



# Municipally managed gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto

TOM SLATER

Centre for Urban Studies, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol, Bristol BS8 1TZ, UK (e-mail: tom.slater@bristol.ac.uk)

*Earlier studies of Canadian inner-city gentrification, especially in Toronto, project an image of the process as being emancipatory: a middle-class reaction to the oppressive conformity of suburbia, modernist planning and market principles. This paper, a case study of gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto, questions this image by illustrating the role of local context in theory and policy and the consequences of gentrification for vulnerable inner-city populations. Once a desirable residential neighbourhood, South Parkdale experienced disinvestment following the construction of the Gardiner Expressway in the 1960s and also experienced further problems in the 1970s and 1980s following the deinstitutionalisation of psychiatric patients from adjacent hospitals. Discharged patients suffered from a shortage of affordable housing options, and many ended up in substandard rooming houses and bachelorettes, of which South Parkdale has a disproportionate share in Toronto. The neighbourhood's sporadic gentrification since the mid-1980s has intensified in recent years, as the City of Toronto is regularising and licensing the neighbourhood's low-income housing—a major concern for tenants who fear that landlords will use recent provincial legislation on tenancy to attract wealthier residents into their improved buildings. This paper examines this situation with qualitative evidence and argues that gentrification in South Parkdale, driven and managed by neoliberal policy, is far from an emancipatory process and argues for an interpretation of gentrification that looks beyond the experiences of the middle classes.*

*Auparavant, les études de l'embourgeoisement des quartiers déshérités au Canada, particulièrement à Toronto, projet une image du processus comme il était d'une façon libérée: une réaction de la classe moyenne à la conformité oppressive de la banlieue, de la planification moderniste, et des principes du marché. Cet article, une étude de cas de l'embourgeoisement à South Parkdale, Toronto, pose les questions à propos de cette image en illustrant le rôle du contexte local en théorie et en politique, et les conséquences de l'embourgeoisement pour les populations vulnérables des quartiers déshérités. Une fois, un quartier désiré, South Parkdale a connu le désinvestissement après la construction du Gardiner Expressway dans les années 60, et plus de problèmes dans les années 70 et 80 après la déinstitutionnalisation des malades psychiatriques des hôpitaux juxtants. Les malades réformés ont souffert un manque d'options abordables du logement, et plusieurs se sont retrouvées dans les maisons de rapport inférieure aux normes exigées et dans les studios desquels South Parkdale possède une portion disproportionnée à Toronto. Depuis le milieu des années 80, l'embourgeoisement sporadique du quartier s'est intensifié aux années récentes, car la ville de Toronto régularise et donne une licence aux quartiers du logement de rapport inférieure aux normes exigées—un grand souci pour les locataires, qui a peur que les propriétaires vont utiliser la législation provinciale récente de la location pour attirer les résidents nantis dans leurs bâtiments améliorés. Cet article étudie la situation avec l'évidence qualitative et dispute que l'embourgeoisement à South Parkdale, manoeuvré et géré par la politique néolibérale, est très loin d'un processus d'une façon libéré et je propose qu'on a besoin d'une interprétation de l'embourgeoisement qui regarde au dessus des expériences de la classe moyenne.*

## Introduction

Revived interest in the gentrification of central city neighbourhoods in North America, Europe and Australia has led to informative contributions to our understanding of the nuances of the process and its relationship to local, national and global forces (Lees 2000; Badcock 2001; Bridge 2001; Butler and Robson 2001; Wyly and Hammel 2001; Atkinson 2002; Hackworth 2002; Slater 2002; Smith 2002). Currently, the gentrification literature appears to have engaged with the role of policy in facilitating the process (Badcock 2001; Hackworth and Smith 2001; Smith 2002; Lees 2003; Wyly and Hammel 2004), returning to the concerns of earlier research that examined the centrality of policymaking to the movement of middle classes into working-class inner-city areas (Hamnett 1973; Smith 1978; Wilson 1989). The purpose of this paper is to assess whether a specific neighbourhood-level focus on contemporary, policy-driven gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto, still leaves us with the 'emancipatory' perspective on the process projected by earlier research in Toronto (Caulfield 1989, 1994) and other Canadian cities (Ley 1996; Rose 1996). This is an inherently geographical inquiry: Does gentrification in this new context—a different time and a very different place—create the opportunities, demonstrated by earlier researchers, for positive social class interaction, understanding and tolerance? If not, what are the reasons that emancipatory urbanism cannot be detected? As we shall see, political decisions have a major impact on a neighbourhood with a troubled history, warranting a critical engagement with the relationship between urban policy and gentrification.

First, I provide a brief overview of the emancipatory discourse that has emerged from earlier gentrification research in Canada. I then introduce South Parkdale, summarising its early years, before focusing on the principal factors that led to its economic decline and social problems. I explain the causes and consequences of the neighbourhood's current gentrification, demonstrating the impact of both municipal and provincial policies on the neighbourhood's most vulnerable residents. The paper concludes by commenting on the theoretical contribution of this research vis-à-vis earlier work on Canadian city gentrification and by showing what avenues are opened up by my find-

ings. I draw on insights from a broad range of interviewees (forty-one in total) and arguably break new ground in the discussion of the experiences of low-income tenants either displaced or living in fear of displacement triggered by gentrification. These individuals were contacted through liaising with community groups in South Parkdale, whilst other interviewees (policymakers and gentrifiers) were recruited through the strategy of 'snowballing' (Valentine 1997). Qualitative insights, collected from January 2001 to July 2001, were backed up by inspection of secondary sources, especially planning documents and media reports. This is strictly a qualitative inquiry. I do not include census indicators of neighbourhood change over time because they do not illustrate the gentrification that has only very recently picked up pace. The spatial scale of the data is too aggregated, and the subtle changes that are occurring in South Parkdale cannot be discerned by examining socioeconomic descriptive statistics. It thus follows that qualitative data provide the best indication of small-scale changes and, especially, impending changes.

## Emancipatory Gentrification in Canadian Cities

Almost a decade ago, Jon Caulfield (1994) published a detailed account of Toronto's gentrification, now a major reference point for anyone wishing to understand the near-wholesale middle-class resettlement of central Toronto since the 1970s. The book extended arguments made in an earlier paper entitled 'Gentrification and Desire' (Caulfield 1989), where gentrification in Toronto was explained as a middle-class reaction to the repressive institutions of suburban life:

city people...express their feelings...where they are able, individually and collectively, to pursue practices eluding the domination of social and cultural structures and constituting new conditions for experience. For the marginal middle class, resettlement of old city neighbourhoods is among these activities. (Caulfield 1989, 624)

Caulfield viewed gentrification as a 'critical social practice', a response to the city's post-war modernist development and growth-boosterism in what became known as the reform era of the 1970s

(see also Caulfield 1988). Both urban radicals and conservatives in Toronto were dismayed at the municipal government's 1950's and 1960's prioritisation of suburban expansion at the expense of inner-city areas. In reaction, four clusters of actors—traditional city dwellers in each social stratum, the emerging generation of urban planners and professionals,<sup>1</sup> young and highly educated political and cultural activists and the city's growing middle class—joined forces and became a large majority in the reorientation of Toronto's development away from the suburbs back towards the central city (Caulfield 1994, 66–75). These gentrifiers of Toronto were seen to be involved in a deliberate operation of resistance to the dominant ideals of suburbia, breaking free from 'a routine of placeless space and monofunctional instrumentality' (Caulfield 1989, 624–5). Drawing on the urban musings of figures such as Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes and Jonathan Raban, Caulfield outlined the attractions of inner-city neighbourhoods for the marginal middle class:

Old city places offer difference and freedom, privacy and fantasy, possibilities for carnival.... These are not just matters of philosophical abstraction but, in a carnival sense, ... the force that Benjamin believed was among the most vital stimuli to resistance to domination. 'A big city is an encyclopaedia of sexual possibility,' a characterization to be grasped in its wider sense; the city is 'the place of our meeting with the other'. (Caulfield 1989, 625)

The gentrification of many central Toronto neighbourhoods was the outcome, consolidating a new 'postmodern urbanism' (Mills 1988; Knox 1993; Ley and Mills 1993). In her extensive review article, Lees (2000) contended that Caulfield's perspective on gentrification can be seen as 'emancipatory', whereby gentrification is the saviour of the city, quintessentially a positive process of class transformation. Through his portrayal of gentrification as a liberating experience for those involved, Lees (2000, 393) argued, Caulfield's focus was perhaps

less on critical social practice and more on 'emancipatory social practice'. Her contention was that the critical aspects of this social practice were not as clear as Caulfield's characterisation of gentrification as a process that unites different people in the central city, creating opportunities for social interaction and tolerance.

While in Caulfield's work we find the emancipatory discourse on gentrification at its most explicit, the Canadian context is crucial to its emergence, for few positive portrayals of this kind have ever emerged from American city gentrification research<sup>2</sup> (cf. Slater 2002). Caulfield's work was undoubtedly influenced by the long-term investigations of Canadian central city embourgeoisement undertaken by David Ley, who argued that the process was initiated by a nascent marginal counter-culture, where hippies became yuppies (Ley 1996, 201–5), and sought inner-city spaces as an expressive act of resistance against the dominant 1950's and 1960's instrumentalist ideology (Ley 1980, 242). A collective disdain for the blandness and monotony of suburbia, and for the stultifying conventions of the post-war Fordism that facilitated suburban expansion, overcame resilient pathological images of inner-city neighbourhoods and transformed them into sites of resistance, or 'oppositional spaces' as Ley (1996, 210) termed them, 'socially diverse, welcoming difference, tolerant, creative, valuing the old, the hand-crafted, the personalized, countering hierarchical lines of authority'. Artists played a key role in this transformation, as Ley (2003, 2535) has recently shown:

For the aesthetic disposition, commodified locations, like commercialised art, are regarded as sterile, stripped of meaning.... The suburbs and the shopping mall, emblems of a mass market and a failure of personal taste, are rejected. The related but opposing tendencies of cultural and economic imaginaries reappear; spaces colonised by commerce or the state are spaces refused by the artist.

1 This group of actors were heavily influenced by the attack on modernism—and promotion of inner urban neighbourhoods—by Jane Jacobs, who decamped from New York to Toronto in the 1970s and was influential in the successful resistance to the construction of the Spadina Expressway through the centre of the city.

2 Indeed, the dominant discourse to have emerged from the United States is that of revanchism (Smith 1996, 2002)—gentrification as a revengeful attempt to capture the central city from disadvantaged populations perceived by the state to have stolen urban spaces from the middle classes and very much ingrained in neoliberal urban policies seeking to fill the void left by the failure of 1980's liberal urbanism (Wyly and Hammel 2004).

Gentrification follows artists because 'the surfeit of meaning in places habituated by artists becomes a valued resource for the entrepreneur' (Ley 2002, 11). Guided by Bourdieu, Ley (2002, 16) concluded that 'it is the societal valorisation of the cultural competencies of the artist that brings followers richer in economic capital'. These followers are the gentrifiers and the institutions that produce urban space for them. While Ley is more critical than Caulfield of the process of gentrification, particularly its ability to rob cities of their affordable housing stocks and displace the vulnerable, his portrayal of the process is not entirely negative, principally, I contend, because of the research context: the Canadian inner city.

Further evidence of the contextuality of the emancipatory discourse can be found in the work of Damaris Rose, who has long been concerned with the gentrification of Montréal and the ways in which that city can be included in and excluded from broad theoretical stances in the study of gentrification<sup>3</sup> (Germain and Rose 2000). In concert with Caulfield, Rose (1996) contends that the process is not all about inner-city neighbourhoods being rapidly swamped by yuppies and transformed into bourgeois enclaves. Attacking what she views as 'woefully inadequate' stage models of gentrification, Rose points to the fact that many gentrified and gentrifying districts in Montréal in fact continue to exhibit 'social diversity', rather than the more segregated, unhappy outcome demonstrated in American research:

The co-residence of urban professionals of varying levels of income and job security, of traditional residents, and of other groups has proven to date to be an enduring phenomenon in the three Montréal neighbourhoods that underwent the most 'professionalization' in the 1980s. Even at the scale of a city block, rare are the instances where a new social homogeneity has taken hold. (Rose 1996, 157)

Rose, then, does not see gentrification as a homogenising force, and certainly not as a destructive

3 Rose has also been consistently and highly critical of approaches to gentrification that ignore the gendering of gentrification (Rose 1984, 1989; see also Bondi 1991, 1999) and also critical of singular uses of the term 'gentrifier', the simplicity of which ignores the existence of 'marginal gentrifiers' who, she argues, were a major force in the gentrification of Montréal in the 1980s.

force, yet she is fully aware that the Montréal context is responsible for her interpretation:

[I]n Montréal in the 1980s there was insufficient economic 'muscle' behind this facet of inner city 'professionalization'—that is, there were not enough wealthy potential gentrifiers and the city's economy was too weak—to unleash a dynamic of wholesale transformation of the most 'professionalized' neighbourhoods. (Rose 1996, 161)

The key question for Rose, mirroring some other gentrification research in Canadian cities (Dantas 1988; Fillion 1991; Bourne 1992), is set out very clearly:

Where, one might ask, does 'social diversity', with its usually positive connotations, end, and where does the more ominous-sounding 'social polarization' begin? (Rose 1996, 160)

The latter did not seem to be on the horizon in mid-1990's Montréal—the reader is left with positive connotations about gentrification in that city. It is emancipatory because different social groups are brought together by gentrification and, for the moment, seem to be staying together; hence, 'social diversity becomes an issue to be reckoned with rather than dismissed in gentrification theory' (Rose 1996, 161).

Before moving into the case study, it must be clarified that this paper is not another contribution to the remarkably (often annoyingly) resilient theoretical debate over the causes of gentrification. Divisions such as production versus consumption, economics versus culture, supply versus demand, Smith versus Ley were, I believe, overdrawn at the expense of empirical research. For instance, are we really to believe that Ley (1996) ignored the economy in his comprehensive account of the emergence of the post-industrial metropolis, or that Smith's (1996) compelling assessment of the emergence of the revanchist metropolis was divorced from the impact of cultural studies? However valuable theoretical debates may have been as we attempted to understand and explain gentrification, they have become unnecessarily protracted at a time when a once-unexpected empirical phenomenon has now become more or less the expected direction of neighbourhood change throughout cities, which experienced systematic

disinvestment in their centrally located neighbourhoods after World War II (Wyly and Hammel 1999, 2001). I side here with those who advocate a complementary perspective on gentrification (Clark 1992; Lees 1994; Butler and Robson 2001), which involves 'comparing and informing one set of ideas with another' (Lees 1994, 139). Perhaps it is Ley who is most succinct about complementarity:

the interdigitation of economic and cultural competencies and pursuits in the gentrification field makes any statement of mono-causality questionable. *It is not a matter of whether economic or cultural arguments prevail, but how they work together to produce gentrification as an outcome.* (Ley 2003, 2541–2542, emphasis added)

While one cannot dismiss the epistemological importance of earlier gentrification debates, nor deny that strong ideological differences exist between gentrification researchers, I attempt to move the gentrification debate forward by interpreting the links between gentrification, policy and local context in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Toronto's West End and by comparing this interpretation with earlier gentrification research in Canadian cities. Both the production and consumption factors driving gentrification will be clear in the discussion, underpinned by the central roles of municipal and provincial policy.

### From 'The Village by the Lake' to Disinvestment and Deinstitutionalisation

South Parkdale, the southern section of the 'Village of Parkdale' annexed by Toronto in 1889, ten years after its official incorporation, grew rapidly in the late nineteenth century as one of Toronto's first commuter suburbs, facilitated by the development of the railway and, later, the streetcar (Laycock and Myrvold 1991). Streets were laid out to facilitate resident access south to Lake Ontario and north to Queen Street that became the main thoroughfare of commerce and trade, a condition unaltered today (Figure 1). The character of the neighbourhood in the early twentieth century has been captured by a local historian:

In the early days large homes in spacious grounds overlooking the bay with their owners' boats moored

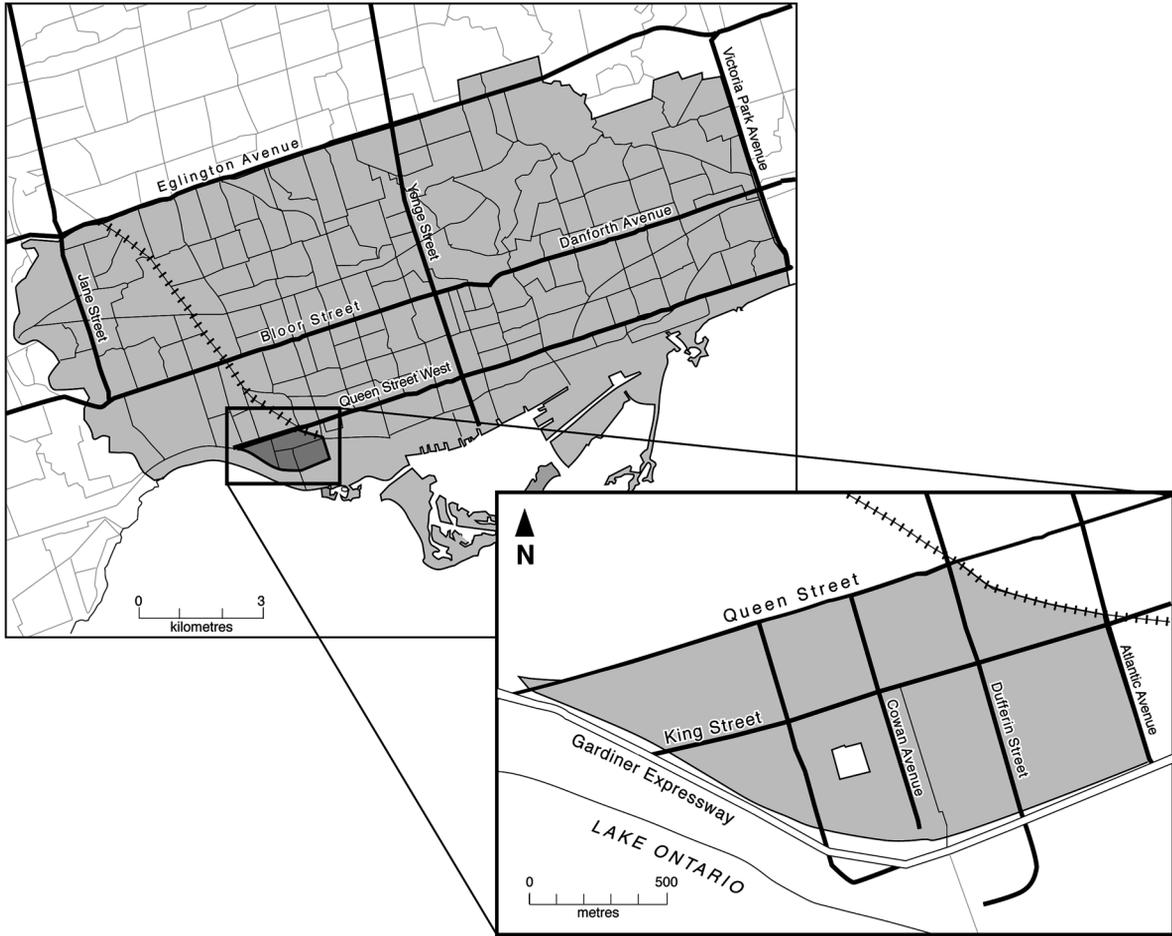
at the jetties characterized the scene.... Comfortable dwellings on large lots then began to fill up the spaces up to Queen Street and within a few years the lofty arches of healthy trees added beauty and shade to the avenue. Commuters from the new suburb were able to board trains... for daily travel to the city. It is not surprising that in the early 20th century Parkdale was considered one of Toronto's most desirable residential locations, a distinction shared only with the district of Rosedale<sup>4</sup> which was also taking shape at the same time. (Howard Walker, quoted in City of Toronto Planning Board 1976, 7)

With the 1922 opening of the Sunnyside Amusement Park and Bathing Pavilion, Toronto's version of Coney Island and *the* major public amenity of the city (Filey 1996), adjacent South Parkdale became known informally as the 'Village by the Lake' (Laycock and Myrvold 1991), with fine Victorian and Edwardian terraces and some substantial mansions housing a largely elite and upper-middle-class population. Up to World War II, South Parkdale, distanced from the central city and an outpost of the upper middle class, was largely insulated from an era in Toronto, which Hiebert (1995, 55) describes as 'a time of massive immigration, economic change and social ferment'.

This situation changed dramatically in the 1950s, when Toronto became a prime site of experimental modernist planning, with expressways leading to suburban expansion seen as signs of progress, legitimised by the ideological banners of 'slum clearance' and 'urban renewal' (Kipfer and Keil 2002). South Parkdale was in the path of the construction of the Gardiner Expressway between 1955 and 1964 and, thus, in the way of 'progress' (Filey 1996, 131). In a destructive stretch of imagination by the City of Toronto, its southern reaches were designated a slum to be cleared. Pierre Filion provides a precise account of the modernist planning ethos behind this designation:

Consistent with modernism's anti-traditionalism, planning visions of the [1959–62] period turned their back on the prewar urban form, depicted as

4 Rosedale, not physically affected by post-World War II metropolitan restructuring, has retained this status (Ley 1993). Several interviewees informed me that South Parkdale was also dubbed 'The Rosedale of the South' in its early days.



**Figure 1**  
The South Parkdale study area, Toronto, Canada

ill-suited to prevailing preferences and needs because of traffic congestion, inadequate parking, deteriorating housing conditions and insufficient green space. The spread of slums was indeed an obsession of the time which sanctioned the call for extensive redevelopment and revitalization efforts. (Filion 1999, 428)

As Toronto's former chief transportation engineer, Robert McBride, recently pointed out:

[w]hen...[the Gardiner Expressway] was built and designed... it was fabulous, a work of genius really. ... It didn't much matter how sensitive the road was or what implications it might have had for the area it

went over because that, by and large, simply wasn't relevant. (Quoted in Hall 2001)

Such a steadfast refusal to consider the local implications of massive urban restructuring ensured that South Parkdale was to be subservient to what was perceived as the common interest—the futuristic infrastructure improvements that would enable Toronto to compete with other North American metropolises and sustain the investment from the United States, which had contributed to its expansion. The residents of South Parkdale had no choice in the matter, as its glory days were now viewed as anachronistic in the face of an elevated,

futuristic freeway that opened up Toronto to greater riches—an attractive prospect at a time when the city's waterfront and central port were suffering from deindustrialisation, neglect and decay (Desfor *et al.* 1988). It is perhaps Fraser (1972, 57) who summed up the attitudes of Toronto's modernist planners best of all: 'they disliked old neighbourhoods simply because they were old'.

By 1959, South Parkdale was completely sliced off from Lake Ontario (Figure 1), the principal amenity that had encouraged its settlement. Along with the bulldozing of Sunnyside Amusement Park, over 170 houses were demolished, and entire streets erased from existence (Caulfield 1994, 33). Development companies then built many high-rise apartment buildings in the neighbourhood, with the City of Toronto hoping that those displaced by the Expressway construction would move in and remain in the neighbourhood (City of Toronto Planning Board 1976). This proved optimistic and unrealistic, however, as the elites and middle classes largely abandoned South Parkdale in favour of other neighbourhoods and the suburbs. Many of the substantial mansions and handsome terraces were demolished to make way for the high-rises. Others were abandoned by owner occupiers and sold to absentee landlords or investment firms who divided them into smaller apartments, and some properties remained vacant as the neighbourhood went into economic decline<sup>5</sup> (Dunn 1974).

A crucial factor underpinning the changing social geography of South Parkdale was its proximity to the Queen Street Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, for a long time the largest facility of its kind in Canada and 'a consistently vital resource' for Toronto's mentally ill (Court 2000). Following a trend sweeping cities across North America at the time, the radical shift of the provincial government towards the deinstitutionalisation of psychiatric patients in favour of 'community-based care' (Dear and Taylor 1982; Marshall 1982; Dear and Wolch 1987; Hall and Joseph 1988; Simmons 1990), together with the 1980's retraction in the role of the Welfare State under economic recession

and a fiscal crisis at the provincial level (Lemon 1993; Hasson and Ley 1994), had profound and lasting effects on a neighbourhood already under stress from metropolitan restructuring and devalorisation. Thousands of patients were discharged from the Queen Street Centre into South Parkdale in the early 1980s (Marshall 1982; Simmons 1990), exacerbating the impact of the 1979 closure of the nearby Lakeshore Provincial Psychiatric Hospital.

South Parkdale suffered disproportionately from a lack of community aftercare policies designed for discharged patients (Joseph and Hall 1985; Simmons 1990). As Dear and Wolch (1987, 107) memorably put it, deinstitutionalisation in Ontario was 'a policy adopted with great enthusiasm, even though it was never properly articulated, systematically implemented, nor completely thought through'. Simmons (1990, 160) is more cutting in his history of mental health care in Ontario:

If by deinstitutionalization we mean a clearcut policy directed toward reducing the population of provincial psychiatric hospitals and establishing community services to receive discharged patients, then no such policy ever existed in Ontario. However, if by deinstitutionalization we mean a deliberate policy of reducing the long-stay population of the large mental hospitals *regardless of what happened to the patients afterward*, then deinstitutionalization began in 1965. (Emphasis added)

Housing was neither plentiful nor adequate for the needs of discharged psychiatric patients, and by 1981, it was estimated that between 1,000 and 1,200 patients lived in South Parkdale (Simmons 1990, 168), in a neighbourhood which by 1985 contained only thirty-nine official 'group homes'<sup>6</sup> (Joseph and Hall 1985, 150). This meant that there were approximately thirty people for each group home—a woefully inadequate supply of housing considering that each group home is supposed to contain only three to ten residents. The responsible supervision a group home was supposed to provide was thus only available to the

5 This coincided with a time of increasing immigration to South Parkdale, which became a 'gateway neighbourhood' (Bourne and Rose 2001) for new immigrants to Canada, especially from the 1970s onwards. However, close attention to the remarkable ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood is beyond the scope of this paper.

6 According to provincial law, a group home is a licensed dwelling in which three to ten unrelated residents live as a family under supposedly responsible supervision, consistent with the requirements of its residents—commonly, discharged psychiatric patients, the physically handicapped, people recovering from addiction problems and ex-offenders.

few—a large majority had to find alternative means of accommodation, usually by themselves as the provincial government refused to provide housing assistance to those discharged, presumably to absolve themselves of responsibility should the housing turn out to be unsatisfactory, or the ex-patient unfit for the dwelling (Ferguson 1981; McLaren 1981). The majority of discharged patients thus gravitated to unofficial boarding homes,<sup>7</sup> to rooming houses or the even smaller bachelorette<sup>8</sup> apartments in the single-family dwellings of the old South Parkdale, all of which saw prolific (and usually illegal) conversion during the 1970s, resulting in one of the highest concentrations of such housing in the city (Figure 2).

As it was home to such a large number of deinstitutionalised patients left to their own devices, South Parkdale became, in academic representations, a 'service-dependent ghetto', or 'a spatial concentration of service-dependent populations and the agencies and facilities designed to serve them' (Dear and Wolch 1987, 9). In media representations, it became a 'little ghetto of misery' where 'children are afraid to play outside' (Christie 1982). A powerful discourse of decline and decay emerged that cloaked South Parkdale's disadvantaged population in the most negative way imaginable. Instead of seen as being people in need, the deinstitutionalised were seen as crazy transients, living in a world away from the alternate, even more powerful discourse of liveability and harmony that emanated from Toronto and contributed to its global image (Whiteson 1982; Croucher 1997). As it has long stood in such contrast to most other neighbourhoods in the city, the reputation of South Parkdale has proved highly resilient, as a recent article in *The Globe and Mail* demonstrates:

Temple Avenue is pure, distilled Parkdale, a street of big old brick houses that have faded from glory. Some have been carved into rooming houses, others muddled by cheap renovations. All are cast in the shadow of run-down apartment buildings on nearby

7 The often intolerable conditions in boarding homes were captured with poignant eloquence by Pat Capponi (1992), a discharged patient who became a leading mental healthcare advocate.

8 A bachelorette is a self-contained mini-apartment, often converted from a rooming house unit—one room that simultaneously contains sleeping, living and dining space, with a separate bathroom within the unit.

streets that stand like walls, fracturing the neighbourhood. A neighbourhood rife with poverty, drugs, and prostitution, ...no place for a child to grow up. Broken glass and wild screaming on the street at night. Prostitutes strolling down the sidewalk. Drunks splayed on the grass asleep. (Philip 2000)

## Architecture, Artists and 'Parkdale Village'

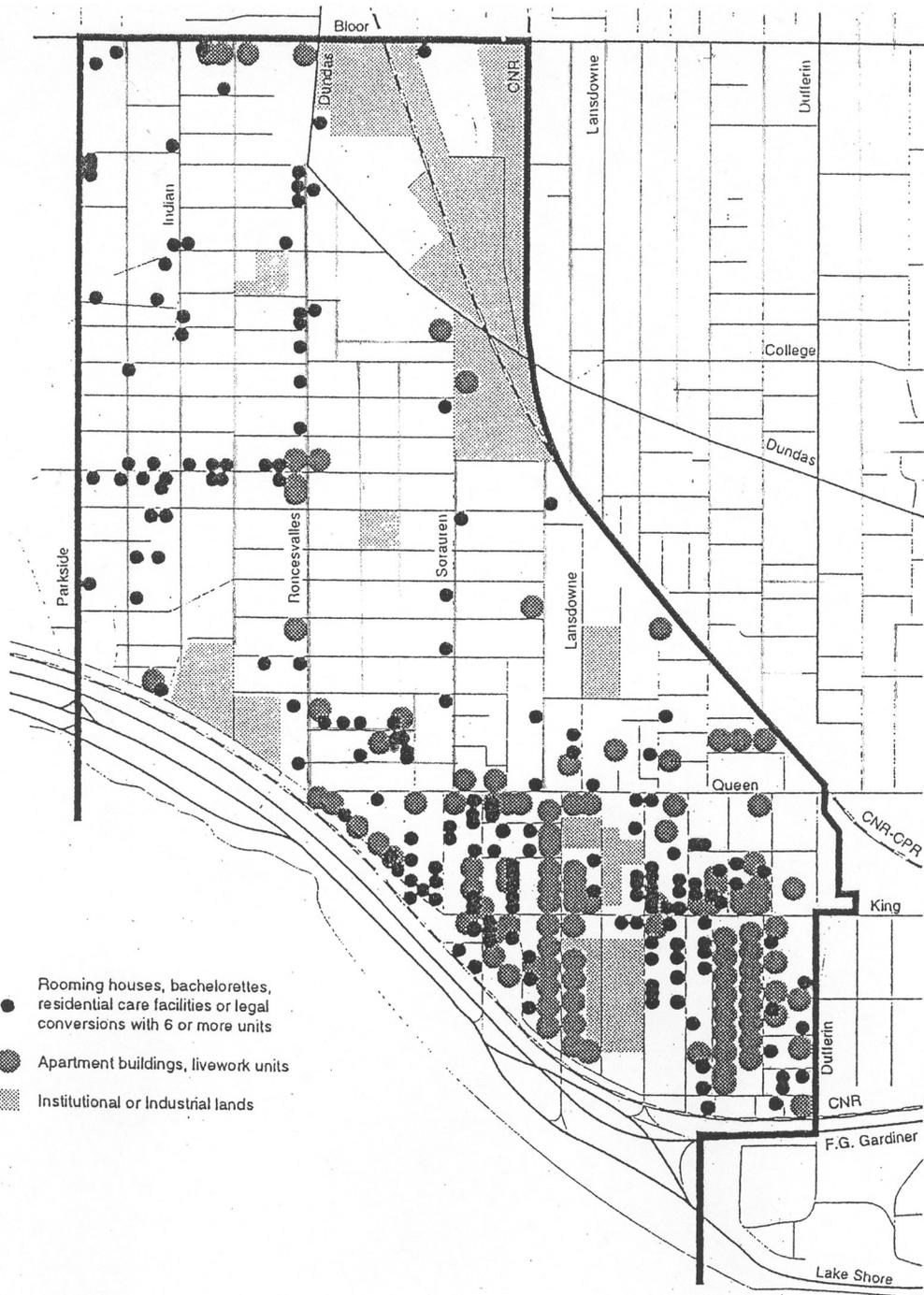
'Parkdale Village'. What a dream. A lot of people will have to be magically transformed, or magically transported, before the Parkdale Village dream can come true. (Geoff Bowie, director and narrator of *Zero Tolerance: A Documentary About a Neighbourhood in Conflict*, 1993)

Given this backdrop, it might seem unlikely that gentrification could take place. Indeed, there are sizeable pockets of poverty in the neighbourhood that show few signs of improving (Filion 1991; Philip 2000). How, then, did a neighbourhood that was often the subject of middle-class derision and fear attract gentrifiers? A closer consideration of some of its characteristics reveals why it has experienced some slow yet continuing middle-class resettlement since the mid-1980s, quickening in pace (though not yet rampant) since the mid-1990s. Discussing the attributes of gentrifying neighbourhoods in Canadian cities, Ley (1996, 104-5) points out that

low-income areas will be entered [by the middle class] if they hold some specific asset such as affordability, a distinctive housing stock, a particular lifestyle ambience, or proximity to downtown and its varied services. ... In the Canadian inner cities, a distinctive period architecture is a common feature of the gentrifying inner neighbourhood.

The following excerpts from interviews with gentrifiers in South Parkdale support this assertion:

We moved here [in 1997] because of the location. It is really easy to get into Downtown if you work in the city, like twenty minutes on the streetcar, and as my husband often goes to Niagara on business, he can get right on the Expressway in about two



**Figure 2**  
The concentration of rooming houses in South Parkdale. (SOURCE: City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997)

minutes. The houses here are so beautiful, and affordable, which was a big reason for us because everywhere else was so expensive. Plus, they're Victorian, and large, and you just can't find this type of housing anymore without paying a fortune for it. You get way more space for the price in this neighbourhood, and our friends who stop by just can't believe how little we paid for this place. Yes the crime is a concern and yes it is a rougher neighbourhood than many others but the benefits far outweigh those burdens. (Kathryn, interview, 29 January 2001)

I guess I liked the architecture, the wide, tree-lined streets, the easy access to Downtown and the park [High Park, Toronto's largest public park], and above all, because people were bothered by what they saw on the streets, it was incredibly cheap. I had always wanted a Victorian home and this was the only neighbourhood left where they were affordable [in 1999]. As I am an interior designer and the place needed a lot of work, it was ideal for me to experiment with my ideas. When you settle here, you wonder what all the fuss is about, really. It's a great place to live and not as pretentious as some other neighbourhoods. (Paul, interview, 17 February 2001)

Other interviewees drew an equivalence with Cabbagetown, Toronto's most famous gentrified neighbourhood:

I ran into a lady, a friend of a friend, in the hardware store out on Queen Street. I thought she still lived in The Annex, and I said 'Hey, what are you doing in this neighbourhood?' and she said 'Oh, I live here now.' I said 'Why did you move?', and she goes 'Didn't you hear? Parkdale's going to be the new Cabbagetown!' (Laurie, interview, 7 April 2001)

First and foremost we moved here because we couldn't find any other neighbourhoods where you could snap up a solid Victorian house for such a cheap price. It's kind of like how Cabbagetown was in the 1960s—working-class, a kind of 'down' feel about it, but loads of really nice houses with great potential. The value of our house has nearly doubled in the 7 years we have lived here, for two reasons. First, we put a lot of money into making it look great again, and second, more people are discovering that this might be 'Cabbagetown the sequel', so prices have gone up. (Sarah, interview, 16 March 2001)

Tying this evidence together, one can speculate that it was the insalubrious reputation of South Parkdale that kept property values down, and this was a major factor in the gradual resettlement of parts of the neighbourhood by the middle classes. As house prices rose elsewhere in the city during the mid-to-late-1980's real estate boom, a growing segment of professional middle classes who favoured 'old city' places (Caulfield 1989, 1994) found a handsome, spacious and affordable Victorian and Edwardian architectural heritage on South Parkdale's broad, tree-lined streets, with easy access to employment in downtown Toronto. Their expectations were that property values would eventually rise as the neighbourhood's profile rose, leading to handsome profits in years to come, a very clear suggestion of a significant 'rent-gap' (Smith 1996) to be closed in South Parkdale.

Another factor behind increasing gentrification has been South Parkdale's growing reputation as a community of artists. Much has been written about the role of artists in either initiating or facilitating gentrification (Zukin 1982; Smith 1996; Podmore 1998; Mele 2000; Solnit and Schwartzberg 2000; Ley 2002). Often portrayed in the media as 'pioneers' crossing a 'frontier' where a 'wild' neighbourhood is then 'tamed' by a trendy, counter-cultural, hip new class of resident (see Smith 1996, 12–29, for a penetrating critique of these metaphors), artists have been shown to prime entire neighbourhoods for the real estate industry—the first group who set up opportunities for further reinvestment and profit. Toronto has not escaped the impact of artists, nor the celebratory media imagery that accompanies artists in the inner-city:

There's no better sign of urban health than the relationship between a city and its artists. Inevitably, cities with vibrant art communities are also successful economically, socially and politically. The connection is complex, but direct. A good example of this symbiosis can be seen in the role artists play as urban pioneers, colonizing neglected and rundown areas of the city and quickly making them irresistible to the forces of gentrification. (Hume 2001)

The 'neglected and rundown' (though by no means undiscovered) South Parkdale is bordered

to the north by the vital artery of Queen Street West. The westward movement of gentrification throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s along this street<sup>9</sup> towards South Parkdale can be detected in the mushrooming of artists' studios and galleries, trendy cafés, cloth shops and restaurants, live/work spaces and, more recently, the explosion of loft-living in converted warehouses.

For many who know the area, the South Parkdale section of Queen Street represents the final frontier of the street's artistic and cultural (and social) transformation. While reinvestment has been somewhat pedestrian compared to the rapid gentrification of areas to the east in earlier decades, in the last few years, signs of gentrification can be observed, such as in the appearance of small independent art galleries, a few bohemian cafés with names like 'Nine of Cups' and 'Rustic Cosmo Café' and particularly the presence of 1313 Queen Street, an old art-deco police station that has become 'Gallery 1313' (<http://www.g1313.org>), the live/work headquarters of the Parkdale Village Arts Collective (PVAC). The PVAC was formed in 1994 under the auspices of the federally funded Parkdale Village Business Improvement Association (BIA), with the objective of 'promoting the arts community' in the neighbourhood—hardly surprising given the BIA's mission 'to revitalize the Village of Parkdale'. It regularly houses exhibitions of contemporary art and has become something of a centrepiece for the large community of artists in Toronto's west-end—and, more significantly, it has served to attract their middle-class patrons (cf. Ley 2002). One of the BIA's main strategies has been a re-designation of the neighbourhood as 'Village of Parkdale, 1879' on many of the streetposts, undoubtedly an effort to put South Parkdale on the cultural map and encourage the middle classes to buy into the rich architectural, social and cultural heritage of the neighbourhood.

Artists have congregated in South Parkdale because studio and gallery rents are affordable and because the 'edginess' of the neighbourhood serves to amplify the message of their art:

What has been happening in the last few years is that all the other places where artists have their studios have become too expensive for the whole live/work thing you're hearing about. Parkdale's a blessing for us—not only was it relatively cheap to 'set up shop', so to speak, but it also had the kind of social scene that we look for. You'll never find contemporary, young artists in places like Rosedale or the suburbs because they are monotonous, stuffy and let's face it, they're just boring. Parkdale was the opposite—it is a BIG reality check for anyone who comes here. People live right on the edge, giving the whole place a kind of edgy feel, which offers ideas and a sort of niche for expression in art. You're never going to find that kind of thing in financial districts or neighbourhoods with loads of families. ...It's the same the world over—I was reading this book the other day, all about lofts and artists, and all these lofts in places like Barcelona, Paris, San Francisco are in pretty run-down areas. Artists go there because they're cheap and they're right on the edge of society. What we have to hope for now is that this area stays cheap, or we're going to have to go to the suburbs! It's the last place left for us! (Sal, interview, 27 June 2001)

It is now casually estimated (by the interviewee above) that over 600 artists now live in the neighbourhood, gradually grinding away at the long-time and hardly aesthetically appealing (to the middle classes) status quo of the South Parkdale stretch of Queen Street. Artists have the complete, uncritical support of the city, as was revealed to me by the City Councillor for the administrative ward that contains South Parkdale:

The Parkdale section of Queen [Street] is a legacy of hard times in the late '80s and early '90s, but it's improving. We've been working hard with the BIA to get little pockets of businesses into Queen Street so that other businesses will follow. Things are improving with the influx of the art galleries. This is the way we need to go, we need to open up the street to that sort of business. I was instrumental in that because I was on the board that helped to legalise live/work spaces for artists who were living in poor conditions. So with Queen Street what is needed are speciality stores that will serve people in the neighbourhood and attract people from beyond it. It's not great at the moment, but it's getting there. We do need more pride from businesses on Queen Street, like cleaning

9 See Ley (1996, 94): 'Along the Queen Street West axis, social change is associated with the arts and cultural scene'.

up windows, storefronts, signs, that kind of thing.  
(City Councillor, interview, 2 April 2001)

In a study undertaken by the City of Toronto in 1997 (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 18), it was noted that 'the negative images of this area can be related back to the condition and use of this street' and eradicated any doubt over the links between artists and revitalisation in this context by suggesting that 'street banners [should] be hung as a means to advertise it as an artists' district'.

### Municipally Managed Gentrification

The resettlement of the middle-class homeowners and tenants who have been following the artists has not been welcomed by the substantial number of low-income tenants in the neighbourhood,<sup>10</sup> who are now threatened by displacement resulting from either the closure or deconversion of rooming houses and bachelorette buildings. As Filion (1991, 563) has warned, '[t]he specific impact of gentrification on Toronto tenants is to exacerbate the tightness of the rental market by causing the withdrawal of generally cheap accommodation from this market'. The cheapest forms of permanent rental accommodation currently available in Toronto, both rooming houses and bachelorettes are a consistently vital resource for the city's low-income population. Together with gentrification, a lack of profits for landlords, 'nimbyism' from middle-class residents' associations (Lyons 2000), new zoning restrictions and closure through illegality and poor safety standards, such dwellings have declined significantly across Toronto since the 1980s, a decline that a number of researchers have linked to the explosive growth of homelessness in the city (Filion 1991; Dear and Wolch 1993; Ley 1996; Harris 2000; Layton 2000; Peressini and McDonald 2000).

Rooming houses and bachelorettes in South Parkdale, often synonymous with the neighbourhood to those who live outside it, have long been a source of community conflict. Tension is

10 In 1996, a staggering 93.2 percent of the population in the neighbourhood's four census tracts were tenants, 45.1 percent of households were single-person households compared to the citywide 21.9 percent, and the average household income was \$34,004 per annum compared to the citywide average of \$68,251 (Statistics Canada 1996).

rife between low-income tenant advocates and the South Parkdale Residents' Association (SPRA), a small group of middle-class homeowners who joined together to voice their concerns to the municipal government about the continued presence of such housing, viewed as a hindrance to South Parkdale returning to their ideal of 'Parkdale Village'. Where the SPRA are primarily concerned with the 'effects on the community' and their property values, tenant advocacy groups in the neighbourhood are concerned with the abysmal and hazardous conditions for many low-income (and often mentally ill/disabled) tenants in these dwellings and lobbied hard for the city's recognition of and action towards these conditions. By the mid-1990s, the city was under intense pressure from different groups of residents, and it was realised that action on the low-income housing in the neighbourhood was required to mediate the ongoing conflicts within its borders.

In December 1996, the City of Toronto passed an 'interim control by-law' that prohibited any rooming house/bachelorette development or conversion in the administrative Ward that contains South Parkdale, pending the outcome of an area study. The results were released in July 1997, in the form of proposals for discussion (among community groups) entitled *Ward 2 Neighbourhood Revitalization* (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997). An examination of the document provides a fascinating insight into what the City of Toronto viewed as the principal social problem of the area—the presence of low-income single-persons in single-person dwellings. The broad objective of the proposals was spelled out concisely and without disguising the intent:

To stabilize a neighbourhood under stress and *restore a healthy demographic balance*, without dehousing of vulnerable populations. (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 17, emphasis added)

Tables, graphs and, most importantly, language were used to illustrate what the City viewed as an 'unhealthy' balance:

[T]he area has gone from a stable neighbourhood, with a healthy mix of incomes and household types, to one with a *disproportionately large number of single occupancy accommodation* [sic] (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 1, emphasis added)

At the request of [the City] Councillor...[the] Land Use Committee requested the Commissioner of Planning and Development...to report back on a *strategy to encourage families to return to Ward 2*. (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 3, emphasis added)

It does not take sophisticated decoding of this document to realise that a concentration of singles is viewed as unhealthy, whilst a concentration of families is viewed as healthy; therefore an influx of families is seen as the remedy for the condition in which South Parkdale currently finds itself. While the objective states that 'dehousing' of vulnerable populations would be avoided during revitalisation, it is not easy to see how this can be achieved because South Parkdale's most vulnerable are singles—the welfare-dependent, mentally ill and socially isolated. A defensible argument can be put forward that these proposals were not drawn up to improve the conditions for singles already in South Parkdale but drawn up to *reduce* the percentage of singles in the neighbourhood, with middle-class families from other areas taking their place.

It is instructive here to turn to the work of Sommers (1998) on the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver. In this absorbing historiography, Sommers demonstrates that pathological representations of single males living in lodging houses and single room occupancy hotels have been implicated in the social construction of the 'skid road' neighbourhood (as it was formerly known) and served to legitimise revitalisation proposals:

Since the early 1950s...the presence of large numbers of single men and their problematic conduct had been treated as primary causal factors in the deterioration of the built environment...[and] the skid road's inhabitants were considered to be the *cause* of urban blight and decay. *The skid road was distinguished precisely by its lack of both families and the respectability that somehow accompanied them*. ...Skid road Vancouver...was socially constructed as a zone of abjection populated by abject figures whose conduct resulted in rampant disease, disorder and danger, which put both individuals and the larger community at risk of degradation. (Sommers 1998, 296–7, emphasis added)

There is a striking parallel here with how South Parkdale's problems were constructed in the 1997

proposals of the City of Toronto. Metaphors of disease and decay accentuated the somehow inferior status of single tenants (both sexes in the Toronto case) relative to family homeowners, and the blame for the neighbourhood's decline was placed on individual fecklessness and deviance (such as drug dealing and prostitution) rather than the complex entanglements of policy-led deinstitutionalisation and disinvestment that are the principal reasons behind the neighbourhood's troubles. The spatial concentration of low-income single people is consistently portrayed as the neighbourhood's disease, the introduction of middle-class people, particularly middle-class families, portrayed as the cure.

As rooming houses and bachelorettes house a significant proportion of the singles in the neighbourhood, new legislation concerning this type of accommodation was proposed in the document. Working on the incorrect assumption that 'an oversupply of small units has existed for some time' (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 23), two strategies were put forward. First, a new zoning system, limiting the number of units permitted in new developments to 'one or two units per lot' and prohibiting any additional small apartments and small units. The rationale confirms the intention to attract families:

Limiting the number of units in future conversions to two will automatically ensure that at least one, and probably both the units will be large enough for family occupancy. The second rental unit, if provided as a rental unit, *could assist a young family in carrying a mortgage on their house*. (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 26–7, emphasis added)

Second, plans were drawn up to deal with existing rooming houses and bachelorettes in the form of 'strategic prosecutions' and possible closures of the worst-case properties, enforcement of minimum health and safety standards and the inspection and legalisation of current conversions (as many are illegal following non-compliance with a moratorium on new conversions passed in 1978). If it were not for the language of family life contained throughout the report, one would think that this second strategy was a sensible and humane way of improving the conditions for tenants in these properties. Moreover, one cannot help but

be sceptical about the broader motive behind these plans, particularly after reading this sentence:

[We will] deal fairly with properties that already contain bachelorettes and rooming houses, so that the credibility of the City's Zoning By-law is not diminished, the properties are maintained at, or above, minimum health and safety standards and, over time, *these small units are gradually replaced with larger units and the tenants are relocated.* (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1997, 17, emphasis added)

The proposals in the draft and final report the following year were presented at a community meeting organised by the City in South Parkdale in October 1998. Tensions were high following a fire at a huge rooming house on Queen Street, in which two people died, and the meeting was taken over by the Parkdale Common Front, a coalition of anti-poverty activist groups, who united against any form of discriminatory zoning and argued that these proposals were tantamount to 'social cleansing' (Lyons 1998; Kipfer and Keil 2002, 255). It was bringing the buildings up to standard, rather than prosecuting owners, shutting them down or reducing unit size, that was the preferred solution for these groups. The City went back to the drawing board, and throughout the next few months, demonstrations took place outside City Hall to protest against the proposals (Figure 3). Responding to criticism that they had been exclusive of low-income interests in the neighbourhood, the City then invited members of all stakeholders to a series of meetings, in what became known as the 'Parkdale Conflict Resolution'. In October 1999, the outcome of the meetings was published, and it still contains some telling phrasing:

The proliferation of illegally converted small dwelling spaces has contributed to the decline of health of the community. (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1999, 3)

However, this report is quieter on the issue of attracting families (a reaction to the uproar generated by this issue at the October 1998 community meeting) and there is no longer any mention of restricting future developments to one or two units per lot—clearly the issue of most concern to

the Parkdale Common Front. Nevertheless, the 1996 ban on all new rooming houses and conversions remained in place, and a team of planners and building inspectors, called the Parkdale Pilot Project (PPP), was formed to deal with the overcrowding, illegality and poor safety of many of the existing multi-unit dwellings; its manifesto is presented in Figure 4. The requirement for licensing eligibility most relevant to this discussion is that all units in a building must comply with the minimum unit size of 200 ft<sup>2</sup> (City of Toronto Urban Development Services 1999, 14); whereas a study undertaken in 1976 by the City of Toronto (City of Toronto Planning Board 1976) revealed that many bachelorette units are smaller than 200 ft<sup>2</sup>. Since many remain unchanged since this study was undertaken, bringing buildings up to standard would almost certainly lead to the loss of smaller units and to the displacement of tenants.

A representative of the PPP provided a revealing glimpse into the continued wish of the City to reduce the percentage of single-person housing:

Generally accepted planning principles suggest that healthy neighbourhoods support a diversity of housing opportunities for families, couples and singles. There is a planning concern that by tipping the balance too much in favour of small, essentially single-person housing, that healthy diversity will be lost and the area will become ghettoised as more and more of the housing stock is abandoned by families and converted into bachelorettes and rooming houses. ... So what we are doing now is bringing current conversions into the light, and banning all new ones. (Interview, 20 June 2001)

It is interesting how the emphasis on family housing in earlier reports is now disguised with language such as 'a diversity of housing opportunities'. South Parkdale's City Councillor also made his views on the situation very clear:

The City of Toronto has a responsibility to provide safe housing for ex-psychiatric patients, but my community shouldn't take the full load, and the reason it has in the past is because of the proliferation of small, cheap units. When a building is converted into bachelorettes, it's hard to deconvert back to a larger property again, so the zoning restrictions remain in place to ensure that Parkdale doesn't

## SOCIAL CLEANSING IN PARKDALE



### DEMONSTRATION

**When: THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1999 at 12 noon**

**Where: Corner of Queen Street West & Cowan Avenue  
(In front of the Parkdale Library)**

**Leave for City Hall at 1:00 p.m.**

***FREE FOOD and POP***

- The City of Toronto is declaring war on the tenants of Parkdale.
- They want to shut down small apartments and rooming houses by enforcing a City "BY-LAW" which prohibits rooming houses and bachelorette apartments. This discriminates against people of low income and disabilities who need this kind of housing. This is Social Cleansing.
- The City has already shut down 4 Elm Grove (a bachelorette building) and evicted all the tenants.
- Now they want to shut down other bachelorettes and rooming houses.
- Don't let them get away with this.
- If the City of Toronto is as serious about homelessness as they say they are, they should not shut down any bachelorettes and rooming houses until the crisis in affordable housing is fixed.
- Join us on Thursday, May 13, at 12 Noon at the Corner of Queen and Cowan.
- Join us to visit Mayor Mel Lastman to tell him that if the City of Toronto is serious about homelessness, it should not shut down any bachelorettes or rooming houses. It should fix them up.

**FIX THEM UP, DON'T SHUT THEM DOWN**

**FIX THEM UP, DON'T KICK US OUT**

**THE COMMON FRONT TO DEFEND POOR NEIGHBOURHOODS**

**(416) 760-2149 Or (416) 925-6939**

**Figure 3**

Anti-gentrification flyer distributed in South Parkdale, 1999



**Figure 4**  
Manifesto of the City of Toronto's Parkdale pilot project

collapse into slum conditions. (Interview, 2 April 2001)

These comments suggest that the City of Toronto is now using laws on building safety and licensing to fulfil a broader objective, which is to rebalance the population of South Parkdale in what might be considered 'municipally-managed gentrification' (Forrest and Murie 1988, 148)—a concerted effort to break away from South Parkdale's immediate traumatised past. While the move to inspect some of these substandard properties and improve health and safety standards is to be applauded, there is much in the planning proposals and documents, not to mention much in what I heard from community residents, to suggest that gentrification is a priority equal to, and possibly higher than, the improvement of low-income tenants' living standards. The comments of the director of a drop-in centre for the homeless and mentally ill in the heart of South Parkdale lend considerable credence to this suggestion:

The history of bad rooming house operators in Parkdale was a major influence behind the current policy, because so many of these places were overcrowded with tenants living in awful conditions, with slumlords taking no interest in the property. I think the City's legislation was a response to these poorly run rooming houses as they were extremely unsafe, and in many instances the tenants were left to their own devices and they became crack houses, which of course is a serious issue for a neighbourhood and a community. But the problem with the zoning legislation is that it was proposed in a neighbourhood with one of the largest, if not the largest, populations of psychiatric survivors in Canada, and the people living in rooming houses like this have nowhere else to go. Admittedly there's also an obvious drive to encourage more families to live in Parkdale, as singles are seen as less sensitive to community issues, so the legislation was perhaps intended to make space for a family value ethic, which Parkdale has not had since the before the Gardiner [Expressway]. (Interview, 11 April 2001)

In recent years, responsibility for this drive to encourage the middle-class resettlement of South Parkdale has not only been in the hands of the municipal government, but indirectly with the provincial government. While provincial policies are

not geared towards particular neighbourhoods, they nevertheless have a significant influence on the ways in which Canadian urban spaces are lived and contested (Goldberg and Mercer 1986; Stoecker and Vakil 2000). The threats to South Parkdale's poor posed by gentrification were compounded by the aggressively neoliberal conservative (1995–2003) provincial government (Keil 2000, 2002). In June 1998, their unfortunately named 'Tenant Protection Act' came into effect, the hallmark of which was the introduction of *vacancy decontrol*—the elimination of rent control on vacant units. When an apartment becomes vacant through 'natural turnover', the landlord may charge whatever they think they can make on the unit to a new tenant. Qualitative evidence confirms that landlords now have a powerful financial incentive to attract a new tenant and often do so with maintenance improvements:

I've lived here since 1995, and I usually paid my \$400 [per month] rent on time. Then two years ago [early 1999], the landlord puts a letter under my door saying he has re-financed the building and has put in a new boiler [sic], so my rent will be \$630, and if I can't pay it then I should take it up with the [Ontario Rental] Housing Tribunal. So I called him and said you can't do this as I can't afford it, and then he says to me 'I know you have been a good tenant but I can't afford to keep you here anymore'. So I tell him how desperate I am because I only get \$520 a month in welfare. I think he started to feel sorry for me and then he says I can stay for \$450. I thought that is better than being on the street, so that's what I pay now. (Celia, interview, 22 March 2001)

This leaves Celia, an unemployed single mother with bipolar disorder living in a bachelorette building with her two year old daughter, with \$70 a month for all necessities other than the rent.

Bob, a pensioner who has lived in the neighbourhood for thirty-six years, revealed the problems that the neighbourhood's gentrification causes for seniors without a substantial pension fund:

I got kicked out of my house [in 1999]. I couldn't afford the rent anymore as it kept going up and up as all these young folks started moving into the neighbourhood. My rent was the same for 15 years, but I think around 1994 it started to creep up as the

landlord said his bills were becoming too high. I fell five months behind and then the landlord had me evicted about two years ago. Then my friend Irene who lived in the apartment next to me says that he then leased it to this young couple for \$1,050 a month, which is double what I paid! Now I live with my younger sister....I'm looking for places all the time, as I don't want to be in a retirement home as I am too young for that, but there's like one ad in *The [Toronto] Star* every week and it's gone by the time you call up. (Bob, interview, 23 March 2001)

Landlords are now less likely to negotiate if a low-income tenant falls into arrears of rent payments, because the Tenant Protection Act paves the way for them to attract middle-class tenants paying higher rents. This has 'wreaked absolute havoc' on low-income tenants in South Parkdale, according to a legal worker working in housing issues at a non-profit legal aid clinic in the neighbourhood:

In the past you could get your landlord to negotiate with you. Now the impetus is to get rid of you, totally, as they will pay off the arrears they lose when they get a richer tenant paying way more rent....The landlord has no reason, if they think they can get more for that unit, to forgive the people who are in arrears of rent. (Legal worker in South Parkdale, interview, 12 February 2001)

Also, according to this same respondent, evictions for reasons other than arrears of rent appear to be on the rise:

It's anything, anything at all. I've heard them all. From noise, to damage, to making room for the landlord's family, a pet they suddenly decide they won't allow anymore. I can't think there are just suddenly more bad tenants in the neighbourhood! *This is no coincidence...the stories I have heard show that the Tenant Protection Act is contributing to gentrification.* The landlord has a huge financial incentive towards getting a low-paying tenant out, and if they have no conscience, then the provincial laws are in their favour to assist with the eviction. (Legal worker in South Parkdale, interview, 12 February 2001, emphasis added)

The words of Yudon, a Tibetan immigrant who arrived in Toronto with her family in 1998 as a political refugee, now renting a tiny bachelorette

in the neighbourhood, provide a deeply troubling indictment of provincial legislation:

A year after we moved into our apartment, the landlord appeared on our doorstep with a letter saying that our rent was going to go from \$580 to \$685. I tried to plead with him but he wouldn't let me, and I didn't know if he was allowed to do this, so I went to the Legal Services people to see what they could do. They told me that my landlord is a nasty man who takes advantage of recent immigrants and poor people as he thinks we do not understand the rules and all the forms you have to complete, and also he knows we are afraid of being kicked out. When the Legal Services people said that I needed to provide a copy of the landlord-tenant agreement for them to help me, I called him to ask for it and then he showed up at my door again saying, 'well, what can you pay?' and then he said 'if you promise me you will never go to the Legal Services people ever again, I will give you a discount'. So we agreed on \$630 a month, and he said to me 'if you can't pay up on time you're out of here'. (Yudon, interview, 20 March 2001)

Yudon continued to tell me about an ongoing predicament that is faced not just by her family but by other tenants in the same building:

Everyone in the building is really scared of him. If we complain, the City inspectors might show up and we are going to get thrown out of here as we are probably in here illegally as none of us have signed a lease, and it's really damp and cold in the winter, and we don't have a fire escape. My neighbour told me that the inspectors are never on our side, always with the landlord. (Yudon, interview, 20 March 2001)

Yudon and her family are thus in an *no-win* situation—if they complain, they face mandatory displacement from a building that is not up to PPP standards, and if they do not complain, they remain tenants trapped with an unethical landlord, living in substandard accommodation and dreading another inevitable rent-increase letter. The stories of Yudon and some of her low-income neighbours make Layton's (2000, 81) assessment of the Tenant Protection Act seem worryingly truthful:

The ironically named Tenant Protection Act accomplished precisely the opposite result for tenants—

exposing them to increased pressure by making evictions more profitable and easier to accomplish.

Not only are there stories of threatened and actual displacement to be heard in South Parkdale, there is also a contradiction between the two levels of government concerning the PPP. Following any mandatory maintenance/safety improvements ordered by the PPP inspectors, the landlord can still apply to the province for an above-guideline rent increase allowed under the Tenant Protection Act, so that the costs of regularisation can be downloaded to the tenant. If the municipal government really is attempting to improve the existing housing stock 'without dehousing of vulnerable populations', its work may be undone by this loophole in the provincial government's tenant legislation. The qualitative result is that both levels of government appear to be contributing to the desired rebalance of the 'unhealthy' demographics of South Parkdale.

## Social Tectonics

To explain the social impacts of gentrification on South Parkdale, it is instructive to turn to the work of Robson and Butler (2001). Undertaking qualitative gentrification research in Brixton, London, they found that social relations

might be characterized as 'tectonic'. That is to say, broadly, that relations between different social and ethnic groups in the area are of a parallel rather than integrative nature; people keep, by and large, to themselves. ... Social groups or 'plates' overlap or run parallel to one another without much in the way of integrated experience in the area's social and cultural institutions. This does not make way for an especially cosy settlement, and many residents, middle class or otherwise, speak of palpable tensions. (Robson and Butler 2001, 77–8)

The 'tectonic' social structure is reinforced by minimal class interaction and conflict. As Robson and Butler argue, ways of life and experiences of place are so markedly different between middle- and working-class Brixtonians that they rarely come into social contact with each other, despite 'physical' contact on the streets. It is somewhat ironic that this structure of class isolation and absence of social capital exists in a place that

attracts gentrifiers because of its social heterogeneity and multiculturalism. As these authors explained in a companion essay, a tectonic social structure 'celebrates diversity in principle but leads to separate lives in practice' (Butler and Robson 2001, 2157).

One of the ways in which the tectonic condition is generated and sustained is by 'nimbyism'. In an earlier work on the gentrification of Hackney, London, Butler (1997) has argued that middle-class gentrifiers, like a number of other social groups, seek to live a life that is exclusive of those who are not, in their eyes, 'people like us'. In South Parkdale, incoming gentrifiers are confronted by an abundance of people who are not like them, and they do not like what they see:

I knew what this area was like before I got here, so it wasn't a shock to me to see so many people who struggle to make ends meet. What I realised soon after I arrived was the toll it takes on you to be around antisocial behaviour day in and day out. The cop cruising, the prostitutes, the johns, the wackos in the back alleys selling drugs, people staggering around drunk yelling abuse at you, people yelling at 4 in the morning—it kind of wears you down, and you know there is nothing you can do about it unless you are a cop or an outreach worker. Things have got better in recent years, which I think is because there are people moving in who are not like that, who want to live respectably and make this neighbourhood what it used to be. ... While I do sympathise with people in Parkdale who haven't had the chances in life like I have, there are still too many of them in one place, and as we know all too well around here, that can't ever be a good thing for a community. (Oliver, interview, 19 June 2001)

'Nimby' attitudes are very much based on the fear of a stigmatised 'other' (Watson 1999; Simmie and Nunes 2001)—in this case, the mentally ill. While it would be a gross distortion to argue that these fears are common to every middle-class resident in the neighbourhood (not to mention incorrect to portray these fears as exclusively a middle-class trait), it would also be a distortion to gloss over the extent to which the prospects of many of the neighbourhood's less fortunate are worsened by sentiments that arise from wide disparities in life chances and experiences and from a poor understanding or lack of tolerance of the difficulties

facing people struggling to adjust to life outside an institutional environment. One individual made his feelings on the symptoms of poverty very clear:

It does become rather tiring living here sometimes, when you constantly live near drug dealers, hookers, and these real low-life, pathetic creatures. We joined a Residents Association, which made a real effort to get the message across that we needed to get rid of these people to stop the neighbourhood becoming like the South Bronx. We worked closely with the police in the early '90s to achieve this goal, and things have improved quite a lot. (Bruce, interview, 21 February 2001)

Bruce is not alone in his desire to rid South Parkdale of what he sees as its 'undesirable' element, a desire that is based on ignorance of the problems experienced by those who he terms 'low-life, pathetic creatures'. Take Mike:

There is an ever-present population of vagrants and drunks, and lots of people who seem to have checked out of the mental hospital too early. I just ignore them as there isn't any point in being neighbourly as they will probably slap me or say some weird shit which I won't be able to understand. Plus, you just avoid the areas where they hang out and God help you if you live next door to a rooming house. The sooner they get sold and renovated, the better, as they are a real nuisance and barrier to community spirit I think. (Mike, interview, 14 March 2001)

In his rousing analysis of social exclusion, Sibley (1995, 86) crystallises the effect of these attitudes:

[W]hen there is decarceration, the community replicates the territorial divisions that occur when there is a clear policy of separation for the mentally ill, mentally disabled or criminal. Thus, while asylums removed the rest of the mentally ill from the rest of the urban population, deinstitutionalization isolates them also, particularly within inner-city areas.

The social outcome of gentrification is that adversarial encounters between different social groups are becoming more frequent and that people with emotional challenges are still looked upon as, at best, different and as, at worst, outlandish psychotics—with, it seems, even less chance of trying to

fit into community life than during the era of most intense deinstitutionalisation.

### Conclusion: Emancipation for Whom?

The gentrification of South Parkdale offers little indication of being or becoming an emancipatory process. Whether or not we agree with the politics and explanations of the architects of the emancipatory discourse, it is vital to understand that their arguments are contextual in terms of both space and time. There is no question of the profound influence of the reform era on Canadian urbanisation, particularly on Toronto's gentrification, but my findings from South Parkdale suggest that this era is well and truly a chapter of the past. The research presented in this paper demonstrates that geography matters in the study of gentrification (Ley 1996; Lees 2000; Slater 2002). It is difficult to draw positive, emancipatory conclusions about the current middle-class resettlement of South Parkdale, because this is a very different place studied at a different time, with different voices included, with gentrification occurring in the context of deepening neoliberalisation (Keil 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002), reflected in policy and public discourses on the future of an inner-city neighbourhood with a profoundly devalorised personality. While it is not a novel observation to note that intellectual constructions cannot be divorced from the context in which they were formulated, this has received fairly limited attention in the gentrification literature.

This paper has presented a case of gentrification being driven by neoliberal municipal and provincial policy and occurring in a neighbourhood with more than its fair share of low-income hardship and social problems. Gentrification here is not an instigator of social interaction but social tension, leading to the unhappy coincidence of reinvestment and displacement, home improvement and homelessness, renovation and eviction. This 'old city place' may still be one where 'meeting with the other' occurs, but these meetings between different residents are rarely positive or liberating encounters because of the tremendous disparities in life chances and living standards exacerbated by the indifference of neoliberal urbanism to the plight of vulnerable low-income populations. The result is increasingly divergent views between gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers on the future of South

Parkdale's low-income housing stock. The former are arriving in a neighbourhood that is a vital source of affordable housing for deinstitutionalised psychiatric patients and impoverished immigrants to Canada, and while South Parkdale badly needs reinvestment and municipal attention, the comments of the vulnerable residents earlier in this paper question the kind of attention that the neighbourhood is receiving. Unbridled gentrification might beautify its streets, improve the quality of its housing stock, clean up its storefronts and turn it into the 'Village of Parkdale' once more, but it is at the expense of a suffering population who have no say in these 'improvements' and for whom a very different kind of improvement is required.

*The Chambers Dictionary* (1999) tells us that 'emancipate' means 'to set free from restraint or bondage or disability of any kind'. The outcome of South Parkdale's continuing gentrification demonstrates that it is anything but emancipatory for those already in the neighbourhood. A striking omission from earlier work on gentrification in Canada's cities was the impact of the process on pre-existing working-class residents living in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Was it really emancipatory for them, for *everyone* involved? South Parkdale's disabled, the deinstitutionalised, are not set free or helped by middle-class resettlement; in fact, they experience another kind of disability in being unable to pay the price of living in the neighbourhood following the devastating rent increases, symptomatic of gentrification. The PPP fails to acknowledge that the balance of South Parkdale's housing stock is already tipped in favour of bachelorettes and rooming houses that house single-persons, and to make it a 'healthy' neighbourhood with 'a diversity of housing opportunities for families, couples and singles' requires eradicating some bachelorettes and rooming houses and displacing those who inhabit them. It is a sobering thought that such municipally managed gentrification (helped along by provincial tenant legislation) may be paving the way for a different and more sinister kind of emancipatory practice, one which involves 'liberating' South Parkdale from the ball and chain of deinstitutionalisation and housing conversions for low-income tenants. It is a liberation that implies shifting the people and changing the buildings that have defined this neighbourhood for generations, and it is difficult to see how it could be described as

emancipatory. This research creates the space for considering gentrification in Canadian inner-cities through the eyes of the working class—the vulnerable, long-time residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods—not just the middle-class gentrifiers who are moving in to them and experiencing emancipation. A more comprehensive understanding of the process can be gained by listening to a wider range of people involved and affected as it proceeds.

## Acknowledgements

I extend my thanks to all those who gave generously of their time to talk to me about gentrification in South Parkdale. Loretta Lees supervised this research, and Damaris Rose and Carolyn Whitzman gave characteristically helpful feedback. I am especially indebted to John Western for advice on interviewing. Three anonymous referees and Editor Lawrence Berg were extremely helpful; thank you for your constructive support. The support of a Study Abroad Studentship from The Leverhulme Trust is gratefully acknowledged.

## References

- ATKINSON, R. 2002 'Does gentrification help or harm urban neighbourhoods? An assessment of the evidence-base in the context of the new urban agenda' Research paper no. 5 (Glasgow, UK: Centre for Neighbourhood Research, University of Glasgow)
- BADCOCK, B. 2001 'Thirty years on: gentrification and class change-over in Adelaide's inner suburbs, 1966–96' *Urban Studies* 38, 1559–1572
- BONDI, L. 1991 'Gender divisions and gentrification: a critique' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16, 190–198
- . 1999 'Gender, class and gentrification: enriching the debate' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17, 261–282
- BOURNE, L. 1992 'Population turnaround in the Canadian inner-city: contextual factors and social consequences' *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 1, 66–89
- BOURNE, L., and ROSE, D. 2001 'The changing face of Canada: uneven geographies of population and social change' *The Canadian Geographer* 45, 105–119
- BOWIE, G., and VALIER, P., prods. 1993 *Zero Tolerance: A Documentary About a Neighbourhood in Conflict* (Toronto, Ontario: Lynx Images Releasing)
- BRIDGE, G. 2001 'Estate agents as interpreters of economic and cultural capital: the gentrification premium in the Sydney housing market' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, 87–101
- BUTLER, T. 1997 *Gentrification and the Middle Classes* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate)
- BUTLER, T., and ROBSON, G. 2001 'Social capital, gentrification and neighbourhood change in London: a comparison of three south London neighbourhoods' *Urban Studies* 38, 2145–2162
- CAPPONI, P. 1992 *Upstairs in the Crazy House: The Life of a Psychiatric Survivor* (Toronto, Ontario: Viking Press)
- CAULFIELD, J. 1988 'Canadian urban reform and local conditions' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 12, 477–484
- . 1989 'Gentrification and desire' *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 26, 617–632
- . 1994 *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press)
- CHAMBERS DICTIONARY 1999 (Edinburgh, UK: Chambers Dictionary)
- CHRISTIE, A. 1982 'Ex-mental patient neighbours scare us, residents say' *The Toronto Star* 8 July
- CLARK, E. 1992 'On blindness, centrepieces and complementarity in gentrification theory' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 17, 358–362
- CITY OF TORONTO PLANNING BOARD 1976 *South Parkdale: Trends and Planning Goals* (Toronto, Ontario: City of Toronto)
- CITY OF TORONTO URBAN DEVELOPMENT SERVICES 1997 *Ward 2 Revitalization Proposals: Draft for Discussion* (Toronto, Ontario: City of Toronto)
- . 1999 *Parkdale Conflict Resolution: Final Report* (Toronto, Ontario: City of Toronto)
- COURT, J. 2000 'From 999 to 1001 Queen Street: a consistently vital resource' in *The Provincial Asylum in Toronto: Reflections on Social and Architectural History*, ed E. Hudson (Toronto, Ontario: Toronto Region Architectural Conservancy) 183–198
- CROUCHER, S. 1997 'Constructing the image of ethnic harmony in Toronto, Canada: the politics of problem definition and non-definition' *Urban Affairs Review* 32, 319–347
- DANTAS, A. 1988 'Overspill as an alternative style of gentrification: the case of Riverdale, Toronto' in *The Changing Canadian Inner City*, ed T. Bunting and P. Filion (Waterloo, Ontario: Department of Geography, University of Waterloo, Publication Series 31) 73–86
- DEAR, M., and TAYLOR, S.M. 1982 *Not On Our Street: Community Attitudes to Mental Health Care* (London: Pion)
- DEAR, M., and WOLCH, J. 1987 *Landscapes of Despair: From Deinstitutionalization to Homelessness* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)
- . 1993 'Homelessness' in *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, ed L. Bourne and D. Ley (Montréal, Québec: McGill-Queens University Press) 298–308
- DESFOR, G., GOLDRICK, M. and MERRENS, R. 1988 'Redevelopment on the North American water-frontier: the case of Toronto' in *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, ed B. Hoyle, D. Pinder and M. Husain (London/New York: Belhaven Press) 92–113
- DUNN, T. 1974 'Absentee owners let 85 year-old house decay' *Parkdale Citizen* February
- FERGUSON, J. 1981 'Ex-mental patients find small solace in community' *The Globe and Mail* 13 March
- FILEY, M. 1996 *I Remember Sunnyside: The Rise and Fall of a Magical Era*, 2d ed (Toronto, Ontario/Oxford, UK: Dundurn Press)
- FILION, P. 1991 'The gentrification–social structure dialectic: a Toronto case study' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 15, 553–574
- . 1999 'Rupture or continuity? Modern and postmodern planning in Toronto' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23, 421–444
- FORREST, R., and MURIE, A. 1988 *Selling the Welfare State: The Privatization of Public Housing* (London: Routledge)
- FRASER, G. 1972 *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* (Toronto, Ontario: Hakkert)
- GERMAIN, A., and ROSE, D. 2000 *Montréal: The Quest for a Metropolis* (Chichester, UK: Wiley)
- GOLDBERG, M., and MERCER, J. 1986 *The Myth of the North American City: Continentalism Challenged* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press)

- HACKWORTH, J. 2002 'Postrecession gentrification in New York City' *Urban Affairs Review* 37, 815–843
- HACKWORTH, J., and SMITH, N. 2001 'The changing state of gentrification' *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92, 464–477
- HALL, G.B., and JOSEPH, A. 1988 'Group home location and host neighborhood attributes: an ecological analysis' *The Professional Geographer* 40, 297–306
- HALL, T. 2001 'What's up (or down) with the Gardiner?' *The Toronto Star* 8 December
- HAMNETT, C. 1973 'Improvement grants as an indicator of gentrification in inner London' *Area* 5, 252–261
- HARRIS, R. 2000 'Housing' in *Canadian Cities in Transition*, 2d ed, ed T. Bunting and P. Filion (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press) 380–403
- HASSON, S., and LEY, D. 1994 *Neighbourhood Organizations and the Welfare State* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press)
- HIEBERT, D. 1995 'The social geography of Toronto in 1931: a study of residential differentiation and social structure' *Journal of Historical Geography* 21, 55–74
- HUME, C. 2001 'Keeping the heart of the city beating' *The Toronto Star* 26 October
- JOSEPH, A., and HALL, G.B. 1985 'The locational concentration of group homes in Toronto' *The Professional Geographer* 37, 143–154
- KEIL, R. 2000 'Governance restructuring in Los Angeles and Toronto: amalgamation or secession?' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, 758–781
- . 2002 "'Common-sense" neoliberalism: progressive conservative urbanism in Toronto, Canada' *Antipode* 34, 578–601
- KIPFER, S., and KEIL, R. 2002 'Toronto Inc? Planning the competitive city in the new Toronto' *Antipode* 34, 227–264
- KNOX, P. 1993 'Capital, material culture and socio-spatial differentiation' in *The Restless Urban Landscape*, ed P. Knox (New Brunswick, NJ: Prentice Hall) 1–34
- LAYCOCK, M., and MYRVOLD, B. 1991 *Parkdale in Pictures: Its Development to 1889*. Local History Handbook no. 7 (Toronto, Ontario: Toronto Public Library Board)
- LAYTON, J. 2000 *Homelessness: The Making and Unmaking of a Crisis* (Toronto, Ontario: Penguin)
- LEES, L. 1994 'Rethinking gentrification: beyond the positions of economics or culture' *Progress in Human Geography* 18, 137–150
- . 2000 'A re-appraisal of gentrification: towards a geography of gentrification' *Progress in Human Geography* 24, 389–408
- . 2003 'Policy (re)turns: gentrification research and urban policy—urban policy and gentrification research' *Environment and Planning A* 35, 571–574
- LEMON, J. 1993 'Social planning and the Welfare State' in *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, ed L. Bourne and D. Ley (Montréal, Québec: McGill-Queens University Press) 267–280
- LEY, D. 1980 'Liberal ideology and the postindustrial city' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70, 238–258
- . 1993 'Past elites and present gentry: neighbourhoods of privilege in the inner city' in *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, ed L. Bourne and D. Ley (Montréal, Québec: McGill-Queens University Press) 214–233
- . 1996 *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press)
- . 2003 'Artists, Aestheticisation and The Field of Gentrification' *Urban Studies* 40, 2527–2544
- LEY, D., and MILLS, C. 1993 'Can there be a postmodernism of resistance in the urban landscape?' in *The Restless Urban Landscape*, ed P. Knox (New Brunswick, NJ: Prentice Hall) 255–278
- LYONS, T. 1998 'The Parkdale rebellion' *Eye Magazine* 29 October
- . 2000 'Gentrification war: a case study of how residents associations kill rooming houses' *Eye Magazine* 13 July
- MARSHALL, J. 1982 *Madness: An Indictment of the Mental Health Care System in Ontario* (Toronto, Ontario: Ontario Public Service Employees Union)
- MCLAREN, C. 1981 'Routine housing referrals breed arson terror' *The Toronto Star* 28 July
- MELE, C. 2000 *Selling The Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press)
- MILLS, C. 1988 'Life on the upslope: the postmodern landscape of gentrification' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6, 169–189
- PECK, J., and TICKELL, A. 2002 'Neoliberalizing space' *Antipode* 34, 380–404
- PERESSINI, T., and MCDONALD, L. 2000 'Urban homelessness in Canada' in *Canadian Cities in Transition*, 2d ed, ed T. Bunting and P. Filion (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press) 525–543
- PHILIP, M. 2000 'Researchers fear segregating rich from poor will bring the ghetto to Canada' *The Globe and Mail* 5 August
- PODMORE, J. 1998 '(Re)Reading the "loft living" habitus in Montréal's inner city' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22, 283–302
- ROBSON, G., and BUTLER, T. 2001 'Coming to terms with London: middle class communities in a global city' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, 70–86
- ROSE, D. 1984 'Rethinking gentrification: beyond the uneven development of Marxist urban theory' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1, 47–74
- . 1989 'A feminist perspective of employment restructuring and gentrification: the case of Montreal' in *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*, ed J. Wolch and M. Dear (Boston: Unwin Hyman) 118–138
- . 1996 'Economic restructuring and the diversification of gentrification in the 1980s: a view from a marginal metropolis' in *City Lives and City Forms: Critical Research and Canadian Urbanism*, ed J. Caulfield and L. Peake (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press) 131–172
- SIBLEY, D. 1995 *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (London: Routledge)
- SIMMIE, S., and NUNES, J. 2001 *The Last Taboo: A Survival Guide to Mental Health Care in Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart)
- SIMMONS, H. 1990 *Unbalanced: Mental Health Policy in Ontario, 1930–1989* (Toronto, Ontario: Wall and Thompson)
- SLATER, T. 2002 'Looking at the "North American City" through the lens of gentrification discourse' *Urban Geography* 23, 131–153
- SMITH, A. 1989 'Gentrification and the spatial contribution of the state: the restructuring of London's Docklands' *Antipode* 21, 232–260
- SMITH, N. 1978 'Gentrification and capital: theory, practice and ideology in society hill' *Antipode* 11, 24–35
- . 1996 *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge)
- . 2002 'New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy' *Antipode* 34, 427–450
- SOLNIT, R., and SCHWARTZENBERG, S. 2000 *Hollow City: The Siege of San Francisco and the Crisis of American Urbanism* (New York: Verso)

- SOMMERS, J. 1998 'Men at the margin: masculinity and space in downtown Vancouver, 1950–1986' *Urban Geography* 19, 287–310
- STATISTICS CANADA 1996 *Census of Population* (Ottawa, Ontario: Statistics Canada)
- STOECKER, R., and VAKIL, A. 2000 'States, cultures and community organising: two tales of two neighborhoods' *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22, 439–458
- VALENTINE, G. 1997 'Tell me about . . . : using interviews as a research methodology' in *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, ed R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (Harlow, UK: Longman) 110–126
- WATSON, S. 1999 'City politics' in *Unruly Cities? Order/Disorder*, ed S. Pile, C. Brook and G. Mooney (London/New York: Routledge) 201–246
- WHITESON, L. 1982 *The Liveable City: The Architecture and Neighbourhoods of Toronto* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press)
- WILSON, D. 1989 'Local state dynamics and gentrification in Indianapolis, Indiana' *Urban Geography* 10, 19–40
- WYLY, E., and HAMMEL, D. 1999 'Islands of decay in seas of renewal: urban policy and the resurgence of gentrification' *Housing Policy Debate* 10, 711–771
- . 2001 'Gentrification, housing policy, and the new context of urban redevelopment' in *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*, vol. 6, ed K. Fox-Gotham (London: JAI Press/Elsevier Science) 211–276
- . 2004 'Neoliberal housing policy and the gentrification of the American urban system' *Environment and Planning A* 36, forthcoming
- ZUKIN, S. 1982 *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press)