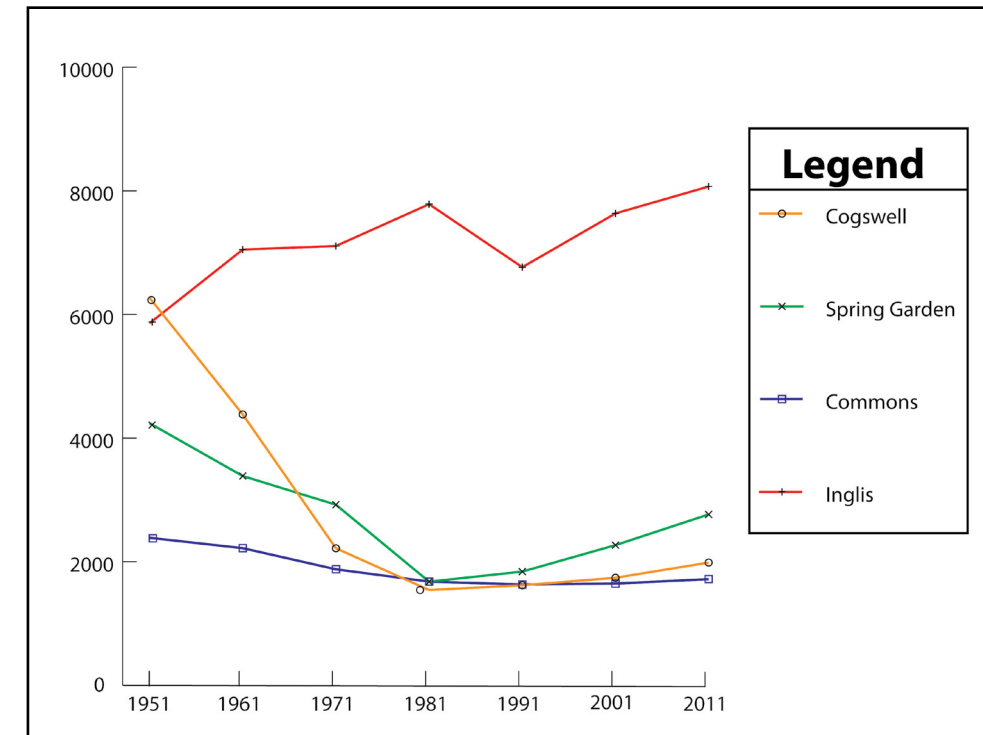
	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	113,931	5,855	2,385	4,238	6,267	18,745
1961	183,931	7,047	2,217	3,384	4,380	17,028
1971	222,635	7,105	1,875	2,920	2,215	14,115
1981	277,727	7,781	1,676	1,675	1,540	12,672
1991	320,501	6,762	1,629	1,838	1,617	11,846
2001	359,183	7,632	1,644	2,266	1,738	13,280
2011	390,328	8,067	1,716	2,763	1,984	14,530

In absolute terms, the four census tracts experienced a total decline, although it is unevenly distributed geographically. The downtown population fell from 18,745 in 1951 to 14,530 in 2011. The downtown has experienced a minor residential renaissance since 1991, adding 2,684 people. The post-1991 growth has been strongest in the Inglis and Spring Garden tracts. **Figure 4** shows total population change by downtown tract.

Relative to the metropolitan area, the downtown population has declined significantly. Suburban communities like Bedford, Sackville, and Cole Harbour grew substantially during the study period. While Halifax's downtown shed over 4,000 residents, the metropolitan area welcomed over 275,000 new residents.

The Inglis tract, the downtown's southern most area, experienced net population growth, which obscures the downward population trends in the downtown core. The area has accounted for over half of the downtown's population since 1971. Numerous apartment buildings are interspersed with historic single family homes. The tract's proximity to Saint Mary's and Dalhousie University and the IWK medical centre could be driving population growth among students and hospital employees.

Figure 4: Total Population by Downtown Tract, 1951-2011



The Commons, Spring Garden, and Cogswell areas collectively lost 6,000 residents over the time period. The greatest decline occurred in Cogswell, which occupies the northern fringe of the Central Business District. The area entered a period of rapid population decline after 1951, falling from 6,267 to 2,215 people between 1951 and 1971.

The population drop in Commons has been more gradual, with small decline in each census. The Spring Garden neighbourhood has the greatest fluctuation. The area experienced two major population drops between 1951-1961 and 1971-1981. Subsequently, the population has steadily grown since 1981 and 1,000 more people live in the area in 2011 than in 1981.

Despite Spring Garden's recent growth, however, the total population is still approximately half the 1951 figure. Spring Garden's sudden growth in the 21st century reflects a localized trend towards residential growth in the downtown core. Despite major population loss in the twentieth century, these tracts posted modest increases between 2001 and 2011. Although the increases in the Commons and Cogswell areas was only 500 and 200 people respectively, the recent growth breaks with the predictable population attrition observed throughout the twentieth century.

3.2 The Gender Ratio has Evened

At the CMA level, women comprise a larger proportion of the population than men in 2011. Earlier, the gender ratio was relatively even with a slightly larger number of women. In the downtown, however, women made up a sizeably larger proportion of the population. **Figure 5** shows the changing gender ratio over the study period. This gender imbalance narrowed over time and in 2011, the four downtown tracts had more male residents than female residents. Only Cogswell had more male residents than female residents, but the gender ratio was relatively close in the area. **Table 3** shows the total male population by census tract and **Table 4** shows the total

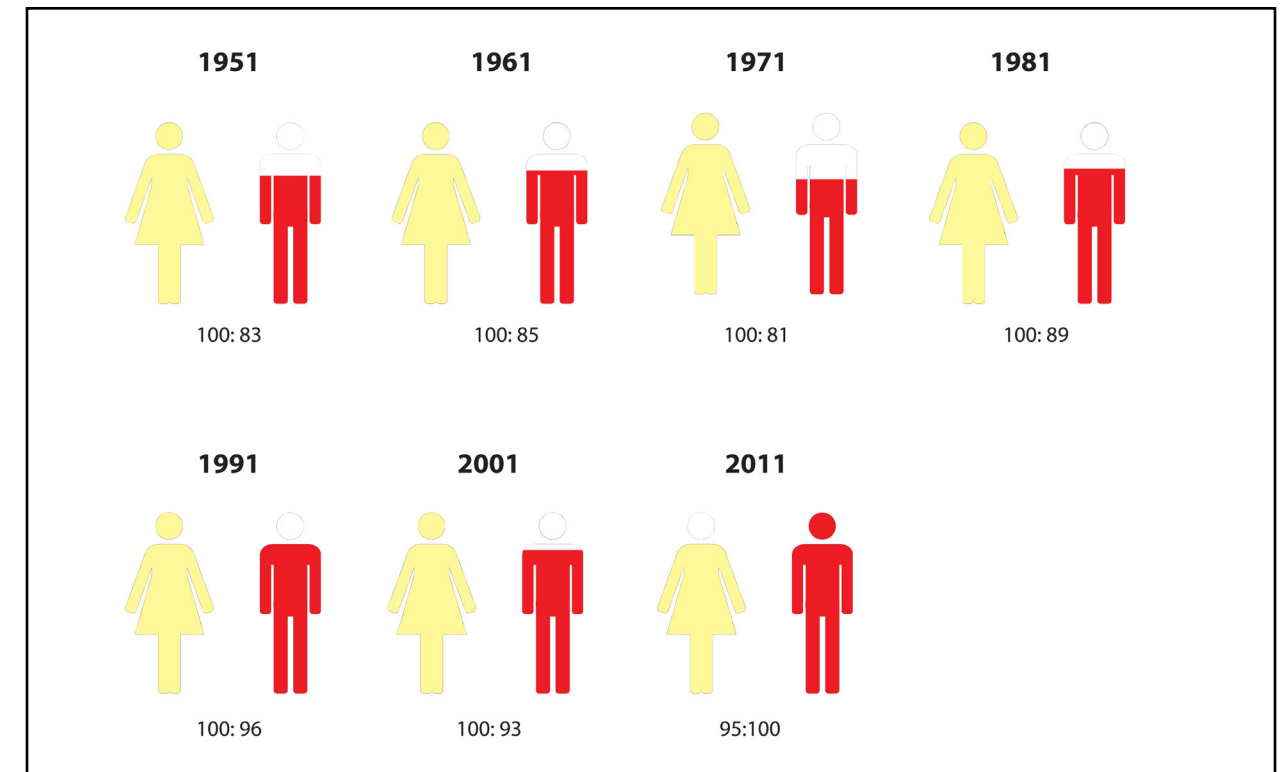
Table 3: Total Male Population by Census Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	66,199	2,599	863	1,872	3,195	8,529
1961	92,432	3,174	828	1,562	2,274	7,838
1971	110,005	3,180	710	1,300	1,115	6,305
1981	135,995	3,855	725	835	785	6,200
1991	155,965	3,135	700	900	840	5,575
2001	172,745	3,625	755	1,110	910	6,400
2011	188,700	4,075	800	1,415	1,170	7,460

Table 4: Total Female Population by Census Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	67,732	3,256	1,522	2,366	3,072	10,216
1961	91,514	3,878	1,389	1,822	2,106	9,190
1971	112,630	3,925	1,165	1,620	1,100	7,810
1981	141,735	3,930	950	835	755	6,470
1991	164,540	3,635	925	940	775	6,275
2001	186,435	4,005	900	1,115	825	6,885
2011	201,630	3,985	915	1,350	815	7,065

Figure 5: Gender Ratio in the Downtown, 1951-2011



female population by census tract.

During the population decline in the Cogswell, Commons, and Spring Garden tracts, both gender groups fall. Female populations do not appear to recover as quickly as male populations after 1991. With the exception of the Cogswell area there are more male residents in 2011 than 1951. For females, only Inglis houses more women in 2011 than 1951, although the female population has been relatively stable over the entire study period.

3.3 More Occupied Dwellings

There are fewer people living downtown, but the number of occupied dwellings has increased substantially. Only the Cogswell tract has fewer dwellings in 2011 than in 1951, but its population fell sharply. See **Table 4** and **Figure 6** for total occupied dwelling by tract. The increase in dwellings is not surprising in the Inglis tract given the population growth in the area. Inglis tract added over 3,400 dwelling units over the time period. Commons, Spring Garden, and Cogswell areas shed dwellings until the 1980s and rebounded in the past twenty years. The number of total dwellings shows a tenuous correlation with population fluctuations, although new units outstrip population growth.

The effects of average household size are significant. The shrinking of downtown households occurred faster than the CMA average. In the 1950s and 1960s, downtown census tracts had higher average household sizes than the CMA. The CMA average has fallen steadily over the

Table 4: Total Occupied Dwelling by Census Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	29,637	1,444	246	893	1,448	4,031
1961	42,367	2,218	297	765	1,005	4,285
1971	60,005	2,430	580	960	710	4,680
1981	93,965	3,935	925	775	680	6,315
1991	118,315	4,060	970	970	905	6,925
2001	144,435	4,610	1,010	1,340	1,045	8,005
2011	165,033	4,924	1,030	1,535	1,115	8,644

study period, although it has fallen slower than the downtown household averages. In the 1990s, all four tracts had household average sizes under 2, indicating many more people living alone. The four downtown tracts have similar household size averages after 1981, ranging between 1.6 and 1.9 during that timeframe. The largest drop occurred in the Commons tract, where the household size average fell from 9.7 in 1951 to 7.5 in 1961 to 3.2 in 1971. This appears to be driven by a sharp increase in dwelling construction as the 1971 census reported 1,000 more occupied dwellings than in 1951 despite a smaller population. **Table 5** shows average household size.

The drastic decline in average household sizes in the Commons tract appears to have a correlation with a major increase in the number of single households. The area in 1951 had a large number of apartments, which comprised the majority of housing type.

Figure 6: Total Occupied Dwellings by Tract, 1951-2011

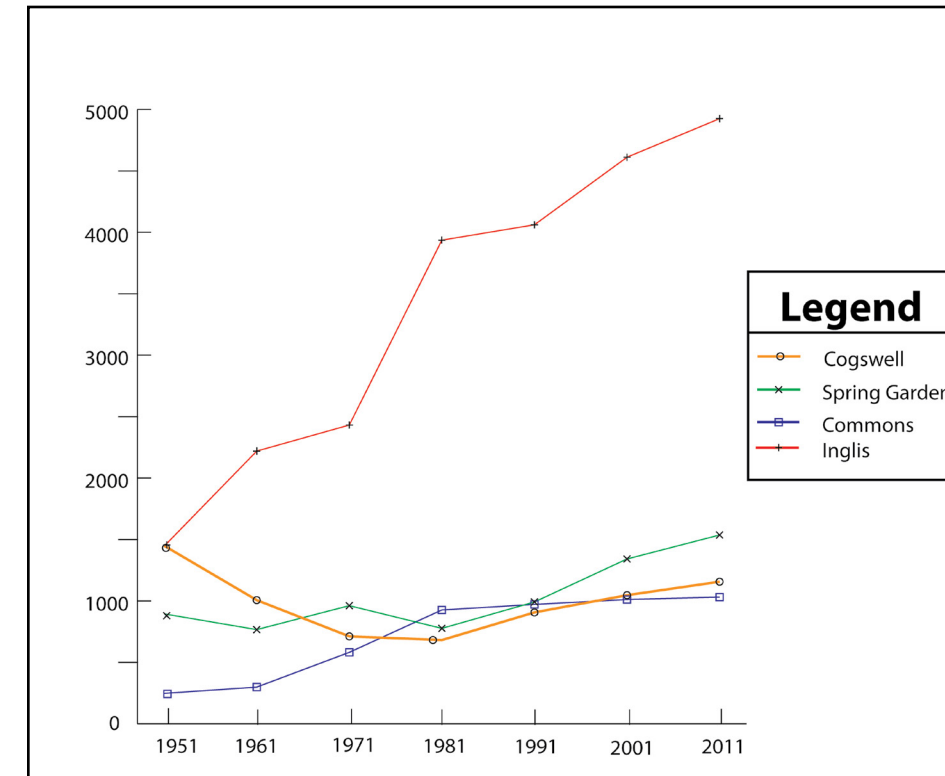


Table 5: Average Household Size by Census Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell
1951	3.8	4.1	9.7	4.7	4.3
1961	4.3	3.2	7.5	4.4	4.4
1971	3.7	2.9	3.2	3.0	3.1
1981	3.0	2.0	1.8	2.2	2.3
1991	2.7	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.8
2001	2.5	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7
2011	2.4	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.7

3.4 Urban Haligonians Live Alone

The twin phenomena of more occupied dwellings and fewer residents indicates changing household formations. In absolute terms, the number of single person households has exploded. Although the number has risen at the CMA level, single person dwellings compose the largest portion of downtown households. Unlike population and household size, the growth in single person households characterizes the entirety of the downtown core. However, the growth rate in single person households in metro was comparatively larger than the high growth Inglis tract. **Table 6** shows the changes in total single occupant dwellings over time.

The downtown tracts had higher overall percentages of single person households throughout the study period. The proportion of single households as a share of total occupied dwellings increased sharply in the 1960s and 1980s. The Inglis tract especially saw a major increase between 1971 and 1981. This could have been driven by the completion of large high-rise apartment buildings throughout the area in the 1970s. With the exception of the Spring Garden tract, single occupant households comprise over 50% of households in most downtown tracts.

Table 6: Total Single Person Dwelling by Census Tract, 1951-2011 (% of Total Occupied Dwellings)

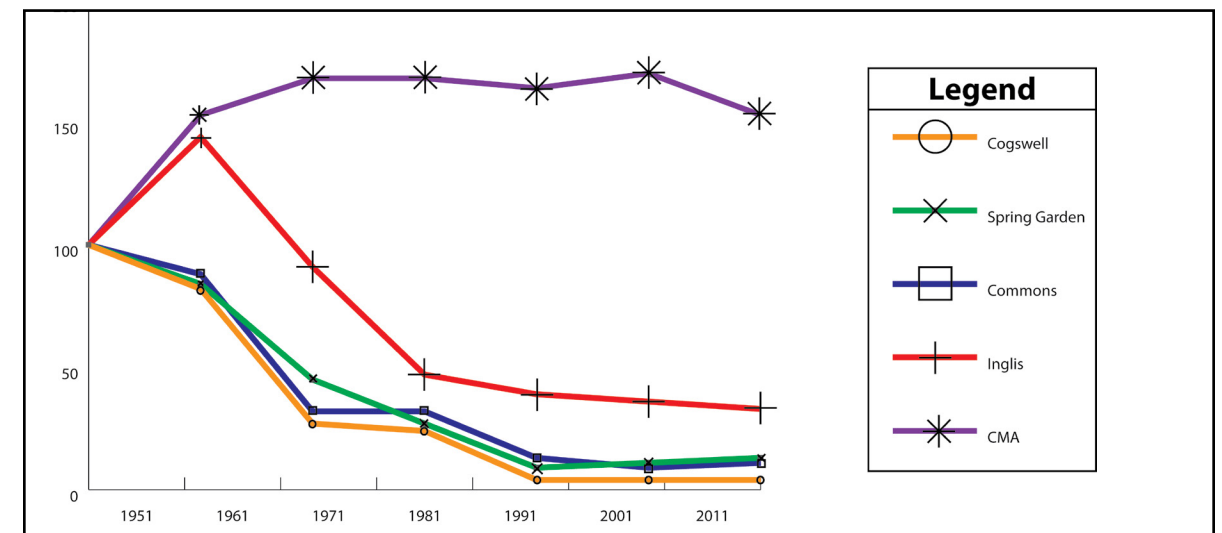
	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	1,497 (5%)	206 (14%)	18 (7%)	90 (10%)	140 (10%)	454 (11%)
1961	2,697 (6%)	556 (25%)	51 (17%)	136 (18%)	135 (13%)	878 (20%)
1971	6,260 (10%)	670 (28%)	275 (47%)	270 (28%)	175 (25%)	1,390 (30%)
1981	18,605 (20%)	2,260 (57%)	605 (65%)	295 (38%)	290 (43%)	3,450 (55%)
1991	25,390 (21%)	2,335 (58%)	640 (66%)	480 (48%)	425 (47%)	3,880 (56%)
2001	37,535 (26%)	2,580 (56%)	665 (66%)	725 (54%)	545 (52%)	4,515 (56%)
2011	47,140 (29%)	2,750 (56%)	680 (66%)	700 (46%)	640 (55%)	4,770 (55%)

The number of larger households in the downtown has fallen faster than single households have increased. Six or more person households have virtually evaporated from downtown neighbourhoods. Four to five person households have fallen slightly, but pale in comparison to the marked growth in single, and 2-3 person households.

3.5 A City with No Children

The number of children under 15 has fallen precipitously in the downtown tracts. No other cohort has experienced such a dramatic drop in population. The major decline occurred early in the study period, with number of children falling sharply. The total downtown population declined from 3,941 in 1951 to 530 in 2011. The 2011 figure represents an 87% drop of children living in the area. The Inglis tract saw the smallest decline, retaining one-third of the 1951 under-15 population. The Cogswell tract experienced the greatest dramatic population collapse. The 2011 child population is just 4% of the 1951 population. The major shift towards childless neighbourhoods occurred between 1961 and 1971; 2,000 fewer children lived in the downtown core over the decade. While the children age group has continued to decline gradually since the 1980s. The metro child population, on the other hand, has increased by 50%. See **Table 7** for the under 15 years of age population.

Figure 8: Indexed Relative Change in Child Population, 1951-2011 (1951=100)



3.6 Fewer Families and Marriages

In contemporary Halifax, there are more single person households and far fewer children than in 1951. Given this demographic development, it would be reasonable to assume that fewer families live in the downtown. The composition of census family households, however, follows an inconsistent pattern in the downtown. Generally, the number of census families has declined overall in the downtown core. Regionally, the number of census families has increased steadily, which accentuates the downward trend in central Halifax. **Table 8** shows the total number of census families by tract.

Table 8: Number of Census Families by Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	30,327	1,251	197	848	1,351	3,647
1961	40,319	1,445	189	621	910	3,165
1971	51,630	1,415	460	240	525	2,640
1981	70,850	1,255	250	290	295	2,090
1991	85,940	1,115	250	340	285	1,990
2001	100,670	1,285	270	375	320	2,250
2011	109,690	1,235	260	490	335	2,320

Numbers of families in the Inglis tract have remained relatively stable throughout the time period. Families left the Spring Garden tract gradually over the time period, with a large drop between 1971 and 1981. However, 2001 - 2011 observed an increase of 100 families in the area. Families followed the same jarring decline as the total and under-15 populations in the Cogswell tract. There were 1,000 fewer families in the area in 2011 compared to 1951, a decline of three-quarters. Spring Garden and Cogswell both shed census family households at an alarming rate between 1951 and 1981. The Commons tract, on the other hand, was somewhat anomalous. The area has more families in 2011 than 1951. Moreover, it experienced a mini family boom between 1961 and 1981 a period during which families fled other downtown neighbourhoods.

Despite a modest drop in the number of families in the downtown, the number of married people fell sharply. While there are 1,300 fewer families in 2011 than 1951, there are 6,500 fewer married people in the downtown. The dominant family structure in the downtown core is less likely to be married couple in 2011 than earlier. **Table 9** shows married population by tract. Only the Commons tract maintained its married population over time. Cogswell, Inglis,

Table 7: Total Under 15 Years of Age Population by Census Tract, 1951-2011 (% of Population)

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	38,900 (34%)	951 (16%)	278 (12%)	863 (20%)	1,849 (30%)	3,941 (21%)
1961	59,570 (32%)	1,365 (19%)	244 (11%)	721 (21%)	1,516 (35%)	3,846 (23%)
1971	65,288 (29%)	865 (12%)	90 (5%)	390 (13%)	505 (23%)	1,850 (13%)
1981	65,178 (23%)	450 (6%)	90 (5%)	231 (14%)	450 (29%)	1,221 (10%)
1991	63,890 (20%)	375 (6%)	35 (2%)	75 (4%)	70 (4%)	555 (5%)
2001	66,000 (18%)	345 (5%)	25 (2%)	95 (4%)	70 (4%)	535 (4%)
2011	59,620 (15%)	310 (4%)	30 (2%)	110 (4%)	80 (4%)	530 (4%)

Unlike most categories, the decline in under-15 years population has been uniform across the downtown tracts. The CMA child population increased during the study period and has remained relatively stable since 1971. See **Figure 7** for indexed relative change in under 15 years old population.

3.7 A More Diverse Downtown

Changes in census questions problematize longitudinal comparisons of ethnicity. Statistics Canada introduced questions about visible minority status in 1996 (University of Toronto, 2009). The 1951 and 1961 census questions about single ethnic origin did not distinguish among non-European nationalities. Rather, only a selection of national origins like Chinese, East Indian, and Syrian-Lebanese are available in a disaggregated form. Information on place of birth is available from 1961.

Using partial data from the 1961, 1981, 1991, 2001, and 2006 censuses, a relative trend towards more foreign born and more visible minorities in the downtown is evident. In total numbers, most downtown residents report their place of birth as Canada, with a large proportion from Nova Scotia. However, in relative terms, the Nova Scotian and Canadian born population has declined in the downtown area, despite rising in the metro area. Residents born outside Canada, on the other hand, grew in number with the exception of the Cogswell tract. The modest growth in the immigrant population lags behind Halifax's CMA growth, which doubled between 1961 and 2006. Furthermore, the metropolitan growth in foreign born residents has been

Table 10: Canadian Born Residents by Tract, 1951-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1961	171,129	6,340	2,051	3,015	4,100	15,506
1971	206,454	6,225	1,665	2,450	2,060	12,400
1981	255,570	7,060	1,180	1,410	1,430	11,080
1991	295,785	5,570	1,210	1,480	1,445	9,705
2001	329,610	6,100	1,225	1,845	1,525	10,695
2006	339,650	5,735	1,340	2,055	1,625	10,755

Table 11: Internationally Born Residents by Tract, 1961-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1961	12,817	707	166	369	280	1,522
1971	16,105	770	210	485	155	1,620
1981	20,175	750	200	215	195	1,360
1991	20,785	790	85	330	120	1,325
2001	24,385	1,030	180	280	160	1,655
2006	27,405	1,005	200	455	135	1,795

Table 9: Married Persons by Tract, 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	58,946	2,482	537	1,685	2,523	7,227
1961	79,504	3,008	524	1,289	1,741	6,562
1971	99,860	3,060	590	1,040	865	5,555
1981	131,735	2,705	600	560	595	4,460
1991	134,975	1,555	490	470	325	2,840
2001	144,620	1,595	490	455	340	2,880
2011	151,740	1,265	505	610	335	2,715

and Spring Garden all saw major drops in the married population. Given the sharp decline in the under-15 population downtown, it seems that married couples do not stay in the downtown neighbourhoods if they desire children. Furthermore, the sharp increase in single person dwellings suggests that new developments catered to smaller household sizes and were perhaps too small for married couples to comfortably residing.

consistent; the pattern in the downtown census tracts fluctuates over time. The Cogswell tract actually lost half of its foreign born population between 1961 and 2006. However, the relative decline of Nova Scotian and Canadian born compared to internationally born residents exceeded this figure. See **Tables 10** and **11** for total domestically and foreign born residents from 1961-2006.

Table 12a: Non-European Single Origin Ethnicity by Tract, 1951-1991

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	3,734	141	42	107	280	570
1961	6,843	185	72	95	642	994
1971	Not Available	480	30	310	280	1,100
1991	12,555	610	35	115	145	905

Table 12b: Visible Minorities by Tract, 2001-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
2001	25,085	1,135	105	330	150	1,720
2006	27,645	1,235	110	420	210	1,975

A fairly accurate profile of visible minorities in Halifax’s downtown can be constructed through ethnic origin categories. For earlier census periods, specific details on non-European ethnicity is often unavailable. For the purposes of this study, I count non-European ethnicity as a national origin outside of Europe in addition to the other/not stated category. In addition, I only use single origin responses and do not use the multiple origin category. I omit the 1981 census because the responses are aggregated into British, French, and Other categories. The Other category contained European and non-European responses together. For the 2001 and 2006 censuses, I use the visible minority category. **Table 12a** and **12b** shows non-European origin population.

Overall, the number of non-European ethnic residents has increased in the downtown core, although at a slower rate than the CMA. Inglis leads the increase in visible minority

Table 13: British Ethnic Population by Tract, 1951-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	107,106	4,254	1,987	2,981	4,711	13,843
1961	134,965	4,914	1,701	1,985	2,437	11,037
1971	173,965	4,920	1,500	1,890	1,560	9,870
1981	194,970	5,040	1,025	1,000	1,005	8,070
1991	Unavailable	4,480	1,280	1,420	1,110	82,90
2001	291,940	6,315	1,225	1,995	1,485	11,020
2006	226,300	4,370	1,225	1,560	1,140	8,195

population growth. The area accounts for 62% of the downtown’s total visible minority population. The growth in non-European ethnicities can be compared with the shrinking share of the British ethnic group in Halifax. The British ethnic category includes English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish populations. While the total number of residents claiming British ethnicity has increased in Halifax during the study period, the share of population has fallen. In 1951, 94% of the Halifax CMA identified as British, compared to 73% of the downtown. **Table 13** shows British population by tract.

In 2006, 61% of the Halifax CMA and 60% of the downtown identified as British ethnicity. The similar levels of ethnically British residents in the CMA and downtown suggest that the greater Halifax area is diversifying faster than the downtown. In 2001, 81% of the CMA was ethnically British. The 2001 statistics merit pause. At the CMA and census tract levels, they deviate from a linear trend of incremental growth and likely inflate the actual number. Regardless, Halifax’s profile as an ethnically British city is less robust in 2006 than in 1951 .

Perhaps changes in British ethnic identity owe as much to the self image of younger residents. Generational mores may be changing how residents define nationality and ethnicity. 139,055 Haligonians described themselves as “Canadian” in 2006. As national ties with Briton and Empire weaken, it is less likely that younger Canadian-born residents would self-identify as British, even if his or her ancestors originally came from the United Kingdom.

3.8 Residents are Wealthier

Average income has risen in the downtown area and the Halifax CMA, accounting for inflation. Using Statistics Canada's annual Consumer Price Index, the historical income data was adjusted for inflation (Statistics Canada, 2013). To account for the lack of reliable economic information from the 2011 National Household Survey, average income statistics from Revenue Canada for 2010 supplement census data. To calculate adjusted incomes, the census income figure is multiplied by 100 and divided by the CPI figure. CPI measures changes in the price of a hypothetical basket of goods through time. The CPI used here is the national annual average, as Halifax specific CPI data is unavailable prior to 1970. The 2010 average individual income comes

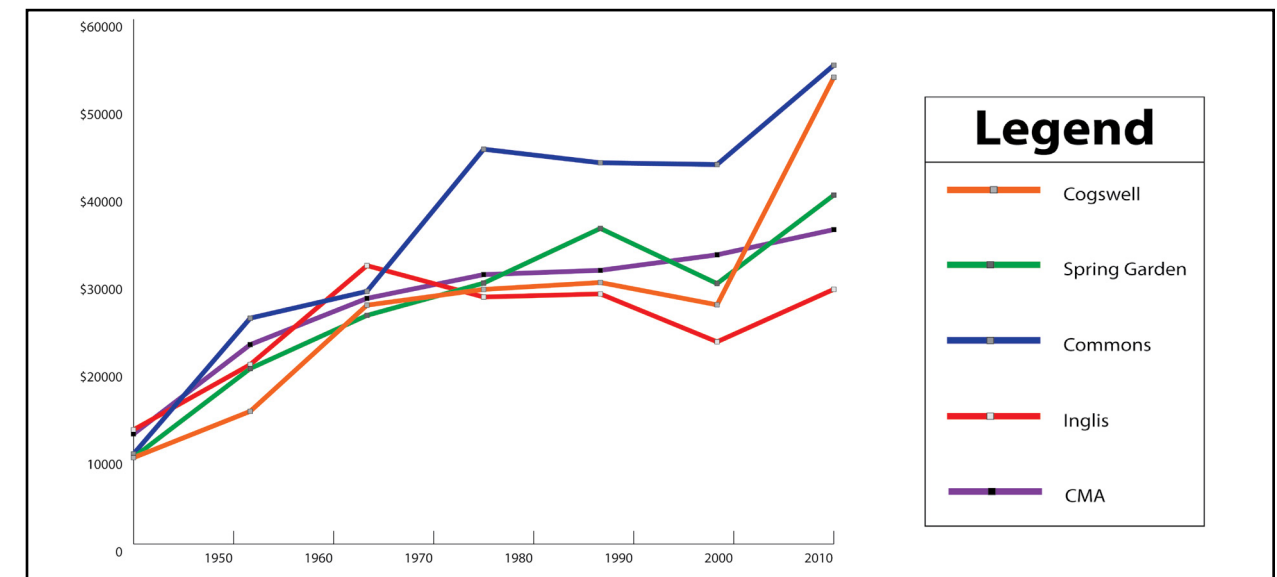
Table 14: Average Individual Income in 2002 Dollars by Census Tract, 1950-2010 with Percentage above/below CMA Average

	CMA			Inglis		Commons		Spring Garden		Cogswell	
	Income	Income	% CMA	Income	% CMA	Income	% CMA	Income	% CMA	Income	% CMA
1950	\$12,580	\$13,060	+3.8	\$10,296	-22.2	\$9,896	-27.1	\$9,872	-27.4		
1960	\$22,795	\$20,516	-10.0	\$25,823	+13.3	\$20,061	-13.6	\$15,172	-50.2		
1970	\$28,082	\$31,832	+11.9	\$28,885	+2.9	\$26,137	-7.4	\$27,307	-2.8		
1980	\$30,798	\$28,236	-9.1	\$45,136	+46.6	\$29,827	-3.3	\$29,108	-5.8		
1990	\$31,287	\$28,595	-9.4	\$43,585	+39.3	\$36,081	+15.3	\$29,895	-4.8		
2000	\$33,063	\$23,117	-43.0	\$43,380	+31.2	\$29,775	-11.0	\$27,345	-21.0		
2010*	\$33,945	\$29,119	-23.4	\$54,740	+52.3	\$39,893	+11.0	\$53,358	+48.4		

* Canada Revenue Agency data.

from the Canada Revenue Agency because it is more accurate and complete than the National Household Survey. Inconsistent response rates and suppressed data make the NHS income data unreliable. See **Table 14** for average individual income and percentage above or below CMA average. Figures 9 and 10 show average individual income growth and relation to CMA

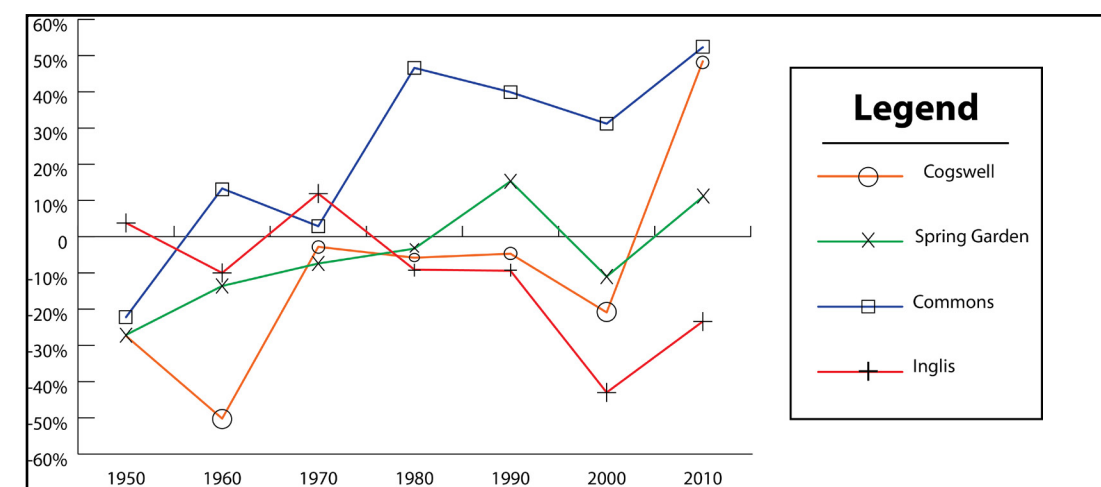
Figure 9: Average Individual Income in 2002 Dollars, 1950-2010



benchmark.

The largest income growth occurred in the Commons tract in the 1980s; that remains the wealthiest average downtown area. The Cogswell tract recorded a sizeable jump in average income between 2000 and 2010. During this time, the average income doubled. This could be

Figure 10: Average Individual Income Percentile Share of CMA Average, 1950-2010



3.9 Tenant Community

the result of recent higher income residents moving into the Gottingen Street area or the result of incompatibility between the Statistics Canada and Revenue Canada income data. The Inglis tract, despite its strong population growth has the lowest average income level, falling below the CMA average since 1980. Much of the income growth occurred between a single inter-censal period, indicating rapid changes in wealth distribution, likely linked to new residential developments in the area.

The Spring Garden tract's standardized average incomes increased fourfold in sixty years. In the Commons and Cogswell tracts, real average income was five times higher than in 1950. The sudden increase in average incomes in the Cogswell tract strongly suggests gentrification. In a ten year period, the income almost doubled from \$27,000 to \$53,000. The 2000-2010 income increase in Spring Garden also could indicate gentrification as the average individual income grew by \$10,000 in the 2000-2010 interval. The Spring Garden area, did, however, experience a drop in average incomes between 1990 and 2000 before a significant increase in 2010. Inglis' income growth stalled in the 1970s, as average individual incomes declined until 2000. Despite growing between 2000 and 2010, the average income in the area is lower than the 1970 mark.

Both the residential built form and tenure type has remained constant in the downtown, favouring larger-scale apartment buildings and renters. Single detached homes have been historically rare in the downtown. The largest stock of owned units was in the Inglis tract. The starting single detached house stock has steadily declined over the study period; between 1951 and 2011 the number fell from 325 to 95 units. In the Commons, Spring Garden, and Cogswell tracts, single detached homes do not appear until 1971. Many low rise neighbourhoods in the around Gottingen Street, Spring Garden Road, and Inglis are comprised of row houses or semi-detached units. The downtown clearly diverges from regional trends. The number of single detached homes in the CMA grew constantly. See **Table 15** for total apartment units by tract.

Table 15: Total Apartment Dwellings by Tract. 1951-2011

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	10,130	1,015	170	670	1,105	2,930
1961	14,880	1,613	192	469	756	3,030
1971	23,935	1,960	540	715	430	3,645
1981	29,950	3,555	890	630	500	5,575
1991	43,495	3,860	955	910	725	6,450
2001	49,455	4,340	980	1,230	865	7,415
2011	59,135	4,770	1,025	1,495	930	8,220

Most downtown residential buildings are apartments. In 2011, 99.5% of occupied dwellings in the Commons tract are apartments. The Inglis and Spring Garden also have apartment shares over 90% in 2011. The proportion of apartment dwellings has grown strongly in all but the Cogswell tract, which has 80% of dwelling units in apartment complexes.

Downtown apartments have fallen behind regional apartment construction. In relative terms, there are six times more apartment dwellings in the Halifax CMA in 1951 than 2011. Only the Commons tract has kept pace with regional apartment construction. Metropolitan apartment counts outstripped Halifax City numbers. The Cogswell tract has fewer apartment dwellings now than in 1951, with 1951 representing the tract's high water mark for apartments.

3.10 Owners and Renters

Changes in tenure type have varied by tract. The number of renters and owners have increased in all areas except for the Cogswell tract. In 2006, owners occupied 1,240 dwellings compared to 6,975 tenant households. In the CMA, owner-occupied dwellings have grown faster than tenant-occupied dwellings; in relative terms, ownership has increased six-fold in the CMA since 1951. The Commons tract has extremely high relative growth in owner occupied dwellings with 13 times more owner households since 1971. However, a small increase in absolute terms drives this spectacular growth; only 240 more owner occupied dwellings exist in the area in 2011 compared to 1971. However, the low starting point of 20 owned dwellings results in a large proportional increase and is omitted from the indexed relative graph. Downtown as a whole had 50% more owner occupied dwellings in 2006 than 1951. The Inglis Tracts have the highest rates of ownership, although ownership rates have remained relatively stable over the time period. **Table 16** shows total owner occupied dwellings by tract.

Table 16: Owner Occupied Dwellings by Tract, 1951-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	16,230	415	0	135	190	740
1961	23,234	421	0	114	140	675
1971	29,715	255	20	70	100	445
1981	55,255	315	20	75	85	495
1991	66,620	360	195	135	140	830
2001	89,190	500	265	305	165	1,235
2006	99,245	460	265	350	165	1,240

The Spring Garden experienced the greatest real growth in ownership, primarily after 1991. Ownership in the area dipped in the 1960s and 1970s before growing steadily. The Inglis and Cogswell tracts had similar ownership patterns. The number of owner occupied units declined to the lowest point around 1971-1981 before returning to or exceeding 1951-1961 levels. Owned dwellings appeared in the Commons tract over a 20 year period 1981-2001. The decline in single detached homes and rise of condominium developments after 1981 likely explains this pattern in the Inglis, Spring Garden, and Cogswell tracts.

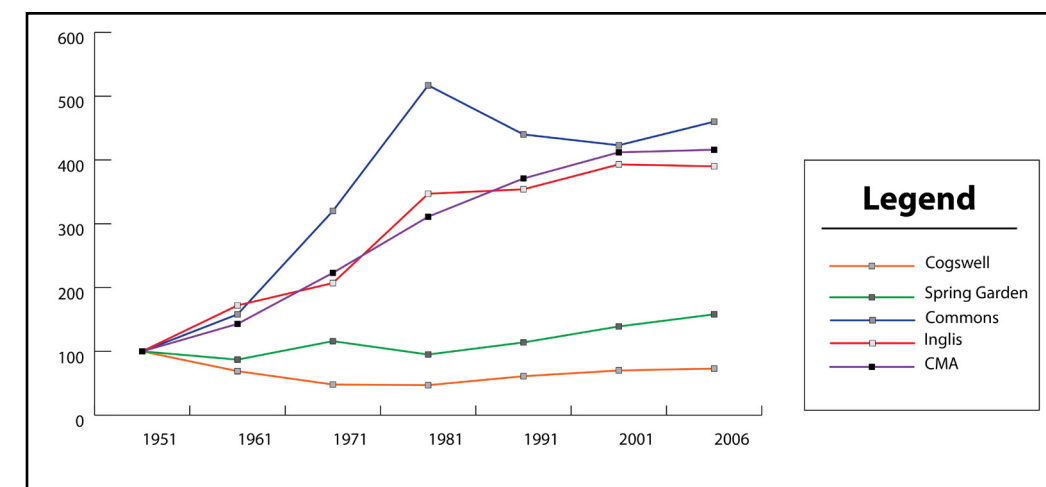
Renting remains the most common tenure type in downtown Halifax. Downtown rental dwellings have increased in absolute and relative numbers. The number of rental accommodations in the Inglis tracts increased fourfold over the study period. Rental apartments clearly drive Inglis's population growth. The Commons tract saw the largest relative growth in rental accommodations. Ownership levels have risen faster than rentals in the downtown core.

Table 17: Total Tenant Occupied Dwellings by Tract, 1951-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell	Downtown
1951	13,410	1,045	175	745	1,255	3,220
1961	19,132	1,797	277	651	865	3,590
1971	29,970	2,165	560	865	600	4,190
1981	41,715	3,625	905	705	595	5,830
1991	49,690	3,700	770	850	765	6,085
2001	55,215	4,110	740	1,035	880	6,765
2006	55,805	4,080	805	1,175	915	6,975

Rental units in the Cogswell and Spring Garden tracts both lagged behind ownership increases. Cogswell possessed fewer rental units in 2006 than 1951. However, the area's main decrease in rentals occurred between 1951 and 1971; the number of units fell from 1215 to 600. The number of rentals has grown since the area's nadir in 1981, reaching 900 units in 2006. The targeted demolition of rental apartment housing north of Duke Street during urban renewal in the 1960s and 1970s accounts for the real drop in the area's rental stock. **Table 17** shows total tenant occupied dwellings. See **Figure 11** for indexed relative growth in rental units.

Figure 11: Indexed Relative Change in Tenant Occupied Dwellings by Tract, 1951-2006 (1951=100)



3.11 Working Women

Labourforce participation increased for women until 2006. In 2006, gender participation rates were relatively equal. The CMA increase has been constant, rising each time period to reach a female participation rate of 65% in 2006. Male labourforce activity has declined slightly since 1951, falling 10% to 74% in 2006. Downtown has witnessed a similar trend in employable women. However, more women have tended to be in the labourforce than the CMA average. **Table 18** shows percentage of women in the workforce living downtown.

Table 18: Female Workforce Participation as Percentage of Downtown Residents over 15 Years, 1951-2006

	CMA	Inglis	Commons	Spring Garden	Cogswell
1951	29.9%	48.6%	62.8%	48.2%	27.1%
1961	34.8%	55.1%	68.5%	59.4%	36.9%
1971	44.1%	65.2%	63.3%	62.9%	44.8%
1981	55.5%	67.3%	55.5%	67.1%	64.0%
1991	62.4%	72.9%	44.0%	66.8%	74.2%
2001	62.6%	67.1%	40.1%	68.9%	78.7%
2006	64.7%	66.0%	44.5%	62.0%	78.8%

Overall, more women participated in the labourforce in 2006 than 1951 in three tracts. The Commons area had an inverse trend, losing working women over time. Cogswell displays the greatest shift, with over three-thirds of women employed or looking in 2006 compared to just one-quarter in 1951. The growth in seniors in the Commons tract could explain the drop in labourforce participation. The over 65 years cohort has grown considerably during the study period, especially after 1991.

The Cogswell area experienced a marked increase in the number of working women. The number of women living in the area dropped over time, as did the number of families. The gap between the 2006 statistic of labourforce participation and 2010 average individual income also poses interpretation problems. The growth of single households has not been stronger than other downtown tracts. The rapid increase in average individual income between 2000 and 2010 indicates an area in transition. The census does not provide information on the gender of single person households. If most women are living alone, they would be more likely to work. Also, the low current school attendance levels in the Cogswell indicate that few university age students reside in the area. In 2001, the last year to measure current school attendance, only 140 people over 15 attended school fulltime.

3.12 Degrees of Education

Due to inconsistencies in the census, an accurate depiction of education levels in Halifax is difficult. By comparing the changing census categories, it is clear that school dropout rates have fallen and the number of university graduates has risen. The changing nature of the census questions reveals a rising minimum education level in the downtown. In 1951, the census asked how many years of education respondents had completed. The ranges reflect a large number of residents leaving school before graduation. In 2006, the lowest education bracket is no high school diploma or certificate, with no information for individuals who never attended school or had less than a grade 9 education.

Among individuals no longer attending school, university education grew considerably. However, only Cogswell grew at a higher proportional rate than the CMA growth rate. Although the number of people without Grade 12 increased over the study period at the CMA level, the number of high school dropouts decreased dramatically in the downtown. Changes in census reporting cause problems with accurate interpretation, especially with the 1971 and 1981 censuses. See **Table 19** for residents without Grade 12 education. Due to changes in questions, only rates of high school dropouts are reported only after 1981. **Table 20** shows the number of university graduates among residents no longer attending school. The rising education levels indicate a significant change in the composition of Halifax's downtown residents. In 1981, downtown neighbourhoods varied in relation to the CMA average; Cogswell had an elevated high school dropout rates. By 2006, all four downtown neighbourhoods had high school dropout rates under 7%, half the CMA's average of 15%.

Table 19: Total Out of School Population and Percent of Total Population with less than Grade 12 by tract, 1981-2006

	CMA		Inglis		Commons		Spring Garden		Cogswell	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
1981	92,235	33%	2,125	27%	285	17%	345	21%	665	43%
1991	80,525	25%	890	13%	195	12%	215	12%	350	21%
2001	76,170	21%	730	10%	150	9%	115	5%	175	10%
2006	60,305	15%	560	7%	75	4%	140	5%	110	6%

The change in the number of university educated residents is striking. The percentage of residents with an university diploma rose far faster in the downtown than at the CMA level. By 2006, over 40% of downtown residents held post-secondary degrees. The change in Cogswell was particularly dramatic; it rose from 1% of the population in 1951 to 42% in 2006. The higher increases than the CMA suggest that educated individuals are moving to downtown neighbourhoods over suburban locales.

4 Who Really Lives Downtown?

Table 20: Total University Graduates and Percentage of Population by Tract, 1951-2006

	CMA		Inglis		Commons		Spring Garden		Cogswell	
	Total	%								
1951	9,530	8%	728	12%	309	13%	330	8%	66	1%
1961	10,067	5%	367	5%	224	10%	606	18%	191	4%
1971	24,790	11%	1,510	21%	465	25%	645	22%	135	6%
1981	49,310	18%	3,130	40%	735	44%	780	47%	460	30%
1991	77,250	24%	4,070	60%	815	50%	1,205	66%	740	46%
2001	68,615	19%	3,770	49%	660	40%	1,180	52%	750	43%
2006	88,010	23%	3,680	46%	940	55%	1,500	54%	825	42%

In 2011, the average downtown resident is young, Canadian born and ethnically British, between 20 and 34 years old, university educated, childless, lives alone or with one other person in a rented apartment dwelling. In addition, the average resident moved into the area recently

Childless and single households are most common in the downtown. Statistically, these two categories have grown considerably and consistently across the four downtown tracts. Since the 1990s, the majority of households in the downtown have been single person. As a result, the average household size in the downtown was significantly lower after the 1990s recovery than before the population decline.

The British ethnic group remained the single largest, although the proportional numbers declined in the downtown and in all four tracts. However, this characterization is the most likely to change in the near future. The relative numbers of British ethnic residents has not grown. Foreign born and visible minority residents are growing at the CMA level and appeared to be beginning to grow in the downtown tracts. It is likely that by the 2021 census, it will no longer be appropriate to describe downtown Halifax residents as ethnically British.

In 2011, a downtown resident was most likely to be male for the first time in the study period. A demographic shift towards more male residents was apparant throughout the study period. The male population trend followed population growth after 1991. The correlation between greater proportion of males and a larger population suggest that new downtown residents are male.

Tenant occupied dwellings increased in all four tracts during the study period. Despite major condominium developments after the 1990s, owner occupied dwellings comprise a small fraction of downtown tenure type. The growth in rental accommodations strengthened the historical preference for tenant households. The major change in owner occupied dwellings appears to be the transition from town homes to condominium units. The number of owned condominium units has increased in most areas of the downtown, although the number of owned dwellings lagged behind growth in rental accommodations throughout the downtown. The ability to convert existing buildings in rental apartments permits the expansion of rental stock quickly.

The educational achievements of residents have risen substantially. The number of

residents without a Grade 12 diploma appears to have declined significantly. Changes in census information and categorization make accurate historical comparisons difficult. Despite sometimes ambiguous changes between census intervals, a general pattern of fewer elementary and high school dropouts is clear. University as the highest education level in the census had a clearer categorization over time, and thus an accurate profile of university graduates is possible. The number of residents with university degrees or some education rose significantly. The CMA pool of university graduates grew nine-fold during the study period. The downtown tracts had smaller increases, except Cogswell, but most lost population indicating that new residents are far more likely to be university educated.

The most startling trend in the downtown was the displacement of larger family households by single person households. The number of families, married couples, and children all fell sharply in the downtown. The decrease in census families in the downtown core was primarily caused by the disruptions in the Cogswell tract where most families lived at the beginning of the study period.

The profile's accuracy depends on the census tract. For instance, the description of the Commons tract as "young", between 20 and 34, is less accurate than the other three tracts, due to the area's large senior population. The Inglis tract differed the most from the downtown profile. The area had families and children, and the area is far more ethnically diverse. Inglis departs from many of the downtown trends. The area has more families, children, and single detached homes than elsewhere. It has a more ethnically diverse population than other urban tracts. It has a high university and college student population, which is notoriously difficult for the census to count (Pilkey, 2005).

Income rose unevenly in the downtown core. 1991 is selected as the cutoff mark for analyzing changes in social mix due to the rising population trend. There were sharp decadal increases in average income in the Commons and Cogswell tracts since 1991. Spring Garden's average income fluctuated and the Inglis area's average income fell in real terms. However, increases in owner-occupied dwellings were lower than real increases in rental units.

Table 21: Changes in Income, Owner-Occupied, and Tenant Occupied Units, 1990-2010

	Percent Income Change, 1990-2010	Real Change in Owner Occupied Dwellings, 1991-2006	Real Change in Tenant Occupied Dwellings, 1991-2006
Inglis	2%	100	380
Commons	26%	70	35
Spring Garden	11%	215	325
Cogswell	78%	25	150

Tenant units grew faster than owner-occupied units except in the Commons areas. However, the low number of new units in the Commons area does not indicate the proliferation of condominium developments. There is no discernible correlation between increases in income and increases in owner-occupied dwellings. Cogswell's average income rose by 78%, but only 25 owner-occupied units were created during the time span. Four times more owner-occupied units were built in the Inglis tract, despite a stagnant income. The older 2006 data for tenure complicates the assessment. Comparison with 2011 occupied dwellings statistics does not provide a clear picture of how many new developments were built between 2006 and 2011, as **Table 22** shows. It appears that social and housing mix has not changed appreciably.

Table 22: Differences between 2006 Tenure and 2011 Occupied Dwellings

	Real Change in Owner- and Tenant- Occupied Dwellings, 1991-2006	Real Change in Occupied Dwellings, 1991-2011	Difference between 2011 and 2006 census
Inglis	480	864	384
Commons	105	60	-45
Spring Garden	540	545	5
Cogswell	175	250	75

5 Planning and Change

Over the study period, distinct downtown residential policies are evident. Urban renewal policies subordinated residential to commercial uses in the downtown core. Interventionist actions cleared out neighbourhoods and replaced them with large scale commercial edifices and transportation infrastructure, like Scotia Square and the Cogswell Interchange. City policy plays an important role in determining residential neighbourhoods. However, investment choices and market demand realize residential development. From the 1971 Master Plan! on, all downtown land use policies and bylaws permitted and championed residential uses in and around the CBD. The increase in dwelling units indicates that land developers did not neglect the downtown core entirely. However, the time lag between the implementation of pro-residential urban planning in the 1970s and population growth in the 1990s reveals the limits of planning. Halifax did not change downtown residential policies until 2009, but the population began to grow in the 1990s.

Planning allows development to happen, but demographic change is caused by thousands of individual choices regarding home choices. These choices are driven by price, social and cultural values, employment opportunities, in addition to other abstract factors. The result of this study shows that Halifax's planning policies could effectively decrease and dislocate population, but were less effective at stimulating growth in the downtown core.

After the urban renewal assault on poor neighbourhoods north of Duke Street, the need for downtown residents and the difficulty in attracting and retaining population took on importance. However, the intersection of municipal and provincially driven regional planning complicate policy trends. The clearest connection between city planning and demographic change was the urban renewal program in the 1960s and 1970s. The City actively targeted residential neighbourhoods for redevelopment as commercial properties. The resulting destruction of neighbourhoods north of Duke Street resulted in a massive population drop in the area. The land intensive redevelopment of the Cogswell Interchange, the Halifax Metro Centre, and Scotia Square complex pushed residential uses to the Gottingen area. The sustained population decline in the Cogswell tract reflected the unintentional results of the urban renewal project. Gottingen Street's status as a major commercial centre steadily declined after the 1950s and the area fell into disrepair. The urban renewal redevelopment effectively cut the Gottingen neighbourhood off from the downtown core. The crumbling prestige of the area could have continued the population decline in the area as residents left for other neighbourhoods.

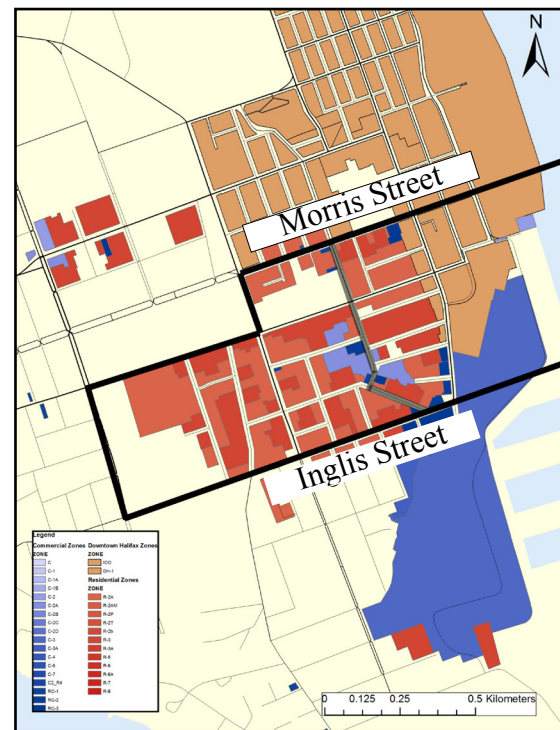
The Inglis tract was comparatively successful. The area grew in population throughout the study period. The concentration of mid- and high-density residential zones in the Inglis area allowed developers and land owners to construct apartment buildings, town houses, and to convert single detached homes into multi-apartment units. The residential designation eliminated potential competition with retail and commercial uses as could potentially occur in most areas of the downtown. On the Halifax peninsula, the Inglis area had a disproportionate amount of high density primary residential zones. However, the provision of mid- and high-density residential zones does not guarantee population growth and development. Another pocket of high density residential zones was located west of Gottingen in the Cogswell tract. The area's lack of higher density development and population loss indicates other factors driving successful and unsuccessful neighbourhoods in attracting and retaining residents over time.

While the urban renewal experience underscores the power of planning to radically alter the urban fabric, the 1970s-2010s illustrates the limits of planning policy. The City of Halifax has had permissive downtown residential policies in effect since 1971. The 1978 MDP established residential tenure as an essential facet of the CBD. The Downtown Committee and the urban design plans seem to indicate a desire for smaller scale planning that included residential, commercial, cultural, institutional, and office uses in close quarters. The organic analogy of downtown Halifax as the heart of the region with a permanent residents creating 24 hour life appears to have been assumed to arrive naturally from the expected influx of residents to the region. Nevertheless, urban population continued to stagnate until the 1990s. There is no direct link between policy and the urban population revival in the 1970s.

Regional planning schemes and optimistic population projections appear to have siphoned development to the suburban fringe. The 1974 Metropolitan Area Planning Commission wildly overestimated regional growth in the last 25 years of the 20th century. The plan predicted a Halifax metro area population of over 400,000 by the 1990s, (higher than the 2011 Halifax CMA mark). The 1971 Master Plan! expected strong population growth as well. As a result of the over projection, the Cities of Halifax and Dartmouth and the County of Halifax allocated more land than necessary to accommodate projected population growth. In the City of Halifax, the annexed and undeveloped Mainland offered the easiest and fastest opportunity to accommodate Halifax's share of metropolitan growth. The time and cost intensive nature of downtown and brownfield development appears to have pushed residential development to the suburban fringe. Halifax's 1977 Land Distribution report clearly designated the Halifax Mainland as the primary market for new housing projects. The incorrect population projections created a situation in which the City attempted to approve new development as quickly as possible, which cultivated rapid growth in underdeveloped fringe areas on the Halifax Mainland. Despite the plan introducing new downtown residential policies that signaled a major shift from urban renewal approaches, the steady erosion of the downtown population continued.

Consumer demand for downtown housing options did not follow municipal policy. The 1970s planning policies, which remained in effect until amalgamation, assumed higher development pressures than actually appeared. The Inglis area zoning permitted large-scale residential developments. The 2009 Downtown Halifax MPS and LUB changed a small portion

Map 2: Inglis Tract Zoning, 2009



(HRM, 2012).

of the tract. **Map 2** shows zoning that permits residential uses. The red residential zones have been stable since the 1950s. The Inglis area provided the largest area of primarily residential zones in the downtown. Other tracts have larger commercial profiles or institutional land uses. Within this study's downtown, Inglis alone proved able to attract new residents. A comparison with other peninsular neighbourhoods with large medium- and high-density residential zones, like Quinpool Road and north Gottingen Street, would contextualize Inglis's residential growth. It could help to determine whether the availability of residential zones attracted development or whether other factors, such as proximity to Saint Mary's and Dalhousie universities, created demand.

Population began to grow slowly in the 1990s independent of policy changes. The Downtown Halifax MPS and LUB included incentives to attract more residents and investment downtown. The policy changes focus on making development investment

choices in the downtown more attractive. The RMPS praised the importance of the Regional Centre and necessity of attracting new residents to the downtown core and older urban areas. The Downtown Halifax LUB continuously reiterates the importance of residential use to a healthy and successful downtown. Simplified development process and policy tools like density bonusing entrenched the desire to add new residential units to downtown developments. Most reports agree that Halifax's downtown has entered a period of unprecedented development since the adoption of HRM by Design. The time intensive nature of new construction means that much of this celebrated growth is not captured in the 2011 census. Recent developments along Brunswick Street, around Spring Garden Road, and Barrington Street are not represented in this

study's census sample.

Market demand for smaller one- and two-bedroom units and condominium apartments was already apparent before HRM changed its policies. The principal finding is that planning and residential change have an unclear relation. Planning changes rarely manifest as population change in Halifax's downtown. The modest population growth observed after 1991 can not be attributed to any planning policy. Planning policies allow for investment and development to occur, which respond to market demand for housing types. Land use regulations represent one aspect of a complex series of factors driving demographic changes in downtown Halifax. The recent renaissance in the downtown core can be equally attributed to positive planning policies as it can to wider socio-economic trends towards a greater acceptance of urban living. It appears that permissive zoning designations contribute to residential growth. One-sided intervention and inaccurate population predictions appear to have hurt residential uses in the downtown core. A consumer preference for single family detached homes within easy auto commute of the central city appeared throughout the study period. Despite the introduction of downtown friendly policies in the 1970s and 2010s, market pressures did not result in the construction of new residential buildings or an influx of new residents.

More work is needed to answer the *why* Haligonians embraced urban living in the 1990s after decades of exodus. A study of why Halifax's development community shifted to providing condominium buildings and what motivated recent residents to choose Spring Garden Road or Gottingen over suburban communities like Spryfield or Bedford will complete this study's work. It is unclear whether Halifax is following national trends of urban revitalization or whether local conditions are attracting more people downtown. Interviews with new residents on their choice to move downtown, with long-time residents to learn about their views on change in the neighbourhood, and with developers of large-scale developments would begin to explain why 1991 appears to be a tipping point in Halifax's downtown.

6 Downtown Renaissance?

Downtown Halifax is less populous, wealthier, and better educated in 2011 than in 1951. A constant decline of population occurred throughout the twentieth century, before a small urban living renaissance began to increase the numbers of downtown residents. Downtown residents are childless, live alone, and participate in the labourforce. Most residents, however, were born either in Nova Scotia or Canada, although foreign born residents have grown slowly over time.

A firm connection between planning and downtown residential development can be identified in the Cogswell and Inglis tracts. Urban renewal programs replaced residential neighbourhoods with office towers, shopping malls, and highway infrastructure. The interventionist agenda resulted in a definite decline in residential use in the area, from which Cogswell has yet to recover. The period of rapid and drastic change in population and demographics overlap with the urban renewal projects. Inglis, on the other hand, is evidence of more passive planning. Permissive residential zoning throughout the area resulted in sustained population growth. Many planning areas, like Peninsula Centre, are residential primary zones that do not allow large scale commercial developments.

There is some evidence of gentrification in the downtown, specifically in the Commons and Cogswell areas. Large increases in owner occupied dwellings and average individual income suggest that newer developments are attracting a new kind of resident to the area. Additional studies of median income and of new developments are needed to elaborate these findings.

Census data and planning policies tell us only part of the story. They may indicate who lives downtown, but they do not shed any light onto *why* people live downtown. Socio-economic trends and culture have as much to do with changing demographics in Halifax's downtown and these are necessarily absent in this interpretation. The findings are not particularly surprising. There is considerable anecdotal evidence to support that fewer people and families live downtown. New condominium developments receive press coverage and sometimes awkwardly fit in with an area's older built form. Certainly urban renewal is related to the major population decline in Cogswell, but the falling population in Commons and Spring Garden suggest that the slum clearance may have exacerbated an already underway trend.

Some trends, such as fewer women working in the Commons area, require additional information to be explained. In depth case studies involving surveys, interviews with residents

and developers, and an intimate engagement with an area's built environment are necessary to better explain Cogswell's long term damage from urban renewal or Spring Garden area's apparent renaissance as a vibrant and populous urban neighbourhood. Clear trends are apparent after 1981 when previously empty neighbourhoods began to attract new residents and developments. Focusing on the driving factors behind this transitional period would contribute to a more robust understanding of Halifax's downtown and its diverse residents.

7 Works Cited

Bunting, T. (2004). Decentralization or recentralization?: A question of household versus population enumeration, Canadian metropolitan areas 1971-1996. *Environment and Planning A*, 36, pp.127-147.

Bunting, T., P. Filion, and H. Priston. (2002). Density gradients in Canadian metropolitan regions, 1971-96: Differential patterns of central areas and suburban growth and change. *Urban Studies*, 39(12), pp.2531-2552.

Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (1984). Condominium conversion in the Halifax-Dartmouth area: The effects of tenants and the rental market. Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Canadian Urban Institute. (2013). The importance of investing in Canadian downtowns. Retrieved from <http://www.canurb.com/cui-publications/the-value-of-investing-in-canadian-downtowns-part-two.html>.

Castle Studios (Photographer). (nd). *Corner of Jacob Street and Brunswick*. [Photograph], Retrieved December 7, 2013, from <http://www.novascotia.ca/nsarm/virtual/builtheritage/archives.asp?ID=133>.

Charney, I. (2005). Property developers and the robust downtown: The case of four major Canadian downtowns. *The Canadian Geographer*, 49(3), pp. 301-314.

The City of Halifax. (1945). *The master plan for the City of Halifax*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. (1950). *Halifax ten-year development plan or official town plan, 1950*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. (1971). *The Master Plan!*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. Planning Department. (1972). *Development plan for the Granville Street building moratorium area*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. Planning Department. (1977). *Land development distribution strategy*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. (1978, 1984). *Municipal Development Plan for the City of Halifax*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. Planning Department. (1983). *Population and housing characteristics for the City of Halifax and region: Municipal development plan review: discussion paper number 3*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. Development and Planning Department. (1991). *Population and housing: An overview of recent trends in population and housing in the City of Halifax and their implications*. Halifax.

The City of Halifax. Development and Planning Department. (1992). *The peninsula: Increasing opportunities for high density housing a discussion paper*. Halifax.

Coblentz, H.S. (1963). *Halifax region housing survey: A planning and housing study of the Halifax and Dartmouth metropolitan area*. Halifax: Royal Print and Litho Limited.

Cuthbert, A. and W. Anderson. (2002). An examination of urban form in Halifax-Dartmouth; Alternative approaches in data. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 11(2), pp. 213-237.

Downtown Committee of Halifax. (1973a). *Downtown south: development framework, draft*. Halifax.

Downtown Committee of Halifax. (1973b). *Policy statements and recommendations; from the Downtown Committee of Halifax to his worship the mayor and members of city council*. Halifax.

Downtown Halifax Business Commission. (1994). *Regaining the Momentum: Toward the Year 2000*. Halifax.

Filion, P., H. Hoernig, T. Bunting, and G. Sands. (2004). The successful few: healthy downtowns of small metropolitan regions. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(3), pp. 328-344.

Gordon, D. and S. Vipond. (2005). Gross density and new urbanism: comparing conventional and new urbanist suburbs in Markham, Ontario. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(1), pp. 41-54.

- Government of Nova Scotia. Department of Municipal Affairs. (1979). Halifax-Dartmouth regional development plan review: report 2. Halifax.
- Government of Nova Scotia. Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Affairs. (2013). History of Nova Scotia planning legislation. Retrieved from <http://www.novascotia.ca/snsmr/municipal/government/planning-legislation-history.asp>.
- Grant, J. and M. Paterson. (2012). Scientific cloak/romantic heart: Gordon Stephenson and the redevelopment of Halifax, 1957. *Town Planning Review*, 83(3), 319-336.
- Greater Halifax Partnership. (2012). The Halifax index: an economic gut check with insights for action. Retrieved from <http://www.greaterhalifax.com/site-ghp2/media/greaterhalifax/Index%20-%20Short%20Form%20%28Web%29.pdf>.
- Greater Halifax Partnership. (2011). A greater Halifax: economic strategy 2011-2016. Retrieved from http://www.greaterhalifax.com/site-ghp2/media/greaterhalifax/AGREATERHalifax_Halifax_Economic_Strategy_2011-16.pdf.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (1997). Municipal planning strategy: Unofficial office consolidation. Halifax.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (2006). Regional municipal planning strategy. Halifax.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (2009a). Downtown Halifax land use by-law. Halifax.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (2009b). Downtown Halifax secondary municipal planning strategy. Halifax.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (2012). Halifax Regional Municipality geobase data. Retrieved from <http://gisdata.library.dal.ca/gis/index.php?token=2e7294f3ec3c2faa5c976d617030167a&valid=true>.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (2013). Draft 3: Regional municipal planning strategy. Halifax.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. (nd). Halifax Regional Municipality: Heritage registry - former City of Halifax. Retrieved from <http://www.halifax.ca/planning/HeritageProperties/Documents/HeritagePropertiesHalifax.pdf>.
- Hall, H. and P. Hall. (2008). Decline and no growth: Canada's forgotten urban interior. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 31(1), pp. 1-18.
- Harris, D.C. (2011). Condominium and the city: the rise of property in Vancouver. *Law and Social Inquiry*, 36(3), pp. 694-726.
- Kern, L. (2010). Selling the 'scary city': gendering freedom, fear, and condominium development in the neoliberal city. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 11(3), pp. 209-230.
- Lefebvre, M. and N. Brender. (2006). Canada's Hub Cities: A Driving Force of the National Economy. Retrieved from <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/74f23361-e686-47c4-93e1-f978760cc7ea/022-07canada%27shubcitiesrpt.pdf>.
- Ley, D. and C. Dobson. (2008). Are there limits to gentrification?: the contexts of impeded gentrification in Vancouver. *Urban Studies*, 45(12), pp. 2471-2498.
- Metropolitan Area Planning Commission. (1973). Proposed Halifax-Dartmouth regional development plan. Halifax: Lloyd and Associates Ltd.
- Millward, H. (2000). The spread of commuter development in the Eastern Shore Zone of Halifax, Nova Scotia. *Urban History Review*, 29(1), pp. 21-32.
- Millward, H. (2002). Peri-urban residential development in the Halifax region, 1960-2000: magnets, constraints, and planning policies. *Canadian Geographer*, 46(1), pp. 33-47.
- Millward, H. and T. Bunting. (2008). Patterning in urban population densities: a spatiotemporal model compared with Toronto 1971-2001. *Environment and Planning A* 40, pp. 283-302.
- Millward, H. and G. Xue. (2007). Local urban form measures related to land-use and development period: a case-study for Halifax, Nova Scotia. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 16(2), pp. 53-73.
- Government of Nova Scotia (Archiver). (n.d.). *Halifax Citadel National Historic Site of Canada* [Photograph], Retrieved December 6, 2013 from http://www.novascotia.com/en/home/discovernovascotia/photos/details.aspx.halifaxcitadelnationalhistoricsiteofcanada?nspg=Z2FsbGVyeT1jaXRpZXNhbmR0b3ducw__.
- Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management (Collection). (1967). *Duke Street Tower, Scotia Square, Under Construction* [Photograph], Retrieved December 7, 2013 from <http://www.novascotia.ca/nsarm/virtual/builtheritage/archives.asp?ID=137>.
- Paterson, M. (2009). Slum clearance in Halifax: the role of Gordon Stephenson. (PLAN 6000 independent project). Dalhousie University, Halifax NS. Retrieved from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/pdf/history/mpaterson_thesis.pdf.
- Pilkey, D.W. Government of Nova Scotia. (2005). Census of population: cautions on data use. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ns.ca/finance/communitycounts/documents/Census%20of%20Population%20Usage%20Caveats%20-%20Discussion%20Paper.pdf>.
- Our HRM Alliance. (2012). Our seven solutions. Retrieved from <http://www.ourhrmalliance.ca/our-solution>.

- Ross, N.A., C. Houle, J.R. Dunn, and M. Aye. (2004). Dimensions and dynamics of residential segregation by income in urban Canada, 1991-1996. *The Canadian Geographer*, 48(4), pp. 433-445.
- Rutland, T. (2010). The financialization of urban redevelopment. *Geography Compass*, 4(8), pp. 1167-1178.
- Slater, T. (2004). Municipally managed gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto. *Canadian Geographer*, 48(3), pp. 303-325.
- Statistics Canada. (2012). Structural type of dwelling. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/dict/dwelling-logements013-eng.cfm>.
- Statistics Canada. (2013). Cansim 326-2001: Consumer price index (CPI), 2009 basket. Retrieved from <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/pick-choisir?lang=eng&id=3260021&pattren=3260021&searchTypeByValue=1&p2=42>.
- Stephenson, G. (1957). A redevelopment study of Halifax Nova Scotia. City of Halifax. Retrieved from <http://halifax.ca/archives/documents/711.45.S8ARedevlopmentStudyofHalifaxNovaScotia1957.pdf>.
- Strategic Urban Partnership. (2011). SUP Constitution. Retrieved from <http://strategicurbanpartnership.com/sup-constitution/>.
- University of Toronto. (2009). Canadian census questions since confederation. Retrieved from <http://datalib.chass.utoronto.ca/censusq.htm>.
- Verbeek, D. (2012). Slum clearance and urban renewal: a demographic and spatial analysis of change in downtown Halifax. (Honours Thesis). Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS. Retrieved from http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/pdf/history/dverbeek_thesis.pdf.
- Whitzman, C. (2009). Suburb, slum, urban village: transformations in Toronto's Parkdale neighbourhood, 1875-2002. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification: culture and capital in the urban core. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13, pp. 129-147.